

CHAPTER 5

REGENERATION IN LEEDS: CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the impact of urban regeneration programs in Leeds. It analyses the range of physical, economic, social and environmental improvements achieved through different mechanisms and strategies for change. A special reference is made to regeneration projects implemented by the Leeds Urban Development Corporation and the Leeds Initiative Partnership Unit that brought various local actors from the police to healthcare providers to provide sustainable benefits to local communities. The chapter reviews the shift in attitude toward sustainability that ensures that social service provision does not simply happen in an isolated top down approach.

URBAN TRENDS

Context

The City of Leeds lies almost at the geographical center of the Britain. It is located at the end of the M1 super highway link to the south, and is also connected to London via the East Coast Main rail line. Both of these links put the Leeds Metropolitan Area (LMA) within 2.5 hours travel of London. The LMA has a population of almost 740 000 people and serves as the regional capital for the Yorkshire-Humberside region, housing both the regional

development agency and the integrated government office. Along with being the location of regional government headquarters, Leeds is the largest employment center in the region with 425 000 people employed, or 19% of the regional workforce. The importance of Leeds as a center of employment will remain strong as it is projected to enjoy the most robust growth in the Yorkshire Humber region between 2000 and 2010. It is expected to provide 40% of the region's additional jobs in that period. (Leeds City Council, 2000a).

Figure 5.1 Leeds – Pedestrian Zone



Source: Beswick, 2001

Economic Development History

Leeds was granted a borough charter by the crown in 1207 based on the strength of the cottage industries. By the 14th century the town had a mill, a mine and a forge. These elements provided the basis for the continued development of the textile industry throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, and support the

industrialization of the city in the 19th century when the city became a major national and international supplier of cloth, coal and iron. Throughout this development Leeds saw the rise of mercantile and financial services, which supported the industrial core of the city (Leeds City Council, 2000a). Over time, diversity has been a hallmark of the Leeds economy.

The core industries of the 19th century were coal, engineering and tanning, while the textile, pottery and contracting industries served as substantial support industries. A dynamic coordination between various industries has allowed investment to adapt and prosper under changing market conditions. Some of this coordination of dynamic enterprise is tied to the strong history of the financial services industry in Leeds that saw the first bank established in 1758.

The first half of the twentieth century was a time of industrial diversification in Leeds: chemical and soap manufacturing, furniture making, coach building, watch and clock manufacture, fish canning and button making, and the manufacture of electronics and accessories; all becoming strong segments of the local industry. However, even with the diversification in the manufacturing sectors, the predominant theme for the twentieth century was the shift in the nature of the employment from a manufacturing to a service based economy. This shift is demonstrated in the period between 1911 and 1951 by a 15% fall in the share of the labour force that was employed in the three largest industries: tailoring, engineering and textiles. Between 1951 and 1973, 37 000 jobs were lost in the manufacturing sector, whilst the growth in the service and business sectors grew by 32 000. (ibid.) Growth was also realized in the government and public sectors where by 1974, the future of Leeds was codified as a regional center. The creation of the Leeds Metropolitan District in 1974 acknowledged the linkages between the communities in the Yorkshire-Humber region with Leeds assuming the eminent and central role.

Spatial Change

Urban trends in Leeds need to be understood in the context of the shifts in the British and European economy. These are sectoral

changes that show the decline of manufacturing activity and employment levels of semi-skilled workers, contrasted by growth and development in the financial and business services sectors of the economy. Parts of the city where employees of these two sectors live show a clear distinction in terms of deprivation and prosperity.

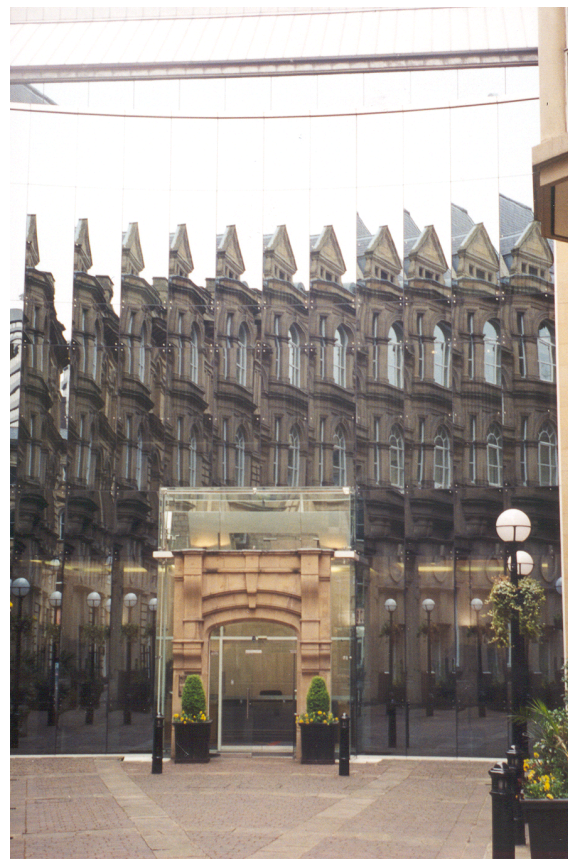


Figure 5.2 Leeds – Business District. *Source:* Beswick, 2001

Between 1981 and 1991 employment in the financial and business services sectors of the economy grew by 68% from 28 000 (1981), to 45 000 (1991). From 1991 through to 1998 this sector of the economy enjoyed a further 40% growth. Many of the employees that have participated in this robust growth have also come to Leeds from areas outlying the boundaries of the municipality, and from adjacent areas to the core and the inner areas of the city. In 1991, 36 000 commuters traveled daily into Leeds Municipal district for work. This number grew to 71 000 by 1999, and is projected to grow to 109 000 by 2010 (Leeds

City Council, 2000b, p.4). These figures suggest that while people come into the city center of Leeds to work, their incomes are spent in the suburbs where they live. this flight of earnings to the suburban areas contributes to the spatial distinction of the Leeds Inner Area as an area of deprivation and urban decay.

Figure 5.3 Leeds – Shopping Arcades. *Source:* Beswick, 2001



The segmented nature of the labour market has resulted in a situation that is often referred to as producing “a two speed city,” defined by inner and outer areas. This dichotomy is characterized by concentration of residents with lower skill levels, traditionally employed in the manufacturing sector, in the inner city. Their access to opportunities in the service sector is limited, mostly to low paying, temporary positions (Leeds City Council, 2000b).

The inner area of Leeds has a population of 228 000. The area's deprivation is best illustrated through a comparative study of its unemployment levels versus those in the rest of the Municipal district (see Table 5.1).

Within Leeds Inner area, ethnic minority groups suffer a higher level of unemployment. Of the non-white population that resides in the LIA, 23% of the males and 14% the females are unemployed (Leeds City Council, 2000, p.2). Education attainment appears to be lower in the Inner Areas compared with the rest of the municipality. Only between 11% and 12 % of the people in the LIA have a diploma or higher level of education, compared with approximately 17% of the population in the rest of the municipality. This limits the ability of the LIA resident to move beyond manufacturing or low skilled service fields. In addition, long-term unemployment in the inner area of the city is shown to be higher than in the rest of the municipality. Twenty eight percent of Leeds Inner Area claimants have been unemployed for over a year, compared with only twenty percent in the rest of the municipality.

Table 5.1 Intraurban Differences in Unemployment

LEEDS INNER AREA vs. REST OF THE MUNICIPAL DISTRICT			
Unemployment Insurance Claimants			
	L.I.A.	Rest of MD	Difference in %
<i>Overall</i>			
January 1995	16	5.9	10.1
January 2000	9.2	2.9	6.3
<i>Male</i>			
January 1995	22.2	8.1	14.1
January 2000	12.9	4	8.9
<i>Female</i>			
January 1995	7.7	3.2	4.5
January 2000	4.2	1.5	2.7
Source: Office for National Statistics/ Census of Population 1991			

Social and housing change

In 1994, The Department of the Environment published an *Index of Local Conditions*, which was a combined index of a range of economic, social, housing and environmental indicators, designed to establish and rank nationally the levels of local deprivation. The Inner Area of Leeds was identified as one of the most deprived areas in the country. Of the 12 Inner Area wards, 10 were in the most deprived 10% of wards, and the average of the three most deprived wards in the local authority had Leeds in the inauspicious position of being ranked 7th in the nation.

Figure 5.4 Abandoned Council Housing.

Source: Rendek, 2001



Along with low skills levels and high unemployment, analysis of the housing market, and in particular the market for and provision of social or 'council housing,' provides a physical manifestation of the social conditions contained in the 'Index of Deprivation.' High levels of crime, along with limited local business opportunities, limited recreational and social amenities, and a generally degraded physical environment, characterize them. Along with the erosion of the traditional industrial working class, comes a rise in aspirations to move away from the housing estates that were the traditional industrial working class neighbourhoods. In Leeds, there is no longer an allegiance to the form of rental tenure of the council estates. People aspire to home ownership. This pattern is demonstrated in the levels of demand for council housing (as indicated by the waiting lists for properties in

selected areas) that have declined from 37 229 in 1978/79, to 23 905 in 1998/99 (Jones, 2000). Based on these levels of demand and the associated aspirations and attitudes, only those that have to remain in the council estates, as determined by socio-economic standing, do so. The council areas are also seen in contrast to the nearby owner occupied areas where the price of the housing can vary by as much as 4-5 times within several miles. Some of the owner occupied areas show house price increases in the neighbourhood of 100% since 1994/95.

Additional changes in the housing market are seen in the abandonment of council housing which increased from 677 units in 1978/79 to 2 200 units in 1998/99 (see Figure 5.4); the turnover rates grew by 5.5% in the same 20 year period. In some housing estates, the levels of turnover were as high as 30% annually. The implications of high transient populations in communities has major implications for the social fabric and infrastructure such as schools, community centers (Jones, 2000).

DELIVERING URBAN REGENERATION

The urban decline that was evident in the urban fabric of Leeds had its roots in the sectoral economic shifts through which the city has moved progressively over the last 50 years. The shift is defined in both social and physical terms, which calls for regeneration policies to respond clearly to the particular urban challenge. The delivery of urban regeneration was achieved by the Leeds Development Corporation, subsequently by English Partnerships, and currently Yorkshire Forward. Regeneration has also occurred due to the efforts of the Leeds Initiative Regeneration Board, the principal regeneration coordinating authority of the Leeds City Council, which is made up of a large list of civic actors, both non profit and for profit and part of the public and private sectors. This organization has focused on the bidding process to the Single Regeneration Budget.

Leeds Urban Development Corporation

The challenge of regenerating Leeds' physical environment has been to find uses for former

industrial sites, or to move from “coalfields to call centers.” Many of the former coalfields and large industrial operations that occupied massive amounts of land and warehouse space, became derelict in the 1970’s and early 1980’s. As well, many of the sites that had previously housed these uses had become contaminated through the process of industrialization. The transformation of these lands required a particular approach to regeneration and site remediation to re-integrate them in the commercial economy. Much of this regeneration was achieved through the work of the Urban Development Corporations that were established under the *1980 Planning Act*. (DETR, 1998b, p.1).

The Leeds Development Corporation (LDC) was created in 1988 and was designated, like all the Urban Development Corporations, as an organization for fulfillment of a particular set of objectives within a limited time frame. The LDC was officially closed in March of 1995 after having worked in an Urban Development Area of 540 hectares -- the Kirkstall Valley, an area west of the city center along the River Aire; and South/Central south of the City Center on the River Aire. The goal of the LDC was to expedite the processes of land development through industrial site remediation and land assembly. The following summarizes key outcomes delivered by the LDC over the course of its mandate.

Table 5.2 Leeds Development Corporation Performance Indicators

SUMMARY OF RESULTS	
Land Reclaimed (ha)	68
Roads and Highways (km)	11.6
Non-Housing Floor space (000 m2)	374
Housing Units	571
Gross new jobs in developments	9 066
Private sector investment (£ m)	357
Total expenditure	71
Total area (ha.)	542
Derelict and underused land at designation	101

Source: DETR, 1998b

Data presented in Table 5.2 show that corporation's expenditure centered on land

purchase reclamation, physical improvements and infrastructure development. The LDC placed a premium of importance on the creation of commercial developments that encouraged the participation of the private sector. The development corporations operated through the provision of tax breaks, subsidies and the provision of infrastructure; the use of all led to the success of the Leeds Development Corporation in achieving a 1:5 leverage ratio of private investment (DETR, 1998b, p.4). Along with the emphasis on the development of commercial office space, and the reclamation of derelict, underutilized and contaminated land, the LDC also concentrated on developing the city's infrastructure as a recreation and tourism center. A goal of the Leeds City Council is the creation of the '24 hour city,' filled with vibrant venues and localities that represent non-stop hubs of activity.



Figure 5.5 Waterfront Development. Source: Beswick, 2001

English Partnerships

English Partnerships took over the task of LDC. The agency was created from the funding streams of the Derelict Land Grant, the City Grant and the land portfolio of English Estates. With wide ranging resources, English Partnerships was involved in reclamation of land and infrastructure development in the interest of spurring both private sector confidence and investment. EP was also responsible for certain project management roles in Leeds and Sheffield after the closing down of their UDCs.

Since much of the land base that was previously managed by English Partnerships has achieved a measure of regeneration and remediation, the focus of the organization is being scaled back to focus on the remediation and regeneration of the remaining land holdings, and also to include a coordinating and project management role with ongoing projects. Leeds is the regional centre of the Yorkshire-Humberside region. Regional regeneration has evolved to be the responsibility of Yorkshire Forward – the Yorkshire & Humber Regional Development Agency. The RDA's strategic objectives are:

- To grow the businesses of the region
- To achieve higher birth and survival rates of businesses
- To attract and retain more investment by providing the right products for investors and more effective marketing of the region
- To achieve a radical improvement in the development and application of education, learning & skills, particularly high quality vocational skills
- To implement targeted, community based regeneration programs that improve the living standards of the region's most deprived and excluded communities
- To get the best out of the region's physical attributes and conserve and enhance its environmental assets (Source: Regional Economic Strategy for Yorkshire and Humber).

The strategic objectives of the RDA in many ways complement the agenda for the physical and the social regeneration of the City that are being pursued, by the Leeds Initiative.

The vision statement shows that over time objectives of the various organizations have come closer together in their strategic goals. The provision of regeneration has now matured to the point where agencies declare strategic objectives that include holistic approaches which attempt to bring together physical regeneration goals (reclamation of industrial sites and the construction of housing projects), with social goals (vocational training and crime prevention), and the economic goals (business support grants and tax incentives). In the 1980's the project of urban regeneration was split between many different organizations and pools of government funding; the number

of delivery mechanisms for central government funding has shrunk progressively and become more coordinated.

Other Regeneration Initiatives

Within the Government Office for Yorkshire-Humberside, comes a particular initiative, which is also significant to the project of delivering urban regeneration. Promoted by a liaison committee selected by the Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions, 'The Private Finance Initiative' allows the use of private funds to be leveraged into the development of public projects, thereby transferring some risk to the private sector in the interest of maximizing the value of public funds. This mechanism aided particularly in the development of the Royal Armouries Museum in Leeds.

Prior to the creation of the Single Regeneration Budget in 1994, the initiatives of regeneration in Leeds were drawn from a series of central government pools of money. Generally, they endeavoured to link the public infusion of investment from central government through partnership with the private sector, to achieve the regeneration of the physical and social urban environment. Roughly 20 streams of funding were rolled into the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB). Within the SRB was the Challenge Fund, which sought to include the element of competition in the partnership process that had become the institutional hallmark of regeneration policy in Britain (DETR, 2001).

The Leeds Initiative is the City's primary regeneration partnership organization. It brings together the City Council, the Training and Enterprise Council, Universities, the Chamber of Commerce, the Police, Leeds Partnership Charities Homes (a social housing provider), the Health Authority and representatives from the voluntary and community sectors. This group of agents is known as the Leeds Initiative Regeneration Board. With the Leeds Initiative, the process of regeneration has taken a more socially based approach, contrasted to the property led approaches of the UDC's and English Partnerships, that seeks to integrate the excluded members of the society in the project of civic development. As was mentioned earlier, the discrepancy found in the

division of opportunity and prosperity characterized by the “two speed economy” has produced an urban environment of unequal benefit. The underlying philosophy behind the Initiative has been “people based,” which means that the focus of its efforts have been focused on the social rather than the physical environment. It emphasizes “Removing Barriers – Creating Opportunities,” through the identification of several Community Priority Areas (www.Leeds.gov.uk, Planning: Urban Regeneration, 2001).

Though the Leeds Initiative regeneration work has recently followed a people based approach, the organization has also been involved in substantial projects of physical regeneration such as the refurbishment of the Saxton Gardens high-rise estate, the development of a new Independent Living Resource Center and through the SRB Round 4 ‘Partnership with young People’ program that provided increased recreational facilities to some of the most densely populated parts of the city. These projects were generally conducted in the first three rounds of the SRB. Currently the activities of the *Leeds Initiative Single Regeneration Budget* (LIRB) are grouped into the following categories: employment access, improvement to skill levels, educational attainment for young people, support for new enterprises and existing businesses, community safety and involvement (www.Leeds.gov.uk, Planning: Urban Regeneration, 2001).

Given the theme areas of regeneration activity, delivery of the LIRB is through targeting of most deprived communities. The process is based on the following criteria:

- Low income –over 40% of the households claiming council benefits vs. the Leeds average of 28%;
- High crime-Community Safety Partnership’s “High Crime Categories”;
- Low attainment- have lower % of students attaining 5 grade A-E GCSEs; significantly below the Leeds average;
- Poor health- have standard mortality ratio in excess of the Leeds rate;
- Housing demand- have lower than the average demand for housing measured by the waiting list demand as a % of vacancies;

- Housing turnover- higher than average proportion of council housing becoming vacant every year;
- High unemployment- higher than Leeds unemployment of 5%.

(City Centre Management Initiative, 2000).

The LIRB also outlines several elements that serve as the guiding framework for the development of the further regeneration strategies under the Bid to round 5 of the SRB:

- Community Involvement
- Partnership
- Community Safety
- Improving Opportunities.

These goals have been achieved through the work of Local Forums concerned with the development of local community plans and the active involvement of residents in the development and management of regeneration initiatives. LIRB coordinates the other key local and national strategies that are already in place to contribute to the regeneration efforts. This limits the overlap in activities of various actors. Some of these partner organizations are:

- The Leeds Health Improvement Program and the Leeds Health Action Zone which focus on improving health in the SRB Round 5 communities in addition to enhancing city wide action on public health.
- The Leeds housing Strategy – which is focused on bridging the gap between housing supply and demand and countering negative conditions and perceptions of many deprived areas.
- New Deal for Communities - a national initiative focusing on the challenges of social exclusion
- Leeds Drug Action Team - putting the problem of drugs into more holistic community wide context
- New Deal – Welfare to Work – gateway centres to provide training and employment counseling
- Aire Valley Employment Target Area Team - a key strategic employment site that has the potential for development of 4 000 jobs over 10 years in close proximity to the most deprived of the inner city communities.

(City Centre Management Initiative, 2000).

Table 5.3 Leeds Initiative Regeneration Partnership: Performance Indicators

OUTPUT AND DESCRIPTION	TOTAL
Number of jobs created	90
Number of pupils benefiting from projects assigned to enhance/improve attainment	1660
No. of residents accessing employment through training advice, or targeting assistance	310
Number of young people benefiting from personal and social development	2250
Number of beneficiaries of community safety initiatives	25 416
Number of youth crime prevention initiatives	810
Numbers of youth attending crime prevention initiatives	4050
Number of dwellings where security is upgraded	2340
Reduction in the number of difficult to let dwellings	846
Number of new health facilities	1
Number of community health facilities improved	12
Number of people using improved health facilities	5800
Number of new community cultural facilities	18
Number of community cultural facilities improved	36
Number of people given access to new community cultural activities	9000
Number of community enterprise start ups	18
Number of capacity building initiatives carried out	432
Number of new childcare places provided	72
Total SRB challenge fund spending (thousand pounds)	24 864
Total other public sector spending (thousand pounds)	27 663
Total private sector leverage (thousand pounds)	8 637

Source: Leeds Regeneration Partnership, 1999

LIRB has also, as part of their bidding process, identified outputs from the delivery of programs and initiatives which provide us with insight into the process of the SRB fund allocation. The following is a partial list of quantified outputs forecast by the Leeds Initiative Regeneration Board in their Bid to Round 5 of the SRB (see Table 5.3).

SUCCESS STORIES

Since the inception of the regeneration agenda in Britain there have been a number of successful projects completed in the Leeds area. Some of the projects have had more of a positive and immediately recognizable outcome, others have taken much longer to realize any obvious benefit or improvement, while some represent innovative schemes barely underway. Much has to do with the particular focus of the regeneration agenda. In the case of social regeneration processes, the timelines are much longer than when dealing with purely physical regeneration. This is due generally to the more complex nature of the individual and community actors in the social process. Physical regeneration has few intangibles; success is manifested when a building or area is “cleaned up” or has achieved environmental improvement.

Clarence Docks and the Royal Armouries Museum

The area along the River Aire has experienced a particularly property led regeneration process that has attempted to extend the boundaries of the City Center across the psychological boundary of the River. As well, the physical setting of the old industrial warehouses and factories on piers and canals, provide a picturesque setting for the adaptive reuse of structures (DETR, 1999, p.2). The Royal Armouries Museum is a £42 million project which displays the treasures of the British Monarchy that are too numerous to display at the tower of London. It represents both a significant project in the regeneration of the area and an innovative approach to the process of regeneration. The Leeds Urban development Corporation contributed to the project through the process of land assemblage and provision of facilitating infrastructure such as roads and bridges. The other partners in the project were the Government Office of Yorkshire and Humber through a Private Finance Initiative, which encouraged private sector participation (English Partnerships, 1996, p.47). The Private Finance Initiative allowed a Public/ Private partnership through association with Royal Armouries International PLC, and its shareholder, Gardner Merchant PLC. In this

case, the private investors contributed £14 million to the project, which gave them the exclusive right to operate and manage the concessions and gift sales of the facility. Public investment was used to leverage the involvement of the private sector, thereby limiting the overall taxpayer risk.

The Royal Armouries Museum hosted 819 856 visitors in 1997 and 1998. The development has served as a catalyst for further construction of both a four star and a two star hotel by a private company, the Berkeley Group, on a 14 acre site just adjacent to the Museum (Leeds City Council, 1999a, pp.23-24). In addition to the development of tourism, the Clarence Dock Area has benefited from increased residential development that has capitalized on the amenity value of the River Aire and the proximity to the commercial core of the City. The area is becoming the home to many urban professionals that are realizing the attractiveness of high quality developments in an area where the significant amounts of both public and private sector investments in environmental improvements and major developments have increased the quality of life. The current Merchant Quay development, just opposite to the Royal Armouries Museum, has a greater than 90% reserve or sale ratio. These new residential developments are up market condominiums that have selling prices as high as £ 450 000 (Leeds City Centre Management Initiative, 2000, pp.2-3).

communities where levels of deprivation are highest. Of course, it is difficult to make the connections between the problems of crime on housing estates and regeneration of derelict industrial lands on the margins of the city center, but attempts should be encouraged to further develop a mix of housing types for a variety of social and income levels in the regenerated areas. The Clarence Dock site boasts several student residence developments, which have been adding a positive note to the development of the area. They contribute a vitality that comes from the mix and diversity of the residents.

The Brewery Wharf Along the River Aire

One of the other areas of the city that has enjoyed significant regeneration lies along the River Aire on the margins of the city center. Having many similar characteristics, both historical and environmental to the project at Clarence Dock, Brewery Wharf represents another example of land-based regeneration. Whereas it suffered similar dereliction, the area has seen successful regeneration through significant publicly initiated partnership with private sector actors. The difference in the case of these projects is that they are more driven by the market for high quality office space close in to the city center.

Figure: 5.7 Upscale Housing on the Waterfront

Source: Tsenkova, 2001



The success of the development of this area is clear. However, it remains uncertain how much of the development of projects in this area will benefit the local residents of the inner city

The redevelopment of the Brewery Wharf has encouraged increased pedestrian access to the area, which in turn leads to increased confidence in further regeneration. This project

was also spearheaded by the Leeds Urban Development Corporation, in partnership with the City Council of Leeds and the private sector operator, Joseph Tetley PLC.

What has followed in the surrounding area is development of office space and rental by so called blue chip investors. Corporations such as Privilege Insurance, Nat West, KPMG, and Celinet, have since 1997 moved into the area to take up some of the commercial office space. Since 1997, the volume of space which has been developed totals 20 000 m² or 215 700 ft². These projects have been accomplished through market and investor confidence that was fuelled by a combination of techniques ranging from market and financial incentives to environmental and infrastructure improvements (DETR, 1998a, p.2).

The interest in flats and condo development in this area of the Leeds waterside has also seen significant strength. The demand for high quality units continues to push higher the prices commanding rates in excess of £1 million. Considering the numbers of people that live in the city center, it is anticipated that the trend will continue. However, City Council worries about the gentrification of the area and the exclusion of the middle income members of the society: currently studies are being conducted into ways to maintain diversity in this market segment (Leeds City Council, 1999a).

Just adjacent to the area of the Brewery Wharf lies the area under current redevelopment at the Leeds Railway Station and the Granary Wharf Market just below and to the south of the station. The market has undergone a £ 6 million facelift in the past 12 months, providing an upgraded 80 000 ft.² of retail pub and café space that will serve the lunch and after work crowds of the city center. The railway project is a £152 million initiative that will see the upgrade of 2 platforms, a new signalling system, and a new roof, elevators and footbridge (Leeds City Centre Management Initiative, 2000, p.4). Neither of these projects has been directly funded by any investment from the regeneration pool, but represent activity that has come from investor confidence and increased client demands in the area.

Community Regeneration of Council Housing Estates

This area of regeneration is much more difficult to define in terms of success over the short term; it cannot be judged in terms of simple calculations such as numbers of visitors as with the museums, or numbers of condos built. Regeneration success is measured in terms of many factors from lower crime rates to retention rates of council properties; in terms of neighbourhood improvements and increased skill levels of minority residents (to mention a few criteria).

Much of the regeneration that has gone on in the council housing estates has been directed at the deprivation which has emerged out of the 'two speed economy' and the urban trends which define the city of Leeds (see Figure 5.7). Single Regeneration Budget funds have been directed toward the goal of "Removing Barriers-Creating Opportunities," however, the implementation of the early rounds of the process have shown some examples of ineffectiveness because programs were provided rather than community members involved and integrated into. It is in the final rounds, generally from Round 5 of the SRB, that we see an emphasis being placed on more community involvement in an attempt to incorporate residents in the process of regeneration and take ownership of challenge and success in the communities. This approach is considered to be much more sustainable over the long term.

The challenges counteracting the urban trends in the council communities and of changing aspirations in the housing market are daunting. Successful projects to counteract the problems of environmental degradation, community instability and pathology have been challenged most successfully through methods of community planning where there is some hope for regeneration. This direction was taken in the Swarcliffe area of the inner city in 1998. A consultative process that visited over 400 hundred households, conducted interviews with community groups, and engaged in a programme of publicity and newsletters and, most interestingly, held 3 'planning for real'

Figure: 5.7 Urban Regeneration of Council Housing Estates. *Source: Tsenkova, 2001*



events where local residents were asked to make radical decisions about the provision of services in their community and the remodelling and demolition of the physical environment (Leeds City Council, 1999b)

The regeneration action undertaken in Swarcliffe is connected to the targeting strategy that has attempted to maintain viability of areas that are just on the verge of decline. The Whinmoor (of which Swarcliffe is a part) district did not have the highest levels of low income households, unemployed or children of unemployed parents in the inner area (Leeds City Council, 2000b, p.10). The case of Swarcliffe provides an example of the alternatives to the strategy of treating the worst or most deprived areas first, but rather points to a focus on making efforts where positive effects can be realised. It does provide us with an example where several innovative techniques are being used to encourage the retention of housing units through refurbishment and remodelling of the Swarcliffe estate.

Through the Private Finance Initiative, the Council will leverage private sector investment of £ 44million for energy efficiency improvements (ibid, p.14). In areas that are considered to suffer too seriously from dereliction, obsolete buildings have been demolished. This can be seen as a muted success as decisive action has been taken to deal with examples of physical pathology.

Alternatives to the destruction of buildings can be seen in the example of the high-rise called Lakeland Court on the Halton Moor Housing Estate. This was a tower block that was ravaged by crime and vacancy, until a full and comprehensive refurbishment took place. Presently, the building has an 'over 50' allocation policy and a waiting list (Leeds City Council, 1999b, p.11). This measure however, must also be viewed in the context of the community around it. The refurbishment of the tower block for seniors has done very little to regenerate the social fabric of the surrounding area that continues to be ravaged by crime and housing abandonment's.

The move toward more sustainable development principles is also a hallmark of certain programs on the housing estates. Beyond the physical regeneration and environmental improvement in some of the communities, there has been an attempt to link housing and employment in localities of deprivation within the inner area. The 'Estate Workers Scheme' and the Housing Environment Workers program focus on the employment of the local population in their communities. Another initiative, which partners private sector investment with public sector employment initiatives, is in evidence in the construction of the Seacroft Town Centre. In this, the largest social housing estate in Europe, planning approvals for the construction of a new shopping complex were contingent on employment guarantees for the local

population leading to the provision of 650 jobs (Jones, 2000).

SUMMARY AND KEY FINDINGS

The process of regeneration in Leeds has been shown to be both complex and challenging. Generally because of the economic structure of the community, there has been much prosperity within certain sectors and geographic areas, which is contrasted by stark deprivation in others. The decline of the industrial economy has led to changes in the physical environment and the social structure of the city, providing cases where large tracts of land lay unused in sometimes contaminated states, and many inner city communities suffered from social exclusion, deprivation and pathology. However, regeneration in Leeds began in a fragmented and non-integrated fashion.

Much success has been demonstrated in several of the physical regeneration projects that were mandated by the Leeds Urban Development Corporation. The impetus that large anchor projects created for further private sector involvement is quite remarkable. While over the past decade, with the inception of the Leeds Initiative Partnership Unit, various local actors from the police to healthcare providers have begun to integrate their programs, the process was still dominated by physical regeneration and property led initiatives that recently have incorporated a focus on social benefits to local communities.

Perhaps most importantly, over the course of regeneration in Leeds there has been a shift in attitude toward sustainability and efforts to ensure that social service provision does not simply happen in an isolated top down approach. In the rhetoric of the first 3 rounds of the SRB, we can see examples of projects that didn't involve the local people in the process of community building, but attempted solutions that lacked holistic components and focused on paternalistic approaches to 'program delivery.' For example, millions of £'s were spent in the Halton Moor Estate on security improvements such as fencing and closed circuit television monitoring, rather than focusing on the roots of the deprivation in the community, which were unemployment, lack of skills and education. The estate today still has

high crime levels and experiences abandonment of housing. Since the commitment to 'Democratic Renewal' and community involvement of the in the bid to *Round 5* of the SRB, community regeneration and managing the challenges of unemployment, crime and deprivation, have become more promising because the message that is being communicated is one of taking ownership for the project of community regeneration.

The actors in the regeneration process have moved, over time to more integrated strategies, which is tied to the maturation of the regeneration process generally and the stabilizing of the transition to the post-industrial economy. The continued change and diversity of the actors in the regeneration process are evidence that there is dynamism in these initiatives and that, based on the strengths of the community today, the Leeds of tomorrow will be a better city.