

**London Assembly Stadium-led regeneration  
Regeneration Committee Enquiry**

**Submission on behalf of the Local Economy Working Group of the Our Tottenham network**

The Our Tottenham network brings together 40 key local community groups, projects and campaigns standing up for the interests of people in Tottenham, especially around planning and regeneration issues ([http://ourtottenham.org.uk/?page\\_id=31](http://ourtottenham.org.uk/?page_id=31)). We work together to fight for our neighbourhoods, our community facilities and the needs of our communities throughout Tottenham. This response, formulated by the Local Economy Working Group, is based on the principles embedded in the Community Charter for Tottenham agreed by the Our Tottenham network on 6 April 2013 (available here: <http://ourtottenham.wordpress.com/community-charter/>). This was followed up by a Community Planning for Tottenham conference in February 2014.

**The Our Tottenham network includes (August 2014):**

Bull Lane Playing Fields Campaign / Weir Hall Action Group, Chestnuts Community Centre, Clyde Area Residents Association, Day-Mer, Defend Haringey Health Services, Dissident Sound Industry Studios, Find Your Voice, Friends of Downhills Park, Friends of Lordship Rec, Growing-In-Haringey Network, Haringey Alliance for Public Services, Haringey Defend Council Housing, Haringey Federation of Residents Associations, Haringey Friends of Parks Forum, Haringey Green Party, Haringey Housing Action Group, Haringey Independent Cinema, Haringey Justice for Palestinians, Haringey Left Unity, Haringey Living Streets, Haringey Needs St Ann's Hospital, Haringey Private Tenants Action Group, Haringey Solidarity Group, Haringey Trades Union Council, Living Under One Sun, Lord Morrison Hall / Afro International, N.London Community House, Peoples World Carnival Band, Selby Centre, The Banc, Tottenham and Wood Green Friends of the Earth, Tottenham Chances, Tottenham Civic Society, Tottenham Community Choir, Tottenham Community Sports Centre, Tottenham Concerned Residents Committee, Tottenham Rights, Tottenham Theatre, Tottenham Traders Partnership, Tower Gardens Residents Group, Tynemouth Area Residents Association, Ubele, University and College Union at CONEL, Urban Tattoo, Wards Corner Community Coalition, 1000 Mothers' March Organising Group, 20's Plenty for Haringey.

**Terms of reference**

**The purpose of the Committee's investigation is to:**

- **Review evidence from past and current stadium-led regeneration schemes to assess the benefits of stadium development programmes to both football clubs and local communities;**

The history of stadium-led regeneration schemes is older in the USA and consequently there is a much deeper evidence base of the claimed benefits for such projects.

The issue of stadium development has become centred on whether the claimed economic benefits flow from state subsidies provided to sports franchises through the building of new sports stadiums. Numerous researchers have examined the relationship between new facilities and economic growth in metropolitan areas in the USA, see: Baade & Dye, 1990;<sup>1</sup> Rosentraub & Swindell, 1993;<sup>2</sup> 1996, Noll & Zimbalist, 1997<sup>3</sup>. In each case, independent analysis of economic impacts made by newly built stadiums and arenas has uniformly found no statistically significant positive correlation between sport facility construction and economic development (Siegfried & Zimbalist, 2000)<sup>4</sup>. This can be contrasted with the claims of teams and leagues, who emphasize the large economic benefits of professional franchises merit significant public expenditures on stadiums and arenas, (Matheson, 2002)<sup>5</sup>.

- **Review the role of the Mayor in stadium regeneration schemes and assess the extent to which his objectives for stadium-led regeneration in the London Plan are being met; and**

The OT Network believes that the 'stadium-led regeneration' does not deliver broad community benefit or that the larger stadium will enable it to 'host a wide range of community activities'. There has not been any genuine participation with local stakeholders to promote and develop sporting facilities.

In general terms the aim enshrined in the approach to planning in Tottenham - by the London Plan, the Upper Lee Valley Opportunity Area Planning Framework and the Area Action Plans for Tottenham that Haringey Council has recently consulted on - of attracting new investments, new residents, new businesses and new development to Tottenham should not be done at the expense of the existing community, i.e. by displacing local residents and local businesses; and it should actually improve the lives of existing residents (by creating jobs which locals can access and developments which generate true and significant benefits or facilities accessible to the community).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Baade R. A. Dye R. (1990). The impact of stadiums and professional sports on metropolitan area development. *Growth and Change*, 1990, Spring, 1-14.

<sup>2</sup> Rosentraub M. and Swindell D. (1993). Fort Wayne, Indiana in Johnson A. T. ed. *Minor League Baseball and Local Economic Development*. University of Illinois,

<sup>3</sup> Noll R. G. and Zimbalist A. (1997) Sport, jobs and taxes. *Brookings Review*, 15, 3, 35-40.

<sup>4</sup> Siegfried J. and Zimbalist A. (2000). The economics of sports facilities and their communities. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14, 3, Summer, 95-114

<sup>5</sup> Matheson, V. (2002). An examination of sporting event economic impact studies. *The Sport Journal* 5 (1).

<sup>6</sup> *OT response to proposed alterations to the London Plan (2014:1)*

We wish to draw attention to the way in which existing businesses lying within the development areas in North Tottenham, including the area around the proposed new stadium have been ignored and dismissed by local plans and development proposals. We fully support the work of the Tottenham Business Group to try to redress this.

Plans drawn up by Arup, linked to the Tottenham stadium development in High Road West, involve the displacement of existing businesses and social housing. Options which could have prevented the displacement of existing businesses were presented by the developer Arup, but rejected by Haringey Council. Plans for the High Road West Scheme in Tottenham would demolish the existing Peacock Industrial Estate that contains numerous small and medium enterprises.

- **Develop recommendations for the Mayor to ensure the current stadium development schemes – in particular the Olympic Stadium – deliver a genuine regeneration legacy for local communities.**

We strongly recommend the following:

1. That commitments to work with existing residents and businesses by the Mayor and the local authorities are strengthened to prevent damaging outcomes. For example, in Tottenham, over 2000 jobs have already been lost with the demolition of large industrial estates in Northumberland Park. Plans for the High Road West Scheme in Tottenham would demolish an existing industrial estate, described by the Tottenham Business Group in their response to the Tottenham Area Action Plans (AAPs) consultation as ‘one of London’s workshops’, resulting in the loss of 200 jobs, as well as ‘the loss of manufacturing and industrial units that could provide valuable skilled training and apprenticeships for our local youth’. In this instance, the planning framework associated with this ‘stadium-led regeneration’ seems to offer insufficient protections for existing employment land, risking its destruction through developments that do not recognise or value existing economic activities. In relation to High Road West, the Tottenham Business Group point out that ‘The jobs, the training and the varied established units of Peacock Estate and its surroundings could not be replaced elsewhere.’<sup>7</sup> Such proposals as part of ‘stadium-led regeneration’ do not ‘deliver a genuine regeneration legacy for local communities’.
2. That the Mayor and local authorities prevent the loss of existing community assets. These would include public houses, libraries, markets, community centres, etc, which also fulfill social and economic roles.

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<sup>7</sup> OT response to proposed alterations to the London Plan, page 5.

3. That strong contractually obliged claw-back provisions are inserted in to any agreements with private companies over public money put in to 'stadium-led regeneration' schemes if the stadium, football club or any associated company is sold.
4. That the Mayor follows the recommendation of the previous GLA study on London football stadiums to ensure that football clubs adopt an open book policy with the local and regional planning authority throughout an application.<sup>8</sup>
5. Due to the massive impact stadia development has on the local surrounding communities, and the wealth of modern clubs (especially those in the top divisions), ensure that the maximum 'planning gain' agreements are secured for the benefit of the existing communities.
6. A series of pre-requisites to developing stadia for the benefit of communities and football clubs were put forward by Brown *et al.* in their 2006 report for the Football Foundation. It was stressed that football clubs need to minimize the negative effects of events at the stadium on local communities. As a minimum, clubs need to have in place means of regular consultation, problem solving and decision making to overcome difficulties suffered by local residents. These could include:
  - Local steering groups, incorporating club, local authority, residents representatives, local business groups, agencies (such as transport).
  - An active and meaningful involvement in decision making by local community representatives and other residents and businesses – as well as supporter communities - facilitated by the football club and local authorities
  - Developments designed with local communities to meet their needs, as well as other parties such as clubs.
  - Regular and accurate information sharing about developments, plans and options.
  - Independent monitoring of community involvement in developments.
  - Regular open/public consultation meetings.
  - Stadium open days
  - A defined member of staff able to tackle issues for local residents across different departments of the club.
  - Outreach work, especially on match days, to observe and to make connections with local people.
  - Schemes for the removal of litter.

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<sup>8</sup> GLA Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee, *Away from Home – Scrutiny of London's Football Stadiums*, June 2003, Recommendation 6.  
 Available at: [http://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/archives/assembly-reports-culture-football\\_stadiums.pdf](http://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/archives/assembly-reports-culture-football_stadiums.pdf)

Where football facilities are developed as part of local regeneration strategies, it must be ensured that they are accessible and useful to local people. A Community Involvement Plan could help achieve this, so long as it:

- Takes full account of what local people need, involving them in the planning and negotiations for the site.
- Ensures that playing and business requirements are balanced with the need to maintain fluid and open access to the stadium.<sup>9</sup>

If distinctions between fan and resident communities were more effectively bridged, clubs and their stadia may be able to become more embedded locally. Thus participation in the decision-making process surrounding new stadia is simply the very important starting point of this process.

**Two-stage process, firstly to investigate the following issues:**

- **Why are football stadia considered as catalysts for regeneration?**
- **What do football clubs see as their responsibilities in regeneration?**
- **What direct and indirect regeneration impacts might be expected from a stadium scheme?**
- **What unintended impacts can result from stadia schemes?**
- **What data exists to show the economic contribution stadium development makes to local regeneration? What metrics should be used to measure the regeneration impacts of stadium-led regeneration accurately?**

Despite much rhetoric about the regenerative benefits of new stadia or new stands, there is little firm evidence that communities necessarily benefit socially or economically from them,<sup>10</sup> and plenty of evidence of damage to such communities due to displacement of existing residents and businesses, and the refashioning of local neighbourhoods from their generally historic and organic human-scale character to one of a large scale corporate character.

- **Are football stadia maximising their potential as community assets?**
- **How are councils working with football clubs to capitalise on regeneration opportunities to get the best deal for communities? What processes do they use to decide neighbourhood priorities for development contributions (e.g. transport / public realm / housing improvements)?**

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<sup>9</sup> Football and Its Communities: Final Report For the Football Foundation. (2006: 41 - 42) Brown A., Crabbe T., Mellor G., Blackshaw T., Stone C.

<sup>10</sup> Football and Its Communities: Final Report For the Football Foundation. (2006: 41) Brown A., Crabbe T., Mellor G., Blackshaw T., Stone C.

- **To what extent have claims about regeneration around new stadia development been realised?**

Secondly to investigate:

- **Delivery of a regeneration legacy for east London through the Olympic Stadium**

No comment on this issue.

- **Proposals to support local regeneration at Upton Park**

No comment on this issue.

- **The role of the Mayor and local authorities in other planned stadium schemes, such as Tottenham Hotspur FC and QPR FC**

As part of the 'stadium-led regeneration' in Tottenham, there is Mayoral investment to "secure land for new public space as a 'Stadium Approach' with a potential new ticket hall situated at the southern end of White Hart Lane Station".<sup>11</sup>

This is viewed differently by some local residents in the Love Lane Estate: Funding for the Love Lane plan includes £8.5 million from the Mayor of London for a splendid 'walkway' from White Hart Lane Station to the new Spurs ground – right through where Ermine House and the Whitehall Street blocks now stand. The Peacock industrial estate, currently fully occupied with garages and other businesses, is to be knocked down in two of the options for 'regeneration' and to become Peacock Mews. All the businesses on the industrial estate have been told they must move if the plans are approved, but not how they will be compensated or relocated, because, the council says, the schemes is as yet only for consultation.

The role of the Mayor and the local authority in the Tottenham stadium development has been criticised as "going too far to please Spurs, in the effort to keep the club in Tottenham and build regeneration around the new stadium".<sup>12</sup>

The full details of the concessions to Tottenham Hotspur FC are set out below. In summary, Haringey Council reduced the required S.106 funding from a figure of £16.436 million to £0.477 million. It should be noted that Joe Lewis, a billionaire currency trader who lives in the tax haven of the Bahamas owns a majority of Spurs shares via his holding company Enic International, also registered in the Bahamas.

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<sup>11</sup> Report for Cabinet, 7 February 2012, Item 12. 'Funding and Investment Package for the Tottenham Regeneration Program.' Available at:

[http://www.minutes.haringey.gov.uk/Published/C00000118/M00005356/\\$\\$ADocPackPublic.pdf](http://www.minutes.haringey.gov.uk/Published/C00000118/M00005356/$$ADocPackPublic.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> The Guardian, 31 October, 2013, page 46.

Spurs argued that the S.106 requirements made the stadium development not financially viable. Haringey Council commissioned their own report from Grant Thornton, which concluded that changes could 'mitigate key risks'. This publicly funded report remains 'commercially confidential', but is subject to an on-going freedom of information request.

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Report Title: **Tottenham Hotspur FC Stadium Redevelopment (Northumberland Development Project) – Revising the s106 Agreement to support a viable development scheme**

### **Summary**

Tottenham Hotspur (THFC) has not been able to commit to building its new 56,250 seat stadium in Tottenham as its consented 'Northumberland Development Project' was not financially viable. Lengthy negotiations have been taking place between the Council, the Mayor of London and the Club to see how viability can be improved in the current challenging conditions in the financial and property markets.

- 4.39 For the above reasons it is recommended that the requirement for 50% affordable homes in the NDP Scheme is deleted from the s106 agreement. This is still consistent with the Council's planning policy which seeks 50% affordable housing subject to viability.
- 4.42 The recommended changes to the s106 obligations entail investment of £7.977m, including funding from the Mayor. The actual cost to THFC of the NDP Scheme is reduced by £16m. On top of that is the potential increased development value of the proposed additional floorspace and other detailed changes to the consented development (including those that are the subject of the two planning applications reported separately on this Agenda). Other proposed measures in the whole package should also help to boost investor confidence.
- 4.46 In summary, to help support a viable NDP Scheme, it is recommended that THFC be relieved of:
  - paying any funding obligations direct to either the Council or Transport for London (with those obligations to be replaced, in part, by work to be funded by the Council & the Mayor of London);
  - undertaking some of the obligations that THFC were to fund directly.

**On the face of it, these financial commitments by Haringey can be compared with the approach of Islington Council to the Emirates Stadium development:**

*"In total, the agreement resulted in Arsenal contributing £100 million towards regeneration schemes, including the development of new houses of which over 40%*

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<sup>13</sup> Haringey Planning Sub Committee, 13 February, 2012. Page 8

*were affordable housing for key workers; a £60 million Waste and Recycling Centre; the replacement of Council services such as Building Maintenance and Highways; and community facilities including an IT Education Learning Centre, two children's nurseries, and four community health centres (London Borough of Islington, 2006a). The Section 106 Agreement was the largest in the country relative to the size of the development, with Islington Council arguing that the development is 'about a much wider and comprehensive regeneration package that would bring benefits to the borough as a whole and the sub-region' (London Borough of Islington, 2006a, point 3.8)."<sup>14</sup>*

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<sup>14</sup> From: A Case Study of Arsenal Football Club and the Emirates Stadium, *Managing Leisure* 16, 49-64 (January 2011).



### Summary of Key Changes to the s106 Agreement

Obligation category	Existing s106 agt.		New s106 agreement		Notes
	£	Funded by or action by	£	Funded by or action by	
Highways, transport, parking & env. imps.	£13.341m. £ for other measures not specified	THFC	£3.5m. £3.5m. £0.5m. £0.477m. £7.977m.	Mayor (via LBH) Mayor LBH THFC	New agreement focuses on essential measures. £5.364m. of costs deleted for non-essential works. (LBH funding subject to approval by Cabinet 7 Feb. 2012)
Heritage	£0.24m. and £ for works not specified	THFC	£ for works not specified	THFC	Obligation for £0.24m. deleted but other heritage obligations remain.
Energy	£ not specified	THFC	£ not specified	THFC	Obligation remains to provide CHP plant. (Separate funding from Mayor/LBH to enable CHP plant to be capable of serving wider district subject to detailed approval by Mayor/LBH Cabinet -not part of s106)
Temporary uses on vacant land	£ not specified	THFC	£ not specified	THFC	Obligation remains.
Emp. & skills	£0.4m.	THFC	£ not specified. Emp. obligations on THFC strengthened	THFC	Funding obligation is deleted but target for local jobs is increased. (Note: Emp. & skills programme for Tottenham (using £1.5m. funding from Mayor) being developed by Council)
Regeneration, inward inv. & community projects	£0.885m.	THFC	-	-	Obligations deleted. (Note: Separate funding for area-wide regeneration masterplan subject to Cabinet approval 7 Feb. 2012 - not part of s106)
Provision of public space & toilets	£ not specified	THFC	£ not specified	THFC	Obligation remains – no. of community events to be held increased (Note: Separate funding from LBH subject to Cabinet approval 7 Feb. 2012 – not part of s106)
Area and street managt.	£ not specified	THFC	£ not specified	THFC	Obligations remain
Affordable housing	(50%)	THFC	(0%)	THFC	Obligation deleted
Education	£1.2m.	THFC	0	-	Obligation deleted
Monitoring	£0.37m.	THFC	0	-	Obligations deleted (Note: Council to use existing revenue resources)
Use of 'enabling' development value	-	-	(Value from development in Phases 1 & 3 to support Stadium)	THFC	New obligation
Healthcare	-	-	Offer of space	THFC	New obligation
<b>Total</b>	<b>£16.436m.</b>	<b>THFC</b>	<b>£0.477m. £7.5m.</b>	<b>THFC Mayor/LBH</b>	

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The local authority acknowledges the major need for new affordable homes in Haringey, but scrapped the requirement for 50% of 200 flats in the southern development to be affordable homes while allowing THFC to increase the number of new homes to 285. Alongside the proposal to knock-down existing social housing to make way for the 'walkway', this has annoyed many in the local community.

Local traders have said they believe the council's "master-plan" will principally enable Spurs to make money, because the club had steadily been buying property in the High Road west area when it became available and had become the biggest landowner. The Bahamas-registered TH Property owns approximately 20 separate properties on the High Road west site now earmarked by the council for major residential development.<sup>16</sup>

### **Views from local communities and members of the public affected by the development of football stadia:**

- **What impact local residents and businesses think stadium development has had on their lives in the local area;**

Brian Dossett, whose family-run timber and wood-machinist business has been on High Road since 1948 and employs 20 people, has joined other businesses to fight the plan. *"They can't just take our factory and our land, which we have built over so many years' work, to build flats to make money; surely that is theft? We're proud of what we do, to have kept the business going for 65 years."*<sup>17</sup>

Lia-Clera Gomes and her husband Bob own and live with their children above the Urban Tattoo parlour, a 20-year fixture in a row on White Hart Lane planned to be demolished for the Spurs walkway. She discovered the plans from a friend. *"When Spurs were planning to leave, we signed the petition asking them to stay; now we have a question mark over our future."*<sup>18</sup>

The residents of 297 council homes at Love Lane in Tottenham are facing the possible demolition of their homes as part of 'stadium-led regeneration' that will receive £40 million in public subsidy, even though Tottenham Hotspur is the 13th richest football club in the world. A £5 million of the public funding would come from the sale of the land on which the Love Lane estate stands.

Haringey Council has offered the residents three 'options' for redevelopment: the demolition of some of the estate, most of it, or all of it. The Council has not offered any option to retain all the existing council homes in the area.

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<sup>16</sup> The Guardian, 31 October, 2013, page 42.

<sup>17</sup> The Guardian, 31 October, 2013, page 43.

<sup>18</sup> The Guardian, 31 October, 2013, page 43.

David Cunningham of Ermine House (facing possible demolition) says, *'The big problem is that there is no plan for fixing what's there, to restore the blocks to good order. They are letting big business dictate the terms. It's all geared up for Tottenham Hotspur'*.

Haringey Council promises that new social housing would be built on the site. But scandalously, the Council has not yet told tenants whether the new homes would be let at existing council 'target' rents, with permanent tenancies, or at much higher near-market rents, with five-year tenancies.

The redevelopment is part of a council 'Plan for Tottenham' that aims to increase local housing costs (rents and property values), potentially pricing local people out of the area. Funding for the Love Lane plan includes £8.5 million from the Mayor of London for a splendid 'walkway' from White Hart Lane Station to the new Spurs ground – right through where Ermine House and the Whitehall Street blocks now stand.

The campaign group Haringey Defend Council Housing held three meetings with the residents of the Love Lane/Whitehall St. estate in 2013. More than 50 residents attended to object to the Council's proposals. Since then a farcical 'consultation' was conducted and a clearly biased report produced. 4,000 local people had signed a petition against demolitions, yet the Council has claimed local support. A full analysis of the 'consultation' and report is provided below.<sup>19</sup>

- **How community groups are involved and given a say in stadium-led regeneration schemes;**

In response to this issue, we provide the following documents as evidence:

- ANNEX A: TOTTENHAM TENANTS FACE DEMOLITION UNDER 'SPURS-LED REGENERATION'
- ANNEX B: LOCAL TRADERS CONDEMN SHAM COUNCIL CONSULTATION
- ANNEX C: STATEMENT FROM THE OUR TOTTENHAM ORGANISING GROUP – 28.11.2013
- ANNEX D: WHY WAS COMMUNITY DENIED SIMPLY COMPROMISE IN SPURS STADIUM WALKWAY PLANS?
- ANNEX E: OPINION: SPURS NEW STADIUM AGGRANDISEMENT – TOTTENHAM COMMUNITY WON'T BE RED-CARDED

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<sup>19</sup> <http://ourtottenham.wordpress.com/2013/06/13/tottenham-tenants-face-demolition-under-spurs-led-regeneration/>

## **ANNEX A: TOTTENHAM TENANTS FACE DEMOLITION UNDER 'SPURS-LED REGENERATION'**

<http://ourtottenham.wordpress.com/2013/06/13/tottenham-tenants-face-demolition-under-spurs-led-regeneration/>

### **TOTTENHAM STADIUM REGENERATION CONTROVERSY GROWS - CAMPAIGNERS CALL FOR IMPROVEMENTS NOT DEMOLITIONS**

- At a joint meeting with the Tottenham Hotspur Executive Director, Our Tottenham network community reps condemned the 'negative' affects of the new Stadium-led development in the surrounding area , and called for the wealthy Club to put £100m into positive improvements for local communities 'like Arsenal had done for its new stadium'

- Our Tottenham reps to report back to this Saturday's 'Our Tottenham' Street Assembly outside Wards Corner

- Our Tottenham reps to address full Council meeting on 15th July

On Thursday 4th July 2013 at the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium, representatives of the Football Club and the Our Tottenham network\* met to discuss the regeneration of Tottenham, and in particular some of the controversial effects of the 'Spurs-led regeneration' of North Tottenham. Donna-Maria Cullen (The Club's Executive Director), and Adam Davison (The Club's Head of Community Relations) met with Tottenham residents' delegation from the Our Tottenham network - Frank Murray (Tottenham Concerned Residents Committee), Lia-Clara Gomes (White Hart Lane shopkeepers group), Jacob Secker (Haringey Defend Council Housing), Mark MacKnight (Friends of Lord Morrison Hall), and Dave Morris (Haringey Federation of Residents Associations).

Tottenham Hotspur (THFC) had requested the meeting with the community campaigners *'to discuss the campaign and whether there might be any areas of common ground. We certainly would welcome the opportunity to meet as we recognise the extremely important roles both organisations have to play in the renewal of Tottenham.'* [Adam Davison email to OT, 4.6.2013].

The campaigners put forward 7 written demands. These included:

- **that Spurs contribute £100m as s106 planning gain** 'matching Arsenal's funding into the local community during its own stadium development (in 2006)'. It was noted that THFC's official contribution had originally been set at £16.436m, but THFC had managed to get this low figure reduced to a paltry £0.477m\*\*. It was also pointed out that Tottenham last year had the 13th highest revenues of any football club in the world\*\*\*. The £100m should be paid and earmarked to go towards improvements to local community facilities, homes and small businesses, and without any rent rises.

- **that there be no demolitions or people made homeless.** For example in the North Tottenham High Road West / Love Lane area an unnecessary 'Stadium Approach'

road is planned to be constructed through a Council housing estate, with many nearby shops and some community facilities also facing demolition\*\*\*\*. It was noted that the current so-called consultation about these Council proposals scandalously omits any option to reject the threat of demolitions, ensuring that many will be made homeless if the controversial plans are not halted.

- **that no public money be used to subsidise any stadium-related development** [The Council and GLA have earmarked £41m towards regeneration-related development around Tottenham, £8.5m of it related to the 'Stadium Approach road' area];

- **that any new homes built on the Spurs development site itself should be at least 50% social housing.** It was noted that 50% affordable housing was set as a planning obligation, but then scrapped after THFC lobbying.

- **The Club were also invited to 'side with the people of Tottenham' and sign up to the Our Tottenham Community Charter** [<http://ourtottenham.wordpress.com>]

In response Donna-Maria Cullen said she supported many of the Community Charter points, but resisted the calls for the Club to contribute in the ways proposed by the campaigners. She agreed to respond to all the 7 demands in writing following the meeting. Meanwhile, she denied the Club was wealthy and challenged some of the figures quoted for Arsenal [but was handed a copy of the source material]; said that the Council was responsible for the controversial Love Lane area demolition proposals and many other developments in the area and that campaigners 'should lobby the Council'.

There followed an intense discussion on the above issues especially the extent of Spurs' responsibility as a key partner and catalyst for some of the controversial regeneration ideas for Northumberland Park, and indeed for Tottenham as a whole. There was also debate about gentrification forcing local people out of the borough, and the pros and cons of developer-led and community-led regeneration.

Donna-Maria Cullen agreed to respond in writing to the 7 Our Tottenham network demands. The OT delegates agreed to report back to their planned Street Assembly on Saturday.

***" We are calling on the club to speak out against the threat of demolitions of nearby homes and shops, and to promise to fund the improvements people actually need. Spurs always say they want to go one better than Arsenal, so we expect them to put more money into the area than Arsenal did since they built their new stadium. "***

- Frank Murray, for the Our Tottenham network.

Some of the issues that football clubs can face if they do not engage and permit community participation are summarised in a quotation from previous research:

*"If we just keep importing people, [then] the disaffected people... on the council estate across the road, will start throwing bricks at our cars that are*

*parked in the car park, and disrupting our, you know our people who have paid big money to be hospitality guests and before you know it we'll be building fences around the stadium, and we'll get a reputation – "well don't drive your car there 'cos it gets broken into by the local scrotes across the road". We can't necessarily stop all that happening, and so far it doesn't happen but, if we ignore our local community, we ignore it potentially at our peril, and they'll treat us badly if we treat them badly" (interview with MCFC official, quoted in Brown et al., 2004: 28).<sup>20</sup>*

- **What impact stadium-led regeneration has on local businesses, how businesses are consulted, and whether there are negative impacts for local enterprises.**

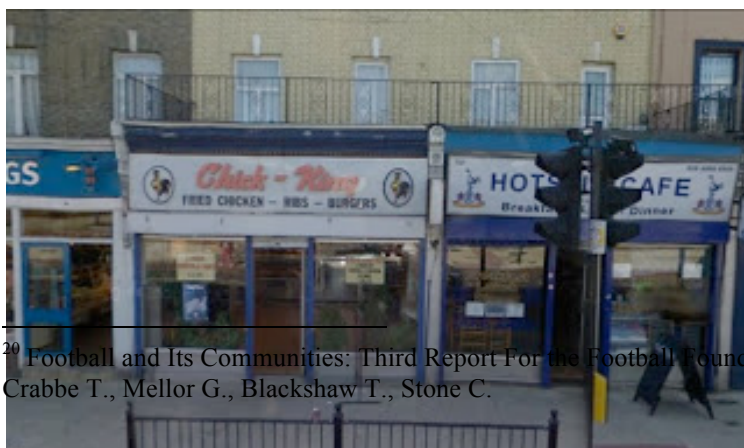
The views below are from individuals and groups of local businesses in Tottenham on the perceived lack of consultation and the potentially massive negative impacts the 'stadium-led regeneration' will have on their enterprises.

#### **ANNEX B: LOCAL TRADERS CONDEMN SHAM COUNCIL CONSULTATION**

<http://ourtottenham.wordpress.com/2013/12/06/local-traders-condemn-sham-council-consultation-for-north-tottenham-high-road-west-as-lies-and-call-for-a-new-scenario-for-the-area-2/>

On Thursday 28th November 2013 a delegation of traders from North Tottenham High Road West addressed the Council's cabinet meeting. They presented their 4,000-strong petition in which local people rejected the demolition of the area. The traders condemned the consultation over the future of the area as a 'sham' and said they had been lied to by the Council. They also condemned the report of the consultation that had excluded or sidelined most of the objections. They called on the Council to 'freeze this planning process and sit down to design a new Scenario, one that includes this Business Community and allows it to move forward and grow within the regeneration process, not be excluded from it.' Their powerful presentation is included below in full.

It should be noted that many Councillors are at last beginning to criticise the



Council's plans. At the meeting, Cllr Meehan referred to a recent Guardian expose which showed that THFC had a property company recently re-registered

<sup>20</sup> Football and Its Communities: Third Report For the Football Foundation. (2004: 28) Brown A., Crabbe T., Mellor G., Blackshaw T., Stone C.

'offshore' in the Bahamas - he called on the Council to condemn Tottenham Hotspur FC for buying up shops and businesses under threat, describing this as 'making a killing' and a 'fire sale'. Cllr Bevan asked the traders' rep to tell the Cabinet how a THFC official had allegedly tried to buy up local shops a year ago, telling owners they could otherwise lose everything - the official apparently showed traders some unpublished Council redevelopment plans for the area long before they had even been made public let alone consulted over. Cllr Stanton said the process of demolition and redevelopment was recognised throughout London as 'social cleansing'. Cllr Winskill, the Chair of the Overview & Scrutiny Committee which met on the previous Tuesday, said then that 'we are talking about a massive socio-economic transformation of the area' and asked 'who is the redevelopment of Tottenham for?'. At that same meeting Cllr Bull, the former head of the Scrutiny Committee, said 'I still have a niggling concern that we rolled over far too quickly on the section 106 on Spurs' [in which the Council allowed THFC to abandon its agreed obligations to build affordable housing and to put 16m into the local community]. 'It just seems like everything is Spurs, Spurs, Spurs, Spurs, Spurs at the expense of everything else.'

In reply the Council leader, Clare Kober, agreed that any 'making a killing' tactics by THFC's property arm would be unacceptable. Regarding criticisms over gentrification and 'social cleansing' she recognised that there was 'an affordable housing crisis', which was a 'crucial' challenge 'for ordinary working people'. The plans would be looked at again to take into account all that had been said and a new 'masterplan' for the area would be drawn up and consulted on in the summer of 2014.

## **THE TRADERS' PRESENTATION**

*"This business community has been part of the fabric of Tottenham in most cases for over 20 years and in some cases for more than fifty. Are we to be thrown out to make way for a Football fans Walkway?"*

*This petition with over 4000 signatures shows overwhelmingly that local people are against this.*

*These figures should have been added into the recent High Road West Consultation, here today for approval. The result would have been a resounding NO to your present plans. However this was not allowed to happen. When we presented it to Alan Strickland in June he neglected to tell us the petition had to be formally presented and so the figures were never included.*

*There has been no engagement with local business about the development of this Regeneration plan. We have been lied to and lied to by our own elected representatives. The key decisions for this master plan were made long before the consultation. Key factors were decided at the beginning of 2012. That's when our small businesses were sacrificed in order that one*



*very big business could become even richer.*

*The demolition of our shops and businesses became a non-negotiable in every master plan scenario. Where is the Democracy in that? That is why we began this petition to give the community a chance to show how they felt about it. An option to comment, which was not given to them in the consultation forms*

*Have we have come through recession and through riots to have our businesses blighted like this? Are successful businesses that we have worked and developed over many years to be snatched away and given to developers for their profit?*

*The consultation is a sham. It is not an independent study. Figures are inaccurate and manipulated to achieve the preferred Scenario.*

*The plans were misleading: marking new buildings for community use when they will in fact be retail outlets which incorporated community facilities.*

*The 68%, which has been widely quoted as a figure that shows overwhelming support for the demolition plans, is not justified. As a percentage of the total households on the estate it is just 40%. In the wider community of 4000 homes and businesses it is just 3% in agreement. That is using the figures quoted in the report and of course 70 of the business replies were never included in the figures but were placed in the appendix to the consultation report.*

*Regeneration is not about providing a football venue or boosting land values to justify an investment. The council should not be acting like a Corporation. Regeneration needs to create hope for the existing community by building a better neighbourhood.*

*Regeneration is not about moving the existing community OUT so more up-market people can move in. In 2011, after the riots, the council ran an I Love Tottenham campaign. Its tag line was Support your Local Traders. It needs to stand by that promise today.*

- *Recognise the value of the established community and its contribution over many years.*
- *Recognise and accept the wishes of this community as presented now in this Petition.*
- *Freeze this planning process and sit down to design a new Scenario, one that includes this Business Community and allows it to move forward and grow within the regeneration process, not be excluded from it.”<sup>21</sup>*

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<sup>21</sup> <http://ourtottenham.wordpress.com/2013/12/06/local-traders-condemn-sham-council-consultation-for-north-tottenham-high-road-west-as-lies-and-call-for-a-new-scenario-for-the-area-2/>



**ANNEX C: STATEMENT FROM THE OUR TOTTENHAM ORGANISING GROUP –  
28.11.2013**

Available at: <http://ourtottenham.org.uk/>

**NORTH TOTTENHAM HIGH ROAD WEST CONTROVERSY DEEPENS  
LARGE SCALE OPPOSITION EXPRESSED TO COUNCIL EVICTIONS AND DEMOLITION,  
DESPITE MISLEADING AND CONTROVERSIAL CONSULTATION AND REPORT**

- Traders condemn the threat of evictions and demolition, and lobby Council Cabinet (28th Nov)
- Thousands of local people sign petition against demolitions
- Council tenants demand guarantees of better replacement Council homes in the area, if any demolition goes ahead
- Campaigners demand the Council ensure anyone evicted is rehoused in secure, genuinely affordable, local homes and fully compensated
- Campaigners re-state their calls for THFC to pay £100m for improvements to existing homes, shops and community facilities

On the 8th October 2013 the Council circulated an initial draft Report of the 'consultation' they carried out in May/June 2013 in the threatened area of Love Lane estate and its neighbouring shops and businesses in North Tottenham High Road (opposite the Spurs ground). The draft report was revealed to uproar at a meeting of local traders on October 8th, who condemned the report as biased. They are planning a deputation to the Cabinet meeting on 28th November to present 4,000+ signatures [*figure provided to us*] on their petition against demolitions. In fact the consultation responses show deep concern and mass opposition to evictions and demolitions [*see Summary, below*], despite the Council's totally biased and inadequate consultation tactics [*see 'Biased consultation condemned, below*] and the report's consultants' attempts to spin the results favourably for the planned objective - a 'Stadium Approach' road through the area to benefit Tottenham Hotspur Football Club (THFC) and their new 430m stadium project.

A spokesperson for the Our Tottenham Organising Group said: *The Report results reveal true scale of opposition. Despite all the bias and spin, the Report results demonstrate considerable opposition to the proposals. In particular, even where demolition is apparently supported, this is clearly because the Council tenants expect re-housing for local residents in secure, genuinely affordable, new homes at the site. As fellow residents we send our solidarity to the local residents and traders, and call on the Council to work with them in a genuine partnership.*

**Biased 'consultation' condemned** Campaigners from Our Tottenham and Haringey Defend Council Housing, and local traders, have condemned the consultation context and tactics. These are some of the background issues:

- The Council's 'Plan for Tottenham' issued in 2012 showed a 'Stadium Approach'

road proposed to go through the Love Lane estate

- Residents attending Haringey Defend Council Housing meetings on the estate last spring (around 50 took part to express their concerns over the threat of demolition) reported that the Decent Homes works to replace kitchens and bathrooms in the 1960s-built estate have not been done in most of the blocks, as if decisions about its future had already been made 'from on high'.

- A key condition of allowing Tottenham Hotspur to expand its ground had been that it would have to put 16m into the surrounding area. For example this could have been used to provide improvements (e.g. concierges) for the Love Lane estate. The Council's Planning Committee allowed THFC to drop this obligation after the club pleaded poverty. The Council had then agreed it would instead contribute 5m of public funds towards the shortfall by selling off land on the Love Lane estate. In response, Our Tottenham campaigners re-stated their calls for THFC to pay 100m for improvements to existing homes, shops and community facilities - a demand put to THFC directors during negotiations with them in July 2013.

- Original thoughts that any consultation would give people the option of saving the current estate and shops was abandoned and the 3 so called 'consultation' options ended up being 'part demolition', 'half demolition' or 'full demolition'.

- However, even these biased options were not clearly put on the consultation form, so people could not add 'none of the above' or put a line through the 3 options. Instead the only part of the consultation form that referred to the 3 'options' was a general comments box at the end which asked for comments about *'the three options outlined in the High Road West Creating a Plan for Change' document* ...[ie people would have to hunt out, read and digest a detailed 20pp document whilst filling in the Questionnaire] *'...as well as any other general comments you have'*.

- None of the questions on the form referred to 'demolition' or 'evictions', but instead to 'redevelopment' and 'regeneration', and gave the clear impression that local residents and shops would all benefit from improved housing and facilities.

- A Tottenham Councillor who criticised the consultation documents has since been removed from the ruling Labour Group

**Summary of Report** The report dated August 2013 has finally been officially published as part of the documents for the Cabinet meeting on 28th November. However, the flawed consultation is increasingly seen as little more than a pro-council propaganda exercise - eg:

1. The key question was never asked, ie whether people were for or against demolitions!
2. The 3 Council options, of partial, half or total demolition of the Love Lane estate and surrounding shops, were also never explicitly put so respondents were prevented from opposing all 3 or just adding none of them.
3. The words demolition or evictions were never used.
4. All the questions painted a rosy picture of improvements and redevelopment to benefit all the members of the existing community.
5. The Council have made promises of re-housing on site for the Council tenants

affected. We noted that experience of similar developments around London has shown that this rarely happens as the community gets broken up and the % of unaffordable replacements gets increased. But what would not have been clear to all is that private tenants would be made homeless and leaseholders bought out and unable to afford to stay in the area.

6. Thousands of local people have signed a local traders petition against demolitions. This was mentioned but not taken into consideration.
7. 524 consultation forms were returned, 207 from residents of the estate.
8. 62 forms filled in by local customers at a threatened shop explicitly opposed all demolitions. These 62 were sidelined in the report as a petition.
9. Unsurprisingly, in the light of some of the forms language/propaganda, and the Councils misleading promotion of the redevelopment plans, and some of the Councils promises made, some of the respondents welcomed promised improvements. For example 76 residents of the estate agreed that all properties on the estate *should be included in the redevelopment plans*. This has been used as the key statistic to demonstrate 'widespread' support for mass demolition. But many of these also expressed strong concerns about the effect on the community and also demanded that any replacement homes be Council housing and no public land be sold off. On page 37 the report says: *'Love Lane Council tenants want to maintain their security of tenure and their existing rent levels.'*
10. There was mass opposition from local shops and businesses

Please note that the report is very confusing document and the results have been presented and spun in the best possible light for the Councils clear drive to demolish and redevelop the whole area.<sup>22</sup>

#### **ANNEX D: WHY WAS COMMUNITY DENIED SIMPLY COMPROMISE IN SPURS STADIUM WALKWAY PLANS?**

[http://www.edp24.co.uk/norfolk-life/comment\\_why\\_was\\_community\\_denied\\_simple\\_compromise\\_in\\_spurs\\_stadium\\_walkway\\_plans\\_1\\_3529420](http://www.edp24.co.uk/norfolk-life/comment_why_was_community_denied_simple_compromise_in_spurs_stadium_walkway_plans_1_3529420)

The co-chairman of the Tottenham Business Group asks why the best solution for everyone in the controversial Spurs walkway plans was scrapped before getting the oxygen of publicity.

*"There always has been an alternative to demolition, but it was not presented to the community in the High Road West consultation. That community was not given all the possible options."*

**Patricia Percy**

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<sup>22</sup> Available at page 17 of *OT response to proposed alterations to the London Plan*

Overall, the Tottenham community welcomes regeneration schemes. But, based on what we now know, some of us regard the plans which include a new walkway to the Spurs ground - known as the High Road West scheme - as just a new-fashioned urban clearance programme promoted under the guise of 21st century heaven.

Why? Well, it was recently revealed that the planning consultancy firm Arup, who have drawn up several overarching plans for the area's redevelopment, had provided an option to Haringey Council that saved businesses, High Road shops and the GP surgery from demolition.

It was not among the options recently presented to the community, though. Every one of the plans put forward publicly would have resulted in these community businesses being erased from the future.

But this previously unknown option contains everything that Haringey had earmarked as essential: the new station and the fans' walkway from White Hart Lane station to the new stadium. There are just two simple - but very important - differences.



*Another artist's impression of the new walkway, looking west from the High Road with a block of the Love Lane estate visible behind the trees. Picture: Arup*

It places the new "community" building (which is in fact shops incorporating a new library) on the corner of Whitehall Street. That, we heard from an Arup design consultant, could have been combined with a mews-style development around the Peacock Industrial Estate.

So in fact there always has been an alternative to demolition, but it was not presented to the community in the High Road West consultation. That community was not given all the possible options.

From the start the High Road West community had clearly expressed, through a local petition of 4,000-plus signatures, that it was against demolition of local business. In November, Cllr Alan Strickland, the cabinet member for regeneration and housing, agreed to explore options to look at the retention of the shops and businesses.

In February, the Tottenham Business Group finally met with the council's regeneration team, but compromise was not on that agenda. We were there to just listen to the rationale behind the council's planning decisions. But it was during this process that the alternative option came to light.

*"Making simple changes could fuse the current with the future. Allowing the threads of the old community to lend credibility and breathe life into the new."*

### **Patricia Percy**

We immediately asked the council's cabinet why this was never presented to the community. This new plan for the High Road, combined with the suggested news-style development around the Peacock Industrial Estate and perhaps the saving of some of the 19th-century shops in White Hart Lane, offered a compromise which was easily achievable; a fusion of the community's wishes and developers' demands.

But this option had been rejected by the cabinet, we were told, on two counts:

1. It did not optimise public open space between the High Road and the new station;
2. There was nowhere to keep the books while the library was rebuilt on the existing site.



An

*artist's impression of the planned walkway, which could extend westwards underneath the railway line. Picture: Arup*

In fact, placing the new “community” building on the site of the current Coombes Croft library creates more space, not less. This new building has twice the footprint of the existing High Road parade that it is due to replace. Building on the corner site would actually free up more public open space between the new station and the High Road.

Since the council currently owns the majority of the land around the current library site, it would also be a cheaper option. And the problem of storing library books has been met before; when the present library was extended a temporary library was set up in a High Road shop. The council now owns more of the High Road, so we see no reason why that could not once more be the solution.

Alternatively, two glazed Portacabins placed behind the existing High Road parade would also provide a successful temporary site for the library, accessed via Whitehall Street.

These are easy, very achievable adjustments which would satisfy the community. They leave the original council demands of a new station, a walkway and a “community” building in place but retain the bare bones of local business.

*"Basically, there is more money in smashing our shops and businesses to bits then turfing-out the residents from Love Lane and smashing their homes to bits as well."*

**Patricia Percy**

To reject this would confirm a real lack of transparency in this regeneration programme and a strong hidden agenda.

This council appears determined to create for Tottenham Hotspur what is referred to in the council's Strategic Regeneration Framework - a document outlining the vision for the next 20 years - as a "premier leisure venue" in north Tottenham.

In a recent piece in the Evening Standard, Robert Bevan said the funds earmarked for Tottenham regeneration "offers a foundation of hope for one of London's poorest areas". What does that mean in real terms?

Does he mean a place to attract rich people who will help create a "decent", "21st century" neighbourhood for us poorer Londoners to share?

New housing developments that contain no affordable housing have become notoriously common in similar London schemes. The absence of neighbours who are not as well-off make properties easier to sell to wealthy clients and investors.

That means, basically, there is more money in smashing our shops and businesses to bits then turving out the residents from Love Lane and smashing their homes to bits as well.

From the ruins will rise "London's premier leisure venue", complete with towering blocks that will take years to construct with all the noise and disruption that entails. A cold, empty, lifeless chasm of a pseudo-place to create profit for the developers but doing far more harm than good to most local people.

Making simple changes could fuse the current with the future. Allowing the threads of the old community to lend credibility and breathe life into the new.

Keeping the Peacock Industrial Estate not only preserves truly useful start-up space for new business, it preserves jobs and skills which will not and cannot be replaced in the local area and which are vital to future youth employment.

Preserving the surgery maintains a vital social network and keeps a very necessary health facility. Preserving the small parade to the front of the Peacock Industrial Estate would frame the older buildings and save some turn-of-the-century shops.

There is great concern over the destruction of the conservation area. The facades of these shops, and those saved in the High Road, could then easily be restored to provide a pleasant, familiar frontage to the new ultra-modern development rising behind. This has been done very successfully in Brixton.

This community is fed up with the council's perpetual PR spin, pushing forward its preconceived ideological "visions for Tottenham". It's time cabinet members

remembered their responsibility to their constituents and engaged with us in an honest, genuine compromise.

Those of you reading this can show your support by actively canvassing your local councillors on behalf of local business. You can also follow us on Twitter.

[@TottenhamBnessG](#) and the Labour cabinet members Cllr Alan Strickland [@AlanStrickland](#) and Cllr Claire Kober [@ClaireKober](#) and have your say.

[Haringey blogger: Patricia Pearcy]<sup>23</sup>

### **ANNEX E: OPINION: SPURS NEW STADIUM AGGRANDISEMENT – TOTTENHAM COMMUNITY WON'T BE RED-CARDED**

<http://www.24dash.com/news/communities/2014-07-25-Opinion-Spurs-new-stadium-aggrandisement-Tottenham-community-wont-be-red-carded>

Friday 25th July 2014 - 4:17pm

*By Martin Ball, Tottenham Hale resident and community campaigner*

The compulsory purchase order red card given to the business said to be in the way of the planned new Spurs stadium is not the end of the fight for those resisting both the stadium aggrandisement and the social cleansing consequences of the wider regeneration agenda.

The destiny of the Tottenham community is not something to be pre-ordained by the Spurs-Haringey Council-Mayor of London-central government axis determined to 'place-change' the area. We have our own ambitions for the future and it isn't their top-down vision. It is to improve the place we currently have and not kick people out because they are the wrong type.

Our opposition to being bullied into submission goes on and is even emboldened by the revelation that the planning inspector opposed the CPO being granted.

Bravely, he questioned whether the gains to the community justified the amount of public money going into funding the ambitions for a privately-owned football team to have a shiny new stadium, as well as expressing concern for the human rights of the business being tossed to one side. On a different day, a judge reviewing the Pickles decision might side with the inspector.

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<sup>23</sup> [http://www.edp24.co.uk/norfolk-life/comment\\_why\\_was\\_community\\_denied\\_simple\\_compromise\\_in\\_spurs\\_stadium\\_walkway\\_plans\\_1\\_3529420](http://www.edp24.co.uk/norfolk-life/comment_why_was_community_denied_simple_compromise_in_spurs_stadium_walkway_plans_1_3529420)



The most interesting revelation, though, is that so deficient is the affordable homes provision in the stadium plans that the Tory secretary of state tried to give a Labour Council some backbone to get a better deal out of Spurs.

He rightly asked why it was necessary to waive the standard requirement for new developments to have 50% affordable housing - but the council mouse dared not roar in case the club threatened again to leave the area and take their regen ball away.

But you don't have to be close to the detail of the stadium plans or the wider 'place-changing' agenda to be alarmed by what is proposed. Simply knowing that the plan involves bulldozing through shops on the High Road, council homes on the Love Lane Estate, and demolishing a public library for a fans walkway tells you all you need to know about its social cleansing drive.

This disgusting proposal reveals the indifference of those making the regeneration calls to the impact of their plans on the lives of ordinary people. Mind you, a senior council regeneration officer recently called Tottenham a 'war zone'. So, we know what they think of us and where we live.

What disgusts me most about the regenerationists' agenda is the arrogant presumption that they are improving things. That the present is so bad that the promise of that place somewhere over the rainbow in 20 years' time is better than what people have today.

Despite the propaganda, this is not case for Tottenham. The homes earmarked for knocking down are in good condition and actually had money recently spent on them to make them decent. The shops are derided as low value businesses, yet the 'chicken shop' run by one of the local businessmen is one of the most popular eateries on the High Road.

The belittling of this business is an attack on people's lifestyle choices and is naked snobbery about 'fast food'. Some may not like it said, but this is a successful business built up over many years - during lean years when politicians did little for Tottenham - that employs local people and provides a good living for the owners. It is not them who are doing or talking the area down.

So, Spurs and Haringey Council, the game is far from over. The bulldozers are not even on the pitch. The community will stop your agenda to push people and businesses out of their Tottenham home.