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Back-to-back houses in twenty-first century Leeds

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Abstract

This research examines the significance of the Victorian and Edwardian back-to-back houses in Leeds and whether the built heritage (plan-form typology, urban character, style, traditional materials and construction) might be at risk.

The methodology is based on an historic area assessment of the Harehills district. The development of the area is traced from historic maps and archival documents, and is supplemented with a survey of the houses. The plan-form typologies and decorative designs are identified, and mapped to show groups of like houses, which cross-references to a gazetteer detailing the main identifying features of each group. A second level of analysis is concerned with the houses as they stand today, focusing particularly on the extant decorative features and construction materials, the modifications that have compromised the architectural composition of the houses, and the uniformity of the urban setting.

The research concludes that the back-to-back houses do have heritage significance, but a review of national and local policy reveals that this has never been recognised. The lack of protection has resulted in diminished significance and presents an ongoing risk. Suggestions are made for future research and protection strategies.

Keywords: back-to-back houses; Victorian terraced houses; Edwardian terraced houses; plan-form typologies; decorative detailing; modification; significance; heritage protection; planning policy; Leeds

Introduction

Back-to-back houses have long been considered the worst type of housing in England, associated with overcrowded slum conditions, poor sanitary provision and disease, and from 1840, there were numerous legislative attempts to prohibit their continued construction. Built in several of the industrial towns and cities in the Midlands and North of England, they were the preferred housing type in Leeds, and were built there throughout the nineteenth century and into the inter-war period. During this period, the urban layout, construction, household amenities, plan form and architectural design of back-to-back houses were developed from their vernacular origins to overcome national criticisms and comply with legislation concerned with sanitary conditions and social reform.¹ This happened for a longer period and to a greater extent in Leeds than elsewhere, and so when they were finally banned in 1909, the houses arguably provided a better standard of accommodation than other types of workers' housing being built. In a final bid to keep building back-to-backs in Leeds, a loophole was exploited and they continued to be built there until 1937.² These late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century 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, and can be identified in five basic plan-forms (Table 1 and Figure 1).

Having overcome the stigma associated with the poor conditions that were prevalent in the worst vernacular examples from over 150 years ago, the houses were held in higher esteem for a few decades in the first half of the twentieth century. Residents were proud to live in desirable back-to-back areas such as Harehills, but the house type once again presents difficulties. In 2008, an appraisal of the back-to-back terraced housing in Leeds was undertaken to research the issues affecting the back-to-back houses and communities so that appropriate intervention packages could be proposed, and use of the properties could continue into the twenty-first century.³ It found that 62% of the back-to-back houses are in inner city areas, and that the larger back-to-back neighbourhoods are characterised by high levels of deprivation and poor environmental conditions caused by a prolonged lack of maintenance and investment. In Harehills, where the communities are now among the most socially deprived in the country, the effects of this are more strongly felt and both the houses and the communities who live in them are considered to be problematic.

Type	Plan-form features	Urban arrangement & sanitary provision
Type 1	One room per floor	Maximum of eight in a block with shared closet / WC yards between
Type 2	Two rooms per floor on at least the ground and first floors	
Type 3		
Pseudo Type 3	One room per floor	Continuous row with a WC integral to the house footprint (at least one WC per two houses)
Moderns	Two rooms per floor on all floors	Continuous row with an internal bathroom (including WC) to each house

Table 1. The back-to-back types being built in Leeds in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century. The typology was developed from an original by the Regional Office of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in the mid-twentieth century, and later by Leeds City Council, demonstrating the progressive evolution of house form. (Source: Barraclough et al., *Addressing the challenge*. Vol. 2, 19-23; Baines, "Saving the "back-to-back," 854).



Figure 1. Type 3 back-to-back floor plans and cross-section. The top plan in each pair shows the typical original layout, and the bottom plan shows the typical current layout / room use. ©Joanne Harrison.

Despite including a detailed analysis of demographics, housing condition, regulatory compliance and long-term sustainability, the study includes only minimal reference to the value of the terraced communities as a heritage asset, and there is no formal heritage appraisal, which is a notable omission given the history and character of the type in the city. The subsequent proposals give no indication of the extent to which original fabric still exists, justification for its removal, or any suggestion that work should be completed using materials and construction techniques compatible with the character and pathology of the original buildings.⁴

This appears to mirror practice in regeneration-schemes conducted as part of the government's Housing Market Renewal Initiative (Pathfinder) programme.⁵ The programme, which ran from 2002 to 2011 in nine regions of the Midlands and the North of England, is perhaps the most infamous example of an attempt to regenerate nineteenth-century neighbourhoods.⁶ 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.⁷ It was expected that local communities would be engaged, and have a genuine opportunity to identify problems and shape solutions.⁸ Here though, officials placed an emphasis on large-scale demolition and housing replacement rather than smaller-scale modification, and critics claimed that some issues, such as heritage, were side-lined from the start.⁹ Consequently, the controversial plans to demolish hundreds of houses, led to a number of high-profile campaigns where communities brought their case to public inquiry.¹⁰

These cases demonstrate that there is a real problem concerning the conservation of ordinary buildings such as workers' houses when they are found in large numbers and remain outside of the heritage protection system. They are at high risk of damage and attrition, and often, it is only when this risk becomes a reality, that their heritage values come to the fore.¹¹ The aim of *this* research was therefore to evaluate the significance of the back-to-back houses in the Harehills district of Leeds, consider whether the heritage protection system is appropriately matched to the significance of the houses there, and assess whether the built heritage (plan-form typology, urban character, style, traditional materials and construction) might be at risk.

The paper begins with a review of the literature. This is followed by a detailed analysis of back-to-back houses in Harehills and an evaluation of their significance, and finally, consideration of policy and the extent to which the back-to-backs are at risk.

The research context

The historical development and social history of workers' housing is generally well-researched but few studies have been undertaken for housing in West Yorkshire, with even fewer focusing on the back-to-back type in Leeds.¹² A recent publication however, draws together much of the earlier research to concentrate on the development of the back-to-backs in Leeds in the context of national concerns and legislation, comparing back-to-backs in Leeds with those built elsewhere.¹³ Sources about the back-to-back houses in twenty-first century Leeds are still few in number, and this research builds on these to open the debate about heritage significance and heritage protection.

Barraclough et al.'s work provides an outline history of back-to-backs in Leeds, setting out the typology, basic statistics on housing conditions, a demographic analysis and the housing market.¹⁴ It provides a comprehensive qualitative and quantitative analysis of community opinion on living in the Leeds back-to-back terraced communities, and the costs associated with various levels of improvement and intervention, but the city-wide approach means that apart from discussion of the plan-form typology, to some extent, the houses themselves receive little attention. The study addressed the wider community and housing market issue but did not include, for example, an analysis of life in the houses from a social perspective, appraisal of architectural character and aspects of heritage value, or discussion of the condition of properties in relation to specific problems around liveability and repair.

Other sources have touched on these issues. The film *Back to backs. A portrait of a house* for example, features residents providing insightful accounts of their home, but it is nevertheless quite limited in scope.¹⁵ Ken Powell's report for Save Britain's Heritage is concerned with the housing stock in Leeds, with a case study on Harehills which contains a mix of back-to-back and through terraced housing.¹⁶ Produced in response to housing clearance and regeneration programmes, it questions the cause of problems in the older communities, arguing that the houses themselves are not unfit or unsuitable for continued use, that they are popular with residents, and that with the right kind of gradual investment, the historic character could be saved rather than eroded, while at the same time creating a future that the local people want. This research stands out as the only study to date that links the back-to-backs in Leeds with the idea of heritage value and conservation.

Although there are many academic texts on the theoretical approaches to conservation there is nothing that specifically links them to their practical application in Victorian or Edwardian terraced housing.¹⁷

Overall, analysis of the literature indicates an unexplored gap relating to back-to-back houses in Leeds, their heritage values, approaches to understanding the heritage significance of workers' housing, and how they might best be protected. This paper attempts an initial exploration of these issues in the inner-city district of Harehills.

Methodology

The Understanding Place series by Historic England¹⁸ details a methodology for analysing historic areas, both designated and undesignated, using a wide range of tools and resources, in order that a place can be suitably managed. Read in conjunction with *Conservation principles, policies and guidance for the sustainable management of the historic environment* which is influenced by the *Burra Charter*, and the *Conservation principles for the sustainable management of the historic environment Consultation Draft*, which seeks to align the terms of the principles with the *National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF)*, they outline a method for assessing the significance of a building or place and then set out guidelines for managing change.¹⁹ These documents are among the most important resources for English professionals because of the detailed guidance they provide and their wide-ranging application, and so formed the basis of the methodology used in this research.

The research began with a detailed analysis of back-to-backs in Harehills which was conducted through an approach combining art historical and archaeological methods of analysis, taking the form of a Rapid (Level Two) Historic Area Assessment. At this level, the architecture of the houses and the special characteristics of the place can be understood, allowing for links to be made to development of the urban area and the wider socio-economic context.

Map regression and photography were used to trace the development of the area, demonstrating building and land use in map form, and the twentieth-century character was analysed additionally in terms of landmarks and views. Surveys of the neighbourhood enabled identification of groups of like houses (categorised by plan-form typology, architectural detail, amenity and use), and this information was mapped with cross-references to a gazetteer of architectural style. Additional maps showing the nature and distribution of extant features, modifications, house condition, environmental conditions and the energy performance were created with information sourced from historic building control plans from 1890-1910, planning applications from 1976-2015, sales particulars from 2007-2015 and visual analysis.

The second stage of the research was concerned with understanding value and assessing significance. The 2008 Historic England guidance refers to four categories of value which inform significance – evidential, historic, aesthetic and communal – but this research concentrates on the first three.²⁰ Analysis of the values and significance was undertaken using evidence from the Historic Area Assessment, from listing and conservation area designation guides, and from comparison with workers’ housing in other cities.

Finally, the planning and heritage protection policies were studied in an attempt to determine whether the significance of the back-to-backs has been recognised in local policy, and whether the level of protection afforded to them has put their significance at risk. This was carried out through a review of the legislation and policies in place, and qualitative research in the form of structured interviews with planning professionals at Leeds City Council. Harehills is situated around 2.8 kilometres North East of Leeds city centre (Figure 2). It has the highest concentration of back-to-backs in the city, totalling 4189, and around half of these are in the Harehills Triangle area of the district, where this research is focused.²¹ The grid-iron street pattern contains mostly back-to-back houses, but also smaller numbers of through terraced houses, business premises and amenity buildings.

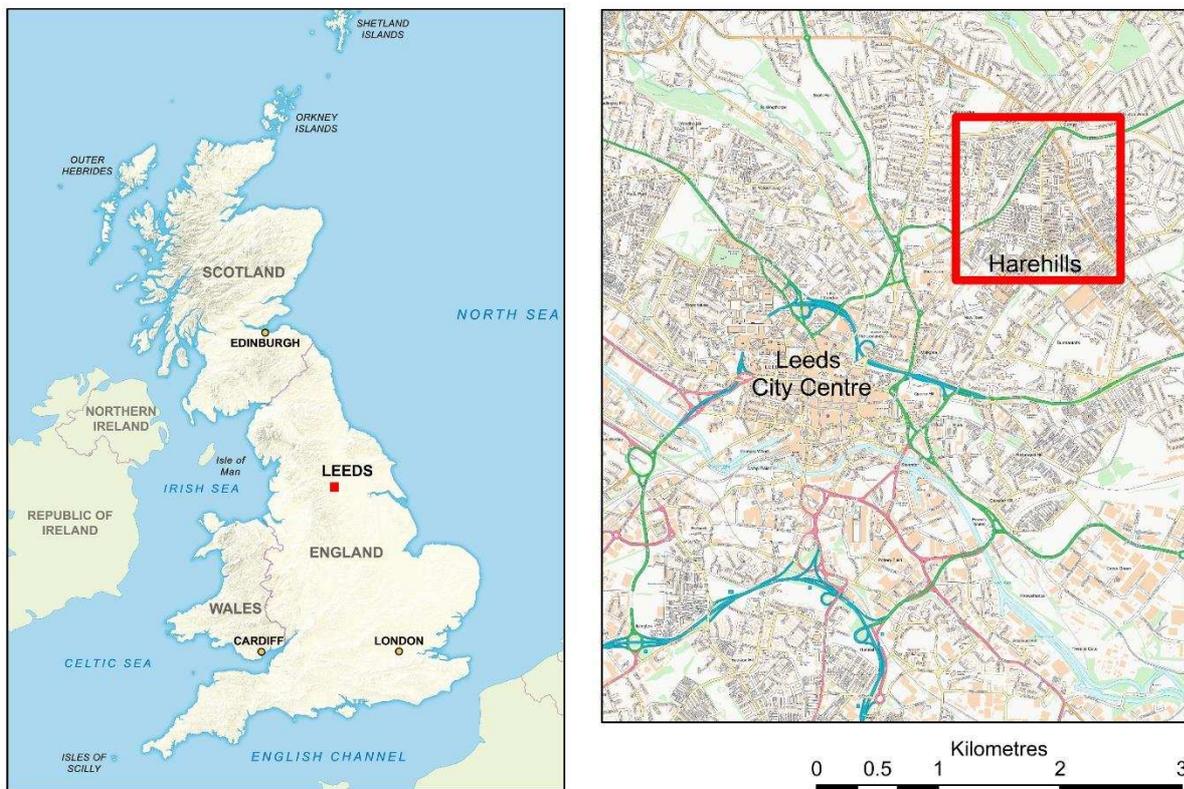


Figure 2. The location of the Harehills Triangle area of the Harehills district, North East of Leeds city centre, England (Ordnance Survey, *GB Overview*; Ordnance Survey, *Open Map Local*) © Crown Copyright and Database Right (2018). Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence). ©Joanne Harrison.

Development of the area

The 1851 Ordnance Survey map shows that the area was used as farmland, and for coal mining.²² By 1894, urban development had commenced and a new road running North-South bisected the Harehills Triangle area. To the West of this, streets were being laid out, and around 520 back-to-backs had already been built.²³ The area was developed at a dramatic pace, and by 1908, almost all of the land had been built upon, mainly for back-to-back housing.²⁴ Building control plans from the 1890s to 1910s suggest that land was divided into small lots between the streets, which were spaced in accordance with the by-laws, to provide a street width of thirty-six feet or forty-two feet depending on whether the houses were street-lined or on the wider plots which included a garden area between the house and street.²⁵ Although there are some exceptions, in general, the street-lined Type 2 houses are of an earlier date than the garden-fronted Type 2s and Type 3s, confirming the pattern found by other researchers in their city-wide studies of Leeds. By 1934, the final fields had been developed, with a mix of Type 3 and Modern back-to-backs, and through terraces.²⁶

Little had changed in terms of land use by 1956, and this can be explained by the advent and aftermath of World War II.²⁷ Although the 1982 Ordnance Survey map also demonstrates little change, the following year saw the start of the most dramatic changes to the area since it had been built.²⁸ Four streets containing 204 back-to-back and twenty-three through houses were demolished to make way for the district's only green space, Banstead Park.²⁹ Since then a further 142 back-to-back houses have been demolished with some of the land providing small pockets of open space, and a larger area accommodating a sheltered housing complex.

Urban character

The street pattern and much of the original development remains in the Harehills Triangle (Figure 3), and even where uses have changed, they have generally remained within the residential / non-residential distinction. The grid-iron imposes a formality on the area, which is a particularly strong characteristic. The housing, which includes back-to-backs, shop-houses and through terraces, has a very distinct character and the same palette of materials was originally used throughout – red brick walls, slate roofs, stone sills, brick or stone lintels, timber gutters on brick or stone corbels, decorative timber to dormers and roof verges, decorative air bricks and brick friezes, panelled doors, sash windows with either plain glass, leaded glass or astragals and plain glazing, stained glass fanlights, brick garden walls with stone copings and iron railings, and



Key



Figure 3. Map of the area showing the land use types. (Ordnance Survey, *MasterMap® Topography*) © Crown Copyright and Database Right (2018). Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence). ©Joanne Harrison.

iron balustrades to external steps. These materials are common to most terraced houses of the same period in inner Leeds.

There are however, some important aesthetic and social differences between back-to-back houses in Leeds and workers' through terraced houses, whether in Harehills or elsewhere. Firstly, most back-to-

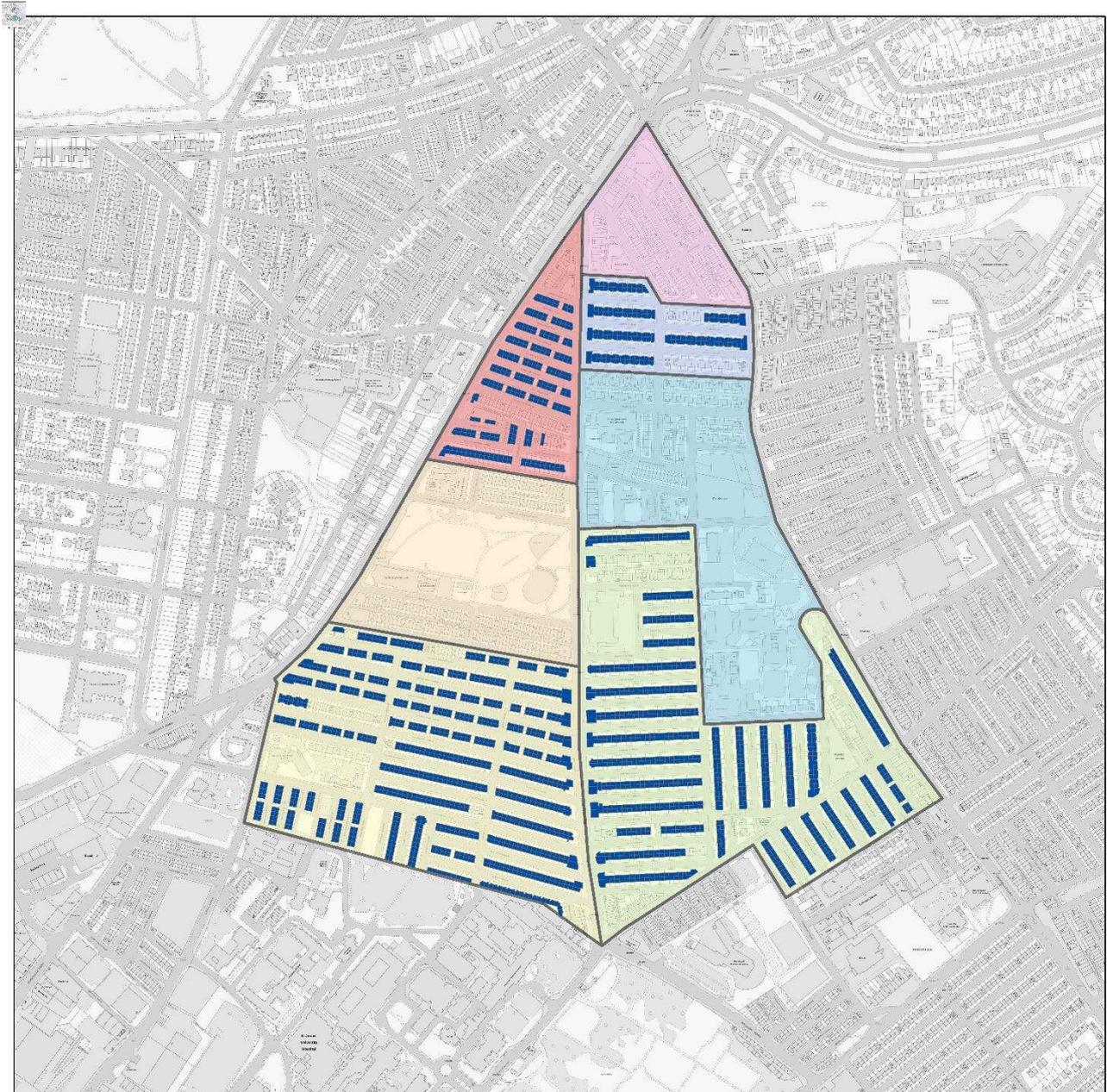
backs are double-fronted, with a window either side of the front door, and this design is so distinct, that it is the primary means of identifying back-to-backs. Secondly, a walk down both sides of a block will reveal that the streets have fronts only, so each road presents the 'best' face. While Lupton commented in 1906 that the lack of a rear yard in which filth was deposited was one of the advantages of back-to-backs,³⁰ it could be considered that in reality, service functions are simply transferred to the front, giving back-to-back streets a more cluttered appearance.

The primary difference between Harehills and other back-to-back communities in Leeds is its size, which adds to the strength of its identity. In Harehills, most back-to-backs are Type 2 or 3, but the rare split-level back-to-backs can be found, which, contrary to the findings of other researchers citing 'Modern' examples in other areas of the city,³¹ include an attic and basement. Since it appears that no other study has identified the architectural detailing of back-to-backs, it is not possible to draw conclusions about similarities or differences between districts, but using the similarity in development patterns as a guide, it is likely that the increased number of properties in Harehills translates into an increased number of designs, making it an important resource for understanding the extent of variation within a framework of by-laws governing the regionally distinct vernacular style.

The character areas

For the purposes of the research, the district was split into seven areas determined by geographical location, construction date and local knowledge, four of which still contain back-to-back houses and are featured in detail in this paper (Figure 4). The focus was on identifying groups of like houses (categorised by plan-form typology, architectural detail, amenity and use), modifications and extant features. This information was then mapped and cross-referenced to a gazetteer of architectural style.

Overall, the Harehills Triangle has 2164 back-to-back houses and shop-houses, categorised in accordance with Table 1, as a single Type 1 house, 667 Type 2 houses, 1420 Type 3 houses, seventeen Pseudo Type 3 houses, eighteen Modern split-level houses and forty-one houses of a non-standard plan-form. Accounting for variations in the standard plan-form within each type, the urban layout (plot type), the number of aspects, and architectural style (of which a total of ninety-two styles have been identified), there are 230 variations in the original built designs. The research demonstrated that the four areas have distinct architectural characters (Table 2 and Figures 5-8).



Key

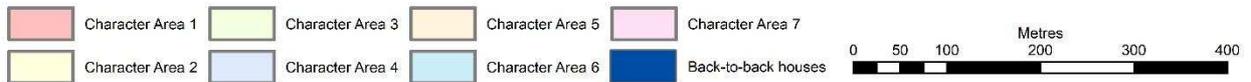


Figure 4. The character areas and back-to-back houses. (Ordnance Survey, *MasterMap® Topography*) © Crown Copyright and Database Right (2018). Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence). ©Joanne Harrison.

Extant features

In order to limit the study of extant architectural features and modification to a manageable size, small sample areas were identified within the character areas, selected partly by the location of property for which

textual and photographic sales data was available, and then by random groupings that encompassed these, providing coverage of around 27% of the housing stock in the study area.

Retention of original fabric of the back-to-backs in the Harehills Triangle area is very mixed. The main structure such as external and internal walls, roofs and floorboards remain largely intact, but the survival of fittings is much lower. The external brick and stone detailing to corbels, friezes, lintels and sills are one of the most important aspects of the district's character, not only for their visual interest, but for the clues they give about the way in which land was developed in small lots (Figure 9). Most survive in good condition. Where the original windows have been retained, the variety and quality is impressive. A minority of the earlier houses still have the two over two sash design, while others retain geometric leaded patterns. By the twentieth century the patterns were more organic and casement windows were being introduced, some of which remain in CA4 (Figure 10). Fanlights have a better survival rate than windows, though their distribution is not evenly spread across the character areas, with the Type 3s in CA1 and CA3 having a notably higher retention. Original entrance doors have a poor survival rate, though WC doors fare better, possibly because as an 'outbuilding,' owners see no aesthetic or technical benefits in their replacement.

Roof coverings have survived particularly well, with only a minority of households re-roofing in a concrete plain or interlocking tile. Decorative timber verges, gables pediments and gable posts can still be found on the end of most blocks, though their elevated position which is difficult to access, makes them particularly vulnerable to decay. Relatively few houses were built with original dormers, but where they were, they are generally of small proportions, set close to or aligning with the front wall of the house, and finished with decorative timber verges and gable posts. Their survival is in the region of 50%, though this is with varying degrees of completeness. While many timber gutters have been replaced, the majority have been replaced like-for-like, with timber. Cast iron downpipes however have been replaced with PVC, and this difference is probably explained by the form of the original construction because the gutter corbels are designed specifically for timber gutters and do not easily accommodate fixing of a PVC gutter.

Only one original garden wall railing remains in the entire area, and in some streets, the walls themselves have a low level of survival. In other streets or groups of streets, almost all external step balustrades remain.

Character Area	No. of back-to-back houses	Back-to-back types	No. of architectural styles (back-to-backs)	No. of design variations when accounting for property size, use and location	Qualitative characteristics
Character Area 1	232	171 no. Type 2s (incl. 4 no. blind backs) 44 no. Type 3s 17 no. of non-standard designs	12	38	These properties were among the earliest to be built in the Harehills Triangle, which is in part reflected in the predominance of Type 2 street-lined properties. Although the houses conformed to the standard plan-form, it was perhaps less refined, with more variable amenities at the beginning of the period.
Character Area 2	906	1 no. Type 1 476 no. Type 2s 397 no. Type 3s (incl. 28 no. blind backs) 15 no. Pseudo Type 3s 17 no. of non-standard designs	51	120	This is the most diverse area with all three variations of street relationship (street-lined, buffer and garden properties), the most variation in the distribution of plan-form types, and the most variation in architectural style (which includes many types of bay window and decoration).
Character Area 3	871	20 no. Type 2s 854 no. Type 3s 2 no. Pseudo Type 3s 5 no. of non-standard designs	25	68	The urban layout is the most varied within the Harehills Triangle area as streets are aligned along three axes and there is a wide variety of non-domestic building types. Although the houses were built to provide a more sophisticated level of comfort than those in Character Areas 1 and 2, the more limited variation in detailing, which is also generally of a less grand nature (with fewer bay windows and decorative dormers for example), gives the area a more uniform appearance
Character Area 4	140	120 no. Type 3s 18 no. Moderns (split-level) 2 no. of non-standard designs	6	17	The last area to be developed, the houses are mostly of Edwardian influence. The Type 3 houses were built with their own externally accessed WC. The Modern split-level houses are arguably the least successful aesthetically but they retain the essence of the double fronted Type 3 plan-form and were built with an internal bathroom.

Table 2. Summary of the house types and characteristics of the four character areas containing back-to-back houses.



Figure 5. Character Area 1 consists predominantly of uniform rows of street-lined terraces, with subtle variations in architectural detail. However, the shop-houses at the ends of the rows create much more interest through their varied form, fenestration and detailing. ©Joanne Harrison.



Figure 6. Character Area 2 is the most varied, and many of the designs include bay windows. The street-lined properties in the Edgwares (bottom left) are among the few in the area that do not have attics. ©Joanne Harrison.



Figure 7. There is a greater degree of uniformity in Character Area 3, not only along individual streets, but in the area as a whole. The houses to the top left are the most common form; those to the top right are in the minority for having no attic rooms; and the bottom designs are of a grander design and proportion, each the only block of their type. ©Joanne Harrison.



Figure 8. Type 3 and Modern designs in Luxor Avenue, Luxor Street and Luxor Road in Character Area 4. Highly decorative early twentieth-century Type 3 back-to-backs (top); Type 3 back-to-backs with window proportions and plainer detailing indicative of the transition to the Modern style (bottom left) and Modern split level back-to-backs (bottom right). ©Joanne Harrison.

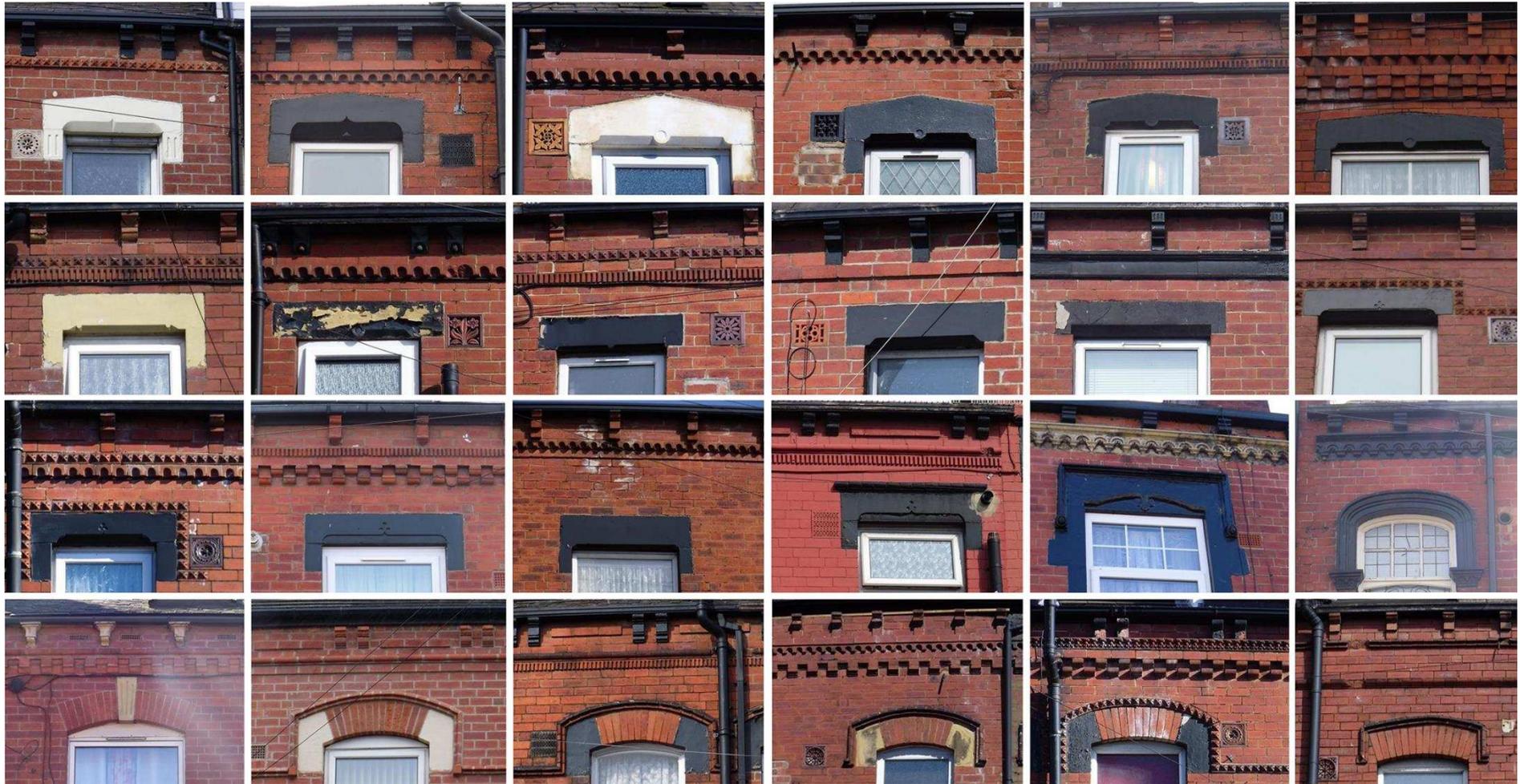


Figure 9. A selection of the frieze, corbel, lintel and airbrick designs found within the Harehills Triangle. ©Joanne Harrison



Figure 10. The range of window and glazing designs shows the area was once very decorative, and that the houses were designed to be attractive residences where people desired to live. ©Joanne Harrison.

Modifications

Replacement windows

The most common modification in the area is the installation of UPVC double glazed casement windows and many houses feature a design that does not replicate the original window frame divisions (Figure 11). Comparison of sales details and photography dating from 2009-2014, with 2015 survey data indicates that removal of windows and their replacement with inferior alternatives has often taken place as part of a new owner's 'improvement' programme.³²

Surface treatments

In addition to the long-term popularity of painted brickwork, there has been a slow but steady rise in the number of properties being insulated externally, and some such improvements are not suitable for traditionally constructed buildings, both aesthetically and technically (Figure 12).



Figure 11. This block of houses has replacement windows which at least bear some resemblance to the original. In common with many houses they have an unattractive 'filler' panel installed to the bottom of the kitchen and bathroom windows in order to pro



Figure 12. Typical examples of non-permeable external wall insulation in Harehills. The character of the houses has been compromised whichever of the two approaches is used – to the left is a render finish which makes no attempt to respect the detailing beneath, and to the centre and right, a finish which replicates the appearance of the bricks and lintels. Since the finish stands forward of the frieze, it diminishes its prominence, and poor detailing could lead to thermal bridges and internal dampness. ©Joanne Harrison.

Attic extensions

Attic extensions appear to have been the most popular way of increasing the amount of accommodation in back-to-backs since the 1970s. In some cases the dormers have replaced original dormers, but most houses originally had a single attic bedroom with a skylight. Many of the dormers have an inappropriate design and this has had a bigger impact on the character of individual houses and the streetscape than any other type of modification, the effect enhanced by both quantity and lack of coherence in design (Figure 13).



Figure 13. This row of blind backs in Character Area 2 has been particularly badly damaged. The photograph to the left shows houses where the design has seen little alteration. To the right, further along the row of the same block of houses, the impact of removing the original gable dormers and replacing them with dormers of varying mass, position, fenestration and material can be seen in the streetscape which has lost its uniformity and charm. ©Joanne Harrison.

Plan-form changes

Dormer window extensions are often combined with a change to the internal layout, usually separating a single attic bedroom into two rooms. Plan-form changes also occur in basements and ground floors through the conversion of the wash-cellar into a kitchen, with the scullery kitchen either being opened out to the living room space, or used as a study. Such changes have no impact on the external character and limited impact on the internal character, but significantly improve the variety and quantity of accommodation the home can provide.

Shop extensions

While the scope for increasing the amount of accommodation in back-to-back houses is limited to modifications to the attic, basement or a porch addition, modifications to shops have been more dramatic. Almost all shopfronts have gone, and many shops have been extended at ground level, to encompass the area that was originally outdoor space between the building and the pavement (Figure 14). The driver for this is undoubtedly linked to changing shopping habits and the need for larger premises as businesses grow, but these un-coordinated changes to massing, fenestration, materials, and signage have negatively impacted on the area's character. The uniformity at the urban scale now comes solely from the wider context of the grid-iron street plan leading from the shopping streets, whereas once this was reinforced by the relative uniformity of the shops themselves.



Figure 14. The shop-houses on larger plots have extended to the limits of their boundaries (left), while those on the street-lined plots (right) have been unable to do so and therefore resemble the original form more closely. ©Joanne Harrison.

Change of use

The final type of modification is the conversion of shop-houses to houses. Modification of the plan-form is simple in terms of room use, but externally, the conversions have been carried out with varying degrees of success. In the best examples, the conversions have taken their architectural language from the distinctive character of the houses and evidence of former shop usage is identifiable by infill bricks, a fascia or a canted corner where the doorway was once positioned. In other cases, the fascia remains to one or two elevations, but the new fenestration has no relationship with the original plan-form / architectural character or the legibility of the built form, damaging the character not only of the buildings, but the streetscape (Figure 15).



Figure 15. The house to the left has the most acceptable appearance as a house, but the shopfront has been lost in its entirety. By contrast, much of the shopfront is retained in the conversion in the centre image, and this is important to understanding the history and character of the area. The house to the right is one of the worst examples of shop-house conversions. ©Joanne Harrison.

Characterising Harehills

Wider context

Despite the back-to-backs' reputation for filth and disease, the inclusion of WCs, internal plumbed baths and damp-proof courses from the 1890s shows that these houses provided a higher standard of accommodation than workers' housing in other towns and cities, demonstrating that the development of the Harehills Triangle and the houses within it were an innovative solution to the social and regulatory reform. The importance of this improvement and innovation is increased further because the back-to-back form was a specific target in these reforms, which often included clauses to prohibit their continued construction.³³ The findings on the development of Harehills, which correspond to the findings of the various research themes undertaken by others on Leeds back-to-backs, indicate that the area is typical of Leeds as a whole. It is therefore a good example of a neighbourhood whose history is supported by documentary evidence linking the development of a strongly favoured vernacular form with the wider social and political context.

Uniformity and variation

There is a high degree of urban uniformity expressed through the grid-iron street plan and distinctive appearance of the back-to-back form. There were just three urban layouts being built in Leeds from the 1890s, and all are present in the Harehills Triangle – the street-lined and garden fronted Type 2 back-to-backs in blocks of up to eight houses with closet yards between, and the garden fronted Type 3s built in continuous rows.

The uniformity of the houses is also expressed in the massing and elevational composition, for example the high-pitched roofs, chimneys, a central door with fanlight, ground floor windows either side, and first floor windows aligned above. The limited palette of materials is a distinctive feature of the area, with the slate roof, red brick walls, timber gutters on corbels, a decorative brick frieze and decorative lintels and sills being common to all houses, and mostly retained. Smaller numbers of fanlights, sash windows, panelled doors, decorative verges, shopfronts and boundary walls remain, but it is still clear that the back-to-back designs are of a high quality with considerable variation to the fenestration and decorative elements. This demonstrates that back-to-backs were desirable residences for the working-classes, and that by-law housing was not the monotonous form critics had branded it.³⁴ The area is perhaps unusually, characterised by both its uniformity and its variation, the value being the group rather than the individual house or block.

While there have been unfortunate losses of fabric and features and an un-coordinated approach to extensions which have partially eroded the uniformity of the streetscape massing and reduced the coherence and readability of the distinct groups of design variations, the essence of the historic character remains.

Assessing significance

Having analysed and understood the historical background to the development of the back-to-back form in Leeds,³⁵ and the characteristics of the housing in the Harehills Triangle area, the next stage of the process was to determine the value of the place, and then its significance using Historic England's guidance, literature and case studies.

Heritage values

Evidential value

Evidential value is concerned with how a place is able to provide evidence of past human activity, primarily through physical remains, and it can therefore be reduced where fabric has been lost or replaced.³⁶ The distribution of back-to-backs has contributed to their evidential value as their survival is linked to both the fact that the form was such a popular regional type, built in far greater numbers in Leeds than elsewhere, and also because the design and construction was continuously improved, leading to them being built for longer in Leeds, the improvements enabling compliance with by-laws and improvement Acts, and also giving them resilience to slum clearance programmes. Recent adaptations, such as change of use from shop-houses to houses, upgrading of domestic facilities, and the removal and replacement of historic fabric, have some interest because they evidence changing lifestyles, building technologies, fashions and social/economic factors, though in many cases, these have had a negative impact on the aesthetic value.

Historic value

Historic value which can be illustrative or associative is concerned with the connection between a place and past lives and events. Illustrative value is enhanced if a place has the first or only remaining example of a social or technological innovation, while associative value is that which exists because of links to a notable person, family, event or movement.³⁷ It can be argued that the Leeds back-to-back houses were the only back-to-backs in the country to have evolved to provide a good standard of accommodation, and arguably,

more so than many other types of workers' housing that were held in higher esteem.³⁸ They overcame the social and technological concerns of the health and sanitary critics and reformers, and the retention of such great numbers at high density in Leeds provides evidence of the historical regional popularity – the determination of the people of Leeds to keep building their vernacular style, despite the multiple, nationwide attempts over the course of almost a century, to ban them – and therefore both illustrative and associative value are demonstrated.

Aesthetic value

Buildings are a tangible connection to the ideas and influences of people in the past, and architectural interest refers to the art or science of the design and construction while aesthetic interest is related to sensory and intellectual responses to a place, and can be a result of design or evolution that is usually specific to a particular period.³⁹ The development of the back-to-back form in Leeds was certainly an evolutionary local response to national pressures, but it is known that for the houses that survive (in Harehills from the 1890s onwards), architects were involved in their design, including plan layout, elevational composition, architectural and constructional detailing. Trowell⁴⁰ commented that some of the well-respected architects were not involved in designing back-to-back houses, but many architects did this work as a staple of their workload. The building control plans and extant evidence show that many houses were highly decorative, and the high level of variation in the Harehills Triangle adds to both the sensory and intellectual experience, the former on a more superficial level of interest but with a clear link to architectural styling in the Victorian, Edwardian and inter-war periods, and the latter because it evidences the way development occurred in small phases.⁴¹ While much of the original structural fabric and its decorative detailing still exists, loss of other fabric, and the dormer and shop extensions have diminished the stylistic integrity of the streetscape, lowering the architectural and aesthetic interest.

Significance

Setting and context

The setting is particularly important to the significance of the back-to-back houses in Harehills because part of their value is the strong identity of the neighbourhood which comprises few variations in plan-form type and elevational composition, but encompasses a very wide range of architectural styles and details. With

such great diversity, regeneration of the area which includes even selective re-modelling or clearance of a small number of properties could result in the loss of all examples of particular designs, and once the diversity is reduced, one of the special features of the neighbourhood is diminished (Figure 16).



Figure 16. In this example in Character Area 2, clearance of just seventy-five properties could result in the loss of twelve different designs not found elsewhere (Ordnance Survey, *MasterMap® Topography*) © Crown Copyright and Database Right (2018). Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence). ©Joanne Harrison.

The analysis and documentary evidence suggest that in terms of urban plan forms and typologies, Harehills is similar to that of the other districts in Leeds where there are high concentrations of back-to-backs.⁴² This reinforces the values of the setting further by demonstrating that back-to-backs in Leeds have a unified city-wide character, with a high sensitivity to change.

Comparison further afield in Yorkshire and in Birmingham presents additional evidence of the back-to-backs in Leeds being distinct from those elsewhere.

Designation criteria

Listing. Historic England⁴³ sets out a list of relevant factors when selecting urban housing for listing, concerned with special architectural and historic interest. It could be argued that the back-to-backs

demonstrate an innovative approach to planning and design because of their unique developmental process which overcame all of the critics' concerns about the traditional vernacular form while retaining the essence of that form. Additionally, the Type 3 and Modern back-to-backs could be considered as an "interesting variation on the established theme" of terrace since no others had single sided access with services *and* amenity space to the front. The final element in support of their significance is the group value without which their strong identity and the variation within it could not be understood. Unfortunately, the post-1840 construction date, and extensive modifications to elements of architectural interest (explicitly identified by Historic England as change to windows and doors, obtrusive roof extensions, the loss of architectural elements, rendering and the extension of shops over garden areas) reduce the potential for listing.

The Grade II listed back-to-backs in Birmingham are considered a special case, primarily because of their rarity.⁴⁴ They are a good example of the way in which back-to-backs were developed in Birmingham, and demonstrate a superior quality of architectural features and construction compared to many others in Birmingham at the time.⁴⁵ In these respects, the houses are similar to the back-to-backs in Leeds. The number of extant houses in Leeds, supported by documentary evidence, is substantial, and can therefore clearly demonstrate the prevalence and commonality of the archaeological, historic, and architectural and aesthetic interests, however the Birmingham back-to-backs pre-date those in Leeds by around one century and retain more original features which increases their significance. Having been subject to extensive archaeological investigations, they have provided very detailed information about interiors that can be set in the wider context of nineteenth-century interior fashions, giving them high associative value.⁴⁶ Evidence such as this could be extant in Leeds, and although it is likely that it would be at much lower concentrations, the number and distribution of the back-to-backs in Leeds would again give greater confidence about the prevalence and commonality.

Conservation Areas. Historic England guidance advises that as with listing, designation of conservation areas is concerned with special architectural and historic interest.⁴⁷ Of the twelve considerations deemed to be of importance in assessing whether designation is appropriate, eight are relevant to the back-to-backs in the Harehills Triangle. Old roads and ward boundaries pre-dating development of the neighbourhood are evidenced in the current street pattern which remains largely unchanged since its creation. This is reinforced by the strong identity of the urban layout, varied architectural styles (which are grouped into character areas,

associated with plan-form typology, construction date and individual development packages with named developers and architects), and traditional materials. The area is able to demonstrate not only the typical developmental process of back-to-backs in Leeds throughout their later history, but also the way in which local preference resulted in the creation of superior back-to-back houses that set them apart from back-to-backs elsewhere. There is no specific mention of the integrity or authenticity of fabric in a conservation area, although the modifications made in Harehills do impact on these, and therefore on the positive contribution their character makes to the setting.

Comparison with the nineteenth-century through terraced houses in the Bishophill area of York gives a reference point for determining the possibility of conservation area designation in the Harehills Triangle in relation to the integrity of the fabric and form of the houses. Bishophill forms part of York's Historic Core conservation area, and like Harehills, is made up mainly of grid-iron terraced rows of a limited material palette. The strong identity of the houses has led to them being identified as 'Buildings of Merit' even where there have been inappropriate modifications.⁴⁸

The character of the houses is distinctly less decorative than those in the Harehills Triangle, but the high retention of original form and fabric gives them higher architectural interest. It might be speculated that taken on architectural interest alone, the different survival rate of the fabric in the Harehills Triangle and Bishophill explains the difference in the level of protection they have been afforded, but equally, the difference in their protection, may explain the survival rate.

Planning and heritage protection policies in Leeds

The evidence suggests that modification of properties is the primary risk to the significance of the back-to-backs in Harehills, and so consideration must be given to the reasons for such modification, to whether the significance of the back-to-backs is recognised in local policy, whether the current level of protection is putting the significance of the back-to-backs at risk, and whether local planning policy and the heritage protection system can lessen the risk in future.

Owner influences

The high proportion of rental stock has resulted in absent owners viewing the houses as a business venture, and when combined with the high level of immigration and more people than average earning a low income,

it could be speculated that expectations of housing quality are low. Moreover, research by Jones et al.⁴⁹ 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.

Owner occupiers also influence property condition and modifications. Some may not identify with the area's history and heritage, and even those who do, may lack the desire or economic capacity to consider it when planning for their own personal needs. This is something that the Conservation team at Leeds City Council have identified as a major hurdle in respect of improving the quality of development and modifications, and they firmly believe that engaging with the community to get 'buy-in' is the key to reducing on-going damage to the fabric.⁵⁰ Fortunately, with property in Harehills being 'entry level' in the housing market⁵¹ this has also introduced some positive development through low level gentrification by those who want to invest for owner occupation, and who appear to value the historic character of the houses when refurbishing and carrying out maintenance.

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.⁵² The houses are well-maintained, with original features juxtaposed against adaptations of the internal space to create characterful accommodation that maximises the spatial potential of the houses. Furthermore, their market value averages almost three times that of similar houses in Harehills.

The planning system

The National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) sets out guidance on how planning policy should be applied in England, while allowing the detail to be determined at a local level in response to local character and need. It includes a presumption in favour of sustainable (social, economic and environmental) development, and among the core principles are statements concerning the conservation of heritage assets, promoting the vitality of urban areas and of recognising local character and distinctiveness.⁵³

Planning permission is required for most development and selected material changes of use,⁵⁴ although analysis of a random sample of back-to-backs in the Harehills Triangle indicates a low level of compliance. With a distinct lack of quality to many modifications it appears that the historic character of the Harehills Triangle has not been a priority for owners or local development management for many years. The significance of the back-to-backs has been diminished by the small scale and piecemeal developments and it is conceded that the historic character of the area may be at risk, with a number of causes identified. Firstly, applications for minor development works were historically given to junior members of the Planning team who may not have had a good understanding of the historical significance of the back-to-back housing, and who lacked the skills and confidence to challenge applications by insisting on more appropriate forms and materials. Secondly, the significance of the back-to-backs is not recognised by the Planning department because they are not covered by a designation and although the Conservation team recognise that the back-to-backs have heritage significance, it is believed that the number dilutes it. Consequently, the Conservation team is not consulted on planning applications, and a further opportunity to improve design quality, or limit damage, is lost. Finally, resource limitations mean that unlawful development cannot always be dealt with by either retrospective applications with modifications, or enforcement, even in conservation areas.⁵⁵

However, the guidance given in the *Householder Design Guide*⁵⁶ was introduced in recognition of the negative impact that past practices have had, and it is now used in negotiations between applicants and planning officers as they strive to reach a compromise between design quality and user requirements. In a proactive move towards limiting the damage caused to the character of individual houses and streetscapes, and running contrary to government guidance, Leeds City Council has taken the view that external insulation materially affects the appearance of houses, and therefore requires planning permission. Through planning applications, and regeneration initiatives in other back-to-back districts, the Planning and Conservation teams have tried to work with applicants and installers to restrict the installation of external insulation, and improve the detailing where it is installed. However this has not always been welcomed, and attempts to maintain uniformity by insulating entire streets rather than individual houses have failed, in part because of difficulties in obtaining agreement from all owners. The strategies attempted are acknowledged as a compromise, and demonstrate recognition of the urban character and streetscape group value, but not of the style variations.⁵⁷ In Harehills, all are essential to the historic character.

Some types of development do not require planning permission and can be carried out under permitted

development rights. The nature of permitted development is determined nationally but there is scope for local authorities to either broaden or restrict the rights (e.g. by using Article 4 directions), and much of the policy is left to interpretation.⁵⁸ The legislation was updated in 2015 to include greater flexibility to develop in a difficult economic climate, and historic fabric and character are at risk as a result.⁵⁹ Of relevance to the Harehills Triangle, is that permitted development includes the right to change fenestration, extend houses (e.g. porches), extend shops, and demolish boundary walls⁶⁰ and when occurring in large numbers, the scale of change is putting the historic character of the area at risk.

Future possibilities for heritage protection

In a conservation area, additional controls are available within the planning system so that policies must encourage preservation or enhancement of an area's character. Their need can be evidenced by the vacancy and disrepair of buildings in economically deprived areas, inappropriate advertising and a trend towards a particular type of change, all of which result in erosion of an area's special characteristics.⁶¹ Conservation area designation can therefore introduce an additional level of quality control⁶² and it can easily be argued that such controls are required in the Harehills Triangle.

The possibility of designating the back-to-back district of Cross Green as a conservation area was recently considered, but despite its compact size and presence of a listed building, it was not felt to be suitable. With the larger neighbourhoods like Harehills, and the fact that there are several similar districts throughout the city, there is a difficulty of knowing what to include – if one is designated, then they probably all meet the criteria.⁶³ This might not be appropriate because of the practicalities of managing them, or because of concerns about diluting the significance of all conservation areas across the city. However it was suggested that if political support could be gained, and new guidance and legislation could be introduced, then there is a strong case for increasing the level of heritage protection.⁶⁴

In the meantime, creation and implementation of a Neighbourhood Plan is one way of providing additional heritage protection and improving the quality of development requiring planning permission through identification of specific policies which once adopted, become part of the statutory development plan enabling planning applications to be determined in accordance with their requirements.⁶⁵ The restriction of permitted development rights would be needed to deal with the majority of adaptations that are made to the houses in Harehills, though this might be controversial given the economic implications. Policy on form /

massing, fenestration, materials and detailing could have an enormously beneficial impact on future development, and this would need to be developed in considerable detail, accompanied by a design guide specific to the back-to-back form. Examples of suitable and unsuitable types of modification and detailed explanations would be essential so that local communities with no prior architectural knowledge can understand the policy aims.

Conclusion

This paper has traced the historical development of back-to-back terraced houses in Leeds, and focused on the Harehills district to analyse typologies, materials, architectural styles and neighbourhood characteristics in order to determine the heritage significance of the houses. A review of the heritage protection system applicable to Harehills, and qualitative research with planning professionals, has enabled an assessment on whether the current protection is appropriately matched to the significance of the houses, and whether the built heritage might be at risk.

The significance of the back-to-backs in Leeds lies in their group value which demonstrates their historical development, linking closely to the wider movement of social and sanitary reform. This culminated in a locally unique and advanced solution to the design and construction of workers' housing with a wide variety of architectural styles that enhances the collective interest. Primary documentation concerning both the history of back-to-back housing in Leeds in the context of national concerns and legislation, and the building control plans which provide a link between this and the extant housing, increases the significance of the back-to-backs because the information so comprehensively supports the identified values.⁶⁶

While these factors provide robust support for their significance, the level of modification has undoubtedly diminished it, certainly beyond a level at which listing could be considered, but arguably, within the scope of conservation area designation which could provide protection from further loss of significance.

The extent of damaging modifications, which have diminished the significance of the back-to-backs, is compelling evidence of the threat they are under if heritage protection is not increased. However, the level of risk is not consistent across all elements that contribute to the significance.

Urban character and architectural style are particularly at risk as fabric and form is lost on individual properties as a result of replacement of fittings (which have or are deemed to have reached the end of their functional life), changes in fashion and accommodation needs. This also impacts on the group value which is

highly sensitive to change, and essential to the neighbourhood's identity and our understanding of its incremental development.

Internally, most back-to-backs retain the original plan-form on at least three of their four floors, but if pressure to update the houses to provide improved thermal environments continues, and a move is made away from external to internal wall insulation in order to protect the urban character, plan-forms could be changed and interior features lost either as a response to reduced space, or because the necessary removal of features and fittings makes it opportune.

Alongside the deliberate aesthetic losses, some fabric is being lost through the slower process of decay resulting from lack of maintenance, or the application of modifications that are not suited to traditionally constructed buildings. Little, if anything can be done about the former, and implementation of heritage protection in respect of the latter may be difficult because the planning system is not concerned with these risks for unlisted buildings.

While the area is not officially recognised as having heritage significance, but is recognised as being deprived, and is supported by national policy which has been relaxed to aid improvement of economic conditions, it will remain a challenge to initiate a change in quality across all development types in the Harehills Triangle, and to protect and enhance the built heritage that remains. Birmingham's back-to-backs could be considered a useful warning of the potential losses. While their chance survival has resulted in listing, restoration and the uncovering of valuable historic evidence, one can only wonder not only how rich this might have been if more had been saved, but whether they could have continued in use.⁶⁷ The back-to-backs in the Harehills Triangle are under-explored and undervalued, and this research has demonstrated that their survival in large numbers is no reason for complacency in heritage protection. If just a block or street survive future modification or clearance, the urban character, its uniformity and diversity, and the secrets we have yet to discover, will be lost, and the strong link between the physical and documentary evidence will be weakened. The ultimate goal might be to develop solutions with the communities for balancing heritage conservation and twenty-first century living.

Notes

- 1 See Harrison, "The origin, development and decline of back-to-back houses" for a full account.
- 2 Beresford, "The back-to-back house in Leeds"; "The face of Leeds," 106-107; *East end, west end*; Burnett, *A social history of housing*, 70; 74.
- 3 Barraclough et al., *Addressing the challenge, Vol. 1*, 18.
- 4 Barraclough et al., *Addressing the challenge, Vol. 1*, 18; 32-36; *Addressing the challenge, Vol. 2*.
- 5 See Harrison, "Heritage Conservation" for a detailed account and case study.
- 6 Harrison, "Heritage Conservation."; Wilson, *Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders*, 1-2.
- 7 NAO, *Housing Market Renewal*, 10.
- 8 NAO, *Housing Market Renewal*, 12.
- 9 Leather and Nevin, "The housing market renewal programme," 870; Mark Hines Architects, *Reviving Britain's Terraces*; NAO, *Housing Market Renewal*, 15; Wilkinson, *Pathfinder*.
- 10 Cole and Flint, *Demolition, relocation and affordable housing*, 8.
- 11 Harrison, "What is heritage?", 13.
- 12 Beresford, "The back-to-back house in Leeds"; "The face of Leeds"; *East end, west end*; Burnett, *A social history of housing*; Caffyn, *Workers' housing in West Yorkshire*; Daunton, *House and home in the Victorian city*; Gaudie, *Cruel habitations*; Rimmer, "Working mens' cottages in Leeds"; Trowell, "Nineteenth-century speculative housing"; Yeadell, "Building societies in the West Riding of Yorkshire."
- 13 Harrison, "The origin, development and decline of back-to-back houses."
- 14 Barraclough et al., *Addressing the challenge, Vol. 1*.
- 15 Anon. *Back to backs. A portrait of a house*.
- 16 Powell, *Leeds. Must old still mean bad?*
- 17 Earl, *Building conservation philosophy*; Jokilehto, *A history of architectural conservation.*; Miele, *From William Morris*; Muñoz Viñas, *Contemporary theory of conservation*; Richmond & Bracker, *Conservation: principles, dilemmas and uncomfortable truths*; Schmidt, *Architectural conservation*; Shacklock, *Architectural conservation*.
- 18 English Heritage, *Conservation area designation, appraisal and management*; *Historic area assessments*; *Historic area assessments in a planning and development context*.
- 19 DCLG, *National planning policy framework*; English Heritage, "Conservation principles"; Historic England, "Conservation principles"; ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter*; Kent, "Conservative repair."

20 Communal value is not listed in the 2017 *Conservation Principles* consultation draft, but is still referred to within the document. While communal value appears to be unexplored in Leeds, qualitative research to explore it was outside the scope of this initial research. It is now being explored fully in the author's PhD, the overall aim of which is firstly, to determine the heritage significance of the back-to-back houses in Harehills, by analysing and interpreting their spatial characteristics, use, and value to their communities, and then to consider the factors that will inform their future in Leeds, culminating in a design guide that ensures an appropriate balance is achieved between heritage conservation and twenty-first century living. This work will promote a 'bottom-up' approach, engaging communities and building capacities, prioritising the needs and desires of the communities, while negotiating the realities of statutory requirements and dominant heritage discourses in England.

21 Barraclough et al., *Addressing the challenge*, Vol. 1, 22.

22 Ordnance Survey, "County Series 'Shire View 4'" 1851.

23 Ordnance Survey, "County Series 'Shire View 4'" 1894.

24 Ordnance Survey, "County Series 'Street View 2' 2nd Revision."

25 *Leeds Building Control Plans*.

26 Ordnance Survey, "County Series 'Street View 2' 3rd Revision."

27 Ordnance Survey, "National Grid 'Shire View 4'" 1956.

28 Ordnance Survey, "National Grid 'Shire View 4'" 1982.

29 Leeds City Council, "Banstead Park, children playing"; Powell, *Leeds. Must old still mean bad?*

30 Muthesius, *The English terraced house*, 122-123.

31 Barraclough et al., *Addressing the challenge*, Vol. 2, 19; 23.

32 Google Maps, "Google Maps"; Rightmove, "Find sold house prices."

33 Harrison, "The origin, development and decline of back-to-back houses."

34 See Beresford, "The face of Leeds," 106-7; Burnett, *A social history of housing*, 8.

35 See Harrison, "The origin, development and decline of back-to-back houses."

36 English Heritage, "Conservation principles," 28.

37 English Heritage, "Conservation principles," 29.

38 Chapman and Bartlett, "The contribution of building clubs," 234.

39 English Heritage, "Conservation principles," 30; Historic England, "Conservation principles," 11.

40 Trowell, "Nineteenth-century speculative housing," 74.

41 *Leeds Building Control Plans*.

42 Barraclough et al., *Addressing the challenge*, Vol. 1; Barraclough et al., *Addressing the challenge*, Vol. 2.

43 English Heritage, *Designation listing selection guide*.

44 Historic England, "List entry summary. List entry no. 1034462."; National Trust, Birmingham back-to-backs exhibition.

- 45 Upton, *Back to backs*, 12.
- 46 National Trust, Birmingham back-to-backs exhibition.
- 47 English Heritage, *Conservation area designation, appraisal and management* 3; 16.
- 48 Alan Baxter & Associates York Central Historic Core Conservation Area Appraisal, 16; 384-387.
- 49 Jones et al. "The roofs over our heads: housing supply and demand."
- 50 Anon. The back-to-backs in Harehills.
- 51 Jones & Brown, *Harehills housing market assessment*, 13.
- 52 Leeds City Council, *Chapel Allerton*.
- 53 DCLG, *National planning policy framework*.
- 54 DCLG, "What is development?"
- 55 Anon. The back-to-backs in Harehills; Jones, The back-to-backs in Harehills.
- 56 Leeds City Council, *Householder design guide*.
- 57 Anon. The back-to-backs in Harehills; Jones, The back-to-backs in Harehills.
- 58 DCLG, "Planning practice guidance. What are permitted development rights?"; "What is development?"
- 59 DCLG, *Explanatory memorandum to the Town and Country Planning*; "How change of use is handled in the planning system – tell us what you think. Issues paper," 16.
- 60 DCLG, *Explanatory memorandum to the Town and Country Planning*.
- 61 English Heritage, *Conservation area designation, appraisal and management*, 17.
- 62 English Heritage, *Conservation area designation, appraisal and management*, 2.
- 63 Anon. The back-to-backs in Harehills; Jones, The back-to-backs in Harehills.
- 64 Anon. The back-to-backs in Harehills.
- 65 DCLG, *National planning policy framework*, 15; 43-44; "Planning practice guidance. What is neighbourhood planning?"
- 66 Leeds Building Control Plans.
- 67 Upton, *Back to backs*, 3; 28.

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