

4

The Roofs Over Our Heads: Housing Supply and Demand

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|| The housing map of Leeds has changed appreciably over the last decade, fuelled by a significant shift in perceptions, expectations and aspirations of households. ||

4.1 Introduction

There are around 301,600 households in Leeds (ONS, 2003) occupying approximately 312,500 dwellings (ODPM, 2003b). There is a mix of housing types and tenures that creates a complex spatial mosaic across the district. Both the supply of and demand for housing have been influenced by economic and social change, land availability, central government policy and finance, local political factors, private sector development activity and changes in architectural standards and fashions. Most recently, there have been sharply contrasting levels of demand across the city and changing perceptions of the relative attractiveness of different tenures. Also, housing is increasingly valued not just as a place to live but as a source of investment returns.

Many aspects of housing development are market-led, but the local authority, working within an ever-evolving national and regional policy context, still has an important role in the ownership, management and allocation of some of the housing stock, although council-rented dwellings account for only 21 per cent of all dwellings in Leeds (Table 4.1) and are mostly associated with semi-detached houses, flats and terraced houses rather than detached houses or other dwelling types, most of which are bedsits (Figure 4.1)

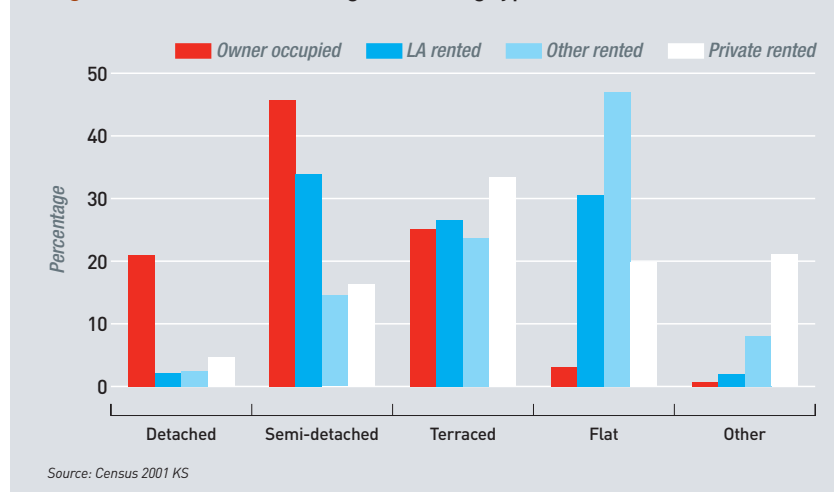
The role of the local authority has shifted to become that of an enabler: controlling private development and letting activity, encouraging private sector housing improvement and enabling the provision of affordable housing and social rented housing. More widely, action to improve housing quality and market operation is part of the overarching drive towards sustainable development, involving a range of local authority departments and partnership organisations.

Table 4.1 Dwellings by tenure, 2001

Tenure	Number	Percentage
Owned	190,405	60.93
Private rented	41,232	13.19
Council rented	66,443	21.26
Other social rented	14,425	4.62
Total	312,505	100.00

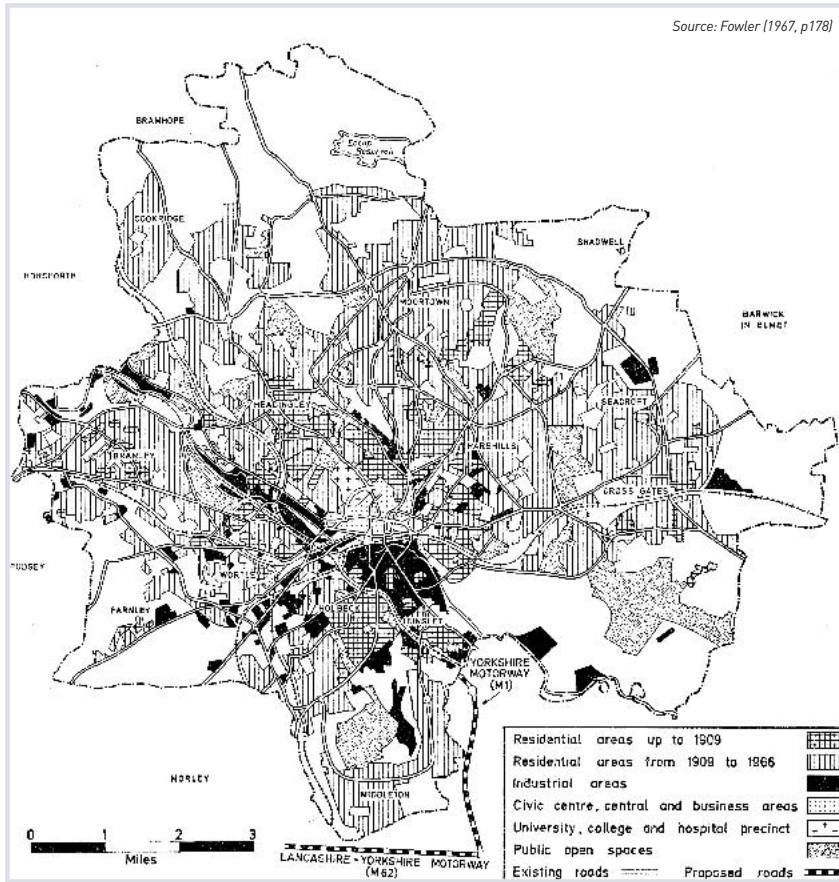
Source: Census 2001 KS

Figure 4.1 Tenure according to dwelling type, 2001



This chapter examines the patterning of housing supply and demand across the city with particular emphasis on market evolution, sub-areas, property types, tenures and prices. It offers some explanation of the trends and variations, and summarises some of the main policy interventions that aim at tackling the mismatch of supply and demand and at improving housing quality. It assesses the rapid changes in the Leeds housing landscape and acknowledges that changing community dynamics are inextricably linked to changing housing markets.

Figure 4.2 Different eras of housing development



4.2 Housing market evolution

The legacy of housing development to 1979

The need to house thousands of factory workers in Leeds during the nineteenth century was met mainly by private speculative development of terraced houses for rent. A large proportion of this was high density ‘back-to-back’ housing: approximately 78,000 houses were constructed and the style was only discontinued in 1937 (Dutton, 2003). Despite subsequent clearance programmes, around 15,000 back-to-backs remain in inner city wards — mainly in Harehills, University, Headingley, Richmond Hill, Beeston and Holbeck. More spacious terraced housing of the industrial era also survives in inner suburbs such as Armley, Chapeltown, and parts of University and Headingley wards. But it was in the highest density areas that the worst slum conditions developed and persisted for decades. Slum

clearance and rebuilding only began in earnest during the interwar years, when over 18,000 houses were built by the Council on 24 estates — places such as Gipton, Seacroft, Sandford, Halton Moor and Belle Isle. The slums of Quarry Hill were replaced by much-admired, innovative blocks of flats which initially offered greatly improved housing conditions (Fowler, 1967). However, structural faults were discovered and this addition to the urban landscape lasted only until 1975, when the flats were demolished.

The process of clearance continued after World War II, with a further 30,000 houses demolished between 1949 and 1971. Many were replaced by medium-rise and high-rise blocks of council flats — 151 blocks in all. Council building was mostly within Leeds itself — estates such as

Spennings Hill, Moor Grange, Armley Heights, Tinshill, Brackenwood and Cross Gates (Fowler, 1967), but all the smaller towns and villages in the district had some council housing provision, all of it originally for rent.

Almost 36,000 houses were developed by private sector builders during the interwar years, creating the suburbs of Gledhow, Moortown, Alwoodley, Roundhay, Oakwood, Weetwood and Adel (Burt and Grady, 1994). Private sector house building in the three decades up to 1979 consisted of uncontroversial extensions to existing built-up areas with no obvious restrictions on speculative development. Figure 4.2 indicates the location of different periods of housing up to the mid-1960s (within the pre-1974 city boundary) and Figure 4.3 shows illustrative examples of the housing layout in typical neighbourhoods: (a) Beeston, (b) Lincoln Green and Ebor Gardens, (c) Halton, and (d) Alwoodley.

Figure 4.3 Different housing development eras showing typical 'neighbourhood' layout



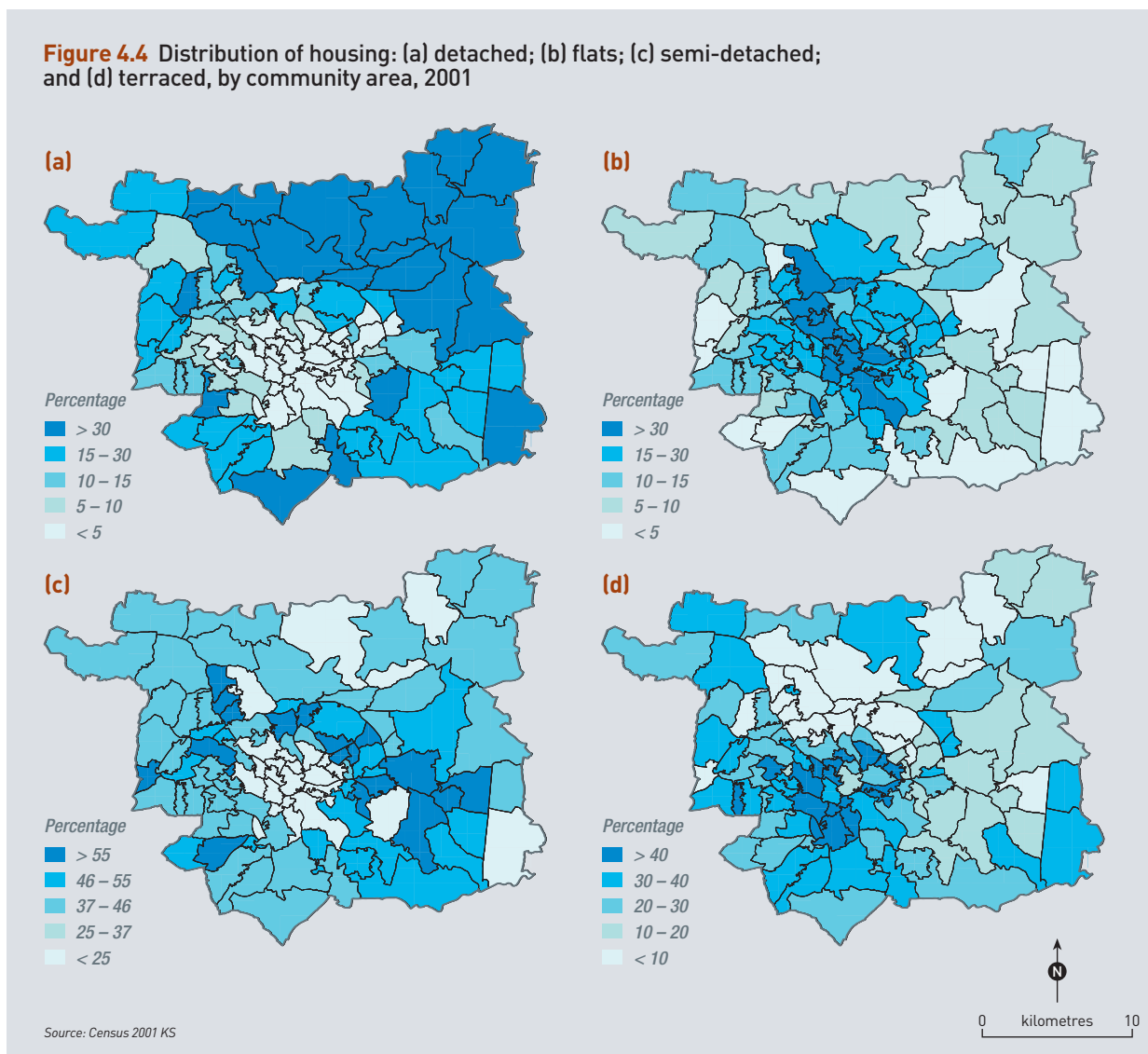
Housing development 1979–1997

Housing policy from 1979 to 1997, under successive Tory Governments, involved a reduced role for local authorities as owners and managers of housing, a growth in the role of housing associations (HAs) as providers of social housing, and an increasing emphasis on owner occupation as the preferred tenure (Balchin and Rhoden, 2002). Councils were obliged to sell houses to tenants who wanted to become owners and there was strong pressure to transfer remaining council housing to housing associations. A major housing boom in the late 1980s, followed by a slump in the early 1990s, left many recent purchasers with negative equity and led to an unprecedented

rate of repossessions by mortgage companies. Adverse market conditions meant that large numbers of households presented themselves as homeless and since 1980 the responsibility for housing such households has fallen on the local authority.

In Leeds, the provision of social housing throughout the 1990s was driven by the creation in 1991 of an innovative initiative, Leeds Partnership Homes (LPH). This partnership between five housing associations and the local authority acted as a mechanism for transferring land, channelling resources and maximising the benefit of public subsidy to build social housing. By 1995, over 2,400 homes for rent or low cost sale had been completed and by 1998, the total had increased to 4,000.

Figure 4.4 Distribution of housing: (a) detached; (b) flats; (c) semi-detached; and (d) terraced, by community area, 2001



However, the operation of LPH in conjunction with the prevailing national policy environment did have a significant effect on the location and type of social development in Leeds. By the early 1990s, there was intensified competition for Social Housing Grant (SHG), a capital grant provided by the Housing Corporation to fund housing associations to develop social housing. The imperative to work with the local authority in the identification of need, combined locally with the land deals associated with LPH, resulted in a refocusing of attention on rehabilitation and infill development on peripheral and often problematic local authority estates in an attempt to diversify landlords and tenure groups.

Although Leeds pursued a collaborative, partnership approach rather than a fiercely competitive one, there was an element of competition between the partner associations for development land. Overall, this era was one that resulted in ‘pepper-potting’ of small developments and improvement schemes in inner areas (including the Ebor Gardens Estate in inner Leeds) and some outer suburbs (for example Crossgates) and free-standing towns (for example Otley and Morley). Arguably, many developments, while successfully providing new housing options for some households, were too small in scale to deliver a regenerative effect in the areas where investment was made (Kettle and Moran, 1999).

From the left, detached house, Weetwood, LS16; semi-detached houses, The Aviaries, Armley, LS12; Lovell Park (council flats) and Aspect 14 (private flats), LS7.



Into the twenty-first century

After the Labour Government came to power in 1997, national housing policy was formulated within the overarching sustainable development agenda. This meant a focus on environmental efficiency as well as on improving the quality of housing in areas of multiple deprivation and taking steps to deal with market imbalances. Arguments continue about the relative merits of area-based policies versus policies that specifically tackle the causes of deprivation for individuals and households (Moran, 1996; Anderson and Sim, 2000) and policy continues to suffer from overlaps and gaps as different initiatives and funding streams are applied without overall co-ordination and impact monitoring.

Another hotly debated topic is the extent of the need for new housing and the identification of suitable locations for such development. The amount of new housing to be developed in Leeds is decided at regional level through Regional Planning Guidance (RPG) (Yorkshire and Humber Assembly, 2003) but the locations that will accommodate new housing development are set out in the *Leeds Unitary Development Plan (UDP) Review 2003* (Leeds City Council Development Department, 2003). In the original UDP, land for housing was allocated at 65 locations around the district — enough to provide nearly 6,400 dwellings. Actual net addition to stock

from 1993 to 2003, including supply by housing associations, amounted to around 25,000 dwellings. In the UDP Review, 40 sites are listed (16 of which were carried forward from the original UDP) and in addition there are seven so-called ‘strategic sites’ that have greater potential capacity. Chapter 14 provides more detail about land-use planning in relation to housing.

Different geographical distributions of housing in the four main type categories — detached, semi-detached, terraced and flats — are evident at the start of the twenty-first century (Figure 4.4) and conform to expectations. Detached housing is predominant in the peripheral suburbs and the surrounding rural areas whereas semi-detached properties are abundant in the outer suburbs, particularly in an arc around the north and in the east. Terraced housing, on the other hand, is important in the south and west whilst flats predominate in the inner city areas, extending diagonally from Cookridge in the north through to Hunslet in the south.

A new phenomenon of private sector residential development on formerly used land in and close to the city centre has largely been a response to the policy statements of the *Urban White Paper* (DETR, 2000a) which encourage mixed use, high density development. The requirement for 60 per cent of housing to be on brownfield sites (DETR, 2000b) supports this broad policy thrust. Leeds has exceeded this 60 per cent



threshold in every year since 2000 (ODPM, 2004), but much of the housing produced is aimed at the upper end of the private market — especially in the city centre. A few city centre residential developments took place beside the River Aire during the years of the Urban Development Corporation (1987–1995), but this amounted to no more than 500 units. After 1999, a new trend began, with local developers leading the way in the conversion of existing properties and the development of new buildings on brownfield sites. Early schemes were relatively small; the properties still in the pipeline (under construction and planned) average 100 units each and many of these later

additions form part of large, mixed-used developments, some being undertaken by national house building companies. Details of the so-called ‘city living’ schemes are presented in Table 4.2. The majority of schemes are located in LS1 or LS2 (Figure 4.4) and many are on the waterfront — beside the river or canal — as developers are aware that a premium of up to 20 per cent can be achieved on waterside properties.

As well as the residential developments in the centre of Leeds itself (Figure 4.6), there have been conversions above shop units in town centres across the district, for example in Morley, Pudsey, Otley, Rothwell and Wetherby.

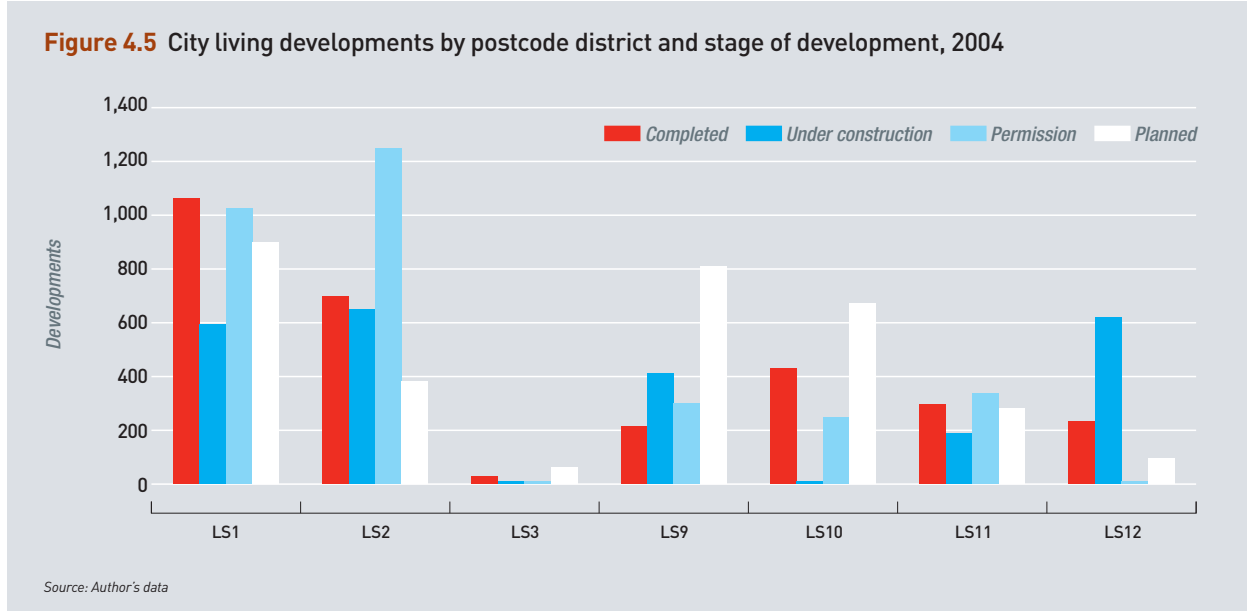
At the other end of the housing and social scale, there continues to be a problem of homelessness in Leeds, despite reduced levels of unemployment (see Chapter 6) and spare capacity in social housing. Homelessness persists not because of a lack of housing *per se*, but because the main causal factors of relationship and family breakdown, often related to violence and drug abuse, continue to force people out of intolerable conditions and into temporary accommodation or onto the streets (Crisis, 2001; 2002; 2003; Bruegel and Smith, 1999).

Table 4.2 City living schemes at the end of Q1, 2004

	Total units	Total schemes	Average number of units per scheme
Completed	2,922	75	39
Under construction	2,743	20	137
With planning consent	3,210	42	76
Planning proposals	3,244	29	112
Total	12,119	166	73

Source: Author's data

Figure 4.5 City living developments by postcode district and stage of development, 2004



Despite action to reduce the incidence of homelessness, the number of homeless people has risen sharply since the turn of the millennium.



Asylum seekers and refugees have recently added to the official figures of homeless households, but much homelessness is 'hidden', with people in vulnerable circumstances staying on other people's floors in preference to seeking official help or sleeping rough (Robinson and Coward, 2003). Even where help is sought, the lack of affordable and appropriate housing in areas where people want to live can mean delays in matching applicants with suitable opportunities, though around two thirds of those accepted by the Council are found accommodation within six months.

Efforts are being made to try to reduce the incidence of households becoming homeless, and therefore the

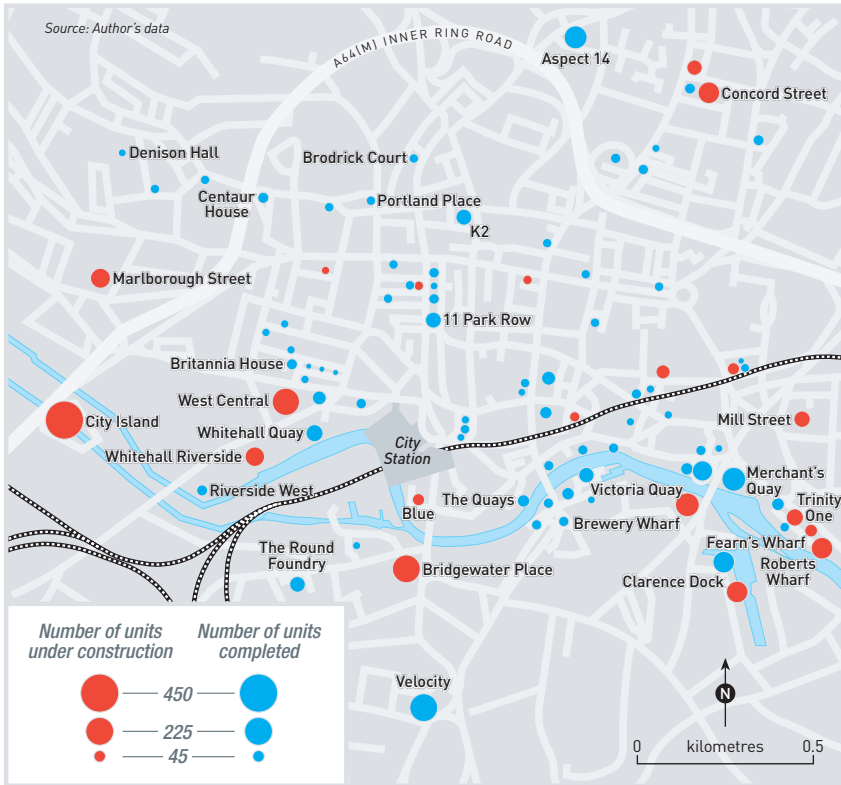
need for rehousing, by offering advice on issues such as property rights and court orders, installing additional security measures and by offering floating housing support. But for those who do become homeless, there are changes in the way that rehousing is achieved: less reliance is placed on hostels (which are unpopular, especially with the young) and bed and breakfast accommodation (the use of which has been phased

Domestic violence is the main cause of homelessness — in Leeds, 20 per cent of households accepted for rehousing are in this category.

Applications to the council from homeless people rose from 5,717 in 2001/02 to 7,999 in 2002/03 and 8,906 in 2003/04 and Leeds City Council accepted a duty to offer temporary accommodation to more than half these applicants.

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Figure 4.6 Location of city centre residential developments, 2004



out). Instead, emphasis is placed on rapid allocation of social housing or of temporary private rented accommodation. Support is available to enable people to overcome the hurdle of high private sector rents and private landlords' demand for deposits and rent in advance.

Other recent housing policy initiatives will be presented (in section 4.5) after discussion of the different sectors and areas.

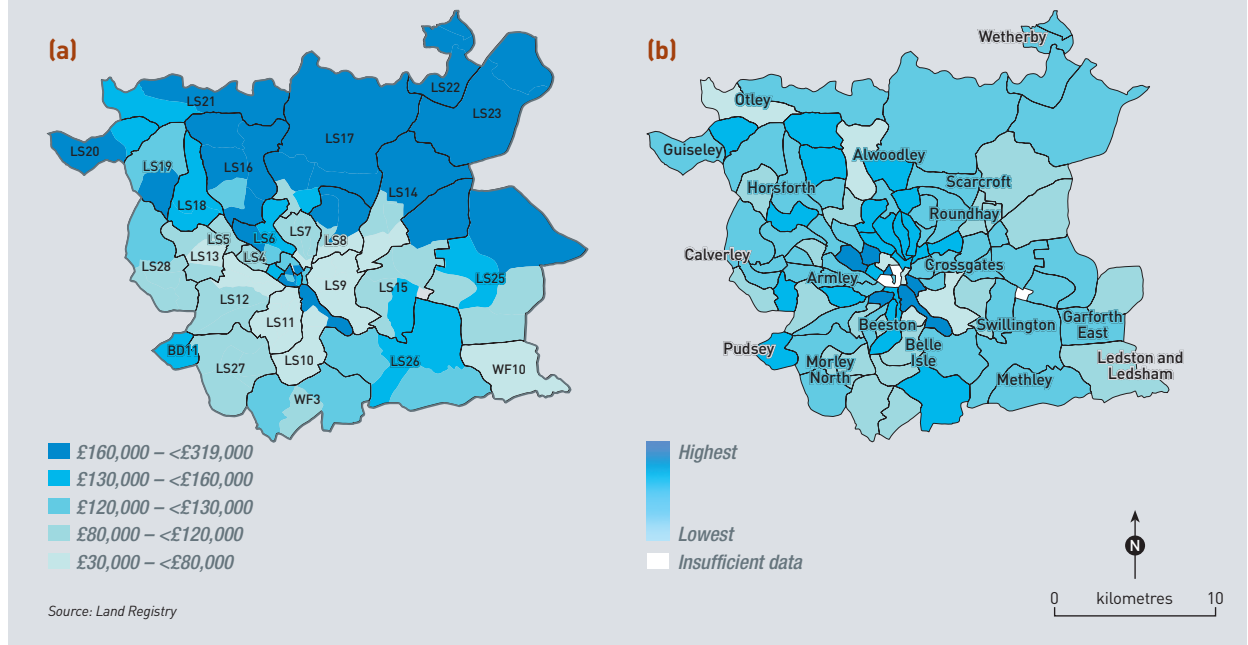
4.3 Current housing market conditions and characteristics of residential areas

In recent years, the generally thriving local economy and a decline in average household size have combined to push up the overall demand for housing units. Low interest rates, in combination with poor stock market performance from the turn of the millennium, fuelled house price inflation, as property was regarded as the best available investment option. But this demand is not evenly spread across the city. According to figures from the Land Registry for 2003, average sales prices for



By early 2004, there were nearly 3,000 completed apartments in the city centre. Top, developments near Leeds Bridge. Above, 'Blue', next to the city station: 61 flats under construction. Bottom, Whitehall Quay, a new development of 193 flats.

Figure 4.7 (a) Average house prices in 2003 and (b) house price increases by postal sector, 1998–2003



private properties in the district range from around £36,000 for terraced houses in inner city Cross Green to around £300,000 for properties in rural areas to the north east of Leeds. In the most desirable areas, demand pushes up prices and there is a lack of affordable housing, yet in less desirable areas, there is a low level of demand, stagnating values and some empty properties. The spatial distribution of private house sale prices by postal sector has a characteristic north-south pattern (Figure 4.7a). The pattern of changes in sale prices between 1998 and 2003 (Figure 4.7b) is less marked and more complex, reflecting patterns of new building and the relative spatial distribution of private and social housing.

The pattern of increases in prices (Figure 4.7) and the range of weekly rents (Table 4.3) reflect relative demand according to property type, area and tenure. House price trends are a reflection of the evolution of a series of inter-connected housing markets operating at different levels in Leeds.

Demand by area

Figure 4.8 illustrates the broad housing market areas in Leeds: city centre, inner urban, inner suburbs, outer suburbs and dormitory villages.

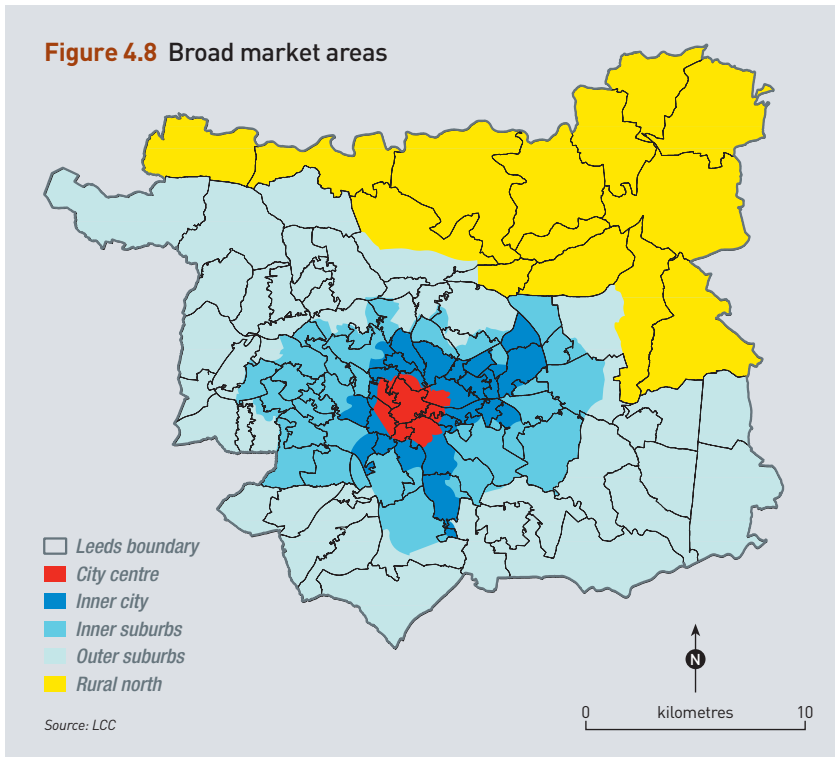
Table 4.3 Typical rents for different categories of property, 2004

Category of property	Weekly rental
Council	£47.33
Housing association	£57.05
Private rented	
<i>Student</i>	£50 per person*
<i>Inner areas</i>	£55–100
<i>Outer areas</i>	£90–450
<i>City centre</i>	£600+
*Shared house	

Source: Author's data

Demand for the new developments in the city centre is predominantly from young singles without dependants who are attracted to “the city core’s cultural resources, architectural sense of place, and to the concentration of single, non-attached people” (Kotkin, 1999, p.2–3).

Figure 4.8 Broad market areas



Terraced housing on Beeston Hill, between Dewsbury Road and Cross Flatts Park — from the east. This part of the inner city is also illustrated in Figure 4.3(a). First time buyers now have options other than small terraced houses. Some are choosing city centre apartments.

In 2003, a survey was carried out in order to find out more about the characteristics and views of people living in the city centre (Fox and Unsworth, 2003). Completed questionnaires were received from 152 residents of 20 of the larger apartment buildings and the results are summarised in Table 4.4.

housing estates. There are peripheral estates such as Seacroft, Halton Moor and Gipton and also estates closer to the city centre such as Little London, Ebor Gardens, Lincoln Green and Richmond Hill. Low demand, high turnover and significant numbers of empty properties are reflected in generally

Although there is clearly strong demand for city centre apartments, vacancy levels in this sub-market are considerably higher than they are elsewhere, though precise figures are elusive because of the way that the market operates: apartments bought 'off plan' by an investor may or may not have an occupier, and full statistics of sales and lettings are unavailable. There is a bulge in supply in the early twenty-first century, but applications peaked in 2000. If all the planned apartments are indeed developed and they accommodate on average 1.5 people, as was found in the 2003 survey, this would mean a city centre population of around 18,000, representing no more than 2.5 per cent of Leeds' projected population for the year 2010. Altogether, economic forecasts, the likely geography of employment and the likely overall scale of residential construction strongly suggest that demand will be at least sufficient for the supply so far envisaged. Furthermore, as the market matures, the occupier base will widen beyond the 'yuppies' and 'dinkies'.

Inner urban areas comprise both lower quality owner occupied and rental areas and also social

relatively low values and it is in such areas that there are neighbourhoods identified as requiring radical approaches to regeneration. The older areas are characterised by small terraced houses — many of which are back-to-backs — and houses in multiple occupation. The council estates in these areas exhibit high levels of social deprivation and crime (see Chapter 6). The reputation of these areas means that they are low on the list of preferences for new council house applicants and for those applying for transfers.

Those that can move away do so and the remaining households are isolated in a decaying and dangerous environment. Chapeltown has benefited from a general improvement in housing market conditions. In Harehills, rising prices may reflect both rising prices across the city, continuing demand from people of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin and an element of speculation by investors anticipating remodelling of the area. In Gipton, the Council is using a Low Cost Home Ownership Grant scheme to help tenants buy their own homes. Vacant land owned by the local authority is being sold to a developer to build housing and the money raised is used to provide grants to support tenants' purchase of the houses.

Inner suburbs include places such as Bramley, Middleton and Meanwood. Property values are lower than the average for the city and there are some patches of social and private housing that are in especially low demand. In contrast, consistently popular inner suburbs such as Chapel Allerton, Crossgates and Whitkirk maintain a buoyant market, attracting

Table 4.4 Summary of the city living survey, 2003

Demographics

- 53 per cent of respondents were aged 30 or under and only 12 per cent were 46 or older.
- Half the respondents live on their own; the other half share with one other adult; there were no children in these households.

Tenure and property prices

- 61 per cent of respondents were owner occupiers with the remainder almost evenly split between tenants of private landlords and letting companies.
- The majority of flats in owner occupation were bought at values between £95,000 and £195,000; a quarter of all purchases fell into the £120,001–£145,000 category.
- The majority of rents fall within the broad band £500–899 per calendar month but 10 per cent of apartments cost their tenants over £1,000 a month.
- Most of the apartments are occupied as principal residences. Only 12 per cent of respondents stated that their principal address was elsewhere — mostly well beyond Leeds; most of these people were amongst the highest earners.

Living and working in the city centre

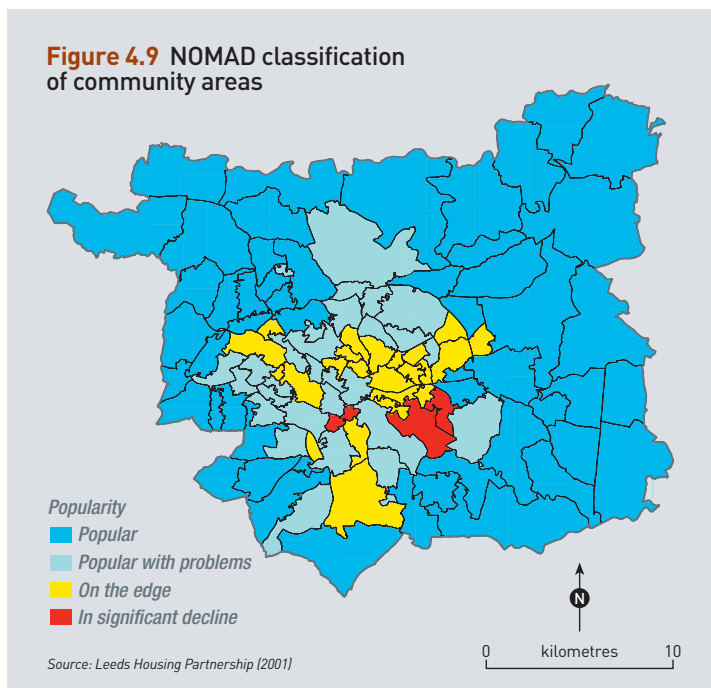
- 27 per cent of respondents described themselves as professional and a further 12 per cent were in banking/finance; media and IT accounted for another 16 per cent.
- 21 per cent of the sample comprised senior managers or partners in a business and 15 per cent owned a business; another 30 per cent considered themselves to be in middle management.
- This is an affluent section of the population: 86 per cent had a total income of more than £25,000 and over a third of the households had a total income of over £55,000.
- Most people who responded to the survey work in Leeds, and proximity to work is the main reason for living in the city centre.
- Two thirds of respondents work in the central postcode districts of LS1 or LS2.

Source: Fox and Unsworth (2003)

both first time buyers and aspirant households seeking to move out of inner areas. Demand in Headingley has been fuelled by the expansion in student numbers and the convenience of this area for access to the two universities. House prices rose by over 70 per cent between 1999 and 2002.

In the green belt to the north west, north east and east of the city are outer suburbs (such as Rawdon, Guiseley, Aberford, Mickfield and Morley), and dormitory villages (such as Collingham, Bramham, Scarcroft, Pool-in-Wharfedale). House prices are high here, reflecting the desirability of these areas and the strong competition for properties that come onto the market. Purchasers are mainly those trading up from smaller properties or less desirable areas, those seeking access to high-performing schools and those moving to Leeds for employment reasons. Only 14 per cent of dwellings are socially rented and these are in high demand with low turnover. Access to the sector is therefore extremely restricted.

Figure 4.9 NOMAD classification of community areas



- areas on the edge: high turnover, low demand, high benefits dependency, high crime, low standards of educational attainment — but not to the same extent as the areas in significant decline; and
- areas in significant decline: high turnover, low demand, high benefits dependency, high crime, low standards of educational attainment.

Originally based on 180 local lettings areas, the NOMAD scores have been transferred to the 106 community areas for mapping (Figure 4.9).

Overall, two thirds of areas and housing in Leeds are at least reasonably prosperous, while one third of areas are characterised by poverty and significant problems. Precisely 61,222 properties — 20 per cent of the stock — are categorised as at risk of changing or low demand (LCC, 2002a). Two thirds of these properties are in the social rented sector and the remainder are privately owned or rented. Most are located in older housing areas and peripheral council estates at the fringes of the inner city where the least desirable housing types are found.

LCC housing researchers developed a system for categorising the relative strengths and weakness of the different markets. This is known as NOMAD, the Neighbourhood Oriented Model of Area Demand. NOMAD combines analysis of housing and social indicators to draw conclusions about the ‘health’ of neighbourhoods classified as follows:

- popular areas: low turnover, high demand, low benefits dependency, low crime, high levels of educational attainment;
- popular areas with significant problems: generally buoyant demand patterns but have either specific problems in relation to poverty or crime or contain estates where significant problems are evident;

There is a recognition that the different ‘neighbourhoods at risk’ have experienced different combinations of factors shaping the local market. “There are contrasts in the social and mobility profiles of the populations, in the causes of dissatisfaction about the neighbourhood and in the general perceptions of residents living elsewhere in Leeds” (Cole *et al.*, 2003, p. 2–3). The corollary of this analysis is that there has to be very precise tailoring of policy responses to deal with each area. There is evidence in the 2004 NOMAD analysis that some improvement has occurred in areas where spending has been targeted: while 36 Housing Market Zone Areas showed ‘low or fragile demand’ in 2002, the figure was down to 25 such areas in 2004. For example, Saxton Gardens, in the East Bank regeneration area, has benefited from refurbished housing and the introduction of mixed tenure. Ebor Gardens estate continues its gradual improvement as Estate Action work affects the physical state of the housing and environment. Demolition of unpopular housing has resulted in improvements to the physical environment and perceptions on Middleton estate and Whinmoor Way. In all these places, there has also been a positive impact on demand levels following the sharply reduced crime rates that have been experienced after anti-social tenants have been moved. However, there are signs of deterioration in areas adjacent to those that have seen improved NOMAD scores: Manor Farm estate, next to

Top, before and after improvements: council houses in Kentmere Avenue, LS14. Middle, unpopular flats in Lincoln Green, LS9, were replaced by housing association houses (bottom).



Middleton estate, has become more 'fragile' and while Saxton Gardens has shown improvements, neighbouring Cross Green has declined. These effects partly reflect displacement of problems and partly point up the need for further targeting of regeneration efforts.

NOMAD scores for Broadlea, Fairfield Wythers, New Wortley and Inner Armley have all worsened. A new public-private partnership aiming to channel investment into

Armley and Wortley may help to reverse this trend. Central Headingley is another area that is moving towards being 'on the edge' of decline and will need some special attention.

Residential mobility

Overall, households who can afford to move to a more desirable area, or who have characteristics that enable them to compete successfully for the most favoured social rented housing, will tend to take the opportunity to move. Those who are unable to compete in either the private or social rented sectors are left behind in areas that are in a spiral of downward demand and declining quality. In fact, Leeds has a relatively low rate of household mobility: in 2000–2001, 8.6 per cent of Leeds' population changed addresses compared with 11 per cent of the national population. Researchers found that two thirds of Leeds residents had been at their current address for more than 10 years (Cole *et al.*, 2003). Of those who had moved within the previous 10 years, the majority had only moved once, many had been long-term residents at their previous address and half the mobile households had moved within the immediate local area. Only 11 per cent of the sample had moved from outside Leeds — a figure that is perhaps lower than might have been imagined. There are also low levels of intention to move, with 87 per cent saying that they are unlikely to move within the next five years, though it is

|| Mobility between tenures is most prevalent amongst under 25s and people with 'chaotic' or 'challenging' behaviour. ||

Table 4.5 Factors impacting on household mobility

Push factors	Pull factors
<p>Crime</p> <p>Poorly performing schools</p> <p>Environmental blight</p> <p>Anti-social behaviour</p> <p>Negative perceptions of the area</p> <p>Changing life-circumstances</p>	<p>Desire to live in green areas</p> <p>Good schools</p> <p>Caring responsibilities</p> <p>Making money out of housing</p> <p>Lifestyle aspirations</p>

*Shared house Source: Author's data

considered likely that mobility levels will in fact be higher than is indicated by stated intentions.

The innermost wards show the highest actual and potential turnover. The lowest levels of actual and planned mobility are found in the wards immediately beyond the inner city — in an arc from Moortown and Chapel Allerton in the north, through Roundhay, Seacroft and Whinmoor to Halton in the east. Pudsey North and Aireborough in the west are also notably stable. Some of the factors that influence household mobility are indicated in Table 4.5. Mobility figures are not easy to interpret: high mobility may indicate vibrancy, dissatisfaction or particular vulnerability, such as in the case of released prisoners and those with recurrent drug problems (James *et al.*, 2003). Low mobility may indicate either satisfaction or perceived difficulties in achieving a move. Mobility in Leeds is affected by the perceptions of different areas, combined with an aspiration to live in what are perceived to be greener areas. This is compounded by an overall inability of people to move up the housing ladder within inner urban and suburban areas. Movement may also be due to fear of encroaching landlords (as, for example, in Headingley) or perceptions of risk from crime.

The majority of those expressing a wish to move mostly named locations adjacent or close to their current home, further away from the inner city than their current place of

residence. This echoes findings in a recent study of outward migration of minority ethnic households (see Chapter 3).

Mobility is lowest within the local authority sector and previous address is most likely to have been within the same area. Housing association tenants are more likely to have lived elsewhere in Leeds and those in private rented and owner occupied housing are more likely to have lived outside Leeds. In addition, mobility is contained within sectors of the city: for example people may aspire to move from inner south Leeds to outer south Leeds rather than across the city. Conversely, mobility

aspirations for north Leeds residents extend across a larger geography, into North Yorkshire. Mobility between tenures is most prevalent amongst under 25s and people with 'chaotic' or 'challenging' behaviour (Cole *et al.*, 2003).

Findings from research in the city centre indicated that there is likely to be a much greater turnover of occupiers here than is the case with other sub-markets in the city (Fox and Unsworth, 2003). Fifteen per cent of residents, especially letting agency tenants, expected to stay at their current address for less than six months and a further 27 per cent envisaged staying between six and twelve months. But a majority of residents (58 per cent) were planning to stay in their property for over a year and of these, two thirds expressed an intention of staying for more than two years. Owner occupiers were five times more likely than tenants to state an intention of staying for more than two years.

Demand by property type

Data from the Land Registry show that while price increases for all property types from 1998–2003 were higher in Leeds than for England and Wales as a whole, the price of terraced properties and flats or maisonettes rose most rapidly. The prices of flats and maisonettes increased by 135 per cent, compared with 90 per cent for England and Wales. Prices of terraced

Terraced housing is concentrated in the inner city but is also found in outlying settlements. Top and bottom, terraced housing in Micklefield and Harehills. Far right, detached housing in the suburbs, LS17.



properties increased most rapidly in areas of student housing, both traditional (Leeds 6) and emerging (Kirkstall, Burley); in popular inner suburban areas (such as Chapel Allerton) where they may provide 'entry level' housing; in some inner areas, reflecting either purchase by private landlords of ex-Council properties or by speculator investors in areas of regeneration (Harehills, Beeston Hill). Prices of flats rose most rapidly in the city centre. In outer areas and suburban areas there are desirable new flat complexes on greenfield sites, some of which provide entry level housing in those areas.

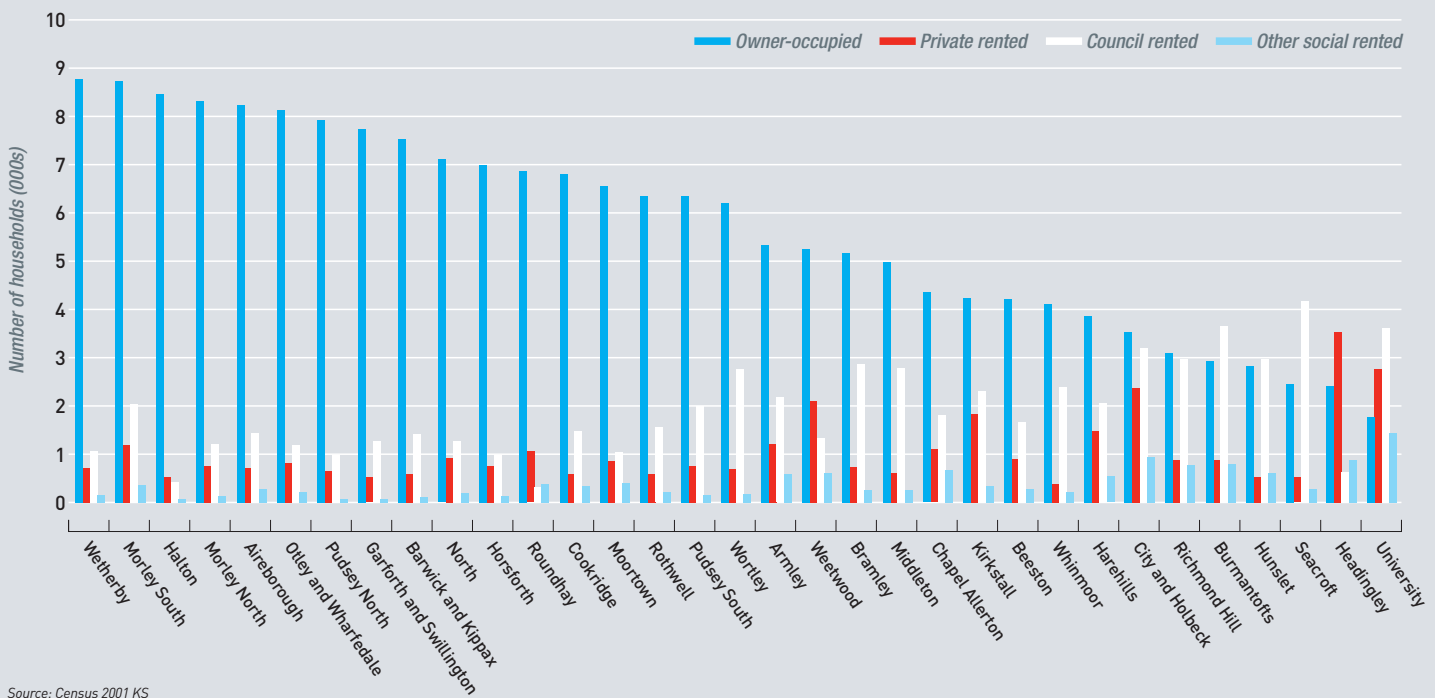
Detached property prices showed the steepest rise in the outer areas and outer suburbs, reflecting the popularity of those areas and a desire to be close to high-performing schools, and interestingly, in some inner suburbs and inner areas (such as Seacroft, Belle Isle, Bramley, Wortley and Beeston) where new detached homes are sought after by aspirant households but where supply is scarce. Semi-detached properties increased in value most rapidly in the Headingley area, reflecting the increasing purchase by landlords and parents for student housing. Price rises for semi-detached property in the outer suburbs may reflect a connection with a desire to be close to high-performing schools (see owner occupation section below and also Chapter 7) and the desire to locate in areas where crime is less of a threat.



4.4 Housing tenure: a profile

Figure 4.10 shows how the total housing stock numbers differ across the wards, with the greatest numbers of dwellings in Morley, Wetherby, Aireborough, Wortley, Otley and City and Holbeck wards. The outer wards have the greatest numbers of owner occupied dwellings and in these areas, all the other tenures are of relatively minor importance. The inner wards have the lowest numbers of owner occupied dwellings and in several of them, renting from the Council exceeds owner occupation. Private rented properties are most numerous in the wards near the universities and in all but three wards, 'other social rented' is the smallest category of tenure type.

Figure 4.10 Tenure of households by ward, 2001



Changes in tenure 1991-2001

This section reviews the developing tenure patterns within the city and explores some of the dynamics of change within and between sectors (Table 4.6). Overall, in terms of percentage growth, the private rented sector has seen greatest expansion since 1991. While the numbers of people in dwellings owned and managed by the local authority declined, there was a growth in the number of housing association tenants. Owner occupation continued to expand, but at a much slower rate than the rental sectors.

Owner occupation

Around 70 per cent of the 20.6 million households in the UK are owner occupiers, either owning their properties outright or having a mortgage. In Leeds, the level of owner occupation is lower but this sector accounts for by far the greatest proportion of households. The market is very spatially differentiated with desirable and less desirable areas sometimes extremely clearly demarcated. In the outer north-west and north-east areas of the city (Figure 4.11), the housing market has been overheating and conditions are approaching those of the South East region.



Conversely, in Beeston Hill, “people want to live above (south of) the park but no-one wants to touch the other side of the park” (a property developer quoted in Cole *et al.*, 2003, p.25), though this remark ignores the considerable continuing demand from Bangladeshis. Within Leeds 7 postal district there is a great contrast between Chapel Allerton, which is much sought-after, as the agents would say, and Chapeltown, just to

Table 4.6 Changes in tenure, 1991–2003

	2003	Percentage	Numerical change 1991–2003	Percentage change 1991–2003
Council housing	66,443	21.3	-15,920	-19.3
Housing association	14,425	4.6	4,751	49.1
All social housing	80,868	25.9	-11,169	-12.0
Private rented	41,232	13.2	20,953	103.3
Owner occupied	190,405	60.9	18,130	9.5
All homes	312,505	100.0	27,914	8.9

Source: ODPM (2003a)

been able to afford to purchase in better areas, missing out the traditional first time buyer territory. The consequent reduced demand is manifest in stagnating

the south, which is stigmatised as an area of minority ethnic group concentration, drug dealing and associated crime.

In the past, first time buyers would have had little option but to purchase in the areas with the lowest house prices. They might not have stayed long before upgrading — typically by moving outwards to the adjacent, more desirable suburbs — but their gaining the first rung on the property ladder in the inner city helped to keep all areas integrated within a single market. In recent years, increasing numbers of well-paid first time buyers, with access to attractive financing deals, have

and even falling prices in inner city areas (Cole *et al.*, 2003).

When they start a family, many couples aspire to move to larger property, often with a garden, and try to ensure that they are in a suitable location to secure places at favoured schools. They prefer not to be in areas that have a reputation for crime, vandalism and anti-social behaviour. The premium for desirable areas is significant, with a house in Headingley commanding perhaps four times the price of a similar property in Holbeck (Cole *et al.*, 2003). Figure 4.12 shows that house prices in relation to income are highest in the outer areas. There

Figure 4.11 Percentage of owner occupation by output area, (a) owned outright and (b) owned with a loan or mortgage, 2001

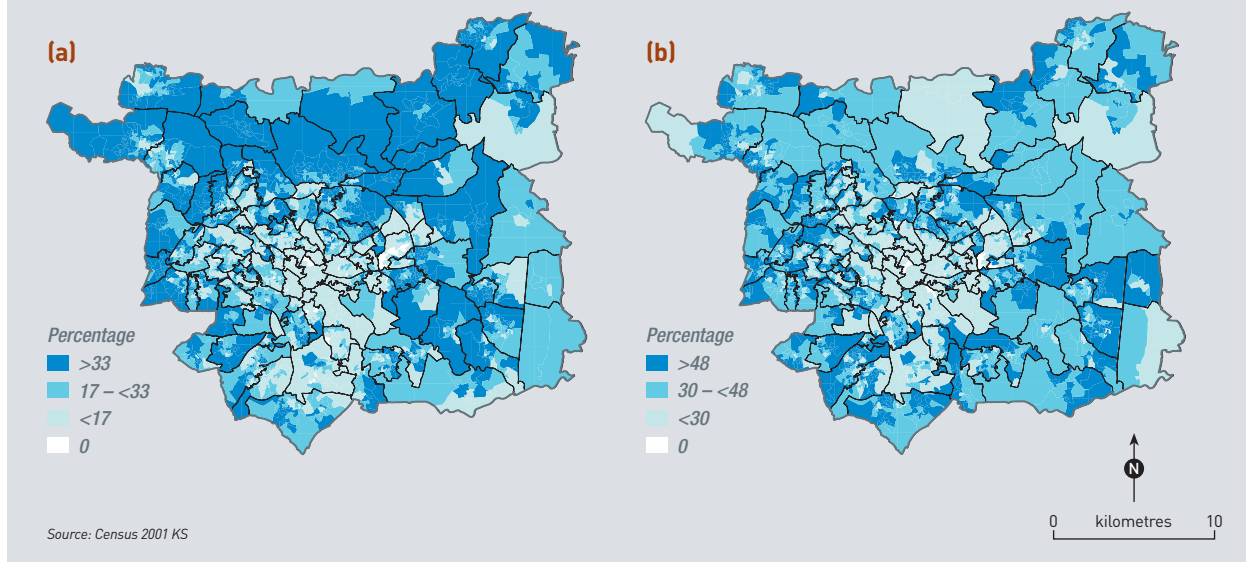
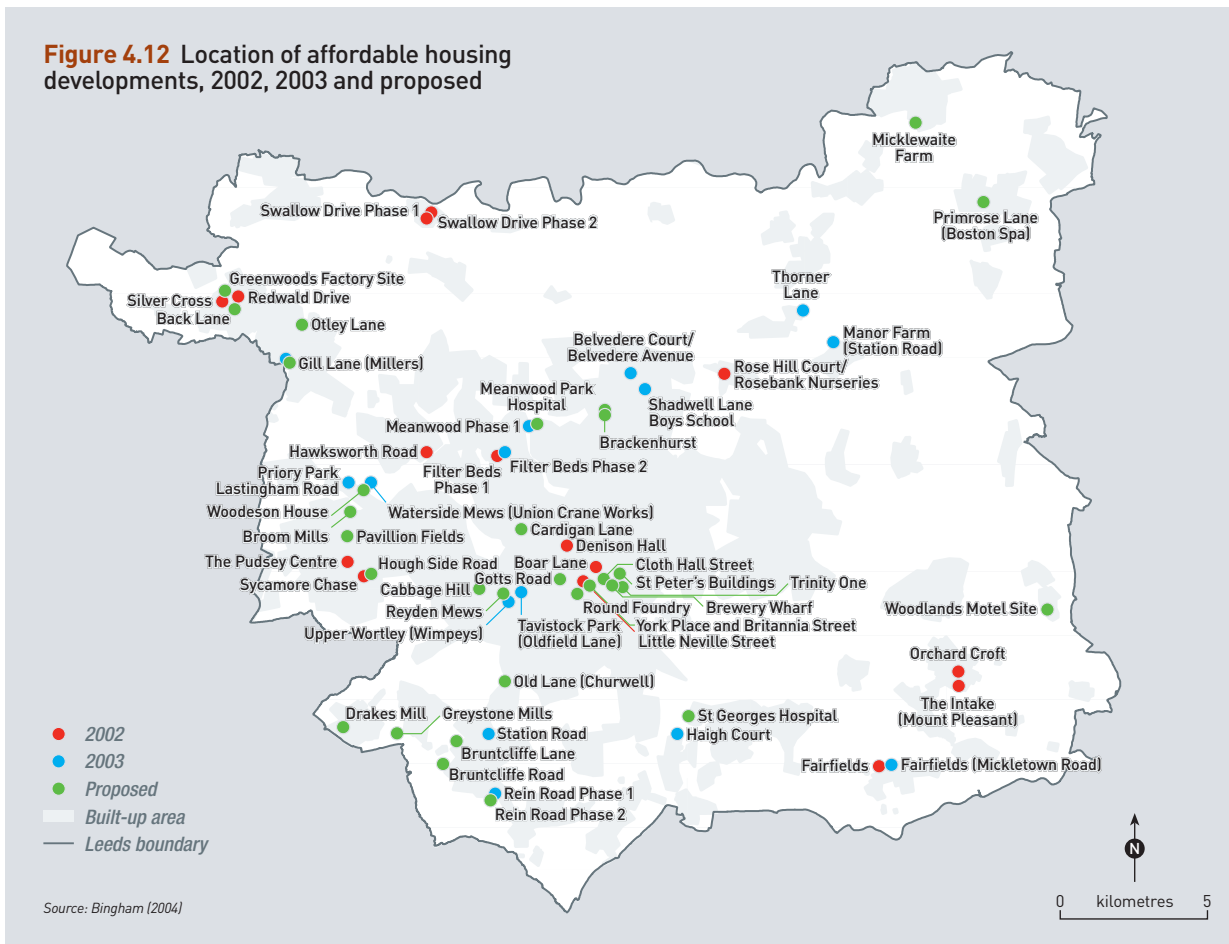


Figure 4.12 Location of affordable housing developments, 2002, 2003 and proposed



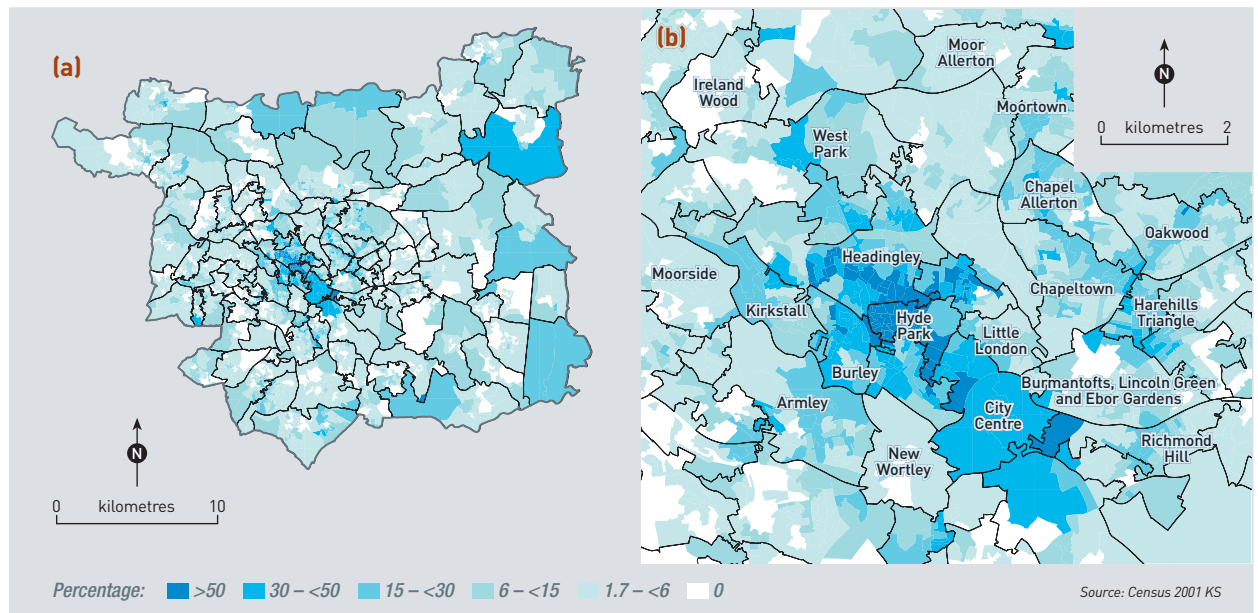
has been some attempt to provide affordable housing within these most sought-after areas, but the numbers of units are very low in proportion to the stock (see Table 14.4).

Private rented

In the UK, more than two million households are in the private rented sector and more than a third of these households live in flats; 36 per cent of households in this tenure are one-person households (ODPM, 2002). As in many parts of the UK, the private rented sector in Leeds (Figure 4.13) has been growing (Table 4.6). Renting by private owners has expanded since the growth in student numbers (from 22,000 in 1991 to 34,000 in 2001) and the imposition of tuition fees in 1998. A common model in Leeds is for parents to invest in a property in Headingley to provide conveniently-located accommodation for their own offspring while at university, an income from the other rooms that are let at commercial rents and the prospect of capital growth. The expansion of this market has created significant tensions in the area between the older-established residents and the incomers. Over half of all full-time students live in Headingley ward and one quarter of Headingley's

Houses under construction for private sale. More than 60 per cent of residential developments in Leeds District are on previously used land.

Figure 4.13 Percentage private rented by output area, (a) Leeds and (b) north and central Leeds, 2001



Many terraced properties in Headingley, Hyde Park and Burley belong to landlords who often rent them out to students.

population consists of full-time students. A new policy of student housing restraint (Leeds City Council Development Department, 2003) seeks to limit further growth of this market in LS6 and redirect demand for student accommodation by encouraging provision of halls of residence in other parts of the city. A significant number of schemes have already come through the planning system and will add several thousand bed spaces.

Across Leeds, more than 250 landlords are members of the Leeds Landlords Accreditation Scheme (LLAS) covering 11,345 bed spaces. There is evidence that the scheme, which built upon the experience of the UNIPOL Code of Standards for student housing and the general Code of Standards established by the City Council, has managed to drive up standards for the housing managed by Code members, and the scheme is regarded as a leading example of its type nationally. However, only around 25 per cent of landlords in Leeds are signed up to this scheme, and it is estimated that around 50 per cent of rental properties are owned by small-scale landlords who are capitalising on opportunities presented by buy-to-let schemes.

In some areas, private renting is becoming the majority tenure, especially in areas of older back-to-back or small terraced housing (such as Cross Green, Holbeck and parts of Harehills and Beeston Hill). 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

The ODPM (2001) private landlords survey showed that nationally, nearly two-thirds of dwellings in the private rented sector are owned by private individuals. In contrast, only 7 per cent are owned by residential property companies.

Lettings to tenants on Housing Benefit account for less than a fifth of all lettings, and many landlords are reluctant to let to such tenants, yet there are some landlords who specialise in this end of the market, especially in inner city areas.

Nearly 60 per cent of private rented dwellings are dealt with by agents and these tend to be in a better state of repair than those managed by their owners. However, of those properties that are more professionally managed, nearly half fail to meet the 'decent homes' standard and written tenancy agreements are not universal.

Despite relatively low rates of return on residential investment properties in terms of income, most landlords remain committed to operating in this market on the basis that total return will prove worthwhile as property price inflation continues.

sold under the Right-to-Buy and approximately 1,520 were sold during 2003/04. Analysis of Leeds City Council records shows that:

- 14,037 council properties were sold between 1980 and 1991 and 7,263 were sold between 1991 and 2001;
- an average of 1,058 homes have been sold each year since 1980 when the Right-to-Buy was introduced;
- the rate of sales has been rising since 1996 (622 sold); and

'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 — see Chapter 3).

In addition there is increasing evidence of private landlords purchasing ex-council properties for letting (e.g. a flat to let in Marlborough Towers opposite Park Lane College at £100 per week compared with local authority rent of around £40). This has implications for estate management practices on those estates and is frustrating attempts to tackle anti-social tenants where tenants evicted can now move back into the estate by renting privately.

Social housing

The two categories of social housing are renting from the council and renting from a housing association. Council houses represented about one fifth of all dwellings in Leeds in 2001 and the spatial pattern is illustrated in Figure 4.14.

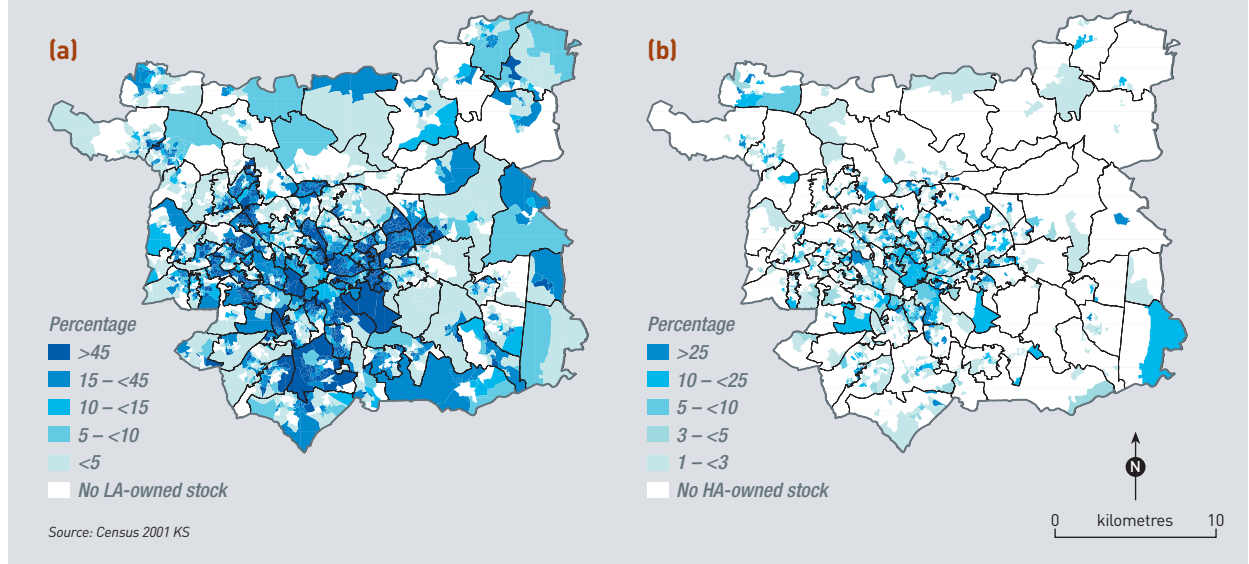
Altogether, the number of council homes declined by 30,895 between 1981 and 2001 — a reduction of 31.7 per cent. The number of homes reduced by 14,975 between 1981 and 1991; another 12,438 were sold between 1991 and 2001. Between 1980 and April 2003, 23,978 council properties were

- the amount of homes sold each year doubled between 1998–1999 and 2003–2004.

Forty-five percent of homes sold under the Right-to-Buy since 1980 are located in outer suburban areas or villages. In Wetherby, over 40 per cent of the council housing present in 1980 has been sold and over 30 per cent has been sold in Otley, Aireborough, Horsforth, West Park, Cookridge, Garforth, Kippax and Rothwell. Many of these properties have been sold on, and while prices are substantially less than the general market rate for the surrounding area, they are still strikingly in excess of the value when sold under the Right-to-Buy. Such housing is now either providing entry level affordable housing or has been bought by private landlords for letting and provides a source of rented housing for households who would not have high priority for, or who would not personally consider applying for, social rented housing.

Conversely, less than a quarter of homes sold under the Right-to-Buy since 1980 were located in inner urban areas, and of all housing present in those areas in 1980, only 15 per cent has been sold. In Seacroft South, only 9 per cent of the council housing present in 1980 has been sold and less than 15 per cent has been sold in Lincoln Green, South Gipton, Ebor Gardens,

Figure 4.14 Percentage of (a) local authority and b) housing association rented accommodation by output area, 2001



Low rise council flats, Lingfields, LS17. This part of north Leeds is categorised as 'popular with problems' (see Figure 4.9).

Table 4.7 Local authority housing stock by property type, 2002

Type	Percentage
Houses and bungalows	59
Low rise flats	21
Multi-storey flats	11
Sheltered housing units	7

Source: LCC (2002)

Halton Moor, Armley, Belle Isle North and Little London. In these inner urban areas, there is some evidence that on resale these properties are being bought by private landlords and that this is having a negative impact on local estate management practice and action to tackle anti-social behaviour.

In addition, high levels of sales have taken place in some inner suburban areas, including North Seacroft, where 39 per cent of housing present in 1980 has been sold (possibly due to better-than-average conditions and the lack of a nearby aspirational suburban area for people to move to) and in Belle Isle South where 31 per cent has been sold. In the Burley and



Headingley areas (where around 25 per cent of housing present in 1980 has been sold), ex-council homes sold on are now being bought by private landlords for letting to students.



There are many different designs of council housing, ranging from semis to highrise flats. Left: Barncroft Flats, LS14. Right, boarded up flats, LS14. Bottom, council tenants, Ramshead Gardens, LS14 .



Despite all the sales, there are still more than 66,000 council-owned properties of different types (Table 4.7) and more than 20 per cent of households remain as council tenants

— a figure higher than the national average of 14 per cent (ONS, 2002). But the profile of council tenants has changed over the last 30 years: with families moving out to seek home ownership and younger people moving out for other rented housing, the remaining tenants are predominantly over 60, while the majority of people entering social housing are young. This ‘hollowing out’ of social housing tenant bases has led to increasing management problems and has had an impact on demand for housing in many areas.

Since the mid-1980s, council housing has become increasingly regarded as a starting place, a stepping stone or a safety net, with most of those aspirant households who are able to do so seeking and achieving home ownership. Housing association property has come to be regarded in much the same light. Demand is again not evenly spread across the available stock types and locations: a large unit in a more prosperous northern suburb is easy to let, whereas a small unit in a southern area would be hard to let. Some housing associations, targeting particular tenant groups such as black and minority ethnic households, experience high demand.

The impact of the reduction of council housing supply has been inconclusive. The number of households on the waiting list has not reduced but has stayed relatively buoyant. Some of this is probably from households seeking ‘insurance’ from



In poor condition and unpopular with tenants, two blocks of flats at Swardcliffe, LS14, were demolished in March 2001.

council housing while hoping for a better opportunity. Around 25–30 per cent of the waiting list consists of single parents but there are fewer nuclear families and a diminishing number of older people. The main new demand is from individual young people who, as tenants, may well place new demands on the community where they are allocated accommodation.

Households on the waiting list typically choose the area in which they would prefer to live and then the property type/size (although see comments below on ‘innovations’.) Some areas and property types are in low demand, although some areas have seen outward moves curtailed and demand rise following regeneration work. This has been evident in areas such as Ebor Gardens and Belle Isle. But for other pockets of housing, there is little evidence of a reversal of declining demand. Indeed there are some areas of council housing where stigma, poor reputation and combinations of low demand, high turnover, high levels of crime and anti-social behaviour, and chronic social deprivation are combining to frustrate any revival in demand.

The poor condition of much of the housing stock does not enhance its popularity. The Council estimates that to bring all council homes up to the Government’s minimum decency standard would require £660 million. However, to deliver the full improvement works required to bring the stock up to full modern day standards would require £1.1 billion over the next ten years (Leeds City Council, 2002).

Because of problems of structural faults and low demand, more than 7,500 properties have been demolished across the district since the mid-1980s. Clearance has been on a smaller scale than was the case in the 1960s and 1970s but substantial levels of further stock demolition are anticipated in some failing areas, especially where council housing is the sole tenure or where it is in predominance.

Recent research has suggested that there appears to be an acceptance among residents that in certain circumstances, the time may be right for demolition (Kettle *et al.*, 2004), although there is some evidence that demolition may sometimes be used to eradicate management problems rather than as a response to obsolescence. The robustness or otherwise of existing communities would appear to be crucial to the success or failure of schemes. The latest era of demolitions can at least be carried out with the benefit of hindsight, using a range of intensive and innovative community engagement techniques.

4.5 Specific policy initiatives

Communities Plan and the regional housing agenda

The ‘Communities Plan’, *Sustainable Communities: Building for the Future* (ODPM, 2003a) set out the Government’s aim of creating and maintaining sustainable mixed-income communities across the country. Under the plan, Regional Housing Boards have been established to carry out a range of functions, including formulation and implementation of Regional Housing Strategies, allocation of a Single Regional Housing Pot to support the priorities set out in those strategies, and ensuring the linkage of the Regional Economic Strategy, the new Regional Spatial Strategy (Poxon, 2003) and the emerging Regional Housing Strategies (Watkinson, 2004).

The Regional Housing Strategy for Yorkshire and Humberside has recognised the highly polarised nature of housing markets across the region and the need to address issues of low demand, abandonment and failing markets at the same time as the apparent paradox of high demand and shortage of housing, especially affordable housing. The strategy sets out four priorities: regeneration and renewal; the provision



of new housing to help create mixed income communities; the improvement of housing to a decent standard and ensuring fair access to housing for all, and especially for vulnerable groups.

The Single Regional Housing Pot, created from the local authority Housing Investment Programme and the Housing Corporation's Approved Development Programme, is being allocated through sub-regional partnerships of local authorities and their partners to support the priorities set out in the Regional Housing Strategy.

Housing Market Renewal Fund (HMRF)

The creation of nine housing market renewal 'Pathfinders' reinforced a recognition of market failure in the North and Midlands and assumed a radical approach to market restructuring. The Pathfinders cover several contiguous local authority areas in East Lancashire, Manchester/Salford, Newcastle/Gateshead and South Yorkshire. However, West Yorkshire was not selected. Although it was recognised that there are problems in the county, the depth and severity of low demand and abandonment was substantially less than in the Pathfinder areas.

No more HMRF Pathfinders will be created, but lobbying by the West Yorkshire Housing Partnership and other areas has brought a recognition that action is required to tackle low demand in non-Pathfinder areas and it is hoped that a National Strategy for Housing Market restructuring will channel additional funding through Regional Housing Boards.

Other discretionary funding sources: Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) and Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF)

Leeds has been successful in attracting funding through all six rounds of the SRB and these funds have been targeted to areas

experiencing significant multiple deprivation. Some of the beneficiaries were housing-related schemes, including East Bank in Round 2, Chapeltown in Round 3, Beeston Hill in Round 4, and the Aire Valley in Round 6. In addition, Round 5 funds were targeted at community planning and regeneration and this inevitably impacted on housing. This funding has recently been supplemented by monies from the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund in the Neighbourhood Renewal Areas of Beeston Hill/Holbeck and Harehills, which were established through the Leeds Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy (2001). This has enabled Comprehensive Regeneration Programmes to be designed for those areas, including housing market remodelling; changes of housing mix so that needs and requirements are better matched by supply; different forms of housing to meet the specific requirements of black and minority ethnic communities in those areas and a range of housing tenures, types and costs to support a mixed income community in those areas. However, it looks likely that the discretionary funding offered through SRB and NRF and other sources will shortly end, leaving implications for the various regeneration and service initiatives funded so far.

Arms Length Management Organisations (ALMOs)

In February 2003, six Arms Length Management Organisations (ALMOs) were set up (coinciding with the boundaries of the Primary Care Trust areas — see Chapter 5) to manage the Council's housing stock and ensure that it complies with the Decent Homes Standard by 2010. All six ALMOs were inspected in the summer 2003 but only two (Leeds North East Homes and Leeds West Homes) received the two-star assessment needed to qualify for the additional funding required to enable compliance with the a multi-element standard of internal/external conditions and amenities which are currently applied

A large Victorian house divided into flats, Headingley, LS6. Many students share houses after their first year, but some student demand is being deflected to purpose-built accommodation away from LS6.

only to social housing. The remaining four received a rating of 'one star but with excellent prospects for improvement' with re-inspection in June-July 2004. The question of how or whether to seek additional funding for improvements above the Decent Homes Standard is one that the ALMOs are still considering. ALMOs will have an important role to play in dealing with the difficult issue of demolitions.

Initiatives to improve the attractiveness of social rented housing

Local authority and housing associations in Leeds have been developing and implementing a series of initiatives to improve the attractiveness of social rented housing. These include the following:

- Choice-based lettings: although allocation of housing still depends ultimately on the assessment of housing need, this policy provides opportunities for applicants to be proactive in the selection of the homes they might want to live in.
- Flexible lettings policies in low or no demand areas: where there is an over-supply of housing and little interest shown by those in housing need, properties may be offered to interested parties who may not usually qualify for them.
- Floating support provided to residents or 'supported tenancies', which provide levels of care and assistance over and above the usual tenancy management services, usually through non-statutory housing organisations and purchased through Supporting People funds.
- IN Business for Neighbourhoods — the National Housing Federation campaign to change the perception of housing associations and to gain their commitment to become key stakeholders in neighbourhoods.
- Golden triangle partnership is targeted at the very popular areas in the northern suburbs and outer areas, where



housing for purchase is expensive and where social rented homes are rarely available: this scheme aims to create vacancies in social housing by enabling aspirant households to achieve home ownership.

- Social housing for younger people is an important area where innovative practices may encourage sustainable tenancies. Issues include the need to deal with the highly mobile nature of some young people's lifestyles combined with the lack of a brand loyalty to any one tenure. There is growing evidence that the under-thirties are providing an increasing source of new tenants of social housing, and may be part of mixed age communities arising where allocations are required to some one bed flat blocks designed for older tenants. It is not generally recognised that the quality of the accommodation on offer is crucial: giving unfurnished, unsupported housing to people with no furniture, little money and little experience of independent living is destined to fail and there is a recognition of the need for packages of housing, care, support and intensive management, such as that offered by Gipsil in East Leeds.

"We must provide a range of house types that will allow aspiring people who want to do well to stay ... It's important to recognise what makes people want to stay in an area: image, availability of decent facilities and environment and jobs, but critically, education and schools that you aspire to send your children to" (Regeneration practitioner in Birmingham, quoted in Turner and Townsend Group, 2004).

4.6 Conclusions

The housing map of Leeds has changed appreciably over the last decade, fuelled by a significant shift in perceptions, expectations and aspirations of households. The tenure map has changed in particular. Local authority housing has become even more firmly rooted as a stop gap, a stepping stone or a safety net instead of the tenure of destination that it once was. Private renting has expanded rapidly, because of the boom in buy-to-let activity as well as a rapid expansion of student numbers across the range of higher education institutions. This tenure may eventually replace social housing as the dominant rented tenure. City living has transformed the market in 'town centres' across Leeds as well as in the city centre itself. Economic growth, more relaxed mortgage lending policies combined with low interest rates have driven expectations of home ownership and the increasing view of housing ownership as a form of investment. Private sector housing development will continue to be concentrated on previously developed land and the city centre market will continue to expand, diversify and mature, as sites and buildings in more fringe areas are brought into use.

The Leeds housing market has become highly polarised with around 70 per cent of neighbourhoods enjoying varying levels of affluence and high demand and the other 30 per cent suffering fragile or low demand, social and economic deprivation and increasingly obsolescent housing. Within that context, the concepts of affordability and low demand have had to change and will need to change further.

Except for a relatively small number of local authority estates, descriptions of unpopular areas as low demand areas, even where housing values are relatively low, are problematic as there is often demand for housing, albeit from low quality private landlords or speculative investors, and house prices are rising, probably as a result of speculation. In those areas, the problem is obsolescent housing, where housing types (such as

back-to-back terraces in inner urban areas or one bed flats on council estates) are increasingly ill-suited to modern expecta-

tions and requirements and are being rejected by newly-forming or aspirant moving households in favour of newly-built homes or second hand homes in more desirable areas. The rejection of those areas by household types who would be expected to form the stable communities of the future is leaving some inner urban areas and social housing estates as areas that will forever cater for the needs of the highly mobile, socially excluded or highly vulnerable.

Affordability has become a rather contested concept. What is affordable or not can depend on the push and pull factors categorised. Leeds has a range of properties available at a range of prices and rents; there is a large stock of affordable housing for rent and home ownership available, but often it is located in areas which people do not find attractive and is also often of a type that does not meet households' requirements and expectations. Overall, the constrained supply of the kinds of houses people want in the kinds of areas where they want to live calls for a series of quite radical approaches, as suggested in the Barker Review (HM Treasury, 2004).

It could be concluded therefore that affordability is a subjective measure, governed by choice, aspiration, perception, and a balance of risk and benefit rather than an objective measure as defined simply by a relationship between income and price. People may choose to spend more on housing if it brings other benefits such as good schools, proximity to facilities or amenities or accessibility to family.

This all points to a time of major change in the housing landscape of Leeds over the coming years. There will be significant redevelopment and remodelling of inner urban areas and peripheral council estates, in conjunction with interventions to assist households. There will also have to be action to 'dampen' the overheating of outer areas and diversion of demand from those areas in order to create and maintain mixed income communities.

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MYLES GOULD, AMY BURRAGE, JOHN STILLWELL & ANDY TURNER

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