Evidence received for the Regeneration Committee's investigation into stadium-led regeneration.

This document contains the submissions that the Renegeration Committee has received for its investigation into stadium-led regeneration.

Contents:

More than just a Stadium

Queens Park Rangers Football Club

Answers to the London Assembly questions on the regenerative benefits of Football Stadia.

• Do you have any plans to redevelop/build a new stadium?

Yes, but we are proposing to deliver much more than just a new stadium. This is explained below.

QPR's current ground at Loftus Road only has capacity for circa 18,000 spectators. This is considerably less than the Club needs to be financially sustainable at the highest level. Our capacity is the smallest in the Premier League and would be the 5th smallest in the Championship. Additionally, the current ground is dated and the spectator and commercial facilities provided are not of a modern standard. To secure a sustainable future for QPR, it is essential we develop a new stadium with increased capacity of up to 40,000, and modern facilities, which will provide the commercial platform for the Club to achieve greater footballing success.

We cannot achieve this in our current location so have for several years been looking for a relocation site, with the primary aim of also remaining at the heart of our fan base in West London. QPR is a long-established local asset and part of the social infrastructure of Hammersmith and Fulham. Many of our fans are local families born and bred in the Borough, as well as the neighbouring Boroughs of Ealing and Brent.

We have identified a site at Old Oak as the only suitable opportunity for our new stadium development that will allow the Club to remain at the heart of its fan base. This is part of a wider area that has been identified for regeneration by the GLA and the Boroughs and is the subject of proposals for the establishment of a Mayoral Development Corporation (MDC) that is the subject of on going consultation.

We believe that the new stadium can act as a catalyst for the early delivery of this proposed regeneration, but at the same time, the new stadium requires the other development around it to help fund the level of infrastructure improvements that are necessary in the area. The aspects of the development enable one another, but the stadium acts as the key place making element that provides the strong focus for homes and jobs that is not ordinarily available in other development projects.

QPR is committed to the project and has assembled an expert professional team to advise on delivery. Key members of this team have been responsible for other stadium led regeneration projects, including the Emirates. Many parallels can be drawn with the Emirates at Old Oak, but there is an opportunity to build on the lessons learnt and do better here.

• What direct and indirect regeneration impacts might be expected from a stadium scheme?

New stadium schemes are generally delivered as part of a wider development whether it is residential, retail or leisure. QPR also envisage a stadium scheme as part of a wider regeneration development. The regeneration impacts from locating a stadium within Old Oak will be to provide a focal point for the development and an early catalyst for regeneration. The new stadium will give the area a real and living identity and character that helps place making and gives the development extra momentum and increases the speed of delivery. It will facilitate the early delivery of key, essential infrastructure in the area that will in turn allow the earlier delivery of other aspects of the regeneration, including new housing and employment opportunities.

The stadium and its immediately associated development would create a large amount of employment (2,000-3,000 jobs) quite quickly. This is before any account is taken of the potential to create a further estimated 50,000 new jobs in the longer term. In addition, it will act as the catalyst for the early delivery of over 24,000 new homes.

The objective is to create a high quality "place" - a well-planned new development, with a good balance of land uses, a mixed/balanced community, much greater accessibility, and a full range of infrastructure. The new stadium will be the central focus, and will help to ensure a lively/vibrant urban environment from the outset.

To achieve this, we propose to deliver more than a football stadium. We intend to provide a multi-purpose sports, leisure, entertainment and community facility that will give the regeneration scheme a focus and

identity. It will help create a vibrant atmosphere, attract people to the area, generate employment and help support other businesses. It will also provide a focal point for the Club to grow and expand its existing community and outreach programme currently run out of Loftus Road and already offering over 300 community sessions and activities each week. It will make a meaningful contribution to delivering a new mixed and vibrant community at Old Oak.

• What do you see as your responsibilities in supporting regeneration?

A new stadium, and associated sports, leisure and community facilities would be an asset for the communities of west London, as well as a great catalyst and placemaking feature for the regeneration process. QPR are proposing to take the lead not just for the stadium, but in partnership with the public sector – to also facilitate the early planning and provision of the new transport and development infrastructure generally. This will enable the whole scheme to be properly integrated and phased, and for development to happen at an early stage, including delivering significant amounts of new mixed tenure housing and employment opportunities.

The club recognises its important community position and influence and is active in providing education, training, work and life skills as well as sporting opportunities. . A football club at the heart of the community occupies a unique position and has considerable influence and the ability to lead regeneration activities and QPR is committed to working with the local community to improve the environment in the local area.

• What role do you think the Mayor should have in stadium-led regeneration schemes? Should he have more/ less/ a different level of involvement to the status quo?

The Mayor, in close partnership with the Boroughs should continue to play a pivotal role in facilitating stadium led regeneration. There is evidence from other London schemes, such as Arsenal and the Olympics, where the Mayor's ongoing involvement has had a positive effect in delivering the desired outcomes.

• How have you/ do you plan to assess the social and economic impact a redeveloped/ new stadium is likely to have on the local area?

We are conducting a detailed analysis of the socio economic impacts of the proposed development. Our aim is to identify and deliver benefits not only to provide for the residents of the new homes developed, but that also can be of benefit for the existing residents in the established surrounding communities. The wider development will incorporate schools, healthcare facilities and other social infrastructure, which will improve facilities for the existing communities as well as providing a firm foundation for the regeneration scheme itself. There are many examples where new stadia have led to positive impacts on the local community delivering residential development, attracting additional business and employment opportunities, investing in the surrounding infrastructure and providing job opportunities.

• How do you envisage the stadium being used as a community asset?

Our aim is that the new stadiumwill allow the Club to extend its established community and outreach programmes for community sport and education. The stadium will offer community access, will offer leisure opportunities, will run educational programmes and provide local job opportunities. This will be of benefit both to the new residents of the area as well as the established communities.

• How do you plan to maximise footfall at and around the stadium? What non-football events will take place at the redeveloped/new stadium?

The stadium will obviously be used for all QPR home matches. IIn addition, we are looking to provide a facility that will be available for additional sports, entertainment and community events so that it is an asset that is actively used for most of the year round. The club will explore partnerships with other major sports to host fixtures and will look to stage a range of events. In addition the stadium is envisaged to be at the heart of a wider leisure and entertainment complex which will provide footfall and vibrancy 365 days a year. The stadium will be positioned as a major corporate venue which will attract conferences, trade shows and local business fairs throughout the year.

• Please describe how you have worked/ are working with the local authority to maximise opportunities for regeneration in the surrounding area. What contribution do you plan to make to

local amenities through the Section 106 or CIL agreement process? How have these contributions been negotiated with local authorities?

We are actively engaged with the GLA and the three boroughs of Hammersmith and Fulham, Brent and Ealing to work in a public/private partnership to look to maximise the regeneration opportunities and the benefits arising. In terms of Section 106/CIL, the GLA and Boroughs are undertaking a Development Infrastructure Funding (DIF) Study, which will establish the level of appropriate contributions needed for the regeneration area. We are participating in this study work and assist where appropriate with the provision of supporting technical information.

• **How have you engaged and consulted local communities (residents and businesses) about the plans for a redeveloped/ new stadium? What responses have you received?**

The GLA and Boroughs published a consultation document in June 2013, entitled a Vision for Old Oak, which set out one option for the regeneration that included for the provision of a new stadium. We have since surveyed the club's database (90,000 people) the feedback has been overwhelmingly positive and supportive of the move and the development of the new Stadium at Old Oak. We have engaged with local businesses and again largely received encouragement for the proposals. Consultation with the local communities will be fundamentally important, and is scheduled to commence during the coming weeks.

Millwall Football Club

Submission to London Assembly Regeneration Committee

Stadium-led Regeneration

John Berylson, Chairman, Millwall Football Club
Demos Kouvaris, Director, Millwall Football Club
Andy Ambler, Chief Executive, Millwall Football Club
Matthew Black, Senior Director, CBRE
Andrew Barrow, Special Adviser to Millwall Football Club

Millwall Football Club
Submission to London Assembly Regeneration Committee
Stadium-led Regeneration

This is the response of Millwall Football Club to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee's scoping paper which invites written evidence from football clubs.

Millwall Football Club was founded in 1885. Today we are a Championship club with significant support and a typical home match attendance of around 10,000. The Club relocated to its current stadium, The Den, 21 years ago. Over the past 10 years, Millwall has played in the FA Cup final and one other FA Cup semi-final, as well as enjoying a season in the UEFA Cup. Our management team is experienced and our outlook is long term. The Club's Chairman, John Berylson, acquired the majority interest in Millwall seven years ago. He and fellow Director Demos Kouvaris fly in from Boston to see a significant proportion of matches and take an active interest in all aspects of the Club and its community. Chief Executive Andy Ambler took over the leadership of the executive team seven years ago. He previously held senior positions at Fulham FC. Millwall's Manager is Ian Holloway, a highly respected and experienced football man.

Millwall Football Club finds itself in a position where there is a golden opportunity for stadium-led regeneration and we are passionate about playing our part in making this happen. The prospect of helping to revitalise and build a bright new future for the community and being at its core is both welcomed and timely – a realisation of part of our dream and vision for the future.

The Den is situated in the Borough of Lewisham, a relatively deprived area of London. There are extensive plans for the regeneration of the Surrey Canal Triangle (SCT). We have supported the planning applications for the SCT scheme and actively participated in the development of the S106 agreement at our own expense.

Our sense of community and our commitment to being good corporate citizens can be demonstrated in a number of ways. Perhaps one of the best examples is embodied in the Millwall Community Scheme – its Lions Centre is located alongside our stadium – which we established nearly 30 years ago and from which 20,000 young people have benefited each year. Another example is our decision last season to donate our shirt sponsorship to Prostate Cancer UK, as a result of which we won the 'Best Business - Charity Partnership' category at the Institute of Fundraising Awards.

We have assembled a top professional team to advise us and help us formulate plans for the development of the land adjoining our stadium leased to us by Lewisham Council. In preparing this submission we have taken extensive advice from Matthew Black, Senior Director of CBRE and a noted expert on stadium-led regeneration. He is a key adviser to Millwall. It has always been our ambition and intention to develop our small part of the SCT site for the benefit of the Club and its community. Our development proposals are consistent with the overall plans for the SCT and we have offered to acquire the freehold of the land on which we hold long leases. Our shareholders have committed more than adequate financial resources without recourse to external funding.

Unfortunately, our ambitions are proving extremely difficult to realise. Lewisham Council has refused even to look at our development plans and instead intends to compulsorily purchase all land interests, except the stadium itself, and sell the freeholds to Renewal, a property developer.

The effect of this would end any prospect of stadium-led regeneration of the area surrounding The Den.

Summary of Key Elements of Our Submission

- We would welcome the opportunity to attend the meeting of the Regeneration Committee on 16 September to provide verbal evidence and answer any additional questions.

- The plans for the regeneration of the Surrey Canal Triangle in the Borough of Lewisham represent a golden opportunity for stadium-led regeneration. They are embraced and endorsed by Millwall Football Club.

- Millwall has long-held ambitions to participate in the regeneration programme and has anticipated developing the land adjoining its stadium on which it holds long leases. Currently we are excluded from the process by Lewisham Council which is preparing to sell our land to Renewal, a property developer.

- Our shareholders have committed adequate funds for the realisation of the development plans we would like to undertake within the overall regeneration programme for the SCT.

- Millwall Football Club is already a significant contributor to its community through the Millwall Community Scheme which it established nearly 30 years ago and from which 20,000 young people benefit each year.

- The future of the Millwall Community Scheme is under threat and cannot be secured under the existing plans put forward by Lewisham Council and Renewal.

- We recognise the significant opportunities to the community presented by stadium-led regeneration. There can be new homes, retail outlets, businesses and community amenities, as well as improved infrastructure. Our stadium, which we wish to improve and expand, can become a visitor destination with increased footfall on both match and non-match days.

- By unlocking spending power within the area, economic prosperity will be a natural consequence. It will bring considerable benefits to a deprived area of London.

- Ambitious regeneration plans are likely to achieve better results and improved deliverables with a football club because it gives the programme a heart and a focus. A stadium is by far the greatest asset of any club, and both clubs and local authorities can use this asset as a lynchpin for regeneration.

- Stadium-led regeneration in the Surrey Canal Triangle currently seems most unlikely at present.

- We suggest that serious consideration be given to the establishment of an independent body in Lewisham – similar to the Tottenham Joint Strategic Forum – to ensure that the opportunity that exists for stadium-led regeneration in Lewisham is not wasted or further delayed.

Background

The London Assembly's Regeneration Committee is already broadly aware of the situation regarding Millwall Football Club and its ambitions to participate in the development of the Surrey Canal Triangle in Lewisham. The Committee's scoping document accurately describes the current position: *"For several years, Millwall FC has had plans to develop the area around its stadium. The club argues that residential, retail, hotel and office development, as well as a redeveloped community facility, will enable the club to generate non-football revenue to stabilise its finances and support regeneration of the surrounding area. Reports suggest that the club and local council have failed to reach agreement on proposals for development around the new stadium, however. The council has recently arranged to sell the land around the stadium to another developer to build a new sports village in the Surrey Canal Triangle."*

The Club is arguing these points very strongly because they are vital to the future of Millwall FC. Like the majority of Football League clubs, Millwall operates at a loss and needs to stabilise and secure its long term future through non-football income which will see it through the inevitable highs and lows of competitive professional football. In the short term, the Club's financial situation has been supported by its Chairman, John Berylson, through Chestnut Hill Ventures which is his family's trust and is the principal shareholder of Millwall Holdings, the parent company.

Over at least five years, Millwall has had discussions about the regeneration of the Surrey Canal Triangle with the Council and has always been supportive of the overall plans. Indeed, Millwall played an active role and incurred significant costs in securing the S106 agreement. Lewisham Council has publicly stated in its strategy documents that it regards our stadium, The Den, as being at the heart of the proposed new community.

You have posed a number of important questions. We are not competent to answer all of them, but many are very relevant to our situation.

1. Why are football stadia considered as catalysts for regeneration?

All regeneration programmes should bring economic and employment benefits to their areas along with new homes and retail outlets. These benefits are supported by better physical spaces and transport links, as well as improved accompanying infrastructure.

Ambitious regeneration plans are likely to achieve better results and improved deliverables with a football club because it gives the programme a heart and a focus. A stadium is by far the greatest asset of any club, and both clubs and local authorities can use this asset as a lynchpin for regeneration.

Many stadia, including Millwall, currently lack the infrastructure around them to make them attractive visitor destinations beyond match days.

Millwall's stadium, with improved infrastructure, retail and entertainment opportunities, would have the power to draw in non-fans, increase the numbers of fans and unlock spending power across the new community on match-days and on non-match days. But only if the stadium is at the heart of the regeneration project.

A vision which excludes the stadium, its team and its community from the regeneration process, on the other hand, is a barrier to regeneration – in both the short and long term. The

unwillingness of Lewisham Council to include Millwall Football Club in the regeneration of land currently leased to the Club and its Community Scheme threatens to turn the Club into an island adrift in a major construction project and isolating it permanently from most of the potential benefits.

2. What do football clubs see as their responsibilities in regeneration?

Football clubs serve large communities in many ways. Culturally they are a source of shared identity and interest. Locally, they can provide important and effective community services with the credibility that local authorities often lack. This is particularly true of the Millwall Community Scheme.

Football clubs are at the heart of their communities, as acknowledged in the Lewisham Core Strategy. Clubs therefore have the power to unite their communities beyond just their fan bases.

Clubs have a moral and ethical responsibility to support their communities which in turn support them. Local fans support their clubs financially and Millwall sees itself as far more than a source of entertainment – it is committed to improving the lives of its supporters and can only continue to do so if it has the resources available. Financial stability is inextricably linked to the Club's ability to deliver services to its community.

Clubs must also always consider the safe operation of their stadium and its surrounding area. Only the club and the police force it works with can make informed operational judgments in this regard. Any regeneration programme must therefore recognise the responsibility and principal role of the club in determining safety standards and the impact that new infrastructure may have on them.

3. What direct and indirect regeneration impacts might be expected from a stadium scheme?

Fans going to Millwall spend time and money around London Bridge and other key transport hubs prior to games because there are inadequate facilities around The Den at the moment.

The economic potential of attracting additional footfall of 10,000+ people to the stadium and its surrounding area will have a multiple beneficial effect in the Surrey Canal Triangle.

4. What unintended impacts can result from stadia schemes?

At present, the SCT scheme proposed by Lewisham and Renewal will remove control of land from Millwall that is vital to the Club's safe operation. It cannot be safe or desirable to filter fans through the newly built housing developments for instance, but Millwall at the moment has no effective influence over this aspect of the SCT regeneration programme.

Access for emergency vehicles and satellite trucks, for example, could be hampered by lack of engagement between developers, local authorities and stadium operators. This is certainly a concern of ours.

5. 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?

The criteria by which Millwall would measure the success of the Surrey Canal Triangle regeneration would include:

- Extent to which the local community benefits from additional amenities
- Attraction of the Surrey Canal Triangle as a visitor destination
- Discernable benefits to the stadium and team: increased support, success on the pitch
- Improvements to transport infrastructure
- Economic prosperity of the area
    - Employment opportunities
    - Retail opportunities
    - Growth in services
- Greater number of homes
- Improved local infrastructure

From the few case studies which already exist, successful stadium-led regeneration has included facilitating mixed use development.

6. Are football stadia maximising their potential as community assets?

Millwall Football Club is currently severely restricted from maximising the potential of its stadium as a community asset. It would hope to change that situation radically as a direct consequence of a joint regeneration project with Lewisham Council which should lead to mutually agreed changes to stadium usage.

The real strength of The Den as a community asset is the Millwall Community Scheme which is attached to the stadium. Its direct link to the Club is in grave danger of being severed by the proposals put forward by Lewisham and Renewal.

7. How are councils working with football clubs to capitalise on regeneration opportunities to get the best deal for communities?

Although the Club has worked to impress upon Lewisham Council the importance of including Millwall in its regeneration programme to deliver benefits to the Club, the community and the borough, we are now being excluded from the project to regenerate the SCT. Lewisham Council is not working with its local club to capitalise on regeneration opportunities.

8. How community groups are involved and given a say in stadium-led regeneration programmes?

The Millwall Community Scheme was established 28 years ago as an independent charitable trust by Millwall Football Club. It is housed in the Lions Centre adjoining The Den, which had

previously been home to a council-led community scheme that was failing.

The scheme runs anti-knife programmes, anti-racism schemes, coaching, computer skills courses and food banks, and provides football and sports facilities. The Club regularly commits its players, resources and training staff as well as providing match tickets. The Millwall Community Scheme works with 20,000 young people a year.

The current SCT regeneration programme makes vague promises to move the community scheme to a new location – not adjoining the stadium – at an unknown time. The funding for both the move and the scheme on an ongoing basis has not been established. The Millwall Community Scheme has been threatened with a Compulsory Purchase Order by the Council to surrender its lease and has been offered no financial compensation.

Only Millwall Football Club can secure the future of the Millwall Community Scheme and the funding it receives from football-related bodies. The Club's development plans – which Lewisham has declined to consider – incorporate new and improved facilities for the community scheme in close proximity to The Den, enabling the Club to have an even stronger community presence and leverage its stadium for even greater local outreach.

Conclusion

Throughout our discussions with the Council, our landlord, about the regeneration of the Surrey Canal Triangle, Millwall always understood that we would be able to participate and benefit by developing the land adjoining our stadium, on which we hold long leases, in keeping with the Surrey Canal Triangle overall plan. At the moment, Lewisham has rejected our requests to play our part, preferring instead to do business exclusively with the property developer, Renewal. The Council has therefore proceeded, in spite of our attempts to persuade them otherwise, to secure for Renewal the land we lease, as well as the land leased to the Millwall Community Scheme. Contracts were exchanged between the Council and Renewal on our land last December and the Council has now made it clear that it intends to obtain Compulsory Purchase Orders. We have offered to buy the land but Lewisham has declined to provide us with the information we require to make such an acquisition.

We hope to find a way to resolve this disappointing turn of events. We have the ambition and the funds to help regenerate a deprived borough and we see clearly how stadium-led regeneration can be effective and successful. As far as we are aware – and certainly our expert advisers tell us – all examples of successful stadium-led regeneration have included facilitating mixed use development in order to ensure that the relevant stadium works were viable and achievable. All of the schemes outlined in your scoping document are examples of this and no stadium (maybe with the exception of the Olympic Stadium – a unique case) has been redeveloped/relocated without it. That has been in the forefront of our thinking as we have prepared our plans for the development of the land adjoining The Den.

Stadium-led regeneration in the Surrey Canal Triangle currently seems most unlikely at present. We note that the Mayor of London is sufficiently committed to the regeneration of Tottenham to have initiated an independent committee chaired by Neale Coleman to oversee the regeneration of that borough. We suggest that serious consideration be given to the establishment of a similarly independent body in Lewisham to ensure that the opportunity that exists for stadium-led regeneration is not wasted or further delayed. Without such an initiative to help resolve the current impasse between the Club and its Council, Millwall Football Club is unlikely to be able to find effective ways to achieve its potential as a powerful force for social change and a revitalised and prosperous community in Lewisham.

WEST HAM UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB

Submission to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee's investigation into stadia-led regeneration in London

October 2014

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 West Ham United Football Club are pleased to provide this written submission to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee as part of the evidence gathered in the course of its investigation into stadia-led regeneration in London.

1.2 Following the hearing conducted by the Committee on 16 September, this submission provides further background on West Ham United's move to the former Olympic Stadium, and addresses in more depth some of the key questions and issues that the Committee has so far raised.

1.3 This submission covers the regeneration issues in which West Ham United have had an interest and a responsibility from 2010 onwards – the point from which the current West Ham Board took a controlling ownership of the Club, and when a bid to lease the Olympic Stadium became a possibility.

1.4 It does not seek to comment on decisions made prior to 2010, or on the wider legacy and regeneration plans for Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and its surrounding areas, which more properly fall to the London Borough of Newham and the London Legacy Development Corporation.

1.5 The Club are also conscious that – in recent weeks – there has been renewed interest from the media and from other London Assembly members in the question of potential ground-sharing arrangements for the Stadium, so this submission also briefly addresses that issue.

2. THE OLYMPIC STADIUM MOVE

2.1 Since the day West Ham United Joint-Chairmen David Sullivan and David Gold and Vice-Chairman Karren Brady arrived at the Club in January 2010, they knew the Olympic Stadium presented an opportunity for West Ham to grow as a Club, provide a sustainable future for the Stadium, and generate a lasting legacy for the East End.

2.2 The Joint-Chairmen each have an emotional attachment to East London. David Gold was born on Green Street, opposite the Boleyn Ground, while David Sullivan also grew up and studied nearby. This is why they so passionately wanted to fulfil their boyhood dream by becoming custodians of West Ham United.

2.3 As well as an opportunity to grow the Club, the Olympic Stadium move was key to their plans to make football more accessible to all people including those to whom it might otherwise elude due to lack of affordability. During their tenure as owners of Birmingham City they won recognition for their innovative ticketing strategy and were the first Club to employ the 'Kids for a Quid' scheme, now widely used by Clubs across the country.

Indeed in response to a recent report which shows the average cost of watching football has risen again this year, Sports minister Helen Grant reserved special praise for West Ham United's efforts: ''There is some good practice happening. I know, for example, West Ham run their Kids for a Quid promotion, which is great and this is the sort of thing that I want to see more of, because it actually does bring the costs of the game down."

2.4 They also wanted to play their part in making East London a better place by providing opportunities in terms of employment and by using the power of football to benefit the community. The Stadium opportunity presented a real chance for them to make a difference to the area they care most about.

2.5 The Board stated their commitment to the Stadium on day one when they arrived at West Ham, and have invested a significant amount of the Club's resources during the four and half year period since.

2.6 In March 2010, the Club announced a joint venture with Newham Council, which won the first competitive tender for the Stadium in February 2011. As the Committee is aware, this process was abandoned as a result of legal wrangling at great cost to the taxpayer. Despite the cost in both financial and reputational terms to West Ham United, the Club's commitment was unwavering.

2.7 West Ham was the only football club to bid in the new competition which began in December 2011, with bids submitted in March 2012. Because of issues with this process, the competition was once more re-opened to allow other bidders to enter, with a new deadline of July 2012. Again, West Ham United was ranked first amongst the bidders in the competition and this was announced in December 2012.

2.8 After stage three of the process was completed, involving further clarifications and negotiations, West Ham were awarded the right to move to the Stadium as its anchor concessionaire in March 2013.

2.9 West Ham are the only party to have gone through all three bid processes – a clear sign of the Board's commitment to the project, as was the Club's offer of a 99 year partnership – the maximum available.

2.10 The fact that West Ham won each of those three tender processes is a clear indicator that the Club offered the **only** viable solution for the Stadium. West Ham bring assured year-round use, global exposure by playing in the most popular and watched football league in the world, more than a million additional visitors to the Park each year and more than 700 new jobs.

2.11 The Club also provide commercial income which is crucial to the Stadium's sustainability from a number of sources, such as a share of catering and naming

rights and a multi-million pound capital contribution plus an annual rent. They have secured a guaranteed 99-year sustainable future for the Stadium which, crucially, will return money to the taxpayer when the Stadium is operational.

2.12 Had the LLDC pursued any other option which did not involve a long-term sustainable tenant such as West Ham, the long-term operational costs of maintaining the Stadium would have to have been picked up by the taxpayer. A Freedom of Information request submitted by Sky Sports in 2013 put these operational costs at almost £4 million for just one six-month period.[1]

2.13 Put simply, with West Ham's tenancy, the Stadium will be profitable; whereas without that tenancy, the Stadium would make a considerable annual loss. Moreover, West Ham's tenancy under-writes and therefore makes possible the Stadium's Athletics legacy. See **Section 5(ii)** below.

2.14 Commercial details of the Club's tenancy agreement are subject to a confidentiality agreement. However, it should be made clear that West Ham United are not just paying £2m a year in rent, as has been reported in the media. The Club are paying substantially more in usage fee alone, plus additional one off usage fees for matches that exceed our agreed quota. Once one factors in the majority share of catering and naming rights income and the revenue generated from the success bonus payments, then the total amount is very substantial indeed.

2.15 As above, the annual rent forms only one element of the multi-faceted and multi-million pound package West Ham have committed to and which is required to sustain the Stadium, its reconfiguration costs[1] and its Business Plan going forward. The reported figures vastly understate the financial commitment to the Stadium made by West Ham and do not, for example, include the naming rights and catering income, which should amount to many millions of pounds every year.

2.16 The Board have been clear from the outset of negotiations that they remain committed to the Club for the long term. David Sullivan and David Gold both fulfilled a lifetime's ambition by becoming Joint-Chairmen of West Ham and have spoken about their desire to pass the ownership of the Club on to their families. Given that, the Board was happy to make a strong financial commitment to E20 in the event the Club was sold.

[1] Sky Sports – 14 August 2013: *"Securing and maintaining the Olympic Stadium, the venues and the Olympic Park has cost the taxpayer nearly £4m in the last six months, Sky Sports News can reveal. A freedom of information request submitted by Sky Sports News has revealed that the cost of safety and security of the Olympic Park has cost £2,980,200 alone in the six months from January to June this year. The safety and security costs of the stadium come in at an extra £422,487. In addition the costs of maintenance on the Olympic Stadium come in at £495,300. The bill to the taxpayer totals £3,897,987."*

2.17 At the time of writing, West Ham sit in fourth position in the Premier League table so relegation is not something that is being considered. However, the tenancy agreement with E20 includes provisions to ensure the Club would be able to afford its rent whether playing in the Premier League or in the Championship should the unlikely event ever happen.

2.18 In every aspect of this agreement, the Club's Board have gone as far as possible in contributing financially to the redevelopment project, while continuing to pay down the Club's debts, and ensuring no extra burden falls on the tens of thousands of West Ham supporters who already watch the Club each week.

2.19 The revenues accruing to the Club from the sale of the Boleyn Ground have been put to that dual purpose: making a significant upfront one-off contribution to the capital costs of the Olympic Stadium redevelopment; and helping to tackle the Club's inherited debt.

2.20 This – coupled with the Board's year-on-year success in growing the Club's turnover, recording trading profits for the first time in many years, selling out its ground every home match and recording the highest ever average attendance in the Club's 119 year history– gives West Ham a strong financial platform, underpinning its stringently-tested business plan for the new Stadium.

2.21 The hard work that has gone into building this platform will need to continue, and further investment will be required both on and off the pitch to grow the Club. However, the Club are confident that their product and pricing strategies, combined with better infrastructure and facilities, will enable West Ham to fill the new Stadium week-in, week-out, and maintain that progress in the years to come to the benefit of E20. The Club's strategy also supports the long term sustainability of the Stadium in that it is focused around building the fan base of the future. Last season the Club was proud to report a 23% increase in young supporters (under-18s) attending matches at its current Stadium and this drive to grow the fan base at grassroots for the Club and the Stadium's long-term sustainability is a cornerstone of the Club's current strategy.

3. IMPACT ON LONG-TERM REGENERATION

(i) The Stratford area

3.1 As well as providing an opportunity to grow the Club, West Ham's Board were acutely aware of the responsibility that leasing the Stadium would place on the Club in terms of securing a sporting legacy for East London, creating sustainable employment, and driving long-term regeneration.

3.2 Consistent with the Club's record at the Boleyn Ground, West Ham are committed to supporting, developing and engaging with the local community around the new Stadium. West Ham United are committed to ensuring that the local community is not displaced as has been the perception in the wake of some other key major redevelopment projects. Indeed with over half a million registered supporters in the East London postcodes alone – the local community is West Ham United's community. The Club has therefore made a clear commitment to expand its community outreach far beyond the existing boroughs where it has worked before.

3.3 That chance to bring prosperity and opportunity to Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and have a real and tangible impact on the lives of local communities across East London continues to fuel the Club's passion to move to the Stadium.

3.4 Obviously, as the LLDC and the London Borough of Newham have frequently said, it is vital to consider the long-term legacy and regeneration benefits of the Olympic Stadium in the wider context of Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park as a whole, and the long-term plan that has been agreed for East London's 'growth Boroughs', and their evidence to the Committee tells that fuller story.

3.5 Nevertheless, even if the 'football-led regeneration' in which the Club are involved is just a part of that story, it remains a highly important one, and West Ham are proud of the contribution they will make in ensuring that the benefits resulting from hosting the Olympics will be sustained in the Stratford area for generations to come.

3.6 Indeed, as the long-term presence of one of the world's greatest football teams brings footfall of at least a million visitors to Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park each year and maintains the iconic status of the former Olympic Stadium, West Ham are confident that they will play the catalytic role in maintaining the 'destination status' of the Park, and driving investment, income, tourists, business and jobs to the area.

3.7 In particular, the footfall of 54,000 paying customers visiting the Park week-in, week-out will galvanise the local economy, bring a huge boost to existing businesses, and will attract new investment to the area from businesses attracted by the repeat custom created by a top-flight football club, and by the prospect that – with its UEFA

Category Four status – the Stadium will also be able to play host to the most prestigious club and international football matches and tournaments.

3.8 Once fully-operational, the Stadium will provide over 720 new long-term jobs – 75 per cent of which are intended to go to local people – in positions such as operational staff, stadium security guards, stewards, catering staff, retail and ticket sellers. 30 apprentices are employed at the site already.

3.9 As part of the Club's vision to bring affordable, accessible, top-flight football back to the people, West Ham will build on its six-games a year 'Kids for a Quid' scheme, offering up to 100,000 match and event tickets every year to the area's most deprived families, giving them access to elite sport and to programmes that will enable them to participate in sport themselves, thus helping to deliver the sporting legacy of the Games. This will also benefit the 19 visiting Clubs from across the country as well as the international visiting Clubs from around the world, thereby helping to consolidate the Stadium's stature on the national and global stage.

(ii) The Boleyn Ground area

3.10 As the Regeneration Committee has rightly observed, any football club intending to move from one stadium to another has an obligation not just to consider the benefits for the communities to which they are moving, but also what kind of legacy they will leave behind for the area where their stadium is currently located.

3.11 When it became apparent that West Ham might leave the Boleyn Ground, one of the Board's top priorities was ensuring that the community which has been West Ham's home for more than a century would be left with a strong legacy from the Club's presence there, and strong memories of its history.

3.12 From the very start of that process, the Club therefore worked with the London Borough of Newham to ensure any prospective buyer for the Boleyn Ground met agreed requirements in terms of local needs. Bids were assessed on a range of criteria, and no bids were considered that failed these requirements.

3.13 In financial terms, the Club received more lucrative bids from more aggressive developers, but the Board rejected these in favour of the proposal from local business, The Galliard Group, because that deal promised the greatest benefit to the community and a legacy befitting the Club's cast iron ties to the local community.

3.14 The Galliard Group has a proven track record in regeneration, servicing the needs of the local community and close consultation with local residents and businesses, and their redevelopment and regeneration plans will breathe new life into Green Street and Upton Park, an area that has suffered from decades of chronic

deprivation, by delivering much needed affordable housing, business opportunities and community spaces, creating hundreds of local jobs in the process.

3.15 The redevelopment will connect Green Street to surrounding areas and provide an overall revitalising boost to the whole area. The introduction of new mixed properties, which will include some private housing, will help to raise aspiration in the area. This development is part of London Borough of Newham's ambitious plans for regeneration which will see £22 billion of investment in the Borough by 2025, leading to more than 35,000 new homes and 100,000 new jobs.

3.16 The Galliard Group is also holding extensive consultation with local businesses about the redevelopment plans, and the opportunities for them therein, with new families and income brought into the area as a result of the construction of additional housing and community spaces. In particular, the redevelopment should create more of a regular high-street feel to the area with high volumes of business all week and all year round, rather than just on West Ham matchdays.

3.17 The agreement reached with the Galliard Group will also ensure the Club's history is appropriately remembered in the community for decades to come. For example, the Club's Memorial Garden, where dozens of families have in recent years chosen to scatter the ashes of their deceased loved ones, will be left in its current state so individuals can continue to come and pay their respects at the site.

4. WORKING WITH THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

4.1 For West Ham United, the responsibility to support local communities – including through the regeneration work involved in the stadium move – is not an optional add-on, or indeed an obligation forced on the Club by local authorities, but a fundamental part of West Ham United's identity and values. West Ham is a Club proud of its East London roots, which considers itself an integral part of that community.

4.2 The move to the Olympic Stadium will allow West Ham to exponentially increase its award-winning community outreach work, and enhance the Club's status as one of the top achievers for Premier League community schemes.

4.3 In particular, rather than transferring resources and effort from the Club's community work around the Boleyn Ground to the Stratford area, West Ham's Board is committed to doubling its outreach efforts in the current community as well as investing new resources in the communities around its new home.

4.4 This community outreach work can be broken down into three (albeit overlapping) areas: the work of the West Ham United Community Sports Trust; the Club's

partnerships with local education providers; and ongoing consultation with the local community.

(i) West Ham Community Sports Trust

4.5 Upon taking a controlling interest in the Club in January 2010, West Ham's Board determined, even under severe financial pressures, to develop the West Ham United Community Sports Trust to lead its community outreach work.

4.6 This was a personal priority of the Club's new Vice-Chairman Karren Brady, given her personal interest in community outreach work, particularly when it comes to using the power of sport to inspire young people in the workplace.

4.7 The Trust has partnered with a number of leading groups and programmes throughout East London to support campaigns that tackle anti-social behaviour, promote inclusion, inspire participation through access to elite sport, and give inspiration and aspirational focus to all those involved.

4.8 Having provided more than 1.5 million such opportunities over the past two decades, the Community Sports Trust is now in a position to significantly expand its work over a wider area of East London, and has taken steps to secure additional resources to drive this expansion.

4.9 This year alone, the Trust has secured £1.3 million of independent funding to invest in the communities around the Boleyn Ground, Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and out across East London and Essex. This funding has come from the Premier League (Creating Chances fund), private investment from local corporate partners such as London City airport and the Canary Wharf Group, and grant funding from Sport England and The Big Lottery.

4.10 As part of this investment, the Trust has earmarked £250,000 per year to be spent on community projects in the London Borough of Newham, specifically to help deliver the sporting legacy of the Olympic Games and to encourage social mobility.

4.11 A new experienced Head of the Trust, Joe Lyons, was appointed in 2013 to take this work forward over the coming years. Under Joe's leadership, the Club have invested in a complete overhaul of the Trust's operations - increasing its service delivery, outputs and investment back into the local area to ensure the Club's legacy commitments are fulfilled.

4.12 A key priority of the Trust's ongoing work is reaching out to the large Asian community in East London. Last June, West Ham United also broke new ground as,

for the first time in its history; the Boleyn Ground hosted the finals of the Asian Cup, providing an opportunity to open our doors to new groups within our community.

4.13 The Trust has also joined forces with the Bangladesh Football Association UK, and has been put in place an agreement to sustain a football strategy in Tower Hamlets, including establishing a West Ham United programme of Bengali and Asian coaching education.

4.14 As part of that long-term and multi-faceted commitment to prominent community groups, the Trust also has the provision to offer West Ham United tickets to selected games at a discounted rate, to enable individuals allied to those schemes to see top-level football in person, in particular children from deprived communities.

4.15 West Ham were also proud winners of the Premier League's Enterprise Challenge in this, our very first year of entering. Triumphing over some 450 groups from across the country and a total of 3,000 participants, our youngsters will have gleaned invaluable skills from their experience at the Department of Business, Innovation and Skills in Westminster. The Trust plans to develop the model for another tilt at the title next year.

4.16 Where wellbeing is concerned, the Trust has joined forces with Newham Clinical Commissioning Group in the battle against Diabetes. As part of a Newham Community Prescription pilot, patients are referred to the Club, where they enjoy free gym sessions at the Boleyn Ground, lifestyle counselling and regular assessments. Such has been its success that the Trust is now preparing for the pilot's second phase, which runs until May 2015.

4.17 If our current output is impressive, our switch to Stratford will allow us to exponentially expand the Trust's influence. The Club's commitment to a multi-use solution for the Stadium has also allowed plans to be put in place for a variety of imaginative community uses, including ten community event days at the Stadium every year, an annual mass participation run finishing in the Stadium, and use of the community track by Newham residents for a minimum of 250 days each year.

4.18 Over at Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, the Trust has already established a key partnership with London Legacy Development Corporation and its Active People, Active Park programme.

4.19 As the hosts of a new Athletics Activator role, the Trust is working alongside England Athletics, Pro-Active East London and the LLDC to promote physical activity and wellbeing on the Park. As a fundamental legacy strategy, this will go some way to ensuring West Ham's future home is a hotbed of education and community sport all year round.

(ii) Working with Local Education Providers

4.20 The Club has developed long-term relationships with numerous local schools, sports clubs and youth clubs, and – as well as rewarding their fantastic support with admission to certain home fixtures – young people and schools are a particular focus of the work of the Community Sports Trust.

4.21 More than 15,000 youngsters have so far engaged with the Community Sports Trust's employability, training and mentoring schemes and over the coming years, working with key partners and employers, the Trust will mentor many more young trainees across the Olympic Boroughs, including dozens of new apprentices. In addition, more than 6,000 underachieving children in Newham have received out-of-school study support at the Club's Inspire Learning Centre.

4.22 More than 20,000 deprived youngsters in the Olympic Boroughs of Newham and Tower Hamlets have also engaged with West Ham's award-winning Kicks Project, which has seen a tangible reduction in anti-social behaviour in the areas covered.

4.23 The Trust recently visited India at the invitation of the Asian Football Development Project, held up as a shining example of best practice for the delivery of its Kicks Project, and is advising on the establishment of a similar project in Delhi.

4.24 Again, the move to the new Stadium will open up considerable opportunities to expand this work further. The Community Sports Trust will offer a range of multi-sport, cultural and healthy-lifestyle learning activities, with significant education facilities on site including a Stadium Learning Zone open to pupils from local schools.

4.25 In addition, the Club's commitment to affordable access for local children will provide some of the most deprived children in the country with regular opportunities to watch elite football, hopefully inspiring them further to take up sport themselves, and to feel even greater pride in their local community.

(iii) Ongoing consultation with the local community

4.26 There has been extensive consultation across a range of platforms in the process of the West Ham United stadium move, including the Galliard Group consulting the local community on its plans for the redevelopment of the Boleyn Ground, and obviously through the leading role played by the London Borough of Newham.

4.27 The Club has also taken responsibility for extensive consultation with their own supporters, including commissioning a mass online survey of supporters (conducted by independent pollsters SME YouGov), with results indicating 85 percent support amongst fans for the move to the new stadium, with a further ten percent saying they would potentially support it but wanted additional information.

4.28 However, the Club would be the first to say that the consultation of local community groups should not be something that begins with a decision on a stadium move and ends once the move is complete, and – alongside the LLDC and the London Borough of Newham – West Ham will remain committed to ongoing consultation with the local community in the Stratford area, in particular to identify and deal with any issues that arise from the use of the stadium on matchdays.

5. OTHER ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

(ii) Are football stadia catalysts for regeneration?

5.1 London's bid to host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games made a commitment to deliver new opportunities for some of the most deprived neighbourhoods in London. Since the close of the Games in 2012, the Legacy Corporation has been transforming the Park into a fantastic new destination by clearing temporary venues, connecting roads, cycle paths and pedestrian walkways and completing venues and parklands for use in legacy, the north of the Park opening a year after the Games in July 2013 and the Park fully open from 5 April 2014.

5.2 The Stadium on Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park will open permanently in 2016. The Park as a whole and its existing venues can already show tangible examples of how the development is changing the lives of local people and driving regeneration in Stratford and the wider area.

5.3 In the particular case of West Ham's tenure at the Stadium, however, its catalytic benefits cannot be assessed separately from the wider benefits of Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in general – and associated investment in regeneration of the local area, as the LLDC and the London Borough of Newham have pointed out. We are however key to its long term prosperity and a continuation of what is one of the most fantastic regeneration projects of our time.

5.4 Much as the representative from Manchester City Football Club (Dave Pritchard) said at the Committee's first hearing, the presence of a new, thriving football stadium in an area can become the catalytic force driving investment, income, tourism, business and jobs to the surrounding communities.

5.5 In particular, a new stadium can have a dynamic effect on young people and their schools, exciting and inspiring them, and making them proud of the area in which they live, especially a stadium which they are able to visit – both as spectators at matches and as participants in community events.

5.6 A new stadium – especially one hosting elite Premier League and European football on a regular basis – does all these things far better than simply investing money in regeneration projects in the same area, because it adds the special feature which sets that area apart.

(ii) Shared use of the Stadium with UK Athletics

5.7 It is the Club's firm belief and that of the Mayor's office and the LLDC's executives that the Stadium's future depended upon securing its financial viability over 99 years, which only a Premier League club could provide, but also that the anchor tenant should be committed to the athletics legacy at the Stadium.

5.8 West Ham United is only a concessionaire of the Stadium and as such the other activity which takes place there when the Club is not playing is primarily a concern for the LLDC. However, the Club is entirely supportive of the multi-use principal, and the Club's anchor tenancy for the next 99 years ensures year-round use for the Stadium and effectively helps to underwrite other uses including athletics.

5.9 The Stadium's retractable seating, which the Club are helping to fund, means that not only will the Stadium have appeal for other major sporting events, but it enables a time efficient turnaround to change the use of the venue from football to athletics mode.

5.10 The Club have a Memorandum of Understanding in place with UK Athletics which will see the Club support and promote athletics and help them to grow interest in the sport. The Club are also offering our expertise in the areas of Marketing and ticket sales to support the growth of the Sport. UK Athletics have always fully supported and wholeheartedly backed the Club's bid and vision for the Stadium and are therefore fully supportive of the move.

(iii) Ground-sharing

5.11 As made clear above, West Ham fully support a multi-use legacy for the Stadium. It is the Club's long-term anchor tenancy that is both making that legacy viable, and enabling the transformation required to achieve the aspiration shared by all stakeholders that the Stadium should become the best venue in the world for spectator events, a status that will attract other potential users.

5.12 West Ham would therefore actively encourage the use of the Stadium by other football and sports clubs, albeit a long term sharing arrangement is no longer possible as the bidding process has now closed, and no practical proposals were made during that process for such an arrangement.

5.13 In recent weeks, including at a hearing of the London Assembly Budget and Performance Committee, the specific idea of a temporary ground-sharing arrangement has been revived as a proposed solution to the fact that Tottenham Hotspur FC will be without the use of White Hart Lane at least for the duration of the 2017/18 season, while it is being redeveloped.

5.14 West Ham has received no such formal proposal from LLDC or any other party, and it would be inappropriate to comment on a proposal that has not been made, other than to say:

(i) it would have to be borne in mind that the terms of that agreement make clear that – as primary concessionaire – West Ham United and its home fixtures will always be given priority in the new Stadium over any other potential use or user, including where the Club felt any use of the Stadium prior to those home fixtures would have a deleterious impact on the playing surface. As such, the idea of sharing with another football team competing in the same league, domestic cup and UEFA Europa League competitions would present very serious complications for that other user.

(ii) In relation to this matter clause K.4 of Premier League Rule clearly states:

> "No Club shall have or enter into a ground-sharing agreement unless the agreement contains a legally enforceable provision to the effect that the playing of the Club's League Matches shall always take precedence over the activities of the other party to the agreement."
>
> A key element of the agreement entered into between West Ham United and E20 is the fact that the Club must always be able to comply with the requirements of its Governing body.

6. CONCLUSION

6.1 The re-constructed Stadium will not just be the new and thriving home of West Ham, but will become one of the great football stadia in English and European football, one that will be admired for decades to come by people all over the world when they watch West Ham games on television, or come to visit the Stadium in person. That is a worthy legacy for the iconic stadium of London 2012.

6.2 West Ham United will bring over one million visitors to the Park each year, ensuring a busy viable Stadium for supporters, the community and the nation as a whole. The Club are committed to playing its part in the wider appeal of the Park, consolidating its destination status for visitors, business, investors and potential homeowners. That will all help to sustain the benefits that resulted from hosting the Olympics for generations to come.

6.3 The agreement in place for the Stadium will generate hundreds of new jobs, attract many thousands of visitors and act as a catalyst for further economic investment and growth in the area. West Ham United alone will be responsible for the creation of over 700 jobs for local people in target professions.

6.4 The Stadium contractors, Balfour Beatty, are already working with Workplace to ensure the employment of local people as a result of the transformation. The peak workforce in the Stadium is expected to reach 500 workers on site with over 30 apprentices also being recruited from the local area.

6.5 Once the Stadium is operational, it will require event staff and the target attached to the Stadium is for 75% of jobs to go to Newham residents. There is also an obligation that staff must be paid London Living Wage. These obligations are also passed on to any sub-contractors, such as catering suppliers.

6.6 In the years to come, West Ham United's award winning Community Sports Trust will continue to do vital work to strengthen the Club's community links and support the local area, in consultation with schools, sports clubs, community groups and elected representatives.

6.7 Finally, the Club are confident that the local community around the Boleyn Ground will be left with the best legacy that was within the Club's power to deliver in terms of housing, jobs, business, community spaces, and appropriate recognition of the history of what has gone before.

6.8 West Ham United take on the responsibility of delivering the legacy granted to them by the Government in March 2013 with pride. West Ham have an unwavering commitment to the Olympic Stadium and the Club's passion to deliver a stunning, vibrant and thriving Stadium for West Ham supporters, the people of East London and the nation as a whole, burns brighter every day.

Do Charlton Athletic Football Club have a duty to residents in the local area ?

Yes, the relationship between football club and local area is mutually beneficial. In many cases this creates a reliance between one another which would leave a vacuum were it to be removed. This is no more clear than in the case of Charlton Athletic and its surrounding locality.

Almost uniquely Charlton's community scheme provides many of Greenwich Council's youth services from "Valley Central" (described further below) demonstrating its duty and necessity to residents in our borough (and beyond).

As well as residents, Charlton Athletic includes in our local area numerous businesses which are dependent, either wholly or partially, on match day trade and any stadium plan would include a duty to consider these businesses.

All of these factors combine to create a system of mutually interdependent stakeholders each with a duty towards one another.

What do football clubs see as their responsibilities in regeneration ?

Football clubs are often the main recognisable "brand" in their local area and the town of Charlton, and by extension the Borough of Greenwich, are synonymous with Charlton Athletic. This means that football clubs have both a great responsibility and a great opportunity to play a leading role in the regeneration of their neighbourhoods. The main tangible roles through which a club may demonstrate its responsibilities in terms of regeneration are;

- **Promoting the enjoyment of sport and exercise to local people** throughout the community, particularly young people, both through its own matches (concessionary match day tickets are available for under 16s, under 21, and over 65s) and through activities the club undertakes through its Youth & Community Sports Trust (see below).
- **Serving as a focus for community pride**, providing Greenwich Borough with a shared history and heritage through the achievements of the club and the many celebrated players from its history, and regularly celebrating the contribution that the club's non-player employees, volunteers, and supporters make to the club's success.
- **Helping build a sense of community identity**, bringing together diverse elements of Greenwich, across a range of ages and social and economic backgrounds, on a regular basis for a shared purpose.
- **Providing local people with an inclusive social environment** open to all members of the community which the club works to

foster, for example through its regular support of such initiatives as the 'Kick it Out' campaign (an equality and inclusion campaign for football and the wider community).

- **Providing economic benefits to local businesses** such as increasing trade for nearby and associated pubs and restaurants on match days, as well as working to bring together a network of local businesses for mutual benefit.

What direct and indirect impacts might be expected from a stadium scheme ?

There are numerous direct and indirect impacts which may arise from a " stadium scheme", at a high level these include:

- Transport improvements
- Community investment (including the creation of jobs in the local area)
- Inclusion of affordable housing elements to the scheme
- Improvements of facilities for the local community, particularly where the stadium is located in a area of social deprivation

Each of these, amongst others, should be planned in accordance with local need and requirements to ensure that any " stadium scheme" maximises the potential benefits for the local community.

Is the Valley maximising its potential as a community asset ?

It is important to distinguish the potential that stadia have as commercial operations and the benefit they can provide as a community asset. Charlton Athletic have recognised this and placed a great importance on the club's role in the local community, of which supporters are very proud.

So important is the club to the local community that it has established its own community trust. The Charlton Athletic Community Trust which won a bid to deliver Royal Greenwich's universal youth provision from 2012 from " Valley Central" – again drawing on the value of the Valley to the community. CACT works in some of the most disadvantaged areas across Greenwich and the surrounding areas and uses the passion for Charlton Athletic to educate, motivate and inspire young people. CACT's main areas of work are;

- Social Inclusion
- Education and Health
- Pathways to Employment Prison Programme
- Sports Development
- Disability and Mental Health
- Women and Girl's Development

For its efforts in the borough of Greenwich, Charlton was awarded Community Club of the Year for 2013

In addition to its principal current use of hosting football matches, the stadium also functions as a venue for conferencing, exhibitions, and entertainment. The stadium's facilities include a number of meeting and exhibition rooms, bars, and entertainment facilities. These facilities provide a focal point for events in the local area.

To what extent have the plans for regeneration around the redeveloped/ new footballstadium been realised?

N/A

We would like to end this submission with some questions we believe need to be considered regarding Stadium Lead Development

Should government not look deeper at development that on the face of it has short-term immediate benefits, but may on closer inspection be detrimental to a community?

An example quoted of this process has been that of a plan to relocate Charlton Athletic to the Greenwich Peninsular site, which would allegedly create some social housing. Although this may never happen, isn't it wise to consider what the true impact would be of a move of this sort away from the working class community roots of the club in the community it once was a part of?

Not only could the move be detrimental in that way but, as outlined in an article last year in highly regarded fan publication Voice of the Valley, the benefits to the fans and the viability of the plan itself are brought into question. Many fans live locally and many more in the Kent corridor and there are enormous issues of transport to the proposed site which cannot without major investment (if at all) serve the fan-base of the club. The main interests such a move would serve, it appears, are those of property developers and the local authority which did little or no consultation with those who would be affected.

On the questions of community, what is the intrinsic value of a football club?

Not just in services which a club like Charlton does very well, nor in facilities which most clubs could do better, but in providing some of the glue that binds communities and people to their geography. A sense of identity and belonging and the value that can bring. Civic pride, something that is not easily bought, or rebuilt. A club like Charlton, rooted in its ancestral community, may still be able to do that, while others may now not.

It is our view that heritage of this sort is something that should be treasured and nurtured. And this can be done on a number of levels - in planning, in grants, in strategic planning - in a way that is truly beneficial to the

communities in question. Perhaps it would be preferable to use football clubs, which for some are all we have left in terms of gathering together as part of something bigger, as the building blocks for a better society?

London Assembly Regeneration Committee: 'Stadium-led regeneration and the future of the Olympic Stadium'.

A submission from the London Legacy Development Corporation

Contents

1.Our story so far

1.1 The Stadium on Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park will open permanently in 2016. The Park as a whole and its existing venues (Copper Box Arena, London Aquatics Centre, Lee Valley VeloPark, Lee Valley Hockey and Tennis Centre, ArcelorMittal Orbit, Here East and East Village) can already show tangible examples of how the development is changing the lives of local people and driving regeneration in Stratford and the wider area. As such, 'stadium-led regeneration' in the case of Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park should be seen in context with the rest of the Park and the surrounding boroughs and not in isolation.

1.2 London's bid to host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games made a commitment to deliver new opportunities for some of the most deprived neighbourhoods in London and the London Legacy Development Corporation was set up in order to lead regeneration and create opportunity in and around Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Since the close of the Games in 2012, the Legacy Corporation has been transforming the Park into a fantastic new destination by clearing temporary venues, connecting roads, cycle paths and pedestrian walkways and completing venues and parklands for use in legacy, the north of the Park opening a year after the Games in July 2013 and the Park fully open from 5 April 2014.

1.3 Progress on the Park so far is encouraging. Over 3million people have visited the Park since it opened and initial samples indicate a high proportion of those visitors come from the local area. The venues are performing well – over 333,000 have visited the London Aquatics Centre since it opened on 1 March and over 200,000 have visited Lee Valley VeloPark since it opened on 31 March. All residential units in the East Village have been completed and handed over by the Olympic Delivery Authority to Get Living London and Triathlon Homes and over 3,000 people have moved in. Building work has started on Chobham Manor – the first new neighbourhood on the Park - and over 100 of

the homes there have already been sold. 28% of Chobham Manor will be affordable housing and 70% family housing. The Legacy Corporation has shortlisted three developers for East Wick and Sweetwater neighbourhoods and will announce the preferred choice in the autumn. Interest in Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park remains high since the close of the Games two years ago and the area continues to attract quality institutions including University College London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Sadler's Wells, BT Sport and Loughborough University, and the Legacy Corporation remains in discussion with other top institutions about taking up a presence in the Park. Above all, the Legacy Corporation is committed to maximising the opportunities made available to local people in the surrounding four boroughs and its community engagement so far has already helped hundreds of local people find long-term employment in and around the Park.

1.4 All eight venues on the Park have secure futures, including the Stadium, which has West Ham United Football Club signed up as the main concessionaire on a 99 year lease and UK Athletics as its summer concessionaire. All other sporting venues on the Park (Copper Box Arena, Lee Valley Hockey and Tennis Centre, Lee Valley VeloPark and London Aquatics Centre) have now been transformed into their permanent legacy states, handed over to the operators and are up and running. Alongside elite sporting events and high performance athletes in residence, all the venues accommodate full community sport programmes.

1.5 The Stadium will be no different; as well as hosting Premiership football, Diamond League athletics, Rugby World Cup 2015 matches and the IAAF World Athletics Championships and IPC World Championships in 2017, a community athletics track will also be situated next to the main Stadium for use by the local community as well as local and regional athletics clubs. The Stadium has already played host to community sport events before construction started, such as the Newham Anniversary Run in 2013, which gave people a chance to run into the Stadium and onto the athletics track. Community events will become a fixture in the Stadium once it reopens in 2016 including the Newham London Run which will take place annually over ten years.

1.6 The Stadium is located in the south of the Park, where it will sit opposite the proposed 'Olympicopolis' development - a new cultural and educational quarter with partners including University College London, Victoria and Albert Museum and Sadler's Wells Theatre. It is also located behind 'The International Quarter' – an area of land (owned by Lend Lease and London Continental Railways) where a new business district will be created in which Transport for London and the Financial Conduct Authority have already confirmed they will be taking office space. On the other side of the Park, Here East (the former Press and Broadcast Centres) will become an exciting new centre for the digital and creative industries, from where BT Sport already broadcast their new sports channels and where Data Infinity SDC, Loughborough University and Hackney Community College, plus many more, will be resident.

1.7 In between these three significant generators of growth, employment and opportunity, will sit five new neighbourhoods (Chobham Manor, East Wick, Sweetwater, Marshgate Wharf and Pudding Mill Lane), which will comprise a third affordable housing and 40% family housing overall.

1.8 Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is set to become not just an exciting visitor destination, but also a vibrant and thriving heart for east London. The Legacy Corporation has been clear from the outset that the opportunities created in the area are for the benefit of the local communities. Success will be measured over the next 10 to 15 years, but a positive start has been made in terms of

employment, sporting and leisure opportunities and the future for the Park, where the Stadium is just one part of the story.

2. The Stadium

2.1 In July 2012 the E20 Stadium LLP, a joint venture between the Legacy Corporation and Newham Legacy investments (wholly owned by Newham Council), was set up to transform and manage the Stadium. The E20 Stadium LLP confirmed in March 2013 that West Ham United Football Club would be the Stadium's long term concessionaire with a 99 year concession commencing in 2016. It was also confirmed that the Stadium will become the new national centre for athletics with UK Athletics having use of the venue from the last Friday in June to the end of July every year under a 50 year agreement.

2.2 The Legacy Corporation's Planning Committee granted permission for the original Stadium structure to be transformed into a 60,000-seater venue (54,000 for football use) with a capacity of 80,000 for concerts in May 2013. In July 2013, the contractors working on the Stadium transformation were announced – these included a £41m contract to Balfour Beatty Group Limited to carry out works on the Stadium roof, a £25m contract to Imtech G&H for electrical and plumbing work and a £1.5m contract to Carey's PLC to carry out preparatory work. Work to transform the Stadium into a year round multi-use venue began in August 2013, immediately after the successful staging of the Sainsbury's Anniversary Games.

2.3 The E20 Stadium LLP is currently running a competitive procurement process with two major operators for operation of the Stadium and will make a decision later this year. They will work with the Legacy Corporation to put on a year round programme of events, in both the Stadium and the other spaces in the south of the Park. In addition, discussions are underway regarding naming rights associated with the Stadium with an announcement expected in early 2015.

2.4 The Stadium is set to become a year round multi-use venue delivering a lasting sporting, cultural and community legacy in east London. From grass roots to elite sport, from arts and cultural events to conferences and exhibitions, the possibilities are expansive.

3. Economic and community benefits

3.1 The ambitions of the Legacy Corporation for the local area are high. Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is placing Stratford firmly on the map as a visitor destination, projects including 'Olympicopolis', Here East and The International Quarter are progressing and the level of interest in the area is unabated from Games times, which makes future investment and development potential huge. The Local Planning Authority area is already one of the fastest growing in the United Kingdom and by 2031 current projections are for 24,000 new homes to be built and an increased population of 55,000.

3.2 The Legacy Corporation is working hard to ensure that organisations coming to the Park have a shared vision in ensuring that investment and growth will benefit local people. The vision for Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is not just to provide sporting and leisure opportunities, but to deliver wider opportunities to support regeneration. In terms of employment, Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park has

seen over 5,000 people work on the post-Games Transformation construction programme and 30% of those workers were from the local area. In addition, at peak, over 60 apprentices worked on the Park, the highest on a single site in London in 2013, 95% of which were local. In the venues, the Legacy Corporation worked with operators Greenwich Leisure Limited (GLL), Cofely, Camden Society and Colicci to secure jobs for local people and over 75% of those employed by GLL in Copper Box Arena and London Aquatics Centre are from the local area. The venues also operate apprenticeship schemes, for instance GLL will offer 36 apprenticeship opportunities over their ten year contract. As well as local employment, the Legacy Corporation also sets targets on BAME, disabled and female employment. For example the Camden Society, operators of the Timber Lodge cafè in the north of the Park, currently had a starting workforce of whom 36% had disabilities.

3.3 Once the Stadium is operational, the operator will be responsible for hiring event staff and the target attached to the Stadium is for 75% of jobs to go to Newham residents. There is also an obligation that staff must be paid London Living Wage and use Workplace – Newham's employment service – to help local people access these jobs and they will also work with the Legacy Corporation and London Borough of Newham to develop a strong community programme, including becoming a member of ECHO, the novel time-banking initiative in and around the Park. These obligations are also passed on to any sub-contractors, such as catering suppliers.

3.4 The Stadium contractors, Balfour Beatty, are already working with Workplace to ensure the employment of local people where possible. The peak workforce in the Stadium is expected to reach 500 workers on site with over 30 apprentices also being recruited from the local area.

3.5 The agreement in place for the Stadium will generate hundreds of new jobs, attract many thousands of visitors and act as a catalyst for further economic investment and growth in the area. The jobs in the Stadium are in addition to the 20,000 jobs which will be created on the Park in the next ten years (5,300 at Here East, 4,000 in the neighbourhoods, 2,000 in construction, 10,000 by Olympicopolis).

4. **Sporting legacy**

4.1 The Legacy Corporation runs a number of programmes on Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and in the local areas aimed at increasing involvement in sports in order to reap the health benefits associated with such participation. This includes the flagship 'Active People Active Park' programme which is delivering sports opportunities - many of which are free - in Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest. The 'Motivate East' programme is part of the Legacy Corporation's Paralympic Legacy Programme and is set to offer 26,000 sporting opportunities for people with disabilities by March 2016.

4.2 In addition to those initiatives, the Legacy Corporation seeks to work with National Governing Bodies when major events take place on the Park to deliver an associated 'legacy programme'. For instance, during the FINA Diving World Series which took place in the London Aquatics Centre in April (2014), the Legacy Corporation supported a diving engagement programme which targeted local schools and community groups. Other events will deliver their own legacy programmes, such as the Rugby World Cup 2015 and its 'Post in the Parks' initiative in host cities. This initiative sees rugby

posts placed in Parks in host cities - including Newham - with the aim of boosting participation in rugby. With future major events, the Legacy Corporation will seek to capitalise on their presence on the Park.

4.3 The Stadium will provide an exciting opportunity for a sporting legacy for local residents, as it will house a community track and education centre for use by local schools and clubs. The community track will be used for at least 250 days a year by the local community.

4.4 The pricing of the sporting venues on Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park reflects the average pricing of local facilities to ensure they are accessible for local residents. The capacity of the Stadium opens up opportunities to support an affordable family offer and West Ham has always been committed to increasing such opportunities. There will be more entry-level pricing on offer at the Stadium as well as premium products that the club's current ground is unable to offer and up to 100,000 free tickets will be given away per season to the local community via Newham Council.

4.5 Finally, the Legacy Corporation remains committed to delivering the highest standards of accessibility in legacy by updating and extending the games-time Inclusive Design Standards that were adopted during the Games. All venues on the Park have been built in accordance with these standards, including the Stadium, which also exceeds accessible stadia guidelines. During the Games, the Built Environment Access Panel of disabled and older people helped to inform accessibility requirements and the Legacy Corporation has now taken this panel over to ensure the highest levels of accessibility continue to be met.

5.**Transport**

5.1 £6.5 billion was invested in transport for the Games including a £200m investment in Stratford Regional Station and £10m invested in upgrading pedestrian and cycle routes across the Park. Stratford is now one of the best connected places in London, with nine rail lines running through three stations and a number of bus routes also run through the Park, making Stratford easily accessible via public transport. The same routes through Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park have been kept from Games-time and will accommodate the volumes of visitors anticipated to travel to and from the Stadium and other venues for events on the Park. Extensive crowd modelling work has been undertaken and will be further refined over time.

5.2 Further improvements to transport infrastructure are coming forward in the area, including the £10m regeneration of Hackney Wick Station which will bring the station exit closer to the Park. Crossrail is set to be fully operational from 2019, which will bring Stratford to within 45minutes of Heathrow Airport. In July (2014) it was announced that from 2016 the three Stratford stations (Stratford, Stratford International and Stratford High Street) will be re-zoned to within the zone 2/3 fare boundary, meaning the cost of travelling to and from central London into Stratford will decrease, while the cost of travelling outwards from Stratford will remain the same, providing a further boost for Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park both as a visitor destination and in supporting the regeneration objectives for the East End.

5.3 Stratford is already one of the best connected places in London and the transport improvements outlined above serve to enhance the transport infrastructure further, bringing more people within

even easier reach of the Park and its venues. Public transport is the best and easiest way to get to and from the Park – by train, underground, bus or bicycle – and we actively encourage visitors and event goers to utilise this form of transport.

6.Summary

6.1 The Stadium on Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is set to re-open from 2016 and is looking to emulate the early successes of the other sporting venues surrounding it by hosting a busy and diverse range of activities and incorporating successful programmes for both elite and community sport. The range of events on offer promise a wide range of tangible benefits for the community including participation in community events, attending concerts, sporting opportunities, employment opportunities and further economic growth for the local economy.

6.2 The Stadium looks set to become an integral part of both the visitor experience on the Park as well as a catalyst for regeneration in the area and should be seen as a key, but not isolated, part of the story for the re-development of the Park and surrounding area.

London Borough of Lewisham
Response to London Assembly Regeneration Committee's investigation into stadium-led regeneration in London

Are there plans for the redevelopment of existing football stadia, or the construction of new stadia in your borough?

There are no plans for the *redevelopment* of the existing football stadia in the London Borough of Lewisham however the Surrey Canal Triangle development, in the New Cross ward, will deliver comprehensive redevelopment of the area surrounding Millwall Football Club (MFC) through a developer led mixed use scheme. The development include improvements to the existing Millwall Football Stadium inducing re-cladding of the existing stadium, the opportunity to increase capacity, significant improvements to the surrounding public realm, a new station adjacent to the stadium and two new bus routes significantly enhancing access to the stadium.

The London Borough of Lewisham's Core Strategy and the Developer's Planning Consent (March 2012) categorically states that the stadium's functionality is fully protected and will remain as it is. Paragraph 2 of the summary of reasons for the grant of outline planning permission states:
"The permitted development allows for Millwall Football Club Stadium to continue to function as a mass spectator destination on a long-term basis and for its possible expansion…"

The existing lease for the stadium (with 132 years remaining), granted by the London Borough of Lewisham to MFC, provides that the stadium can only be used as a mass spectator football stadium and for associated activities.

The Site is proposed to be developed by Renewal Group Limited (Developer). The Developer has been assembling the Site since 2004 and now owns or controls approximately 95% of the interests in the land required for the Scheme. Given that the Developer has obtained planning permission and owns or controls almost all of the Site, the Developer is the obvious partner for the London Borough of Lewisham to bring forward the Scheme.

The Lewisham Core Strategy designates the Surrey Canal site for comprehensive mixed use development and sets out specific requirements for a comprehensive phased approach to re-development in line with an approved Masterplan. It is considered that separate development of other parcels would be likely to result in piecemeal development, risk the non-achievement of comprehensive development of the Site and risk substantial delays in the Scheme coming forward. Not only would it require a significant degree of co-operation between current owners, there are no alternative, credible development proposals currently proposed or likely to be capable of implementation within a reasonable timescale.

What direct and indirect regeneration impacts might be expected from a stadium led scheme?

The Site represents an opportunity to transform the environment and infrastructure and create a new destination around Millwall Football Stadium, which currently is not enhanced or improved by the surrounding industrial estates. The increased accessibility, jobs and business space, and new homes can provide major public benefits to existing residents as well as occupiers of new space in the future. This is set in the context of a regionally-significant range and quantum of sports facilities, and other beneficial and inclusive community facilities and a newly-accessible urban environment.

The overwhelming public benefits of the Scheme will help to transform the area and improve the quality of life of existing and future residents, kick-starting a process of regeneration in the local area, by:

- Bringing an uplift of around 2,400 homes in a range of sizes, types and tenures with sensitive design and accessibility standards, to help alleviate pressure on housing need;
- Facilitating a new Overground station on the East London Line in the south-east corner of the site, linked by a Stadium Boulevard to the existing South Bermondsey station at the north west;
- Creating around 2,000 new jobs and business space through securing private sector investment in growing sectors that provide local residents with entrepreneurial opportunities, and contributing to a new growth hub for North Lewisham;
- Connecting with the wider economy in central London through attracting new visitors and residents to the area and retaining their spending in local businesses and services;
- Supporting local residents with employment and training packages tailored to address their specific needs, so that residents can take advantage of additional jobs locally and compete for higher skilled jobs in the wider London labour market;
- Delivering physical improvements, including good quality street scene, public open spaces and new buildings to establish this as a new neighbourhood - an area people want to live or work in or visit. The design and accessibility improvements will provide a new setting for residents, businesses and
- Community uses and events, minimising perception and fear of crime and opening up a previously inaccessible area to all current and future residents;
- Providing the scale and critical mass of development to change perceptions of the area; and
- Providing opportunities to lead healthy lifestyles and giving access to community facilities in an active environment.

How do you plan to maximise footfall at and around the stadium? What non football events will take place at the at the redeveloped/new stadium?

A significant amount of research has been undertaken to test the mix of uses throughout the scheme's evolution. By improving a physical access to the site and providing a mix of place making elements it is envisaged that footfall through the site will increase significantly.

Access to the site both for pedestrians and public transport is currently limited and it's largely industrial in character means there is limited footfall. The regeneration plans for the site will greatly improve access. When developed, the Site will be served by two railway stations, South Bermondsey and a new station at Surrey Canal Road on the East London Overground line. These will form a transport interchange with the provision of two new bus routes. The main bus interchange will be adjacent to the new station at Surrey Canal Road. A network of cycling and pedestrian routes will also be provided across the Site.

The scheme will provide 2,400 new homes and 50,000 square metres of commercial space with the full range of Class A uses, business space, hotel space, non-residential institutions and assembly and leisure uses.

Public realm will be substantially improved with improvements to Bridge House Meadows, the provision of 5 new public squares and Stadium Avenue, a major new boulevard running alongside the football club and linking the two railway stations.

The Scheme includes a major sports facility 'Energize' which is regarded as a key place making element of the scheme generating significant footfall (estimated 18,000 visitors per week).

Phase 1A of the Scheme will include 6,000 square metres of faith and community space which will host exhibitions and events as well as church services. This space will also include

a faith and multi-cultural resources library. A creative/hi-tech digital quarter is also proposed for Phase 1B with a business start-up centre and hotel and conferencing facilities proposed for Phase 4. In the north of the Site, Phase 5A includes proposals for a health centre with GP's, dental services, care in the community and a specialist sports injury clinic.

What processes do you use to decide neighbourhood priorities for development contributions (e.g. transport / public realm / housing / improvements)?

The Lewisham Core Strategy outlines a number of Drivers of Change, which set out the most significant issues expected to impact the borough up to 2026 including:

- **Housing provision** - The need to ensure provision of affordable housing is reflected through increasing house prices and low household incomes when compared to the London average. The opportunity to provide new housing in a highly developed borough is limited, so reviewing opportunities to better us underused employment areas and town centres as housing locations is necessary..
- **Growing the Local Economy** - growing the relatively small Borough economy is a priority of the Council and is essential to the creation of a sustainable community. A key priority is the need to provide and strengthen local employment opportunities and enhance employment prospects by improving training opportunities, and accessibility to jobs within and beyond the sub-region.
- **Building a sustainable community** - the benefits of new development need to be maximised for all in the community and will be central to addressing and reducing issues related to deprivation in order to improve education, employment and training opportunities, and reduce health inequalities.

Strategic Site Allocation 3 identifies the Surrey Canal site for comprehensive mixed use development and sets out specific requirements for a comprehensive phased approach to re-development in line with an approved Masterplan that delivers the following priorities:

a) a new 'destination' development that capitalises on the opportunities presented by Millwall Stadium and allows for the future of the long term future of the football club including future requirements for stadium improvement and expansion; it should also seek to enhance the existing football and sports facilities, and make these accessible to the public and allow for the long term future of the Millwall Community Scheme.
b) provides at least 20% of the built floorspace developed on the site (excluding the Millwall Stadium area) for a mix of business space (B1(c), B2, B8) as appropriate to the site and its wider context.
c) creates a sustainable high density residential environment at a density commensurate with the existing public transport accessibility level (PTAL) of the site or the future PTAL achieved through investment in transport infrastructure and services.
d) provides for a mix of dwelling types accommodating, subject to an acceptable site layout, scale and massing, up to 2,500 new homes (C3) with a proportion of on-site affordable housing.
e) makes provision for the Surrey Canal Road Overground Station which will be located to the south of Surrey Canal Road and a new pedestrian and cycle bridge adjacent to Phase 2 of the East London Line extension.
f) provides retail uses to serve local needs that do not adversely impact existing town centres (A1, A2).
g) provides for a mix of restaurant, food and drink uses to serve the site and immediate neighbourhood.
h) enhances Bridge House Meadows, and provides appropriate amenity open space within the development including children's play space to provide health and recreational opportunities for new residents.
i) improves connectivity of the site and locality to the other strategic sites, the rest of the borough and adjoining sites within the London Borough of Southwark, through the

provision of new pedestrian and cycling facilities and public transport services to increase permeability and accessibility.

j) ensures the design enables the continued functioning of the adjoining Surrey Canal Road Strategic Industrial Location, including the waste transfer and processing uses on Surrey Canal Road.
k) ensures appropriate noise mitigation against the surrounding railway viaducts.
l) make opportunities to use energy generated by the South East London Combined Heat and Power Station (SELCHP) for district heating or other suitable sources of decentralised energy.

These provisions are reflected in the outline planning permission granted to the Developer and the S.106 agreement.

How is your Borough working with football clubs to capitalise on regeneration opportunities to get the best deal for communities?

The London Borough of Lewisham and the Developer worked closely with MFC and Millwall Community Scheme to shape the regeneration plans for the area. MFC were a signatory to the Section 106 agreement which followed the granting of planning permission in March 2012. The input from MFC and their advisors ensured that S.106 agreement includes the necessary provisions to not only secure the best deal for the community but also put in places the necessary safeguards to enable the ongoing operation of the football club throughout the delivery of the regeneration scheme and facilitate the future expansion of the club. These measures include:

- The ability to increase the crowd capacity of The Den to increase from 20,148 to 26,500 should MFC secure promotion to the Premier League and require a larger stadium.
- Re-cladding of the MFC stadium
- Provision of car parking spaces to be used by MFC both on event and non-event days
- Relocation of MFC memorial garden and grounds keeps store
- Relocation of Millwall Community Scheme to a replacement facility
- Re-provision of coach parking spaces to be used by MFC on event days
- An increase sustainable accessibility to the Stadium by providing the proposed pedestrian link to South Bermondsey Station
- Establishment of Stadium Working Group – to oversee the operation of the stadium particularly through the construction phase

How have you engaged and consulted local communities (residents and businesses) about the plans for a redeveloped / new stadium? What responses have you received?

The Council has undertaken a series of consultation exercises in respect of the regeneration and planning policies applicable to the Site and surrounding area. In turn the Developer has carried out consultation in respect of the specific Scheme proposals and there has been statutory consultation on the planning applications. There has thus been extensive consultation over a number of years both in respect of the policies and principles underpinning the Scheme through to detailed proposals.

Extensive consultation was undertaken by the Developer throughout the pre-application consultation process and meetings took place with a wide range of local groups and all relevant stakeholders. Overall the Developer promoted the scheme to 76,074 community members, and spoke to approximately 4,825 people directly up until the Outline Application was submitted in February 2011.

The Developer engaged with MFC fans, staff and management through fans forums, meetings at the two public exhibitions, advertisements in match day programmes and an interview on the Lions Live (Millwall fans) radio show on 18th November 2010. Overall the Developer spoke directly to 975 Millwall fans.

Since February 2011 the Developer has continued to respond to all enquiries from the local community (including residents, local businesses and MFC supporters). The Developer has developed relationships with both local (South London Press, Southwark News, New Shopper and Lions Live radio show) and regional press (Evening Standard) who publish stories on the scheme when there is a significant development. In June 2012 Transport for London published a news sheet for residents updating them regarding the works to the East London Line. The Developer has also met the organisers of the proposed New Cross Neighbourhood Plan and in September and October 2014 has held 3 'Open Days' on the Site, publicised to local residents and attracting over 400 local people to the site to understand the proposals for the site and likely timescales.

The Developer has also established interim sports and church facilities on site whilst the scheme is being completed which attract 1,500 people to the site every week.

To what extent have the plans for regeneration around the redeveloped / new football stadium been released?

As detailed above the plans for the regeneration of the site surrounding MFC have been publicly available for several years. Prior to the submission of the outline planning application in 2011 the plans were communicated and all stakeholders consulted.

Since Outline Consent was granted in March 2012 the Developer have re-launched the Surrey Canal website (www.surreycanal.com) which includes statements from the Developer and all planning application documents (http://www.surreycanal.com/planning) submitted to the Council. A stand-alone website has been developed for the Surrey Canal Sports Foundation (www.surreycanalsportsfoundation.org.uk) and established a Twitter account for the sports foundation (@SCSportsFoundation).

London Borough of Newham response to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee call for evidence on Stadium-led regeneration

Background and borough-wide regeneration

Newham was at the heart of the 2012 London and Paralympic Games. Securing a real and lasting legacy will remain a challenge for generations to come but the London Borough of Newham is determined to ensure delivery of the promises made by Government and set out in the original London bid to inspire a generation and transform the lives of those living in Newham and more widely in London's East End. For Newham, the success of the Games is dependant on a successful legacy.

In Newham we define regeneration by our commitment to a resilient population where residents have the personal skills and capacities to live successful lives. It is vital that the political will for wider regeneration and a social legacy remains at all levels of government so that residents of East London do not have to continue to suffer poorer outcomes than their counterparts in the rest of the Capital. Newham is aware that the Games were a once-in-a lifetime opportunity to overthrow East London's legacy of inequality and replace it with one of aspiration and success.

Planning for a long term legacy

Our shared commitment to a long term legacy for local people is why Newham Council and the other Host Boroughs, (now Growth Boroughs) chaired by Sir Robin Wales, Mayor of Newham, drove forward calls to develop a central organising principle of 'convergence'. Convergence means that within 20 years the communities who host the 2012 Games will have the same social and economic chances as their neighbours across London. Despite initial resistance, Newham and the Host Boroughs eventually secured the backing of the Mayor of London and central Government together with gaining the practical support of private and public agencies active in the area.

The Host Boroughs also led the call to ensure that the social legacy is at the heart of planning for the Games with the establishment of the Olympic Park Legacy Company (OPLC), subsequently transformed into the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) in 2012.

The London Borough of Newham is proud of the legacy so far and believes the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, Newham and London has significantly benefitted. However, it is the Council's view that the planning process in relation to the legacy mode of the Olympic Stadium, along with other venues, often failed to work towards Newham's aspirations for the Olympic legacy. The results have been impressive but Newham believes that there was potential for legacy modes to have been delivered quicker and at a lower cost if long-term legacy interests were prioritised from the start of the construction and development process.

The Manchester (2002) and Glasgow (2014) Commonwealth Games are examples of where legacy commitments were more fully incorporated from the start of the development process. The local and city authorities have been in control of events being held in each city and have therefore been able to actively secure long term football and athletics partners to deliver a sustainable stadium legacy for their respective areas. Manchester saw football incorporated and accommodated from the start of the process and it was ensured that Glasgow's stadium was flexible enabling it to accommodate the Commonwealth Games and international football. Newham acknowledges that the scale of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games was greater than the 2002 and 2014 Commonwealth Games, and that the legacy results in London have been more impressive than those in any other host city. However, the Council believes that local government should have been given a stronger and formalised legacy role. Newham believes that if the host boroughs had been placed at the heart of major stadium and event developments the 2012 legacy and subsequent regeneration would have been delivered more efficiently. The creation of the Olympic Park Legacy Company (OPLC) under Margaret Ford's leadership, was however a major victory in our efforts, and those of the wider Host Boroughs, to ensure that local people continue to benefit from the venues and wider Games site for years to come. Newham has enjoyed a largely constructive working relationship with both the LLDC and the Mayor of London to realise a shared vision for the future of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

Investing in a long term legacy for the Olympic Stadium

Newham was convinced from the start of the planning process that the Olympic Stadium should allow for a range of uses to encourage wide community access such as school sports days and cultural activity rather than purely elite sport and events. Equally the Council was clear that a major football club as an anchor tenant was an essential part of any sustainable business plan. The Council was therefore sceptical regarding the original legacy plans for a suggested a 25,000 seat athletics only venue. A 25,000 seat stadium would not have contributed to the convergence agendas and would have made substantial financial losses***.*** Newham therefore welcomes the fact that the final solution will deliver a 60,000 seat stadium for multi use.

As a co-owner of the Olympic Stadium as part of the E20 Partnership the London Borough of Newham has played a key role in ensuring delivery of a long term, financially sustainable, legacy plan that will deliver significant community benefit. The Council has secured a £40m loan for investment in the E20 partnership which is being used to facilitate transformation to a legacy mode. This is on the basis of loan repayments being made over 40 years, meaning there is no long term impact on the Council's budget. Indeed, over time the Council expects to make a profit from its stake in the E20 Partnership.

The Council's approved investment in the Stadium will, in addition to a return on investment, deliver a range of benefits for local people including:

- West Ham move into the stadium from August 2016 and Newham residents will receive 100,000 free tickets for West Ham games every season
- 10 community event days every year controlled by Newham
- A 10 year contract to hold the Newham London Run (a mass participation run finishing in the stadium)
- A community Track (for use by Newham residents for a minimum of 250 days per annum)
- 75% of operational jobs will be reserved for Newham residents once the stadium is operational. Long-term jobs will include operational staff, stadium security guards, stewards, catering staff and ticket sellers.

Delivering a wider legacy for Newham residents

The Olympic Stadium is an iconic and inspirational venue that is at the heart of the London Borough of Newham's plans for delivering a lasting Olympic legacy for local people. However, it is just one part of the story. The London Borough of Newham has summarised the boroughs experience in the publication *Newham's Legacy Story*, included as an Appendix to this submission. In this submission we have focussed on the Stadium.

Employment legacy

Getting more people into work is critical to changing the long term opportunities for people in Newham.

Workplace, our local jobs brokerage was fundamental to our efforts to ensure that local people across Newham benefited from the employment opportunities created by the Games and beyond, providing a genuine legacy for residents. Workplace has become a key player in Newham's wider legacy aspirations by encouraging applications from the long-term unemployed and 5,400 Newham residents were employed in Games-related jobs, more than any other borough. Despite this success and whilst a large number of Newham residents have subsequently found employment in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, Newham is disappointed that more local people were not included in the construction stages which provided an option for residents to be trained.

A snapshot of the latest workforce count in June 2014 illustrates that 10.5% of the total Olympic Stadium construction workforce are Newham residents, and through Workplace we have worked hard locally to ensure local people can access these opportunities. However, we continue to believe that more can and should be done to help local people get access to these jobs.

Homes and regeneration legacy

West Ham United's relocation to Stratford will see the comprehensive regeneration of Green Street and Upton Park by local London developer Galliard Group. The

redevelopment will deliver homes, jobs and community spaces and Galliard Group are committed to working closely with the local community and the Council on proposals to transform the site into a residential and retail village.

Before the Games had even been won Newham had ambitious plans for regeneration in an area which has suffered from decades of chronic deprivation. By 2025 it is envisaged that a minimum of £22 billion will have been invested in the area, creating more than 35,000 new homes and 100,000 new jobs.

The Athlete's Village brought the development of new housing into a setting where we will strive to create a real community, not just homes. Newham has negotiated the rights to nearly 350 homes in the village, more than any other borough, including all of the four bedroom properties and nearly all the three-beds for our residents.

Sporting legacy

The Stadium will host a range of world class events. A number of major spectator events are being held in the stadium, including the 2015 Rugby World Cup, the 2017 Paralympic World Championships and the IAAF and IPC Athletics World Championships in 2017

- 365 days conference, community and educational use with over 100 days per annum of spectator events
- Premier League football annually
- One month of major athletics annually
- Up to 10 concerts annually

These incredible events in Newham will become the norm now that we have truly world class facilities. The stadium delivers significant education facilities on site including a Stadium Learning Zone that will be open to pupils from local schools

Summary and future recommendations for the Olympic Stadium and borough-wide regeneration

The London Borough of Newham is proud of the role that it has played in delivering a sustainable legacy from the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. In particular, the Council has played a critical role in ensuring a viable future for the landmark Olympic Stadium.

The Games have radically transformed the physical landscape of north Stratford but have also acted as a powerful catalyst for other development, accelerating and expanding ambitions for the borough. The Olympic Stadium is a central aspect of borough-wide regeneration and Newham is determined to lead the drive to ensure regeneration benefits all Newham residents

The Council believes that more attention to planning for legacy could have been made at an earlier stage, notwithstanding the immense challenge of delivering the

Games on time. It was Newham and other Host Boroughs, those with the greatest stake in legacy, who pushed hardest for this legacy - for example Hackney Council's excellent work to ensure a long term future for the Media Centre. The creation of the OPLC and its subsequent transformation into the LLDC were welcome, and have created a greater focus on legacy, with resulting significant benefits. For future developments Newham would highlight the examples of Glasgow and Manchester where local authorities were embedded in delivery from day one as best practice.

Newham is committed to engaging positively with the E20 Stadium Company (a joint venture between LBN and the LLDC) as it currently provides a suitable structure. However, this must evolve over time.

More widely the Council's view is that it is critical that focus remains on delivering a legacy at all levels of Government. Finding a legacy mode for the Games Time venues was not the finish line for this competition. Residents of Newham and the other Host Boroughs will continue to experience worse life chances than other residents in the capital. The deep cuts that have been made to central government grant allocations to Newham and the other host boroughs compared to wealthier areas and the fact that health funding makes little recognition of the challenges higher levels of deprivation bring are just two stark examples of the ongoing and structural challenges to convergence.

The London Borough of Newham will continue to use its voice as joint owner of the Olympic Stadium to ensure that it and the wider Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is used by and relevant for local residents as well as a generator of local job opportunities. Newham will continue to fight to secure funding from regional and national government that can help realise benefits for the whole of the borough.

Millwall Community Trust

Submission to London General Assembly Regeneration Committee

Stadium-led Regeneration

Football can be a powerful uniting force in the UK and one of the most effective catalysts for community engagement. Stadium-led regeneration, provided it is carefully planned and appropriately co-ordinated, brings excellent returns for surrounding communities. This is especially true when community groups and the football clubs to which they are attached work closely together and are incorporated into the regeneration process.

The Millwall Community Trust was set up in 1986 by Millwall Football Club as an independent charitable trust. Our activities are built around four key areas: sports development, social inclusion, coach education and improving the life expectations and opportunities for the diverse local communities we serve. We work with thousands of young people from Lewisham and Southwark. Our work has given people of all ages, from all backgrounds and of all abilities, the opportunity to take part in sport. It has helped them to realise their potential, to be proud of their achievements and, ultimately, to build a stronger community.

Our activities are mainly funded by Millwall Football Club and a variety of groups and organisations, mostly from within the football community. We serve a deprived inner-London area and the involvement of Millwall FC goes well beyond financial support. The players and coaching staff give their time freely to us and are frequently important role models for the young people we are helping. We are able to use the facilities of the Den and benefit from tickets for the matches which are otherwise unaffordable for many of the people we work with.

The relationship between the Trust and the Football Club is its greatest strengthand reflected in the fact that it is one of the few Trusts in the country that is financially supported by the Football Club and the wider football community. Other major funders come from a variety of community groups and organisations. We serve a deprived inner-London area and the involvement of Millwall FC goew well beyond financial support. The players and coaching staff give their time freely to us and are frequently important role models for the young people we are working with. We are able to use the facilities of the Den and benefit from tickets for matches which are otherwise unaffordable for many of the people we work with.

The Millwall Community Trust is very committed to improving lives. The plans for a major redevelopment of the area are welcomed by all of us and offer a great opportunity for making a real difference to this community. Although the Trust has met with the Council and Renewal on several occasions, we do not feel that the close links between the Trust and the Football Club have been adequately understood and acknowledged. Our proximity to our football club – both physically and emotionally – must not be broken.

The Surrey Canal Triangle regeneration project includes removing the Millwall Community Trust from the Lions Centre to a new location. The timetable for these changes is unclear, but Lewisham Council has formally notified us that it proposes to take back our lease and is currently negotiating compensation. Solicitors have been instructed to agree terms for the surrender of our lease. We have been notified by the council that if we do not surrender the lease a compulsory purchase order will commence. We are aware of Millwall Football Club's plans to develop the land attached to its stadium which includes the Lions Centre. The Football Club intends to provide new and improved facilities for the Community Trust within its proposed developments. That will be beneficial to us

and the young people we try to support.

There have been expressions of support from the Council and Renewal. However, our long-term existence can only be guaranteed by Millwall Football Club. We enjoy the benefits of being closely linked and aligned to the Football Club which created us and we would be unable to continue to operate as we have done in the past without the Club's support and full involvement in the future.

We hope that arrangements can be agreed between all parties to achieve a stadium-led regeneration plan which will extend the role of the Millwall Community Trust and transform this deprived area of inner-London.

Nick Cann
Company Secretary, The Millwall Community Trust
On behalf of the Board of Trustees
26 August 2014

Tottenham Business Group

Chairman Alex Tryfonos Vice Chairs Patricia Pearcy Lia-Clera Gomes
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I write as the Vice Chair of the Tottenham Business Group. This group represents the High Street shops and businesses that are threatened with demolition under the current High Road West Master Plan proposals. We make this submission separately as we are uniquely affected by this Stadium led regeneration.

The impact for our particular community is simple. We are being evicted from our homes and businesses after many years of service contributing to our Community. The area is being cleared under Haringey's "Place Changing" agenda,
The majority of businesses are freeholders often living above their premises. We have been given no other recourse but to go. Ties with family, friends and customers going back more than two generations of trading in Tottenham will be broken.
Council propaganda claims it is improving things. The homes in Love Lane earmarked for knocking down are in good condition and actually had money recently spent on then to make them decent. The High Street 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.

Similarly the traders on Peacock Industrial Estate were called 'metal bangers" by the Director of Regeneration Lynn Garner in a meeting on October 8 2013 while emphatically stating there was no place for their businesses in the area. These traders run busy successful manufacturing and engineering units, which are a valuable source of employment and skills.

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

This business community has been part of the fabric of High Road West in most cases for over 20 years, and in some cases for more than 50 years. Local opinion, in the form of a petition numbering 4000+ signatures, is that they shouldn't be thrown out to make way for a football fans' walkway.
Originally the community welcomed the regeneration plan. The Northumberland Park Development proposals by THFC identified the existing business community as strong and one of the areas major assets. The THFC stadium proposals promised to grow existing local business by increasing footfall along White Hart Lane and the High Road as visitors accessed the new stadium along the traditional route.
Now the proposed plan shows White Hart Lane station moved and visitors funneled directly to the stadium via a walkway through a retail area to be co-developed by the club. These demolitions are non-negotiable. No alternative was presented in any of the three options in the Consultation of 2013. All attempts since by the community to achieve a compromise for local business have been ignored.
This is a really busy urban area. The High Road parade marked for demolition is one of the earliest in the Historic Corridor and is part of the conservation area. The shops include a popular local restaurant, a chemist and a doctor's surgery. The Coombes Croft Library, well loved in the Community, is also a target for demolition.
The Peacock Industrial Estate, fully occupied with engineering, manufacturing and catering businesses is also marked for demolition for housing development under current plans.

From the start the High Road West community clearly declared, through a local petition of 4,000-plus signatures, that it was against demolition of its local library, surgery, High Street shops and businesses.

Yet the High Road West community has categorically been denied a voice. The reason for this lack of an alternative or consideration of compromise lies within THFC's former problems with the viability of the whole stadium project. High Road West is carefully referred to as LB Haringey's development but it is inextricably entwined with THFC's viability demands.
In a joint statement with Claire Kober on 31 January 2013 Levy had complained that land values in the area were too low to enable

Spurs to finance the stadium. The club and council had entered into an agreement " to promote wider regeneration through the development of a North Tottenham Regeneration programme"
On 7th February 2012 the cabinet agreed High Road West as a first area for regeneration due to its proximity to the new stadium and to act as a catalyst for wider change.
Both the Grant Thornton Report and the Planning Sub Committee of 13th February 2012 notes, "long negotiations have been taking place between the Council, The Mayor of London and the Club to see how viability can be improved"
Some time before the decision of 7th February THFC had been buying heavily in the area. They particularly wanted to buy the parade of High Street shops now consigned to demolition. Their agents persistently pestered the owners and when refused threatened to come back with a CPO. This was at a time when LB Haringey was denying development of the West side of the High Road.
Subsequently substantial reductions were made in the club's obligations towards transport and other community improvements under the S106 agreement.
The plan unveiled in 2013 had three non-negotiable features: the walkway, the relocated station, and the demolition of the library, the surgery and High Road shops. These three features combined with the property THFC had accumulated in key areas in High Road West set the agenda for the club to co develop the whole area and take complete retail control.
We could find no concrete evidence base for these decisions other than they were part of the wider viability agreement/understanding with THFC.
At the time of the Consultation this Community believed that compromise could be achieved and we would be able to negotiate with Haringey Council and modify the plan. Our representatives met with Alan Strickland Cabinet Member for Regeneration and Housing on 13th June 2013.We had already started a petition (then with 2500 signatures) asking for an alternative to the demolitions. Cllr Strickland chose to ignore our petition nor did he direct us to submit the petition to full council. As a consequence it was not included in the Feedback figures from the 2013 Consultation.

We were not against the High Road West proposals but we wanted community involvement in its creation. We wanted the bare bones of our community to survive,,, the historic parade, the Coombes Croft library, the family surgery, and the long-standing

local manufacturing businesses. We were offered apologies for not being officially informed of the blight on our businesses and immediately urged to meet with the Regeneration manager to discuss relocation and compensation! We were told new people were expected in the area whose standards may be more exacting than we were used to.
After this initial meeting the numbers of our petition grew to 4000+ and on the advice of Richard Wilson, councilor and Lib Dem Leader, we presented it to Cabinet on 28th November 2013.
In his acceptance speech Alan Strickland explained how our petition showed the need for more consultation in the community and announced the Tottenham Futures Consultation had begun and would be fronted by Miriam Levin and her company Soundings. He also pledged to ask ARUP to look into options that would allow the retention of the High Road shops and businesses. We understood that to mean that the Tottenham Futures Consultation was the opportunity for our Community views to be taken into account. Our members attended all the North Tottenham Community Liaison Meetings during this Consultation. From the first meeting we were told by Regeneration Managers Sarah Cowell and Adam Hunt that we were not to discuss any of the current issues that concerned us on the High Road West development. The terms of reference of the Tottenham Futures consultation were laid out confining debate to social and economic outcomes for Tottenham some twenty years in the future. Additionally High Road West was ahead in terms of its development and we were told not strictly part of the SRF which the Tottenham Futures consultation was supposed to inform. These restrictions on our members were enforced by regeneration staff who acted as facilitators at discussion tables throughout the process.
Nevertheless we found that all who attended were in mutual agreement with us on key issues.

Local people overwhelmingly wanted a focus on action now to tackle the area's current problems before any wishful twenty years visioning. At the top of the list was improving the current state of the physical environment; safer streets, and more community facilities. And far from demolishing the High Road shops and businesses people wanted historic Tottenham renovated and protected. Long-term the survey found that people wanted decent secure social housing and good quality reasonably priced homes, rather than tower block living for new residents.

Unsurprisingly, the survey also revealed a lack of trust in the Council arising from the fierce local opposition to some of the Council's big developer schemes (Wards Corner) brushing local communities like ours aside.
Following the Tottenham Futures Consultation there was a lot of PR celebrating its success but nothing had basically changed in LB Haringeys original plans. The main body of the Tottenham Futures findings were not incorporated into the SRF approved by Cabinet a few weeks later virtually unchanged from its Draft form.
The AAP/DPD consultation followed. This was badly publicized and it was very difficult for ordinary members of our community to contribute. Occasions for public discussion were very limited and poorly publicized. The consultations were separate although running concurrently. There were separate links to on line consultations which were very difficult to find on the Councils website. Additionally people wanting to respond needed two booklets for reference in order to understand the questions.
The AAP consultation ended on 7th March and just 6 days later Cllr Strickland was part of a team of three attending theMIPIM real estate event in Cannes showcasing Tottenham in order to attract international investment and developers. They had with them a professional colour brochure showing, amongst others, the High Road West plan in its most developed option. Homes, shops, businesses were shown cleared away and replaced by glittering concrete towers. The plans within it were critiqued in the press by leading architects. This brochure must have been months in production and therefore was uninfluenced by any community consultation. From this point it was clear to the people of Tottenham that the council was catering to big business and THFC not the community.
The Tottenham Business Group looking at this brochure representation of High Road West being sold to developers in Cannes felt betrayed. The council were brushing aside our community views and resolutely pushing the THFC ambition to dominate the area.
We lobbied for delivery of the pledge made by Cllr Strickland on 28th November as response to our petition.
He had promised to explore options to retain High Road shops and businesses.
Tottenham Business Group finally met with the council's regeneration team on February 25 2014. Compromise was not on the agenda. Cllr Strickland explained his team were there to explain the rationale behind the council's planning decisions. He

denied he had promised to explore any new options. During this discussion we discovered that an alternative option had always existed. The planning consultancy firm Arup, had drawn up several overarching plans for the area's redevelopment, and had provided an option to Haringey Council that saved businesses, High Road shops and the GP surgery from demolition. Why this was never presented to the community? This new plan for the High Road, combined with the ARUP suggestion of a mews-style development around the Peacock Industrial Estate and the saving of some 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. Some of our members later recognized this plan as one that had been displayed to the public during the three drop in sessions held by the council during 2012. Between the end of 2012 and May 2013 it had been transplanted by the current proposal

Local businesses in High Road West have been told they are simply not wanted, Having served the community for decades these businesses will not see any benefits from this regeneration. It was said the High Road West Master Plan was conceived as a catalyst for the regeneration. A catalyst initiates or accelerates reaction in the area. These proposals are its nemesis.
It is not simply a case of needing to provide a walkway, a new library and a new station. These aims were met in an earlier ARUP alternative plan, which also kept local shops, businesses and surgery and rebuilt the library on its current site. What is required is to clear the area of any vestige of its community.

It's a preordained top-down vision. Market price flats sit alongside a relocated station with easy access into London and a new cinema and leisure complex. The new walkway funnels visitors down through new cafes and shops to the 'iconic' building containing more retail opportunities, with a new library tucked away in its upper floors.

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.

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.

The parade marked for demolition is an integral part of the community.. It is one of the earliest Victorian parades in the Historic Corridor. The Victorian Society has lodged an objection to its demolition. The exteriors of the buildings could be easily restored and would form a traditional familiar frontage to the modern lines of the new buildings behind. The historic shop fronts could be celebrated as they have been restored and celebrated in Brixton.

The building proposed to replace the parade is more than twice the depth of the existing shops and reduces the planned open space created behind. Retaining the shops would make room for an outside market that would provide cheap outlets for budding new businesses.

While LB Haringey is publicly celebrating new entrepreneurs it is eliminating low cost premises in which they can thrive. Not everyone can have the benefits of the subsidized 639 Centre

Post regeneration employment in North Tottenham area will be dominated by service industries. National chain stores will dominate the High Street. As has been found with Sainsburys these stores do not recruit exclusively locally. THFC claim they will provide in total 800 jobs. Who will check and hold them to account? We think this is over estimated and jobs at the stadium will be mainly part time. Small businesses on the East of the High Road have already experienced positive discrimination. The advent of the new Sainsburys has seen the curtailing of their parking and loading facilities.

The Peacock Industrial Estate is marked for demolition is fully occupied with garages and businesses. They are mostly small family businesses that have established themselves over the last

20,30 and in the case of DW General Woodworks over 60 years despite fairly challenging times. There are 25 companies providing over 200 jobs and a service to the community. There are 8 furniture, joinery and metalwork companies who share facilities and work in a collaborative way. The demolition of the Wingate Estate, N17 Studios and Northumberland Business Park means there is nowhere else for them to go in the area. This is valuable employment land that according to the current London Plan and the 223 page Framework for the Upper Lea Valley is meant to be safeguarded and maintained. It is a source to be developed for valuable youth apprenticeships. By developing space by the arches it could also provide low cost space for budding local businesses like Rockstone Bike Alley.

Haringey Council's regenerationists' agenda has 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

We say that making simple changes could fuse the current with the future. Allowing the threads of the old community to lend and breathe life into the new.

The High Road West development in its present form benefits only the football club whose vision it is. It brings no benefit to the existing community. It is public knowledge that all the property they own in the area has all been transferred to TH Property Ltd registered in the Bahamas. The completion of the new stadium together with control of the High Road West complex will put the present management in an excellent position to sell the club and walk away with vast tax-free profits. Those businesses forced to uproot and leave established homes and businesses however will probably never fully recover and Tottenham will be seriously poorer for discarding them. Grand claims have been made for job creation and community use and wider regeneration that will never be really tested. The supporting evidence base that supports their claims has been drawn from private consulting firms who have a direct interest and whose ultimate motive is profit. Ultimately THFC are doing it for themselves and more supporters and corporate tickets.

The Committee should seriously question the tossing aside of the

human rights of the homes and businesses concerned and the amount of public money funding the ambitions of a privately owned football team.

Submitted by Patricia Pearcy Vice Chair

For and on behalf of Tottenham Business Group

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ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

Why has community been denied this simple compromise?
http://www.tottenhamjournal.co.uk/news/features/comment_why_was_community_denied_simple_compromise_in_spurs_stadium_walkway_plans_1_3529420

Mayors Slur
http://j.mp/1jo97ps
http://j.mp/Kl4pns

Deputation
http://j.mp/1eCQI3l

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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). 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;[1] Rosentraub & Swindell, 1993;[2] 1996, Noll & Zimbalist, 1997[3]. 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)[4]. 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)[5].

- **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).[6]

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[1] Baade R. A. Dye R. (1990). The impact of stadiums and professional sports on metropolitan area development. *Growth and Change*, 1990, Spring, 1-14.
[2] Rosentraub M. and Swindell D. (1993). Fort Wayne, Indiana in Johnson A. T. ed. *Minor League Baseball and Local Economic Development*. University of Illinois,

[3] Noll R. G. and Zimbalist A. (1997) Sport, jobs and taxes. *Brookings Review*, 15, 3, 35-40.
[4] Siegfried J. and Zimbalist A. (2000). The economics of sports facilities and their communities. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14, 3, Summer, 95–114
[5] Matheson, V. (2002). An examination of sporting event economic impact studies. *The Sport Journal 5 (1).*
[6] *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.[7] 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.

[7] 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.[8]

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.

[8] 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

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.[9]

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,[10] 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)?**

[9] Football and Its Communities: Final Report For the Football Foundation. (2006: 41 - 42) Brown A., Crabbe T., Mellor G., Blackshaw T., Stone C.
[10] 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'.[11]

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".[12]

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.

[11] 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

[12] 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.

13

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 sea 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%

[13] 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)."[14]

[14] 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
Total	£16.436m.	THFC	£0.477m. £7.5m.	THFC Mayor/LBH	

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[15] Haringey Planning Sub Committee, 13 February, 2012. Page 9

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.[16]

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."*[17]

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."*[18]

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.

[16] The Guardian, 31 October, 2013, page 42.
[17] The Guardian, 31 October, 2013, page 43.
[18] 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.[19]

- **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

[19] 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---Clera 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).[20]

- **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

[20] 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." [21]

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21 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.[22]

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

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 Pearcy

[22] 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 Pearcy

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 mews---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 Pearcy

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 turfing 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][23]

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 stadia 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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[23] 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 then 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.

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29 August 2014

Re: LONDON ASSEMBLY REGENERATION COMMITTEE INVESTIGATION INTO STADIUM-LED REGENERATION

FAO Jo Sloman

Dear Jo,

I am writing with a submission from Renewal Group Ltd regarding the committee's current investigation into stadium-led regeneration across London.

As you may know Renewal are bringing forward the regeneration of the land surrounding Millwall Football Stadium and are engaging local communities and stakeholders, including both Millwall Football Club and Millwall Community Trust, to ensure that benefits can be generated for those living and working in the area.

We are aware that the Millwall Community Trust has already provided a response to the investigation but having reviewed this submission feel that it is important to clarify the details of our proposals, in particular what Renewal will be providing to both the Trust and the Football Club.

I am therefore attaching here Renewal's response which I hope is a useful addition for the committee in its ongoing investigation. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require any further information.

Yours sincerely,

Mark Taylor
Director of Development
Renewal Group Limited

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RENEWAL LTD
SUBMISSION TO LONDON GENERAL ASSEMBLY REGENERATION COMMITTEE
STADIUM LED REGENERATION

Renewal Group Ltd is the owner of the land surrounding Millwall FC known as Surrey Canal Triangle and is delivering a major 30 acre regeneration development for this deprived area of London.

Surrey Canal is situated in the New Cross ward which is recognised by socio-economic indicators as being in the top 20% of most disadvantaged wards in both London and the whole of the UK. As such this development is one of the London Borough of Lewisham's strategic sites for regeneration in the north of the Borough.

Outline planning permission for the proposed development was granted by LB Lewisham on 30 March 2012. The permission was accompanied by a Section 106 Agreement (S106 Agreement) entered into on the same date and signed by Renewal, LB Lewisham, Millwall FC, Chestnut Hill ventures LLC (the owners of Millwall FC, a company registered in the USA) and TfL, which secured a number of commitments and obligations.

As part of securing this much needed regeneration, the development will deliver a number of key benefits including:

- 2,000 new jobs
- 2,400 new homes
- A new Overground station on the East London Line serving the current population of 40,000 people who live within a 15 minute walk catchment as well as new residents
- 2 new bus routes linking the Site to Lewisham and Central London
- A £40m state-of-the-art regional sports complex for community use, supported by Sport England, LB Lewisham, LB Southwark and the Mayor of London, forecast to be used by 18,000 people per week and which will provide the new home for the Millwall Community Scheme

- New cycling and pedestrian routes linking the Site to the wider area
- A new faith and community centre forecast to attract 6,000 people per week
- A new home for the Council's multi-faith and resources library
- A 150 bed hotel and conferencing centre
- New GP facilities and a medical centre with specialism in sports injury
- An investment of £1m in a new park at Bridge House Meadows
- A creative/digital quarter
- £6.1m of investment to create a new and improved setting for The Den and Millwall Football Club and allowing for an increase in capacity of the Stadium from 20,000 to 26,500;
- A new home for the Millwall Community Scheme
- 5 new public squares and private gardens for residents
- Improvements to 13 surrounding railway arches and underpasses creating links into the surrounding areas
- Surrounding junction improvements
- Enhanced security and safety across the whole site and surrounding areas.
- A green and sustainable energy policy through connection for both heat and power to the South East London Heat and Power Plant (SELCHP)

It is worth noting that the indoor sports complex that will be delivered as part of phase 3 will be the largest in London and completely not for profit. Residents of Lewisham and Southwark will be able to access these facilities at local authority rates. This new indoor sports complex with four arenas stacked on top of each other will comprise:

- 4 full size sports halls
- A 3000 seat arena for sporting events
- A new home for the Millwall Community Scheme
- A 40 x 60m indoor 4G football pitch
- A new home for the London Amateur boxing association and 2 old established local clubs, the Lynn and Fisher boxing clubs as well as a boxing centre of excellence
- Regional offices for Table Tennis England and a table tennis centre with Fusion TT club as its main tenant

- A new home for Lewisham Thunder basketball club (Lewishams largest Basketball Club and national U18 champions)
- A 6 lane 25m swimming pool with learner pool
- A 150 work station gym and fitness centre
- A gymnastics centre catering for beginners
- A climbing wall and bouldering area
- Teaching classrooms
- Flexible space for hire and classes
- Sports retail
- Cafes and restaurants
- A climbing wall

The Surrey Canal Sports Foundation established by Renewal (charity no. 1141811) is a not for profit charitable trust which is already working to raise the money to build and run the sports complex. It has been established to ensure that the facilities remain for community use at local authority rates. It will be responsible for encouraging the tenant clubs to run their programmes in the local authority and for increasing sports participation locally. The board members are:

- Steve Norris (Chair)
- Sir Steve Bullock (Mayor of Lewisham)
- Peter John (Leader of Southwark Council)
- Baroness Grey-Thompson (Paralympian)
- John Inverdale (Broadcaster)
- Steve Backley (Olympian)
- Brendan Jarvis (Head of Real Estate at Barclays Capital - Europe, Middle East & Africa)
- Jordana Malik (Director, Renewal)

This new indoor sporting complex will be situated within 100m of the current Millwall FC stadium and will be the largest of its type in London. The Millwall Community Trust have been offered a new home in the complex with first preference on booking any facilities they require to run programmes that cannot be delivered in the community. In addition, they have been offered cash compensation for the 16 years remaining on the lease of their

current offices, granted to them by the LB Lewisham who own the freehold, which they have entered into an agreement to sell to Renewal to facilitate the comprehensive delivery of the whole development. The Community Scheme have been in direct negotiations with Renewal throughout 2013 and 2014, have agreed Heads of Terms for the surrender of their lease and have appointed lawyers, funded by LB Lewisham, to conclude negotiations.

As part of the planning obligations for the regeneration scheme, Renewal will also provide the following direct benefits to Millwall FC:

- Leave enough space around the stadium for it to expand from its current capacity of 20,000 to 26,500 should this be necessary.
- Completely Re-clad the stadium during the appropriate delivery phase
- Provide 150 parking spaces underground for match days
- Provide 10 coach parking bays onsite and identify more off-site coach parking
- Provide space for outside broadcasting vehicles, ambulances and the police
- Provide a new groundpersons store
- Re-site the Millwall memorial garden

This of course is in addition to the new station on the London Overground that Renewal is funding that will greatly enhance Millwall FC's connectivity and the new 28m wide boulevard that will run parallel to the stadium creating a much better environment for fans on match days. Both Renewal and LB Lewisham have consulted at length with Millwall FC and in the last 18 months alone, LB Lewisham have written to the club on at least 6 occasions outlining plans for the development.

I realise that in the strictest sense of the term, this scheme is not 'Stadium led Regeneration' as the stadium already exists and has done so for 21 years. However, the proposed regeneration of this area has been very much planned around the stadium and the benefits this regeneration scheme will bring to both Millwall Football club and Millwall Community trust, who have been consulted with at every stage, will be very significant.

Yours sincerely,

Mark Taylor
Director of Development
Renewal group Limited

Supporters Direct
Written evidence to the Greater London Authority Regeneration Committee inquiry into Stadium Led Regeneration.

Summary

- This is the written evidence of Supporters Direct, which is the national representative body for Supporters' Trusts representing a network of over 400,000 football fans.
- We believe that football clubs should operate as sustainable enterprises, within healthy and competitive leagues, which enable them to maximise their valuable contribution to society.
- Supporters Direct has been the first institution in English football to explore the ways in which the game might begin to address the issue of the social value of football.
- Much of our evidence is based on the comprehensive research carried out for our report, the Social and Community Value of Football, carried out in 2008, which established our settled view on the importance of football clubs to their communities, and how supporters and communities being involved in the ownership of them could significantly enhance this role.
- It is our belief that across the board there is need for improvement in the business operations of football clubs in order to better relate to the communities that they serve. This is particularly true in policies which are standard elsewhere in business - environmental, local employment and local supplier policies - are rare in football.
- We request the opportunity to give oral evidence to the Committee.
- We have set out below our additional comments to the Committee.

Why are football stadia considered as catalysts for regeneration?
Football clubs' increasing role in delivering community-facing projects as part of their CSR programmes have, along with more general planning policy such as S106, meant that the expectations of stadia have changed. Where once they used to provide a place to watch football, football has itself has become a significant contributor to the delivery of some general and specific public and social policy objectives – for example community cohesion, youth work and others. In turn this benefits any football club seeking to build new facilities.

What do football clubs see as their responsibilities in regeneration?
In the Social and Community Value of Football report, the research showed in all of the case studies that the development of new facilities were seen as of key importance to the clubs' ability to realise their community ambitions, and so responsibility manifests itself here.

Borough Local Development Frameworks are required to enhance the *'economic contribution and community role'* of sporting developments. For some clubs, such development was felt to be as central as enabling the continuation of the club at all. However, in it is also incumbent on clubs to specify, deliver and report on the community benefit new facilities deliver if clubs are to expect local government support.

It is our experience that fan/community involvement in ownership has made the development of new facilities a much easier process with local authorities in which mutual benefits could be developed. This suggests a significant business advantage and added social value for models of ownership that embrace these stakeholders.

Are football stadia maximising their potential as community assets?
It is our view, through our Social and Community Value of Football research, that football clubs without community or supporter involvement in the ownership structure – or those majority or fully owned – are at a significant disadvantage when it comes to maximising their potential as community assets. Third Sector organisations such as supporter-owned football clubs are better placed than private companies to develop a wider range of partnerships with other third sector bodies. Whereas this is of course possible with the community charities of privately owned football clubs - and is a strong argument for their existence - it is not as easy for privately owned clubs themselves. Given the increasing policy emphasis being put on promoting cooperatives, social enterprises and other third sector organisations, this is significant whether through new community sports facilities, education facilities or spaces for communities within stadia.

Conclusions
There is a widely held view that football clubs are more than simply the ninety minutes on a pitch. It has become standard language to talk of 'community engagement', and community schemes are themselves common currency in the exchange between clubs and those communities they serve. We would argue strongly that in all cases, the needs of the community must always be paramount in the execution of any major external decision affecting that club – in particular those involving regeneration of stadia and facilities.

It is our strongly held view that this relationship is best represented with formal, democratic engagement with those communities as part of the ownership model of those clubs, and indeed regeneration, redevelopment and use of those assets concerned.

London Assembly Stadium-led regeneration
Regeneration Committee

Submission of the Dulwich Hamlet Supporters Trust
info@dhst.org.uk

This submission has been prepared by the Dulwich Hamlet Supporters' Trust (DHST). DHST was set up in 2003 and is an independent, democratic, not for profit organisation aiming to secure a successful and sustainable future for Dulwich Hamlet Football Club. The key objectives of DHST include working to see a thriving club and a secure future for the ground. DHST has over 200 members, which represents almost 30% of the average attendance, who pay a bi-annual subscription. The importance of supporters' trusts has been increasingly recognized and their democratic nature means that those representing the trust are accountable to the fans.[1]

Background

Dulwich Hamlet Football Club has played their home fixtures close to the site of the existing stadium for over a century and is one of the most respected and recognised non-league football clubs in the country. This is partly due to the club's illustrious history and distinctive pink and blue shirts. The club currently play in the Isthmian League Premier Division, which is three divisions below the professional league.

The reason for building Champion Hill stadium in this location in 1993 was to provide a suitable home for Dulwich Hamlet Football Club following the demolition of the previous stadium and development of a new supermarket (adjacent to the site of the current Champion Hill Stadium). This has allowed the club to remain within the local area with which it has connections going back to the 19th Century. The need to provide a new home for Dulwich Hamlet Football Club was an important consideration for Southwark Council in deciding whether this development was acceptable, and at the time presented a number of complex issues that the football club, its supporters, the local community, and Southwark Council and its elected members worked hard to resolve. This effort demonstrates the strength of community feeling towards maintaining the presence of Dulwich Hamlet Football Club within the local area and the importance of the football stadium as a community asset that facilitates this.

The football stadium provides an important sporting and social function that is unique in both Dulwich and the wider Southwark area. The level of football that a stadium is suitable for is generally dictated by the range of facilities it

[1] See for example GLA Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee, *Away from Home – Scrutiny of London's Football Stadiums*, June 2003
Available at: http://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/archives/assembly-reports-culture-football_stadiums.pdf

offers (this can include things like number of seats, turnstiles, and refreshment facilities). Champion Hill stadium provides a standard of facilities that may accommodate a team close to the top of the non-professional game – there is currently no other comparable facility in Southwark. Specific team activities that are undertaken at the ground include:

- Dulwich Hamlet Football Club first team home league and cup fixtures
- Dulwich Hamlet Football Club reserve team home league and cup fixtures
- Millwall ladies first team league and cup fixtures
- Fisher Football Club first team home league and cup fixtures
- Representative fixtures involving other leagues

Champion Hill stadium provides a vital platform within the community for those who play for these teams to participate in sport at a level above grassroots but below the fully professional game. Many of the players come from the local area and a variety of different socio economic backgrounds. There is much evidence to demonstrate that taking part in sport contributes to physical and mental wellbeing and can improve outcomes in other areas of life – including family and professional.

This provides benefits not only for the players themselves, but also others who strive to achieve similar. The positive media attention that comes from these achievements, and those of the clubs more generally, serves as an important source of community pride and presents a positive image for the local area.

In addition to the playing opportunities that it provides for in the local area, Champion Hill stadium also allows the community to get involved in other aspects of the game. This includes football management, coaching, scouting and other important roles that are vital to the operation of the club – e.g. running turnstiles, stewarding games, being on the club's committee or supporters trust. Most of the roles are filled on a voluntary basis and offer a real opportunity for members of the community develop new skills and build friendships.

The stadium provides a safe environment where families can spend time together and socialise with others while enjoying a game. Families and young people are encouraged to visit using concessions – for Dulwich Hamlet Football Club match day tickets are free for under 12s accompanied by an adult. There are also a range of other concessions offered, for example to pensioners and those on benefits. Dulwich Hamlet has given free tickets to the children and parents of local primary schools in the past and is working to offer free admission to students in full-time education during the upcoming season.

The continuing and increasing value of the land as a community facility for spectators is evident from the increasing attendances. For the Dulwich Hamlet

first team alone the cumulative attendance for the 2013/14 league season saw over ten thousand spectator visits to Champion Hill. The average supporter attendance at the league games was nearly seven hundred and almost one thousand four hundred people attended the last game of the season.

Put in context, Dulwich Hamlet Football Club has seen first team average home attendances rise by 160 per cent over the last three seasons, despite the challenging economic climate. The rising attendances are linked not only to the successes on the pitch, but also a rise in general interest in the non-league game locally.

The retention of Champion Hill stadium in its present or adjacent primary use is crucial for enabling Dulwich Hamlet Football Club and the other teams mentioned to deliver the important social and community benefit discussed.

Set out above are some of the many benefits that non-league football clubs provide. However, the problems of smaller football clubs in London have been long recognized.[2]

The present owners of Dulwich Hamlet Football Club and the football ground, Hadley Property Development (HPD), are in the early stages of proposals to redevelop the ground and adjoining land. The aim DHST is to work with the owners to ensure a secure future for the football club either at its existing ground or on adjacent land with an appropriate replacement.

Set out below are ways in which the Mayor and the London Assembly should support smaller clubs to remain and thrive in their existing communities where that involves stadium-led regeneration.

<u>The purpose of the Committee's investigation</u>

- **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;**

No submissions on this issue.

- **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**

We support the commitment of the Mayor set out in the London Plan to support the continued success of professional sporting enterprises and requirement that in planning, developments should *'address deficiencies in*

[2] GLA Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee, *Away from Home – Scrutiny of London's Football Stadiums*, June 2003

facilities and provide a cultural focus to foster more sustainable communities'.[3]

Stadium-led regeneration must involve social as well as physical outcomes, a point made repeatedly by a number of the expert guests that provided information during the first part of this investigation. Football clubs, both small and large, provide a cultural focus. The recent success of Dulwich Hamlet Football Club and its supporters, both on and off the football pitch, is an excellent example of the ways in which sport can foster more sustainable communities.

We also support the:

- Commitment to work with local stakeholders to promote and develop sporting facilities.[4]
- Requirement of borough Local Development Frameworks to enhance the "economic contribution and community role" of sporting developments.[5]

- **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.**

No submissions on this issue.

<u>Views from local communities and members of the public affected by the development of football stadia</u>

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

The holistic benefits of living next to a stadium will centre on how it is used on the days it is not in use. Using stadia as a catalyst for economic growth or social cohesion is only going to be successful if alternative uses can also be accommodated.

In the case of Dulwich Hamlet, it is anticipated that the current range of community activities will be included in the development. Stadia can be used as valuable meeting spaces and community sporting facilities as well as being used by local schools and community groups. As referenced on pages one and two of this submission, this can stimulate local economic growth, but also

[3] London Plan (2011), Paragraph 3.11
[4] London Plan (2011), Policy 3.19
[5] London Plan (2011), Policy 4.6

makes the stadium function as a community hub. This has been widely recognised in academic work on stadium led regeneration.[6]
In many ways this is easy to achieve with a smaller facility and this should be central to the Mayor's recommendation.

Looking at the impacts of stadium development during construction; it is a reasonable assumption that there will be a significant impact on the local area irrespective of the size of the development. Often smaller stadium developments have a more profound immediate effect due to the number of additional construction vehicles on the local road network; especially if the development is served from a single point of access/egress.

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

As with most sites of their scale, significant resource is invested in consultation events for the local community. However, in general, this seems to target local residents in greater detail than it does fans of the club. Considering it is the supporters and (in the case of redevelopment) patrons of other activities offered by the stadium who will be most aware of their likely requirements as end users, a greater level of engagement should occur.

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

The influx of people to a local area is unlikely to have many significant impacts on the surrounding businesses. In fact, in most cases, the benefits should outweigh any negatives. Whilst it could be argued that increased traffic and parking demand may lead to congestion in certain areas, the likely spend from additional football will dwarf any dis-benefits experienced.

END

[6] E.g. Football and Its Communities: Final Report For the Football Foundation. (2006: 41 - 42) Brown A., Crabbe T., Mellor G., Blackshaw T., Stone C.

I hope the Regeneration Committee will consider the situation at Brentford for the new Brentford Football Club stadium.

The football club claimed that they need tall housing blocks around their new stadium to pay for its construction, even though they are selling their existing stadium for housing.

The new tall buildings would harm the setting of the WHS of the Royal Botanical Gardens and overpower surrounding communities. Transport for London criticised the effect the stadium would have on two small stations and on the North and South Circular Roads and the A4. The mayor decided to allow LB Hounslow to approve the scheme, even though the housing density will be twice the maximum applicable to the site.

An extract from the case officer's report is below.

Peter Eversden,

Chairman

London Forum of Amenity and Civic Societies

http://londonforum.org.uk/updates.php

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9.103 ***Density*** *– LP policy 3.4 seeks to optimise housing potential, taking into account local context and character, the design principles set out elsewhere in the plan, and public transport capacity. Development should optimise housing output for different types of location within relevant density ranges. Proposals that compromise this policy should be resisted, but the density matrix should not be applied mechanistically as density is a fairly crude tool for measuring scale and massing.*

9.104 he site is in an urban area and has a PTAL ranging from 3 at the northern end of the site to 4 from its midpoint south. This results in the density range varying from between 70-170 units per hectare (u/ha) for the area with a PTAL of 3 and 70-260 u/ha for the area with a PTAL of 4.

9.105 Calculating density for this mixed use scheme, which includes a large stadium, with a varied PTAL, in way that most accurately reflects the character of the development is difficult. Using LP

guidance, which accounts for non-residential floor space in mixed use schemes, a proposed density of 296 u/ha, was calculated, with this a figure given in the GLA's Stage 1 response. Using this measure the density is between 1.1 to 1.7 times the maximum of the LP density ranges.

9.106 However leaving out the stadium footprint as well as the football pitch area, as although the latter is a large area of open space, it is not publically accessible, and excluding the hotel site and Lionel Road itself, the density would be 379 u/ha, and officers consider this gives the true picture. Using this figure the proposed density is between 1.6 to 2.2 times the maximum LP density range, indicating the scheme is very high density.

9.107 ome objectors suggest the density should only consider the outline residential areas, giving a density of over 500 u/ha. However the LP states that residential density is to be based on net site area, which relates to the 'red line' planning application site boundary which includes the proposed homes, non-residential uses in mixed use buildings, ancillary uses, car and cycle parking areas, proposed internal access, proposed on-site open spaces (including publicly accessible spaces), and children's play areas. This scheme, which is a hybrid application, is a single planning application that covers a range of development and falls across PTAL 3 and 4. The development also includes overlapping areas, with the Central East and Capital Court sites including stadium related space (car parking) and the Central Southern having an underpass. Officers consider it appropriate to include the new internal road (the bridge providing access to the Central East housing site) and the new public spaces created elsewhere including new public realm along Lionel Road and the concourse (which is a new east-west route open at all times).

9.108 hat it is evident is that the proposed density, whether at 296 or 379 u/ha is much higher than the range of the LP and the density proposed is therefore more in keeping with a central setting deemed most appropriate in a town centre or central London. Given the tall buildings and number of dwellings proposed and the awkward shape of the housing sites, this is not a surprise.

9.109 Very high density does not always indicate poor design, though it can indicate overdevelopment. Traditionally high densities are found at centres of activity, focused on transport nodes, and points of convergence. High densities can sometimes have benefits such as encouraging greater interaction between residents, enhancement of the economic viability, support for public transport use, energy efficiency, and reducing overall demand for development land and urban sprawl. Successful higher density also depends on a range of factors including location, management, occupancy and tenure.

9.110 Conversely high densities can make provision of good quality housing difficult, creating issues such as overshadowing, lack of privacy, noise and servicing issues, as well as putting pressure on local services. Additionally, high densities often result in tall buildings that can be seen from wide areas, affecting the townscape, which is highly relevant for this scheme given the nearby conservation areas, Listed Buildings and World Heritage Area.

9.111 For this application the high density proposed is fundamental to the financial viability of the scheme and ultimately the delivery of the new stadium and its associated community benefits. Nevertheless such a high density scheme must still provide good liveability having regard to dwelling mix and quality, with satisfactory access to services, long term management of communal areas.

9.112 hen considering the proposed density and local context and character, the large area of the site and its nature, which is largely self-contained and not adjacent to other dense areas and which has good public transport links, should be acknowledged, as it provides some opportunity for flexibility to create its own character that may differ from the surrounds. However this opportunity needs to be balanced against the sensitivity of surrounding areas where the impacts in terms of massing, scale and character on views are important considerations.

9.113 Ultimately a qualitative assessment must be made on these issues and it would be expected that new development has satisfactory impacts on local environmental conditions and that minimum standards from the Mayor's Supplementary Planning Guidance for Housing (Housing SPG) are met. Where such tests are failed or there is some environmental harm including to townscape views, Members may consider the enabling argument in respect of the amount of housing proposed and whether the benefits of the wider scheme outweigh that harm.

Evidence Review 3

Sports and Culture

July 2014

what works centre for local economic growth

00

Contents

01

Preface

This report presents findings from a systematic review of evaluations of the impact of major sporting and cultural events and facilities.

It is the third of a series of reviews that will be produced by the What Works Centre for Local Economic Growth. The What Works Centre is a collaboration between the London School of Economics and Political Science, Centre for Cities and Arup and is funded by the Economic & Social Research Council, The Department for Communities and Local Government and The Department for Business Innovation & Skills.

These reviews consider a specific type of evidence – impact evaluation – that seeks to understand the causal effect of policy interventions and to establish their cost-effectiveness. To put it another way they ask 'did the policy work' and 'did it represent good value for money'? With this review we are particularly interested in demonstrating that facilities and events can be rigorously evaluated and in drawing out the wider lessons for policy.

Evidence on impact and effectiveness is clearly a crucial input to good policy making. In the case of sports and culture policies, of course, the main aims are not economic. But policymakers often claim economic benefits for these interventions, and so economic impact evaluation is important to do. Other ways of considering the impact of facilities and events (e.g. case studies) provide a valuable complement to impact evaluation, but we deliberately do not focus on these.

However, we see these impact-focused reviews as an essential part of more effective policy

making. We often simply do not know the answers to many of the questions that might reasonably be asked when implementing a new policy – not least, does it work? Figuring out what we do know allows us to make better decisions and to start filling the gaps in our knowledge. **This also helps us to have more informed discussions and to improve policy making.**

These reviews therefore represent a first step in improving our understanding of what works for local economic growth. In the months ahead, we will be working with local decision makers and practitioners, using these findings to help them generate better policy.

Henry Overman
Director, What Works Centre for Local Economic Growth

02

Executive Summary

Sports and culture have intrinsic value to people and places as well as promoting health and well-being, cultural enrichment, and prestige and branding. In more recent decades, there has been an increasing tendency for promoters of investment in major sport and cultural events or facilities to claim that undertaking such projects will have demonstrable direct and indirect economic benefits as well.

This report presents findings from a systematic review of evaluations of the **economic** impact of major sporting and cultural events and facilities (hereinafter referred to as 'projects'). It is the third of a series of reviews that will be produced by the What Works Centre for Local Economic Growth.

The review considered over **550** policy evaluations and evidence reviews from the UK and other OECD countries. It found **36** impact evaluations that met the Centre's minimum standards.

> We initially focused the review on evaluations of sporting or cultural events and facilities of any size. However, we found no evaluations of small-scale events that met our minimum standards. Our findings are therefore based upon evaluations of major projects – but we believe they offer useful guidance for policymakers considering projects on any scale. We encourage local policymakers to build evaluation into their projects to contribute to the evidence base.

Overall, the evidence suggests that the measurable economic effects on local economies tend not to have been large and are often zero. Facilities, however, can have a small positive impact on property prices nearby.

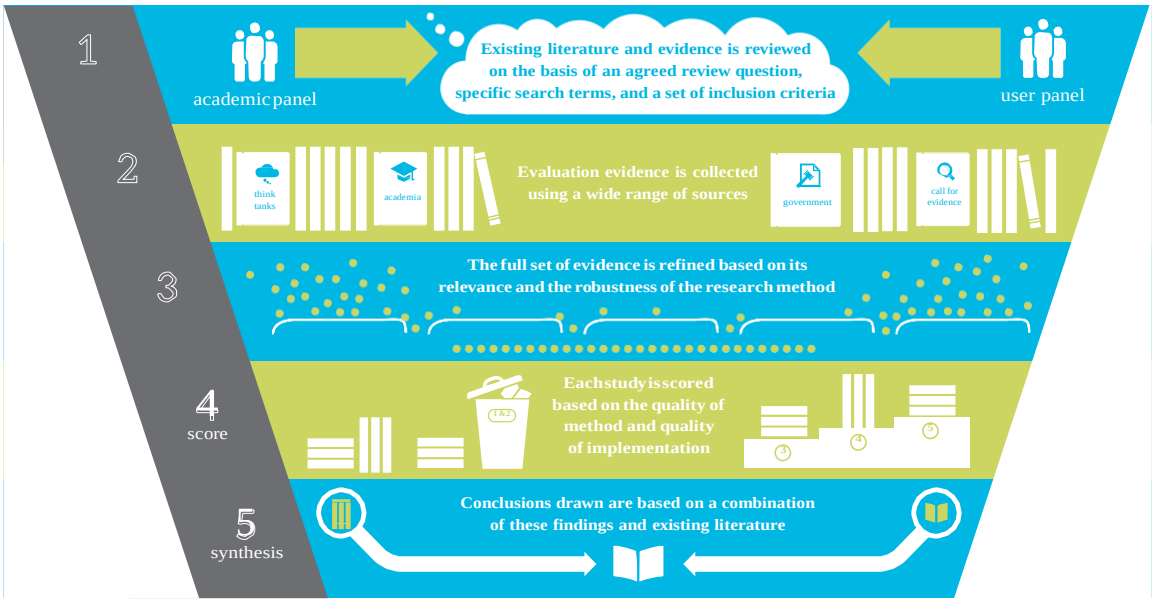
This should not overshadow the other real if difficult-to-measure benefits of hosting sport and cultural activities.

Approach

The Centre seeks to establish causal impact – an estimate of the difference that can be expected between the outcome for areas or cities undertaking a project and the average outcome they would have experienced without the project (see Figure 1). Our methodology for producing our reviews is outlined in Figure 2.

Figure 1: Evaluating impact

Figure 2: Methodology



Findings

What the evidence shows

- The overall measurable effects of projects on a local economy tend not to be large and are more often zero. Any wage and income effects are usually small and limited to the immediate locality or particular types of workers.
- Facilities are likely to have a positive impact on very local property prices. Policymakers should consider the distributional effects of these property market changes (who are the likely winners and losers).
- Projects may have been associated with increased trade imports and exports, including tourism, although these effects may be short lived (and are only considered in a small number of studies).

Where there is a lack of evidence

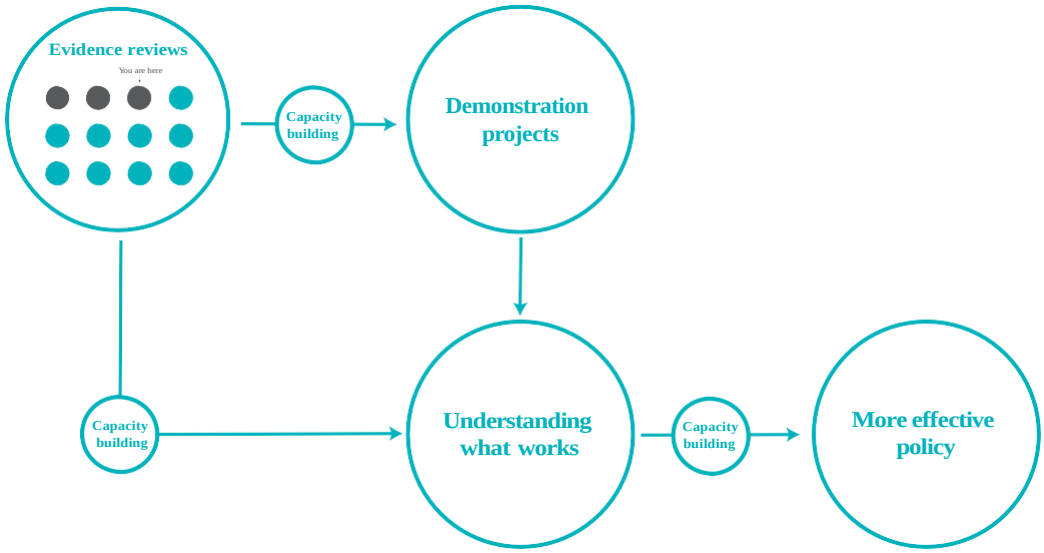
- We found no impact evaluations that considered visitor numbers. Far more should be done to assess the extent to which projects lead to net increases in visitor numbers for the area as a whole. Visitor numbers for the project alone and surveys of attendees may not provide strong evidence on the impact of projects on net visitor numbers.
- There was a paucity of evidence regarding cultural projects overall. This is an issue for understanding the likely impact of such projects and also leaves a gap in our ability to compare the economic effects of sport projects and cultural projects.
- We found no robust evidence on the economic impacts of smaller projects (such as arts centres or small-scale festivals) – although based on what we found for large projects, we can assume that the economic impact of such projects would be even smaller.
- We found no robust evidence for the impact of recurring sport and cultural events, such as annual festivals or tournaments.

How to use these reviews

To determine policy priorities

The Centre's reviews consider a specific type of evidence – impact evaluation – that seeks to understand the causal effect of policy interventions and to establish their cost-effectiveness. In the longer term, the Centre will produce a range of evidence reviews that will help local decision makers decide the broad policy areas on which to spend limited resources. Figure 3 illustrates how the reviews relate to the other work streams of the Centre.

Figure 3: What Works Centre work programme



To inform the design of programmes

The evidence review sets out a number of 'Best Bets' – based on the best available impact evaluations. In particular it identifies what kind of effects events and facilities might have on the local economy, as well as whether these effects differ by the type of project.

However, the 'Best Bets' do not address the specifics of 'what works where' or 'what will work for a particular locality'. Detailed local knowledge and context remain crucial.

'Best Bets' also raise a note of caution for policymakers if they decide to undertake a project on the basis of anticipated effects that have not generally materialised elsewhere.

Almost all of the evaluations that we found to be rigorous are focused on projects at the grand end of the scale. However, we are confident that there are lessons for everyone facing this type of spending decision from the evidence we have looked at regarding these very large projects.

For example:

- Facilities may be more likely to produce economic benefits than events, probably due to the longevity of their impact.
- Indirect employment effects are unlikely to be large, and focus should be on the direct employment effects generated by an event or facility. Reflecting this, time and expense can be saved by forgoing complex multiplier-based appraisal systems in lieu of solid 'narrow' evaluations.
- As the benefits of new facilities tend to be very localised and related to property prices and regeneration, they should be part of a broader strategy rather than seen as stand-alone projects. They should not be relied upon as the major component of a job creation strategy.
- Considered together the findings raise interesting questions about who should pay for sport and cultural events and facilities in any given locality.

To Fill the Evidence Gaps

As should be clear from this review, there are many things that we do not know about the impact of sport and cultural projects. Most of the evidence is focused at the very large end of the scale, and on professional sport franchises.

There needs to be more experimentation in measuring the economic impact of smaller projects. In particular, evaluations should make greater use of suitable comparison groups when looking at both wider economic impacts and the overall impact on visitor numbers. At a minimum, some larger scale impact evaluation studies could provide us with some idea on the extent to which techniques that are currently widely applied (such as user surveys) actually identify net policy impacts.

To work with the Centre

The Centre's longer term objectives are to ensure that robust evidence is embedded in the development of policy, that these polices are effectively evaluated and that feedback is used to improve them. To achieve these objectives we want to:

- work with local decision makers to improve evaluation standards so that we can learn more about what policies work, where.
- set up a series of 'demonstration projects' to show how effective evaluation can work in practice.

Interested policymakers please get in touch.

03

Introduction

In recent decades a great deal of attention has been paid to cities' sport and cultural offerings. The prestige of hosting an international sporting event or building an architecturally stunning art gallery is naturally attractive to city leaders. Great public spectacles like the 2012 Olympics are often hugely popular – at the time.

On the other hand, the cost and delivery challenges for such mega-events and major facilities often make these projects complex, expensive and controversial.[1] For example, London 2012's budget famously doubled from the initial bid.[2]

A variety of economic and social gains are claimed by proponents of sports and culture. For example, The British Olympic Association's evidence to Parliament supporting London's 2012 Olympics set out a huge range of potential benefits:

> "… a feel good factor across the nation as a whole; increased elite sporting performance, grassroots participation and facilities; the reduction of youth crime; the promotion of education; a new culture of volunteerism [sic]; social inclusion; regeneration in the form of new housing and better transport infrastructure; employment (with about 9,000 new jobs, of which 3,000 would be in the local economy); tourism and the convention industry; UK investment and exports; and all British cities through the preparation and training camps for overseas teams as well as the football and sailing competitions."[3]

Some of these claims (such as the 'feel good factor') are beyond the advisory remit of the What Works Centre for Local Economic Growth. We have, however, been able to find evidence to address some of the more tangible claims made for major sporting and cultural interventions, such as for job creation and for regeneration. Such 'legacy' arguments are frequently an important part of the case for such events and facilities.

1 Maennig, W. and A. Zimbalist, Eds. (2012). International Handbook On The Economics Of Mega Sporting Events. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.
2 Nathan, M. and T. Kornblatt (2007). Paying for 2012: The Olympic Budget and Legacy. Briefing Paper 2. London, Centre for Cities.
3 House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee, printed 21st January 2003.

Many local decision makers will be faced with a campaign to host a special event or open a crowd-drawing facility during their career. Although it may not be of the scale of the Olympics, the World Cup or the Sydney Opera House, organising a music festival, building a new museum or an arts centre can be expensive and disruptive to 'business as usual'. In economic terms, what can a locality reasonably expect to see in return for the investment?

Almost all of the evaluations that we found to be rigorous are focused on projects at the grand end of the scale. Unfortunately, there is very little robust impact evaluation information about the impact of smaller events and facilities on their host economies – we found a large number of studies but almost none passed our quality thresholds.

However, we are confident that there are lessons for everyone facing this type of spending decision from the evidence we have looked at regarding very large projects. Their size means that impact should be easier to identify. Also, in many cases substantial resources have been committed to rigorous impact evaluation before, during, and after the event. We also believe that local and national policymakers can learn valuable lessons about *how* to evaluate the economic impacts of sports and culture from the studies we review here.

04

Impact evaluation

Governments around the world increasingly have strong systems to monitor policy inputs (such as spending on events and facilities) and outputs (such as the total number of visitors to a project). However, they are less good at identifying policy *outcomes* (such as the wider effect of a new football stadium or gallery on local employment, or the *net* increase in visitors to the city who wouldn't otherwise have come). In particular, many government-sponsored evaluations that look at outcomes do not use credible strategies to assess the **causal impact** of such events or facilities (henceforth, we refer to these as 'projects').

By causal impact, the evaluation literature means an estimate of the difference that can be expected between the outcome for areas or cities undertaking a project (in this case, hosting an event or building a facility) and the average outcome they would have experienced without the project. Pinning down causality is a crucially important part of impact evaluation. **Estimates of the benefits of a project are of limited use to policymakers unless those benefits can be attributed, with a reasonable degree of certainty, to that project.**

The credibility with which evaluations establish causality is the criterion on which this review assesses the literature.

Using Counterfactuals

Establishing causality requires the construction of a valid counterfactual – i.e. what would have happened to an area (or part of an area) if it had not hosted the event or built the facility. That outcome is fundamentally unobservable, so researchers spend a great deal of time trying to rebuild it. The way in which this counterfactual is (re)constructed is the key element of impact evaluation design.

A standard approach is to create a counterfactual group of similar places not undertaking the kind of project being evaluated. Changes in outcomes can then be compared between the 'treatment group' (locations affected by the event/facility) and the 'control group' (locations not affected). As we discuss below, in the case of major sporting or cultural investments, such treatment and control groups are not easy to identify.

A key issue in creating the counterfactual group is dealing with the 'selection into treatment' problem. Selection into treatment occurs when locations hosting an event or building a facility differ from those who do not do so.

An example of this problem for cultural and sports projects would be when a struggling city decides to host an event to boost the local economy. If this happens, estimates of policy impact may be biased downwards because we incorrectly attribute worse city outcomes to the project, rather than to the fact that the economy is struggling.

Selection problems may also lead to upward bias. For example, richer, more successful cities may host more events and such cities may be more likely to grow or succeed independent of any events they host. These factors are often unobservable to researchers.

So the challenge for good programme evaluation is to deal with these issues, and to demonstrate that the control group is plausible. If the construction of plausible counterfactuals is central to good policy evaluation, then the crucial question becomes: **how do we design counterfactuals?** Box 1 provides some examples.

Box 1: Impact evaluation techniques

One way to identify causal impacts of a project is to randomly assign participants to treatment and control groups. For researchers, such **Randomised Control Trials** (RCTs) are often considered the 'gold standard' of evaluation. Properly implemented, randomisation ensures that treatment and control groups are comparable both in terms of observed and unobserved attributes, thus identifying the causal impact of the project. However, **implementation of these 'real world' experiments is challenging and can be problematic.** RCTs may not always be feasible for local economic growth policies – for example, policymakers may be unwilling to randomise.[4] And small-scale trials may have limited wider applicability.

Where randomised control trials are not an option, **'quasi-experimental'** approaches of randomisation can help. These strategies can deal with selection on unobservables, by (say) exploiting institutional rules and processes that result in some locations quasi-randomly undertaking projects.

Even using these strategies, though, the treatment and control groups may not be fully comparable in terms of observables. Statistical techniques such as **Ordinary Least Squares** (OLS) and **matching** can be used to address this problem.

Note that higher quality impact evaluation first uses identification strategies to construct a control group and deal with selection on unobservables. Then it tries to control for remaining differences in observable characteristics. It is the combination that is particularly powerful: OLS or matching alone raise concerns about the extent to which unobservable characteristics determine both treatment and outcomes and thus bias the evaluation.

Evidence included in the review

We include any evaluation that compares outcomes for places hosting an event or building a new facility (the treated group) after the project with outcomes in the treated group before the project; relative to a comparison group used to provide a counterfactual of what would have happened to these outcomes in the absence of the project.

4 Gibbons, Nathan and Overman (2014).

This means we look at evaluations that do a reasonable job of estimating the impact of the project using either randomised control trials, quasi-random variation or statistical techniques (such as OLS and matching) that help make treatment and control groups comparable. We view these evaluations as providing credible impact evaluation in the sense that they identify effects which can be attributed, with a reasonable degree of certainty, to the project in question. A full list of shortlisted studies is given in Appendix A.

Evidence excluded from the review

We exclude evaluations that provide a simple before and after comparison only for those places hosting events or building facilities because we cannot be reasonably sure that changes for the treated group can be attributed to the effect of the project.

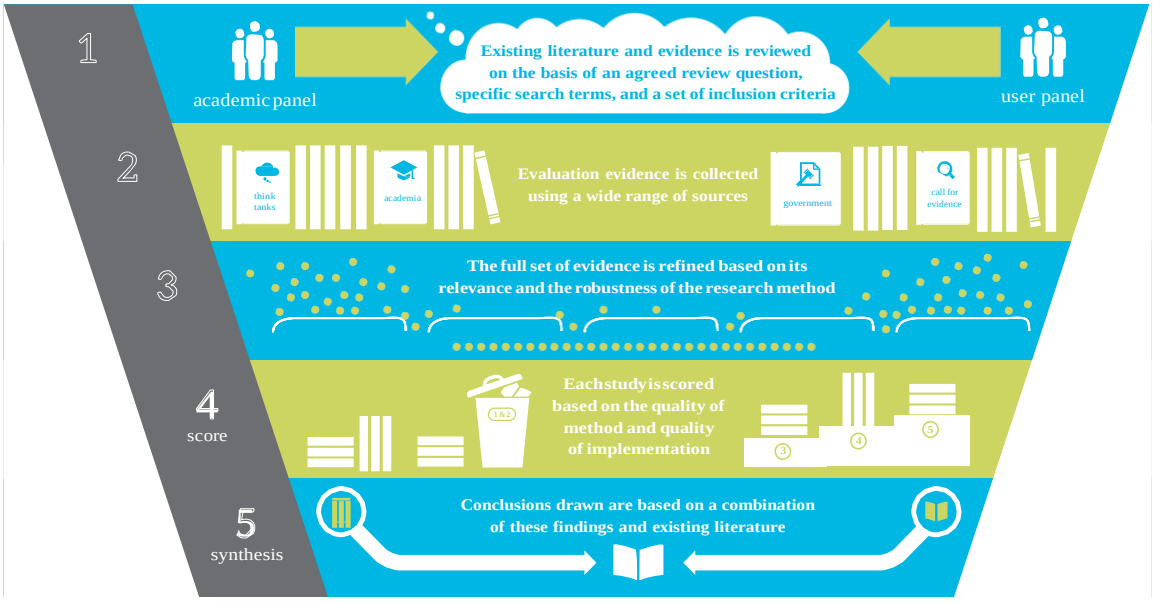
We also exclude case studies or evaluations that focus on process (how the project is implemented) rather than impact (what was the effect of the project). Such studies have a role to play in helping formulate better policy but they are not the focus of our evidence reviews.

05

Methodology

To identify robust evaluation evidence on the causal impact of hosting events or building facilities, we conducted a systematic review of the evidence from the UK and across the world. Our reviews followed a five-stage process: scope, search, sift, score and synthesise.

Figure 1: Methodology



Stage 1: Scope of Review

Working with our User Panel and a member of our Academic Panel, we agreed the review question, key terms and inclusion criteria. We also used existing literature reviews and meta-analyses to inform our thinking.

Stage 2: Searching for Evaluations

We searched for evaluation evidence across a wide range of sources, from peer-reviewed academic research to government evaluations and think tank reports. Specifically, we looked at academic databases (such as EconLit, Web of Science and Google Scholar), specialist research institutes (such as CEPR and IZA), UK central and local government departments, and work done by think tanks (such as the OECD, ILO, IPPR and Policy Exchange). We also issued a call for evidence via our mailing list and social media. This search found just over 550 books, articles and reports. Appendix B provides a full list of sources and search terms.

Stage 3: Sifting Evaluations

We screened our long-list on relevance, geography, language and methods, keeping impact evaluations from the UK and other OECD countries, with no time restrictions on when the evaluation was done. We focused on English-language studies, but would consider key evidence if it was in other languages. We then screened the remaining evaluations on the robustness of their research methods, keeping only the more robust impact evaluations. We used the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (SMS) to do this.[5] The SMS is a five-point scale ranging from 1, for evaluations based on simple cross sectional correlations, to 5 for randomised control trials (see Box 2). We shortlisted all those impact evaluations that could potentially score three or above on the SMS[6]. In this case we found no evaluations scoring four or five: for examples of impact evaluations of events and facilities that score three on the SMS scale see www.whatworksgrowth.org.

Stage 4: Scoring Evaluations

We conducted a full appraisal of each evaluation on the shortlist, collecting key results and using the SMS to give a final score for evaluations that reflected both the quality of methods chosen and quality of implementation (which can be lower than claimed by some authors). Scoring and shortlisting decisions were cross-checked with the academic panel member and the core team at LSE. The final list of included studies and their reference numbers (used in the rest of this report) can be found in Appendix A.

Stage 5: Synthesising Evaluations

We drew together our findings, combining material from our evaluations and the existing literature.

5 Sherman, Gottfredson, MacKenzie, Eck, Reuter, and Bushway (1998).
6 Sherman et al. (1998) also suggest that level 3 is the minimum level required for a reasonable accuracy of results.

Box 2: The Scientific Maryland Scale

Level 1: Correlation of outcomes with presence or intensity of treatment, cross-sectional comparisons of treated groups with untreated groups, or other cross-sectional methods in which there is no attempt to establish a counterfactual. No use of control variables in statistical analysis to adjust for differences between treated and untreated groups.

Level 2: Comparison of outcomes in treated group after an intervention, with outcomes in the treated group before the intervention ('before and after' study). No comparison group used to provide a counterfactual, or a comparator group is used but this is not chosen to be similar to the treatment group, nor demonstrated to be similar (e.g. national averages used as comparison for policy intervention in a specific area). No, or inappropriate, control variables used in statistical analysis to adjust for differences between treated and untreated groups.

Level 3: Comparison of outcomes in treated group after an intervention, with outcomes in the treated group before the intervention, and a comparison group used to provide a counterfactual (e.g. difference in difference). Some justification given to choice of comparator group that is potentially similar to the treatment group. Evidence presented on comparability of treatment and control groups but these groups are poorly balanced on pre-treatment characteristics. Control variables may be used to adjust for difference between treated and untreated groups, but there are likely to be important uncontrolled differences remaining.

Level 4: Comparison of outcomes in treated group after an intervention, with outcomes in the treated group before the intervention, and a comparison group used to provide a counterfactual (i.e. difference in difference). Careful and credible justification provided for choice of a comparator group that is closely matched to the treatment group. Treatment and control groups are balanced on pre-treatment characteristics and extensive evidence presented on this comparability, with only minor or irrelevant differences remaining. Control variables (e.g. OLS or matching) or other statistical techniques (e.g. instrumental variables, IV) may be used to adjust for potential differences between treated and untreated groups. Problems of attrition from sample and implications discussed but not necessarily corrected.

Level 5: Reserved for research designs that involve randomisation into treatment and control groups. Randomised control trials provide the definitive example, although other 'natural experiment' research designs that exploit plausibly random variation in treatment may fall in this category. Extensive evidence provided on comparability of treatment and control groups, showing no significant differences in terms of levels or trends. Control variables may be used to adjust for treatment and control group differences, but this adjustment should not have a large impact on the main results. Attention paid to problems of selective attrition from randomly assigned groups, which is shown to be of negligible importance.

06

Definition

We initially focused the review on evaluations of any sporting or cultural events (arts, music or heritage). As we discuss above, however, we found no evaluations of small-scale local events that met our minimum evidence standards. As a result, in practice, the evidence we consider largely covers 'major' events and facilities. 'Major events' tend to meet two of the three following criteria:

- resulting from a national and/or international competition;
- operating over at least 1 week, or shorter events on a frequently recurring basis;
- targeted at a national and/or international audience.

'Major facilities' meet the following criteria:

- permanent facility of regional or national scale;
- targeted at a regional, national or international clientele.

We excluded:

- Conferences and conference centres
- Trade events
- Expos.

Impact evaluation for events and facilities

It is often relatively easy to understand how we might construct control groups and undertake evaluation for policies targeted at individuals or firms. It is much harder to think about how we might do this for policies – such as events and facilities – that target *areas*. One of our motivations in considering major events and facilities is to help convince local decision makers that better evaluation of area based interventions is possible. This section provides a brief explanation of how the reports we considered have tried to do this. Further details on specific examples can be found at www.whatworksgrowth.org.

Evaluation of local economic growth effects of events and facilities in sports and culture poses a number of unique challenges. Firstly, mega-events such as the Olympics are rare, thus reducing

the number of observations for analysis. They also tend to be hosted in unique places, e.g. global cities such as London or Los Angeles, making it difficult to find similar control cities. Conversely for smaller local events that are more numerous, the effect size is potentially too small to easily detect. Secondly, events and facilities are not located randomly: policymakers may choose prestige locations, or locations which they hope have strong regeneration potential, in which case underlying factors for these areas need to be disentangled from any project effect. In any case, the criteria on which decisions are made about who hosts events or where facilities are built are not always transparent making it difficult to control for selection bias. Thirdly, the effects of events and facilities may exhibit complex patterns over time and space: a sports stadium may improve a neighbourhood nearby at the expense of a neighbourhood further away; a World Cup may be expected to have effects before (e.g. construction effects), during (visitor spending) or after (e.g. due to infrastructure improvements).

In order to overcome these challenges, studies of mega-events and facilities typically employ quasi-experimental approaches. This usually means comparing outcomes for 'treated' areas (e.g. host cities) to a group of 'control' areas (e.g. similar cities that did not host an event). Similarity is important to reduce the degree to which differences in outcomes could be driven by other factors. For example, it is not wise to compare outcomes of an Olympic host with that of an average city since they are not similar and would likely follow different paths even in the absence if the games. Approaches taken vary: study 360 gets around the problem by comparing winners with losers from the Olympic process, relying on the assumption that these are fairly similar types of city. Further differences between the treatment and control group are accounted for using control variables and by removing the long run growth trends. Very few studies scored higher than a level '3' in this review. This is because randomisation (level '5') is generally not feasible in these situations and because instruments, etc. (level '4') are particularly hard to find.

Studies of local events and facilities, as mentioned before, may struggle to detect much of an effect using a quasi-experimental approach. Therefore they typically use a category of methods that examines visitor numbers or expenditure data. These methods suffer from a number of problems. These problems include deadweight – visitors would have come anyway; displacement – visitors come during the event instead of some other time; leakage – spending in local area 'leaks' to other areas thus does not convert to local jobs/output; and multiplier effects – where spending circulates many time around the local economy (unknown and potentially exaggerated by many studies). Notably, studies of this type are most prevalent in the area of culture (rather than sport), perhaps because of the lack of mega-scale events and facilities. These studies do not pass our requirements for robustness and are not included in our review.

There is potential for smaller scale projects in sport and, in particular, culture to be evaluated more robustly. Techniques that have been applied for ex-post evaluations of Olympic and World Cup event could be applied at the local scale. While individual local authorities may have little incentive to undertake such evaluations (especially for one off investments or events) there would still be a large benefit for local decision makers as a whole in knowing the impact of these events and how that compares to appraisals done before the project is implemented. This would allow better decision making on future projects. We return to these issues below when we consider ways to help fill the evidence gaps on the wider economic impacts of events and facilities.

07

Findings

This section sets out the review's findings. We begin with a discussion of the evidence base, and then explore the overall pattern of positive and negative results. After this we consider specific economic outcomes in more detail.

Quantity and quality of the evidence base

From an initial long list of 556 studies, 36 evaluations met our minimum standards.[7] This is a smaller evidence base than for our first review (on employment training), though larger than for our second (on business support). This may also still be larger than the evidence base for many other local economic growth policies. It is a small base relative to that available for some other policy areas (e.g. medicine, aspects of international development, education and social policy).

We found no studies that used randomised control trials or credible quasi-random sources of variation to identify policy impacts (i.e. scored 4 or 5 on the SMS). As we discussed in the previous section, this is not that surprising given the nature of these projects. All 36 studies scored 3 on the SMS, and use variations on OLS, difference in differences or matching techniques. The techniques applied in these studies mean that we can be reasonably confident that the evaluation has done a good job of controlling for all observable characteristics of areas (for example: labour market characteristics; economic strengths) which might explain differences in area outcomes. However, for these studies, it is likely that unobservable factors such as political commitment, market forces or other plans and policies for growth may still be affecting the results. This raises concerns that the evaluation incorrectly attributes beneficial outcomes to the event or facility rather than to these other area characteristics.

As RCTs are obviously not practically achievable in a policy area of this nature we cannot be fully confident that selection on these unobservables has been eradicated.

7 Many of the studies not included provided case studies or process evaluations which are often valuable, but are not the focus of our review. See methodology section for further discussion.

Type of project

Overall, the evidence is mixed. Effects on the wider economy tend not to be large and are more often zero. Some projects, particularly facilities, have a positive impact on local property markets.

The majority of the evaluations (33 of 36) looked at sports interventions; only three looked at cultural events or facilities. The evaluations included a variety of types of sports and scales: from international (such as the Summer and Winter Olympic Games[8] and FIFA World Cup);[9] to national (such as the Super Bowl); and local (such as college American Football games.[10] The three cultural events looked at European Capitals of Culture,[11] cultural districts[12] and art galleries.[13]

The paucity of evaluations on cultural projects is in part a result of the methodologies deployed in the studies evaluating them (often simply surveys of attendees, asking them about spend, motivation for visit etc.). In the absence of a suitable control group, studies focusing on tourist surveys alone, were not included in this review as none of them met the criteria for SMS3 or above.

Overall, given we only have three studies on cultural projects, we do not have enough information to make a meaningful comparison of the difference between sport and cultural projects. We can, however, go further when comparing the type of project.

The 36 evaluations look at a range of different types of sports and cultural projects. Broadly, these may take the form of:

- *events*, which could be one-off,[14] large-scale competitions such as the Super Bowl[15] or Major League Baseball 'All-Star Games',[16] or shorter, recurring events such as major league US sports fixtures;[17]
- *facilities*, both sports[18] and cultural,[19] which are not tied to specific events;
- *events and legacy facilities*, where high-profile, International events often occur alongside the development of associated physical infrastructure or facilities;[20]
- *franchises*, specifically related to Major League sports teams in the USA; or
- *announcements*, where the evaluation focuses on the impacts of public announcement of events[21] or the development of facilities[22] prior to the intervention actually taking place.

In the case of *events*, most of the evaluations in our review do not explicitly state whether there is associated development of facilities, even when it is very likely that associated development would

8 Studies 302, 309, 321, 328. 330, 337, 349, 359, 360, 363, 369, 373 all consider Summer and/or Winter Olympic Games
9 Studies 320, 331, 333, 347, 367 all consider FIFA World Cups.
10 Study 441
11 Study 324
12 Study 327
13 Study 368
14 Although events such as these are not strictly 'one-off', they are in the sense that the host city/region is unlikely to host such a significant event twice in quick succession.
15 Study 372
16 Study 442
17 Study 342
18 Studies 309, 311, 326, 345 and 379 all consider the impacts of sports arenas or stadiums.
19 Study 368 focuses on an art gallery, whilst 327 looks at physical development associated with Cultural Districts.
20 Examples include the more recent Olympic Games, football World Cup and European Capital of Culture programmes.
21 Study 359
22 Study 357

have taken place.[23] We have systematically reviewed the evidence and drawn out evaluations of events where physical development is implied but not stated by the authors.

Table 1: Type of Intervention

	No. of Studies	Evaluation Reference Numbers	Broad study conclusions			
			Positive	Zero	Mixed	Negative
Facility	7	309, 311, 326, 327, 345, 368, 379	5	1	1	0
Event (only)	5	302, 330, 342, 372, 442	2	0	2	1
Event and (explicit) legacy facility	3	301, 331, 441	0	3	0	0
Event and (implicit) legacy facility	15	320, 321, 324, 328, 331, 333, 336, 337, 347, 349, 360, 363, 367, 369, 373, 382	4	5	4	2
Franchise	4	315, 316, 355, 371	0	2	2	0
Announcement	2	357, 359	1	0	0	1

When evaluations are categorised by type of intervention, there is evidence to suggest that facilities alone appear more likely to have had the most consistent, positive impacts on economic growth outcomes. Five of the seven evaluations find positive outcomes.[24] Notably, four of these look specifically at property prices.[25] Broadly, property prices are found to have increased in neighbourhoods around new sports stadiums, with the increase gradually fading as distance from the stadium increases, or in cultural districts. Increases range between 2% for the area within 1000m of the new Velodrome in Berlin,[26] to 15% for the area around the new Wembley Stadium in London.[27] This limited scope of evaluation may help to explain the correlation between standalone facilities and positive growth impacts; it may simply be that property values are easier to affect than outcomes such as employment.

For studies which explicitly evaluate events which include associated facilities, or leave behind 'legacy' facilities, there is no evidence that these had a significant positive impact.[28] However this finding should be treated with caution as there are a number of other evaluations of events which do not explicitly mention associated legacy facilities but might reasonably be assumed to include them (for example, evaluations of the more recent Olympic Games hosts). When these studies are incorporated into the findings, the picture becomes more mixed in terms of findings.

The two studies which consider the impact of public announcements of forthcoming events and construction of facilities find that the impacts on economic growth were mixed. Both studies evaluate

23 For example, modern Olympic Games and large tournaments such as the World Cup.
24 Studies 309, 311, 326, 327 and 379
25 Studies 309, 311, 326 and 327
26 Study 309
27 Study 311
28 Studies 301, 331 and 441 all find negative impacts.

the effect on property prices. In one case, there was an uplift of 5% for properties up to three miles from the proposed Olympic Stadium in London following the announcement of the Games,[29] whilst the relocation of the Dallas Cowboys stadium caused property prices values to decrease by 1.5%.[30] In the latter case, this equated to the anticipated burden of a new sales tax levied to pay for the stadium. With such a small and conflicting evidence base, we cannot conclude that announcements had a significant positive effect on growth.

29 Study 359
30 Study 357

08

Detailed findings

Given the lack of clear findings by sector or by type of intervention in the preceding section, we turned next to consider whether the impact of sports and culture projects differs by the outcome considered/ This section considers each of the main outcomes evaluated in turn.

Employment

Employment effects tend not to be large and are more often zero.

16 evaluations specifically look at employment as a project outcome. The balance of evidence suggests that these sporting and cultural projects tend not to have had positive impacts on employment. Whilst four studies find positive coefficients, the majority (9 out of 16) find no statistically significant positive findings.

Table 2: Employment

Broad study conclusions	No. of Studies	Evaluation Reference Numbers
Positive	4	327, 328, 347, 379
Mixed	2	337, 369
Zero	9	301, 302, 320, 321, 331, 333, 355, 367, 441
Negative	1	442

Notably, the nine evaluations where the impact was zero all assess the impact of sporting interventions. These vary in terms of both scale[31] and the scope of the intervention, though most consider events which are also likely to include the construction of new, permanent facilities.[32]

Of the evaluations where positive employment effects were observed, one of the four considers the impact of a cultural intervention.[33] This could imply a link between the longevity of the intervention and employment effects; in a majority of cases where employment impacts are zero, development focuses on a set time period, culminating in a one-off sporting event,[34] whereas Cultural Districts involve much longer-term programmes to rejuvenate districts. However it is not possible to say anything conclusive on the basis of a single study.

Also of note are the examples of events being evaluated multiple times but with differing outcomes. The 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games is evaluated twice, with one evaluation concluding that the event led to 17% higher employment in the surrounding counties, equating to 293,000 jobs,[35] whereas a later study found the effects to be statistically insignificant.[36] The latter of these used a longer evaluation period and accounted for differences in long term trends. This somewhat undermines the positive effects observed in the earlier evaluation.

The 2006 football World Cup was evaluated three times. Again, one evaluation found positive effects,[37] but two found no positive, statistically significant impacts on employment.[38] In the study which found positive impacts, the authors confirmed that the results were weak, with positive effects only felt in the hospitality industry (an additional 2,600 jobs were created in this sector), which would be expected of any large, public event. Significantly, a more general, significant short term effect was not found. These caveats add to the weight of evidence which suggests that, overall, these sports and cultural events did not bring about significant or sustained uplifts in employment.

Wages & incomes

Positive effects on wages and incomes were slightly more likely than positive effects on employment (although wages are considered in a smaller number of studies). These wage and income effects were usually small and limited to particular areas or particular types of workers.

Eleven evaluations considered the impact of sport and cultural projects on wages and income level. The balance of evidence is, in this case, mixed. While there is evidence of positive impacts, six of the eleven finding statistically significant, positive outcomes, nearly as many studies find mixed results or no increase in income or wage levels.

31 To illustrate the range, study 441 looks at college football in the USA, whereas studies 321 and 302 look at different Olympic Games.
32 Since a sizeable number of studies do not explicitly describe the physical developments associated with events, we have developed systematic assumptions about whether or not facilities are likely to be included; for example, Olympics or World Cup tournaments are highly likely to include new or redeveloped facilities.
33 Study 327 considers the development of Cultural Districts in the USA.
34 Studies 302, 320, 321, 331, 333 and 367, 6 of 9, look specifically at sports events (Olympics or football World Cups).
35 Study 328
36 Study 321
37 Study 347
38 Studies 331 and 333

Table 3: Wages or incomes

Broad study conclusions	No. of Studies	Evaluation Reference Numbers
Positive	6	302, 316, 327, 328, 372, 379
Mixed	1	316
Zero	4	301, 331, 355, 441

Of the evaluations which find positive impacts, the result is far from clear cut in most cases. In one case, lack of correction for long term trends is questioned by a later study which utilises the same data.[39]

In some cases, while positive income or wage impacts are recorded, significant caveats are put forward. One finds that small positive observed impacts on the earnings of employees in the amusement and recreation sector were off-set by decreases in the earnings of employees in other sectors of the economy.[40] A further study finds that the winning percentage of local, professional American football teams was positively linked to income, but the overall effect of having a team appears to be negative and significant.[41]

Property or land prices

Positive effects on property or land prices were slightly more likely than positive effects on wages (although property and land prices are considered in a smaller number of studies). Effects (both positive and negative) were more likely to be felt in close geographical proximity to the event or facility.

Nine shortlisted evaluations looked at property values, land prices or rents, and the balance of evidence does suggest that these project had a positive impact (results are set out in Table 4). The reported uplift in prices or values varies across evaluations. The evaluation of the Max-Schmeling Arena and Velodrom in Berlin[42] reported respective growth rates in property values of 1.3% and 2% post-completion, and the announcement of the London 2012 Olympics[43] was found to generate a 5% uplift for properties up to three miles away from the main Olympic stadium. In comparison, the one relevant evaluation looking at cultural districts[44] finds a property value growth rate of 10% when past trends are taken into account.

39 The methodology in study 328 is questioned by the authors of study 321, who see weakness and subjectivity where long term trends are not adequately controlled
40 Study 379
41 Study 316
42 Study 309
43 Study 359
44 Study 327

Table 4: Property or land prices

Broad study conclusions	No. of Studies	Evaluation Reference Numbers
Positive	5	309, 311, 326, 327, 359
Mixed	2	336, 363
Zero	1	371
Negative	1	357

The findings appear to be influenced by where the boundaries for measuring impacts are drawn; each evaluation chose different boundaries, which reduces comparability of results. The evaluation of the impact of London 2012 Olympics announcements[45] dealt with this issue by measuring impacts in concentric circles drawn around the main stadium. It found that the strongest impacts were found within three miles of the stadium, reducing with distance and with no statistically significant impacts beyond nine miles.

The nature of the facility provided also seems to influence the findings. The new Wembley Stadium included a distinctive iconic element visible from a considerable distance, which was found to cause a significant stadium effect at relatively more distant properties.[46]

It is worth noting that where evaluations have found zero or negative impacts (see Table 4) do so in the context of the USA local taxation system. In the case of the relocation of the Dallas Cowboys,[47] the new stadium was funded through the levying of county-wide taxes, including an increase in sales tax rate, and it was found that the any gain which might have resulted from proximity to the stadium was more than offset by the anticipation of increased future tax liability decreased property prices. This would not necessarily be experienced in the same way in the UK because of the structure of the UK local taxation system (i.e. a new stadium is less likely to be subsidised by a local authority and where it is, it is very unlikely to translate directly into local council tax increases), so this negative finding may not be transferrable to the UK unless specialist local financing mechanisms or levies were used.

Property prices tend to capture ('capitalise') benefits that come from improvements in a locality. So it is possible that these increases in property prices are capturing improvements to the local economy. However, given the findings on employment and wages it seems more likely that these property price changes are capturing improvements to local amenities rather than to the local economy. That said, further consideration of property price effects might provide a useful way of evaluating a larger range of projects. This, in turn, might allow for improved appraisal through the use of land value up-lift.

45 Study 359
46 Study 311
47 Study 357

Trade imports and exports

Projects may have been associated with increased trade imports and exports, including tourism, although these effects may be short lived (and are only considered in a limited number of studies).

Only three evaluations measured the effect on trade imports and exports or tourism, and so it is difficult to draw strong conclusions. However, there is some evidence that sport interventions may have been associated with benefits to these outcomes.

Table 5: Trade imports and exports

Broad study conclusions	No. of Studies	Evaluation Reference Numbers
Positive	2	330, 373
Zero	1	349

Spiegel and Rose's evaluation of Olympic Games held between 1948 and 2008[48] finds a significant positive effect on exports of 20%. However, unsuccessful bidders also displayed a similar positive effect, and so the impact is attributed to the 'signal effect' of bidding (thought to signify that a country is 'open for business' and trade). The evaluation is careful not to attribute a causal effect to the bidding process itself.

There is some indication that the effects on trade and tourism may be short-lived. One evaluation[49] found that positive effects on tourism numbers caused by the Olympic Games tend to last between four and twelve years, with the largest effects within the four years before and four years after the event. Following the Olympics, tourist visits decrease at a rate of 1.44% per year.

48 Study 373
49 Study 330

09

Summary of findings

These reviews consider the wider local economic impacts of sports & culture events and facilities in terms of the effects on, for example, employment, wages or property prices. It is important to note that sports and culture have intrinsic value, which many see as their primary value, and which is quite unrelated to local growth impacts. This intrinsic value is not disputed here, but neither is it the focus of the study. However it is the case that public sector investment or subsidy of sports & culture is sometimes justified on the grounds of stimulating local economic growth, and the evidence (or otherwise) to support that argument *is* the focus of this study.

What the evidence shows

- Effects on the wider economy tend not to be large and are more often zero. Some projects, particularly facilities, have a positive impact on local property markets. Any wage and income effects tend to be small and limited to particular areas or particular types of workers.
- Facilities tend to have a positive impact on local property prices. Policymakers should consider the distributional effects of these property market changes (who are the likely winners and losers).
- Projects may have been associated with increased trade imports and exports, including tourism, although these effects may be short lived (and are only considered in a small number of studies).

Where there is a lack of evidence

- We found no high quality evaluations of the impact of events and facilities on visitor numbers. Far more should be done to assess the extent to which projects lead to *net* increases in visitor numbers for the area as a whole. Visitor numbers for the project alone and surveys of attendees, (asking them about spend, motivation for visit etc.) do not provide strong evidence on the impact of projects on net visitor numbers.
- There was a paucity of evidence regarding cultural projects overall. This is an issue for understanding the likely impact of such projects and also leaves a gap in our ability to compare the economic effects of sport projects and cultural projects.

- We found no robust evidence on the economic impacts of smaller projects (such as arts centres or small-scale festivals) – although based on what we found for large projects, it seems reasonable to assume that the wider economic impact of such projects would be even smaller.
- We found no robust evidence on the impact of recurring sport and cultural events, such as annual festivals or tournaments.

How to use this review

This review considers a specific type of evidence – impact evaluation. This type of evidence seeks to identify and understand the causal effect of policy interventions and to establish their cost-effectiveness. To put it another way they ask 'did the policy work'?

The focus on impact reflects the fact that we often do not know the answers to basic questions that might reasonably be asked when hosting a new event or building a new facility. In particular what kind of effects events and facilities might have on the local economy, as well as whether these effects differ by the type of project? Being clearer about what *is* known will enable policymakers to make better decisions and undertake further evaluations to start filling the gaps in knowledge.

Supporting and complementing local knowledge

The evidence review sets out a number of 'Best Bets' – based on the best available impact evaluations. In particular it identifies what kind of effects events and facilities might have on the local economy, as well as whether these effects differ by the type of project.

However, the 'Best Bets' do not address the specifics of 'what works where' or 'what will work for a particular locality'. Reflecting this, the overall findings from the evaluations should be regarded as a complement, not a substitute, for local knowledge. Detailed local knowledge and context remain crucial.

'Best Bets' also raise a note of caution for policymakers if they decide to undertake a project on the basis of anticipated effects that have not generally materialised elsewhere.

Specific recommendations

Almost all of the evaluations that we found to be rigorous are focused on projects at the grand end of the scale. However, we are confident that there are lessons for everyone facing this type of spending decision from the evidence we have looked at regarding these very large projects.

The evidence shows that it is important to have realistic expectations of what sports and cultural projects can achieve. For example:

- Facilities may be more likely to produce economic benefits than events, probably due to the longevity of their impact.
- Indirect employment effects are unlikely to be large, and focus should be on the direct employment effects generated by an event or facility. Reflecting this, time and expense can be saved by forgoing complex multiplier-based appraisal systems in lieu of solid 'narrow' evaluations.
- As the benefits of new facilities tend to be very localised and related to property prices and regeneration, they should be part of a broader strategy rather than seen as stand-alone projects. They should not be relied upon as the major component of a job creation strategy.

- Considered together the findings raise interesting questions about who should pay for sport and cultural events and facilities in any given locality.

None of this should overshadow the other real if difficult-to-measure benefits of hosting sport and cultural activities: throwing a good party is always appreciated.

Helping to fill the evidence gaps

As should be clear from this review, there are many things that we do not know about the impact of sport and cultural projects. Most of the evidence is focused at the very large end of the scale, and on professional sport franchises.

One promising study ORiEL – the Olympic Regeneration in East London (ORiEL) study – is rolling out at present.[50] The study will take a quasi-experimental approach to evaluate the urban regeneration impacts of the Olympics on young people and their families. Adolescents aged 11-12 years in 2012 have been selected from 6 schools in the London Borough of Newham (the key host borough for the London 2012 Olympics) with baseline data collected before the Olympics and up to 3 years' follow up data collection post-Olympics. The primary outcomes to be studied are socio-economic status, economic activity, mental health, wellbeing, and physical health with controls for contextual effects. Results are expected in 2015 or later.

The scale of the ORiEL study is commensurate with the scale of the Olympics and would be inappropriate for smaller projects, however it does demonstrate the type of quantitative research that is possible to support sports and culture impact evaluation.

There needs to be more experimentation in measuring the economic impact of smaller projects. This may require improvements in data collected on key variables (e.g. visitor numbers) as well as the use of improved evaluation techniques. In particular, evaluations should make greater use of suitable comparison groups when looking at both wider economic impacts and the overall impact on visitor numbers. While individual local authorities may have little incentive to undertake such evaluations (especially for one off investments or events) there would still be a large benefit for local decision makers as a whole in knowing the impact of these events and how that compares to appraisals done before the project is implemented. At a minimum, some larger scale impact evaluation studies could provide us with some idea on the extent to which techniques that are currently widely applied (such as user surveys) actually identify net policy impacts. This would allow better decision making on future projects.

The Centre's longer term objectives are to ensure that robust evidence is embedded in the development of policy, that these polices are effectively evaluated and that feedback is used to improve them. To achieve these objectives we want to:

- work with local decision makers to improve evaluation standards so that we can learn more about what policies work, where.
- set up a series of 'demonstration projects' to show how effective evaluation can work in practice.

Interested policymakers please get in touch.

50 Smith et al. (2012). The Olympic Regeneration in East London (ORiEL) study: protocol for a prospective controlled quasi-experiment to evaluate the impact of urban regeneration on young people and their families. BMJ Open 2012. Downloaded on April 24 2014.

10

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Appendix A: Evidence Reviewed

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Appendix B: Search Terms and Sources

Source	Search Terms
EconLit	“impact” AND “event*” AND “employment”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “employment”
EconLit	“impact” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“impact” AND “event*” AND “property”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “property”
EconLit	“impact” AND “festival” AND “employment”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “festival” AND “employment”
EconLit	“impact” AND “festival” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “festival” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“impact” AND “festival” AND “property”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “festival” AND “property”
EconLit	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
EconLit	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “property”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “property”
EconLit	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
EconLit	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
EconLit	“impact” AND “stadium”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “stadium”
EconLit	“impact” AND “track”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “track”
EconLit	“impact” AND “arena”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “arena”

Source	Search Terms
EconLit	“impact” AND “host”
EconLit	“impact” AND “host” AND “employment”
EconLit	“impact” AND “host” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“impact” AND “host” AND “property”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “employment”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “property”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “event”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “event” AND “employment”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “event” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “event” AND “property”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “festival”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “sport*”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “stadium”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “arena”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “track”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “host”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “conferenc*”
EconLit	“impact” AND “conferenc*”
EconLit	“impact” AND “exhibition”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “exhibition”
EconLit	“impact” AND “expo”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “expo”
EconLit	“impact” AND “business tourism”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “business tourism”
EconLit	“impact” AND “trade fair*”
EconLit	“evaluat*” AND “trade fair*”

Source	Search Terms
RePEc	“impact” AND “event*” AND “employment”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “employment”
RePEc	“impact” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“impact” AND “event*” AND “property”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “property”
RePEc	“impact” AND “festival” AND “employment”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “festival” AND “employment”
RePEc	“impact” AND “festival” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “festival” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“impact” AND “festival” AND “property”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “festival” AND “property”
RePEc	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
RePEc	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “property”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “property”
RePEc	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
RePEc	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
RePEc	“impact” AND “stadium”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “stadium”
RePEc	“impact” AND “track”
RePEc	“impact” AND “track” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “track” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“impact” AND “track” AND “employment”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “track” AND “employment”

Source	Search Terms
RePEc	“impact” AND “track” AND “property”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “track” AND “property”
RePEc	“impact” AND “arena”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “arena”
RePEc	“impact” AND “host”
RePEc	“impact” AND “host” AND “employment”
RePEc	“impact” AND “host” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“impact” AND “host” AND “property”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “employment”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “econom*”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “property”
RePEc	“impact” AND “exhibition”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “exhibition”
RePEc	“impact” AND “expo”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “expo”
RePEc	“impact” AND “business tourism”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “business tourism”
RePEc	“impact” AND “trade fair*”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “trade fair*”
RePEc	“impact” AND “conference”
RePEc	“evaluation” AND “conference”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “event”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “event” AND “employment”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “event” AND “economy”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “event” AND “economic”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “event” AND “property””
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “festival”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “culture”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “cultural”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “stadium”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “arena”

Source	Search Terms
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “track”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “track” AND “employment”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “track” AND “economy”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “track” AND “economic”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “track” AND “property””
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “track”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “host”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “conference”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “conferencing”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “exhibition”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “expo”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “trade fair”
RePEc	“evaluate” AND “business tourism”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “event*” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “event*” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “festival”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluation” AND “festival”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “sport*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “event”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “event” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “event” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “event” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “festival”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “festival” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “festival” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “festival” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “sport*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”

Source	Search Terms
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “sport*” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “stadium”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “stadium” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “stadium” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “stadium” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “arena”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “arena” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “arena” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “arena” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “track”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “track” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “track” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “track” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “host”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “host” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “host” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “host” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “conferenc*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “conferenc*” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “conferenc*” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “conferenc*” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “conferenc*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “conferenc*” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “conferenc*” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “conferenc*” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “property”

Source	Search Terms
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “cultur*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “stadium”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “track”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “track” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “track” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “track” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “arena”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “arena” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “arena” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “arena” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “host”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “host” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “host” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “host” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “conferenc*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “conferenc*” AND “employment”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “conferenc*” AND “econom*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “conferenc*” AND “property”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “exhibition”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “exhibition”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “expo”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “expo”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “business tourism”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “business tourism”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“impact” AND “trade fair*”
Web of Science (SCCI) via Endnoteweb	“evaluat*” AND “trade fair*”
Google Scholar	“impact” AND “event*” AND “employment”
Google Scholar	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “employment”

Source	Search Terms
Google Scholar	“impact” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
Google Scholar	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
Google Scholar	“impact” AND “event*” AND “property”
Google Scholar	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “property”
Google Scholar	“impact” AND “festival”
Google Scholar	“evaluation” AND “festival”
Google Scholar	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
Google Scholar	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
Google Scholar	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”
Google Scholar	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”
Google Scholar	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “property”
Google Scholar	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “property”
Google Scholar	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
Google Scholar	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
Google Scholar	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
Google Scholar	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
Google Scholar	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
Google Scholar	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
National Audit Office	“impact” AND “event*”
National Audit Office	“evaluation” AND “event*”
National Audit Office	“impact” AND “festival”
National Audit Office	“evaluation” AND “festival”
National Audit Office	“impact” AND “sport*”
National Audit Office	“evaluation” AND “sport*
National Audit Office	“impact” AND “cultur*”
National Audit Office	“evaluation” AND “cultur*”
National Audit Office	“impact” AND “stadium”
National Audit Office	“evaluation” AND “stadium”
National Audit Office	“impact” AND “arena”
National Audit Office	“evaluation” AND “arena”
National Audit Office	“impact” AND “host”

Source	Search Terms
National Audit Office	“evaluation” AND “host”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “event*” AND “employment”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “employment”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “event*” AND “property”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “property”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “festival”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “festival”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “sport*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “property”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “sport*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “property”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “stadium”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “stadium”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “track” AND “employment”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “track” AND “employment”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “track” AND “econom*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “track” AND “econom*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “track” AND “property”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “track” AND “property”

Source	Search Terms
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “arena”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “arena”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “host” AND “employment”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “employment”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “host” AND “econom*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “econom*”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “host” AND “property”
.gov.uk (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “property”
IPPR	Visual scan of full publications list
Work Foundation	Visual scan of full publications list
Centre for Cities	“impact” AND “event*”
Centre for Cities	“impact” AND “festival”
Centre for Cities	“impact” AND “sport*”
Centre for Cities	“impact” AND “cultur*”
Centre for Cities	“impact” AND “stadium”
Centre for Cities	“evaluation” AND “stadium”
Centre for Cities	“impact” AND “track”
Centre for Cities	“evaluation” AND “track”
Centre for Cities	“impact” AND “arena”
Centre for Cities	“evaluation” AND “arena”
Centre for Cities	“impact” AND “host”
Centre for Cities	“evaluation” AND “host”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “event*” AND “employment”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “employment”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “event*” AND “property”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “property”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “festival”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “festival”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “employment”

Source	Search Terms
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “econom*”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “property”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “sport*” AND “property”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “sport*” AND “employment”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “stadium”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “stadium”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “track”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “track”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “arena”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “arena”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “host”
OECD LEED (via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “host”
ILO	Visual scan of full publications list
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “event*”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “event*”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “festival”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “festival”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “sport*”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “sport*
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “cultur*”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “cultur*”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “stadium”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “stadium”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “track”

Source	Search Terms
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “track”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “arena”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “arena”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“impact” AND “host”
UNESCO(via Google Advanced Search)	“evaluation” AND “host”
Eurofound	Visual scan of full publications list
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “event*” AND “employment”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “employment”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “event*” AND “property”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “property”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “festival”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “festival”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “sport*”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “sport*”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “stadium”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “stadium”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “track” AND “employment”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “track” AND “employment”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “track” AND “econom*”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “track” AND “econom*”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “track” AND “property”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “track” AND “property”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “arena”

Source	Search Terms
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “arena”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “host” AND “employment”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “employment”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “host” AND “econom*”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “econom*”
IZA Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “host” AND “property”
IZA Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “host” AND “property”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “event*” AND “employment”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “employment”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “econom*”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “event” AND “property”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “event*” AND “property”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “festival” AND “employment”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “festival” AND “employment”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “festival” AND “econom*”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “festival” AND “econom*”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “festival” AND “property”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “festival” AND “property”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“impact” AND “sport*”
CEPR Discussion Papers	“evaluation” AND “sport*”
NBER	“impact” AND “event”
NBER	“impact” AND “event” AND “employment”
NBER	“impact” AND “event” AND “econom*”
NBER	“impact” AND “event” AND “property”
NBER	“impact” AND “festival”
NBER	“impact” AND “sport*”
NBER	“impact” AND “cultur*”
NBER	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
NBER	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
NBER	“impact” AND “cultur*” AND “property”

Source	Search Terms
NBER	“impact” AND “stadium”
NBER	“impact” AND “arena”
NBER	“impact” AND “track”
NBER	“impact” AND “track” AND “employment”
NBER	“impact” AND “track” AND “econom*”
NBER	“impact” AND “track” AND “property”
NBER	“impact” AND “host”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “event”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “festival”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “sport”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*” AND “employment”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*” AND “econom*”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “cultur*” AND “property”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “stadium”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “arena”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “track”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “track” AND “employment”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “track” AND “econom*”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “track” AND “property”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “host”
NBER	“impact” AND “conferenc*”
NBER	“evaluat*” AND “conferenc*”
SERC	Visual scan of full publications list
RDA websites (archived)	Visual scan of full publications list

Appendix C: Case Studies

Study 311: Matching; SMS level 3

This 2014 study by Gabriel Ahlfeldt and Georgios Kavetsos (study 311) examines the effect on property prices of two new football stadia in London: The New Wembley Stadium and the Emirates Stadium. In both cases the stadia were replacements for older facilities helping to separate effects of 'form' from effects of 'function'. The authors test whether the new and improved architectural quality provides benefits that improve the desirability of the neighbourhood and therefore property prices.

In general, the sites for football stadia are not chosen randomly. The choice of neighbourhood is often a result of history and institutional decision-making. This makes it harder to evaluate their effects, because there are a variety of potential reasons for different property prices closer to a stadium compared with further away. For example, the stadium may be centrally located and prices in that central area may be high for other reasons (such as good rail access, high level of consumption amenities, proximity to workplaces) rather than anything to do with the stadium itself.

In order to deal with this problem the authors use a difference-in-difference approach. Distance rings up to 5km are drawn around the two stadia (e.g. 0-1km, 1-2km, 3-4km and 4-5km) and properties in the outermost ring serve as the control group. Properties in the inner rings are separate treatment groups. The control properties are chosen to be as close as possible to the treated properties – but without being treated themselves – so that they are as similar as possible. The authors then look at the change in property prices inside each inner ring, and compare to the change in the outer ring. Furthermore, they use a large set of control variables to account for differences in property and location characteristics between the treatment and control groups. This method controls well for observable differences between the treatment and control group. However, there likely remain some unobservable differences, despite the close proximity of the two groups. Therefore we score it a '3' on the Maryland Scientific Method Scale.

To implement this approach, the authors used a dataset of property prices from Nationwide Building Society. This dataset contains the address, price and property characteristics for 5,263 properties within 5km of Wembley and a further 9,933 within 5km of Emirates. Importantly, they observe transactions in both the pre- and post-construction periods for both stadia. They were also able to replicate their results using an alternative dataset of Land Registry property transactions.

This evaluation finds significant increases in property prices surrounding both new stadia compared with the control groups. In both cases, this effect decreases with distance to the new stadia but for New Wembley the decline is more gradual. The authors suggest the wider effect for New Wembley is a result of an architectural feature – the arch that stretches about 130m high. They calculate the total increases in property prices (£1.91bn) to be larger than the construction costs (£1.4bn). For Emirates, where the stadium was relocated by around 500m, they found an increase in property prices where distance to the stadium was reduced. Property prices increased around Emirates but decreased around the old Arsenal stadium leading to a net negative effect on the neighbourhood.

What do these results mean for policymakers? These results point to the existence of large positive stadium effects on nearby properties. This suggests that stadia, particularly when of high architectural quality, may be able to contribute to physical neighbourhood regeneration. In this case, it might be socially beneficial to invest public funds to ensure a high quality of stadium design. However, the distributional consequences of such investment would be complex. The benefits will typically

accrue to homeowners, who experience a gain in property value, rather than renters, who will likely experience higher rents and may be displaced. Further, it may be that the neighbourhoods surrounding the new stadia are made more attractive at the expense of the desirability of other neighbourhoods elsewhere, which then suffer. Finally, whilst the empirical method is fairly robust, there may be unobservable factors driving these results. If so, the true effects could be much smaller.

Study 321: Matching; SMS level 3

In this 2013 study, Arne Feddersen and Wolfgang Maennig evaluate the employment impacts of the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia. The event was expected to generate significant 'legacy' impacts, particularly employment gains. Such a jobs boost might come directly (via spending on the events and Games infrastructure, or through visitor spending), or indirectly (through job training provided to local workers and unemployed people). Conversely, we might expect Olympic-related expenditure to divert spending away from other job-creating activities; some potential visitors might stay away from the Games, and some locals might leave town.

Identifying the employment effects of a mega-event like this is not easy. First, the winning city is not randomly or transparently selected. Second, the scale and timing of 'Games effects' aren't straightforward to identify. Together, these factors make it hard to model the 'treatment', and to identify decent comparison groups. Unobservable individual, neighbourhood or city-level characteristics might also drive employment shifts, rather than any Games effect. And researchers need to control for long term local growth trends.

To deal with these issues, the authors compare changes in employment outcomes in treatment and 'quasi-control' areas (a 'difference in difference' approach). 'Treatment' areas are counties containing Olympic venues, or those immediately around those counties. 'Control' areas elsewhere in Georgia and outside the state are identified using matching.

Employment had been rising across Georgia since 1985, over a decade before the Games took place. This underlying trend also varied between treatment and control areas, both pre- and post-1996. To handle this, Feddersen and Maennig use a 'trend shift regression' that captures changes in employment growth in Olympic versus non-Olympic counties, as well as controlling for underlying long run trends. They also extend their model to test different treatment zones (37 counties or 10 key Olympic sites); allow effects to vary across space (over 80% of the Games took place in Atlanta itself, so impacts should be largest there); and allow for employment spillovers across county boundaries.

This methodology handles many of the challenges identified above, but is not perfect. Randomisation is not an option, and the IOC's selection decision is not observable. Even though area and time fixed effects control for unobservable factors at the aggregate level, individual resident characteristics will vary within areas, and may help explain employment outcomes. We therefore score this study '3' on the Scientific Maryland Scale.

The analysis is run with quarterly employment data from 1985 to 2000. An earlier study by Hotchkiss et al (study 328) found a 17% employment gain in Olympic counties. Using the same data, and controlling for underlying trends, Feddersen and Maennig find no significant effects of the Games on county employment growth. Rather, the Olympic counties were already experiencing strong employment growth, to which the Games added very little. Allowing the Olympic effect to start from 1994, they find a positive weakly significant effect, adding up to a 1% boost to jobs growth in Olympic counties. They also find a weak 'rebound' effect in Olympic counties between 1995 and 1996.

However, the likely range of these results includes zero. So overall, there is very little evidence for an Olympic jobs boost.

What can we learn from these results? Today's Olympic Games almost always highlight a 'legacy', which typically includes positive employment effects. However this study implies ex-post evaluations of British mega-events like London 2012 and Glasgow 2014 may find similarly small employment impacts. It also suggests that smaller sporting events and festivals – which typically don't involve new infrastructure – will not create net job gains. That does not mean we shouldn't run or fund such events, of course – simply that the main benefits are unlikely to be economic.

Study 324: Matching; SMS level 3

This 2013 study by Lasse Steiner, Bruno Frey and Simone Hotz (paper 324) looks at the effect of a major cultural event, the European Capital of Culture, on urban & regional GDP and residents' life satisfaction. Between 1990 and 2009, 29 European cities were chosen to be European Capital of Culture (ECOC) for a given year. The host cities were given a budget for both cultural projects and infrastructure improvements – with investments being mostly (77.5%) generated from the public sector. Projects vary in type and scale but the best represented sectors are theatre, visual arts, music, street parades, open-air events, heritage/history and architecture. There are an average of 500 events in the award year.

The fact that ECOC cities are selected by the EU's Council of Culture Ministers makes the event harder to evaluate. The selected cities are likely to have different characteristics to non-selected cities. For example, the ministers of culture may choose cities that are struggling or (alternatively) 'on the up', and any differences in outcome may be due to these conditions rather than the ECOC status and related investment. Furthermore, the individuals who live in the regions that are selected may have fundamentally different levels of life satisfaction or at least different tendencies in reports of life satisfaction.

In order to deal with this problem the authors use a difference-in-difference approach to estimate the effect on quality of life and GDP. Individuals in regions that have ECOC status in a particular year form the treatment group. The control group is formed of individuals in all other European regions that are not ECOC. The authors look at how much higher quality of life is in ECOC regions in the year that they were ECOC, compared with the control group in the same year. Importantly, a variety of control variables are used to account for regional and individual differences that may affect outcome variables in a particular year. The control variables for satisfaction were personal characteristics such as age, income, and so on, as well as regional economic growth. The controls for regional growth were macroeconomic factors such as population density, sectoral shares and human capital, represented by education. This method does a fairly good job controlling for observable differences between individuals across ECOC and non-ECOC regions/cities but is not able to deal with unobservable differences. Therefore we award it a '3' on the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale.

In order to implement this approach the authors make use of 'The Mannheim Eurobarometer Trend File 1970-2002', which is a longitudinal dataset of individuals in 18 Europeans nations (i.e. it follows the same people over time). The dataset includes self-reported life satisfaction, the dependent variable, which is rated on a 4-point scale from 'not at all satisfied' to 'very satisfied'. Individual-specific factors are also available such as employment situation, income, gender, etc. This dataset is combined with regional GDP per capita based on data from BAK Basel.

The results for GDP show no effect of ECOC status on GDP in either the run-up to the event, during the event or after the event. The results for life satisfaction indicate a negative effect for individuals in regions hosting the ECOC during the year of the event. The effect is 0.09 points lower on the 4-point scale, which the authors suggest is considerable. There is no significant effect on life satisfaction in the year prior to the event. After the event is over, life satisfaction returns to pre-ECOC levels. Unemployed people suffer the greatest drops in satisfaction during the event – being unemployed roughly doubles the negative impact on life satisfaction.

What do these results means for policymakers? If taken at face value, there are no GDP effects related to the ECOC and the wellbeing impact is actually negative. Therefore, the number of reasons why a region would want to host such an event is greatly diminished. However, since the control group in this evaluation is made up of all other European regions (rather than only similar regions), it is likely that there remain significant unobserved differences between ECOC and non-ECOC regions that could be responsible for lower quality of life during the event year, despite the large number of control variables. Furthermore, self-reported quality of life is a complex outcome variable to truly understand – hence policy recommendation based evidence of this type should always remain cautious.

Study 327: Matching; SMS level 3

In this 2013 paper (study 327), Douglas Noonan looks at the effect of cultural districts on employment, income and property prices in US neighbourhoods. Cultural districts are formally designated zones within a city: sometimes simply branded as an ‘arts zone’, sometimes with accompanying tax breaks or incentives for artists to move in. Some districts already have a cluster of cultural amenities and institutions (e.g. museums, arts workshops and studios) as well as complementary amenities restaurants, cafes). Here, zoning is designed to maintain organic growth. In a few cases, local policymakers use designation to attract cultural players – such as artists, musicians, galleries or studios – into a neighbourhood with no arts presence. Cities often use cultural districts as part of a place-making strategy, and specifically to ‘revitalise’ the neighbourhood in question (in the US, the number of cultural districts rose from 40 to 127 between 1995 and 2008).

How do we assess the economic effects of cultural districts? Districts are most likely chosen for growth potential (or need for regeneration). So a city might pick a location where employment is already rising, which makes isolating any additional cultural district effect difficult. Some of these growth or decline factors may be unobservable. Alternatively, wider (city or national) conditions may influence outcomes – if the urban economy is growing, District outcomes are likely to improve whether or not zoning is in place. It is also not straightforward to identify the spatial scale of impact, or model its intensity across a treatment area – we can imagine property market effects might be biggest in the streets directly around a new museum or arts space.

Noonan gathers information on 99 cultural districts across the US, and combines this with city and neighbourhood-level data from the 1980, 1990 and 2000 Census. Neighbourhoods are defined by ‘block groups’, small areas with an average population of about 4,000.

Noonan then runs a ‘difference in difference’ analysis on a range of neighbourhood-level economic outcomes. Specifically, he compares changes in outcome between 1990 and 2000 for neighbourhoods with cultural districts, neighbourhoods immediately adjacent and neighbourhoods in the rest of the county (the latter used as a control group). To deal with underlying differences between areas, he also includes a county-level time trend (that captures the fact that counties may exhibit long run differences in growth rates), and a set of 1980 neighbourhood outcomes as controls.

This approach deals with some of the challenges above, but leaves others unsolved. There is no formal testing of whether control areas truly provide a good comparison group, and the evaluations do not control for some neighbourhood-level observable factors (such as supply of workspace) or unobservable factors (such as the quality or energy of local arts scenes). Spillovers from cultural districts might not be limited to adjacent areas – the other treatment group – and there may be some variance in effects within the designated zone. For these reasons we score this study '3' on the Scientific Maryland Scale.

Noonan finds multiple positive effects of cultural districts: growth in property values is 9.3% higher in district neighbourhoods than the rest of the county; income growth is 5.4% higher and employment growth is 4.4% higher. Poverty declines by 2.3% more in zoned neighbourhoods, but commuting times do not change; there also is some evidence of more skilled residents moving in, and increased population turnover. Taken together, this implies that residents are likely working outside the neighbourhood (so additional jobs may not go to locals), and there is some displacement of existing residents (likely connected to rising property prices). There is generally little difference in impacts within cultural districts and in adjacent areas.

This analysis raises important questions about who benefits (economically) from cultural districts and similar initiatives. If part of an economic growth strategy to help residents into work, the wage and employment effects are positive but pretty small (and may not accrue to existing residents). By contrast, property owners (whether residents or businesses) experience much larger gains. Local conditions will vary in UK cities compared to US cities, so some caution is needed in applying these results to Britain. The surest way to test the findings is to replicate the study. Some improvements could be made: for example, running a competition for cultural district designation, then using 'losers' as a control group, or comparing outcome shifts in active districts against areas where districts were planned but not enacted.

The What Works Centre for Local Economic Growth is a collaboration between the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), Centre for Cities and Arup.

www.whatworksgrowth.org

what works centre for
local economic growth

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HM Government

E·S·R·C ECONOMIC & SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

what works centre for
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Evidence Review 3

Sports and Culture

July 2014

Executive Summary

Sports and culture have intrinsic value to people and places as well as promoting health and well-being, cultural enrichment, and prestige and branding. In more recent decades, there has been an increasing tendency for promoters of investment in major sport and cultural events or facilities to claim that undertaking such projects will have demonstrable direct and indirect economic benefits as well.

This report presents findings from a systematic review of evaluations of the **economic** impact of major sporting and cultural events and facilities (hereinafter referred to as 'projects'). It is the third of a series of reviews that will be produced by the What Works Centre for Local Economic Growth.

The review considered over **550** policy evaluations and evidence reviews from the UK and other OECD countries. It found **36** impact evaluations that met the Centre's minimum standards.

We initially focused the review on evaluations of sporting or cultural events and facilities of any size. However, we found no evaluations of small-scale events that met our minimum standards. Our findings are therefore based upon evaluations of major projects – but we believe they offer useful guidance for policy-makers considering projects on any scale. We encourage local policy-makers to build evaluation into their projects to contribute to the evidence base.

Overall, the evidence suggests that the measurable economic effects on local economies tend not to have been large and are often zero. Facilities, however, can have a small positive impact on property prices nearby.

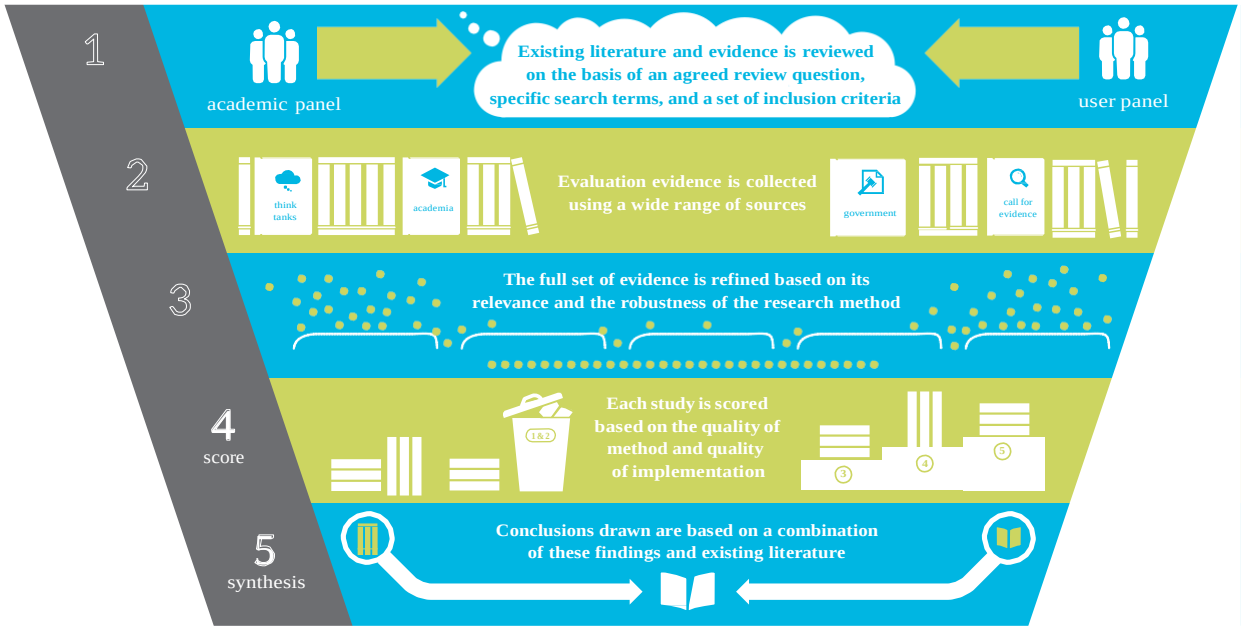
This should not overshadow the other real if difficult-to-measure benefits of hosting sport and cultural activities.

Approach

The Centre seeks to establish causal impact – an estimate of the difference that can be expected between the outcome for areas or cities undertaking a project and the average outcome they would have experienced without the project (see Figure 1). Our methodology for producing our reviews is outlined in Figure 2.

Figure 1: Evaluating impact

Figure 2: Methodology



Findings

What the evidence shows

- The overall measurable effects of projects on a local economy tend not to be large and are more often zero. Any wage and income effects are usually small and limited to the immediate locality or particular types of workers.
- Facilities are likely to have a positive impact on very local property prices. Policymakers should consider the distributional effects of these property market changes (who are the likely winners and losers).

- Projects may have been associated with increased trade imports and exports, including tourism, although these effects may be short lived (and are only considered in a small number of studies).

Where there is a lack of evidence

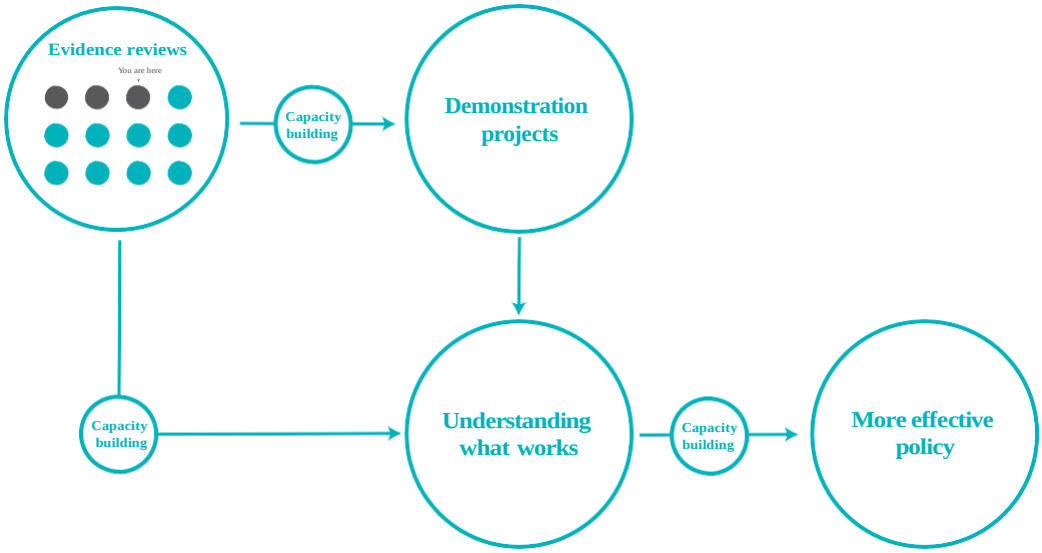
- We found no impact evaluations that considered visitor numbers. Far more should be done to assess the extent to which projects lead to *net* increases in visitor numbers for the area as a whole. Visitor numbers for the project alone and surveys of attendees may not provide strong evidence on the impact of projects on net visitor numbers.
- There was a paucity of evidence regarding cultural projects overall. This is an issue for understanding the likely impact of such projects and also leaves a gap in our ability to compare the economic effects of sport projects and cultural projects.
- We found no robust evidence on the economic impacts of smaller projects (such as arts centres or small-scale festivals) – although based on what we found for large projects, we can assume that the economic impact of such projects would be even smaller.
- We found no robust evidence for the impact of recurring sport and cultural events, such as annual festivals or tournaments.

How to use these reviews

To determine policy priorities

The Centre's reviews consider a specific type of evidence – impact evaluation – that seeks to understand the causal effect of policy interventions and to establish their cost-effectiveness. In the longer term, the Centre will produce a range of evidence reviews that will help local decision makers decide the broad policy areas on which to spend limited resources. Figure 3 illustrates how the reviews relate to the other work streams of the Centre.

Figure 3: What Works Centre work programme



To inform the design of programmes

The evidence review sets out a number of 'Best Bets' – based on the best available impact evaluations. In particular it identifies what kind of effects events and facilities might have on the local economy, as well as whether these effects differ by the type of project.

However, the 'Best Bets' do not address the specifics of 'what works where' or 'what will work for a particular locality'. Detailed local knowledge and context remain crucial.

'Best Bets' also raise a note of caution for policymakers if they decide to undertake a project on the basis of anticipated effects that have not generally materialised elsewhere.

Almost all of the evaluations that we found to be rigorous are focussed on projects at the grand end of the scale. However, we are confident that there are lessons for everyone facing this type of spending decision from the evidence we have looked at regarding these very large projects. For example:

- Facilities may be more likely to produce economic benefits than events, probably due to the longevity of their impact.
- Indirect employment effects are unlikely to be large, and focus should be on the direct employment effects generated by an event or facility. Reflecting this, time and expense can be saved by forgoing complex multiplier-based appraisal systems in lieu of solid 'narrow' evaluations.
- As the benefits of new facilities tend to be very localised and related to property prices and regeneration, they should be part of a broader strategy rather than seen as stand-alone projects. They should not be relied upon as the major component of a job creation strategy.
- Considered together the findings raise interesting questions about who should pay for sport and cultural events and facilities in any given locality.

To fill the evidence gaps

As should be clear from this review, there are many things that we do not know about the impact of sport and cultural projects. Most of the evidence is focused at the very large end of the scale, and on professional sport franchises.

There needs to be more experimentation in measuring the economic impact of smaller projects. In particular, evaluations should make greater use of suitable comparison groups when looking at both wider economic impacts and the overall impact on visitor numbers. At a minimum, some larger scale impact evaluation studies could provide us with some idea on the extent to which techniques that are currently widely applied (such as user surveys) actually identify net policy impacts.

One promising study is ORiEL (Olympic Regeneration in East London) which is rolling out at present. The study will take a quasi-experimental approach to evaluate the urban regeneration impacts of the Olympics on young people and their families.Results are expected in 2015 or later.

To work with the Centre

The Centre's longer term objectives are to ensure that robust evidence is embedded in the development of policy, that these polices are effectively evaluated and that feedback is used to improve them. To achieve these objectives we want to:

- work with local decision makers to improve evaluation standards so that we can learn more about what policies work, where.
- set up a series of 'demonstration projects' to show how effective evaluation can work in practice.

Interested policymakers please get in touch.

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Mr Gareth Bacon
Chairman of The Regeneration Committee
London Assembly

By email: regenerationcommittee@london.gov.uk

Dear Mr Bacon

London Assembly Regeneration Committee's Investigation into Stadium-led Regeneration in London

Following the Committee's call for evidence and specifically the invitation from your colleague, Jo Sloman, for Car Giant to provide written representations to the Committee, we submit representations on behalf of our client, Car Giant Limited.

Introduction

Car Giant is the largest reconditioning car plant and sales facility in the world. It is much more than a car dealership; it is spread over 45 acres, has been located on its current site for 30 years, and employs over 700 direct local employees. There are many hundreds more in the facility's supply chains. The site accommodates a full range of automotive services as part of Car Giant's operation from engineering work, to bodywork, repair and paintshop, to PDI, through to vehicle financing, sales, after sales and customer services and other head *office* functions. All these functions are supported by leading edge bespoke ICT systems. By way of comparison, the Car Giant employee base represents 25% of the Honda plant at Swindon and 20% of the Toyota UK plants. It is a substantial employer and contributor to the local economy. The Car Giant site is located in the heart of the GLA's Old Oak Common regeneration area, with its landholding consisting of over 70% of the developable land within the Old Oak Common Northern regeneration area. Car Giant owns 23% of the total developable land at Old Oak Common. Car Giant owns 62.5% of all industrial land in LB Hammersmith & Fulham. The Car Giant land represents the largest wholly owned industrial estate in London. The business is being operated from a unique and highly valuable asset.

Car Giant is fully supportive of the Mayor's vision for the regeneration of Old Oak Common and understands that one of the keys to unlocking that regeneration will be the relocation of its own business. Car Giant have invested heavily, not only in the development of its landholdings but also in the local community, by employing local people and providing in-house training for the various skills required within the different departments of the business. Car Giant provides exceptional job access and training opportunities for young people. Most staff join with little or no skills. The employment contribution of Car Giant provides people with a life chance. Car Giant are committed to their workforce and to the local communities from which they come and of which Car Giant forms a part. It will clearly be vital for Car Giant's business to be successfully relocated prior to its present site being redeveloped to avoid a loss of employment of a significant number of local people. Indirect consequences on other local businesses also need to be avoided. These are supported either directly by Car Giant in relation to the provision of products and services, or indirectly by Car Giant's employees. As a significant local employer in one of the most deprived wards in the country, it would

obviously be a significant detriment if Car Giant's business were to be lost and the employment and community benefits it provides terminated.

Car Giant can and will deliver the regeneration of its existing site. It has developed Master Plan proposals and is in active dialogue with the GLA in relation to these. These proposals are entirely consistent with the GLA's vision for Old Oak Common Northern regeneration area; are a residential led mixed use development encompassing a range of planning benefits; are a form of development with a pedigree for delivering the type of regeneration envisioned for the area; and can be delivered without the use of compulsory purchase powers by a willing developer with ready finance, and an experienced professional team.

QPR's proposals for a 40,000 seater stadium on the Car Giant site, on the other hand is less likely to deliver the regeneration sought on the basis of evidence relating to other stadia development; may require public subsidy; is less likely to deliver the range and quantum of benefits Car Giant are able to offer; is likely to require substantial external finance; and will require the exercise of compulsory purchase powers with no certainty that these will be successful in completing site assembly.

The Car Giant Contribution

Car Giant has a significant impact on the local community. Car Giant is the largest 'local' employer; 46% of the Car Giant workforce live within 5 miles of the site and 66% live within 7.5 miles. In addition, many other local companies depend on the business they receive from Car Giant. Car Giant has an active apprenticeship programme. Their apprenticeship target this year is 50 for the workshops alone. To date 14 apprentices have been employed this year. In the past 5 years Car Giant have employed 15 apprentices each year in the workshops. The apprentice programmes are run through the College of North West London and Motor Industry Training Ltd through which the apprentices receive an industry recognised qualification. In addition, Car Giant's in-house training department focus on the continuing training of a large young sales force as well as other customer facing staff. This includes training on customer service, FSA training, sales techniques and performance management for managers.

Car Giant encourage their staff to raise money for charitable causes. Monthly charity donations by staff are doubled by the company, this averages £300 per month. Other community activities have included: distributing Christmas presents to the childrens' wards at St Mary's hospital, Paddington; supplying schools in West London with high visibility wrist bands and vests in an initiative on road safety; and working with the Metropolitan Police who organised a safety weekend at Car Giant where they demonstrated to the public the dangers of speeding and general road safety.

Car Giant are in the process of appointing a consumer PR company (AVAS) to develop their digital marketing and community led programs. Their activity within the local community, promoting social cohesion and community engagement are set to increase in a targeted manner.

Car Giant's Regeneration Plans

Car Giant has studied the Mayor's Vision for Old Oak and carefully considered how it can best contribute, as a willing developer, towards meeting the Vision. Car Giant have appointed a highly experienced professional team to help to deliver the regeneration of the site. The team, led by Sir Stuart Lipton, includes First Base, Lipton Rogers, Gerald Eve and PLP Architecture.

The proposals are at an early Master Planning stage but indicatively include the following:

a) 8,500 homes (including a quantum of affordable homes);

b) Provision for additional primary and secondary school places;

c) Retention of all existing staff employed by Car Giant (as the business will be relocating in the locality and will not need to close);

d) Creation of an arts and cultural building for use by the local community;

e) Upgrade of Willesden Junction station to include new entrance upgrades, improved safety and security, improved ticket hall and step free access;

f) Medical space for new GPs and Dentists;

g) Upgrades to existing road infrastructure including upgrades to the road network to include intersection improvements, improved pedestrian access into the site via Hythe Road, new pedestrian links under the railway lines to improve circulation, and greening of streets;

h) Critical space for links to the south of the Grand Union Canal would be provided to enable HS2 and Crossrail's future delivery;

i) Canal improvements including improvements to biodiversity, provision of public access along the northern edge (which is currently inaccessible), the creation of an active waterfront with restaurants and bars alongside cultural buildings and also enabling narrowboat moorings;

j) The provision of space for future pedestrian and bus links to provide for connections (which) can be made once Crossrail and HS2 are delivered; and

k) Pedestrian links over to Wormwood Scrubs and improvements to Wormwood Scrubs open space - working in consultation with local amenity groups and the Council.

Construction of such a scheme would be likely to catalyse further private sector development. Furthermore, improvements in the Park Royal industrial precinct will be driven by the investment of Car Giant into the location through development of their new site at Park Royal. This project represents a win-win for both the residential and industrial land objectives of the GLA.

The redevelopment of Car Giant's site is, however, only half of the story. The other half is the relocation of the existing business. After an intensive search for a suitable site which would keep Car Giant local, in order to enable the business to retain its existing employees and customer base, Car Giant have now purchased the freehold of a site adjoining Park Royal of 12 acres. Although this is only 26% of their current landholding, and whilst only approximately two thirds of the site could be redeveloped for Car Giant's business, Car Giant are prepared to relocate there and are hopeful that in time adjoining land could be secured in Park Royal. This relocation to release land at Old Oak could only be a temporary split of the operation as single site occupation/assembly is essential to the viability of Car Giant's operation.

Car Giant have approached LB Ealing in relation to the relocation proposals and the Borough are understood to be fully supportive with details to be worked through in a planning application. The relocation site has an existing building of 160,000 sq ft which can be easily adapted, with the remainder of the site delivering a modern, high quality, energy efficient development bespoke to Car

Giant's needs. In addition to these benefits, Car Giant will also continue to provide employment for local people, apprenticeships, training and development, and other community projects developed by the consumer PR company.

Whilst stadium development is still in its infancy in terms of having an empirically proven regenerative effect, what Car Giant offer is a tried and tested regeneration proposal. Car Giant own their existing site, they are willing to redevelop it themselves, they have the finance to do it (in accordance with the business plan), and have an established professional team to advise them, a team who have delivered successful regeneration developments elsewhere. Moreover, Car Giant are willing to relocate their existing business, have purchased a significant part of the land to enable them to do so, and will relocate locally to ensure that there is no loss of local employment.

This compares well to QPR's position. Stadium development as a driver of regeneration is still relatively untested, requires substantial direct or indirect cross subsidy or other grant (or relaxing of normal policy objectives, such as affordable housing or section 106 contributions), and the benefits disputed, hence in part the Committee's investigation. The What Works Centre for Local Economic Growth report "Evidence Review: Sports and Culture July 2014" lead by Professor Henry Overman of London School of Economics and Political Science concludes that "Overall, the evidence suggests that the measurable economic effects on local economies tend not to have been large and are often zero." (Copy enclosed). Moreover, QPR have no ownership of the land on which the stadium is proposed to be located and have no prospect of securing the Car Giant site by private treaty. A costly and lengthy (and in our view, high risk) CPO process, would be required. We understand that they would need to raise very substantial finance for the development they propose.

The Car Giant business plan has been developed in relation to the development of the relocation site and redevelopment of Car Giant's existing site. Plainly the relocation site would need to be developed prior to Car Giant's vacation of its existing site. This would require a considerable capital investment; whilst funds are available for that development, the investment only stacks up if Car Giant can secure on its existing site the residentially led vision set out in the Old Oak Common Vision June 2013 document. This document sets the priority as housing led regeneration in the Northern regeneration area, which also happens to be the most viable opportunity. Car Giant can itself finance most if not all of the funding required for its regeneration proposals.

Regeneration Policy and Vision

In the visioning document entitled 'Old Oak A Vision For the Future' dated June 2013, the Mayor of London sets out his vision for the regeneration of the Old Oak area. This document does not have the status of planning policy or guidance. The document refers to the Old Oak area as having the capacity to deliver up to 19,000 new homes and 90,000 new jobs; it supports the inclusion of connections to the London Overground network and also a Crossrail spur to the West Coast Main Line. There are 2 main components to the vision for land use. Firstly, the area around the station interchange is identified as being largely residential with a commercial hub around the HS2 station; and secondly to enhance the wider Park Royal industrial area. Clearly any new development would need to utilise the enhanced connectivity in relation to central London and surrounding cities. Exploiting the assets of the Grand Union Canal and Wormwood Scrubs are also seen as important as are improved connections north-south and east-west including a new path along the north bank of the Canal. The need for improvements to the surrounding road network is also highlighted.

The earliest phases for the proposed regeneration are identified as being those north of the Canal and North Acton due to there being existing road access in these areas. This would encompass the Car Giant site.

The visioning document identifies that the regeneration could be delivered by working with existing land owners to assemble the land without having to utilise compulsory purchase powers and points out that a substantial amount of land is already in fact in public ownership. As we have explained, Car Giant already own their site and part of the relocation site. There would not be a need to resort to, nor any justification for resorting to, using compulsory purchase powers.

Old Oak Common forms part of the Park Royal/Willesden Junction Opportunity Area which is identified in the London Plan as having capacity to accommodate significant new housing and commercial and other development. The key objective is stated as being "to protect and maintain Park Royal as the largest industrial employment location in London, supporting the clusters of food/drink, distribution/logistics and TV/film through facilities and services to support growth." In addition it is recognised that the current designation as strategic and industrial land will need to be changed in light of the HS2 and Crossrail interchange.

At a borough level, the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham's Adopted Core Strategy promotes the part of the Old Oak area as a major rail interchange between HS2, Crossrail, the Great Western Mainline, the West London Line and North London Line. The area is also designated as an employment/SIL zone and in the longer term mixed use development is promoted. Ealing Council is seeking to maximise benefits arising from opportunities created by Crossrail and HS2 (such as the relocation of Car Giant's business into their borough).

Car Giant's proposals for the redevelopment of its own site are in full accordance with the vision and policy for the Old Oak Common area. This tried and tested form of regeneration would deliver the regeneration benefits sought for the site and neighbourhood. The GLA's vision of delivering homes, job creation, the protection of Park Royal as an industrial employment location, utilising the assets of the Canal and Wormwood Scrubs, benefits to biodiversity along the Canal, creation of new public spaces, improved connections, road network upgrades and so forth can all be achieved without a stadium led scheme. Moreover, a stadium is not required to create 'place making'; the major HS2/Crossrail interchange will do that itself. There is extensive and well documented empirical evidence that major transport interchanges attract investment into the hinterland. The recent developments at Kings Cross and London Bridge are testament to that.

Furthermore, our client continues to acquire additional freehold land within the Old Oak Common area to further improve their land holdings and therefore increase the scale of a coordinated and responsive masterplan for the redevelopment of the location.

Social and Economic Benefits

Quod have analysed the social and economic benefits of the Car Giant proposals as against a stadium proposal. They conclude that a residential led mixed use scheme would have greater beneficial impacts in comparison to a stadium led regeneration scheme. This is because the land cost and CPO costs would be substantial and a public sector subsidy may be required. In addition, a scheme of this type is less likely to be able to deliver the same level of planning gain (including affordable housing) as a mixed use scheme such as is proposed by Car Giant. There are no previous examples of stadium led regeneration that have provided evidence that the wider investment that has been created could not have resulted from the type that would have happened in the area in the alternative.

Quod also offer the following analysis to assist the Regeneration Committee's investigation into whether stadium developments have benefitted the communities these are located in and what measures should be taken to ensure there is a regeneration legacy from the millions invested in developing new football grounds:

(a) There is very little evidence of actual positive quantitative regeneration effects of stadia in the UK.

(b) Gabriel Ahlfeldt, Associate Professor of Urban Economics and Land Development at LSE and member of the London Assembly's Regeneration Committee identified in the opening meeting of the panel that:

(i) Multiplier effects of stadium regeneration are almost always identified ex-ante (ie before development), and that LSE has not been able to empirically detect these effects at a city/region level- impacts are relatively small; and

(ii) Some effects can be seen at neighbourhood level, but the ability to quantify is limited due to lack of data, and are often only identifiable up to 1-5km, and where the stadium is the largest single investment in a neighbourhood (see below).

(c) Where quantified regeneration effects of stadia have been identified, these are often disproportionately lower than other development, with employment creation relatively low for such a high-cost and land intensive use. The regeneration benefits rely on qualitative effects on e.g. increased social capital, community projects and profile-raising.

(d) Very few stadia are built as stand-alone projects, due to a lack of commercial viability reflecting the limited nature of their operation (approx. 25 matches and 4/5 other events). The majority of benefits are from ancillary development e.g. supermarkets, shopping centres, hotels and other floorspace that could just as easily be brought forward by other development. From experience of other stadia, much would also depend on QPR's existing commercial draw, potential or requirement for ancillary facilities (e.g. Foundation, Academy etc.) at the site as at THFC (TH Foundation, club offices, museum and shop all included at the development site), and commitment to local employment as at Manchester City (target of 70% local employment).

(e) Old Oak Common is arguably the most significant new regeneration opportunity in London – linked to increased accessibility from HS2 and Crossrail. The impact of the accessibility improvements on viability and possible densities far outweigh any potential 'catalytic' impact of a potential new QPR football stadium. The development uplift from a comprehensive mixed use development (homes, public space, mixed uses, commercial, office and infrastructure) which the promoters suggest would be brought forward by a new stadium, and the associated employment, spending, community and housing benefits, would more effectively be achieved by another type of development on this site;

(f) Regeneration benefits provided by stadium development are often intrinsically linked to the socio-economic context or character of an area, for example:

(i) City of Manchester Stadium – an edge-of-city location with a high proportion of vacant industrial and warehouse space. The investment is much more significant, with

academy, training ground and community sports facilities increasing the gravity of the wider development.

(ii) Tottenham Hotspur – arguably Haringey's most important visitor destination, in one of the most deprived areas of the UK which would result in severe displacement effects if moved.

(iii) Arsenal (Emirates Stadium) – 60,000 seat stadium complete in 2006, included residential but no other commercial development and failed to bring significant infrastructure improvements, with affordable housing funded by grant (and therefore effectively subsidising the stadium).

(iv) Wembley - 90,000 capacity, public funding and part of major mixed-use development. Has destination effect, although fewer football matches, more non-football events. Wembley Stadium opened in March 2007, and has had no demonstrable effect on catalysing wider mixed use development. Development that has occurred has been slow and piecemeal, and can't be directly attributed to the location of a stadium in the area.

(v) Olympic Stadium - cost £429 million to build. Following the Games, it is now being converted into a 54,000-seater stadium, for use by permanent tenant West Ham United FC (WHUFC), alongside athletics in the summer months and entertainment. Balfour Beatty Group has been appointed to lead the stadium works at a cost of £154 million, with further contracts still to be let.

(g) In none of these examples is there yet any evidence that they have catalysed wider investment in high density mixed use development as envisaged at Old Oak Common, other than that of the type that could have already happened in the area – for example housing development in Islington, or the (relatively slow) development of new housing at Wembley. Wider regeneration effects in East Manchester and in Stratford have been driven by very significant public sector investment rather than necessarily being associated with the stadia themselves.

Stadium Capital Developments and QPR

Stadium Capital Developments is an associated company of Stadium Capital Holdings and plans to develop a 40,000 capacity football stadium for Queens Park Rangers at Old Oak Common. Looking at their plans, all of the land required for the new stadium location is land owned by Car Giant. Mr Antony Spencer, Managing Director of Stadium Capital Holdings, was invited to, and did, give evidence before the Regeneration Committee on 19 June 2014. It is understood that, when the Regeneration Committee reconvenes on 16 September to hear further evidence, Mr Spencer will also be in attendance. Mr Spencer is reported as stating that "we have secured strategic landholdings in excess of 100 acres" for QPR's new stadium. It should be noted that none of that land includes the Car Giant site, and that there are no discussions of any commercial nature with QPR currently being undertaken between Car Giant and QPR or proposed to be undertaken in relation to a new stadium at Old Oak Common. Mr Spencer's evidence to the 19 June Committee hearing referred on a couple of occasions to QPR and it is clear that he considers "the public sector is key in terms of compulsory purchase powers" to provide "the regeneration" that an area needs. Mr Spencer is also reported in the Estates Gazette as saying "we are pleased that the mayoral development corporation is being

progressed as its planning and compulsory powers will be important to getting the project *off* the ground".

As our client has no intention of selling its site to QPR, given its own regeneration proposals for the site (see above), the clear inference is that QPR and Stadium Capital Developments are intending that the Mayoral Development Corporation for Old Oak Common (once established) would use its compulsory purchase powers to acquire the Car Giant site for them to deliver a new stadium for QPR.

Given the commercial relationship between QPR and Stadium Capital Developments, and their aspirations for the Car Giant site, the Regeneration Committee is asked to bear this context in mind when deciding what weight it would be appropriate to attach to representations made to the Committee by Mr Spencer or QPR.

Furthermore, we ask that the Regeneration Committee investigates in much greater detail the time taken for stadium developments to proceed given the need for the exercise of compulsory purchase powers, and that the Regeneration Committee investigates the level of public subsidy required to unlock schemes via public sector land contributions, direct grant, subsidies, low cost funding and dispensations against section 106 obligations.

Yours sincerely

Sarah Fitzpatrick

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- **What direct and indirect regeneration impacts might be expected from a stadium development scheme?**

- Direct impacts
    - Contribution to local and national economy i.e. workers during construction phase, staff during operations, spent on hotels, F&B, shopping and transport during events
    - Creation of a state-of-the art place for sport and social events
    - Urban development with the construction/renovation of residential areas, shops, office spaces, other entertainment activities and places for large social events
    - Improved infrastructure and better accessibility stimulating public transport à more locals and tourists could visit the area
- Indirect impacts
    - Potential of being a host city of large sport events à further economic growth and social effects
    - More events hosted in the city à media coverage, international visibility, tourism, city's image and local pride for the venue and the area
    - Increased image of the area and of the city
    - Environmental sustainability: the new venue can be more eco-friendly than the old one (i.e. LED lightening, solar and wind energy, water, waste, CO^2)
    - Sport development
    - Usually there is a great number of volunteers participating on sporting events à community enhancement

- **What data exists on the economic contribution stadium development makes to local regeneration? What metrics should be used to measure the regeneration impacts of stadium-led regeneration accurately?**

Economic impact assessments were conducted in relation to several new developments resulting in different outputs from case to case as each project is different (i.e. by size, facilities and components included in the project, development costs, location, etc.). However, we are aware that broader studies were performed in the past - especially in the US - such as Baade, 1994; Noll and Zimbalist, 1997; and Crompton, 2004.

The methodology used to estimate contribution across the economy is *Input-Output* based. The standard economic case is typically built on analysis of the direct, indirect and induced effects deriving both from the construction and the operating phase:

- Direct effects are related to the spending that occurs in relationships to, for example, ticket revenue, spectators spend at the stadium during the games, consumers' spend on football equipment, players' transfer fees, media rights, purchase of equipment by consumers, etc.
- Indirect effects are related to the economic impact on football's supply chain, via the industry's purchases of goods and services.
- Induced effects are due to consumer spending by employees in the football industry and its supply chain.

Firstly, a critical element of assessment is the estimation of the direct effects and secondly, the relationship between the direct and indirect and induced effect which are assessed through multipliers.

The metrics typically utilized to measure the economic contribution are:

- Socio-economic impacts (quantifiable outputs)
    - Total revenue generation
    - Contribution to GPD
    - Employment
    - Wage incomes
    - Direct and indirect taxes and socio contribution
- The broader social benefits (non-measurable outputs)
    - Urban regeneration connected to stadium developments
    - Legacy effect of major events
    - Country image and reputation
    - The spread of social values like respect, fair play, team spirit and collaboration
    - The broader benefits on health, which may reduce the expense burden on national healthcare systems

- **Are football stadia maximising their potential as community assets?**

This is a difficult question to answer as most football stadia in the UK are fully commercial and have to either a) pay "their" way and b) contribute to earnings of the owner. So in this sense a role as a community asset beyond the provision of paid for entertainment is somewhat out of scope. At the same time one could consider the role of the stadia as part of the football club in fulfilling a community role and also the potential for the stadia to house community facilities in return for the other compensation.

- **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)?**

As the final building permits are generally granted by the local councils, public authorities have strong influence over the projects i.e. by deciding the site location, as well as by authorising the components under development. Therefore, it is of paramount importance to guarantee strong collaboration with sporting clubs and share the same vision among all stakeholders involved. We show this in all our projects.

Public authorities may choose to develop a stadium for wider socio-economic reasons. Public participation in financing stadium developments includes various forms of allowances and grants provided by governments, local municipalities and other public bodies. Tax allowances can also be used. Authorities can also contribute to financing through the provision of land at favourable terms, building access roads and upgrading adjacent public infrastructure.

Public authorities can also ask the promoters of the projects to develop services and infrastructure such as new transport networks, parking areas, as well as social housing and green areas. In some cases, priorities are set by referendum/vote/survey among the local neighbourhood.

- **To what extent have the plans for regeneration around redeveloped/ new football stadia been realised?**

According to our research, more than 50% of stadiums were built out of town are less than 15 years old, a clear indication of the trend that new stadiums were typically established further away from town or city centres. This is not surprising as nowadays modern stadiums tend to require more land than in the past. This is due to a larger number of facilities and services included in the projects such as shops, offices, conference centres and hotels as well. However, as stadiums are more frequently used to drive urban regeneration projects, we foresee a gradual increase in the share of sporting venues being built in city centre locations across Europe.

- **What role do you think the Mayor should have in stadium-led regeneration schemes? Should the Mayor have more/ less/ involvement than at present? What should this look like?**

N/A

I am writing in response for a call out for information on how the stadia-led regeneration at the olympic park has made a difference to my life and/or made an impact on my community.

The differences that the stadia-led regeneration have had on my life and on the community I live in have not, I'm afraid, been positive.

I live in Walthamstow and regularly spend time on Hackney, Leyton and Walthamstow Marshes and the aftershocks of the London 2012 Olympics are still being felt. A temporary basketball arena was built on Leyton Marsh. Local people were promised it would be reinstated by October 2012 but this did not happen. Local people were promised the land would be restored to its former glory, with bespoke turf - grown from wildflower seeds collected from the marsh - laid, but, nearly two years on, you can still see the area where the basketball court stood because a football-pitch monoculture was laid. The Olympic Delivery Authority did pay 'compensation' to Lea Valley Regional Park, but we are still waiting for our land to be returned to its original state.

The plants and trees, bees and other insects, invertebrates and small mammals that lived in the wild green space where now we have stadia will never find a home in the sterile parkland that is the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Many of the people who lived in Clay's Lane have never been rehoused as promised; they too are casualties of the development. And there are many, many other examples of those who have been dispossessed by the developers that came to East London with the London 2012 Olympics.

And what of the future? Quite afternoons in our gardens and on the marshes ruined by the noise from concerts at the stadia. Greater threats to our green spaces from developers who want to build houses in the Northern Olympic Fringe. The continued commodification of green spaces as councils rush to fence off green spaces for events, following in the wake of precedents set during 2012. Bridges and paths pushing through woodland and marshland in a bid to make it easier to reach the olympic park, forgetting that every bridge and every path nibbles away at just a little more of what made this part of London so special to those of us who moved here long before it was fashionable, while it was still - gloriously - ignored by purveyors of regeneration.

With best wishes

Abigail Woodman

Hello

A few years ago a small group of Forest Gaters, E7, fought a local 'regeneration' plan which involved both Obsidian and our Council.

This regeneration was led by both the stadium (and Olympics), a mile down the road, and by Crossrail coming to our little station.

We had to research all the plans and rules about growth and development - it wasn't easy. But we were finally able to use these same plans to stop this redevelopment of the centre of Forest Gate into a mass of high rise towers. This is not what most of us thought regeneration should be about - especially in a Conservation Area and a town which thinks of itself as a village in it's own Plan.

During my research I spoke to shop owners and residents, Durning Hall (our local charity), and to employees of the Woodgrange GP and our local dentist. Some were convinced that tower blocks would bring money in to Forest Gate and a better quality of shops. Some, I'm sad to say, thought that the poor area west of Woodgrange Road and the Asian, Caribbean and African residents would be persuaded to leave. Local shopkeepers were worried about being pushed out of the area, especially those who cater to non-English populations here, and many of them now have to rely on the rent they charge for the first floor they rent out as living space. Their rents have gone up.

Regeneration is not for the local people unless they're well off and want a place for their children to live near-by.

After the building of Westfield Mall, and even before the Olympic site was finished, we noticed changes here. Shopkeepers told me that they were already experiencing a drop of about 15% in their sales. We all also noticed an increase in traffic on Woodgrange Road, with more pedestrians being hit by cars, and on Forest Lane - even on one way streets - with parking difficulties everywhere.

We haven't experienced anything physical which benefits us, not even a football. I've read in the Recorder of singular sports programmes but not of green spaces for kids (and adults!) to play sports on. We only have the Flats, which are too far for kids to walk to, and Forest Lane Park--again, too far to walk to for kids. Swimming and bike riding at the Olympic Park are also too far away and cost for admittance! How many Forest Gate kids can pay for these?

I'm pretty sure that we're all happy for the new sports arena but most of us here will be watching the activities on tv. We'll probably notice something is going on when our trains and busses will be crammed - but we'll have to deal with that for Crossrail anyway. At least we'll get to hear that something fun is going on over there.

My husband and I aren't happy with the new high rises (the architecture is dull, repetitive, and really only for short-timers or for the poor and it makes London ugly) rather than more of the

gorgeous homes the Victorians built here. The low sky line and the architecture are what make Forest Gate a nice place to live. But with this regeneration all around us, we're hoping to move in the near future. We'll miss the lovely multi-culture of friendly neighbours here but... the changes in landscape and infrastructure and future population (which we've been told will mostly come to this part of London) we won't mind missing.

Sincerly,

Karin

Holloway

London Assembly Stadium-led regeneration
Regeneration Committee

Submission by Mark Panton, PhD student
at Birkbeck College, University of London.

Executive Summary

This submission to the Regeneration Committee is based on my own research in to stadium-led developments from a stakeholder perspective. The research focuses on regeneration projects in East Manchester and Tottenham involving Manchester City FC and Tottenham Hotspur FC. It considers how different stakeholders, especially those in the local community, are able to participate in these stadium-led developments. Data collection has involved semi-structured interviews and observations at meetings at both of the sites. The research has also involved an extensive review of the existing literature on stadium-led developments. This is the basis for the submission. Recommendations have been included at relevant sections of the submission.

Much of the detailed research on stadium-led regeneration is based on an economic analysis of their claimed benefits and much of this has been carried out in the USA. Overall, the literature suggests that no statistically significant positive correlation between sport facility construction and economic development has been found. This is not to deny the possibility of "intangibles" or external benefits from "civic pride" or psychological identification with sports teams or new stadiums (Baade and Dye, 1990).

In the UK, it was not until the mid-to late-1990s, in major cities such as Birmingham, Glasgow and Sheffield, that the use of sport for regeneration purposes gained some popular support. There exists a belief that new football stadiums can be the catalyst for wider regeneration, certainly amongst owners of sports franchises in the USA. Although the academic evidence seems to stack up against using sports stadiums in general for regeneration, there is some support for their development on brown-field sites, (e.g. Stade de France in Paris and the Millennium Stadium in Cardiff).

The issue of integration through community involvement has been recognised almost everywhere new sports stadiums have been built as part of a regeneration process (e.g. Chenayil, 2002; Thornley, 2002). Therefore the evidence suggests that local communities must be genuinely involved from the earliest planning stages of regeneration through on-going developments. The existing literature suggests it is not easy to balance wider community participation with successful developments. However, stadium-led regeneration must involve social as well as physical outcomes, a point made repeatedly by a number of the experts that provided information during the first part of the London Assembly investigation. It is also borne out by my research in the communities of East Manchester and Tottenham, short extracts of which are included.

Overall, wider empirical research of both a quantitative and qualitative nature is needed into many of the questions raised by the Regeneration Committee.

Terms of reference of the Committee

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;**

It is important to define what is meant by the term 'regeneration'. Many definitions exist, but perhaps one of the most useful relates to the transformation of a place – residential, commercial or open space – that has displayed the symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline:

> *"… breathing new life and vitality into ailing community, industry and area [bringing] sustainable, long term improvements to local quality of life, including economic, social and environmental needs,* (Local Government Association, 2000: 3).

Following on from the above, numerous studies have shown that the benefits of different forms of urban regeneration often fail to trickle down to local people who lack the skills and capital to benefit from emerging employment or business opportunities, (Henderson *et al.*, 2007). Further, the existing literature on community involvement in regeneration suggests it is not easy to balance wider community or stakeholder participation with successful developments. Regeneration agencies often limit participation to groups seen as legitimate (or most in tune with its objectives); it is difficult to find 'representative' community leaders; and participation is often constrained by the belief of local people that they will not be listened to (Imrie and Raco, 2003; Jones, 2003, quoted in Henderson *et al.*, 2007: 1446). Common criticisms of urban regeneration, of whatever hue, reflect a failure to consult, and then, importantly, to allow participation by local communities and stakeholders. This can lead to an inability to integrate developments and ultimately to alienation. The issue was summarised in earlier research in to stadium-led regeneration in East Manchester:

> *"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. They'll start daubing paint all over walls 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. And I think we've got to be seen to be, you know purely from a selfish point of view to stop those things happening we've got to do something",* (interview with MCFC official, quoted in Brown *et al.*, 2004: 28).

The quote demonstrates the importance of involving local communities in regeneration schemes; not just in consultation exercises, but genuine participation from the earliest planning stages of regeneration strategies through to on-going developments. The issue of integration through community involvement has been recognised almost everywhere new sports stadiums have been built as part of a regeneration process. It is necessary that an integrative approach be taken to avoid a repetition of the problems of detachment from the surrounding community that have been exhibited by many North America stadia, (Chenayil, 2002: 892). Community resentment can be an enduring feature, as demonstrated by the Atlanta Olympics, as a result of reduced social housing and dislocation, (Rutheiser, 1996, quoted in Matheson, 2010: 12). Similar resentments can be evidenced at Olympic sites in Sydney, Athens and Vancouver.

Exclusion of the local population from the planning process such as in Atlanta (ELRI, 2007), together with fear of increasing property prices and gentrification can create negative legacies for regeneration and thus need to be carefully managed and considered in the case of London, (Davies, 2011). Thornley (2002: 818) makes the point explicitly: "Stadia developments should not be regarded as isolated projects but integrated into broader visions of local regeneration and strategic city policy, over issues such as social inclusion, sustainability and public transport." Tallon, (2010) believed that some lessons may have been learned with an increasingly important component of recent urban regeneration being the involvement of communities in driving forward the regeneration of their area.

It was not until the mid-to late-1990s, in major cities such as Birmingham, Glasgow and Sheffield, that the use of sport for regeneration purposes gained some popular support. In the British context, most of the cities following this strategy of economic regeneration through sport were industrial cities, not normally known as major tourist destinations. The drivers of such policies were the need for a new image and new employment opportunities caused by the loss of their conventional industrial base. In the USA, cities such as Indianapolis, Denver, Phoenix and Cleveland adopted a similar strategy in the 80s and 90s, again following increased unemployment due to de-industrialisation. In an early study in this country, Gratton and colleagues reported the results of a study of six major sports events held in the UK between May and August 1997. They found a wide variety in the economic impact generated by the six events as well as the difficulty sometimes encountered in predicting what these benefits will be prior to staging the event, (Gratton, Dobson and Shibli, 2000).

One of the interesting points arising from a comparative analysis of stadia is that the public sector appears as a significant actor, in one form or another, whatever the surrounding political and ideological environment, (Thornley, 2002). Arguably, communities that contribute their investment for a facility should share in ownership. If stadiums are subsidized either directly or indirectly through public funding then the facility can justify the investment by being used for the community's benefit. The research organisation Substance, suggests that any stadium development should include: "an active and meaningful involvement in decision making by local community representatives, residents, businesses and supporter communities;

developments designed with local communities to meet their needs; and independent monitoring of community involvement in the development", (Brown *et al.*, 2006: 41)

Clubs can still develop a greater sense of ownership of their stadia by local communities through a wide variety of community uses and non-institutionalised relationships with people in the locality, for example: developing ' drop-in areas' at the stadium; delivering services (e.g. health) from stadium facilities; enterprise centres for local business; developing open-access sports facilities for use by the locality; and generally developing an approach based on inclusion and access rather than security, (Brown *et al.*, 2006: 42). It is clear that the owners of new stadiums, which are the focus of urban regeneration schemes, can do a lot more to successfully integrate these developments. Brown *et al.*, (2006) discussed the social and community value of football in their final report and they make a number of recommendations that could equally be applied more widely to stadium-led regeneration schemes.

Adoption of local employment practices, local purchasing policies, better and more inclusive governance, environmental standards and waste disposal recording have become commonplace in many businesses and there is little reason why this should not be the case with regeneration schemes. Embedding these within Company Objectives under an obligation to benefit local communities and act in a socially responsible way, can only assist integration. Stadium-led regeneration schemes should reflect that triple bottom line reporting and the accounting for social impacts is becoming commonplace in business. Such projects normally produce glowing accounts of the anticipated outcomes of developments. Given the large sums of public money that are inevitably spent, the 'community impacts' and 'social value' they create should then be evidenced.

> *"There are only two things you do not want on a valuable piece of real estate. One is a cemetery, and the other is a football stadium"* – University of Chicago sports economist Allen Sanderson, (deMause and Cagan, 2008: 272).

The above quotation reflects an evidence-based view from the USA, where there has been considerable research into the claimed economic benefits of building new sports stadiums. It also reflects the view that 'corporate welfare' almost exclusively benefits the private owners of sports teams in the USA, rather than local communities. Further data from the USA follows.

- **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;**

The commitment of the Mayor set out in the London Plan to support the continued success of professional sporting enterprises and requirement that in planning, developments should *'address deficiencies in facilities and provide a cultural focus to foster more sustainable communities* (London Plan, 2011, para 3.11) is reflected to a large extent by the above research. That is, communities need to be more involved in regeneration schemes of whatever type. Local communities will have views on the

facilities that are most deficient; those that need to be replaced and those that can be refurbished.

Stadium-led regeneration must involve social as well as physical outcomes, a point made repeatedly by a number of the experts that provided information during the first part of the London Assembly investigation. Football clubs, both small and large, can provide a cultural focus when they are open-facing to their communities. Previous research supports commitments to work with local stakeholders to promote and develop sporting facilities; (London Plan, 2011, para 3.19) and the requirement of borough Local Development Frameworks to enhance the "economic contribution and community role" of sporting developments (London Plan, 2011, Policy 4.6).

The extent to which these broad aims are being met needs further independent research against agreed targets. Anecdotal evidence from, for example the stadium-led regeneration planned in Tottenham, indicates considerable local disquiet and difficulties in concluding that the Mayor's objectives are being met.

- **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.**

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. Some individual elements have been implemented by football clubs, but they remain an extremely useful template of recommendations to assist in delivering regeneration for local communities. If public money is directly involved, then the authorities, including the Mayor, will be in a strong position to insist on any or all of the recommendations as being part of a Community Involvement Plan. Section 106 planning requirements that include such recommendations could also be linked to private stadium-led developments.

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.

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, (Brown *et al.,* 2006: 41-42).

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 stadiums is simply the starting point of this process.

It is important for the public confidence in stadium-led regeneration schemes that any public money used, either directly or indirectly is secured through binding contracts, Section 106 planning agreements or a Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL) with football clubs. Where direct public funding is involved in the building of stadiums, contractually obliged claw-back provisions should be are inserted in to any agreements with football clubs if the stadium, club or associated company is sold. It should be remembered that most football clubs are privately owned, with many of those owners living abroad.

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

- **Why are football stadia considered as catalysts for regeneration?**

Advocates of stadium-led regeneration put the argument that any public costs involved will be exceeded by their economic benefits. As discussed above, many researchers in the USA argue that new stadiums have an uncertain impact on the levels of economic activity and possibly a negative impact on development relative to the region. The result is consistent with the possibility that such regeneration schemes might bias local development towards low-wage jobs and not catalysts for regeneration. It might be suggested that the glamour connected with football and highly visible stadiums makes them easier to support as catalysts for regeneration than some alternatives.

In the UK, there has been an emergence of the use of sport in general to address regeneration objectives, largely stemming from the belief of government and other sporting organizations that it can confer a wide range of both economic and social benefits to individuals and communities beyond those of a purely physical sporting

nature, and can contribute positively to the revitalization of declining urban areas (BURA, 2003).

> *"We have national and regional government knocking on our doors, saying when are you going to build the stadium? The stadium is a catalyst for a ripple effect. Without this development people will not invest in the area. With it, it will pull in other businesses."* (THFC employee)

Some research has been carried out on the idea of an Anchor Firm that attracts other businesses to an area. The idea of the Anchor Firm is borrowed from commercial property economics literature, and the development of shopping malls. At least one large recognised department store is attracted as the anchor tenant and then a diversified set of smaller, lesser known and specialized stores follow. By analogy, football stadiums could attract other local businesses. The theory puts forward the idea that existing firms serve as anchors that attract skilled labour pools, specialized intermediate industries and provide knowledge spill-overs that benefit new technology intensive firms in the region. This can positively affect firm survival and growth and subsequently the viability of the regional clusters, (Feldman, 2003: 312). In Manchester, established organisations, such as Manchester City Football Club and Sport England, may provide expertise and knowledge about specific applications and product markets, which over time may distinguish the specialization of the industrial cluster. Similarly, in Tottenham, amongst other links to the football club, is the development of a new University Technical College. More generally, regional anchors may encompass other institutions such as universities, government labs, research institutes and other entities, (Feldman, 2003: 320).

Evidence to support the notion that sport, or more specifically football stadiums, can become a catalyst for regeneration goals, as with other types of supported development, is at best highly variable. Despite this, Davies (2011: 230) states from her own research that:

> *"... sporting infrastructure which is utilized and embedded within local area planning has tremendous potential to create economic and social change. However, unless it is strategically planned and evidenced, sports infrastructure and its services will only ever have a limited impact on the revitalization of declining areas."*

- **What do football clubs see as their responsibilities in regeneration?**

There has been little research in to this specific question in the UK and it is one that should be addressed by independent study. Football clubs frequently cite their largely separate charitable foundations as commitments to the local community. But these exist whether or not a stadium is part of a regeneration area.

Research in the USA would indicate that sports franchises see regeneration as an issue for local authorities and at best a potential spin-off effect from their own success at filling stadiums and car parks. In order to justify public subsidies for the building of

stadiums, 'boosters' frequently produce figures related to the amount of jobs and economic benefits that will be created for the area around new developments:

> *"Minnesota Wins!, a pro-stadium group funded by the Twins, Vikings, and local corporations, estimated that a new baseball-only stadium costing $310 million would generate an additional $35.9 million in economic activity and the equivalent of 168 new full-time jobs – prompting University of Chicago economist Allen Sanderson to remark that if the money were dropped out of a helicopter over the Twin Cities, you would probably create eight to ten times as many jobs,"* (deMause N. and Cagan J., 2008: 36).

- **What direct and indirect regeneration impacts might be expected from a stadium scheme?**

Many of the issues related to this question are dealt with elsewhere on this submission. These include potential economic benefits, intangible benefits associated with local prestige and some negative aspects as detailed below.

- **What unintended impacts can result from stadia schemes?**

It should be remembered that costs can be social as well as economic, and adequate account must be taken of the need to provide opportunity and facilities for all sections of the community. For example, the neighbouring community to the Millennium Stadium bears the cost of increased litter, congestion and parking, as well as a serious decline in trade on event days, (Jones, 2001). Similarly, Brown *et al.*, 2006: 39 noted that the staging of football matches can cause significant disruption and nuisance to local residents. The extent to which stadium owners actively respond to and lessen this disruption, as well as overcome it through more imaginative engagements with residential communities, becomes central to whether stadia can become a genuine community resource.

Research in Cardiff found that around half of city-centre users would be unlikely to shop in the centre on match days because of concerns over anti-social behaviour, crowds and transport, (Cardiff City Council, 2000, quoted in Jones, 2001). Similarly, local ratepayers can be disadvantaged in terms of pollution, noise and inappropriate use of public man-power.

- **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?**

As the use of sports stadiums for the purpose of regeneration is a fairly recent phenomenon in the UK, the scope and breadth of literature in this field is relatively limited. As mentioned above, sports stadiums have been used to attempt to tackle urban decline in USA cities for many years. This has led to a wider literature, discussion and evidence base concerning stadiums and economic development founded on this experience. Sports writers, news reporters, politicians, businesses, pressure groups and economists have taken part in heated debates around 'corporate

welfare'. In this context, corporate welfare involves regional subsidies to sports franchises to move between cities and frequently the building of new stadiums, largely at public expense. The competitive structure of sports leagues in this country makes it more difficult for sports organisations to hold communities to ransom than has been the case in the USA. However, arguably, Tottenham Hotspur used this approach that resulted in £27 million indirect funding for their new stadium from the Mayor of London and Haringey Borough Council, (Daily Mail, 31/01/12). The football club stated that the new stadium development was not financially viable without the extra funding and an agreement to significantly reduce the number of affordable housing units of a proposed residential development (Haringey Report for Cabinet, 7 February 2012, Item 12).

Since public subsidies to build sports stadiums for the benefit of private sports organisations have become a major issue over the past decades, numerous researchers have examined the relationship between new facilities and economic growth in metropolitan areas in the USA; see: Baade & Dye, 1990; Rosentraub & Swindell, 1993; 1996, Noll & Zimbalist, 1997. 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). 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).

For example, Baade and Dye (1990) used regression analysis to research what economic impact the construction of a new stadium or move of a new sports franchise had in nine metropolitan areas in the USA. The evidence was that the presence of a new or renovated stadium had an uncertain and possibly a negative impact on local development relative to the region. The result was consistent with the idea that stadium subsidies might bias local development toward low-wage jobs. After controlling for the effect of population and time trend, the presence of a new or renovated stadium had an insignificant impact on area income for all but one of the metropolitan areas, (which involved a new NFL franchise moving to the locality as well as a new stadium).

So, on a pure costs/benefits analysis, the evidence from the USA indicates that the economic contribution of stadium development to local regeneration is negligible. Baade and Dye did not deny the possibility of "intangibles" or external benefits from "civic pride" or psychological identification with big time sports, but stadium construction was frequently justified to the taxpaying public on tangible economic grounds. Intangible concepts such as 'civic pride' are also more difficult to quantify. Certainly greater involvement of local communities in the decision-making around stadium-led regeneration is more likely to generate such social benefits.

- **Are football stadia maximising their potential as community assets?**

There are individual examples of good practice, such as the poly-clinic that is part of the ground at Leyton Orient. However, Brown *et al* in their 2006 report for the

Football Foundation argued there is a lot more that football clubs could do to maximise their stadiums as community assets and these are set out above. In discussions with this committee, Pete Bradshaw of MCFC, also pointed out some of the difficulties that football clubs have in making the stadium available to the wider local community.

- **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)?**

Jones (2001, 2002) in reviewing the impact of the Millennium Stadium in Cardiff, made some important observations concerning governance issues in relation to the Millennium development, which apply more generally to other stadium regeneration schemes. These included the lack of evidence that local structures serving democracy and accountability were adequate to ensure that all viewpoints regarding the development were heard equally. There was also evidence that local politicians can get seduced by regeneration projects that offer exposure for the city on the global stage and present glamour not associated with the more mundane task of serving the local populace.

The issue of broad-based regeneration was investigated by McCarthy (2002). He analysed the case of Detroit's entertainment-led regeneration efforts and found that issues of governance helped to explain the development of a pro-growth, entertainment-led agenda for regeneration in Detroit. The role of local politicians and local governing regimes is often critical to this process, and, particularly where policy can be pushed forward and implemented by a single figure with sufficient power, the potential exists for policy to serve personal ends (Jones, 2001). As in Salford, Manchester and Cardiff, this approach can be criticised for failing to give due emphasis to interests without a direct stake in property ownership.

McCarthy (2002) found that the approach was fundamentally flawed as a mechanism of bringing about broadly-based regeneration, as indicated by the resulting uneven spread of benefits in terms of the wider city. It could therefore be concluded that the use of entertainment and sports-based schemes may even increase problems of social injustice and exclusion. Consequently, the justification of public subsidy of such schemes may be called into question. This suggests the need for a more critical approach to the assumptions underpinning 'boosterish' regeneration strategies that rely on cultural and stadium-led projects. Again, it also indicates the need for any stadium-led regeneration strategies to involve all stakeholders at the earliest opportunities to fully integrate the development in order to try to ensure its success.

Municipal governments have been censured for deploying stadium financing in an unlawful and undemocratic manner, by ostracizing the community from taking part in the decision-making process, (Lee, 2002). Prior to construction of Vancouver's BC Place Stadium, a number of public meetings were held, however the problem with these meetings was that they were primarily information sessions for the public and prevented the community from gaining a vote in the process, (Lee, 2002). This is not

an effective stakeholder management strategy, which Low and Cowton (2004) contend consists of both stakeholder engagement and participation. There is clearly also a need for greater involvement of communities and stakeholders at all levels if sports is to be used successfully in urban regeneration schemes.

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

Although the academic evidence seems to stack up against using sports stadiums in general for urban regeneration, there is some support for their development on brown-field sites. Whilst it seems to be accepted that new sports stadiums do not spawn large numbers of jobs, some recent US studies suggest that new stadium development can contribute to the transformation of the image of downtown locations and encourage growth in service sector jobs, (Austrian & Rosentraub, 2002). DeMause and Cagan (2008) also accept there are one or two success stories related to the positive impact of a new stadium on a depressed part of a city and cite the $215 million Coors Field in Denver that opened in 1995. Although they also suggest that most success stories are of stadiums being located in areas that were already experiencing economic growth and revival before the stadium appeared, as with Camden yards in Baltimore, or the America West Arena in Phoenix, 1992. DeMause and Cagan (2008) ultimately conclude that a stadium has next to no impact on economic activity in its neighbourhood, but some of the most recent evidence in support of building on brown-field sites comes from developments on this side of the Atlantic, in the UK and France.

In France, the Stade de France (SdF) was built in the Saint Denis area of Paris and was effectively cost-free for local tax-payers. Saint Denis in common with other northern and eastern suburbs lost its industrial base in the 1970s and 1980s. Through negotiations with the state during the planning of the SdF, the area of Saint Denis secured substantial infrastructure improvements that could enhance it as a location for new business. The impacts arose from the greatly improved transport infrastructure that came with the stadium and most importantly from the transformation of the image of Plaine-Saint-Denis. The SdF changed the attitudes of potential investors and of government. However, a wider economic and social integration has been more elusive with pockets of severe deprivation still remaining, (Newman and Tual, 2002).

In this country, Davies (2008: 34) found evidence to suggest that the City of Manchester Stadium (COM) and the Millennium Stadium in Cardiff, both of which were built on brown-field sites, have generated "tangible and intangible impacts on the commercial property market, but they vary between different sectors. Further, that stadiums can enhance the commercial development potential of the surrounding area. In addition to the tangible impacts on commercial property values, the stadia have also generated positive impacts on imaging and confidence in the surrounding area, (Davies, 2008: 41). A number of interviewees commented that the COM Stadium had given retailers the confidence to invest in East Manchester, e.g. Asda Walmart. While the impacts on the retail sector are seemingly positive, caution was urged not to overstate the results, (Davies, 2008: 39). Carlsen and Taylor, (2002: 21) investigated the link between long-term urban renewal and Manchester's 2002 Commonwealth

Games. They argued that economic, social, and cultural benefits from mega-events can only be realized through an integrated approach with long-term urban renewal policy and planning. In the case of Manchester, the city put little or no direct money into the development of capital projects, and funding came from the UK government and private sponsorship. It is due to this factor alone that the city can produce substantial benefits from the event while minimizing exposure to risk.

When the money for sporting infrastructure investment is provided by local taxpayers, as it was for the World Student Games in Sheffield, the question arises of whether other projects might have provided better returns to the local community. When the money for investment comes primarily from outside the local community, as it did for the Commonwealth Games in Manchester, then it is an unequivocal benefit to the local community in economic terms, but may not be the best use of the funds from a national perspective, (Gratton, Shibli, and Coleman, 2005: 998).

Jones (2001, 2002) reviewed the impact of the Millennium Stadium in Cardiff. Three broad themes of potential impact could be discerned; the expenditure impacts of visitation; the contribution to urban renewal made by physical development; and the effects on investment and visitation of regular media exposure in the sports pages and on television, (Jones, 2002: 827). Although expenditure impacts can be significant, the amount that accrues locally is open to question. Indeed, there is still a need for an objective and transparent accounting of a stadium's impact upon economic development.

Secondly to investigate:

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

No submissions on this issue.

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

No submissions on this issue.

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

The role of the Mayor in stadium-led regeneration schemes has been reviewed above, together with a series of recommendations from previous research. Specifically in relation to Tottenham, the Mayor, in a letter dated 16 January 2012, has committed to invest £18 million in the regeneration area. This investment in the local area is not without controversy locally, since part of that money may be used to buy up land, involving the demolition of existing shops and social housing, to build a new "Stadium Approach" from White Hart Lane Station to the football ground.

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;**

In the local community in Tottenham there are growing concerns about the effects of stadium-led regeneration, focussed on a series of proposed demolitions. The local authority is proposing to demolish social housing on the Love Lane Estate and local shops opposite the new stadium in order to build a new walkway from White Hart Lane Station. Many residents of the estate fear they will be moved out of Tottenham and eventually priced-out of returning. Paulette Hamilton, chairman of the Love Lane Residents' Association, said at a recent meeting: "We're the first people that will be transported out of Tottenham and many to different places," (Haringey Independent, 31 July 2014).

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,"* (Guardian, 31 October 2013: 43). At a recent 'Question Time' session held by Haringey Council, their ten-year old daughter asked the council why her home was being demolished at the launch of Tottenham's regeneration plans. Councillor Alan Strickland, cabinet member for regeneration and housing, said he understood the demolition was "incredibly difficult and traumatic", but that "residents, on the whole, supported the proposals". At the same meeting, despite many more people wanting to ask questions the meeting was brought to a close with staff dimming the lights in the hall. One business owner had the final say when he stood up and said Tottenham residents needed to make sure they were speaking to the councillors regularly. He said: "We are the silent majority. Go to their surgeries. The silent majority needs to wake up," (Haringey Independent, 31 July 2014).

The Peacock Lane Industrial Estate that is home to a number of small and medium-sized locally based enterprises is also slated for demolition in order to make way for new housing. 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,"* (Guardian, 31 October 2013: 43)

In Manchester, there appears to be greater attempts to engage with the local community as detailed by Pete Bradshaw in his discussions with the committee and as detailed below. This may be reflected in more generally positive views about the stadium and the football club in interviews I have carried out for my research:

> *"I think the club is doing a fantastic job spending time in its community to build this kind of relationship and I think that's something really special and this project's not going to be different."* (Local businessman)

"MCFC have had a big impact in the local area, they have clearly made a decision to involve the community in their plans, and this has had a positive impact, as long as this continues it can only be a good thing, local residents lives and environment has improved and continues to with the development." (Local police officer)

However, the stadium regeneration project, campus development and other changes can cause problems for local residents. Ethnographic research by a University of Manchester student led to an understanding by her that amid the diversity of experiences in the area, there was a shared and overwhelming sense of precariousness and uncertainty about the future.

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

In relation to the Millennium Stadium development in Cardiff, Jones (2001) states there was little evidence that local structures serving democracy and accountability were adequate to ensure that all viewpoints regarding the development were heard equally. There was also little in the way of genuine inclusiveness, with local bodies outside of professional sports organisations and event promoters largely uninvolved either in infrastructure development or in stadium use.

Jones goes on to point out that locally elected politicians might be expected to champion the case of ratepayers and local businesses against the cause of international capital. However, local democratic and social institutions are all too often suborned. Stadium-led developments can offer exposure on a global stage and present glamour not associated with the more mundane task of serving local people.

In Manchester, the local community has over a decade of experience of involvement in a stadium-led regeneration project. Areas around the stadium were included in New Deal for Communities funding confirmed in 1999; the City of Manchester Stadium was completed in 2002; Manchester City FC moved in to the stadium in 2004 and the Etihad Campus training complex is due to open later in 2014. From previous research and my own investigations, community involvement seems to have been largely positive through extensive consultative efforts and a degree of participation in on-going developments. From information gathered in interviews in East Manchester at the time Manchester City FC were due to move in to the area, it seems that residents' representatives in particular – those most involved in the organisations and processes of regeneration – were generally positive about the move of the club to the area. This related to the overall benefits they saw as coming to the area and the centrality of the stadium development as the most visible sign of the area's physical regeneration, rather than specific economic benefits, (Brown *et al.*, 2004).

As part of the football club's on-going engagement with local community groups, alternate monthly meetings involving local businesses and local residents are held. The purposes of these meetings are for the groups to raise any issues or problems

caused by use of the stadium and for the football club to brief the local community on forthcoming developments and possible business opportunities. They do give local groups a link with the football club and the stadium together with a route to resolve problems such as litter, traffic congestion, and mobile phone signals on match days. From interviews for my own research this seemed to be perceived positively:

> *"We hold regular meetings with the local residents and businesses and the feedback is generally good. We work in partnership (with the football club), and try our best to listen to, and act on local residents concerns."* (Local police officer)

In Tottenham, although the club are proud of their work in the community through their independent charitable foundation, there are no specific regular meetings with local residents or smaller businesses. This can result in the local community feeling disconnected to the process of stadium-led regeneration and also to the football club. Some of that kind of sentiment, leading to suspicion and distrust of the local council and the football club can be heard from members of the local community from interviews that I have carried out in the area. For example:

"They are using the football club as a Trojan horse to push through much wider redevelopment." (Local resident)

"I've been a (political party) member for x years, lived here for x years, been a councillor for x years. I've never seen anything so diseased and secret. It's almost as if we are working for Spurs." (Former local councillor)

"I know the football club could influence the council, but I think Spurs are holding the council to ransom like lovers do 'if you don't do this for me then I am going to go." (Local resident)

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

In their 2006 report for the Football Foundation, Brown *et al.* stressed that football clubs need to minimize the negative effects of events at the stadium on local communities. Jones (2001) makes the point that benefits can flee the local area towards corporations, sports governing bodies and professional athletes, with the local community left to deal with the negative social impacts. In Cardiff it was found that the knowledge that a major game is to be staged, together with the closing of thoroughfares that accompanies such events, has a significant detrimental effect upon retailers' turnover (Cardiff City Council, 2000, quoted in Jones, 2001).

Davies (2008 has found evidence to suggest that the City of Manchester Stadium (as it was at the time) and the Millennium Stadium in Cardiff, have generated "tangible and intangible impacts on the commercial property market. While the impacts on the retail sector are seemingly positive in East Manchester, caution was urged not to overstate the results, (Davies, 2008: 39). This is undoubtedly true, since the area

surrounding the Etihad Stadium (as it is now called), whilst it has improved considerably since the football club moved in, could not be called a thriving retail district. From interviews for my own research there is some evidence of the benefit of local investment mentioned by Pete Bradshaw:

> *"MCFC … do what they say by using local people and companies wherever possible. They support the local community, invest in it and most of all are part of the community"* (Local business man)

There is still a view that perhaps the relationship between the football club and the council is a bit too one-sided:

> *"The partnership between MCFC and MCC (Manchester City Council) seemed to be a partnership on paper only with the club making the decisions. Similarly between MCC and the people.* (Local writer).

As set out above, many local businesses in Tottenham are under a threat of demolition, which has very negative social and economic impacts for the area. There is a belief that the consultation process is a sham. There is also suspicion about the relationship between the football club and the council. Some of the interviews for my research reflect these issues:

> "*We didn't know about the consultation, we live above as owners and we didn't know as a business, so we didn't know on two counts. It's all designed for the stadium and all the small businesses here will suffer."* (Local business woman)

> *"It's difficult to get heard, but it's ten times more difficult to actually, to have a real say. I mean, you know, now you can be consulted to death… the trouble is they don't actually take any notice of what people say if it conflicts with the council and the developers what they want to do."* (Local resident)

> *"It's a completely fraudulent consultation exercise… (the council) they're trying to do or give Spurs whatever they've asked for. In order to justify staying in Tottenham."* (Local resident)

One issue that should not be forgotten is the impact on the local community that is left behind if a football club moves to a new stadium in a different area of a city. This was the situation in the Moss Side area of Manchester and will be the case in Upton Park in London. For a long period, the site of the old stadium in Moss Side remained derelict and it took many years before any new housing was eventually built on the site. Again, there is a lack of research in relation to the specific case of Moss Side and also the wider issue of communities that may be left behind.

Overall, wider empirical research of both a quantitative and qualitative nature is needed into many of the questions raised by the Regeneration Committee.

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- **Review evidence from past and current stadia-led regeneration schemes to understand the factors that will enable the Olympic Stadium to support a regeneration legacy:**

    1. I am not aware of an athletics stadium that has successfully transformed post Games in multi-use / athletics mode

    2. It was obvious to anyone without an agenda that the best way forward to support a regeneration legacy was to entice an anchor tenant who would be able to maximise revenues from attendees, concessions and naming rights

    3. However unpalatable, that was obviously always going to be a football club

    4. Surely the weight of evidence suggests that a full time re-configuration to support football should have been made early and the stadium sold to the highest bidder

    5. Instead, there was the embarrassment of at least 2 comp tender processes (open to absolutely anyone in the world) each proving that the stadium in legacy mode was not an attractive proposition

    6. Let's hope that the supporters of West Ham accept the new athletics stadium as readily as their owners

- **Assess the extent to which the mayor's objectives in the London Plan for stadia-led regeneration are being met and how they could be improved**

    1. The very fact that someone expects regeneration to be stadia-led is worrying

    2. Where is there a precedent for such regeneration?

    3. This is not what happened in Manchester.

- **Examine partnerships between football clubs and public bodies (boroughs and the GLA) and identify strategies that enable the effective delivery of local regeneration.**

    1. Surely the weight of evidence suggests that more money from naming rights will be returned to the public purse if the anchor tenant is allowed to broker the deal?

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Mr Gareth Bacon
Chairman of the Regeneration Committee London Assembly
City Hall
The Queen's Walk London
SE1 2AA

12 November 2014 Dear Mr Bacon,

RE: London Assembly Regeneration Committee's investigation into stadium-led regeneration in London

As home to the Wembley National Stadium, the London Borough of Brent is pleased to provide information to support your study into stadium-led regeneration. Overall, the completion of the new Wembley Stadium has had a positive impact in the area and has been a significant catalyst to regeneration in the wider area. However, as with all major regeneration initiatives, there are improvements and lessons that can be learnt from the process. We hope that the following response to your questions, which focusses on areas for improvement, will provide useful insights to inform your recommendations.

1. **How have you/ do you plan to assess the social and economic impact a redeveloped/ new stadium is likely to have on the local area?**

We currently have no formal mechanism in place to measure the economic impact of the stadium development. Since the completion of the stadium there has not been a review the initial Economic Impact Assessment (EIA) that was produced as part of the planning process. We hold data on the number of jobs created, homes completed, etc. However, the Council feels that it would be beneficial to the stadium, the Council and other partners if this data was collated and analysed in a single report on a periodic basis – say every 3 to 5 years. It would allow us to adjust strategies and plans to reflect the changing economic environment of the area and work together to improve economic outcomes.

Wembley Stadium is unique in that it is a national stadium that is not associated with a specific sporting club that play regular fixtures. It is therefore more difficult to predict the number and types of events that are going to occur. Different events have different social and economic impacts on the locality and should be considered on a case by case basis as the size, demographic, dwell time and behavioural norms of the crowd can be extremely varied.

For example, anecdotal evidence suggests that the crowd for the NFL World Series has been more family orientated and attendees have tended to spend more time in the area prior to the event. Music concerts tend to be later in the evening and attendees are more likely to cause noise disturbance as they vacate the area. A one size fits all strategy should be avoided.

2. How do you envisage the stadium being used as a community asset?

The stadium itself is not widely used by the public unless it is for a pre-booked tour or event (see question 3 for further discussion). An annual open day is held to encourage the community to visit the stadium for a tour charged at a discounted £1. The stadium engages directly with schools to promote tours, greater value could be added if the stadium involved the Council in their work with the schools. The Council have been granted an allocation of days that can be used to host events for the community.

Although the actual structure is not utilised well by the community, the organisation does make a contribution to local projects through its charitable trust. The trust takes 1% of the stadium's annual turnover and distributes it to various sport and fitness related projects throughout England. Part of this fund is ring-fenced for local projects in the borough. Despite this, Brent has one of the highest rates of childhood obesity in London. It currently stands at 23.7%, above the national (18.9%) and London (22.4%) averages1. The Council believes that more can be done to work in partnership with the stadium trust to jointly tackle this growing problem as well as others faced by the borough by collaborating to align priorities for funding.

3. How do you plan to maximise footfall at and around the stadium? What non-football events will take place at the redeveloped/new stadium?

Wembley Stadium acts as the anchor in the Wembley growth area. However, the majority of non-event day activity is due to other venues and partner organisations, such as the London Designer Outlet. There is no formal partnership between these organisations, specifically focussing on place making, which has prevented a coordinated approach to regeneration and community activities. A wider partnership with a clear remit on place making should be promoted in any stadium led regeneration initiative.

The design of the stadium is very self-contained. There is no motive for a member of the public to go close to the structure unless they are entering the grounds for a pre-booked tour or event. Indeed, the scale and design of the stadium at street level can be perceived as a barrier. This makes it feel somewhat detached from the surrounding pubic realm. Any new stadium led regeneration should be designed to integrate into its surrounding, perhaps by having some active frontages to complement neighbouring developments at ground floor level.

Additionally, the stadium's design should incorporate some publically accessible facilities that can be used all year round, such as a health and fitness centre or museum. Discussions were held in 2012 about the possibility of a National Football Museum being developed but this has not come to fruition. This year sees the launch of the University College of Football Business. This new venture will provide additional activity in and around the stadium and utilise the space on non event days.

1 http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/prevalence-childhood-obesity-borough

wembley is one of the Mayor's strategic housing growth areas, which has meant the regeneration of the area has, and will be, driven by residential development. This has raised a number of questions around ensuring the area around the stadium is utilised on non-event days. One of the factors influencing the decision to locate the new Brent Civic Centre within Wembley Park was to bring more day time activity to the area and support the non-event day economy.

4. **How is your Borough working with football clubs to capitalise on regeneration opportunities to get the best deal for communities? What processes do you use to decide neighbourhood priorities for development contributions (e.g. transport/ public realm/ housing improvements)?**

A formal partnership between the Council, the stadium and other key stakeholders to focus on regeneration does not exist. The central focus for the stadium has been to ensure the smooth operation of the facility and events held within it, and in this context schemes that promote regeneration, but may be disruptive to the stadium, have not always been supported by the stadium. A dedicated resource to promote regeneration does not feature in the management structure for the stadium. This is a clear weakness that should be considered an essential component for management of stadium and its wider responsibilities.

Wembley Stadium has been engaged in local employment opportunities and employed a proportion of its permanent and event day staff locally. There are approximately 110 staff directly employed by the Stadium, and 5000+ contracted event day staff including stewards, medics and customer assistants. Further catering staff are employed through the Stadium's catering partner, Delaware North.

The Council have worked with security contractors to provide stewards and security for event days and have recently worked with Integrated Security Consultants (ISC) whose head office is based in the Stadium to recruit for event staff. The Learning Zone, opened in 2007, is a special learning facility for school children situated within the Stadium, and is jointly funded by Brent Council and the Stadium. The University College of Football Business (UCFB), partnered with Buckinghamshire New University, opened a campus at the Stadium in 2014, and will host 1,500 students over the next 5 years.

The chief executive of Wembley Stadium meets with the Leader of the Council on a regular basis to discuss high level strategy planning between the Stadium and Council, for example around the Euros 2020. Recent discussions with the stadium have covered issues such as developing a work experience / internship scheme in partnership with the new University College of Football Business and using the Wembley Stadium Trust's funding to provide employment-related training.

5. **How have you engaged and consulted local communities (residents and businesses) about the plans for a redeveloped/ new stadium? What responses have you received?**

The area surrounding Wembley is home to a diverse range of businesses, many of which do not provide public facing retail or hospitality. These businesses are affected negatively by the stadium, especially on high capacity event days when road closures impact of deliveries and staff journeys.

This is further exacerbated by events that happen outside of the stadium but are located in Wembley due to its iconic status, such at the Holi One Colour Festival and the 'Run to the beat' 10k charity run.

In order to mitigate this and minimise disruption, the Stadium works as closely as possible with the local residential and business community. The Wembley Stadium Advisory Committee meets every six months to discuss any issues arising as result of activities at the stadium.

In order to prevent excessive disturbance to local residents, the current planning conditions stipulate that there should be no more than 37 full capacity games held each year (i.e. events where tickets for all three tiers are sold). There is no limit on the number of two tier events (i.e. a crowd of 30,000 or less).

Every event creates a number of post-event pressures on local services– clear up, ensuring public safety etc. The local authority inevitably has to get involved to ensure the area is safe and clean, irrespective of where the contractual responsibilities lie. This creates considerable revenue and resource pressures on the local authority. Stadium development should undertake a rigorous assessment, at the outset and reviewed regularly, on the demand on local authority and other public service providers and financial contributions should be agreed from the stadium to the providers to undertake meet these demands.

6. To what extent have the plans for regeneration around the redeveloped / new football stadium been realised?

The stadium has enabled 'Wembley' to become a recognisable name both nationally and internationally, making it easier to promote as a place. The greatly improved transport infrastructure is undoubtedly a result of the stadium redevelopment. This has made Wembley a more attractive place to live due to the efficient connections into central London.

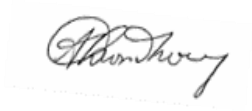
The stadium is an iconic development that local residents are proud of. However, they have not benefitted from the potential of realising the full benefits of the regeneration it has catalysed and are fearful of the negative effects that the relatively high density developments will bring, such as increased congestion and pressure on local services.

The regeneration of an area the size of Wembley is a long term process, in the seven years since the completion of the stadium, the Wembley growth area has seen the opening of an award winning Civic Centre, the new London Designer Outlet and 9 screen cinema, the delivery of new homes and new jobs.

There is still a long way to go before Wembley's full potential is realised. Throughout this response partnership working has been a universal theme required to deliver coordinated regeneration and community aspirations. The Council is committed to delivering more homes and jobs for local people. However, we recognise that we can not successfully deliver inclusive and large scale regeneration alone, we require the support of the GLA, major land owners, developers and the Stadium.

I hope the information provided will contribute to the evidence to support your investigation. Please do not hesitate to contact me if I can provide any further clarification on the points raised in this response. We look forward to reading your final report.

Yours sincerely,



Aktar Choudhury
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