

FOOTBALL AND ITS COMMUNITIES
INTERIM REPORT 2
Mapping Case Study Clubs' Communities
LEEDS UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB

For the Football Foundation

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1. Introduction

1.1 This is the second of four interim reports from the *Football and its Communities* research project being conducted at Manchester Metropolitan and Sheffield Hallam Universities between October 2002 and October 2005.¹ The project is a detailed investigation of football's relationship with, and impact upon, various types of 'communities'. The study is based upon detailed, longitudinal case studies of three major urban English football clubs: Leeds United, Manchester City and Sheffield United. This report is based on our analysis of Leeds United Football Club. Similar reports have been prepared for Manchester City and Sheffield United.

1.2 The brief of this second report is to present:

A 'map' of the different communities and constituencies at each of the chosen clubs, and an analysis of the relationships between these different 'communities' and the clubs, and their relationships with each other.

1.3 This report follows the project team's first interim report which provided a baseline analysis of the case study clubs' community initiatives and other sport-led community programmes in the case study cities. Project reports that follow this one are to be focused on the following areas:

- i. **Third Interim Report:** The full range of 'community' issues associated with stadium moves or stadium redevelopments
- ii. **Final Report:** A comprehensive set of recommendations for the Community and Education Panel covering policy changes, targeted areas for Panel investment, and best practice models for club community work.

1.4 The purpose of this report is to analyse the relationship between the case study football clubs and various types of 'communities' or groups of people. The research team has concentrated on four specific types of community to structure this report:

- i. Resident/neighbourhood communities
- ii. Business communities
- iii. Communities of disadvantage
- iv. Supporter communities

1.5 Resident/neighbourhood communities have been included in this report as these are arguably the most obvious and immediate communities of any football club. By referring to information provided by the 2001 national census and a range of other sources, we have analysed the demographic and socio-economic profiles of the geographical areas in which our case study clubs are located. We have also evaluated relationships between the football clubs and their local neighbourhood populations through interviews with local residents and club personnel, and observations conducted around the neighbourhood areas of the case study stadia. We have been particularly interested in investigating how the case study clubs impact upon the lives of local residents, and have sought to uncover case study club policies directed at these groups.

1.6 The research team has adopted a range of strategies to assess relationships between the case study clubs and business 'communities' of various types. We have conducted business surveys in the geographical locales of the case study stadia to measure the impact of football clubs on local trade, and have sought to uncover formal and informal links between the football clubs

¹ For more information on the project and its aims see www.footballanditscommunities.org.uk

and their neighbouring businesses. This has been achieved through interviews and observations conducted with local businesses around the case study stadia. We have also collected information on sponsors and advertisers at the case study clubs to evaluate the strength of links between the football clubs and local/regional businesses.

1.7 In the research team's first interim report, we noted the growing importance of concepts of 'disadvantage' in structuring our case study clubs' community work. For this reason, we have mapped levels of deprivation in the case study cities in this report, and have analysed the football clubs' interventions into 'communities of disadvantage'. We have also analysed other community sports interventions into communities of disadvantage within the case study cities to place the work of the football clubs into context. This approach provides a comprehensive evaluation of the targeting of community sports interventions in the case study cities, and offers valuable information on whether this work is being directed at communities most in need of assistance.

1.8 A number of strategies have been used to analyse the case study clubs' supporter communities. We have mapped a range of supporter databases to determine the geographical spread of fans who have a formal relationship with the clubs, and have compared these data against 2001 census results and other information to present socio-economic profiles of the areas in which supporters reside. The research team has also interviewed and observed supporter representatives, 'ordinary' fans, football club staff and a range of other individuals to determine how different groups of supporters relate to the case study clubs and vice versa. This approach has enabled us to determine the formal and informal ways in which supporter groups constitute communities. It has also helped us to determine whether the case study clubs conceive of their fans as communities, whilst evaluating any supporter-based community policies that the clubs may operate.

1.9 In addition to the four sections outlined above, this report also contains a concluding 'emerging themes' section. This section details a range of subjects and areas of potential investigation that have emerged during the research for this report. Information contained within this section will inform forthcoming reports which will emanate from the project team's continuing work.

1.10 The information contained in this report is taken from a variety of established sources and from project interviews and observations. All quotes from interviewees have been made anonymous in line with the project team's confidentiality agreements. All interviews and observations referred to in this report were conducted between October 2002 and February 2004.

2. Leeds United Football Club - Resident/Neighbourhood Communities

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 Leeds United's Elland Road stadium can be found less than two miles from Leeds city centre. It sits at the junction of Low Fields Lane and Elland Road on the edge of two neighbouring districts known as Beeston and Holbeck. Today the football club is located in the electoral ward of City and Holbeck, but has long been recognised locally as being central to the neighbouring district of Beeston (see Map 2.1 for a map of Leeds).

2.1.2 To provide information on the residential/neighbourhood communities of City and Holbeck and Beeston, this section will adopt two central strategies. First, it will provide evidence of the major social and economic indicators for the two wards. This information is drawn from the 2001 national census, some local sources and the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), which is recognised as the authoritative cumulative measure of deprivation across England. Secondly, information from interviews and observations in the area will be presented to analyse the strength/nature of 'community' in City and Holbeck and Beeston, and the relationship between the local population and Leeds United Football Club. In so doing, this second part of the discussion will show that ward and community boundaries are not strictly coterminous.

2.2 The Socio-Economic Context of City and Holbeck

City and Holbeck – Population

2.2.1 It is useful to consider the population information provided on the City and Holbeck ward by the 2001 census. The population of City and Holbeck comprises of 20,676 people, of which 50% are male and 50% are female. The average age of the population in 2001 was 35.8, which was 2 years lower than the figure for Leeds as a whole (37.6) and 3 years lower than for England and Wales (38.6).

	City and Holbeck	Leeds	England and Wales
Under 16	21.3	20	20.2
16 to 19	6.4	5.5	4.9
20 to 29	17.5	15.2	12.6
30 to 59	36.1	39.3	41.5
60 to 74	11.9	12.7	13.3
75 and over	6.8	7.2	7.6
Average age	35.8	37.6	38.6

Table 2.1: City and Holbeck - Resident Population and Age (%)²

2.2.2 According to the 2001 census, the ethnic mix of City and Holbeck differed in a number of ways from that of the City of Leeds, which largely reflected the national picture. The major ethnic group in the ward was White (84.5%) and 1.6% of these were White Irish. Although the number of non-white groups tended to reflect the larger Leeds population, the local Asian population (11.5%) was nearly three times that of Leeds as a whole and was made up in the main of people who described themselves as Pakistani (6.9%) and Bangladeshi (2.4%).

² All statistics are from National Census 2001, Office for National Statistics



Map 2.1: City of Leeds - Ward Boundaries

	City and Holbeck	Leeds	England and Wales
White	84.5	91.8	90.9
of which White Irish	1.6	1.2	1.3
Mixed	1.6	1.4	1.3
Asian or Asian British	11.5	4.5	4.6
Indian	1.6	1.7	2.1
Pakistani	6.9	2.1	1.4
Bangladeshi	2.4	0.4	0.6
Other Asian	0.6	0.3	0.5
Black or Black British	1.6	1.4	2.1
Caribbean	0.8	0.9	1.1
African	0.6	0.3	1.0
Other Black	0.1	0.2	0.2
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	0.8	0.8	0.9

Table 2.2: City and Holbeck - Ethnic Group (%)

2.2.3 According to the 2001 census the religious makeup of City and Holbeck differs from that of Leeds as a whole, which in the main reflects the national picture. City and Holbeck had a predominantly Christian population (59.1%), but this was approximately 10 percentage points less than Leeds (68.9%) and England and Wales (71.8%). However, the population of ‘No Religion’ (18.2%) was higher than Leeds (16.8%) and England and Wales (14.8%). The census also revealed that the second largest religious group was Muslim (9.7%), which was a reflection of the size of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations living in the ward.

	City and Holbeck	Leeds	England and Wales
Christian	59.1	68.9	71.8
Buddhist	0.2	0.2	0.3
Hindu	0.6	0.6	1.1
Jewish	0.2	1.2	0.5
Muslim	9.7	3	3
Sikh	1	1.1	0.6
Other religions	0.3	0.2	0.3
No religion	18.2	16.8	14.8
Religion not stated	10.6	8.1	7.7

Table 2.3: City and Holbeck - Religion (%)

City and Holbeck – Health

2.2.4 The 2001 census asked people to describe their health over the preceding 12 months under the categories of ‘good’, ‘fairly good’ and ‘not good’. In City and Holbeck the percentage of people who said their health was ‘good’ was 6% lower than for Leeds as a whole and England and Wales. Just over 13.3% said that their health was ‘not good’, although 24% said

it was ‘fairly good’, which was almost 3 percentage points higher than for Leeds as a whole. In addition, over a fifth (22%) of the population of City and Holbeck indicated that they had ‘a long-term illness, health problem or disability that reduced their daily activities or work’.

	City and Holbeck	Leeds	England and Wales
Good	62.7	68.3	68.6
Fairly good	24	21.9	22.2
Not good	13.3	9.8	9.2
With a limiting long-term illness	22	18	18.2

Table 2.4: City and Holbeck - Health (%)

2.2.5 The self-assessed health monitoring measure adopted by the census does not necessarily illustrate the full extent of health inequalities experienced by the population of City and Holbeck. For example, a recent study by Rees (2003)³, used information from the last two censuses and linked this to other national statistics data to produce a picture of the changing mortality experience of the population of Leeds at city and ward levels. As Rees shows, comparisons between the 1991 and 2001 census show that if life expectancy for men and women grew as a whole across the country (for men by 2.57 years and for women by 1.60 years), the picture was even better for Leeds (for men by 2.68 years and for women by 2.50 years). However, Rees also found that there was one striking anomaly from the overall pattern of increase in Leeds: a decrease in male life expectancy in the City and Holbeck ward during the period in question.

City and Holbeck - Economic Activity and Educational Skills and Training

2.2.6 According to the 2001 Census there are a number of ways in which economic activity in City and Holbeck differed to the picture for Leeds as a whole, which in the main reflected that for England and Wales. The percentage of employed people was almost 10 percentage points less than for Leeds (58.9%) and England and Wales (60.6%). City and Holbeck also had an unemployment rate of 7.7%, which was double that for Leeds (3.3%) and England and Wales (3.4%). Like the bigger picture for Leeds, City and Holbeck also had a larger than average student population, particularly economically inactive students (7.4%). The other striking aspect of economic inactivity was the number of people who were permanently sick or disabled, which was 8.8% compared to 5.3% for Leeds and 5.5% for England and Wales. What the census data fails to reveal is that in the ward, over 44% of households are in receipt of local authority administered benefits (Leeds City Council).⁴

³ Rees, P. (2003) ‘Methodological Innovations in the 2001 Census: a User Perspective with an Illustration for the Demography of a Northern City’, paper presented at the ONS/RSS Conference on Census 2001 and Beyond, London

⁴ Source: Leeds City Council

	City and Holbeck	Leeds	England and Wales
Employed	50.1	58.9	60.6
Unemployed	6.7	3.3	3.4
Economically active full-time students	3.2	3.6	2.6
Retired	11.1	13.2	13.6
Economically inactive students	7.4	7.1	4.7
Looking after home/family	7.6	5.5	6.5
Permanently sick or disabled	8.8	5.3	5.5
Other economically inactive	5	3.1	3.1

Table 2.5: City and Holbeck - Economic Activity (% aged between 16 & 74)

2.2.7 Evidence suggests that low economic activity rates are closely linked to education skills and training and according to the 2001 census almost 43% of the population of City and Holbeck had no educational qualifications, which was more than 12 percentage points higher than for Leeds (30.9%) and England and Wales (29.1%). The census also revealed that only 10% of the population of City and Holbeck (9.7%) had a qualification to degree level or higher compared to almost a fifth in Leeds (19.2%) and England and Wales (19.8%).

	City and Holbeck	Leeds	England and Wales
Had no qualifications	42.7	30.9	29.1
Qualified to degree level or higher	11.3	19.2	19.8

Table 2.6: City and Holbeck - Qualifications (% aged between 16 & 74)

City and Holbeck – Housing and Household Information

2.2.8 According to the 2001 census the housing stock for City and Holbeck comprised, in the main, of terraces (51.8%) and flats (33.6%). Detached and semi-detached housing made up only 12% of the housing stock in the ward, compared to 54% for both Leeds as a whole and England and Wales.

	City and Holbeck	Leeds	England and Wales
Detached	2.0	14.7	22.8
Semi-detached	9.9	38.8	31.6
Terraced	51.8	27.9	26.0
Flat	33.6	18.3	19.2

Table 2.7: City and Holbeck – Housing Information (%)

2.2.9 The 2001 census revealed that only 35.1% of households in City and Holbeck lived in owner-occupied accommodation compared to 62.2% for Leeds and 68.9% nationally. According to the census, 41.2% of households in City and Holbeck lived in social housing while 23.6% rented from a private landlord or lived rent-free. The number of households living in social housing in Leeds and in England and Wales was much lower at around 4% and 6% respectively, whilst the numbers renting from private landlords was only approximately 12% for both Leeds and England and Wales.

2.2.10 The 2001 census showed that almost half of the households in City and Holbeck comprised of just one member compared to 31.6% for Leeds and 30% for England and Wales. The census also revealed that 15% of these households were pensioners living alone. Of all households of a pensionable age in the City and Holbeck ward, 75% were one member households. The other key statistic relating to households is the number of lone parents with dependent children (9.3%), which is higher than both Leeds (7%) and England and Wales (6.5%). The census also indicates that 30% of households in City and Holbeck did not have central heating. The figure of 20.7% for Leeds as a whole was also high compared to 8.5% for England and Wales.

2.2.11 In relation to access to private motor transport, 60% of households in City and Holbeck did not own a car or van compared to 34.5% for Leeds and 26.8% for England and Wales, while only 6.8% owned two cars or vans (Leeds 23.5% and England and Wales 29.4%). This last statistic is perhaps not too surprising given the large number of one-person households in the ward, but it is also indicative of the levels of the extent of the poverty in the ward.

	City and Holbeck	Leeds	England and Wales
One person households	48.2	31.6	30
Pensioners living alone	15.2	14.4	14.4
Other All Pensioner households	5.2	8.9	9.4
Contained dependent children	24.6	28.8	29.5
Lone parent households with dependent children	9.3	7	6.5
Owner occupied	35.1	62.2	68.9
Rented from Council	31.8	20.9	13.2
Rented from Housing Association or Registered Social Landlord	9.4	4.3	6
Private rented or lived rent free	23.6	12.6	11.9
Without central heating	29.6	20.7	8.5
Without sole use of bath, shower or toilet	0.9	1	0.5
Have no car or van	59.4	34.5	26.8
Have 2 or more cars or vans	6.8	23.5	29.4
Average household size (number of people)	2	2.3	2.4
Average number of rooms per household (number)	4.3	5.1	5.3

Table 2.8: City and Holbeck – Household Information (%)

2.2.12 What the census does not reveal is that there is a very large proportion of low cost housing in City and Holbeck and that 92.57% of properties in the Beeston Hill and Holbeck Neighbourhood Renewal Area are located in Council Tax Band A⁵.

2.2.13 In terms of the living conditions of City and Holbeck a recent study of the Yorkshire and Humberside housing market by Sheffield Hallam University (June, 2003) identified the City and Holbeck ward as being the 4th (58.1%) most ‘at risk’ neighbourhood in Leeds.⁶ The data were based on neighbourhood and housing satisfaction levels from the household survey; unpopular neighbourhoods identified by survey respondents; and a recent study of the Yorkshire and Humberside Housing Market. Crime rates and unemployment in the ward are also amongst the highest in the city.

City and Holbeck – Multiple Deprivation

2.2.14 If the socio-economic indicators discussed above are considered together it is clear that the population of City and Holbeck ward suffers from multiple deprivation rather than a discrete number of separate problems. This point is well illustrated through the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). In 2000 the then Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) published indices which are measures of deprivation for every ward and local authority area in England. The Index of Deprivation is made up of Six ‘Domain Indices’ at ward level, which are related to:

- Income
- Employment
- Health Deprivation and Disability
- Education Skills and Training
- Housing
- Geographical Access to Services⁷

2.2.15 As a local authority Leeds was ranked 146 out of 354 in the IMD 2000. However, a more detailed examination of the above indices at ward level reveals a picture of Leeds that is dramatically different from that demonstrated by the city’s overall ranking. Evidence shows that the story of Leeds is better understood as ‘tale of two cities’, with 7 out of its 33 wards ranking in the top 10% of the most deprived wards in the country. The extent of the deprivation in City and Holbeck becomes even more apparent when it is considered that this ward is also among the top 5% of most deprived wards in the country. Table 2.9 shows City and Holbeck’s national ranking:

Ward	IMD	Income	Employment	Health	Education	Housing	Child Poverty
City and Holbeck	378	356	397	642	600	696	363

Table 2.9: National Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000 (National Rank)⁸

2.2.16 Using the IMD at a local level, however, reveals an even more startling picture of deprivation in the City and Holbeck ward. As Table 2.10 reveals, City and Holbeck is the most

⁵ Source: Leeds City Council: Council Tax Records, September 2002

⁶ Cole, I., Rickman, P., Reeve, K. with McCoulough, E. and Lister, D. (2003) The Leeds Housing Market: Perceptions of Change, Sheffield Hallam University: Centre for Economic and Social Research

⁷ Geographical access to services is not included in the discussion here as it is not relevant to discussions of urban deprivation. The measure was included in the IMD to measure poor access to services in rural areas.

⁸ A rank of 1 is assigned to the most deprived ward in the country and a rank of 8414 is assigned to the least deprived ward

deprived ward in Leeds, being the most deprived for employment, 2nd most deprived for health and education, 3rd most deprived for housing, and 5th most deprived for income and child poverty.

Ward	IMD	Income	Employment	Health	Education	Housing	Child Poverty
City and Holbeck	1	5	1	2	2	3	5

Table 2.10: National Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000 (Leeds Rank)⁹

City and Holbeck Population Summary

2.2.17 From the information above, it can be summarised that the population of City and Holbeck is distinguished by a number of central characteristics. According to the 2001 census and the 2000 IMD report it is:

- More ethnically and religiously diverse than Leeds as a whole
- Healthy to a level almost commensurate with local and national standards, although this is not supported by other evidence
- Poorly educated
- Economically active to a level below local and national standards
- Suffering from very poor housing
- Suffering from multiple deprivation

⁹ There are 33 wards in Leeds

2.3 The Socio-Economic Context of Beeston

Beeston - Population

2.3.1 The local population of Beeston comprises of 16,454 people, of which 49% are male and 51% are female. The average age of the population in 2001 was 36.7, which was only very slightly less than the average for Leeds as a whole (37.6) and 2 years lower than the average age for England and Wales (38.6).

	Beeston	Leeds	England and Wales
Under 16	22.8	20.0	20.2
16 to 19	5.4	5.5	4.9
20 to 29	13.9	15.2	12.6
30 to 59	38.7	39.3	41.5
60 to 74	12.4	12.7	13.3
75 and over	6.8	7.2	7.6
Average age	36.7	37.6	38.6

Table 2.11: Beeston - Resident Population and Age (%)

2.3.2 The ethnic mix of Beeston is similar to Leeds and England and Wales, except for its larger Asian population. The main ethnic group in the area was White (89%), and 1.8% of these were White Irish which is slightly higher than the averages for Leeds (1.2%) and England and Wales (1.3%). The local Asian population (8.2%) was almost twice that of Leeds as a whole and was made up of mainly Pakistanis. At the time of the census Beeston had a low population of Caribbean and Black or Black British ethnic groups.

	Beeston	Leeds	England and Wales
White	89.0	91.8	90.9
of which White Irish	1.8	1.2	1.3
Mixed	1.2	1.4	1.3
Asian or Asian British	8.2	4.5	4.6
Indian	1.6	1.7	2.1
Pakistani	4.6	2.1	1.4
Bangladeshi	1.7	0.4	0.6
Other Asian	0.3	0.3	0.5
Black or Black British	1.0	1.4	2.1
Caribbean	0.6	0.9	1.1
African	0.3	0.3	1.0
Other Black	0.1	0.2	0.2
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	0.6	0.8	0.9

Table 2.12: Beeston - Ethnic Group (%)

2.3.3 According to the 2001 census, the religious makeup of Beeston largely mirrors that of Leeds as a whole. Beeston had a predominantly Christian population (66.1%) and the population indicating 'No Religion' (16.6%) was almost the same as for Leeds, which was

slightly higher than the national level (14.8%). The next largest religious group was Muslim (6.5%), which reflected the size of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations living in the ward.

	Beeston	Leeds	England and Wales
Christian	66.1	68.9	71.8
Buddhist	0.2	0.2	0.3
Hindu	0.4	0.6	1.1
Jewish	0.0	1.2	0.5
Muslim	6.5	3.0	3.0
Sikh	1.1	1.1	0.6
Other religions	0.2	0.2	0.3
No religion	16.6	16.8	14.8
Religion not stated	8.8	8.1	7.7

Table 2.13: Beeston - Religion (%)

Beeston – Health

2.3.4 The 2001 census asked people to describe their health over the preceding 12 months under the categories of ‘good’, ‘fairly good’ and ‘got good’. In Beeston the percentages largely reflected the numbers for Leeds, which in turn almost duplicated those for England and Wales. The percentage of people in Beeston who said their health was ‘good’ was 4 percentage points lower than for Leeds and England and Wales. Just over 11.1% said that their health was ‘not good’, although 24.1% said it was ‘fairly good’, which was almost 2% higher than for Leeds as a whole. In addition almost a fifth of the population of Beeston indicated that they had ‘a long-term illness, health problem or disability that reduced their daily activities or work’.

	Beeston	Leeds	England and Wales
Good	64.8	68.3	68.6
Fairly good	24.1	21.9	22.2
Not good	11.1	9.8	9.2
Good	64.8	68.3	68.6
With a limiting long-term illness	19.6	18.0	18.2

Table 2.14: Beeston - Health (%)

2.3.5 As stated above, the self-assessed health monitoring measure adopted by the census does not illustrate the full extent of health inequalities experienced by the population of Beeston and, as it will be shown in the section on Multiple Deprivation, the ward is the 9th most deprived in Leeds in terms of health and disability.

Beeston - Economic Activity and Educational Skills and Training

2.3.6 According to the 2001 census there are a number of ways in which economic activity in Beeston differed from the picture in Leeds as a whole, which in the main reflected England and Wales. The percentage of employed was not significantly different from Leeds or the national picture, but Beeston had an unemployment rate of 4.7%, which was higher than Leeds (3.3%) and England and Wales (3.4%). Beeston also had a lower than average student population,

with only 2.7% economically active full-time students and 3.8% economically inactive students living in the ward. The other striking aspect of economic inactivity was the number of people who were permanently sick or disabled, which was 7.4% compared to 5.3% for Leeds and 5.5% for England and Wales.

	Beeston	Leeds	England and Wales
Employed	57.4	58.9	60.6
Unemployed	4.7	3.3	3.4
Economically active full-time students	2.7	3.6	2.6
Retired	12.8	13.2	13.6
Economically inactive students	3.8	7.1	4.7
Looking after home/family	7.2	5.5	6.5
Permanently sick or disabled	7.4	5.3	5.5
Other economically inactive	3.9	3.1	3.1

Table 2.15: Beeston - Economic Activity (% aged between 16 & 74)

2.3.7 Evidence suggests that low economic activity rates are closely linked to education, skills and training and according to the 2001 census over 41% of the population of Beeston had no educational qualifications, which was more than 10 percentage points higher than for Leeds (30.9%) and England and Wales (29.1%). The census also revealed that less than 10% of the population of Beeston (9.7%) had a qualification to degree level or higher compared to almost a fifth in Leeds (19.2%) and England and Wales (19.8%).

	Beeston	Leeds	England and Wales
Had no qualifications	41.7	30.9	29.1
Qualified to degree level or higher	9.7	19.2	19.8

Table 2.16: Beeston - Qualifications (% aged between 16 & 74)

Beeston – Housing and Household Information

2.3.8 According to the 2001 census the housing stock for Beeston comprised, in the main, of terraces (48.1%) and semi-detached houses (31.6%). Beeston (5.5%) had a small number of detached properties compared to Leeds (14.7%) and England and Wales (22.8%). The number of flats in the ward (14.7%) was approximately 4% lower than for both Leeds and England and Wales.

	Beeston	Leeds	England and Wales
Detached	5.5	14.7	22.8
Semi-detached	31.5	38.8	31.6
Terraced	48.1	27.9	26.0
Flat	14.7	18.3	19.2

Table 2.17: Beeston – Housing Information (%)

2.3.9 The 2001 census revealed that only 59.8% of households in Beeston lived in owner-occupied accommodation, which was lower than for Leeds (62.2%) and almost 10

percentage points lower than for England and Wales. According to the census, 27.6% of households in Beeston lived in social housing which was just above the average for Leeds and 8 percentage points more than for England and Wales. The number of households who rented from a private landlord or lived rent free was the same as for Leeds and only marginally higher than the national picture.

2.3.10 The 2001 census showed that the size of households in Beeston was comparable to Leeds and England and Wales. The only statistic relating to households that stands out is the number of lone parents with dependent children (9%), which was higher than both Leeds (7%) and England and Wales (6.5%). The census also indicates that 31.9% of households in Beeston did not have central heating. The figure of 20.7% for Leeds was also high compared to 8.5% for England and Wales.

2.3.11 In relation to access to private motor transport, 46.7% of households in Beeston did not own a car or van compared to 34.5% for Leeds and 26.8% for England and Wales, while only 11.4% owned two cars or vans compared to 23.5% in Leeds and 29.4% in England and Wales.

	Beeston	Leeds	England and Wales
One person households	34.1	31.6	30.0
Pensioners living alone	14.7	14.4	14.4
Other All Pensioner households	8.1	8.9	9.4
Contained dependent children	30.9	28.8	29.5
Lone parent households with dependent children	9.0	7.0	6.5
Owner occupied	59.8	62.2	68.9
Rented from Council	23.7	20.9	13.2
Rented from Housing Association or Registered Social Landlord	3.9	4.3	6.0
Private rented or lived rent free	12.6	12.6	11.9
Without central heating	31.9	20.7	8.5
Without sole use of bath, shower or toilet	0.5	1.0	0.5
Have no car or van	46.7	34.5	26.8
Have 2 or more cars or vans	11.4	23.5	29.4
Average household size (number of people)	2.3	2.3	2.4
Average number of rooms per household (number)	5.0	5.1	5.3

Table 2.18: Beeston – Household Information (%)

2.3.12 In terms of the living conditions of Beeston, a recent study of the Yorkshire and Humberside housing market by Sheffield Hallam University (June, 2003) identified the Beeston ward as being the 10th (31.1%) most ‘at risk’ neighbourhood in Leeds.

Beeston – Multiple Deprivation

2.3.13 The characteristics of deprivation in Beeston are somewhat less stark when compared to City and Holbeck, but it is still one of the most deprived wards in the country. As with City and Holbeck, if the socio-economic indicators discussed above are considered together it is clear that the population of the Beeston ward suffers from multiple deprivation rather than a discrete number of separate socio-economic problems. Again this point is well illustrated through the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). Table 2.19 shows Beeston’s national ranking:

Ward	IMD	Income	Employment	Health	Education	Housing	Child Poverty
Beeston	1070	1083	1246	1542	696	1311	1186

Table 2.19: National Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000 (National Rank)

2.3.14 Using the IMD at a local level, however, reveals a more accurate picture of deprivation in Beeston. As Table 2.20 shows, Beeston is the 9th most deprived ward in Leeds, being the 9th most deprived for employment, housing, and health, 10th most deprived for income, 12th most deprived for child poverty, and the 4th most deprived for education.

Ward	IMD	Income	Employment	Health	Education	Housing	Child Poverty
Beeston	9	10	9	9	4	9	12

Table 2.20: National Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000 (Leeds Rank)

Beeston - Population Summary

2.3.15 From the information above, it can be summarised that the population of Beeston is distinguished by a number of central characteristics. According to the 2001 census and the 2000 IMD report, it is:

- More ethnically and religiously diverse than Leeds as a whole
- Healthy to a level almost commensurate with local and national standards, although this is not supported by other evidence
- Poorly educated
- Economically active to a level commensurate with local and national standards
- Suffering from very poor housing
- Suffering from multiple deprivation

2.4 Beeston and Holbeck – ‘Community’ and Relations with Leeds United Football Club

2.4.1 Whilst in the previous section, a detailed quantitative analysis of the socio-economic context of City and Holbeck and Beeston wards was presented, we recognise that community relations both with and without the football club are not strictly coterminous with these administrative boundaries. In this section, a more qualitative approach which is less restrained by political demarcations is developed to reveal something of the character of the local areas of Beeston and Holbeck, their ‘communities’, and the relationship between local people and Leeds United Football Club. The information presented in this section was gathered principally through interviews and observations.

2.4.2 The neighbouring districts of Beeston and Holbeck are situated south-south-west of Leeds city centre. Holbeck sits both to the west and the north of Beeston and is bifurcated by the M621, which runs directly through its heart.

2.4.3 The City and Holbeck ward is divided into four sub-districts. The first is the long narrow stretch which runs north between Beeston Road and the M621 and which includes LUFC’s Elland Road stadium. This district also includes some retail and factory units, the residential areas of the ‘Heaths’, the ‘Wesleys’ and the ‘Sunny Views’ which are made up mainly of town houses and semi-detached owner-occupied properties, and the back-to-back houses in the Noster’s, which overlook the stadium from Beeston Road above the old Beeston quarry.

2.4.4 The second district incorporates the residential areas of Holbeck and Beeston Hill; two areas which have some of the worst housing conditions in Leeds. The housing in these two areas is made up of council owned town houses, maisonettes and high-rise flats built in the 1960s and 1970s, but the majority of its housing stock is turn of the century red brick back-to-backs and terrace houses. There are a large number of private rented houses and bedsits. The Beeston Hill area has a long history of deprivation, the legacy of which remains in two forms at the bottom of Beeston Hill: the site of the old Poor House and the derelict figure of Shaftesbury House – an imposing edifice built to house single homeless men in the 1930s. As was indicated in the previous section of the report, Holbeck and Beeston Hill is the most deprived area of Leeds and it is home to the majority of the ethnic minority groups in Beeston and Holbeck.

2.4.5 As a response to deprivation in the city, Leeds has been active in coming up with a number of regeneration strategies. Just over four years ago, the Leeds Initiative, the city’s strategic partnership body, launched the *Vision for Leeds* - a plan for how the city should develop over the next 10 to 15 years - and since that time a number of new regeneration initiatives have emerged in the poorest areas of the city. The latest of these is the Leeds Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy, which identified four specific areas for regeneration: Harehills, Gipton, Beeston Hill and Holbeck and the Aire Valley. Leeds received just under £19m from the Neighbourhood Renewal fund for the period 2001/04 and £8.4m for the periods 2004/05 and 2005/06. Funding will cease after April 2006.

2.4.6 Regeneration work and formal community development in the Beeston Hill and Holbeck was already established before Neighbourhood Renewal, through other initiatives such as Single Regeneration Budget, and they have all been aimed at improving employment rates, crime levels, educational attainment, health, and housing conditions in the area. The Neighbourhood Renewal team there claims that community activity and engagement in Beeston Hill and Holbeck is now highly developed and that a significant amount of work has taken place to involve local communities in the regeneration of their area. A number of local forums are now

operating independently, including an ethnic minority forum. The voluntary sector has a range of projects and activities in the area including ‘The Building Blocks Parents’ Resource Centre’, which works in conjunction with Faith Together to provide a parents’ resource and a healthy living centre. We were also told that the city council is looking to identify sites in the area for future development of student housing and it has been mooted that Shaftesbury House will be developed as student accommodation.

2.4.7 The third district below Domestic Street contains mostly retail and factory units. It is to the north of the M621 and Holbeck Moor that this no man’s land meets old Holbeck proper, where the fourth district takes shape. The last of the housing in this fourth zone was demolished in the early 1970s, but it is in this area – which reaches to the very edge of the city centre - that the heart of Holbeck’s industrial legacy can be found in the form of old foundries and mills that once exported machinery, engines and other industrial equipment all over the world.

2.4.8 The architectural heritage of that legacy has recently been identified as providing the potential for regenerating the area. The Holbeck Urban Village urban regeneration programme is currently being developed in a partnership between Leeds City Council, Yorkshire Forward, British Waterways, Network Rail, Spacia and other groups from the private sector. The hope is that the programme will attract investment of over £35 million and its key aims are to ‘bring new business and life into the area, with a combination of residential, leisure and business developments’. According to the city council, the project aims to support a population of around 1,000 people, and includes affordable housing for rent and sale, housing for special needs and live/work type accommodation. It will potentially enhance existing employment levels as well as restore neglected buildings of architectural and historical interest.

2.4.9 Beeston has an even longer history than Holbeck. The old Beeston village and its environs - the village of the two big hills - rise up suddenly out of the stretched out landscape of south Leeds. Identified in the Domesday Survey of 1086 as part of the lands of a prestigious Norman family, Beeston was in all likelihood one of the seven manors of Leeds. Much of the old ‘village’ of Beeston was still recognisable until the 1950s, when Leeds City Corporation demolished most of the old buildings in the area. Thereafter, it was transformed suddenly and rapidly, with Holbeck and Hunslet, into the inner urban core of south Leeds. Today, the ward is held in the tight grip of the Leeds ring road, various trunk roads, and myriad industrial estates in an urban triangle between, to its north, the M621 and, to its south, the M1 motorways.

2.4.10 Beeston has its share of retail and factory units, found on Beeston Ring Road and Dewsbury Road, but it has a much denser residential geography than Holbeck. Incorporated into the Beeston ward is the former village of Cottingley, to the south-west of the football stadium, which was redeveloped for council housing – a mixture of houses and two enormous high rise blocks - in the 1970s. However, the core residential accommodation in the district is owner-occupied turn-of-the-century red brick terraces and some semi-detached housing, which springs from the old Beeston village and incorporates the sub-districts of Cross Flatts, the Southleighs and the Dewsbury Road area. This part of Beeston has a predominantly white and working-class population and it is also the home of the pubs and the many working men’s clubs where LUF C fans have congregated on match days since people can remember.

2.4.11 The segregation – residential, ethnic, economic, cultural and so on – that is implied in the distinctions between the two districts at ward level seems to fit with local conceptualisations of Beeston and Holbeck. One 70 year old resident, who in her own words ‘was born and bred in Holbeck’ and has lived in Beeston all her adult life, describes Holbeck:

A lot of old Holbeck has disappeared. Most of it went when they knocked the old houses down and built the motorway at the turn of the 1970s. I was brought up where the motorway is now, next to the Golden Lion pub. Holbeck now is really divided into about three. There's the flats next to Holbeck Moor and new houses down Domestic Street – I say new houses they were built in the 70s; the old mill area around Water Lane going into town; and the Recreations and Colensos. The Recreation's and Colensos want pulling down; they're nearly all street houses and back-to-backs with no gardens. That area is cut off from anywhere because of the motorway. They ended up shutting the Co-op. It was because it kept getting robbed because the thieves knew that the police had no chance of getting there on time to catch them. No, Holbeck's got the same sorts of problems as Tempest Road and that area.

2.4.12 The resident goes on to give a vivid account of her Beeston, which evidences a white working-class perception of the differences between Beeston and the area known as Beeston Hill:

You say you live in Beeston and people look at you as if you have come from another planet. But you ask anybody who lives round here and they'll tell you that there are two Beeston's: there's our side of the park [Cross Flatts] and that side of the park. When we were young people you had to be somebody to live over there. I used to shop over there, at the butchers and fruit shop on Beeston Hill and my coal man came from over there. There are some grand houses on Tempest Road and Stratford Street but now it's terrible. There's lots of houses boarded up, dog dirt on the streets, nappies, beds, old bikes – you name it.

The thing is Holbeck was always a bit rough, but Beeston Hill wasn't. It was so posh you used to be quiet when you walked around there and we never dreamed we would ever be able to afford to live in one of those houses on Tempest Road and Maud Avenue, or any of those other streets.

People used to clean the pavement outside their houses, but now they don't do anything. Part of the problem is the Housing Federation [local housing association]; they just give houses to any Tom, Dick or Harry and most of them don't give a damn about the area. So what you've ended up with is a mess: drugs, crime, dirt, glass everywhere. You just walk around there and it feels awful. A lot of people round here blame the Asians, but it is not just them. No. There's good and bad with them as well and some are dirty and think nothing of where they live. But it's their kids that are the problem. They just stand in the park and just call the old people. The abuse one young lad gave my neighbour was awful. He just followed her as she was walking her dog, swearing and that..... So over a period of about 30 years I've seen the area go down and down. They have started to do some of the houses up on Tempest Road and they are trying to do up the park; they've done up the old man's shelter and erected a new bandstand. But they don't realise it's the people that need sorting out. But I don't know what they can do.

Thank God for the park is what we all say. Don't get me wrong it's no bed of roses over here, but that park as stopped it getting any worse than what it is. There are a few Asians over here now but not many and the odd street is getting a bit rough. But it tends to be those where there are bedsits and so-called flats, like those down the bottom of Cross Flatts Avenue. Most of this side of the park is still pretty good. We've just moved, but the street we lived in was lovely. Most of the neighbours look out for each other there and even the young people do. There is just one house in the street that's rough and that's because it is rented out and the landlord seems to let it to those who don't work. But that street is great and so are most of the people who live there. It is not like it was years ago, but it isn't anywhere is it?

2.4.13 This sense of a divided community was confirmed by a local housing developer who told Cole *et al* (2003) a similar story:

Just look at Beeston Hill....People want to live above the park but no one wants to touch the other side of the park.¹⁰

2.4.14 Another resident to whom we spoke is a case in point. Originally from the Seacroft area of Leeds, the resident moved to Beeston approximately 15 years ago when he was 21. Twelve months ago he bought a house in the area for the first time. He says that his affinity with the area came through playing rugby league for a local pub which brought him extensive social networks, so he decided to put some roots down. He said that he drinks in the pubs and clubs around Beeston Hill, but said he would not ever have thought of buying a house there. As he put it:

This side of the park is real Beeston - not that shit hole over there. Over there its smack city and Beirut and Bangladesh all rolled in to one. It has been like that for years.

2.4.15 In common with the elderly female resident, this interviewee spoke more approvingly of the Beeston in which he lives, suggesting that he 'wouldn't dream of moving elsewhere'.

2.4.16 We also spoke to some young people in the area who confirmed this sense of a divided Beeston. One fifteen year old told us that Beeston is divided by ethnicity and housing. He lives on the Parkwood council estate, which he described as white, and said that he attends the largely white Cockburn High School, which is close to his home. The interviewee went on to say that he and his 'mates' keep well away from the predominately Asian area of Beeston through fear of violence.

2.4.17 From the point of view of those who live in the Beeston Hill area, the focus of community life is centred on Dewsbury Road, which is about two miles away from the football ground. The once buoyant shopping parades on Beeston Hill and Lodge Lane are moribund and most of the shops are empty and/or boarded up, so most people today go to Dewsbury Road

¹⁰ Cole, I., Rickman, P., Reeve, K. with McCoulough, E. and Lister, D. (2003) The Leeds Housing Market: Perceptions of Change, Sheffield Hallam University: Centre for Economic and Social Research

where there is a small supermarket and some other shops. The local community centre is also in this area next to the local mosque on Tunstall Road. The community centre offers a range of services, such as advice on welfare benefits and immigration. The centre also runs various drop-in activities and it is from here that most of the formal community groups in the Beeston Hill area, such as the Muslim pensioner's group and the Asian's women's group, are run.

2.4.18 Compared to the more formal community group activities found at Tunstall Road there seems to be little or no involvement with organised community groups in Beeston. Yet we observed and were told about a range of community activities that were suggestive of the community spirit and vibrancy in the area. Some of this community activity suggested too that even if the larger community is segregated residentially, ethnically and culturally, there is some degree of cultural exchange and integration. For example, the Cardinal Estate is the home of Beeston Juniors, a community based football club run by local parents and friends. The clubhouse which was built by the community with the help of Lottery Funding is situated in Cardinal Square. One male Asian interviewee to whom we spoke is the local shopkeeper and has been part of the Beeston Juniors set up for a number of years. Besides his involvement with Beeston Juniors and his business interests, this resident was until very recently a season ticket holder at Leeds United. Our interview with him took place in the kitchen at his home. On the centre wall of his kitchen was a surfeit of Leeds United memorabilia: individual photographs of himself and his son – who until recently was on the books of the club - with Lucas Radebe, Alan Smith, Jonathan Woodgate and Eddie Gray and a framed Leeds United shirt from the 2001/02 season, which was signed by all the team.

2.4.19 If the involvement of this resident's son has provided him with the opportunity to meet some of the players at Leeds United, the presence of the club in Beeston is for the majority of its residents largely nil. As the woman at the local barbers shop on Beeston Road said to us:

We used to get some of the players coming here for their hair cuts, but we haven't seen any for years now. The last two we had were those two South African lads - Lucas and the other lad – but that was years ago now.

2.4.20 According to the majority of the local residents to whom we spoke, if Leeds United did have a presence in the area it was only on match days. One elderly respondent said he had always enjoyed the atmosphere associated with match days in Beeston, but felt it was not as good as it used to be because 'everybody comes and goes by car'. He said he remembered watching the hundreds of fans arriving and leaving at the old Beeston railway station on Saturdays as a child. Another elderly resident spoke fondly about the club too. He told us that he was originally from Hunslet and had been brought up on a diet of rugby league, but said that he enjoyed match days too and had always supported Leeds United in one way or another. He said he has, in the past, attended games on an irregular basis, but now only watches the team on Sky television. Before he retired he was a steel fabricator making football stands at Dunlop Rankin, and he told us very proudly that he was one of the foremen on the job building what was at the time the new Kop at Elland Road stadium.

2.4.21 Very few residents claimed that nuisances associated with match days had regularly affected them. However, the residents who have traditionally had the most direct problems with LUFc over the years are those who live around Wesley Road, which is the residential area directly across the road from the stadium, opposite Lowfields Road. We were told that for years local people experienced problems with match-day parking and intermittent violence before and after the big games, such as Manchester United. In terms of the problems

with parking we were told that the local authority had now largely eradicated the problem by implementing match-day zoned parking restrictions and having a heavy presence of wardens. People thought that the club had also helped by developing better parking facilities on Elland Road.

2.4.22 However, we observed that in trying to avoid paying charges or to simply get away quicker after games, many fans continue to park in the Beeston area at the top of Wesley Street. But according to the residents to whom we spoke, the parking on match days did not appear to be a particular problem in Beeston, but there were concerns expressed about the opportunist crimes it creates. As a couple living in one of the streets off Town Street in Beeston pointed out:

Our street is packed with cars on match days, but it is not a big problem for us because we haven't got a car ourselves. Our next door neighbour complains because sometimes they park in front of his drive and he can't get his own car out. But it is the poor car owners we feel sorry for; the kids from the Cardinals (Cardinal Estate) are always breaking into the cars. One day there were four cars in this street that had had their windows broken and something stolen.

2.4.23 We were told that there was local concern about fans parking their cars and spoiling the grass verges at the bottom of Cemetery Hill, but other than that the core residential area of Holbeck seems to go largely untouched by the football club, even on match days. Indeed, the M621 motorway runs through the heart of the old Elland Road and effectively cuts off Holbeck from the football stadium. If there is a sense of Leeds United in the community here it more or less only involves match-day drinking in the local pubs around Holbeck by fans who may or may not have once lived in the area, but in the main do not live there now. In terms of problems associated with living in close proximity to the Elland Road stadium, residents recalled only one major incident in recent memory: the UEFA Cup second leg game with Galatasaray in April 2000 which involved running battles between Leeds fans and the police outside the Wagon and Horses pub on Old Elland Road. Apart from car parking issues the primary concerns of residents seem more to do with the ubiquitous presence of prostitution, drug dealing, drug use and the levels of crime in the area.

2.4.24 It was suggested to us that in Beeston too public disorder on match days is not as widespread as it once was and the biggest source of antagonism between the club and local residents was identified as the club's tendency in the past to ride roughshod over the community in terms of developments at the ground. This issue came to the forefront during the proposal to build the new East Stand, but it was the decision to develop the ground on a much larger scale in the late 1990s that led to the local residents on the Wesley's forming an action group. As local people pointed out to us, the area has an enduring problem with environmental and noise pollution caused by its proximity to the busy road and motorway networks in south Leeds and when the club was awarded the contract to build in the immediate area of the ground by the city council, local residents opposed the planning application. The local Labour Party branch held a consultation meeting for the residents and the meeting voted unanimously to oppose the application and in the process set up the South Leeds Action Group (SLAG). SLAG campaigned on the basis that the extra traffic, pollution, noise and disturbance caused by the development would damage the local environment even further. In the event, the plans were not implemented.

Summary

2.4.25 From the interviews and observations conducted by the research team, a number of summary conclusions can be made about the populations of City and Holbeck and Beeston, and their relations with LUFC:

- Both Beeston and Holbeck are ethnically and socially diverse areas
- There is evidence of sharp segregation both in terms of the physical and the socio-cultural geography of the two areas
- This segregation appears to go largely unchallenged by organised community groups
- Whilst residents do experience some problems associated with litter, traffic, congestion and noise on match days, the club's presence in the area largely passes by unnoticed
- One area of Beeston in particular encountered specific problems associated with the proposed redevelopment of Elland Road in the late 1990s

3. Leeds United Football Club – Business Communities

3.1 Introduction

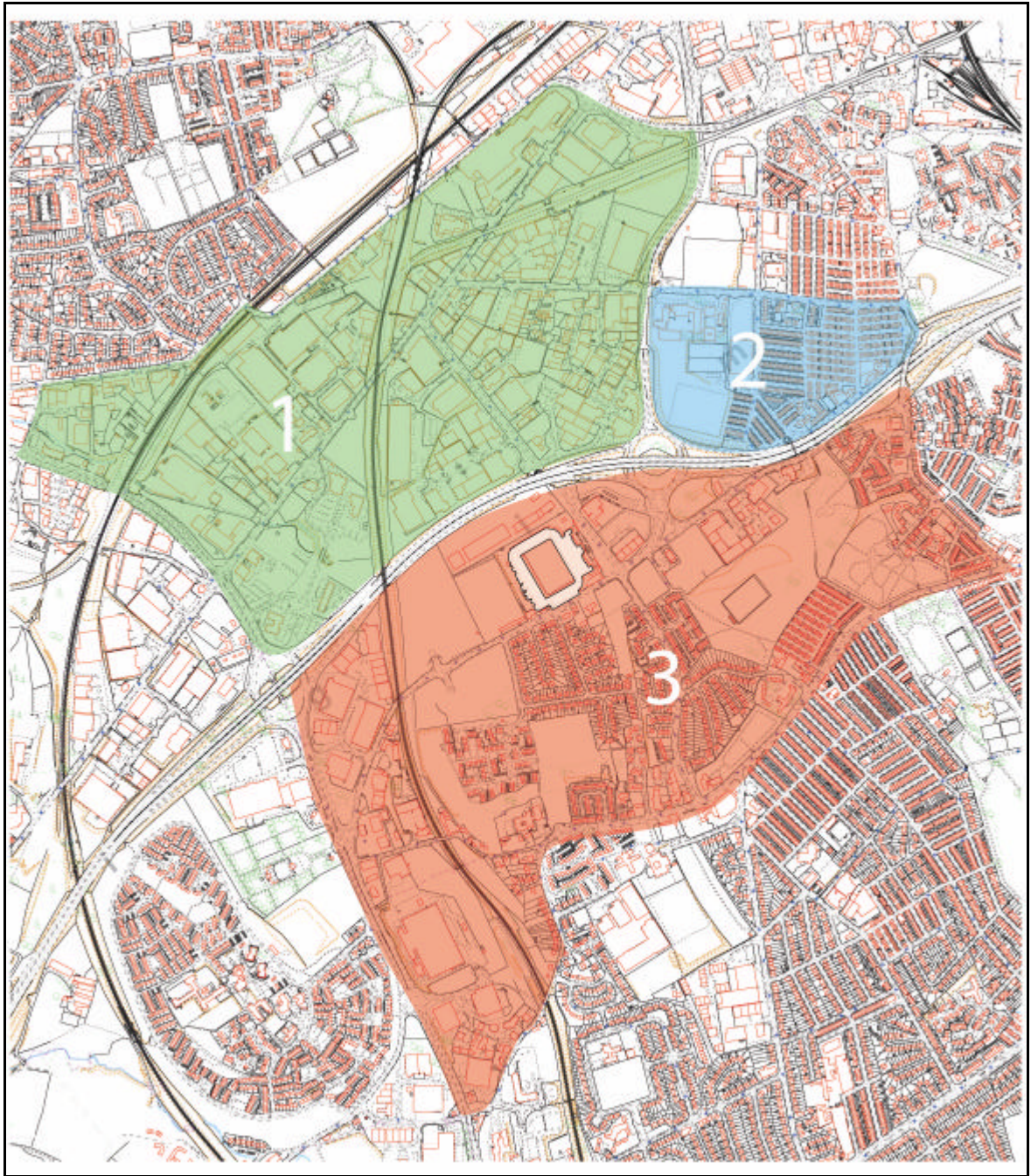
3.1.1 The research team has adopted a number of strategies to assess the relationship between Leeds United Football Club and a variety of ‘business communities’. First, we conducted a census of businesses located around the Elland Road stadium to gauge the impact of the football club on the level and character of local trade. We wanted to test assumptions on the economic impact of football stadia, and to gain information on the types of businesses that currently congregate around major stadia such as Elland Road. Second, we undertook observations in the areas around Elland Road and interviewed local business owners and employees. We specifically wanted to gather their thoughts on the impact of the football club on local trade, and sought to uncover any formal or informal relationships that they might have with LUFC. Finally, we gathered information on the main sponsors and stadium advertisers at LUFC. We thought that this strategy would provide us with a measure of the relationship between LUFC and the local business community by showing how many of the club’s sponsors and advertisers were drawn from the local area.

3.2 Elland Road – The Local ‘Business Community’

3.2.1 The research team conducted a survey of businesses around the Elland Road stadium in August 2003. We concentrated the survey on three main areas (see Map 3.1). Taken together, these areas cover the immediate vicinity of the Elland Road stadium. They were chosen because they are the business neighbourhoods that are most likely to be influenced by the activities of LUFC. The areas are relatively large, especially when compared to the business areas that the research team measured around the case study stadia in Manchester and Sheffield. However, the research team felt that this approach was necessary in the case of Elland Road because the stadium is located in an area of diffuse business activity that spreads over a number of adjacent ‘business parks’ (especially within Area 1), as well as over the more traditional residential areas of Beeston and Holbeck.

3.2.2 Businesses around Elland Road (and the case study stadia in Manchester and Sheffield) were classified into 14 categories selected by the research team. The categories are:

- Public House
- Takeaway Food Outlet
- Restaurant
- Bookmaker
- Newsagents/Off License
- Other Shop/Retail
- Public Services
- Managed Workspace
- Light Industry
- Heavy Industry
- Warehouse
- Empty Property
- Place of Worship
- Other Services



Map 3.1: Leeds Business Survey Areas¹¹

¹¹ Crown Copyright Ordnance Survey. An Edina Digimap/JISC supplied service.

3.2.3 The selection of these categories was informed by two central concerns. First, the research team wanted to establish a range of categories that would allow for the classification of all the business types that would be encountered around the Elland Road stadium, and around the other case study stadia in Manchester and Sheffield. Second, within the 14 categories we wanted to include business types that, we assumed, would be found in high numbers around the case study stadia. The research team was particularly interested in measuring the number of businesses around Elland Road, Maine Road, the City of Manchester Stadium and Bramall Lane that depended in part or in whole on match-day activities for their trade. We decided to concentrate on businesses that were likely to be used by football supporters on match days, and hence included the categories of public house, takeaway food outlet, restaurant, bookmaker, and newsagent/off license. By specifically measuring these categories, we believed that we could draw conclusions on the degree to which local ‘business communities’ around football stadia depend on football clubs’ activities for their existence.

3.2.4 Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show the results of the Elland Road business survey. Figure 3.1 indicates the collective character of the business community around Elland Road, whilst Figure 3.2 illustrates the Leeds business survey results broken down by area. Figure 3.1 shows that, at the time of our census, the highest business categories around Elland Road were Warehouse and Other Services. The large number of warehouses around Elland Road (particularly in Area 1) is explained by the fact that, as mentioned above, the stadium is positioned close to a number of modern business parks. The high number of businesses that were classified as ‘Other Services’ include a range of companies that are typically found in business parks, including commercial vehicle repairers, valet services, car washes, and plant hire equipment providers.



Figure 3.1

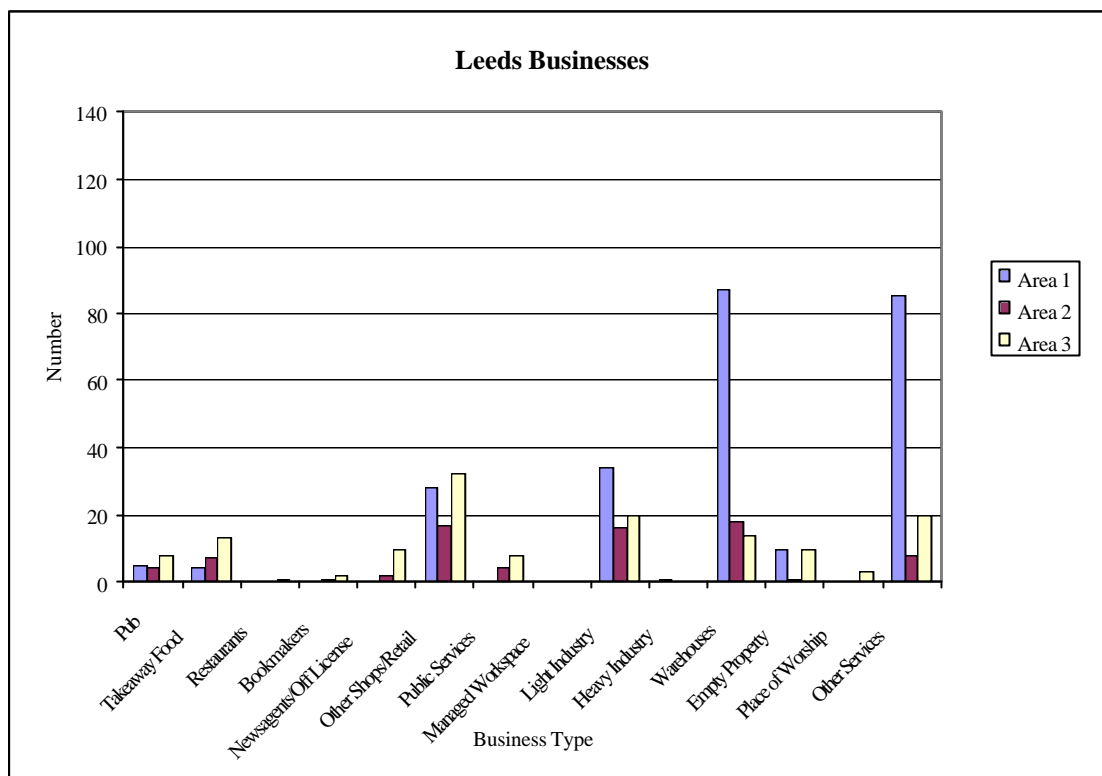


Figure 3.2

3.2.5 The next most significant business classifications around Elland Road were ‘Other Shops/Retail’ and ‘Light Industry’. Many of the light industries that we recorded were again located in the business parks of Area 1 (see Figure 3.2). A large number of the businesses that we classified as ‘Other Shops/Retail’ were located in the more residential neighbourhoods covered by Area 3. Area 3 is partly made up of the well-populated Beeston Hill area of Leeds. This area is clearly well served by a relatively high number of retail businesses.

3.2.6 As stated above, the research team were particularly interested in measuring the number of businesses around Elland Road that were likely to be used by football supporters on match days. In total, we counted 17 pubs, 24 takeaways, 1 restaurant, 3 bookmakers and 12 newsagents/off licenses in the three business areas around the stadium (see Figure 3.1). Whilst the number of pubs and takeaways around Elland Road suggests that these businesses have ‘clustered’ around Elland Road to some degree, the same cannot be said of restaurants, bookmakers and newsagents/off licenses. Unsurprisingly, the majority of businesses that we recorded in the pub, takeaway, restaurant, bookmaker, and newsagent/off license categories were to be found in the residential neighbourhoods covered by Areas 2 and 3, rather than in the business park areas covered by Area 1.

3.2.7 As a final point, it is worth noting that the research team only recorded 21 empty business properties in the areas around the Elland Road stadium. This means that only 4.4% of the business properties that we catalogued around the stadium were not functioning as business at the time of our census. This suggests that local trading conditions around Elland Road are relatively healthy, particularly when compared to those around the Maine Road stadium in Manchester and the Bramall Lane stadium in Sheffield.

Summary of the Elland Road Business Community

3.2.8 From the information gathered during the business survey, it can be concluded that the areas around Elland Road are characterised by:

- High numbers of warehouses, light industries and ‘other services’ (especially in the business parks covered by Area 1)
- Relatively high numbers of shops/retail outlets (especially in the Beeston Hill area covered by Area 3)
- Relatively high numbers of pubs and takeaways
- Few restaurants, bookmakers or newsagents/off licenses
- Very few empty business properties

3.3 The Elland Road ‘Business Community’ and Relations with Leeds United Football Club

3.3.1 In the past twelve months, the research team has conducted a number of formal and informal interviews and observations in the Elland Road area to gather information on the impact of the football club on the local ‘business community’. We wanted to better understand how LUFC’s presence in south Leeds influences business operations in the local area. We also wanted to study formal and informal relations between local businesses and the football club, and to determine the level to which the football club influences local business practices and routines. We also wanted to know whether the football club had provided ‘benefits’ to the local business community.

3.3.2 The first point that the research team noted when visiting businesses in the Elland Road area was the relatively small number of businesses that are actually located in the immediate vicinity of the stadium. As mentioned above, Elland Road is located in a diffuse geographical area that is surrounded by business parks. The stadium is also positioned close to a number of major roads, including the M621 motorway (see section 2 for more on this). This means that the Elland Road stadium actually has more in common with many new, ‘out of town’ football stadiums than it does with ‘traditional’ football stadiums located amongst terraced housing and small businesses. This is surprising when one considers that the Elland Road stadium has stood in some form or other since the late nineteenth century.

3.3.3 The profile of the businesses that are located in the business parks near to Elland Road is such that few of them are likely to be used by football supporters on match days. There is a McDonald’s takeaway food outlet on a recently redeveloped area of Elland Road, and a Burger King outlet near to the stadium. However, many of the other businesses in the immediate locale are large-scale retail outlets (such as DIY stores) or office/unit-based business. Whilst this means that these businesses are unlikely to benefit directly from the match-day operations of LUFC, it does not preclude them from trading on some form of relationship with the football club. It is notable, for instance, that a small number of industrial and warehouse operators in the immediate vicinity of the stadium have dressed their businesses in the LUFC club colours of white, blue and yellow. Moreover, a small number of local businesses, including the Symphony Group and the Clipper Group, have either historical sponsorship links with LUFC, or currently rent corporate boxes at the Elland Road ground.

3.3.4 Away from the direct vicinity of Elland Road, the research team visited businesses located in residential areas of Beeston and Holbeck to understand how they are affected by the operations of LUFC. We assumed that businesses in these areas would benefit from match-day trade as people gathered and moved through the areas on their way to matches. The landlord of a pub in Beeston that is utilised by football supporters reported to us that match-days made a “big” difference to his overall takings. He stated that regular groups of supporters met in his pub before games, and that this trade kept his business functioning better than would otherwise have been the case.

3.3.5 This dependence on the football club was not, however, repeated across Beeston and Holbeck. In fact, very few of the businesses which we visited reported significant increases in trade on match days. One grocery store/off-license owner in Beeston stated:

As you can see my shop is not on any of the main routes to the football ground, but none of the shops around here are really affected on match days. You might get a little bit more custom but very little to make a

difference. Even the shop on Wesley Street, which is on the main road down to the ground, didn't make much from the football crowds. He ended up closing the shop because he wasn't making it pay. It is a tanning centre now.

3.3.6 We also interviewed a woman who works in a small local supermarket that is sited on one of the main thoroughfares to the football ground. When prompted on the effects of LUFC on her shop, she stated:

I don't follow football myself, but you can tell when it is a match day because of the sheer volume of traffic and the parking. We used to get them parking in the car park here but the security guard watches cars on match days to make sure they are customers. Other than that they don't make a difference. Some come in to buy a few cans of beer or something to eat, but that's it.

3.3.7 For this employee, it was clear that the match-day operations of LUFC did not significantly influence the level of local trade. It was also interesting that she reported the problems created by traffic and illegal parking on match day as having a potentially detrimental effect on local business. Indeed, the potential nuisance that football supporters could create in terms of access to the supermarket was more important to this employee than any possible economic benefits.

3.3.8 By drawing clear distinctions between 'customers' (or local people) and football supporters, this supermarket employee was representative of a number of business people or employees to whom we spoke in the Elland Road area. Few interviewees suggested that their businesses existed to serve football supporters. Indeed, most businesses in the area appear to operate independent of LUFC and their supporters, and only accrue small up-turns in trade on match days.

3.3.9 To further understand the relationship between local businesses around Elland Road and football supporters, we asked a number of interviewees if they had encountered 'problems' with football supporters on match-days. In addition to problems associated with traffic and illegal parking, a number of business people and employees did state that they had encountered some theft and vandalism from football fans in the past. However, this was not viewed as being a particularly regular or serious phenomenon. One shop worker stated that most of the crime that local businesses encountered was not caused by football supporters, but rather by local people:

It isn't the football people who bother people around here, they're not here long enough to do that – what, once a fortnight? And most of them are families anyway nowadays. No, if there is a problem it's the same old regulars: shoplifters and robbers. I got held up in here last month and so did the supermarket and do you know the police say they can't prosecute him who did it, even though everyone knows who it is. It's a joke. They're the ones who cause the problems for us not the football.

3.3.10 The lack of nuisance created by football supporters to the Elland Road business community may again be an indication of the lack of interaction between the two groups. If football supporters are not using businesses around Elland Road in any great numbers, then it is

clearly unlikely that they will create problems for those businesses, save for issues to do with illegal parking.

3.3.11 The research team is yet to determine any firm reasons for the relatively light usage of businesses in the Elland Road area by LUFC supporters. It may be the case that LUFC supporters travel to matches principally by private car, and, therefore, do not spend any significant time in areas in the vicinity of Elland Road on match days. It also might be the case that the principal traffic routes to and from Elland Road do not encourage people to make use of local businesses. We will consider this issue further and report upon it in the final project report.

3.3.12 The lack of impact of LUFC's match-day activities on Beeston and Holbeck was confirmed to the research team when we questioned local businesses about any formal relationships or channels of communication that they might have with the football club. Whilst we spoke to only a select number of local traders, we could find little evidence of formal trading links between local businesses and the football club.

3.3.13 One way in which LUFC does maintain links with the local business community is through mentoring arrangements at the club's Learning Centre. LUFC has a policy of encouraging local business people to act as mentors for pupils attending its Learning Centre. This arrangement enables local business people to fulfil their social responsibility obligations, whilst 'giving something back' to the south Leeds community. It also helps to building communication links between local businesses and LUFC.

3.3.14 In addition to analysing the relationship between businesses in the Elland Road area and LUFC, the research team also sought to uncover any relationships that might exist *between* the businesses around the stadium. We wanted to determine whether an identifiable 'business community' exists in the area that is maintained by formal contacts and lines of communication. At the time of writing, we have found no evidence of such a community. This may be because businesses around Elland Road are spread over a relatively wide geographical area, and are also very disparate in terms of their actual trade. If we find evidence contrary to this in the remainder of our research, we will report upon it in the final project report.

Summary

3.3.15 From interviews and observations conducted by the research team, the following conclusions can be drawn about local businesses in the Elland Road area and their relationships with Leeds United Football Club:

- The Elland Road stadium has a relatively small number of businesses located in its immediate vicinity
- Many businesses located near to Elland Road are large-scale retail outlets and office/unit based businesses that are unlikely to benefit directly from match-day trade
- A small number of office/unit based businesses around Elland Road are connected to LUFC through their use of the club's colours or commercial sponsorship links
- Few businesses around Elland Road depend on the football club for their business
- LUFC's match-day activities can cause problems for some local businesses, particularly in terms of increased traffic and illegal parking
- There is little evidence of formal trading links between LUFC and local businesses, although the club does use local business people as mentors in its Learning Centre
- There is no evidence of a formal or informal 'business community' around Elland Road

3.4 Leeds United's Main Sponsors

3.4.1 The table below lists Leeds United Football Club's main sponsors for the 2003/2004 season:

SPONSORS	LOCATION
Arla Foods	Leeds
First Leeds	Leeds
96.3 Radio Aire	Leeds
Education Leeds	Leeds
HSBC	London
Playstation 2	London
Barclaycard	London
Coca Cola	London
Sky Sports	London (Isleworth)
Ladbrokes.com	London (Harrow)
Whyte and Mackay	Glasgow
Carling (Coors Brewers Ltd)	Burton-on-Trent
PFA Football in the Community	Manchester
Nike (Europe)	Netherlands

Table 3.1: Leeds United's Main Sponsors, 2003-2004

3.4.2 As Table 3.1 indicates, LUFC has 14 main sponsors. The locations of these have been listed according to the sponsor's main operating base, or in the case of multinational corporations, the company's UK or European headquarters.

3.4.3 Table 3.1 indicates that LUFC have 4 local Leeds sponsors (28.6% of total), 6 London sponsors (42.9%), 3 from elsewhere in the UK (21.4%), and 1 from overseas (7.1%).

3.4.4 The club's local sponsors include a variety of business types that include a local bus operator (First Leeds), a local radio station (Radio Aire), and a multinational corporation that has its UK headquarters in Leeds (Arla Foods). The majority of the club's other sponsors are 'blue chip' national or multinational corporations including Coca-Cola, HSBC, Carling, and Nike.

3.4.5 It is notable that LUFC has fewer commercial sponsors than the other case study clubs. This reflects the club's policy of selling relatively few sponsorship packages in order to increase the value of each deal. It is also notable that LUFC has no 'regional' sponsors that are drawn from the wider Yorkshire area. Indeed, in comparison to the other case study clubs, LUFC has a greater concentration of national and multinational corporations amongst its sponsors, and fewer local or regional sponsors.

3.4.6 A number of LUFC's sponsorship deals are tied to specific sections of the club or specific schemes of work. For example, HSBC, Coca-Cola, Playstation 2, and the PFA principally provide sponsorship/funding for the club's Community United activities.

3.4.7 It should be noted that a number of the companies listed above sponsor LUFC as part of broader relationships with the football industry. Playstation 2, for example, sponsors Football in the Community (FiTC) activities across the country, whilst Barclaycard are the main sponsors of the Football Association Premier League (FAPL). Coca-Cola has a long history of sponsoring English football, and also currently sponsors FiTC activities.

Summary

3.4.8 From the information above, it can be concluded that LUFC:

- Has a smaller number of sponsors than MCFC and SUFC
- Has relatively few local sponsors and no regional sponsors
- Draws most of its sponsorship from national and multinational corporations
- Has a number of sponsorship deals that are tied to specific sections of the club
- Has a number of companies that sponsor the club as part of a broader relationship with the football industry

3.5 *Leeds United's Match-day Stadium Advertisers*

3.5.1 The research team conducted a survey of stadium advertisers at Leeds United's Elland Road stadium in October 2003. The table below lists the sponsors and the location of their main operating base. In the case of multinational corporations, the locations of UK headquarters have been listed, except where the company trades only from overseas.

ADVERTISERS	LOCATION
93.3 Radio Aire	Leeds
Yorkshire Evening Post	Leeds
HSBC	London
Playstation 2	London
Barclaycard	London
Ladbrokes.com	London (Harrow)
Sky Sports	London (Isleworth)
Lucozade (Glaxo Smith Kline)	London
Carling (Coors Brewers Ltd)	Burton-on-Trent
Klaus Kobac Watches	Manchester
Vodka Kick (GBL International Ltd)	Chesterfield
Whyte and Mackay	Glasgow
Base Footwear	Loughton, Essex
Arriva	Sunderland
Flannels Daniel Hechter	Paris
Nike (Europe)	Netherlands

Table 3.2: Leeds United's Match-day Stadium Advertisers, October 2003

3.5.2 Table 3.2 indicates that LUFC draws advertising for its stadium from a range of locations. Of the 16 advertisers listed above, 2 are based in Leeds (12.5%), 6 in London (37.5%), 6 elsewhere in the UK (37.5%), and 2 operate from overseas (12.5%).

3.5.3 LUFC has a significantly smaller range of stadium advertisers than the other case study clubs. Again, this reflects the club's policy of selling few advertising packages, thereby increasing the value of each deal. LUFC also draws much less of its stadium advertising from local companies. The only two local firms that were advertising at Elland Road at the time of our survey were both media companies (Radio Aire and the Yorkshire Evening Post) that routinely report on LUFC's matches. It is also important to note that LUFC did not have any regional, Yorkshire-based stadium advertisers at the time of the research team's survey.

3.5.4 Unsurprisingly, a large number of LUFC's commercial sponsors also advertise at the Elland Road stadium. These companies include HSBC, Playstation 2, Barclaycard, and Nike. The club's other advertisers include a range of nationally or internationally famous brands such as Carling, Vodka Kick, and Sky Sports.

Summary

3.5.5 From the information above, it can be concluded that LUFC:

- Has fewer stadium advertisers than MCFC and SUFC
- Does not draw a great deal of stadium advertising from locally-based companies
- Does not draw any stadium advertising from regionally-based companies
- Draws most of its stadium advertising from club sponsors or other nationally or internationally-famous brands

4. Leeds United Football Club - Communities of Disadvantage

4.1 *Introduction*

4.1.1 In the research team's first interim report, we noted the growing importance of concepts of 'disadvantage' in structuring our case study football club's community work. In our audit of community work at the three clubs, we found that a range of work was being conducted with disadvantaged populations around themes such as crime and anti-social behaviour reduction, drug awareness, health promotion and social inclusion. We explained the development of this work with reference to a new national policy context around sport, and the emergence of new expectations about sport's ability to contribute to the generic health and well-being of communities. The work of Leeds United was particularly interesting in this regard. LUFC had only recently begun to develop new social inclusion programmes at the time of the first interim report, and planned, in partnership with a variety of agencies, to expand these over the next twelve months.

4.1.2 This part of the report will be split into three main sections. In the first, an outline of the main 'communities of disadvantage' in Leeds will be presented to indicate those areas in which one would expect outside interventions to be taking place. The second section will consider LUFC's interventions into communities of disadvantage, and will question whether the club is targeting its work at people most at need of assistance and support. The final section will outline the location of a variety of other sport-related interventions in Leeds, and will explain how other agencies in the city are focusing their community sports work.

4.2 *Leeds's Communities of Disadvantage*

4.2.1 This section is based on the Government's Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) report, published by the Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) in 2000. The Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of Oxford compiled the report between 1998 and 2000. It was commissioned to provide a ward level index of deprivation that was to be structured around six 'domains': income; health; education; child poverty; housing; employment; and geographical access to services¹². The report was also to provide an 'index of multiple deprivation' that was the sum of the six deprivation domains.

4.2.2 The IMD report is now four years old and has been criticised in some quarters, not least in terms of its methodology. As a result, an updated IMD report is due for publication in 2004 that will be based on a refined methodology and will include new deprivation domains such as crime and environment. The project team plan to analyse the new IMD report in the project's final report in 2005. However, it is worth considering the 2000 report here, not least because a large number of community sports organisations and other intervention providers are currently basing funding bids and strategies on the existing deprivation data sets.

4.2.3 According to the IMD report, the City of Leeds is suffering from significant levels of deprivation in a relatively small number of concentrated areas. When measured on the IMD's Index of Multiple Deprivation, 7 out of Leeds's 33 wards (21.2%) are amongst the top 10% of deprived wards in England (see Table 4.1). However, Leeds does not have any areas in the top 1% of deprived wards in England, and also has a large number of wards with significant wealth and

¹² Geographical access to services is not included in the discussion here as it is not relevant to discussions of urban deprivation. The measure was included in the IMD to measure poor access to services in rural areas.

good levels of education, health, housing provision and employment. Indeed, 15 Leeds wards (45.5%) are amongst the top 50% of *least* deprived wards in England. This compares very favourably with many other urban areas and with our other case study cities. For instance, 10 out of Manchester’s 33 wards (30.3%) are in the top 1% of deprived wards in England (measured on the IMD rank), and Manchester has only 1 ward (3.0%) in the top 50% of least deprived wards in England.

WARD	NATIONAL IMD RANK
City and Holbeck	378
Seacroft	388
Harehills	429
Burmantofts	444
Richmond Hill	484
Hunslet	656
University	666

Table 4.1: Deprived Leeds Wards – Index of Multiple Deprivation

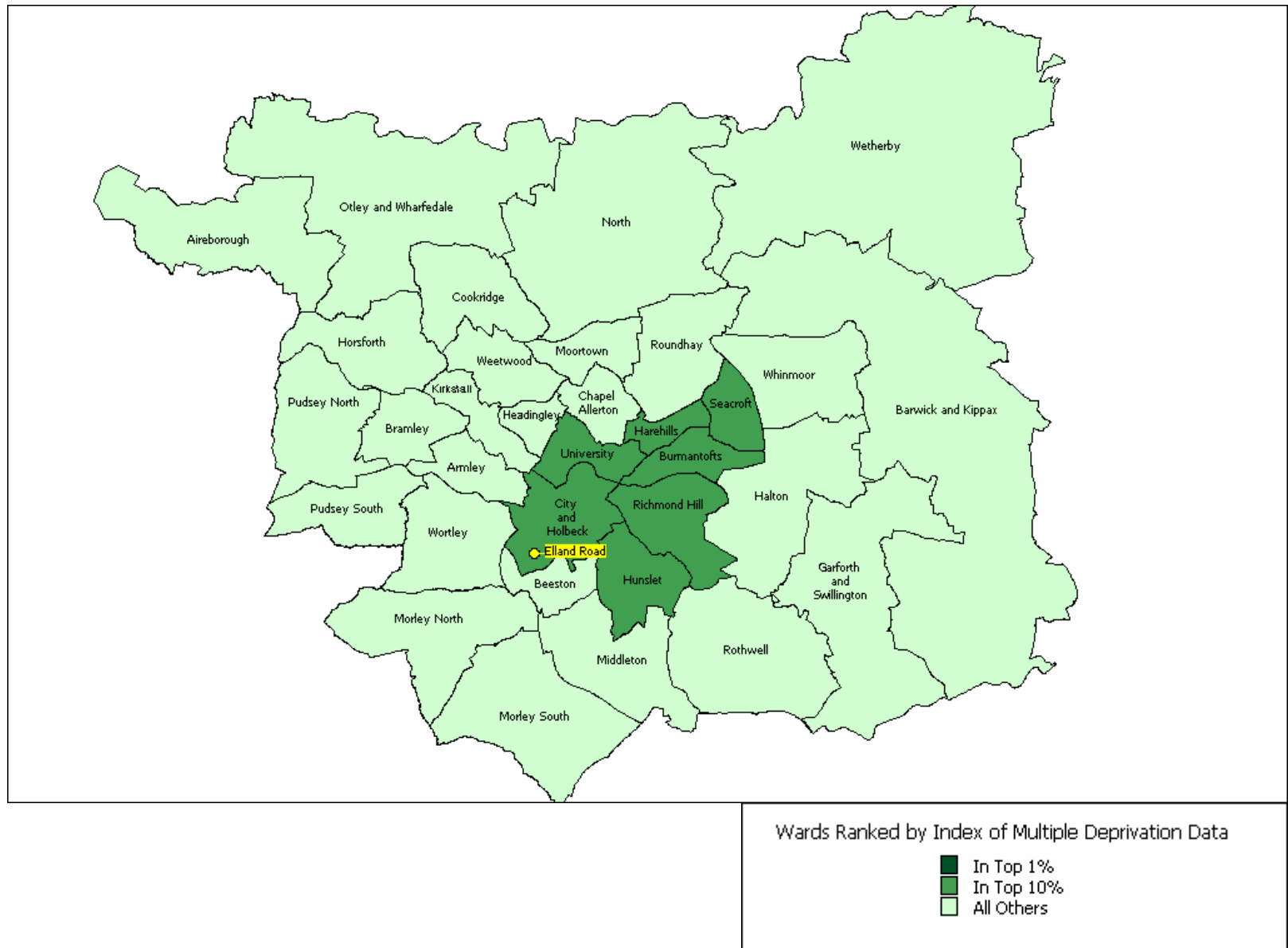
4.2.4 As can be seen from the table above, the most deprived ward in Leeds is City and Holbeck. This ward is, of course, home to LUFC’s stadium, Elland Road. The other most deprived wards in Leeds are Seacroft, Harehills, Burmantofts, Richmond Hill, Hunslet and University. These wards and City and Holbeck are concentrated together in a densely populated area around Leeds city centre that extends mainly to the south-east, east, and north-east (see Map 4.1). This area of concentrated deprivation also borders a number of other wards that, whilst not in the top 10% of deprived wards nationally, are still suffering from significant levels of multiple deprivation. These wards include Chapel Allerton, Beeston, and Middleton, all of which are in the top 16% of deprived wards in England.

4.2.5 Unsurprisingly, a number of the wards mentioned above also score highly on the individual deprivation domains measured by the IMD report. In terms of income, 8 Leeds wards (24.2%) are amongst the top 10% of deprived wards nationally (see Table 4.2).

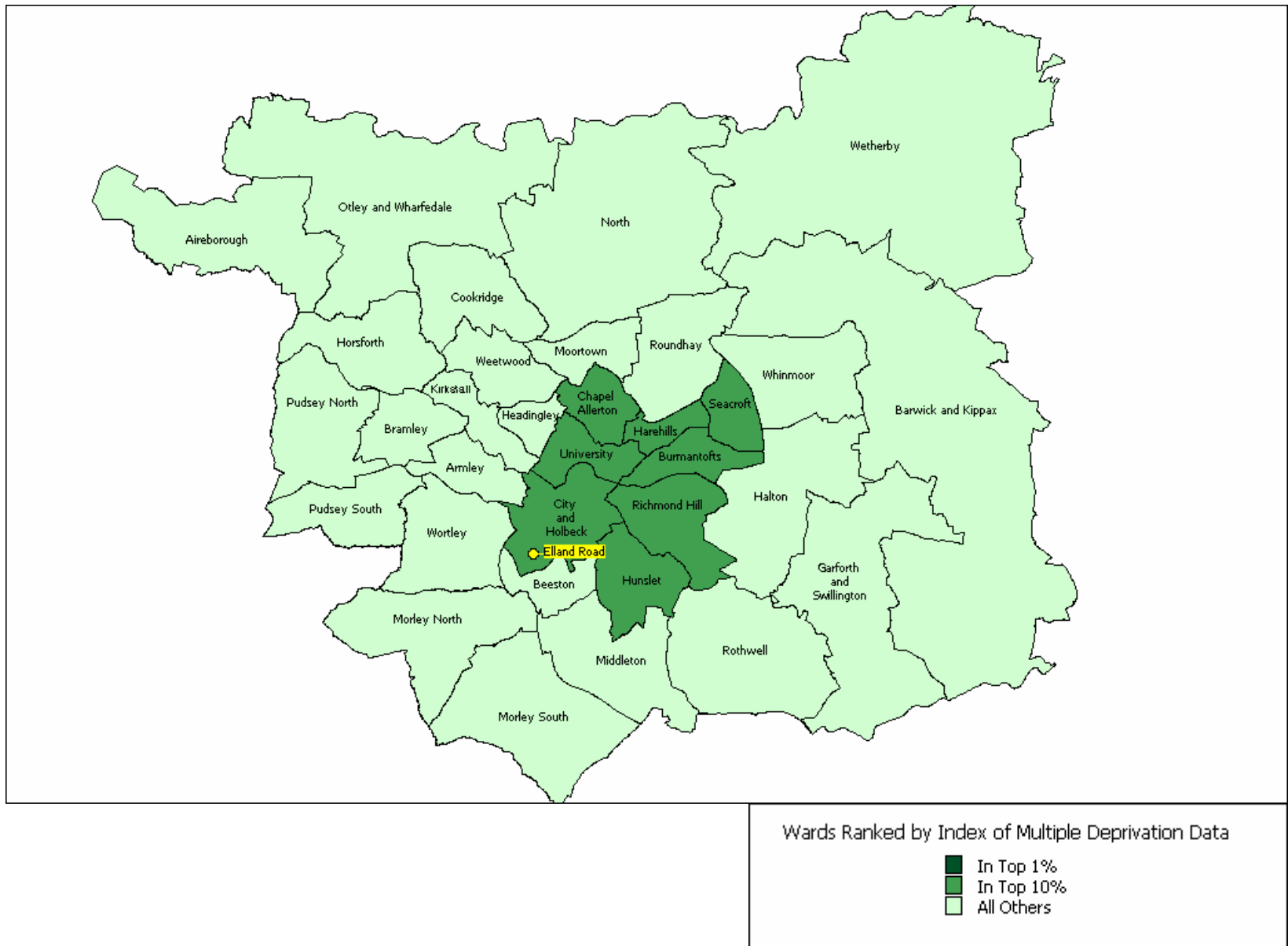
WARD	NATIONAL INCOME RANK
Harehills	202
Seacroft	217
Burmantofts	273
Richmond Hill	310
City and Holbeck	356
Hunslet	360
Chapel Allerton	575
University	832

Table 4.2: Deprived Leeds Wards – Income

4.2.6 The geographical spread of income deprivation in Leeds is again concentrated in the area that spreads from the city centre (City and Holbeck) to the south-east (Hunslet), east (Richmond Hill, Burmantofts) and north-east (Harehills, Seacroft). The area to the north of the city centre covered by the University and Chapel Allerton wards is also, according to the IMD report, suffering from pronounced income deprivation (see Map 4.2).



Map 4.1: City of Leeds – Index of Multiple Deprivation



Map 4.2: City of Leeds – Index of Income Deprivation

4.2.7 On measurements of health, Leeds does not appear to be suffering from especially significant levels of deprivation. Only 5 of the city's wards (15.2%) are in the top 10% of deprived health wards in England.

WARD	NATIONAL HEALTH RANK
Burmantofts	640
City and Holbeck	642
Seacroft	663
Richmond Hill	829
Hunslet	834

Table 4.3: Deprived Leeds Wards – Health

4.2.8 The geographical spread of Leeds's health deprivation is again concentrated around the city centre and areas immediately to the south-east, east and north-east. Wards to the north of the city centre are not, according to the IMD report, suffering from significant levels of health deprivation (see Map 4.3). However, it should be noted that the University and Chapel Allerton wards are in the top 19% of deprived health wards in England.

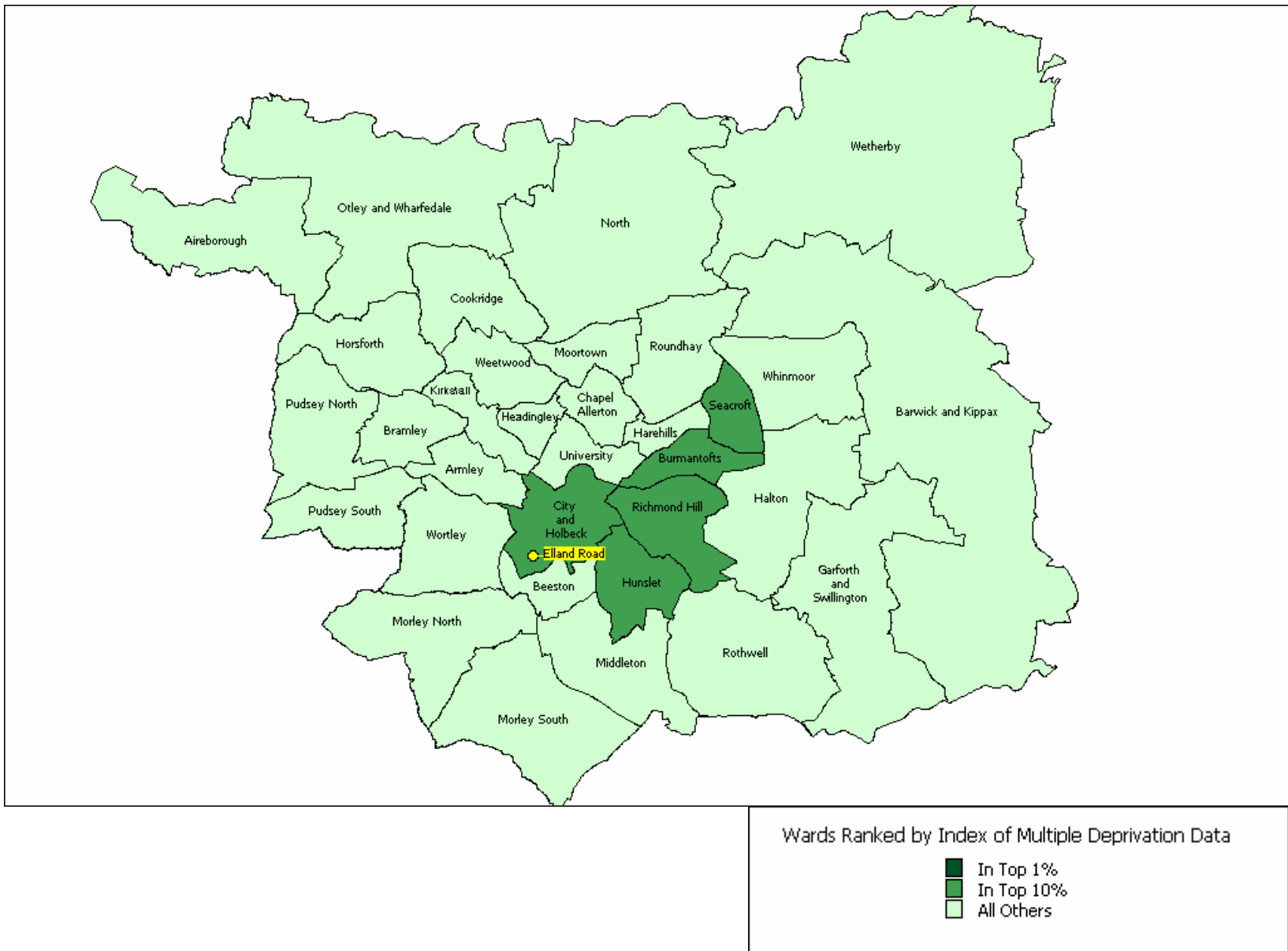
4.2.9 In terms of education, Leeds again has relatively few deprived wards according to the IMD report. Only 6 of the city's 33 wards (18.2%) are in the top 10% of deprived education wards in England (see Table 4.4)

WARD	NATIONAL EDUCATION RANK
University	590
City and Holbeck	600
Richmond Hill	624
Beeston	696
Burmantofts	730
Wortley	820

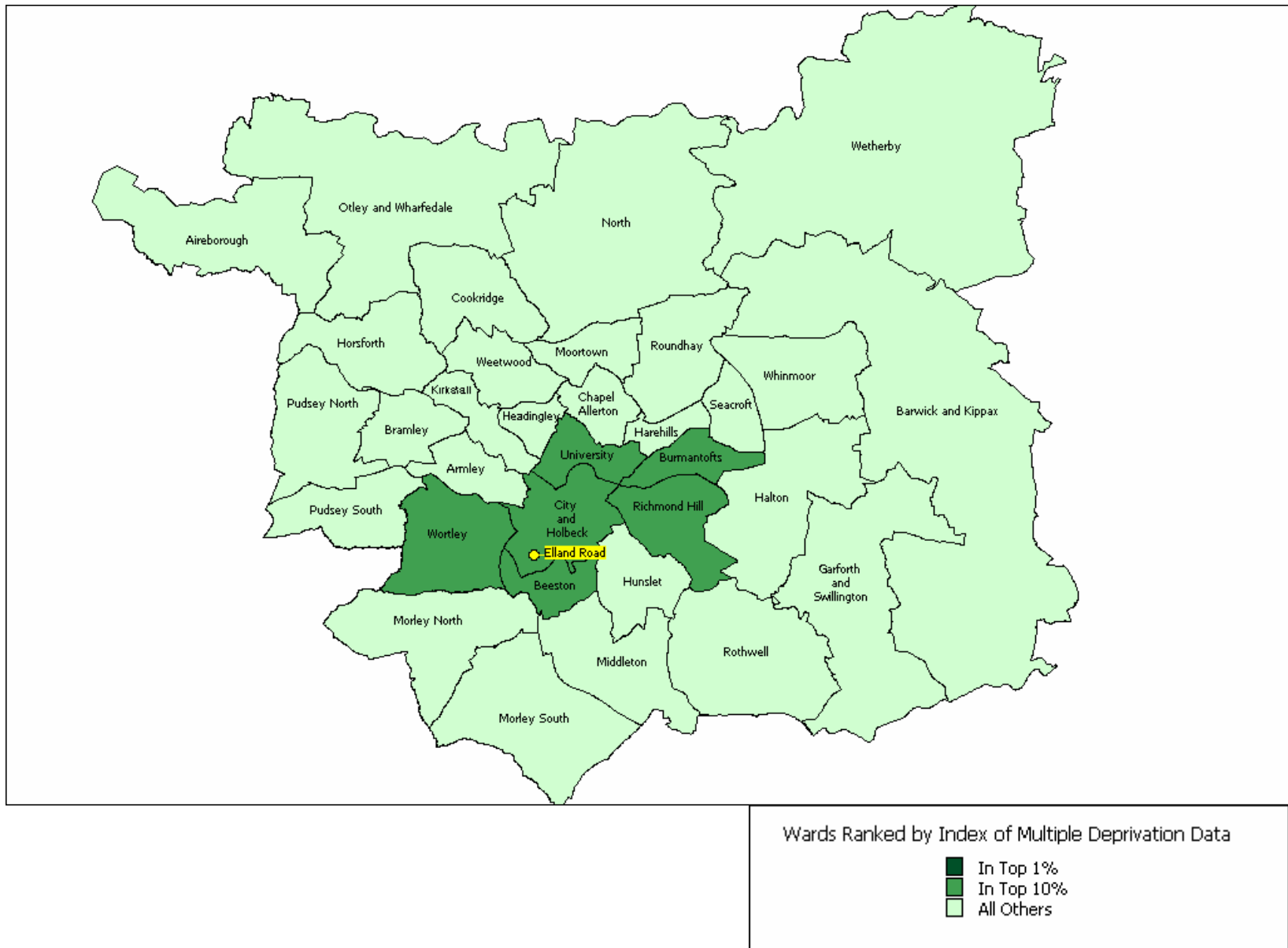
Table 4.4: Deprived Leeds Wards – Education

4.2.10 The geographical spread of Leeds's education deprivation is concentrated in a slightly different area to the city's income and health deprivation. The wards of City and Holbeck, Richmond Hill, University and Burmantofts are again defined as suffering from significant deprivation, this time with regard to education. However, two other wards, Beeston and Wortley, are also classified as being within the top 10% of deprived education wards nationally. These wards are located to the south and west of Leeds city centre respectively (see Map 4.4).

4.2.11 On child poverty, Leeds performs rather more poorly than it does in the areas of health and education. According to the IMD report, 8 of the city's wards (24.2%) are in the top 10% of deprived wards for child poverty in England (see Table 4.5).



Map 4.3: City of Leeds: Index of Health Deprivation



Map 4.4: City of Leeds – Index of Education Deprivation

WARD	NATIONAL CHILD POVERTY RANK
University	129
Seacroft	258
Harehills	267
Richmond Hill	299
City and Holbeck	363
Burmantofts	391
Hunslet	561
Chapel Allerton	618

Table 4.5: Deprived Leeds Wards – Child Poverty

4.2.12 Child poverty in Leeds is concentrated in the city centre (City and Holbeck) and areas immediately to the north (University, Chapel Allerton), south-east (Hunslet), east (Richmond Hill, Burmantofts) and north-east (Harehills, Seacroft) (see Map 4.5).

4.2.13 Housing deprivation in Leeds is not, according to the IMD report, particularly pronounced. Five of the city's 33 wards (15.2%) are in the top 10% of the deprived housing wards nationally (see Table 4.6).

WARD	NATIONAL HOUSING RANK
Harehills	233
University	582
City and Holbeck	696
Chapel Allerton	756
Headingley	779

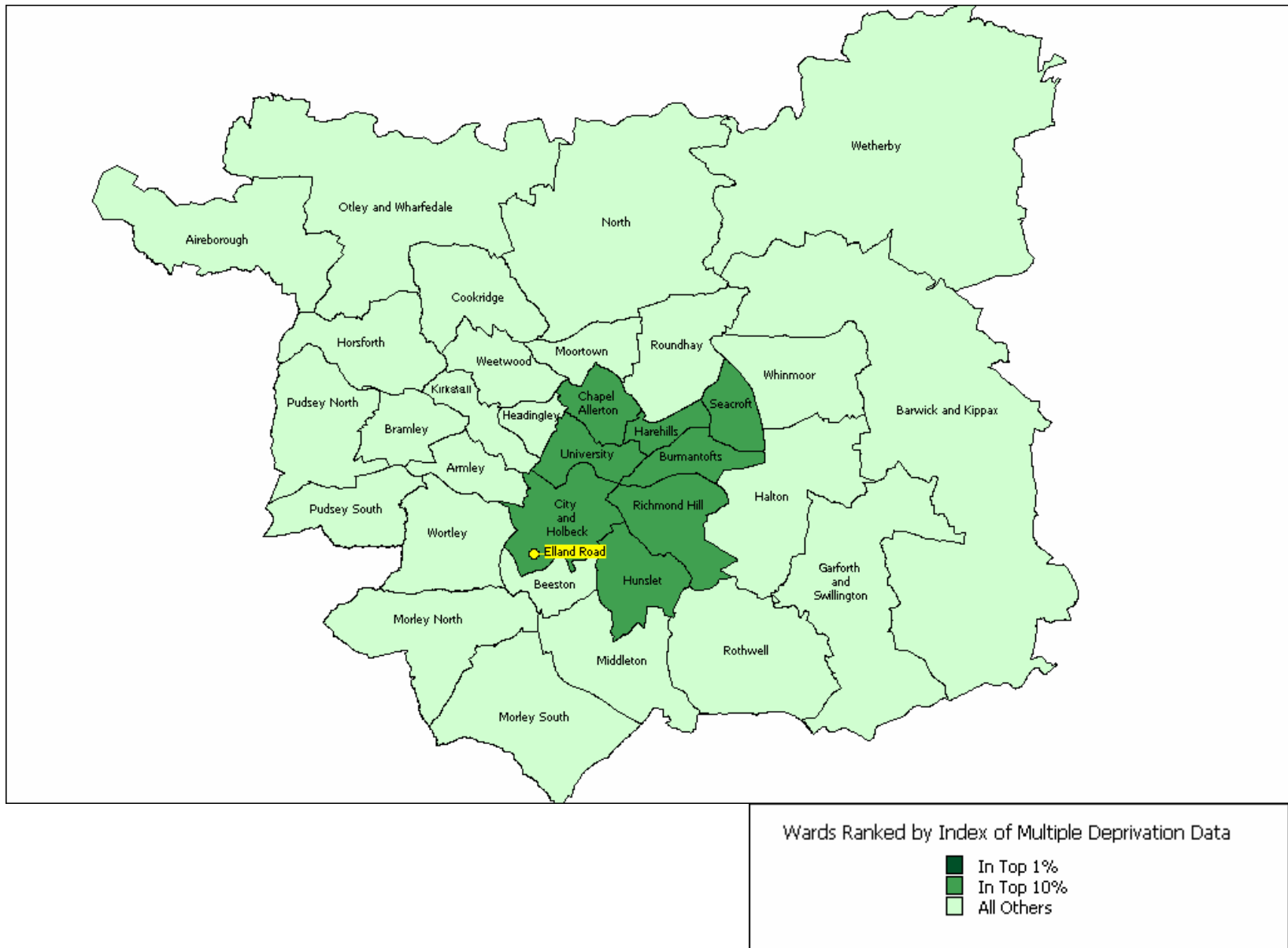
Table 4.6: Deprived Leeds Wards – Housing

4.2.14 Housing deprivation in Leeds is concentrated in the city centre (City and Holbeck), and areas to the immediate north (Chapel Allerton, University) and north-east (Harehills). The Headingley ward that borders the University and Chapel Allerton wards to the north-west of the city centre is also, according to the IMD report, suffering from significant housing problems (see Map 4.6).

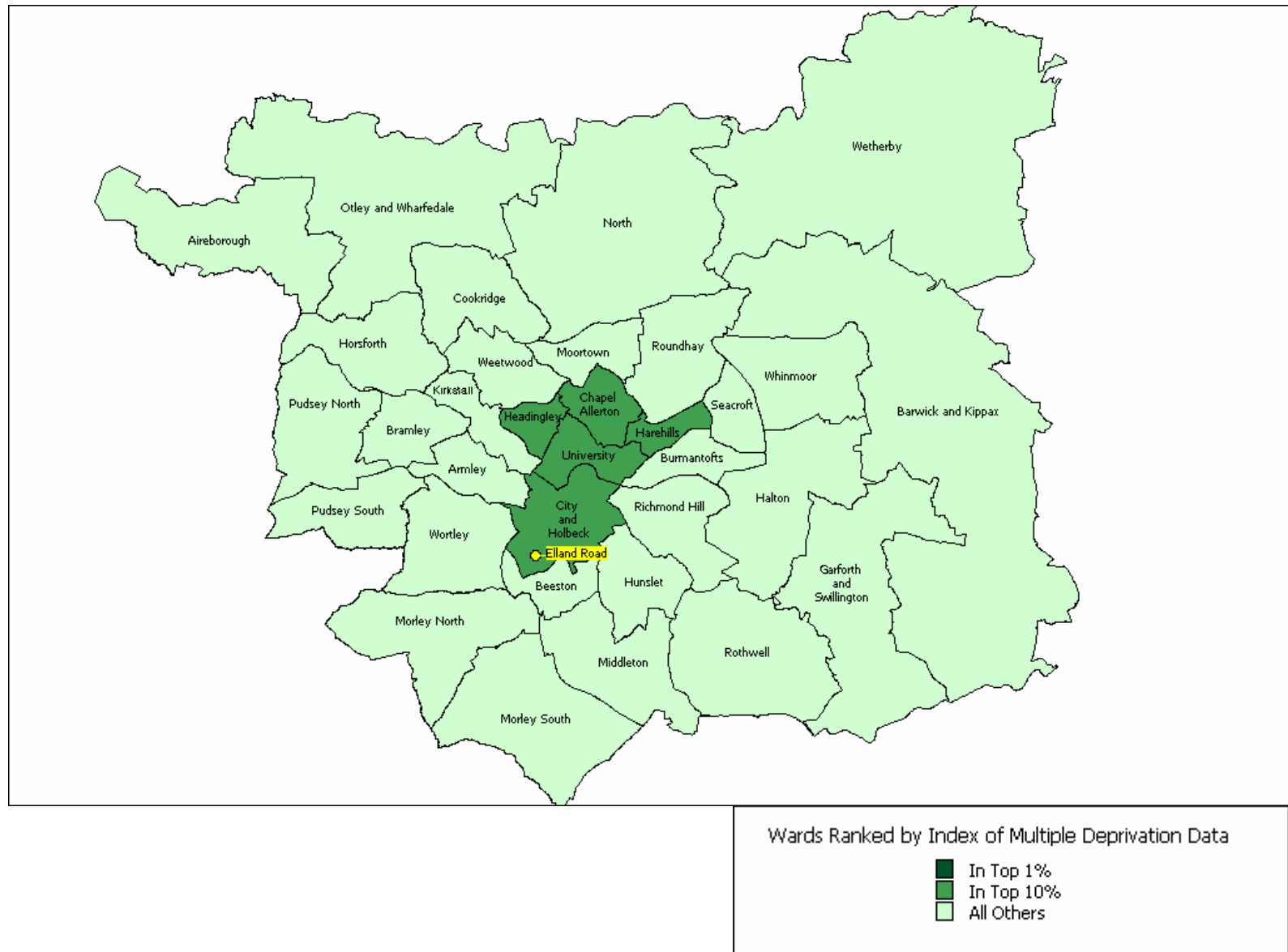
4.2.15 Employment deprivation in Leeds is, according to the IMD report, more of a concern than housing deprivation. Seven of the city's 33 wards (21.2%) are in the top 10% of deprived employment wards in England (see Table 4.7).

WARD	NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT RANK
City and Holbeck	397
Seacroft	452
Harehills	509
University	566
Burmantofts	573
Richmond Hill	637
Hunslet	820

Table 4.7: Deprived Leeds Wards – Employment



Map 4.5: City of Leeds – Index of Child Poverty



Map 4.6: City of Leeds – Index of Housing Deprivation

4.2.16 Employment deprivation in Leeds is once again concentrated in the city centre (City and Holbeck), and areas immediately to the south-east (Hunslet), east (Richmond Hill, Burmantofts), north (University) and north-east (Harehills, Seacroft) (see Map 4.7).

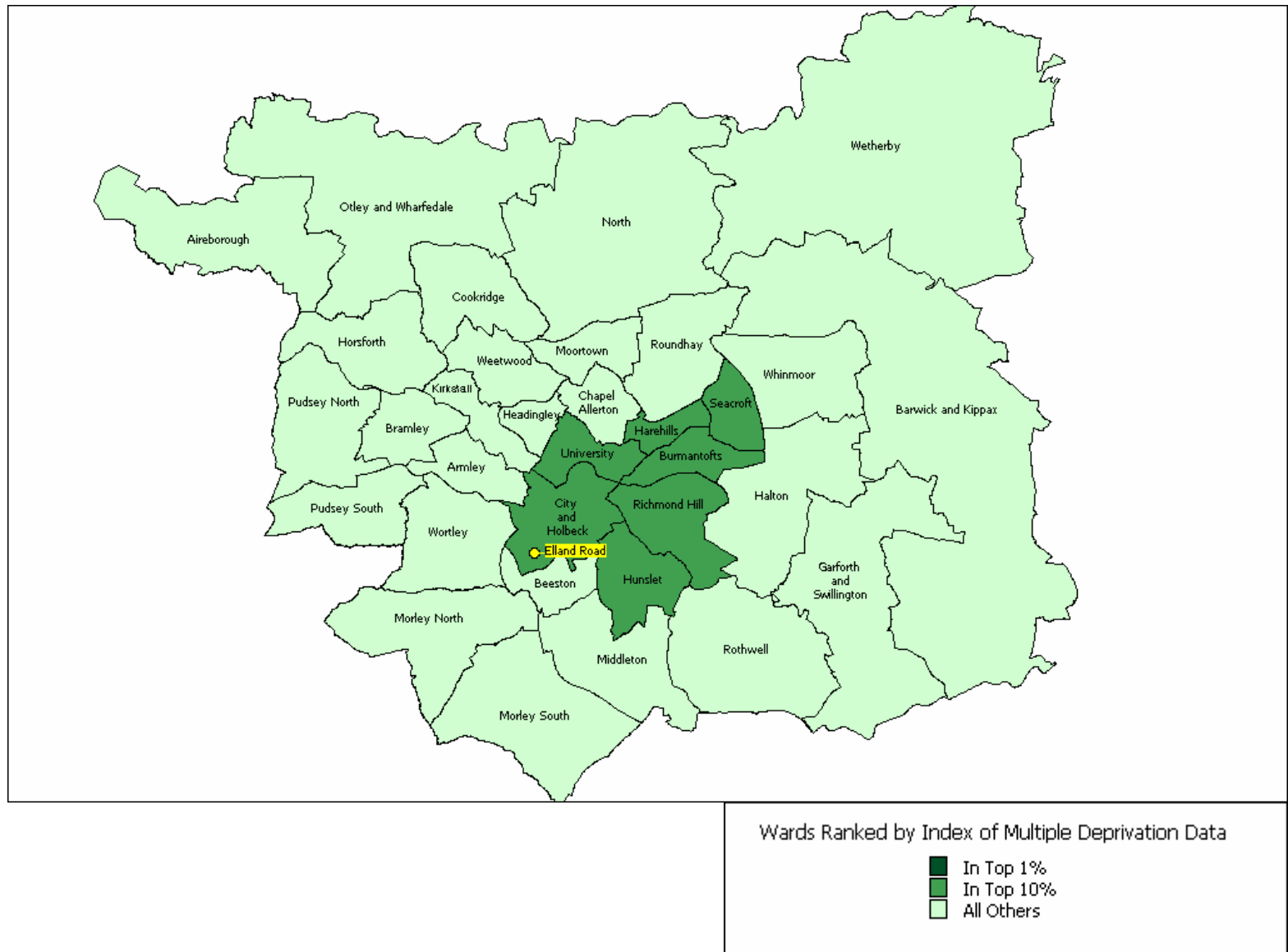
Summary

4.2.17 From the information presented above, it can be concluded that, according to the IMD report, Leeds is suffering from relatively low levels of deprivation, especially when compared to cities such as Manchester. However, a concentrated area of deprivation is present in the city that is made up of the following wards:

- City and Holbeck
- Hunslet
- Harehills
- University
- Seacroft
- Burmantofts
- Richmond Hill

4.2.18 City and Holbeck is in the top 10% of deprived wards nationally for all of the domains measured by the IMD report, with the exception of Access to Geographical Services. Burmantofts, Richmond Hill and University are in the top 10% of deprived wards nationally for 5 of the 7 IMD individual domains, whilst Seacroft, Harehills and Hunslet are in the top 10% for 4 of the 7 domains.

4.2.19 In addition to these seven wards, it is also worth noting that Chapel Allerton is in the top 10% of deprived wards nationally for 3 of the 7 IMD individual domains (Income, Child Poverty and Housing). Beeston and Wortley are also in the top 10% of deprived wards nationally for one domain, Education.



Map 4.7: City of Leeds – Index of Employment Deprivation

4.3 *Leeds United Football Club's Interventions into Communities of Disadvantage*

4.3.1 In the first project interim report, it was explained that Leeds United Football Club was making football development and 'social' interventions into a number of different 'communities' across Leeds. At the time of the first report, some of the club's interventions, most notably the 'free-schools' football development programme, were being delivered across the city and aimed to draw in as many children as possible. Other interventions were being delivered in specific geographical areas and amongst particular target groups. In this section, we will make tentative comments on the geographical and social targeting of LUFC's work, and explain how the club is developing this work for the future.

4.3.2 The research team first conducted an audit of LUFC's formal community interventions between October 2002 and April 2003. During this period, we found a well-developed community strategy at the club that was being delivered under the banner of 'Community United'. Three specific sub-departments - Community Affairs, Delivering Football in the Community, and Leeds United Learning Centre - were organising and delivering the club's interventions across a wide range of geographical areas in the City of Leeds. Since our initial audit, a number of community staff at LUFC have been made redundant or have left the club for alternative employment because of the club's well-publicised financial problems. Whilst this has not resulted in a fundamental restructuring of LUFC's approach to community interventions, it has meant that the club is not always able at present to deliver the level of community work that it did previously. This should be borne in mind when comparing the information presented here with the information presented in the first project interim report.

4.3.3 Despite financial problems at the club, LUFC currently delivers a range of community interventions in a number of locations in Leeds and beyond. In addition to the 'free schools' programme, the club continues to run soccer fun clubs, holiday courses, coaching sessions for junior clubs, coaching centres and a range of other football development activities across Leeds and in neighbouring areas such as Wakefield and Harrogate. This shows that LUFC's football development work is not principally directed at specific geographical locations or areas of disadvantage, but is rather designed to reach the maximum number of children possible. The 'free schools' programme, for instance, has so far accessed over 25,000 children and ultimately aims to visit every primary and junior school in the Leeds area.

4.3.4 The general approach of LUFC's football development work does not extend into all of the club's community interventions. Since 2002, LUFC has been working with Leeds City Council to provide football coaching at youth clubs in Leeds. Whilst this work has not been targeted at specific wards (there are 69 youth clubs across Leeds), much of it has been carried out in the most deprived wards in the city. The idea behind the initiative is to use football to build self-esteem and confidence amongst socially excluded young people, and this led LUFC to launch its earliest youth club interventions in wards of significant deprivation, including City and Holbeck and Harehills (the 1st and 3rd most deprived wards in Leeds, according to the IMD report). At present, the financial problems at LUFC have precluded the club from developing its youth club work further.

4.3.5 Whilst the financial instability of LUFC has affected the provision of football development and coaching by the club, it has not impacted greatly on the club's educational support work. The LUFC Learning Centre is funded from a range of sources, including the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) and Education Leeds, and has, therefore, been relatively protected from the problems that have surfaced at LUFC over the past eighteen months.

The work of the Learning Centre is strongly targeted at specific geographical areas and population groups. In a March 2001 case study report for the Study Support National Evaluation and Development Programme, Centre Manager Steve Smith explained the purpose of his work squarely within the terms of local education deprivation in the inner-south area of Leeds. Smith stated:

Only 15 per cent of the workforce in the new banking and service industries, which are developing in the area to replace the declining, manufacturing industries, are from South Leeds. The local community does not have the relevant skills to exploit the employment opportunity afforded by this developing pattern.

Smith also went on to note that:

Low pupil achievement is a major issue for the area. The home backgrounds of many of the children are such that they have had few quality experiences, they enter school with a very low baseline and quite simply never catch up. Some 38 per cent of pupils are on free school meals and 45 per cent of households on some form of benefit. Some 12 per cent of the local population are from the ethnic minorities and 43 per cent of pupils fall below Level 4 in maths and English at Key Stage 2.

4.3.6 To help tackle these structural problems, LUFC's Learning Centre has developed a number of interventions that are focused on wards in and around inner-south Leeds. The centre's *Playing for Success* activities are directed at the 'inner south family of schools' in the Beeston and City and Holbeck wards. Similarly, its Pupils Accessing Study Support (PASS) project is focused on 'Neighbourhood Renewal Schools' in wards such as Harehills and Burmanstofts. Other targeted Learning Centre initiatives include:

- The Elmete Wood School PASS Project in Roundhay
- The Attendance Project that covers the 'SRB4' and 'South Wedge' schools in Morley North, Morley South, Beeston, City and Holbeck, Middleton, Hunslet, and Rothwell
- The Anti-Racism project that runs in 'Neighbourhood Renewal Schools' in Harehills and Burmanstofts
- The *Playing for Success Together* project that runs in the 'inner south family of schools' in Beeston and City and Holbeck
- The Accredited Peer Mentor Project that runs in the 'Neighbourhood Renewal Schools' in Harehills and Burmanstofts

4.3.7 Many of the wards that are targeted by the LUFC Learning Centre are amongst the most educationally deprived in Leeds. Of the 10 wards mentioned above, 5 are, according to the IMD report, in the top 10 deprived education wards in Leeds (City and Holbeck, Beeston, Burmanstofts, Middleton, and Hunslet). However, some of the other targeted wards do not appear to be suffering from particularly acute education deprivation. Indeed, Rothwell and Roundhay are amongst the 8 *least* deprived education wards in Leeds, and in the top 27% of least deprived education wards in England.

4.3.8 It is clearly difficult to determine whether LUFC is directing its educational support work correctly when discussing only ward-level data. It may be the case that, whilst education deprivation is not particularly acute in Rothwell and Roundhay, a small number of schools in these wards may require outside support and assistance. It is instructive to note,

however, that schools in wards such as University, Richmond Hill, Wortley, Seacroft and Bramley do not appear to be currently receiving assistance from the LUFC Learning Centre. This is despite the fact that all of these wards are in the top 10 deprived education wards in Leeds, and are amongst the top 12% of deprived education wards in England.

4.3.9 Outside of formal schools programmes, LUFC also provides other forms of community educational support through its Community Affairs team. In 2004, the club launched its 442 (4Leeds, 4Reading, 2Together) Family Reading Clubs in partnership with Leeds Libraries, the National Literacy Trust and the Barclaycard Freekicks Programme. The aim of 442 is to create a family reading culture by using football to capture interest and inspire new ways of learning. 442 clubs are currently running at libraries in the Richmond Hill, Hunslet, Bramley, Harehills, Chapel Allerton, and Horsforth wards. The first five of these wards are, according to the IMD report, amongst the top 13 deprived education wards in Leeds, and in the top 27% of deprived education wards in England (by comparison Horsforth is in the top 9% of *least* deprived education wards in England). This suggests that LUFC is broadly targeting its 442 clubs at areas of significant education deprivation.

4.3.10 In addition to targeted education work, LUFC also currently operates a wide variety of anti-racism initiatives across Leeds. Indeed, its work in this area recently gained praise in the 2004 Independent Football Commission Report, which stated that LUFC were tackling race and ethnicity issues 'with real energy'. Whilst this work is not specifically targeted at a select number of geographical areas, it tends to focus most closely on areas of Leeds with large black and minority ethnic populations. An example of this approach is LUFC's inclusion strategy for distributing match tickets to black and minority ethnic groups who would not normally attend LUFC's matches. This approach has seen LUFC regularly distribute tickets to groups in Harehills, which has a large African-Caribbean population and growing Pakistani and Bengali populations, and to other groups such as the Sikh community in Armley.

Conclusion

4.3.11 From the information presented above, it can be concluded that LUFC is currently adopting a largely targeted approach to delivering social interventions in Leeds. Whilst the club's football development work is delivered across the city, its educational support work, and much of its anti-racism work, is directed at specific areas, most of which are in significant need of outside support and assistance. The majority of LUFC's educational work is delivered in deprived education wards in and around the inner-south area of Leeds: few deprived wards outside of this area receive educational support from the club. This shows that LUFC is currently balancing a concentrated local approach to delivering social interventions with a strategic interest in making interventions into areas most in need of assistance.

Summary

4.3.12 With reference to Leeds United's community strategy, it can be summarised that the club is delivering:

- City-wide football development interventions
- Social inclusion interventions in youth clubs across Leeds. Much of this work is targeted at specific geographical areas of need
- A range of educational interventions that are mainly focused on deprived education wards in inner-south Leeds
- A range of race and ethnicity inclusion work in areas such as Harehills and Armley.

4.4 Other Sports-Based Interventions into Communities of Disadvantage in Leeds

4.4.1 To place LUFC's work in communities of disadvantage into context, it is useful to consider briefly other key providers/facilitators of football and sports projects in Leeds. There are a number of community sports projects that operate across the city, and the information provided below is not designed to be an exhaustive list. It is, rather, offered here to indicate how community sports work in Leeds is being targeted geographically, and to identify those wards that are benefiting from community sports provision and those that are not.

4.4.2 The largest provider of community sports interventions (including football) in Leeds is Leeds City Council (LCC) Leisure Services Department. In addition to providing traditional sports development and facility management services, LCC has also worked in the area of community sports development since 1997. It has launched a number of community sports initiatives in the past seven years, including 'Sporting Communities'. This programme worked specifically in the Chapel Allerton, Harehills, University and Burmantofts wards to engage young people in sport, and to develop sustainable opportunities for local sport and active recreation. This four-year project, operated by LCC's Leisure Services Action Sport Team, was supported by £375,000 of local regeneration funding from SRB 3.

4.4.3 In 2002, LCC, in partnership with a number of other organisations including LUFC, launched a new four-year strategy for sport entitled *Active Leeds: Sporting City*. In the document, the city council states its objective of continuing and increasing its work in the policy area of 'neighbourhood renewal'. Specifically, the document includes two community-based headline targets for the period 2002-2006: to deliver £2 million worth of new revenue programmes in deprived communities; and to increase the number of adult residents contributing to sport as volunteers within the most deprived wards in Leeds. To meet these targets, the *Active Leeds* document states that LCC's neighbourhood renewal work in Leeds will be focused on the 12 most deprived wards in the city: those in the top 20% of deprived wards nationally (according to the DETR's IMD report). These wards are:

- City and Holbeck
- Seacroft
- Harehills
- Burmantofts
- Richmond Hill
- Hunslet
- University
- Chapel Allerton
- Beeston
- Middleton
- Bramley
- Armley

4.4.4 To support its work in these areas, LCC submitted a bid to Sport England to establish a 12-ward inner city Sport Action Zone (SAZ) in 2002. The stated aim of this initiative was to 'create a proactive and sustainable sport and physical activity network within the SAZ area that involves the local community, addresses their needs and, in particular, the needs of those that are not currently physically active'. Unfortunately for LCC, and despite initial statements to the contrary, funding for a second round of SAZs has not been forthcoming from Sport England. Whilst this means that the future of LCC's sport-related work in disadvantaged communities is

not as clear as it could be, it does not detract from the council's overall strategy of targeting community sports development work in the most deprived wards in Leeds. Indeed, the 2002-2006 sports strategy states that LCC will continue to prioritise the 12 most deprived wards in the city, even if the SAZ bid is unsuccessful.

4.4.5 From the information above, it is clear that LCC is currently adopting a closely targeted strategy in the area of community sports development. Its Sporting Communities programme is focused on the 3rd, 4th, 7th and 8th most deprived wards in Leeds, according to the DETR's 2000 IMD report. All of these wards are in the top 12% of deprived wards in England. In addition, its strategy for the period 2002-2006 is clearly to focus its community sports work on the 12 most deprived wards in Leeds as these are in the top 20% of deprived wards nationally. Without the impetus of a large-scale SAZ programme, community groups and voluntary organisation in Leeds have not been able to develop the sheer number of community sports interventions that, for instance, currently exist in SAZ areas such as East Manchester. However, a number of non-city council community sport and football initiatives do operate in the city. The most significant of these is the Leeds Football Community Link project that operates out of the Beeston ward. This programme was established by NACRO in 1997, and currently operates in partnership with LCC and a range of community organisations. It uses football to engage young people and to divert those at risk of anti-social behaviour and criminal behaviour. It also seeks to build sporting capacity in Beeston and neighbouring areas by training volunteers who can utilise new skills to establish sports clubs.

4.4.6 The work of the Leeds Football Community Link project is supported by a number of other community football initiatives in the ward of Beeston. These include: the Asian Boys Club that operates out of Cockburn High School in Beeston and provides football coaching for the Asian community; and the St Luke's Youth Project that runs in Beeston and provides a range of services and activities that aim to improve young people's choices and prospects. Beeston is also home to Beeston Juniors Football Club and a number of other sports clubs that, whilst not strictly community sports interventions, do provide valuable sporting opportunities for people in the local area.

4.4.7 Community sports interventions in Beeston are operating in an area of significant deprivation. Beeston is the 9th most deprived ward in Leeds according to the IMD report, and is in the top 13% of deprived wards in England.

4.4.8 The relative concentration of community sports projects in Beeston does not appear to be replicated in other wards across Leeds. There are 69 youth clubs in the city, and many of these deliver some form of sports-related activities. However, few medium or large-scale 'funded' football or sport-based social inclusion projects appear to be running in Leeds. In the Kirkstall ward of the city, a diversionary football project is currently operating from the Burley Lodge Centre with the aid of LCC Youth Service funding. Similarly, in the Pudsey South ward, the Pudsey Sports Project is running a multi-sport initiative that aims to tackle anti-social behaviour amongst local 11-18 year olds. This project was set up with a £10,000 grant from the Pudsey Community Involvement Team, and has since applied for support funding from LCC and Sport England. Finally, the Armley Juniors Project for Young People in the Armley ward is currently running an initiative that aims to provide sport and a range of other services to local young people who are encountering various forms of social exclusion.

4.4.9 The three projects outlined above are operating in areas of varying deprivation, according to the IMD report. Armley is the 12th most deprived ward in Leeds, and is in the top

20% of deprived wards nationally. Kirkstall is similarly deprived: it is the 15th most deprived ward in Leeds and is in the top 25% of deprived wards nationally. Pudsey, by contrast, is not, according to the IMD report, suffering from particularly significant levels of deprivation. Whilst the ward is the 16th most deprived ward in Leeds, it is in the top 56% of *least* deprived wards in England.

Conclusion

4.4.10 As stated at the beginning of this section, the list of community sports projects discussed above is not designed to be exhaustive. It is presented here to offer an indication of the general level of community sport activity currently operating in Leeds. It is clear that, at present, Leeds has relatively few sports-related interventions that are designed to tackle problems such as poor health, low educational attainment, crime, drug abuse, and various forms of social exclusion. LCC has begun to address this gap in provision through initiatives such as its Sporting Communities programme. However, it has so far failed to increase its community work further because of its failed SAZ bid. If this had been successful, much more concentrated community sports development work may now be taking place in the 12 most deprived wards in Leeds.

4.4.11 Other, non-LCC community sports interventions in Leeds are, in general, currently working in geographical areas of significant disadvantage. The NACRO project in Beeston and the Burley Lodge diversionary initiative are good examples here. Both of these projects are also examples of partnership working: the Beeston project between NACRO, LCC, and a range of other sponsors; and the Burley Lodge project between the community centre and LCC Youth Services. If community sports development provision in Leeds is to increase, this type of partnership working and pooling of resources must continue. This will mean that careful planning and co-ordination will need to be in place through bodies such as the Local Football Partnership (LFP) and the Local Strategic Partnerships (LSP).

Summary

4.4.12 With reference to key providers/facilitators of sports-related interventions in Leeds, the following points can be summarised:

- LCC Leisure Services is working in a number of significantly deprived wards in Leeds
- LCC is planning to increase its community sport work in the 12 most deprived wards in the city: those in the top 20% of deprived wards in England
- The Beeston ward is currently benefiting from a number of community sports interventions including the Leeds Football Community Link project, operated by NACRO
- Wards including Kirkstall, Pudsey South and Armley are also benefiting from community sports projects
- There are relatively few community sports interventions currently operating in Leeds

5. Leeds United Football Club – Supporter Communities

5.1 *Supporter Communities (1) Introduction*

5.1.1 To determine the nature, breadth and character of Leeds United Football Club's supporter communities, the research team has analysed and mapped a series of supporter databases provided by the football club. These datasets have been mapped according to political ward boundaries and have allowed us to compare LUFC supporter data with 2001 national census data and Department of Transport, Environment and the Regions (DETR) 2000 Indices of Multiple Deprivation data. This approach has not only enabled the research team to compile a comprehensive profile of LUFC's supporter communities, but has also allowed us to provide both a picture of the socio-economic status of LUFC fans and the geographical locales from which LUFC draws its support.

5.2 *LUFC's National Supporter Communities*

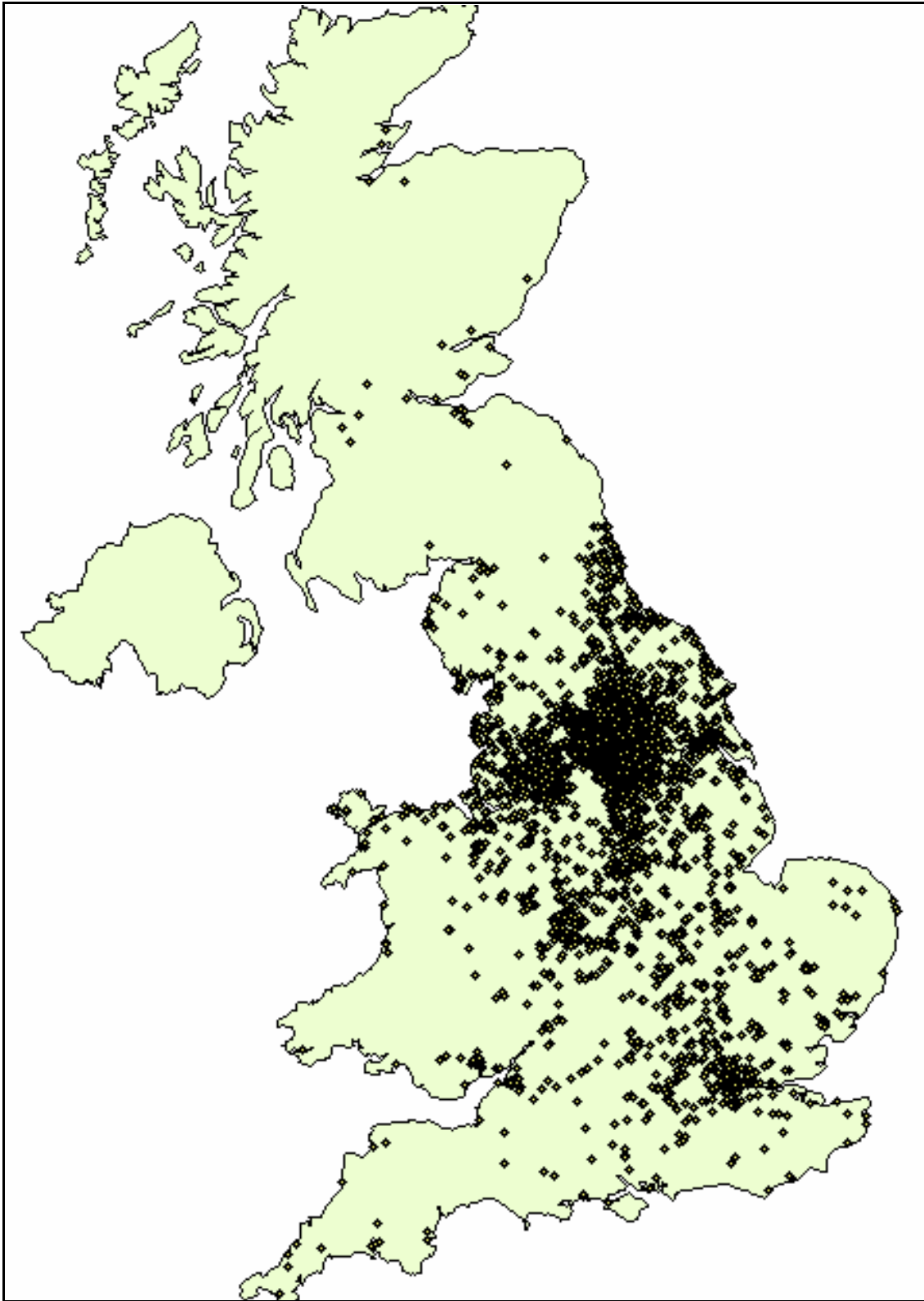
5.2.1 The research team has analysed three LUFC supporter datasets for the 2003/2004 football season: club season ticket holders; club members; and junior members.

5.2.2 In 2003/2004 LUFC had 20,517 season ticket holders, 6,970 members and 1,417 junior members. In our analysis of the club's datasets, we have successfully mapped 19,593 season ticket holders (95.50%), 5,942 members (85.25%) and 1,235 junior members (87.16%).

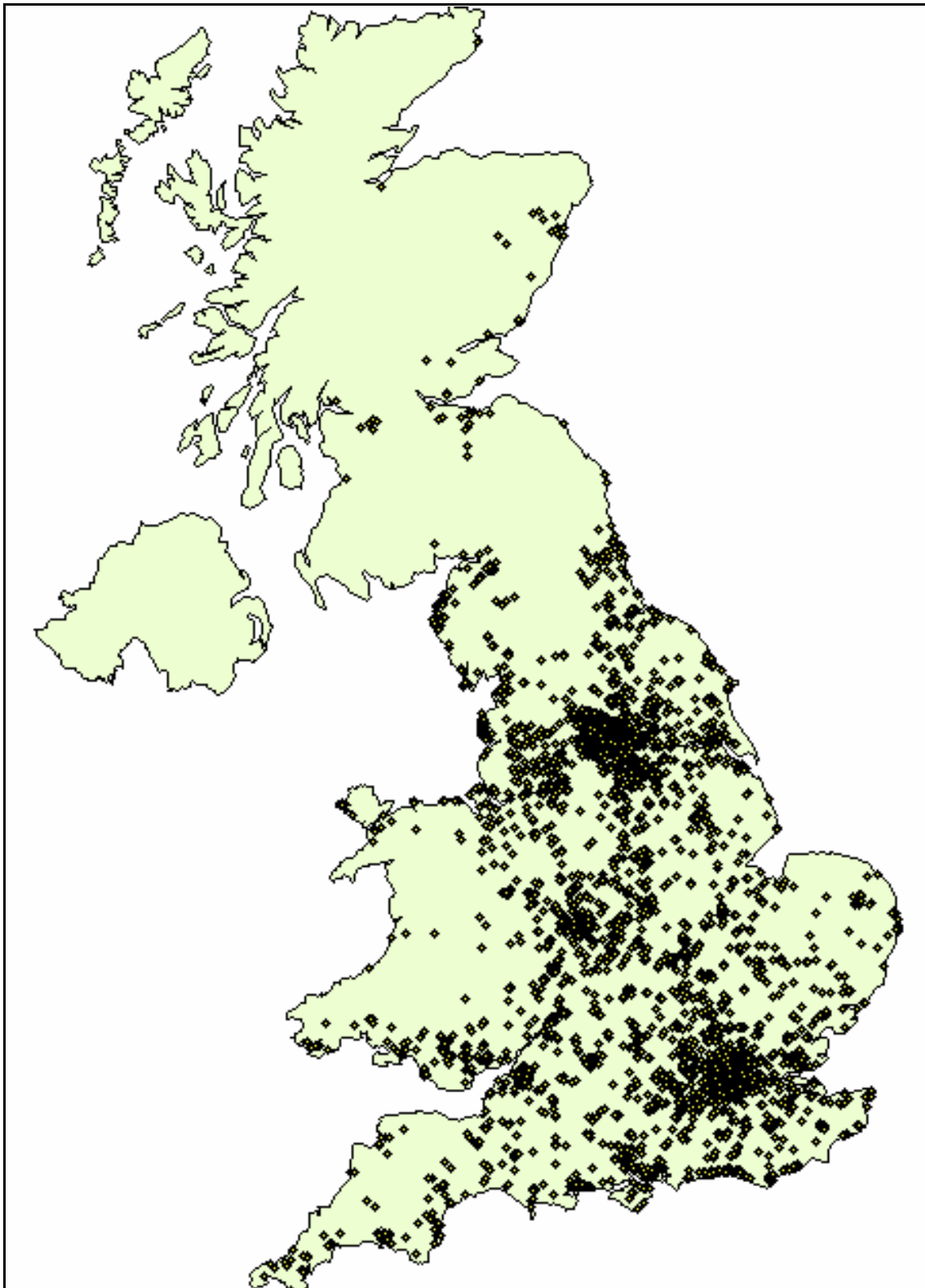
5.2.3 From the mapping analysis, it is notable that LUFC season ticket holders currently reside in a variety of locations across England, Scotland and Wales (see Map 5.1).¹³ Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of the club's season ticket holders are located in and around Yorkshire. The club also has significant concentrations of season ticket holders around the north Yorkshire/North East area, the North West of England and, to a lesser extent, Greater London.

5.2.4 LUFC's members and junior members are distributed in a similar pattern nationally to the club's season ticket holders (see Maps 5.2 and 5.3). The club has fewer members than season ticket holders, and even fewer junior members, but both sets of supporters are again concentrated mainly around the Yorkshire region and, to a much lesser degree, the North East and Greater London.

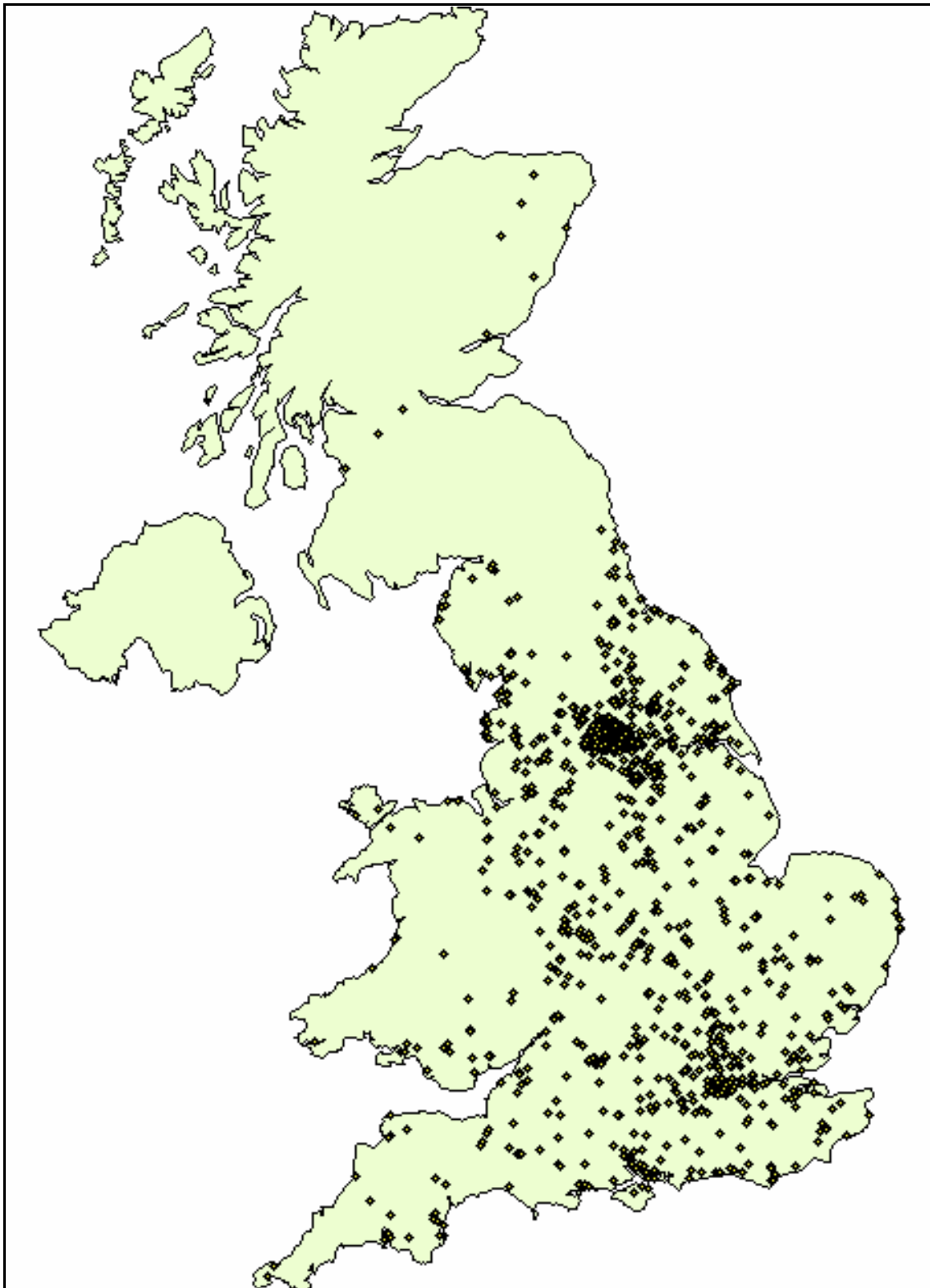
¹³ It should be noted that Map 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 show the national distribution of LUFC supporters, not concentrations of supporters in specific areas



Map 5.1: LUFC Season Ticket Holders 2003/04 – England, Scotland and Wales



Map 5.2: LUFC Members 2003/04 – England, Scotland and Wales



Map 5.3: LUFC Junior Members 2003/04– England, Scotland and Wales

5.3 *LUFC's Supporter Communities – West Yorkshire*

5.3.1 To provide a more detailed analysis of the distribution of LUFC's supporters, it is instructive to consider the percentage breakdown of the club's season ticket holders, members and junior members across West Yorkshire. The first issue to note is that only 39.88% (7813) of LUFC's season ticket holders currently reside in Leeds, while 64% (12,537) live in West Yorkshire. This clearly indicates that if LUFC has a relatively high local season ticket holding support, it also has a considerable national following and 36% of its season ticket holders come from outside West Yorkshire. However, this local concentration of support is not reflected amongst the club's members and junior members. Only 12.62% (750) of LUFC's members currently live in Leeds, while 22.62% (1,344) live in West Yorkshire. Likewise, only 9.8% (121) of junior members live in Leeds while 20.4% (252) emanate from West Yorkshire. It is difficult to account for this tendency, but one of the key factors might be that 'exiled' fans of LUFC are more willing to become members or junior members in order to experience a connection with 'their' club; something that more locally based fans can take for granted.

DISTRICT	S. TICKET HOLDERS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
Leeds	7813	39.88
Wakefield	1695	8.65
Bradford	1276	6.51
Kirklees	1267	6.47
Calderdale	486	2.48

Table 5.1: LUFC Season Ticket Holders 2003/2004 – West Yorkshire

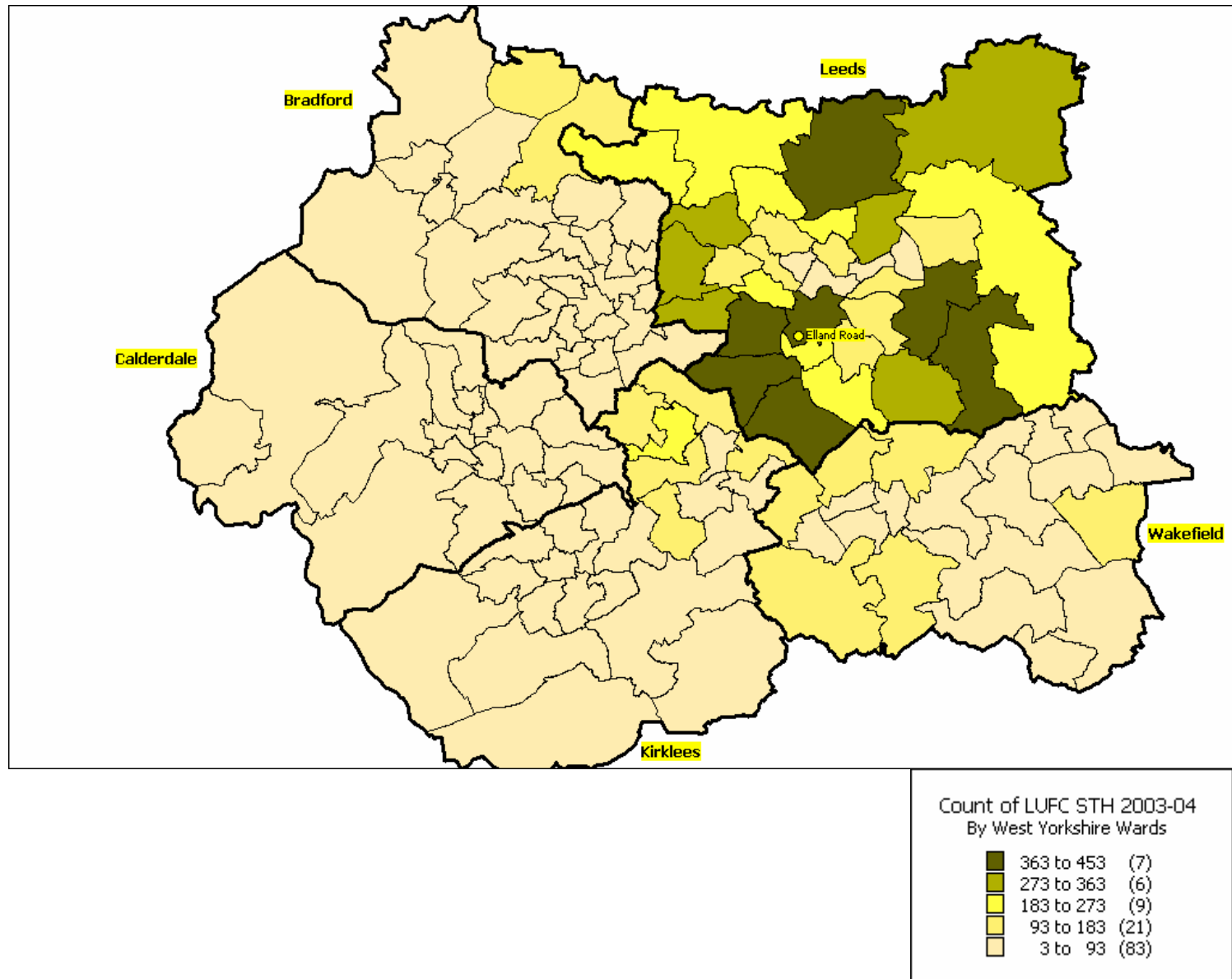
DISTRICT	MEMBERS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
Leeds	750	12.62
Wakefield	220	3.70
Bradford	158	2.66
Kirklees	130	2.19
Calderdale	86	1.45

Table 5.2: LUFC Members 2003/2004 – West Yorkshire

DISTRICT	JUNIOR MEMEBRS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
Leeds	121	9.80
Wakefield	53	4.29
Bradford	31	2.51
Calderdale	24	1.94
Kirklees	23	1.86

Table 5.3: LUFC Junior Members 2003/2004 – West Yorkshire

5.3.2 In order to consider LUFC's support throughout West Yorkshire it is useful to look in closer detail at those areas across the county from which the club draws significant numbers of fans. In Table 5.4, below, the top 30 wards in West Yorkshire for LUFC season ticket holders are listed (see also Map 5.4):



Map 5.4: LUFC Season Ticket Holders 2003/04 – West Yorkshire

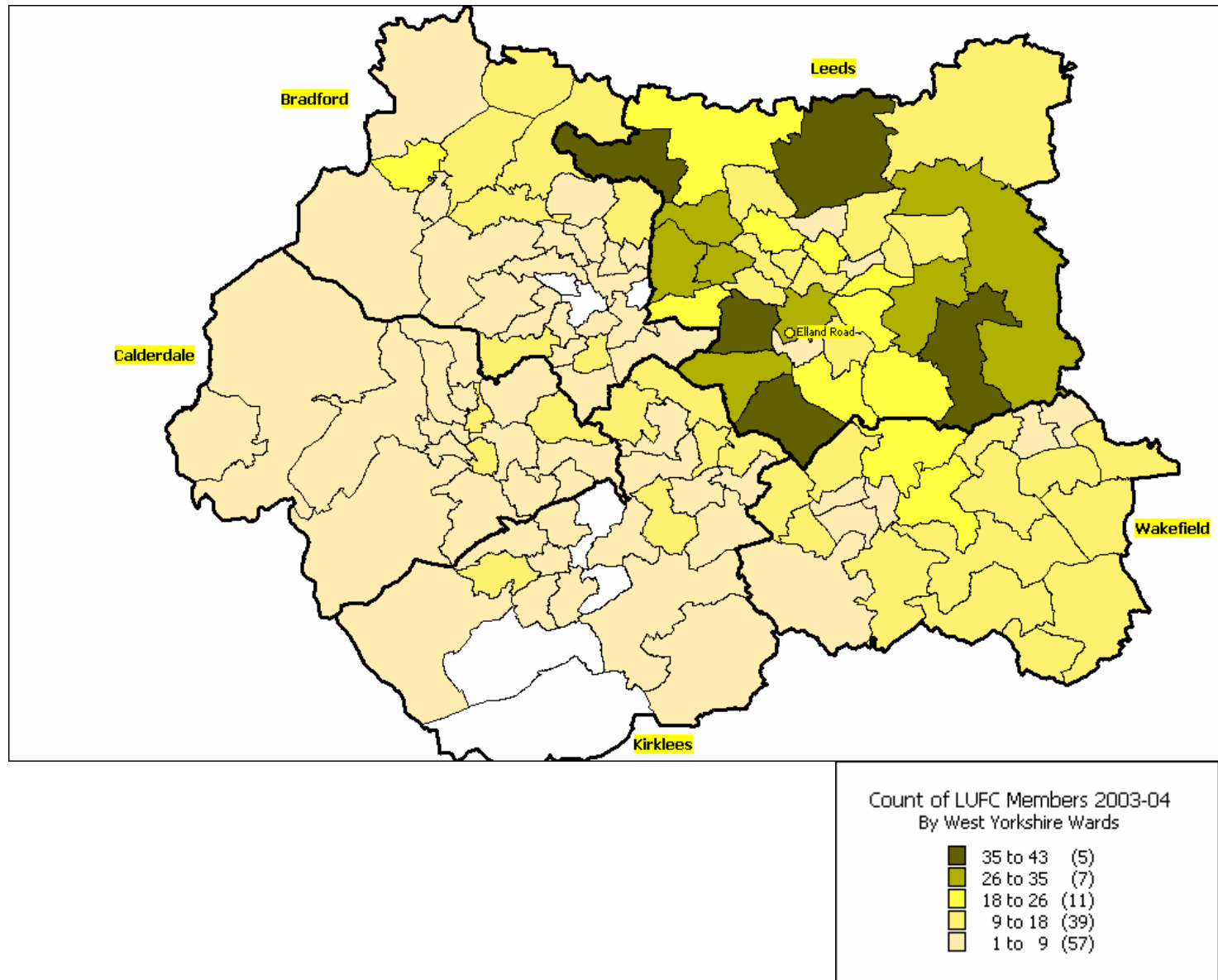
DISTRICT	WARD	SEASON TICKETS
Leeds	North	453
Leeds	Halton	450
Leeds	Morley South	447
Leeds	Morley North	410
Leeds	City and Holbeck	389
Leeds	Garforth and Swillington	387
Leeds	Wortley	371
Leeds	Horsforth	334
Leeds	Rothwell	319
Leeds	Pudsey North	299
Leeds	Roundhay	292
Leeds	Wetherby	288
Leeds	Pudsey South	281
Leeds	Cookridge	250
Leeds	Barwick and Kippax	248
Leeds	Middleton	219
Leeds	Moortown	214
Leeds	Otley and Wharfedale	210
Leeds	Beeston	204
Leeds	Aireborough	201
Leeds	Armley	189
Kirklees	Spennings	186
Wakefield	Stanley and Wrenthorpe	179
Kirklees	Birstall and Birkenshaw	175
Leeds	Weetwood	174
Leeds	Bramley	170
Leeds	Whinmoor	152
Wakefield	Stanley and Altofts	144
Leeds	Hunslet	135
Leeds	Richmond Hill	135

Table 5.4: LUFC Season Ticket Holders 2003/2004 – Top 30 West Yorkshire Wards

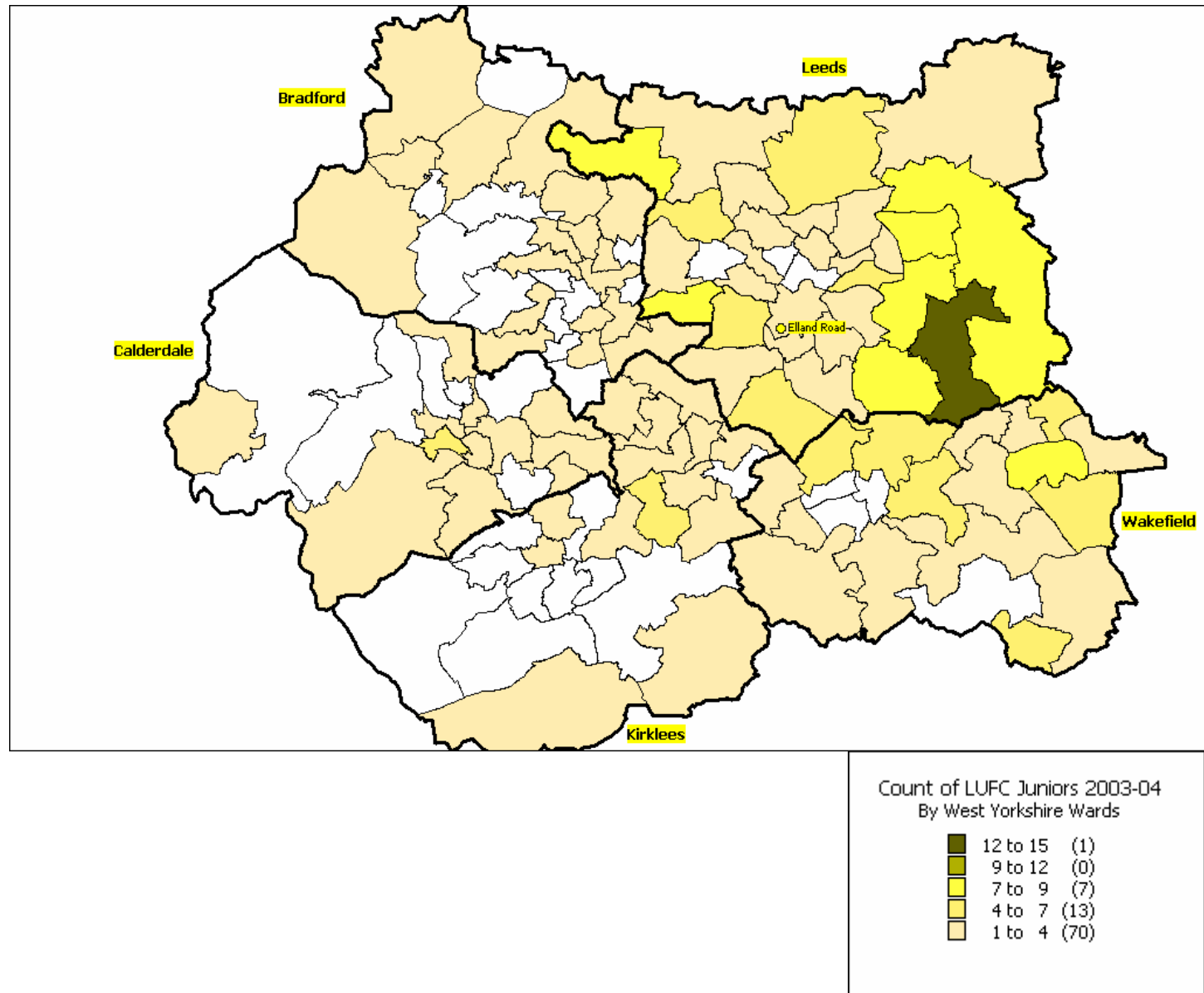
5.3.3 From the table it can be observed that of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders, the majority (26) are located in Leeds, and 2 are in Wakefield and Kirklees respectively. This indicates that the core of LUFC's local support is located in Leeds. If this exercise is repeated for LUFC's members and junior members, a different picture emerges (see Tables 5.5 and 5.6 and Maps 5.5 and 5.6), which suggests that members and junior club members are more likely to be located in West Yorkshire wards that are more geographically removed from the football stadium.

DISTRICT	WARD	MEMBERS
Leeds	Garforth and Swillington	43
Leeds	Morley South	41
Leeds	North	40
Leeds	Aireborough	37
Leeds	Wortley	37
Leeds	Halton	34
Leeds	Bramley	32
Leeds	Barwick and Kippax	31
Leeds	Morley North	31
Leeds	Pudsey North	30
Leeds	City and Holbeck	29
Leeds	Horsforth	29
Leeds	Middleton	24
Leeds	Pudsey South	24
Leeds	Rothwell	23
Leeds	Burmantofts	22
Leeds	Richmond Hill	22
Leeds	Weetwood	22
Leeds	Chapel Allerton	20
Leeds	Otley and Wharfedale	19
Wakefield	Normanton and Sharlston	19
Bradford	Keighley West	18
Wakefield	Stanley and Altofts	18
Kirklees	Batley East	17
Leeds	Cookridge	17
Leeds	Roundhay	16
Leeds	Wetherby	16
Leeds	Whinmoor	16
Wakefield	Horbury	16
Wakefield	Pontefract North	15

Table 5.5: LUFC Members 2003/2004 – Top 30 West Yorkshire Wards



Map 5.5: LUFC Members 2003/04 – West Yorkshire



Map 5.6: LUFC Junior Members 2003/04 – West Yorkshire

11.3.4 Table 5.5 shows that of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members, 24 are in Leeds, 4 are in Wakefield and 1 is in Bradford. This indicates that, as with season ticket holders, Leeds is the most strongly represented amongst the top West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members; but what these data also suggest is that many members are drawn from wards in West Yorkshire that are more geographically remote from the football stadium.

DISTRICT	WARD	JUNIOR MEMBERS
Leeds	Garforth and Swillington	15
Leeds	Aireborough	8
Leeds	Halton	8
Leeds	Rothwell	8
Wakefield	Pontefract North	8
Leeds	Barwick and Kippax	7
Leeds	Pudsey South	7
Leeds	Whinmoor	7
Leeds	Burmantofts	6
Leeds	Horsforth	6
Calderdale	Sowerby Bridge	5
Leeds	Morley South	5
Leeds	Wortley	5
Wakefield	Castleford Ferry Fryston	5
Wakefield	Stanley and Altofts	5
Wakefield	Stanley and Wrenthorpe	5
Kirklees	Mirfield	4
Leeds	North	4
Wakefield	Normanton and Sharlston	4
Wakefield	Pontefract South	4
Wakefield	South Kirkby	4
Bradford	Bolton	3
Bradford	Craven	3
Bradford	Queensbury	3
Bradford	Rombalds	3
Bradford	Worth Valley	3
Calderdale	Illingworth	3
Calderdale	St. John`s	3
Leeds	Armley	3
Leeds	Cookridge	3

Table 5.6: LUFC Junior Members 2003/2004 – Top 30 West Yorkshire Wards

5.3.5 Table 5.6 shows that of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members, 14 are in Leeds, 7 are in Wakefield, 5 are in Bradford, 3 are in Calderdale and 1 is in Kirklees. This indicates that junior members are much more likely to be drawn from wards in West Yorkshire that are more geographically remote from the football stadium. Only 3 wards

geographically close to the football stadium – Morley South, Wortley and Armley – have registered LUFC junior members.

5.4 A Socio-Economic Profile of LUFC's West Yorkshire Support

5.4.1 In addition to determining the geographical profile of LUFC's season ticket holders, members and junior members, the research team has also sought to determine the socio-economic profile of the areas from which the club's support emanates. To do this, we have compared the geographical profile of LUFC's local support against the 2000 Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) data and the national 2001 census results. The exercise has not been attempted for all LUFC supporters across West Yorkshire, but rather is focused on fans that live in the top 30 wards in the county for LUFC season ticket holders, members and junior members. This approach has been adopted because the research team is particularly interested in the socio-economic profile of wards that have very high concentrations of LUFC supporters. A visual analysis of the socio-economic profile of wards that contain LUFC season ticket holders, members and junior members can also be made by comparing Maps 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 with Maps 5.7 to 5.12.

Season Ticket Holders

5.4.2 Table 5.7 shows the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders and a range of pertinent information from the 2000 IMD report and the 2001 national census. The table indicates that of this top 30, 7 (23.33%) are, according to the IMD report, in the top 20% of deprived wards nationally. Indeed, 14 of the wards (47%) are in the top 50% of *least* deprived wards nationally, and 10 of the wards (33%) are in the top 35% of least deprived wards. This means that:

- The majority of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders are not suffering from significant levels of multiple deprivation.

5.4.3 Table 5.7 is also instructive in informing us about the ethnic and religious diversity of LUFC's season ticket holders. Of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC's season ticket holders, only 7 (23%) have ethnic minority populations greater than the national average of 10.4%. This means that:

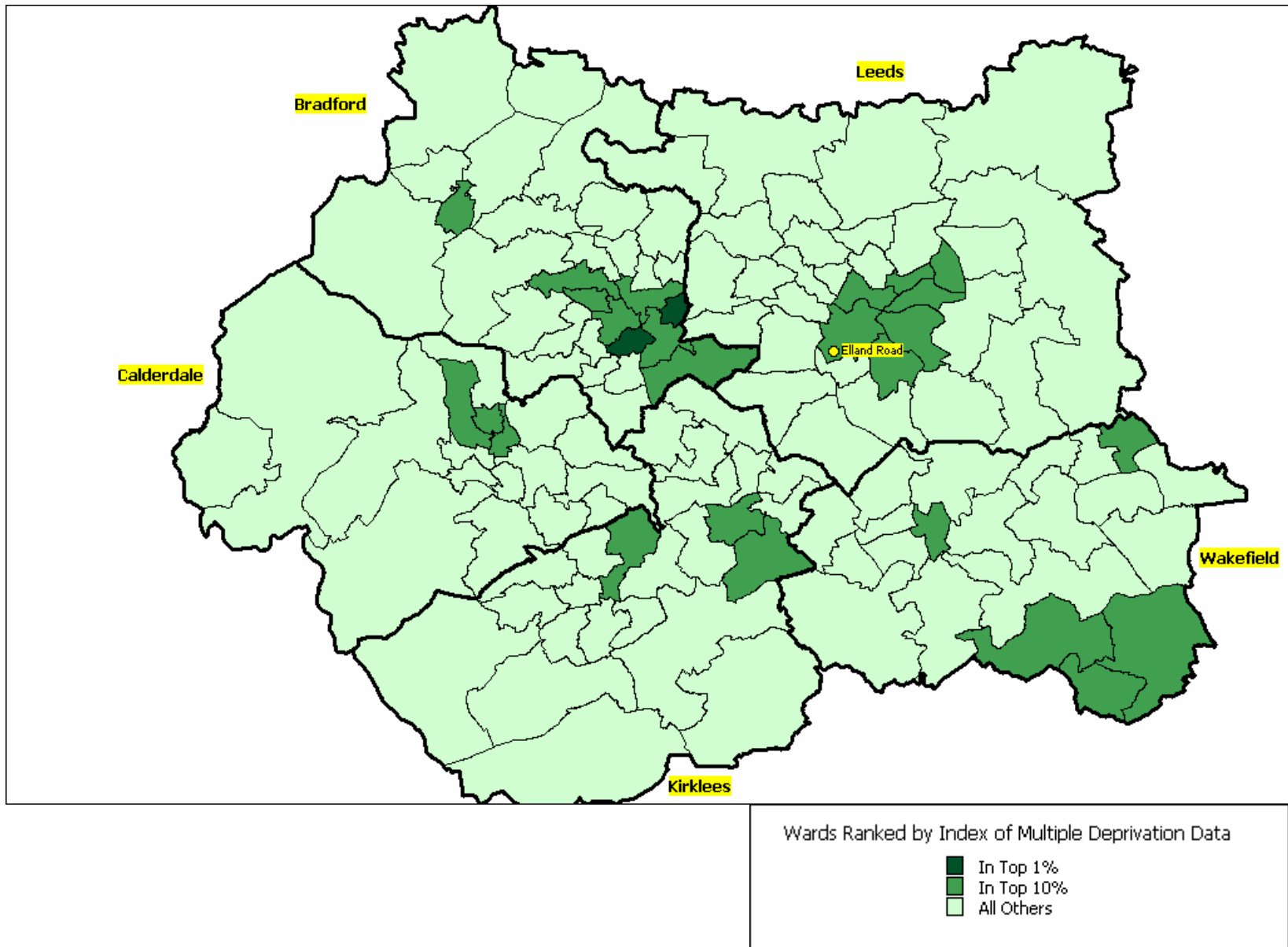
- 77% of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders have more 'White British' people living in them than would be expected nationally.

5.4.4 A similar picture emerges with regard to religious diversity. Of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders, only 6 (20%) have religious minority populations greater than the national ward average of 5.8%. This means that:

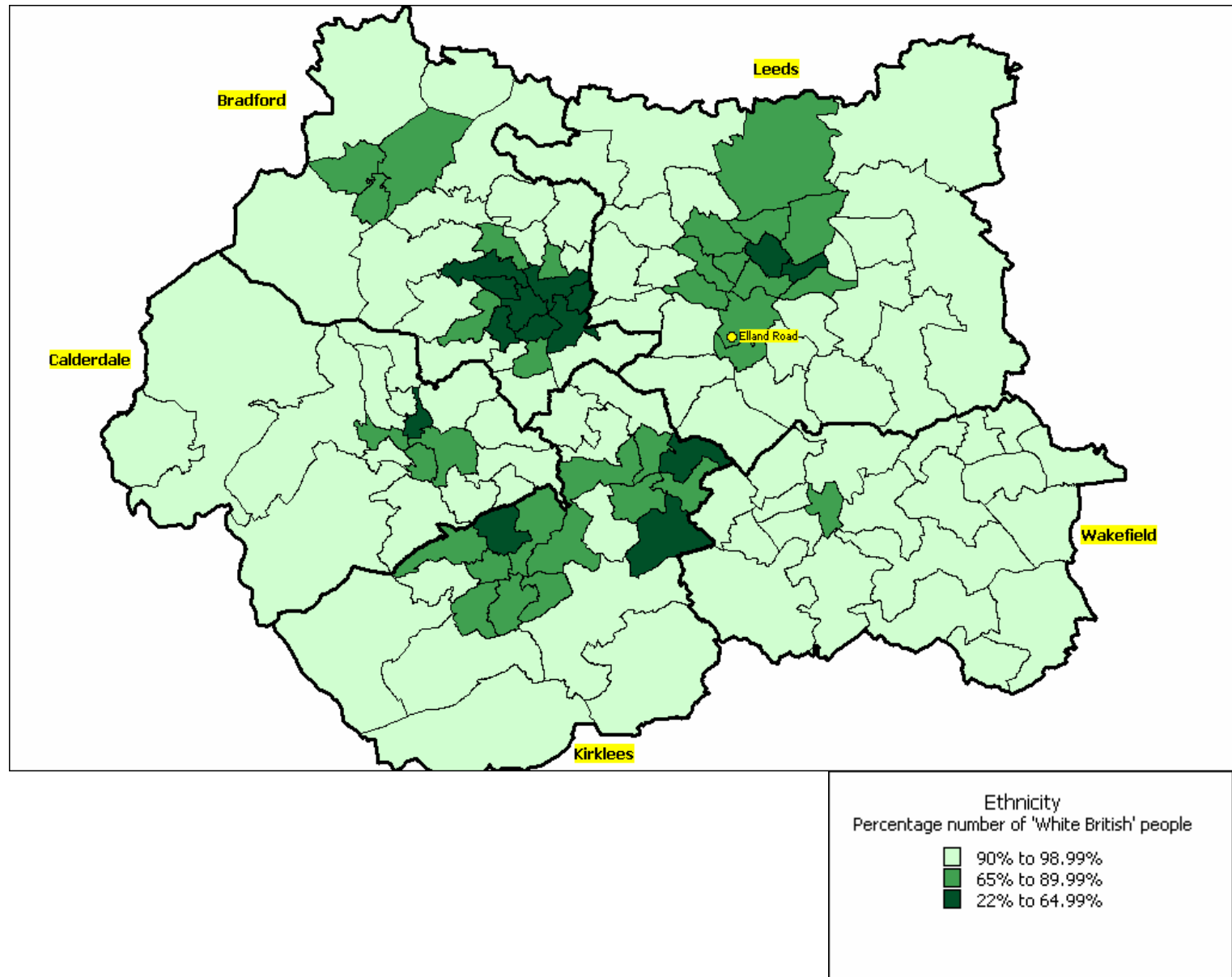
- 80% of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders are less religiously diverse than would be expected nationally.

DISTRICT	WARD	S. TICKETS	IMD RANK %	WHITE BRITISH	NON-CHRISTIAN	NO QUALIFICATIONS	EMPLOYED	POOR HEALTH
Leeds	North	453	69.02	84.82	25.18	21.27	63.27	8.87
Leeds	Halton	450	72.81	96.52	0.89	28.75	65.65	9.23
Leeds	Morley South	447	45.45	96.09	1.87	33.54	68.77	8.62
Leeds	Morley North	410	56.11	96.35	1.41	31.81	70.08	8.84
Leeds	City and Holbeck	389	4.49	81.31	12.07	42.68	50.09	13.29
Leeds	Garforth & Swillington	387	60.07	97.57	0.66	30.9	67.32	9.78
Leeds	Wortley	371	21.56	94.92	1.85	38.94	63.31	10.4
Leeds	Horsforth	334	89.16	95.15	1.43	20.99	65.07	7.39
Leeds	Rothwell	319	50.20	96.9	1.01	33.06	64.69	10.17
Leeds	Pudsey North	299	67.76	90.89	6.66	26.15	67.97	8.55
Leeds	Roundhay	292	67.73	79.32	14.07	18.55	65.15	8.07
Leeds	Wetherby	288	89.10	96.2	1.48	22.08	61.95	6.96
Leeds	Pudsey South	281	43.39	95.53	2.02	32.98	65.28	9.97
Leeds	Cookridge	250	67.41	91.36	4.51	22.26	62.41	8.26
Leeds	Barwick and Kippax	248	49.81	97.29	1.46	31.22	66.41	9.35
Leeds	Middleton	219	15.91	96.58	0.94	42.41	61.61	10.53
Leeds	Moortown	214	51.06	78.47	19.51	23.24	63.38	10.05
Leeds	Otley and Wharfedale	210	80.90	96.29	1.58	23.41	67.33	7.73
Leeds	Beeston	204	12.72	86.3	8.51	41.7	57.45	11.09
Leeds	Aireborough	201	75.20	96.45	1.34	25.62	67.83	8.34
Leeds	Armley	189	19.73	89.48	6.07	37.99	59.29	10.91
Kirklees	Spennings	186	31.02	94.91	2.91	34.29	64.74	9.25
Wakefield	Stanley & Wrenthorpe	179	46.91	97.17	0.95	30.91	66.57	9.16
Kirklees	Birstall & Birkenshaw	175	36.50	96.39	1.65	32.06	65.49	9.01
Leeds	Weetwood	174	53.70	86.21	5.56	18.15	53.47	8.7
Leeds	Bramley	170	17.76	94.62	1.96	37.24	57.83	10.8
Leeds	Whinmoor	152	23.15	94.71	2.55	38.05	59.97	11.72
Wakefield	Stanley and Altofts	144	49.41	96.66	1.47	31.08	68.09	9.59
Leeds	Hunslet	135	7.80	95.39	0.98	51.33	54.42	12.95
Leeds	Richmond Hill	135	5.75	93.5	1.28	51.66	51.22	13.93

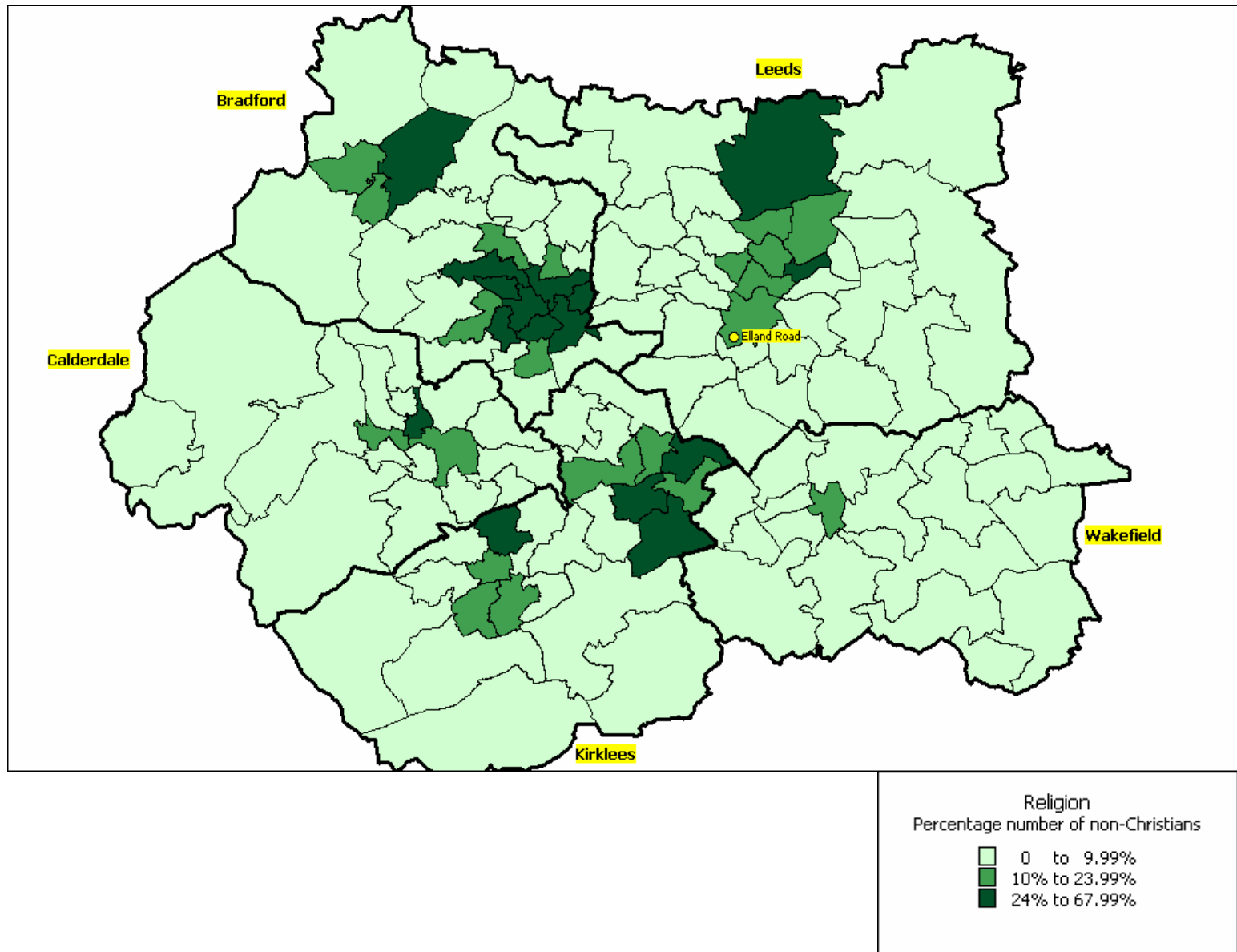
Table 5.7: LUFC Season Ticket Holders 2003/2004 – Top 30 West Yorkshire Wards: IMD Report and National Census 2001



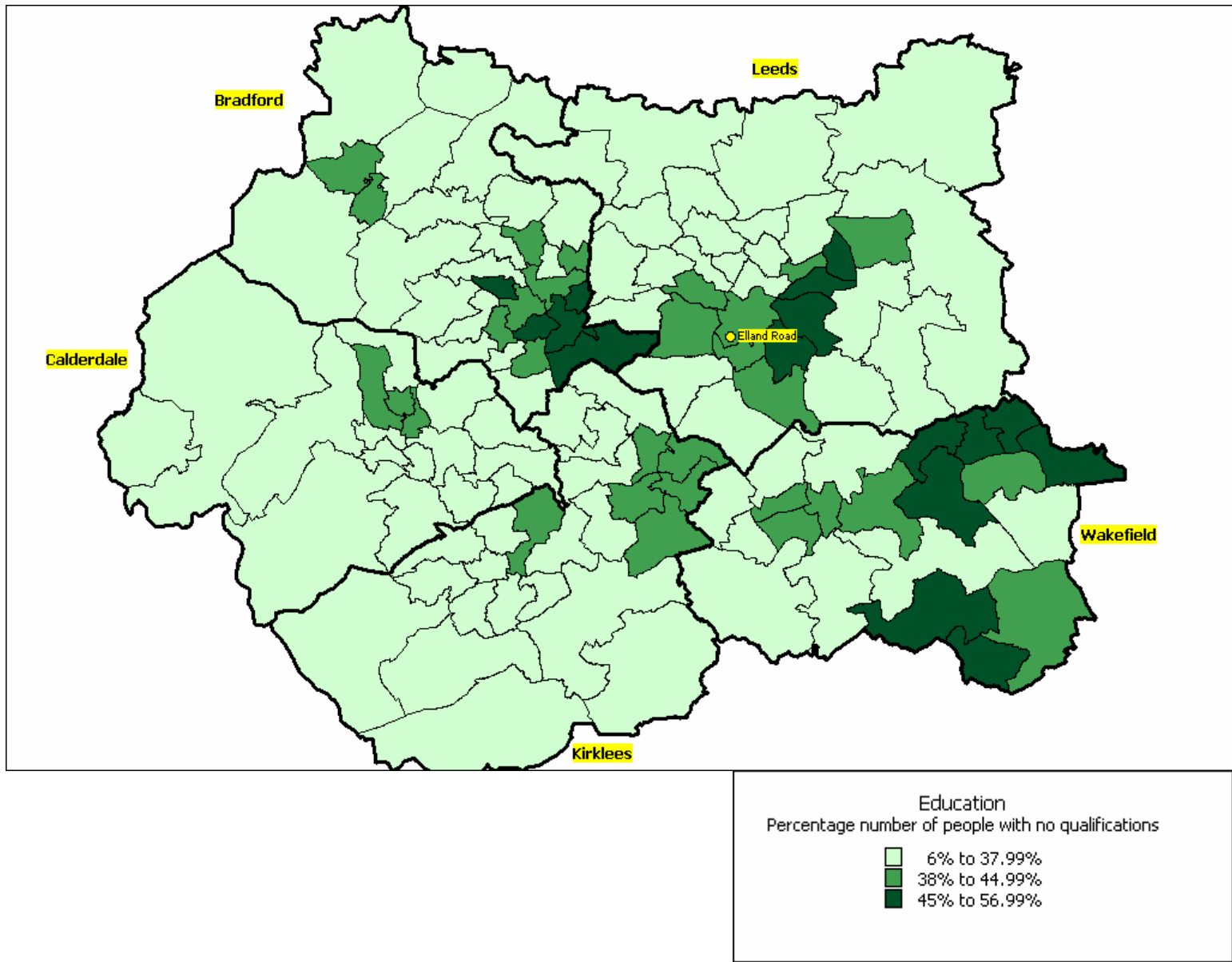
Map 5.7: Index of Multiple Deprivation – West Yorkshire.



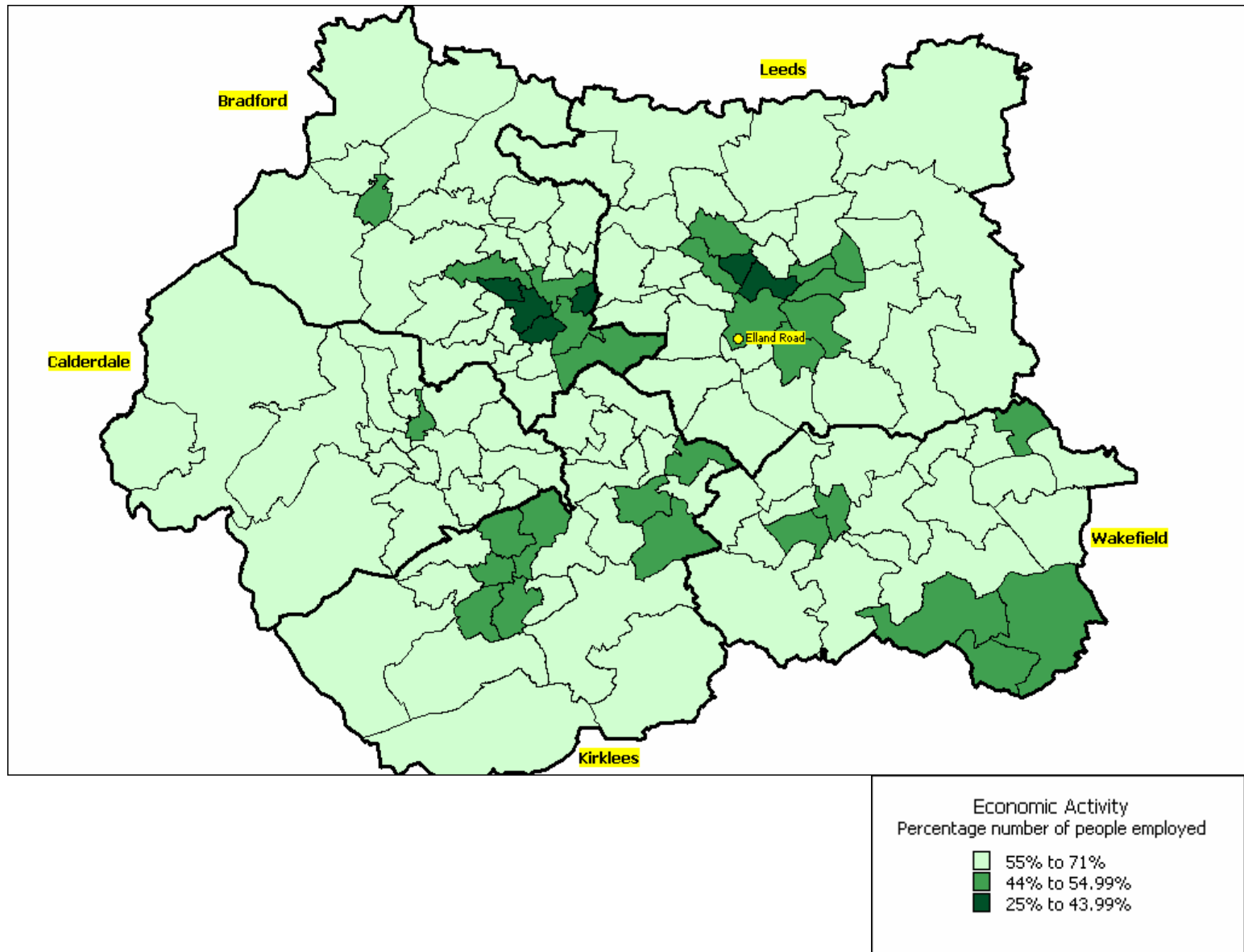
Map 5.8: Minority Ethnic Populations (2001 Census) – West Yorkshire.



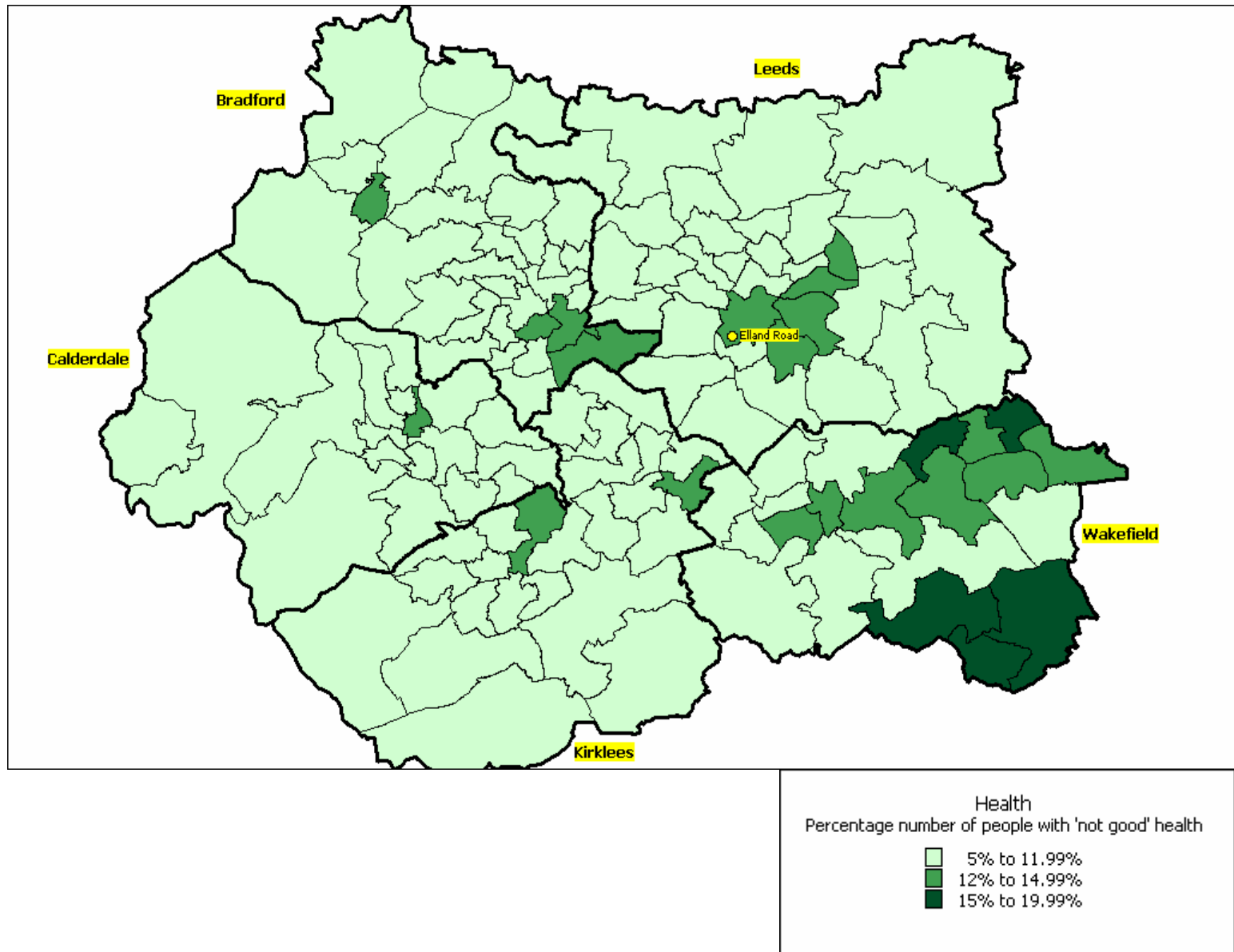
Map 5.9: Minority Religious Populations (2001 Census) – West Yorkshire.



Map 5.10: Education Levels (2001 Census) – West Yorkshire



Map 5.11: Employment Levels (2001 Census) – West Yorkshire



Map 5.12: Health Levels (2001 Census) – West Yorkshire

5.4.5 In terms of educational levels, Table 5.7 notes the percentage populations of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders (aged between 16 and 74) that hold no formal qualifications. The table indicates that 18 (60%) of the wards have non-qualified populations greater than the national average of 29.1%. This means that:

- Three-fifths of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders have poorer educational levels than would be expected nationally.

5.4.6 In terms of levels of employment, Table 5.7 notes the percentage populations of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders (aged between 16 and 74) that are in employment. The table indicates that 22 (73.33%) of the wards have rates of employment that are greater than the national average of 60.6%. This means that:

- The vast majority of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders have higher employment rates than the national average.

5.4.7 The final census indicator included on Table 5.7 is a measure of poor health. For the 2001 census, people were asked to rate their own health as good, fairly good or not good. Table 5.7 indicates that 16 (53%) of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders have poor health levels greater than the national average of 9.2%. This means that:

- The majority of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders have poorer health levels than would be expected nationally.

5.4.8 In summary, it can be concluded that, according to the 2000 IMD report and the 2001 census, the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders are likely to have:

- Generally low levels of multiple deprivation
- Smaller minority ethnic populations than the national average
- Smaller minority religious populations than the national average
- Lower educational levels than the national average
- Higher employment levels than the national average
- Poorer health levels than the national average

Members

5.4.9 Table 5.8 shows the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members and information from the 2000 IMD report and the 2001 national census. The table indicates that of the top West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members, 3 (10%) are in the top 10% of deprived wards nationally. Moreover, the table shows that nearly 40% (12) of the wards are in the top 25% of deprived wards nationally. This means that:

- The majority of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members are not suffering from significant levels of multiple deprivation.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC members are suffering from similar levels of multiple deprivation to those of West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders.

DISTRICT	WARD	MEMBERS	IMD RANK %	WHITE BRITISH	NON-CHRISTIAN	NO QUALIFICATIONS	EMPLOYED	POOR HEALTH
Leeds	Garforth and Swillington	43	60.07	97.57	0.66	30.9	67.32	9.78
Leeds	Morley South	41	45.45	96.09	1.87	33.54	68.77	8.62
Leeds	North	40	69.02	84.82	25.18	21.27	63.27	8.87
Leeds	Aireborough	37	75.20	96.45	1.34	25.62	67.83	8.34
Leeds	Wortley	37	21.56	94.92	1.85	38.94	63.31	10.4
Leeds	Halton	34	72.81	96.52	0.89	28.75	65.65	9.23
Leeds	Bramley	32	17.76	94.62	1.96	37.24	57.83	10.8
Leeds	Barwick and Kippax	31	49.81	97.29	1.46	31.22	66.41	9.35
Leeds	Morley North	31	56.11	96.35	1.41	31.81	70.08	8.84
Leeds	Pudsey North	30	67.76	90.89	6.66	26.15	67.97	8.55
Leeds	City and Holbeck	29	4.49	81.31	12.07	42.68	50.09	13.29
Leeds	Horsforth	29	89.16	95.15	1.43	20.99	65.07	7.39
Leeds	Middleton	24	15.91	96.58	0.94	42.41	61.61	10.53
Leeds	Pudsey South	24	43.39	95.53	2.02	32.98	65.28	9.97
Leeds	Rothwell	23	50.20	96.9	1.01	33.06	64.69	10.17
Leeds	Burmantofts	22	5.28	88.77	3	48.33	51.14	14.48
Leeds	Richmond Hill	22	5.75	93.5	1.28	51.66	51.22	13.93
Leeds	Weetwood	22	53.70	86.21	5.56	18.15	53.47	8.7
Leeds	Chapel Allerton	20	11.43	61.99	15.6	31.43	55.77	11.35
Leeds	Otley & Wharfedale	19	80.90	96.29	1.58	23.41	67.33	7.73
Wakefield	Normanton & Sharlston	19	12.34	97.85	0.8	42.47	60.21	12.01
Bradford	Keighley West	18	12.57	81.11	14.23	39	57.01	10.09
Wakefield	Stanley and Altofts	18	49.41	96.66	1.47	31.08	68.09	9.59
Kirklees	Batley East	17	11.34	56.86	41.33	41.09	52.87	9.75
Leeds	Cookridge	17	67.41	91.36	4.51	22.26	62.41	8.26
Leeds	Roundhay	16	67.73	79.32	14.07	18.55	65.15	8.07
Leeds	Wetherby	16	89.10	96.2	1.48	22.08	61.95	6.96
Leeds	Whinmoor	16	23.15	94.71	2.55	38.05	59.97	11.72
Wakefield	Horbury	16	46.72	97.71	0.65	31.28	66.18	9.58
Wakefield	Pontefract North	15	16.46	97.37	0.99	41.02	60.39	12.41

Table 5.8: LUFC Members 2003/2004 – Top 30 West Yorkshire Wards: IMD Report and National Census 2000

5.4.10 Table 5.8 is also instructive in informing us about the ethnic and religious diversity of LUFC's members. One ward (Batley East) has considerable numbers of non-Christians, but of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members, only 8 (26.6%) have ethnic minority populations greater than the national ward average of 10.4%. This means that:

- 73% of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members have more 'White British' people living in them than would be expected nationally.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC members are no more diverse ethnically than West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders.

5.4.11 A similar picture emerges with regard to religious diversity. Of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members, only 7 (23.3%) have religious minority populations greater than the national ward average of 5.8%. This means that:

- Nearly 77% (76.7%) of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members are less diverse religiously than would be expected nationally.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC members are marginally less diverse religiously than West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders.

5.4.12 In terms of educational levels, Table 5.8 indicates that 19 (63.33%) of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members have non-qualified populations (aged between 16 and 74) greater than the national average of 29.1%. This means that:

- The majority of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members have poorer educational levels than would be expected nationally.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC members are marginally less well formally educated than the populations of West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders.

5.4.13 In terms of levels of employment, Table 5.8 indicates that 20 (66.66%) of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members have rates of employment (amongst 16-74 year olds) greater than the national average of 60.6%. This means that:

- Two-thirds of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members enjoy higher employment rates than the national average.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC members have slightly lower employment rates than those of West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders.

5.4.14 The final census indicator included on Table 5.8 is a measure of poor health. The table indicates that 19 (63.3%) of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members have poor health rates greater than the national average of 9.2%. This means that:

- Two-thirds of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members wards have poorer health levels than would be expected nationally.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC members have poorer health levels than West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders.

5.4.15 In summary, it can be concluded that, according to the 2000 IMD report and the 2001 census, the 30 West Yorkshire wards with the greatest number of LUFC members are likely to have:

- Significant levels of multiple deprivation in a small number of wards
- Smaller minority ethnic populations than the national average
- Smaller minority religious populations than the national average
- Lower educational levels than the national average
- Higher employment levels than the national average
- Poorer health levels than the national average

5.4.16 It can also be summarised that, when compared to the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders, the top West Yorkshire wards for LUFC members are likely to be:

- Suffering from similar levels of multiple deprivation
- Similar in terms of ethnic diversity
- Marginally less diverse religiously
- Marginally less well formally educated
- Experiencing slightly lower employment rates
- Experiencing poorer health levels

Junior Members

5.4.17 If we now turn to LUFC's junior members, Table 5.9 shows the 30 West Yorkshire wards with the greatest number of LUFC junior members and information from the 2000 IMD report and the 2001 national census. The table indicates that of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for junior members, 7 (23.3%) are, according to the IMD report, in the top 20% of deprived wards nationally. This means that:

- The majority of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members are not suffering from significant levels of multiple deprivation.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC junior members are less deprived than West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders or members.

5.4.18 With reference to ethnic diversity, Table 5.9 indicates that only 5 (16.67%) of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members have ethnic minority populations greater than the national ward average of 10.4%. This means that:

- Nearly 84% (83.33%) of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members have more 'White British' people living in them than would be expected nationally.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC junior members are less diverse ethnically than West Yorkshire wards with high number of LUFC season ticket holders or members.

DISTRICT	WARD	JUNIORS	IMD RANK %	WHITE BRITISH	NON-CHRISTIAN	NO QUALIFICATIONS	EMPLOYED	POOR HEALTH
Leeds	Garforth and Swillington	15	60.07	97.57	0.66	30.9	67.32	9.78
Leeds	Aireborough	8	75.20	96.45	1.34	25.62	67.83	8.34
Leeds	Halton	8	72.81	96.52	0.89	28.75	65.65	9.23
Leeds	Rothwell	8	50.20	96.9	1.01	33.06	64.69	10.17
Wakefield	Pontefract North	8	16.46	97.37	0.99	41.02	60.39	12.41
Leeds	Barwick and Kippax	7	49.81	97.29	1.46	31.22	66.41	9.35
Leeds	Pudsey South	7	43.39	95.53	2.02	32.98	65.28	9.97
Leeds	Whinmoor	7	23.15	94.71	2.55	38.05	59.97	11.72
Leeds	Burmantofts	6	5.28	88.77	3	48.33	51.14	14.48
Leeds	Horsforth	6	89.16	95.15	1.43	20.99	65.07	7.39
Calderdale	Sowerby Bridge	5	30.54	95.67	1.37	32.21	65.75	9.85
Leeds	Morley South	5	45.45	96.09	1.87	33.54	68.77	8.62
Leeds	Wortley	5	21.56	94.92	1.85	38.94	63.31	10.4
Wakefield	Castleford Ferry Fryston	5	4.74	98.51	0.46	50.13	51.18	15.37
Wakefield	Stanley and Altofts	5	49.41	96.66	1.47	31.08	68.09	9.59
Wakefield	Stanley and Wrenthorpe	5	46.91	97.17	0.95	30.91	66.57	9.16
Kirklees	Mirfield	4	51.49	96.68	1.34	29.59	65.16	9.71
Leeds	North	4	69.02	84.82	25.18	21.27	63.27	8.87
Wakefield	Normanton and Sharlston	4	12.34	97.85	0.8	42.47	60.21	12.01
Wakefield	Pontefract South	4	32.20	98.05	0.53	34.14	57.35	11.31
Wakefield	South Kirkby	4	5.86	98.73	0.46	49.3	51.65	16.93
Bradford	Bolton	3	30.01	82.13	12.23	34.02	63.7	9.68
Bradford	Craven	3	72.64	96.54	1.58	23.77	66.78	8.98
Bradford	Queensbury	3	29.75	93.42	3.46	30	66.87	8.52
Bradford	Rombalds	3	93.13	96.59	1.23	18.09	65.96	6.65
Bradford	Worth Valley	3	58.07	95.68	1.94	25.21	70.13	7.96
Calderdale	Illingworth	3	20.20	96.14	0.86	36.28	63.31	10.44
Calderdale	St. John's	3	3.54	60.75	33.76	44.09	45.93	12.79
Leeds	Armley	3	19.73	89.48	6.07	37.99	59.29	10.91
Leeds	Cookridge	3	67.41	91.36	4.51	22.26	62.41	8.26

Table 5.9: LUFC Junior Members 2003/2004 – Top 30 West Yorkshire Wards: IMD Report and National Census 2000

5.4.19 A similar picture emerges with regard to religious diversity. Of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members, only 4 (13.33%) have minority religious populations greater than the national ward average of 5.8%. This means that:

- Nearly 87% (86.67%) of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members are less diverse religiously than would be expected nationally.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC junior members are less diverse religiously than West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders or LUFC members.

5.4.20 In terms of educational levels, Table 5.9 indicates that 21 (70%) of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members have non-qualified populations (aged between 16 and 74) greater than the national average of 29.1%. This means that:

- A significant number of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members have poorer education levels than would be expected nationally.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC junior members are less well educated than the populations of West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders or LUFC members.

5.4.21 In terms of levels of employment, Table 5.9 indicates that 21 (70%) of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members have rates of employment (amongst 16-74 year olds) greater than the national average of 60.6%. This means that:

- The majority of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members have higher employment rates than the national average.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC junior members have similar employment rates to those of West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders or LUFC members.

5.4.22 The final census indicator included on Table 5.9 is a measure of poor health. The table indicates that 20 (66.66%) of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members have poor health rates greater than the national average of 9.2%. This means that:

- The majority of the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members have poorer health levels than would be expected nationally.
- West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC junior members have worse health levels than West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders, and similar health levels to those of West Yorkshire wards with high numbers of LUFC members.

5.4.23 In summary, it can be concluded that, according to the 2000 IMD report and the 2001 census, the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members are likely to have:

- Low levels of multiple deprivation
- Smaller minority ethnic populations than the national average
- Smaller minority religious populations than the national average
- Lower educational levels than the national average
- Higher employment levels than the national average
- Poorer health levels than the national average

5.4.24 It can also be summarised that, when compared to the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC season ticket holders and LUFC members, the top 30 West Yorkshire wards for LUFC junior members are likely to be:

- Suffering from lower levels of deprivation
- Less diverse ethnically
- Less diverse religiously
- Experiencing poorer education levels
- Experiencing similar employment rates
- Experiencing worse health levels than the top wards for season ticket holders, but similar health levels to those of the top wards for members

5.5 *LUFC's Supporter Communities – the City of Leeds*

5.5.1 In addition to presenting an analysis of LUFC's supporters across West Yorkshire, it is also useful to investigate the spread of the club's fans across Leeds. A breakdown of the club's support across the 33 wards of Leeds can be observed in the following tables. A visual representation of this data can also be seen in Maps 5.13 to 5.15.

WARD	S. TICKETS
North	453
Halton	450
Morley South	447
Morley North	410
City and Holbeck	389
Garforth and Swillington	387
Wortley	371
Horsforth	334
Rothwell	319
Pudsey North	299
Roundhay	292
Wetherby	288
Pudsey South	281
Cookridge	250
Barwick and Kippax	248
Middleton	219
Moortown	214
Otley and Wharfedale	210
Beeston	204
Aireborough	201
Armley	189
Weetwood	174
Bramley	170
Whinmoor	152
Hunslet	135
Richmond Hill	135
Burmantofts	115
Chapel Allerton	114
Kirkstall	107
Seacroft	83
University	76
Harehills	53
Headingley	44

Table 5.10: LUFC Season Ticket Holders 2003/204 – City of Leeds

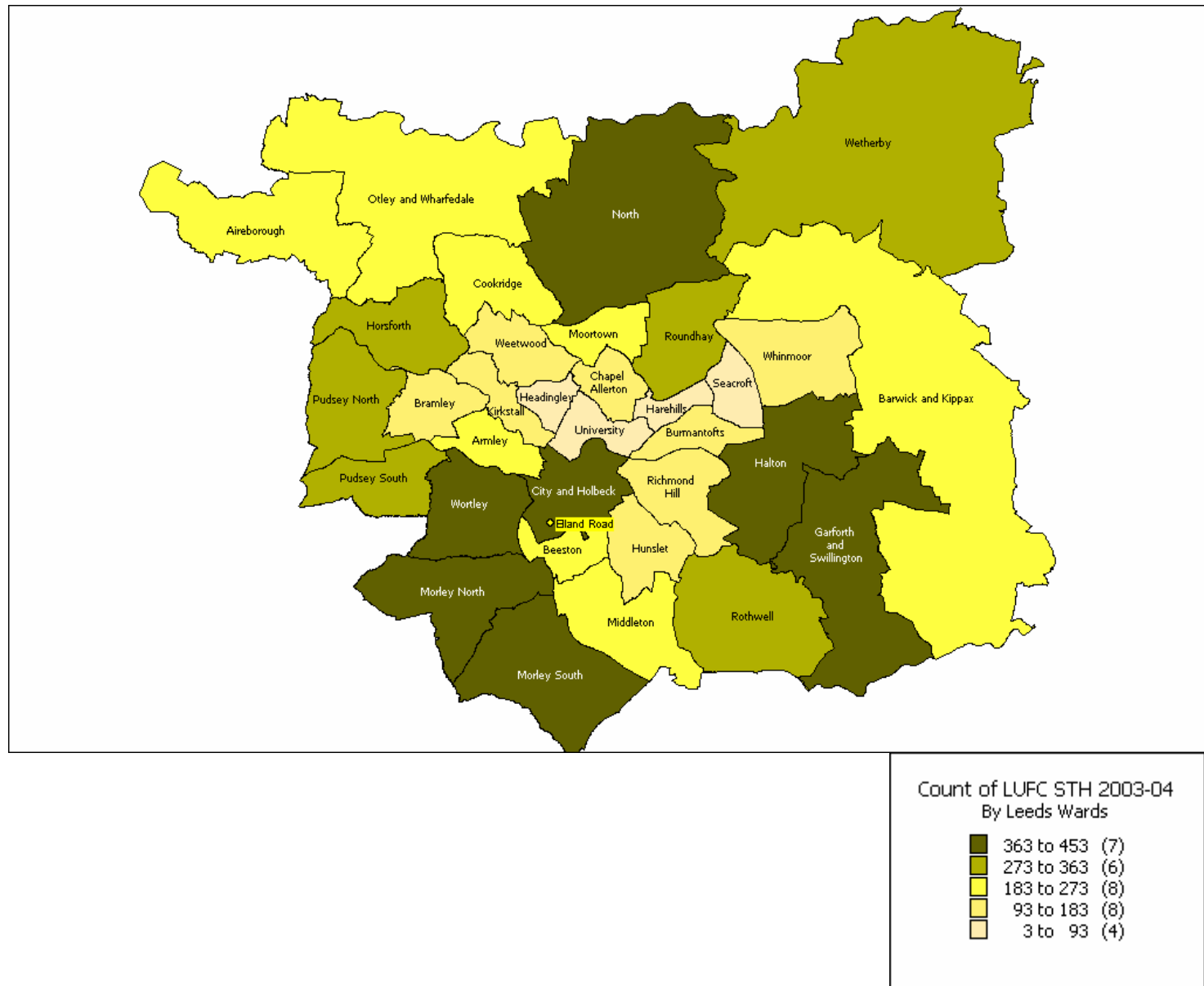
WARD	MEMBERS
Garforth and Swillington	43
Morley South	41
North	40
Aireborough	37
Wortley	37
Halton	34
Bramley	32
Barwick and Kippax	31
Morley North	31
Pudsey North	30
City and Holbeck	29
Horsforth	29
Middleton	24
Pudsey South	24
Rothwell	23
Burmantofts	22
Richmond Hill	22
Weetwood	22
Chapel Allerton	20
Otley and Wharfedale	19
Cookridge	17
Roundhay	16
Wetherby	16
Whinmoor	16
Armley	14
Hunslet	14
University	14
Headingley	13
Seacroft	11
Kirkstall	10
Beeston	7
Harehills	7
Moortown	5

Table 5.11: LUFC Members 2003/2004 – City of Leeds

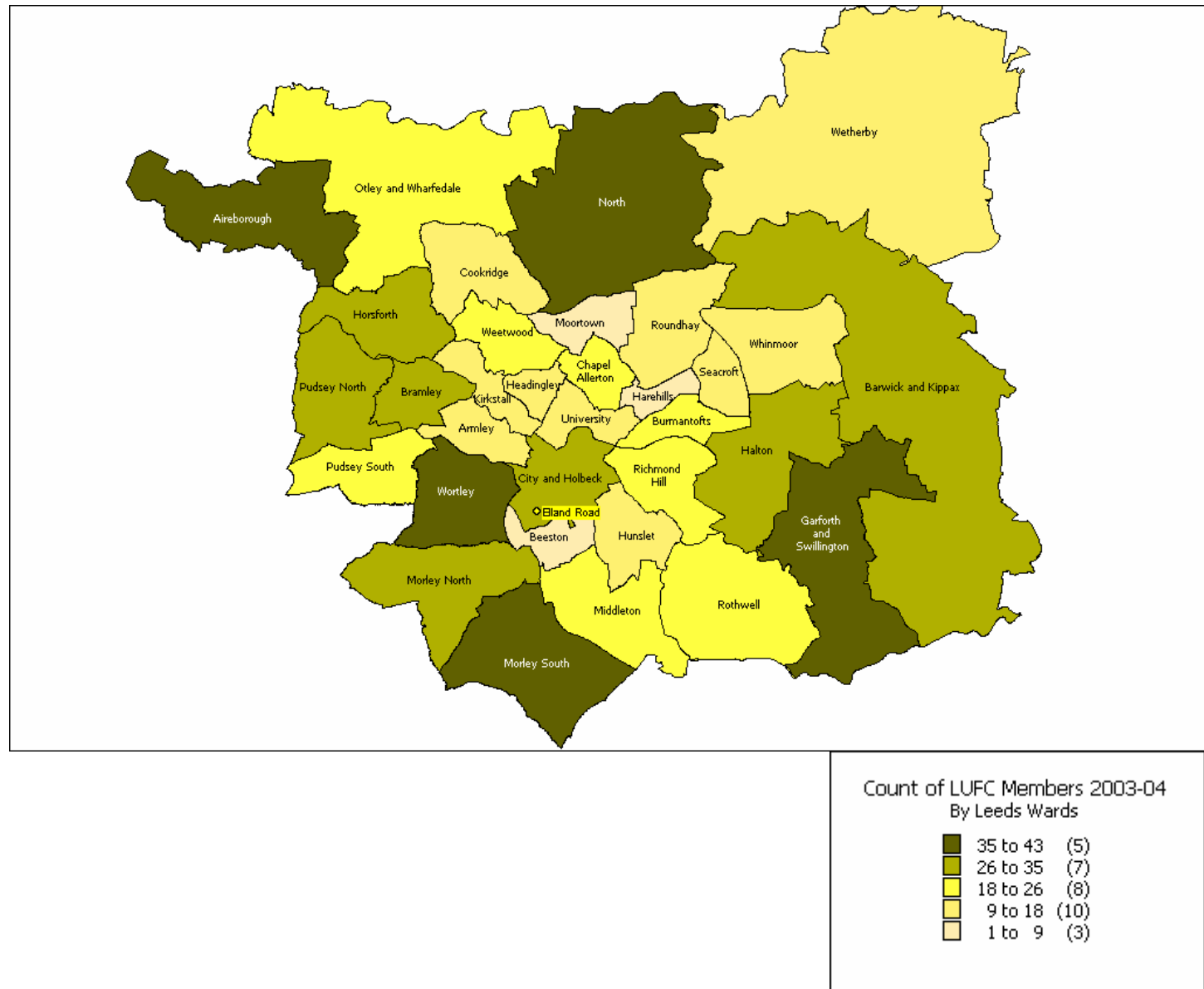
WARD	JUNIORS
Garforth and Swillington	15
Aireborough	8
Halton	8
Rothwell	8
Barwick and Kippax	7
Pudsey South	7
Whinmoor	7
Burmantofts	6
Horsforth	6
Morley South	5
Wortley	5
North	4
Armley	3
Cookridge	3
Middleton	3
Morley North	3
Otley and Wharfedale	3
Pudsey North	3
Beeston	2
Richmond Hill	2
Roundhay	2
Seacroft	2
Wetherby	2
Chapel Allerton	1
City and Holbeck	1
Harehills	1
Hunslet	1
Kirkstall	1
Moortown	1
Weetwood	1
Bramley	0
Headingley	0
University	0

Table 5.12: LUFC Junior Members 2003/2004 – City of Leeds

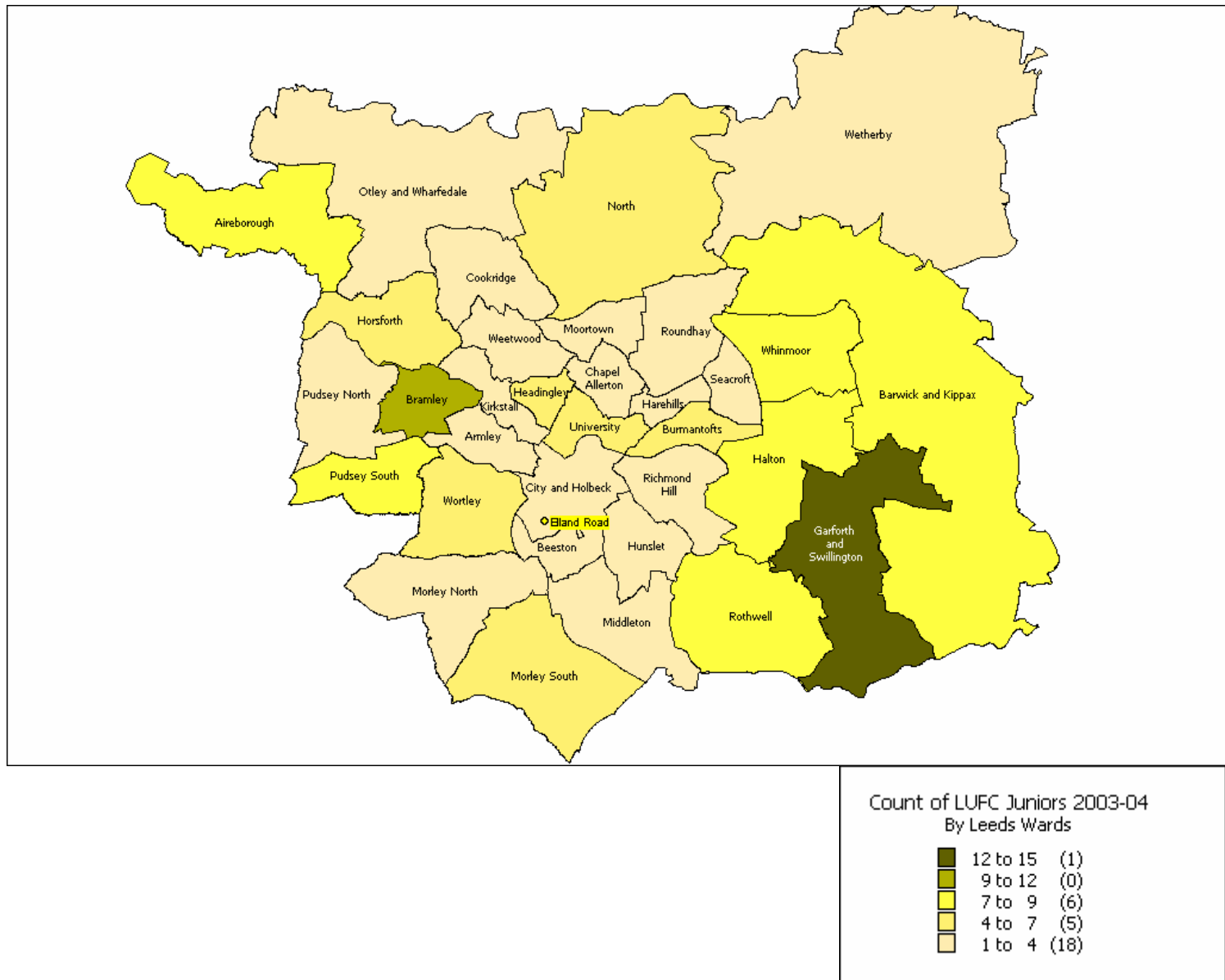
5.5.2 From the tables above and from Maps 5.13 to 5.15, one can observe that LUFC has supporters across the City of Leeds. It is notable, however, that the club has particularly strong support in the south-west, south-east, and north of the city.



Map 5.13: LUFC Season Ticket Holders 2003/04 – City of Leeds



Map 5.14: LUFC Members 2003/04 – City of Leeds



Map 5.15: LUFC Junior Members 2003/04 – City of Leeds

5.6 A Socio-Economic Profile of LUFC's Support in Leeds

5.6.1 In addition to determining the geographical profile of LUFC's city-based season ticket holders, members and junior members, the research team has also sought to determine the socio-economic profile of the areas of Leeds from which the club draws its support. To do this, we have again compared the geographical profile of LUFC's home city fans against the 2000 Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) data and the national 2001 census results. A visual analysis of the socio-economic profile of Leeds wards that contain LUFC season ticket holders, members and junior members can also be made by comparing Maps 5.13, 5.14 and 5.15 with Maps 5.16 to 5.21.

Season Ticket Holders

5.6.2 Table 5.13 shows, in descending order, the spread of LUFC season ticket holders across the wards of Leeds and a range of information from the 2000 IMD report and the 2001 national census. The table indicates that of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders, only 1 is in the top 5% of deprived wards nationally, 3 are in the top 50%, while 6 are in the bottom 35%. Of the middle 11 wards, 3 are in the top 20% of deprived wards nationally, whilst of the bottom 11 wards 6 are in the top 10% of deprived wards nationally. This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders – with the notable exception of City and Holbeck - are suffering from much lower levels of multiple deprivation than wards with fewer LUFC season ticket holders.

5.6.3 With reference to ethnic diversity, Table 5.13 shows the percentage 'White British' population of wards in Leeds. From the table it can be calculated that the average White British population of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders is 84.68%: 4.92 percentage points lower than the national average of 89.6%. This is lower than the average for the middle 11 wards (91.8%), but higher than the bottom 11 wards (82.93%). This means that:

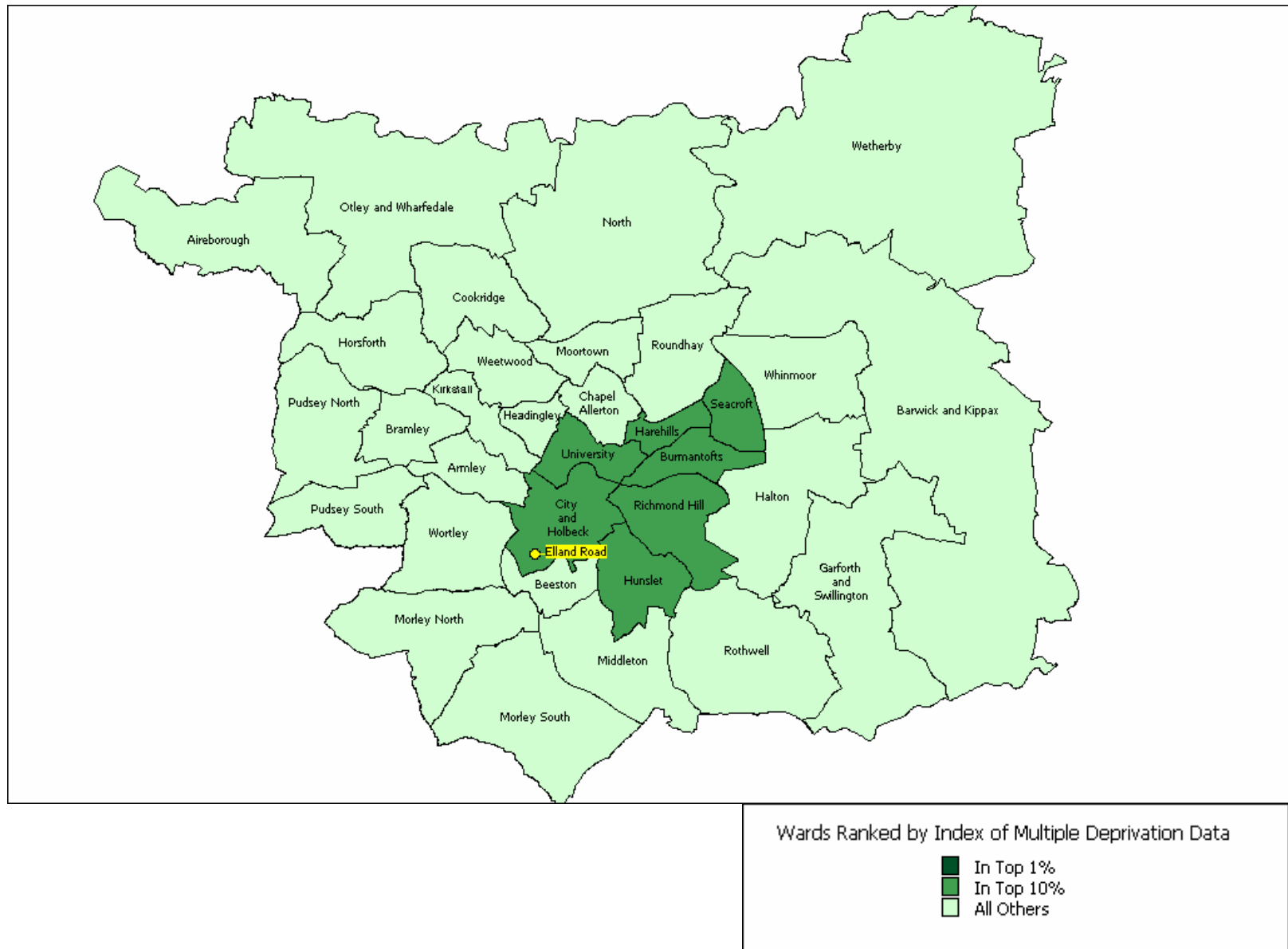
- Wards in Leeds with high and middling numbers of LUFC season ticket holders are less diverse ethnically than wards in Leeds with low numbers of LUFC season ticket holders.

5.6.4 A more complicated picture emerges with regard to religious diversity. From Table 5.13 it can be calculated that the average minority religious population of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders is 6.1%: 0.3% percentage points higher than the national average of 5.8%. However, three wards distort this percentage figure: North and Roundhay (which both have large Jewish populations) and City and Holbeck (which has large Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations). The percentage figure is higher than the average for the middle 11 wards (4.81%), but lower than the bottom 11 wards (8.07%). This means that:

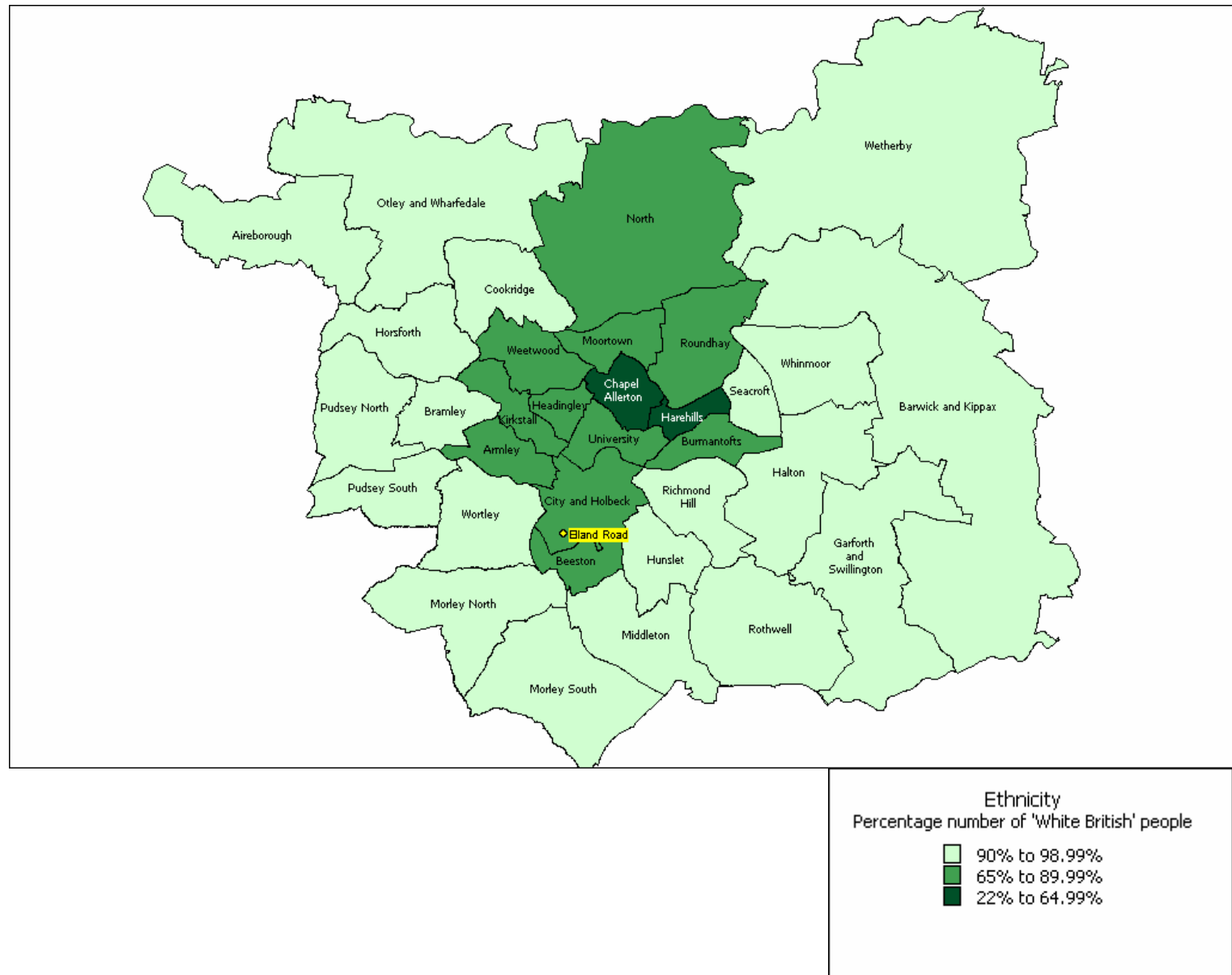
- If the populations of North, Roundhay and City and Holbeck are taken out of the picture, wards in Leeds that have high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders have generally lower minority religious populations than wards with small numbers of LUFC season ticket holders.

WARD	S. TICKETS	IMD RANK %	WHITE BRITISH	NON-CHRISTIAN	NO QUALIFICATIONS	EMPLOYED	POOR HEALTH
North	453	69.02	84.82	25.18	21.27	63.27	8.87
Halton	450	72.81	96.52	0.89	28.75	65.65	9.23
Morley South	447	45.45	96.09	1.87	33.54	68.77	8.62
Morley North	410	56.11	96.35	1.41	31.81	70.08	8.84
City and Holbeck	389	4.49	81.31	12.07	42.68	50.09	13.29
Garforth and Swillington	387	60.07	97.57	0.66	30.9	67.32	9.78
Wortley	371	21.56	94.92	1.85	38.94	63.31	10.4
Horsforth	334	89.16	95.15	1.43	20.99	65.07	7.39
Rothwell	319	50.20	96.9	1.01	33.06	64.69	10.17
Pudsey North	299	67.76	90.89	6.66	26.15	67.97	8.55
Roundhay	292	67.73	79.32	14.07	18.55	65.15	8.07
Wetherby	288	89.10	96.2	1.48	22.08	61.95	6.96
Pudsey South	281	43.39	95.53	2.02	32.98	65.28	9.97
Cookridge	250	67.41	91.36	4.51	22.26	62.41	8.26
Barwick and Kippax	248	49.81	97.29	1.46	31.22	66.41	9.35
Middleton	219	15.91	96.58	0.94	42.41	61.61	10.53
Moortown	214	51.06	78.47	19.51	23.24	63.38	10.05
Otley and Wharfedale	210	80.90	96.29	1.58	23.41	67.33	7.73
Beeston	204	12.72	86.3	8.51	41.7	57.45	11.09
Aireborough	201	75.20	96.45	1.34	25.62	67.83	8.34
Armley	189	19.73	89.48	6.07	37.99	59.29	10.91
Weetwood	174	53.70	86.21	5.56	18.15	53.47	8.7
Bramley	170	17.76	94.62	1.96	37.24	57.83	10.8
Whinmoor	152	23.15	94.71	2.55	38.05	59.97	11.72
Hunslet	135	7.80	95.39	0.98	51.33	54.42	12.95
Richmond Hill	135	5.75	93.5	1.28	51.66	51.22	13.93
Burmantofts	115	5.28	88.77	3	48.33	51.14	14.48
Chapel Allerton	114	11.43	61.99	15.6	31.43	55.77	11.35
Kirkstall	107	24.83	85.53	7.54	26.5	54.55	9.74
Seacroft	83	4.61	95.56	1.21	50.8	51.2	13.26
University	76	7.92	66.69	13.32	23.73	32.93	10.71
Harehills	53	5.10	55.45	29.57	44.67	47.84	10.84
Headingley	44	52.15	80.1	11.86	8.31	27.5	5.73

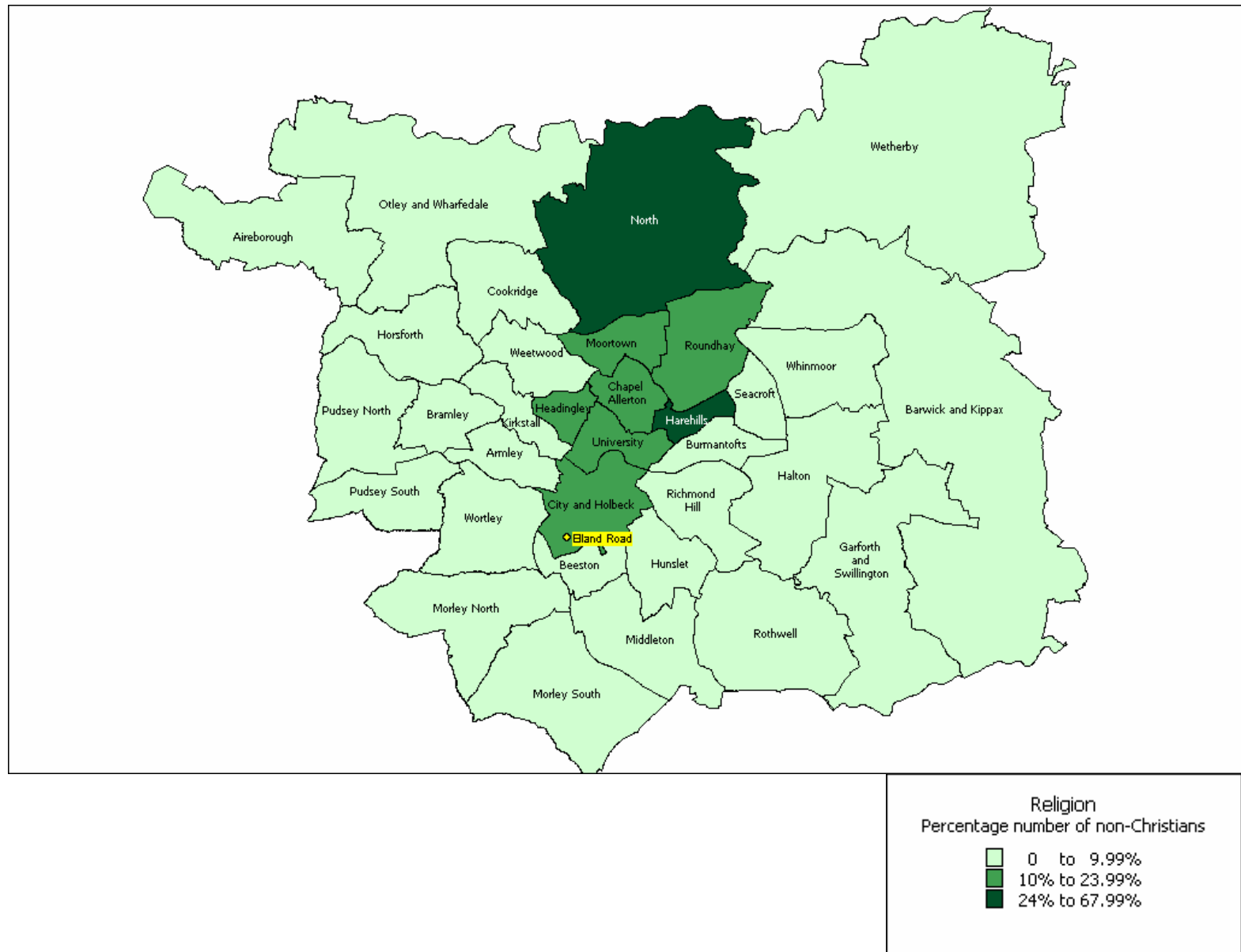
Table 5.13: LUFC Season Ticket Holders 2003/2004 – City of Leeds: IMD Report and National Census 2000



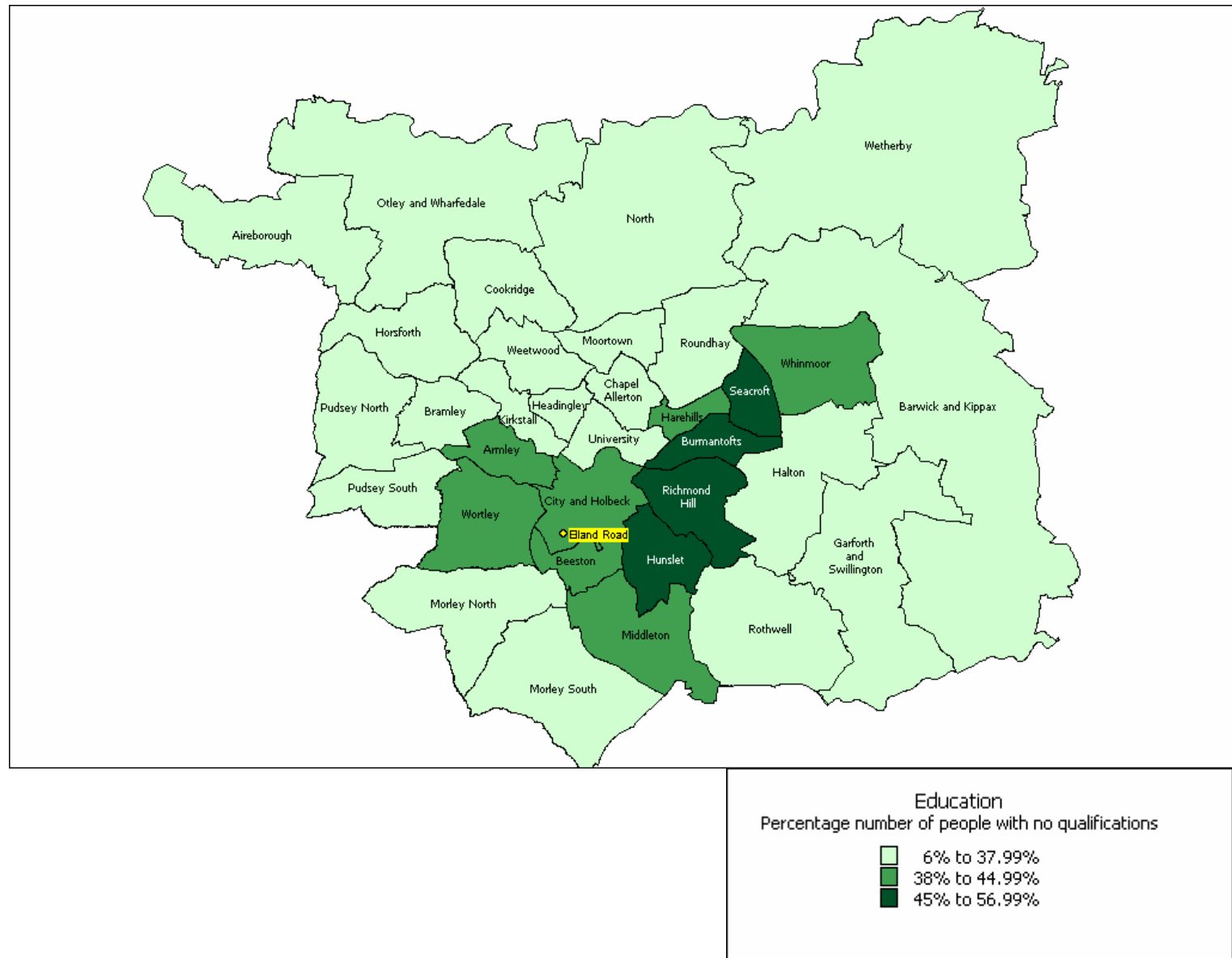
Map 5.16: Index of Multiple Deprivation – City of Leeds



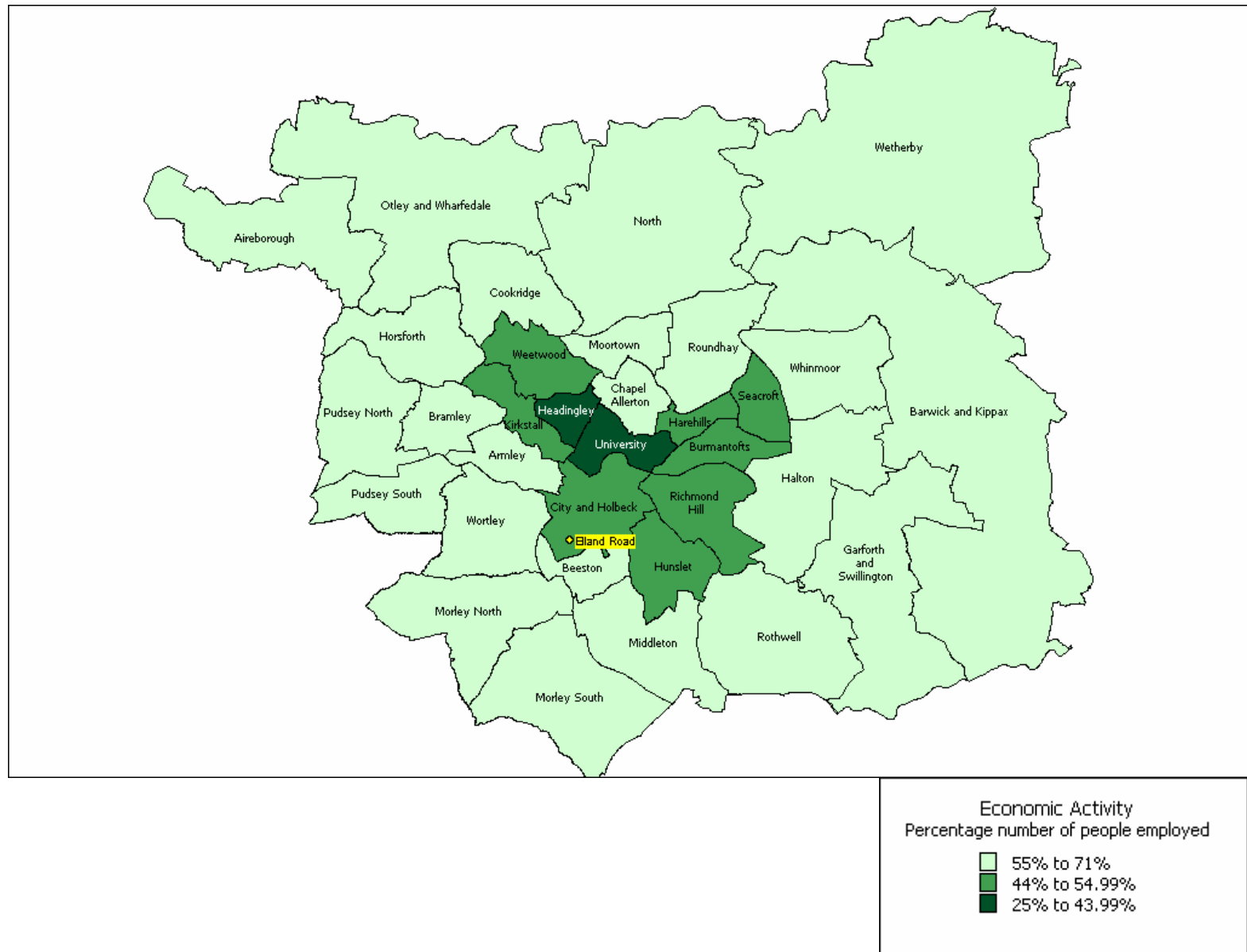
Map 5.17: Minority Ethnic Populations (2001 Census) – City of Leeds



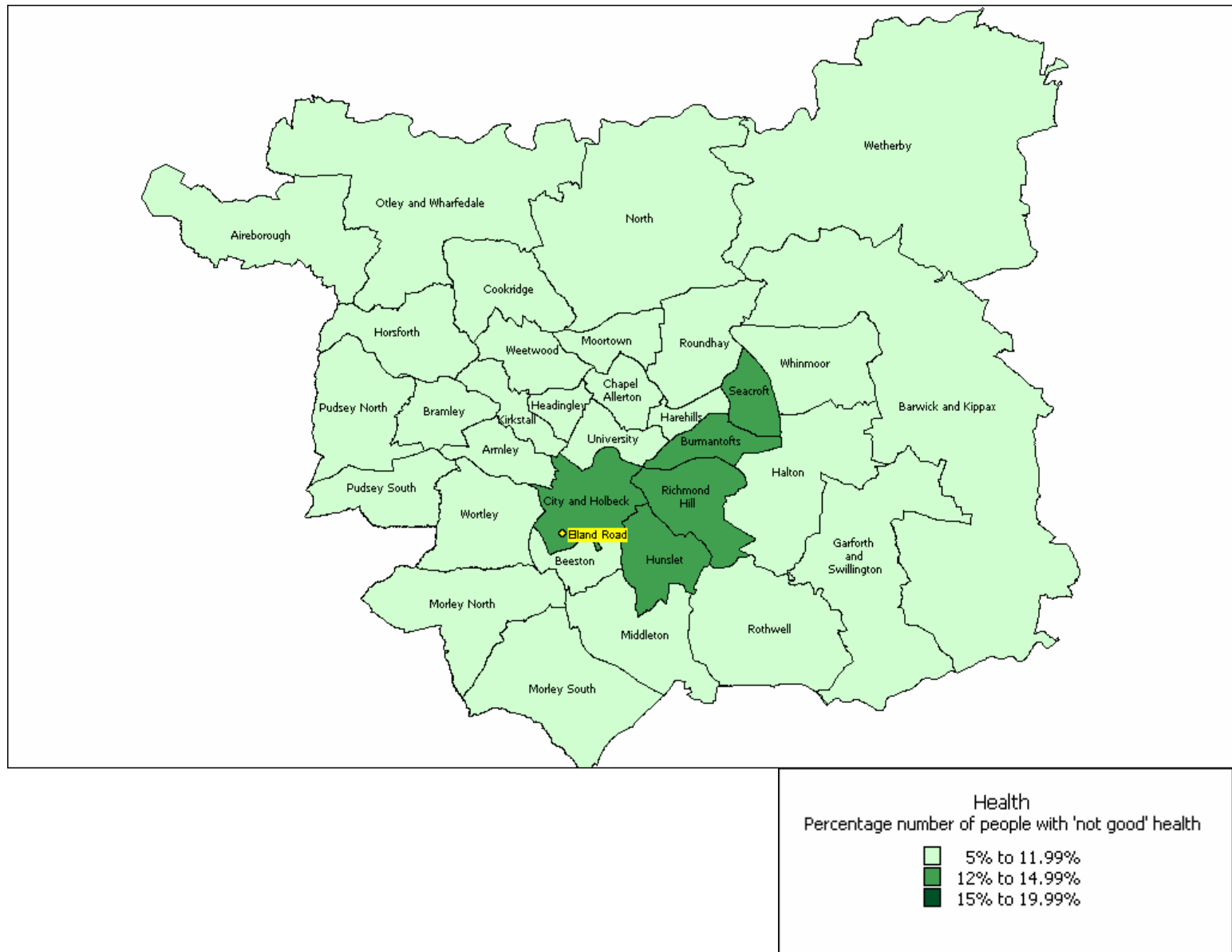
Map 5.18: Minority Religious Populations (2001 Census) – City of Leeds



Map 5.19: Education Levels (2001 Census) – City of Leeds



Map 5.20: Employment Levels (2001 Census) – City of Leeds



Map 5.21: Health Levels (2001 Census) – City of Leeds

5.6.5 In terms of educational levels, Table 5.13 indicates that the average non-qualified population (aged between 16 and 74) of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders is 29.7%: 0.6 percentage points higher than the national average of 29.1%. This is slightly higher than the average for the middle 11 wards (29.1%), and lower than the bottom 11 wards (37.45%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders have generally better education levels than wards in Leeds with fewer LUFC season ticket holders.

5.6.6 In terms of levels of employment, Table 5.13 indicates that the average employment rate (amongst 16-74 year olds) in the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders is 64.67%: 4.07% percentage points higher than the national average of 60.6%. This figure is marginally higher than the average for the middle 11 wards (62.4%), but much higher than the bottom 11 wards (49.48%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders generally have better rates of employment than wards in Leeds with fewer LUFC season ticket holders.

5.6.7 The final census indicator included on Table 5.13 is a measure of poor health. From the table it can be calculated that the average percentage population of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders suffering from poor health is 9.38%: 1.8 percentage points higher than the national average of 9.2%. This is lower than the average for the middle 11 wards (9.26%), and lower than the bottom 11 wards (11.41%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders have generally better health levels than wards in Leeds with fewer LUFC season ticket holders.

5.6.8 In summary, it can be concluded that, when compared to Leeds wards with low numbers of LUFC season ticket holders, wards in the city with the high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders are likely to have:

- Lower levels of multiple deprivation
- Smaller minority ethnic populations
- Smaller minority religious populations
- Better education levels
- Higher employment levels
- Better health levels

Members

5.6.9 Table 5.14 shows, in descending order, the spread of LUFC members across the wards of Leeds and a range of information from the 2000 IMD report and the 2001 national census. The table indicates that of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC members, 1 is in the top 5% of deprived wards nationally, 3 are in the top 25%, and 5 are in the bottom 40%. This can be compared with the middle 11 wards (4 wards in the top 25% of deprived wards and 4 in the bottom 40%), and the bottom 11 wards (8 in the top 25% and only 1 in the bottom 20%). This information means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC members are suffering from lower levels of multiple deprivation than wards in Leeds with fewer LUFC members.
- The top Leeds wards for LUFC members and the top Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders are deprived to a similar degree.

WARD	MEMBERS	IMD RANK %	WHITE BRITISH	NON-CHRISTIAN	NO QUALIFICATIONS	EMPLOYED	POOR HEALTH
Garforth and Swillington	43	60.07	97.57	0.66	30.9	67.32	9.78
Morley South	41	45.45	96.09	1.87	33.54	68.77	8.62
North	40	69.02	84.82	25.18	21.27	63.27	8.87
Aireborough	37	75.20	96.45	1.34	25.62	67.83	8.34
Wortley	37	21.56	94.92	1.85	38.94	63.31	10.4
Halton	34	72.81	96.52	0.89	28.75	65.65	9.23
Bramley	32	17.76	94.62	1.96	37.24	57.83	10.8
Barwick and Kippax	31	49.81	97.29	1.46	31.22	66.41	9.35
Morley North	31	56.11	96.35	1.41	31.81	70.08	8.84
Pudsey North	30	67.76	90.89	6.66	26.15	67.97	8.55
City and Holbeck	29	4.49	81.31	12.07	42.68	50.09	13.29
Horsforth	29	89.16	95.15	1.43	20.99	65.07	7.39
Middleton	24	15.91	96.58	0.94	42.41	61.61	10.53
Pudsey South	24	43.39	95.53	2.02	32.98	65.28	9.97
Rothwell	23	50.20	96.9	1.01	33.06	64.69	10.17
Burmantofts	22	5.28	88.77	3	48.33	51.14	14.48
Richmond Hill	22	5.75	93.5	1.28	51.66	51.22	13.93
Weetwood	22	53.70	86.21	5.56	18.15	53.47	8.7
Chapel Allerton	20	11.43	61.99	15.6	31.43	55.77	11.35
Otley and Wharfedale	19	80.90	96.29	1.58	23.41	67.33	7.73
Cookridge	17	67.41	91.36	4.51	22.26	62.41	8.26
Roundhay	16	67.73	79.32	14.07	18.55	65.15	8.07
Wetherby	16	89.10	96.2	1.48	22.08	61.95	6.96
Whinmoor	16	23.15	94.71	2.55	38.05	59.97	11.72
Armley	14	19.73	89.48	6.07	37.99	59.29	10.91
Hunslet	14	7.80	95.39	0.98	51.33	54.42	12.95
University	14	7.92	66.69	13.32	23.73	32.93	10.71
Headingley	13	52.15	80.1	11.86	8.31	27.5	5.73
Seacroft	11	4.61	95.56	1.21	50.8	51.2	13.26
Kirkstall	10	24.83	85.53	7.54	26.5	54.55	9.74
Beeston	7	12.72	86.3	8.51	41.7	57.45	11.09
Harehills	7	5.10	55.45	29.57	44.67	47.84	10.84
Moortown	5	51.06	78.47	19.51	23.24	63.38	10.05

Table 5.14: LUFC Members 2003/2004 – City of Leeds: IMD Report and National Census 2000

5.6.10 With reference to ethnic diversity, Table 5.14 indicates that the average White British population of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC members is 93.34%: 3.74% percentage points higher than the national average of 89.6%. This is very similar to the average for the middle 11 wards (89.23%), but higher than the bottom 11 wards (83.9%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high and middling numbers of LUFC members have marginally smaller ethnic populations than wards in Leeds with small numbers of LUFC members.
- The top Leeds wards for LUFC members are more diverse ethnically than the top Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders.

5.6.11 A similar picture to this emerges with regard to religious diversity. From Table 5.14 it can be calculated that the average minority religious population of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC members is 5.03%: 0.77% percentage points lower than the national average of 5.8%. This is higher than the average for the middle 11 wards (4.63%), but lower than the bottom 11 wards (9.33%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC members generally have lower minority religious populations than wards in Leeds with small numbers of LUFC members.
- The top Leeds wards for LUFC members are marginally less religiously diverse than the top Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders.

5.6.12 In terms of educational levels, Table 5.14 indicates that the average non-qualified population (aged between 16 and 74) of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC members is 31.65%: 2.55 percentage points higher than the national average of 29.1%. This is marginally higher than the average for the middle 11 wards (31.2%), but lower than the bottom 11 wards (33.48%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC members have marginally higher levels of education than wards in Leeds with lower numbers of LUFC members.
- Populations of the top Leeds wards for LUFC members are educated to a similar level as populations of the top Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders.

5.6.13 In terms of levels of employment, Table 5.14 indicates that the average employment rate (amongst 16-74 year olds) in the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC members is 64.4%: 3.8% percentage points higher than the national average of 60.6%. This figure is higher than the average for the middle 11 wards (60.28%) and the bottom 11 wards (51.86%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC members have marginally higher employment rates than wards in Leeds with middling or few numbers of LUFC members.
- The top Leeds wards for LUFC members have similar employment rates to those of the top Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders.

5.6.14 The final census indicator included on Table 5.14 is a measure of poor health. From the table it can be calculated that the average percentage population of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC members suffering from poor health is 9.64%: 0.44 percentage points higher than the national average of 9.2%. This is marginally higher than the average for the middle 11 wards (10.05%) and the bottom 11 wards (10.36%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds that have high numbers of LUFC members have marginally better health levels than wards in Leeds with middling and few LUFC members.
- The top Leeds wards for LUFC members and the top Leeds wards for LUFC season ticket holders have similar levels of health.

5.6.15 In summary, it can be concluded that, when compared to Leeds wards with low numbers of LUFC members, wards in the city with the high numbers of club members are likely to have:

- Lower levels of multiple deprivation
- Smaller minority ethnic populations
- Smaller minority religious populations
- Marginally better education levels
- Higher employment levels
- Marginally better health levels

5.6.16 It can also be summarised that, when compared to the club's top Leeds wards for season ticket holders, the top Leeds wards for LUFC members are likely to have:

- Similar levels of multiple deprivation
- Larger minority ethnic populations
- Smaller minority religious populations
- Similar education levels
- Similar rates of employment
- Similar health levels

Junior Members

5.6.17 Table 5.15 shows, in descending order, the spread of LUFC junior members across the wards of Leeds and a range of information from the 2000 IMD report and the 2001 national census. The table indicates that of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC junior members wards, 1 is in the top 10% of deprived wards nationally, 3 are in the top 25% most deprived, and 4 are in the 40% least deprived. This can be compared with the middle 11 Leeds wards for LUFC junior members (2 wards in the top 10% of deprived wards, 5 in the top 25%, and 5 in the bottom 40%); and the bottom 11 wards (4 in the top 10%, 7 in the top 25%, and 1 in the bottom 11%). This information means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC junior members are suffering from lower levels of multiple deprivation than wards in Leeds with fewer LUFC junior members.
- The top Leeds wards for junior members are suffering from similar levels of multiple deprivation to those of Leeds wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders or members.

5.6.18 With reference to ethnic diversity, Table 5.15 indicates that the average White British population of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC junior members is 95.44%: 5.88 percentage points higher than the national average of 89.6%. This is marginally higher than the average for the middle 11 wards (94.1%), and higher than the bottom 11 wards (80.17%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC junior members have smaller minority ethnic populations than wards in Leeds with smaller numbers of LUFC junior members.
- The top Leeds wards for LUFC junior members have similar minority ethnic populations to those of Leeds wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders or members.

WARD	JUNIORS	IMD RANK %	WHITE BRITISH	NON-CHRISTIAN	NO QUALIFICATIONS	EMPLOYED	POOR HEALTH
Garforth and Swilling ton	15	60.07	97.57	0.66	30.9	67.32	9.78
Aireborough	8	75.20	96.45	1.34	25.62	67.83	8.34
Halton	8	72.81	96.52	0.89	28.75	65.65	9.23
Rothwell	8	50.20	96.9	1.01	33.06	64.69	10.17
Barwick and Kippax	7	49.81	97.29	1.46	31.22	66.41	9.35
Pudsey South	7	43.39	95.53	2.02	32.98	65.28	9.97
Whinmoor	7	23.15	94.71	2.55	38.05	59.97	11.72
Burmantofts	6	5.28	88.77	3	48.33	51.14	14.48
Horsforth	6	89.16	95.15	1.43	20.99	65.07	7.39
Morley South	5	45.45	96.09	1.87	33.54	68.77	8.62
Wortley	5	21.56	94.92	1.85	38.94	63.31	10.4
North	4	69.02	84.82	25.18	21.27	63.27	8.87
Armley	3	19.73	89.48	6.07	37.99	59.29	10.91
Cookridge	3	67.41	91.36	4.51	22.26	62.41	8.26
Middleton	3	15.91	96.58	0.94	42.41	61.61	10.53
Morley North	3	56.11	96.35	1.41	31.81	70.08	8.84
Otley and Wharfedale	3	80.90	96.29	1.58	23.41	67.33	7.73
Pudsey North	3	67.76	90.89	6.66	26.15	67.97	8.55
Beeston	2	12.72	86.3	8.51	41.7	57.45	11.09
Richmond Hill	2	5.75	93.5	1.28	51.66	51.22	13.93
Roundhay	2	67.73	79.32	14.07	18.55	65.15	8.07
Seacroft	2	4.61	95.56	1.21	50.8	51.2	13.26
Wetherby	2	89.10	96.2	1.48	22.08	61.95	6.96
Chapel Allerton	1	11.43	61.99	15.6	31.43	55.77	11.35
City and Holbeck	1	4.49	81.31	12.07	42.68	50.09	13.29
Harehills	1	5.10	55.45	29.57	44.67	47.84	10.84
Hunslet	1	7.80	95.39	0.98	51.33	54.42	12.95
Kirkstall	1	24.83	85.53	7.54	26.5	54.55	9.74
Moortown	1	51.06	78.47	19.51	23.24	63.38	10.05
Weetwood	1	53.70	86.21	5.56	18.15	53.47	8.7
Bramley	0	17.76	94.62	1.96	37.24	57.83	10.8
Headingley	0	52.15	80.1	11.86	8.31	27.5	5.73
University	0	7.92	66.69	13.32	23.73	32.93	10.71

Table 5.15: LUFC Junior Members 2003/2004 – City of Leeds: IMD Report and National Census 2000

5.6.19 A different picture to this emerges with regard to religious diversity. From Table 5.15 it can be calculated that the average minority religious population of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC junior members is just 1.64%: 4.16% percentage points lower than the national average of 5.8%. This is also much lower than the average for the middle 11 wards (6.49%), and significantly lower than the bottom 11 wards (10.8%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC junior members have much smaller minority religious populations than wards with small numbers of LUFC junior members.
- The top Leeds wards for LUFC junior members are less diverse religiously than Leeds wards with large numbers of LUFC season tickets holders or members.

5.6.20 In terms of educational levels, Table 5.15 indicates that the average non-qualified population (aged between 16 and 74) of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC members is 32.94%: 3.84 percentage points higher than the national average of 29.1%. This is marginally higher than the average for the middle 11 wards (33.49%), and higher again than the bottom 11 wards (29.94%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC junior members have marginally poorer education levels than wards in Leeds with fewer LUFC junior members.
- The top Leeds wards for LUFC junior members have similar educational levels to those of Leeds wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders or members.

5.6.21 In terms of levels of employment, Table 5.15 indicates that the average employment rate (amongst 16-74 year olds) in the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC junior members is 64.13%: 3.53% percentage points lower than the national average of 60.6%. This figure is marginally higher than the average for the middle 11 wards (61.52%), and higher still than the bottom 11 wards (50.88%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC junior members have higher employment rates than wards with smaller numbers of LUFC junior members.
- The top Leeds wards for LUFC junior members have very similar employment rates to those of Leeds wards with high numbers of LUFC season ticket holders or members.

5.6.22 The final census indicator included on Table 5.15 is a measure of poor health. From the table it can be calculated that the average percentage population of the top 11 Leeds wards for LUFC junior members suffering from poor health is 9.95%: 0.75 percentage points higher than the national average of 9.2%. This is lower than the average for the middle 11 wards (10%), and lower again than the bottom 11 wards (10.10%). This means that:

- Wards in Leeds with high numbers of LUFC junior members have marginally better health levels than wards with smaller numbers of LUFC junior members.
- The top Leeds wards for LUFC junior members have similar health levels to those of Leeds wards with high numbers of LUFC season tickets holders or members.

5.6.23 In summary, it can be concluded that, when compared to Leeds wards with low numbers of LUFC junior members, wards in the city with the high numbers of club junior members are likely to have:

- Lower levels of multiple deprivation
- Smaller minority ethnic populations
- Significantly smaller minority religious populations
- Marginally poorer education levels
- Higher employment levels
- Marginally better levels of health

5.6.24 It can also be summarised that, when compared to the top Leeds wards for LUFC members and season ticket holders, the top Leeds wards for LUFC junior members are likely to have:

- Similar levels of multiple deprivation
- Similar minority ethnic populations
- Smaller minority religious populations
- Similar education levels
- Similar employment rates
- Similar health levels

5.7 *Supporter Communities (2) Introduction*

5.7.1 The mapping information presented above has provided the research team with a clear indication of the geographical areas from which LUFC draws many of its supporters. It has not, however, provided information on the relationships that exist between LUFC supporters and the club, and does not address the issue of whether LUFC fans constitute a ‘community’ or a series of ‘communities’. To tackle these issues, the research team has adopted a number of strategies. We have interviewed LUFC supporter representatives, ‘ordinary’ fans, LUFC staff and a range of other individuals to determine how different groups of supporters relate to LUFC and vice versa. We are interested in discovering whether LUFC regards its supporters as a ‘community’ (or a series of ‘communities’), for which formal policies are required. We have also questioned a range of parties about how LUFC fans relate to the club’s resident/neighbourhood communities and the geographical area in which the club’s stadium is located.

5.7.2 The research team is interested in both the formal and informal ways in which LUFC supporters might constitute various community types. We are certainly concerned with establishing whether LUFC formally understands its supporters as communities and what this means for club policy and practice. In addition to this, however, we are also interested in the informal ways in which fans might establish or maintain community-type relationships through their support of LUFC. In recent academic writings on community, a great deal of discussion has taken place on how people maintain communal bonds with one another in contemporary society. Moreover, in academic debates about the role of sport in creating social identities and civic pride, it is frequently asserted that football clubs are today one of the few institutions that routinely provide people with a sense of belonging and identity. The research team is interested in establishing whether this is the case. We have, therefore, interviewed LUFC fans (and supporters of the other case study clubs) about the communal bonds that they maintain through the support of their football club, and have sought to establish the role of LUFC in creating and maintaining family, kinship, friendship and other ties.

5.8 *LUFC’s Supporter Communities – Formal Community Groups and Fan/Club Relations*

5.8.1 As evidenced in the mapping section above, LUFC, like most other professional football clubs, has a large and disparate supporter base that spreads over a wide geographical area. This clearly makes it difficult for LUFC to have formal relations with its supporters as a single community or a series of communities.

5.8.2 One of the ways in which LUFC fans are organised (or organise themselves) into supporter communities is through the Leeds United Supporters’ Club (LUSC). The LUSC is a long-standing organisation that currently has over 10,000 members spread across 79 branches. The location of the supporters’ club branches reflects the widespread nature of LUFC’s supporter base, as detailed in the mapping section above. The supporters’ club has 30 branches in Yorkshire and Humberside, 18 elsewhere in England, 2 in Wales, 1 in Scotland, 1 in the Isle of Man, 1 each in Jersey and Guernsey, 8 in Northern Ireland, 11 in the Republic of Ireland, and 7 elsewhere in the world.

5.8.3 The branches of the LUSC perform a range of functions for LUFC and its supporters. Formally, they provide a means for the distribution of match tickets to members for both home and away fixtures. They also provide a means by which supporters’ club members can raise issues with LUFC through the LUSC Executive Committee. The Executive Committee is made up of a small, elected panel and up to two representatives from each supporters’ branch. It

meets every two weeks with club staff at the Elland Road stadium to discuss supporters' issues, ticket distribution, and club policy and practice.

5.8.4 In addition to providing a bridge between LUFC supporters and the club, LUSC branches also offer a range of other benefits to their members. As branches are organised around specific geographical areas, they enable LUFC supporters to meet and establish regular contacts with other Leeds fans who happen to live in the same locale. Many branches do this by staging social events for their members that also act as fund-raising events for the Supporters' Club. Branches such as the one established in Bradford also have benevolent policies for their members that are designed to increase the accessibility of LUFC's matches. The Bradford branch has a stated aim to provide affordable travel for junior fans to away matches, and also offers a service where payments for match tickets and travel can be made on match days.

5.8.5 It is difficult to determine whether every individual LUSC branch is in any sense a 'community'. Whilst certain branches appear to have regular, long-standing memberships and established committees that are sustained through community-type friendships and contacts, others appear to be loose organisations that only exist as a ticket distribution service for certain LUFC supporters. LUFC are aware of this issue. A former member of staff explained to the research team that some supporters' club branches do not function as cohesive groups, and that a number are effectively made up of 'old blokes trying to control young blokes who want tickets'.

5.8.6 LUSC branches are not the only formal fans' groups that exist around LUFC. Leeds supporters have established a relatively wide range of fans organisations in recent years, many precipitated by the recent financial crisis at the club. Two of the most well established groups to emerge recently are the Leeds United Independent Fans Association (LUIFA) and the Leeds United Supporters' Trust (LUST). LUIFA was established in 2002 and has had, at times, over 2,000 non-paying members. The organisation has followed the model of many other Independent Supporters Associations (ISAs) across the country, and has emerged as an important lobbying organisation for change at LUFC. LUIFA has regularly represented its members' views to LUFC during the past two years, and was used by various media outlets as a source of fans' views during the recent change of ownership at the club.

5.8.7 LUST was established in 2003 by, as one member put it to us, 'ordinary fans determined to do our bit to create a successful future for Leeds United Football Club'. The Trust was created, through the auspices of Supporters Direct, as a means for fans to buy shares in Leeds United PLC. Supporters Direct is a democratic, Industrial and Provident Society that has so far managed to establish over 100 supporters' trusts across the country. The Leeds United Supporters' Trust began with an aim to build up a significant shareholding in LUFC, and then work towards getting a fans' representative on to the Leeds United PLC board. This, the group believed, would ensure that Leeds supporters would have greater influence over the future of their crisis stricken club. In recent months, LUST has launched a number of new initiatives, including one to purchase the Elland Road stadium. The group believe the stadium to be under threat of sale, and want to secure it as the permanent home of LUFC.

5.8.8 In addition to LUIFA and LUST, Leeds fans have established a number of other supporters' organisations over the past two years that have provided an outlet for fans' concerns over the financial management and future of the club. Leeds United Fans Worldwide, 'SaveLeedsUnited', Fans Save Leeds United, Leeds Ultras, and a small number of other groups have emerged to campaign on behalf of fans' interests and to raise funds to secure the future of the football club. These groups, along with LUIFA and LUST, are examples of football supporters

coalescing into identifiable groups or ‘communities’ when they find their football clubs under threat or in crisis. The groups of fans that make up these organisations are not communities in the same way that supporters’ club branches can be: they are not constituted around discreet geographical areas or, usually, friendship groups. Rather, they are ‘communities of interest’ that are established by people who share the same concerns or fears about how their football club is being run and what its future might hold.

5.8.9 Other, informal supporters’ groups have also emerged around LUFC in recent years that are less focused on the problems currently faced by the club. The primary example here is the Maverick Whites. The Maverick Whites began as a group of friends who decided to organise travel to LUFC matches together. It now has 50 members drawn principally from Horsforth, Rothwell, Farsley, Birtall, Burley, Beeston, Harrogate and Otley. It also has a small number of members in Enniskillen in Northern Ireland, and an honorary branch in Melbourne Australia. The Maverick Whites continues today to function principally as a friendship group that does not have any official connection to LUFC or the LUSC. Its members have, however, been invited to talk to LUFC officials during the recent financial problems at the club.

5.8.10 Due to the relatively large number of supporters’ organisations that surround LUFC, the club, in association with its fans, has recently established a Fans’ Forum (FF) through which fans’ representatives can speak to club personnel about issues of concern. The FF meets on a regular basis with club officials, and also has a number of ‘themed’ groups that discuss club policy towards issues such as supporter racism and standing at matches. LUFC and its supporters established the FF in an attempt to create a representative interface between supporters and the club. A number of LUFC fans had long suspected that the only formal communication channel between the fans and the club, the LUSC Executive Committee, was not the most effective body for expressing criticism of the club because, as one supporter put it to us:

Supporters’ clubs are traditionally populated by older, less militant supporters who don’t want to upset the club. The football club can withdraw tickets from supporters’ branches if they are critical of the club, and that works against fans.

5.8.11 The FF at LUFC is, therefore, designed to be an open environment in which criticism of LUFC can be raised and acted upon by club personnel. It is also designed to offer LUFC fans a ‘deeper’ relationship with their football club that establishes them as more than mere customers. Unfortunately, however, not all LUFC supporters regard it as a success. One member of the LUST stated to the research team that the FF was not democratic or representative, and had been established by the club merely as a ‘talking shop’ that would not affect real change.

5.8.12 The only other formal supporter initiative that exists at LUFC is the Leeds United Disabled Organisation (LUDO). LUDO works with LUFC to promote the interests of disabled fans and to maintain good relations between disabled fans and the club. Through regular meetings with LUFC’s Operations Director, Community Affairs Manager, and Stadium Manager, LUDO provides a forum for disabled fans to discuss any problems that they may have with access, ticketing or facilities. Disabled supporters at LUFC also benefit from the services of the club’s Disabled Tickets Coordinator, who is based at the club’s ticket office. His/her role is to deal with all ticket, car parking and general enquiries relating to disability issues, and to assist disabled LUFC fans when travelling to away fixtures.

5.8.13 LUF​C's work with its disabled supporters' organisation is a clear example of the club establishing formal structures to relate to one specific 'community' of supporters. LUF​C, like many other football clubs, clearly believes that their disabled supporters share specific and identifiable concerns or problems that must be addressed through formal processes and mechanisms.

5.8.14 From the information presented above, it is clear that a range of formal supporter community groups currently exist around LUF​C, many of which have formal relationships with the club through LUSC or the Fans' Forum. It is noticeable that a large number of these groups emerged over the last two years, often in response to the financial crisis at the club. In this sense, these groups can be described as 'reactive communities' or 'communities of crisis' that have been brought together by a specific shared problem. The members of these groups perceive that the future of LUF​C is in serious doubt, and have drawn themselves together in attempts to fashion coherent responses. This has not always been a straightforward task. In discussions with LUF​C fans, the research team has found a great deal of tension between different supporter groups at the club. Some groups perceive others to be self-serving and self-promoting and not always interested in the long-term future of the club. Other groups are frequently criticised for claiming to speak for all Leeds fans, when in fact they do not. These tensions are evidence of the impossibility of regarding LUF​C fans as a single, coherent community.

5.8.15 The LUSC Executive Committee and the Fans' Forum could be interpreted as evidence of LUF​C's attempts to engage with their supporters as more than consumers or customers, although the FF could also be read as a simple corporate customer consultative forum. It is certainly questionable whether these organisations constitute a clear supporter-based community policy at Leeds. The FF, for instance, appears in the main to be a reactive body that deals with supporter issues and problems as they arise. This is very different from the club having a range of stated supporter community focused policies that aim to preclude supporter concerns from emerging in the first place. There is also evidence that the FF has been marginalized and deemed to be relatively unimportant during the recent crisis at LUF​C. One member of staff at Leeds informed the research team that the FF was 'not on the Chairman's radar' during the early part of the 2003/2004 football season, because the club had more important issues with which to deal.

5.8.16 The lack of a clear supporter community policy at LUF​C is evidenced in its approach to its local socially and economically excluded supporters. As noted above, the club has a formal structure for working with disabled supporters through LUDO and the Disabled Tickets Coordinator. The club has also regularly distributed match tickets to local black and minority ethnic groups across the City of Leeds to encourage their attendance at matches. It does not, however, have any policies for addressing problems that other disadvantaged groups have in accessing match-day tickets. For example, one member of LUF​C staff reported to the research team that the club were not interested in encouraging attendance amongst economically disadvantaged people from the Holbeck or Beeston areas of Leeds 'unless they could put money across the counter'. Whilst the financial imperative of the club during its financial crisis is understandable, it is anomalous that the club should continue to address some forms of social exclusion during the present time whilst dismissing economic exclusion as being unimportant.

5.8.17 It is also notable that LUF​C does not regard its supporters as a community resource. The community affairs department at LUF​C, whilst being involved in the FF and LUDO, has done little to utilise the skills of LUF​C supporters as resources in furthering the club's approach to community work. The club has, moreover, done nothing to use supporters as

ambassadors, community advocates, historians, mentors, hosts, or guardians. Ironically, the only way in which supporter communities at LUFC have been regarded as a resource is as a source of additional income. Following the recent withdrawal of club funding from community activities at LUFC, the Community Affairs department developed a number of funding packages for community work that could be purchased by individuals, groups or commercial sponsors. The LUSC was asked by Community Affairs to purchase an Associates' Package at the cost of £5,000 that would provide general support for LUFC's community work. Whilst it is unclear whether this offer was taken up, it is notable that LUFC supporter communities are being asked to support the club's community work during a period of financial crisis when they have had little formal engagement with the club's community developments in the past.

Summary

5.8.18 In summary, it can be stated that:

- LUFC has a geographically widespread support
- LUFC has a large supporters' club with 10,000 members and 79 branches
- Some LUSC branches act as community-type organisations. Other branches act as simple ticket distribution agents for LUFC
- A number of formal supporters' organisations exist at LUFC. Many of these have emerged in response to the recent financial crisis at the club
- Many supporters' organisations at LUFC can be understood as 'reactive communities' or 'crisis communities'
- LUFC has a Fans Forum that, despite being regarded by some as a simple customer consultative forum, is an example of how the club can interact with its supporters as more than mere consumers
- LUFC regards its disabled supporters as a distinct community group
- Other supporters at LUFC are not regarded as community groups for which distinct policies are required. Nor are they considered to be community a resource by the club

5.9 LUFC Supporter Communities – Informal Community Groups

5.9.1 In addition to considering formal relationships between supporter communities and LUFC, the research team also has a wider interest in understanding how LUFC supporters relate to one another, and how they use their support of the club to sustain or create community-type relations with fellow supporters. The aim of this section is to show the important insights connected with informal community groups. As stated at the outset of this section, a number of sociologists are currently investigating the relevance of a number of concepts related to the idea of community in contemporary society. However, much of this research has spawned studies that too often present an overly 'positive' view of community. Indeed, if this research team is interested in determining football's place in establishing or preserving relations based around inclusive concepts such as 'home', 'family', and 'belonging', it is also intent on examining community in terms of its potentially exclusionary forms.

5.9.2 To begin, we questioned people about how they came to support LUFC and their early years as supporters. However, many of the people to whom we spoke found the question a little puzzling, because for them supporting their club seemed to be something they understood as 'natural'; something that 'always has been' part of their lives. And if the majority of supporters we spoke to told us that they attended their first match with friends or a member of the family –

usually but not exclusively their father – their introduction to LUFC in some way or another always tended to reflect this ‘always has been’ experience. One 42-year-old supporter described his relationship with LUFC:

Leeds United has always been there in my life. No beginning – just there. I was brought up about a mile from the ground and the football club was just part of everything else really, like football itself. Football was the only sport we played as kids even when the council took the goal posts down in the park during the summer months. My dad used to take me to matches only very occasionally, but I used to go down every match day. As kids we wouldn't waste what little money we had to pay in; so we would usually just wait until three quarter time until the gates opened and watch the last bit of the match. You always knew what score it was by the noise of the crowd. But going back to your question, there was no beginning as such. No.

5.9.3 This viewpoint was not exclusive to older supporters. One 19-year-old fan told us that all his spare time and money goes towards supporting LUFC and that he has supported the club all his life. He told us that ‘it has always felt the natural thing to do’. He explained that his father has never been a ‘full on’ supporter like him, but he had taken him to his first game and that now he has a season ticket and follows the team all over the country.

5.9.4 Another LUFC supporter, of Asian heritage, similarly explained that supporting LUFC seemed like something that he had always done. But as the following account suggests, this supporter has always managed to support his team despite two major obstacles; the first being to do with his family. He explained that his father was always against either him or his brothers playing or watching football because of the needs of the family business. Despite the indignation of his father, this supporter began playing football at a young age and his elder brother set up the first Asian football team in Leeds. Now in his mid-forties, this supporter is a Beeston shopkeeper and is involved in a local community-based club set up by fathers for their sons and daughters. He is also a season ticket holder at Elland Road. He told us about his long-term relationship with the club:

I have always supported Leeds since I was a little kid. It was hard in the beginning though because my dad would not let us play football, never mind watch it. He used to even hit us if he saw us playing football on the street. I always remember this white guy challenging him after he had seen him hit my brother. But it did not change dad; he was illiterate and his only concern was the shop. I ended up having to nick my first ever football boots from Woolworth's and the first time I got to go see Leeds was through our PE teacher who used to get us tickets for the boys pen.

5.9.5 He went on to explain that the second obstacle to him supporting LUFC had been his experiences of overt racism:

When I first started going to watch Leeds I had some hairy experiences. I remember the first to this day. I was standing in the Kop with my brother before a game and this older lad started spitting on our backs. We told him to stop and he wouldn't. But what I remember the most is the way everybody else who was stood there just watched. Nobody did anything to

help us and we were just kids. I felt so frustrated because I just couldn't understand why he was doing it. As I got older, though I understood the racism much more and came to feel really intimidated. Stuff wasn't always said directly to you but the players would get hassle as well! When Terry Connor first played for Leeds he used to get the monkey chants; it was unbelievable.

5.9.6 The supporter concluded the interview by stressing how things have changed in more recent years at Elland Road, but also stated that racism still exists at LUFC connected to certain forms of structural absence:

You don't get the out and out racism any more; it is simply not tolerated. But you still do not see a lot of black and Asian fans at Leeds.

5.9.7 If the two obstacles affecting this supporter's relationship with LUFC have been racial and familial, the exclusion of one young fan from his beloved Leeds has been related to economic factors, not helped in his view by the disregard of his circumstances by LUFC. The supporter explained that, since a very young age, he has always had a season ticket for Leeds United - until recently that is. He said that he could not afford the massive hike in price, from junior to adult, when he turned 16 a couple of years ago. He lives in Morley and is a sixth-former at a local school and, although he has a part-time job, has now had to stop attending most home games and all the away games. He says he can now only afford to attend the 'big' home fixtures, such as Manchester United, Arsenal, Liverpool, Newcastle and Chelsea. This supporter feels let down by the club and we sensed from listening to him that the 'community' of his Leeds United, who he always refers to as 'we', is something very separate from the 'community' of Leeds United - of 'them' - the club. His experiences would seem to confirm the findings highlighted in the previous sub-section of this report which suggest that LUFC does not regard its supporters as a community for which policies of support are necessarily required.

5.9.8 In terms of the relationship between gender and community we spoke to some young women who support LUFC. One 18-year-old university student who was brought up and still lives in Leeds, told us about her experiences of supporting LUFC. If her experiences of supporting LUFC told us something about the way in which football enables her to maintain her personal relationships and family/friendship networks, they also provided one telling insight not stressed by any of the male interviewees:

I've been going to matches since I was about 8 years old. I started going with my dad and brother and have gone to home matches on and off ever since. When I go to matches it is always with my boyfriend or my dad. I've never been with just girls; it doesn't seem like a thing girls do as a group. You don't seem to get groups of just girls at Elland Road; or maybe that's to do with the all-seating stadium. But you don't see groups of girls wandering about outside the ground either. It's funny really because I support Leeds Rhinos as well and you get lots of groups of girls going to the rugby; that's all some of them do walk about not watching the game!

5.9.9 Another way in which there appeared to be a sense of dislocation between the different 'communities' associated with LUFC was in relation to some supporters and the local community. From what we observed very few of the supporters coming into Beeston on match days pay much attention to the locality. If supporters bring a sense of community to the area it is

not so much ‘of’ as largely ‘out’ of the local context; a highly visual but short-lived kind of community. This was evidenced in the match-day routine of one supporter to whom we spoke. He said that he was brought up in the Beeston area, but no longer lives there. He explained that when Leeds play on a Saturday, he always returns ‘home’ for something to eat and a drink in the pubs in Beeston. As he explained:

It's the only time I come back really, on a match day. Most of my family has left the area and so have most of my friends. I always get down there at about 12ish, have a pint and bite to eat in the club (working men's club), and then go for a few in the White Hart. If nobody's in there I'll go for one of the Whistlestop. I never arrange to meet up with anyone, but you always meet up with somebody. Some weeks I'll get talking to someone I've never met before, but its nearly always familiar faces. I see people I grew up, old friends of mine because I'm from Beeston, people who know my sister and brother, and my mam and dad. There's also all the faces; there are people who drink in the White Hart on a match day who I have never even spoken to, but whose faces I know from years of going to matches.

5.9.10 This supporter's match-day routine enables him to return ‘home’ to Beeston to identify with his roots and display a communal identity associated with LUFC. It also provides him with the opportunity to share a sense of community that comes from being a LUFC supporter and rooted in the knowledge that he can share a time and a place with the familiar faces of fellow supporters. But all of this seems to have little if anything at all to do with some of the other community groups who we have reported as living in Beeston today.

5.9.11 Despite some of these issues of concern relating to the local context of Beeston, the research team identified some other more innovative ways in which supporters establish and maintain community relationships with LUFC. One supporter who we interviewed in a local pub told us about the ‘virtual community’ in which he was involved. He described it as an on-line LUFC circuit:

There are about 14 or 16 of us who keep in touch by e-mail; but it is more like an on-line LUFC circuit really. Most of us work in the Leeds area, although there are a few lads on the circuit who don't, and we all work in the service sector. I'm an insurance broker, [fan's name] is in publishing and most of the others are in like occupations, although some of my brother's student mates have joined up. Most of us go to games as well and there are about 7 on the circuit who play football together on Wednesday nights. Me and [fan's name] are both season ticket holders and we both feel deeply about all the crap that's going on at Elland Road, so it gives us an opportunity to discuss with a load of people all sorts of things relating to the club. [Fan's name] went to one of those forums and got to speak to Ridsdale in person but it was all bullshit; Ridsdale never opened up properly and nobody there thought he was telling them anything straight. This started a good debate on the circuit – after all the piss taking finished. But when I think about it we don't really discuss any one issue solely at one time; issues come up, disappear, and return. There's also always a general lack of seriousness about it all. I don't mean that in the sense that we don't care about what's happening about

the club, but the discussions go off on hilarious tangents. There's lots of sexism too and scandal – scandalous goings on – it gives us sad bastards a forum to talk about their own pathetic sex lives and who they were shagging in Leeds city centre last Friday night. To be serious though, for me, I think it's great because I can talk about things to do with Leeds, sort the footie out, and keep in touch with my mates - I must send more than 10 messages most days; sometimes a lot more.

5.9.12 There is evidence here, too, that some individuals and groups have a class-based view and experience of community. In introducing us to some of the other people who subscribe to this internet network of Leeds supporters, one supporter described the research team as a group of university lecturers wanting to know something 'about middle-class fans that support Leeds'. Both the issue of this perceived 'bourgeoisification' of community and the idea of virtual communities are aspects of the research which we intend to follow up in more detail in the final project report.

Summary

5.9.13 In summary, it can be stated that:

- To be part of the LUFC supporter community is not merely a matter of 'choice' but is considered to be 'natural', or a 'birthright' by some fans
- Community takes a number of complex forms amongst LUFC fans, ranging from the geographical, to the 'virtual', to the ephemeral or short-lived evidenced on match days
- There is evidence that some supporters return to Beeston on match-days, and in so doing identify with their roots and display a communal identity associated with LUFC
- There is some evidence that 'community' and 'support' at LUFC is understood by some supporters to be class-based
- There is evidence of a history of racism at the Elland Road stadium, the overt aspects of which have largely disappeared

6. Overall Emerging Themes

6.1 *Introduction*

6.1.1 A number of important themes and areas for potential future investigation have emerged from the research contained in this report and the corresponding reports completed for Manchester City FC and Sheffield United FC. These will be investigated further and will inform forthcoming reports from the research team.

6.1.2 In line with the approach adopted throughout this report, the emerging themes outlined below are organised according to the four types of communities which the project team has been investigating. These themes draw on evidence from all the case study settings.

6.2 *Resident/Neighbourhood Communities*

6.2.1 The following issues have emerged from our studies of the resident/neighbourhood communities of the case study clubs:

- The socio-economic and demographic profiles of the neighbourhood areas in which the case study clubs are located are suffering from multiple forms of deprivation. They are frequently suffering from varying levels of poor health, low levels of educational, low rates of employment, and poor housing.
- The neighbourhood areas of the case study clubs are dissimilar in terms of ethnic make-up. Some areas, such as Moss Side in Manchester and Sharrow in Sheffield, have very high minority ethnic populations, whilst others, such as Beswick and Clayton in Manchester, have populations drawn almost entirely from 'white' ethnic groups.
- There is disagreement in all of the neighbourhood areas about the existence of a 'local community'. Some residents claim that residents' associations are evidence of strong community spirit. Others strongly doubt the representative, democratic nature of residents' associations.
- Residents have different interpretations about the nature of contemporary communities in their local areas. For many, community is something that has recently disappeared or been 'lost'.
- There are differences in the levels of formal and informal engagement that the case study clubs have with their resident/neighbourhood communities.
- Many resident/neighbourhood communities encounter problems on match days associated with the activities of the football club, such as graffiti, litter, noise, anti-social behaviour, violence, theft, trespassing, public urination, and traffic problems. There are not always clear channels of communication to address these issues.
- Many residents who are not football supporters and do not attend matches still frequently gain personal enjoyment from match days. A large number of residents expressed their pride in living near to a major football stadium.

6.2.2 As a result of these issues, the research team will be investigating whether the case study clubs should consider further their approach to:

- Addressing some of the socio-economic problems that exist in their neighbourhoods. How can the case study clubs make better use of their stadia and other facilities as community resources? Can clubs build better, more productive relationships with local regeneration and other local agencies?

- Engaging with their local, neighbourhood communities. Are clubs always mindful of the range of ethnicities that exist in their neighbourhoods, and are clubs doing enough to ensure that all ethnic groups have the opportunity to participate in/with the club?
- Addressing local concerns about match-day nuisance. Do clubs always offer clear lines of ongoing communication for local residents who are concerned about certain problems associated with the club, and how are these issues addressed?
- Conducting community consultation. If residents' associations are not always representative and/or democratic, is it enough to consult/communicate only with these groups? Should clubs be developing new, innovative ways to make contact with hard to reach groups in their neighbourhood areas, such as the socially excluded, young people, and minority ethnic groups?
- Build upon the great amount of goodwill that often exists in resident/neighbourhood communities. If many, non-football-supporting residents express pride in living near to their local football stadium, can clubs do more to harness this goodwill and build mutually-beneficial pride in the local neighbourhood?

6.3 *Business Communities*

6.3.1 The following issues have emerged from our studies of the business communities of the case study clubs:

- The geographical areas around the case study stadia are topographically varied. This means that some of case study stadia are located amongst high numbers of small sized businesses, whilst others are located in geographically dispersed 'business park' areas.
- All of our case study stadia, with the partial exception of Elland Road in Leeds, are located in areas that are suffering from serious structural economic problems. MCFC and SUFC are currently involved in schemes that, directly or indirectly, are designed to address the economic problems of East Manchester and Sharrow respectively.
- Some businesses in the immediate vicinity of the case study stadia trade on their proximity to the football clubs. Other businesses, especially pubs and food outlets, trade almost exclusively for the benefit of football supporters.
- There is evidence that match days can create certain levels of nuisance for businesses located in the immediate vicinity of the case study stadia.
- There is little evidence of formal trading links between the case study clubs and their local businesses.
- The clubs have varied policies with regard to sponsorship and advertising.

6.3.2 As a result of these issues, the research team will be investigating whether the case study clubs should consider further their approach to:

- Addressing some of the economic problems that exist in their local business communities. How can the case study clubs make better use of their stadia and other facilities as community resources for local business people? Can clubs build better, more productive relationships with local economic regeneration agencies?
- Maximising business/economic opportunities when redeveloping/building stadia. Should clubs look to address local economic problems when redeveloping/building stadia?
- Addressing local business concerns over match-day nuisance. Do clubs always offer clear lines of communication for local business people who are concerned about certain problems associated with the club?
- Trading with local businesses. Should clubs develop priority-trading agreements with local businesses to stimulate the local economy?

- Employment policies. Should clubs have stated policies to employ local people, thereby maximising local employment/training opportunities?
- Buying in sponsorship/advertising. Can clubs formulate sponsorship/advertising policies that support local businesses whilst maintaining operational viability?

6.4 *Communities of Disadvantage*

6.4.1 The following issues have emerged from our studies of the communities of disadvantage in the case study cities and their relationships with the case study clubs:

- Communities in Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield are suffering from varying forms of multiple deprivation. The City of Manchester is suffering from more widespread and severe deprivation than either Leeds or Sheffield.
- The case study clubs are all conducting community work in geographical areas of disadvantage.
- The clubs' work in communities of disadvantage is frequently focused on issues of education, health, drug use, crime, and racism.
- Traditional football development work is rarely targeted at communities of disadvantage.
- Strategic planning in community work varies from club to club.
- All of the case study clubs appear to balancing a 'local' approach to community work with varied attempts to help in areas most in need of assistance.
- Some deprived areas of the case study cities, such as East Manchester, are subject to large numbers of community sports initiatives. Other communities of disadvantage do not have any community sports schemes.

6.4.2 As a result of these issues, the research team will be investigating whether the case study clubs should consider further their approach to:

- Targeting community sports work in communities of disadvantage. Do the case study clubs conduct detailed needs assessment work when planning community interventions?
- Understanding the scope of their community interventions. Do clubs have responsibilities to work in disadvantaged areas across their cities, or should they adopt a more 'local' approach to community sports work?
- Conducting appropriate work, commensurate with staff skills. Should clubs attempt to undertake all types of community sports work with current staff skills? Should clubs attempt to improve their skills base, or should they deliver some community sports initiatives in association with other, more 'expert' agencies?
- Partnership working. Do the case study clubs plan their community interventions in consultation with other community sports providers, local authorities and regeneration agencies?

6.5 *Supporter Communities*

6.5.1 The following issues have emerged from our studies of the supporter communities of the case study clubs:

- All three case study clubs have season ticket holders, members and junior members that are geographically dispersed to varying degrees.
- More season ticket holders tend to live nearer to the case study football clubs than do club members or junior members.

- Local city-based season ticket holders at all three clubs tend to live in wards that, by local standards, have: low levels of deprivation; low minority ethnic and religious populations; high levels of employment; and good levels of education and health.
- Case study club members tend to live in areas that are marginally more deprived than the areas in which club season ticket holders reside.
- Case study club junior members tend to live in areas that are similarly or less deprived than the areas in which club season ticket holders or members reside.
- A number of formal and informal supporters' organisations exist at the case study clubs. Some of these constitute friendship communities, whilst others act as simple agencies for the distribution of match tickets. Some supporters' groups, especially those at LUFC, are 'communities of crisis' or campaigning organisations.
- Formal supporters' organisations are regarded by some fans to be unrepresentative, unconstitutional, and undemocratic.
- Some formal supporters' organisations act as potential community resources for their football clubs. For instance, many are involved in charity work and other fund-raising activities.
- Many supporters express a desire to have a community-type connection with their football club that extends beyond match days.
- None of the case study clubs regard supporters (except for disabled supporters) as community groups for which distinct policies are required. This is especially true of economically disadvantaged supporters. Nor do clubs consider supporters to be potential community resources.
- Supporters create and sustain a variety of community-type relationships through their football clubs. These can be family relationships and friendships, or very transient forms of association that only occur on match days.
- 'Expat' supporters of the case study clubs are using the internet to build new 'virtual' communities and other community formations based on their shared, dislocated status.

6.5.2 As a result of these issues, the research team will be investigating whether the case study clubs should consider further their approach to:

- Developing supporter organisations and communities. Should clubs look to develop new supporter initiatives in areas of deprivation, areas with high minority ethnic populations, and local neighbourhoods?
- Working with economically disadvantaged groups. All the case study clubs are addressing the social exclusion agenda to a greater or lesser degree, especially with regard to minority ethnic and disabled groups. Should they also be formulating club policies to overcome match-day access problems for 'poor white' communities and other economically disadvantaged groups?
- Utilising supporters and supporter groups as community resources. Should clubs be looking to involve their supporters in community work as potential ambassadors, community advocates, mentors, hosts, guardians and community servants? Much of this could be done on a volunteering basis.
- Consulting and engaging with supporters. Are fans' forums and other consultative structures appropriate mechanisms to build community-type relationships between clubs and their fans?
- Utilising socio-economic and geographical data on season ticket holders, members and junior members. Should clubs be making better use of these data to inform club policy on, for instance, traffic schemes?