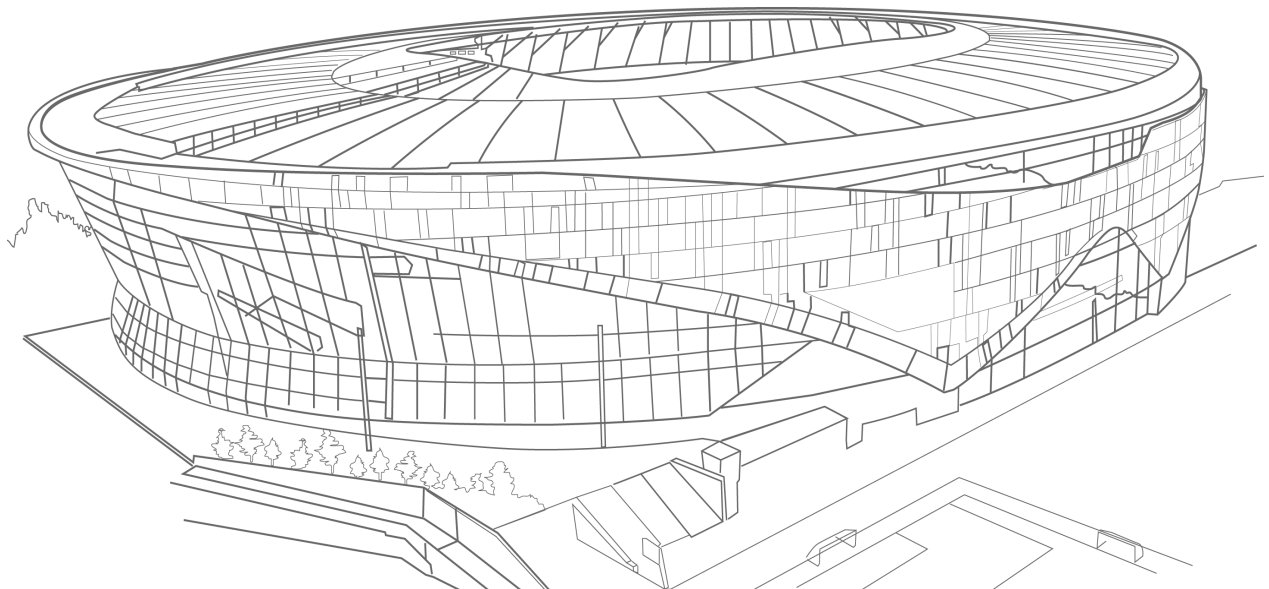# SPORTS-LED URBAN REGENERATION

To what extent has the Regeneration of the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium been considered Successful?

Author: Angelina Constantinides

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Introduction

Today, we stand at an intersection of past and future where architecture is not just about buildings, but about how we choose to honour, adapt, and redefine spaces that have shaped communities for generations. Architectural regeneration is not just a tool for preserving history, but a pathway for breathing new life into forgotten or neglected structures. Yet, as we embark on these ambitious projects, it's critical to ask ourselves: Are these regeneration efforts truly successful? Are they meeting the needs of the communities they serve? In a society where space is valuable, it is critical to assess the extent of success, especially because these vast architectural regeneration projects consume valuable resources, time for planning and money. This dissertation will assess the extent of which sports led regeneration projects are successful, focusing on the regeneration of the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium.

The success of a regeneration project is crucial, as they play a transformative role in revitalizing communities, fostering economic growth, and improving the quality of life for residents. Effective regeneration can rejuvenate neglected areas, attract investment, and create job opportunities, thereby addressing socio-economic disparities and fostering a sense of pride and belonging. Moreover, well-executed projects can enhance environmental sustainability by integrating green spaces, energy-efficient infrastructure, and sustainable transportation. Their success is vital for building resilient communities that can adapt to future challenges, ensuring that the benefits of redevelopment are shared equitably across all societal groups. Ultimately, successful regeneration projects contribute to the broader goals of urban renewal and sustainable development, making them a cornerstone of long-term regional progress.

As urban populations grow and land becomes increasingly scarce, 'urban regeneration has received increasing attention globally, due to the undeniably significant role it may play in city development '[1] and as the space available for new development is rapidly diminishing, regeneration is the key to the future. This shortage of buildable land, coupled with the environmental imperative to preserve green spaces and reduce urban sprawl, highlights the critical importance of regeneration projects. By revitalizing underutilized or derelict urban areas, such projects offer a sustainable solution to the challenges of modern city growth. Successful regeneration not only maximizes existing infrastructure but also breathes new life into neglected spaces, transforming them into vibrant hubs for living, working, and recreation. Emphasizing innovation and community engagement, these efforts are essential for creating inclusive, resilient urban environments without compromising the natural landscape.

1 Zhou, X., Hristova, D., Noulas, A., & Mascolo, C. (2018). *Evaluating the impact of the 2012 Olympic Games policy on the regeneration of East London using spatio-temporal big data*. Ithaca

Aim of The Study

The study aims to critically assess to what extent the regeneration of The Tottenham Hotspur Stadium has been successful. Regeneration plays a significant role in how successful an area is. In the title of the investigation, the word "extent" should be recognised. This is because it connotes that regeneration has only come thus far. We could argue that it asks how far regeneration has gone. From this, we could also argue that it questions the success of the project. Has it positively affected residents from a range of different socioeconomic backgrounds? Therefore, the extent of its success is based on how many people this regeneration project benefits (inclusive of different stakeholders). The phrase "considered successful" should also be acknowledged. This is because it emphasises that the relative success of this project is primarily based on perceptions. Perceptions are altered via media in our society, simply meaning that information we read online (like articles and online forums) alters people's perception which overall affects the real success of the regeneration.

It is evident that Tottenham has extremely high levels of deprivation in comparison to its neighbouring boroughs around London such as Enfield and Southgate. Additionally, there is a noticeable difference between the east and west of Tottenham, which was brought to attention by the British writer Reni Eddolode who stated that 'housing areas across Tottenham varied drastically'[2]. Data has shown that Tottenham has been ranked in the 10% most deprived declined areas in 2011. In contrast, neighbouring areas like Highgate, which is located in East Haringey, were ranked 20% least deprived[3]. From this, we can identify that Tottenham requires improvement in many areas. Local authorities had also identified this as an issue that helped to stimulate the creation of the Tottenham Hotspur football stadium regeneration program. This sports-led regeneration project had promised the residents of Tottenham to receive a more enlightened and successful future. While all seems positive, the idea of this regeneration created varying opinions between the different stakeholders in the area. This includes the residents, small business owners, commuters, and the large economic stakeholder which was Tottenham Hotspur football club. These local conflicts have raised large concerns over the identity of the community which was under threat of gentrification.

Regeneration is not widely accepted despite its evident successes, like the London stadium for the Olympic Games[3], as it still has many negative connotations attached to it. An interesting statement made was that 'This ignorance of the lives of others is what allows gentrification and regeneration to happen'[4] suggesting that gentrification and urban regeneration processes often occur because people, particularly those in positions of power or privilege, are unaware of or indifferent to the experiences and struggles of the communities being affected.

2 Carter, H, Reni Eddolode, 'The Tottenham Riots: How Twitter Helped Fuel the Flames', *The Guardian*, 8 August 2011, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/aug/08/tottenham-riot-twitter [accessed 12 December 2024

3 International Olympic Committee, 'London 2012: A Legacy That Keeps Giving', *Olympics.com*, 18 December 2020, https://olympics.com/ioc/news/london-2012-a-legacy-that-keeps-giving [accessed 12 December 2024].

4 Moskowitz, Peter, 1988-. 2017. How to Kill a city: Gentrification, Inequality, and the Fight for the Neighbourhood. New York, Nation Books

Defining Regeneration: Beyond Urban Development

Regeneration in architecture refers to the comprehensive process of revitalizing urban areas that have experienced decline or neglect. In other words, 'architectural regeneration is a process to find feasible new uses for existing buildings and places'[5] fusing new life into derelict or misused structures.

This involves not only the physical renovation of buildings and infrastructure but also the enhancement of social, economic, and environmental aspects of a community. Architectural regeneration projects aim to create sustainable, vibrant spaces that meet the current needs of residents while preserving the historical and cultural essence of the area. By integrating modern design principles with existing structures, regeneration fosters a sense of continuity and identity, ensuring that revitalized spaces are both functional and aesthetically pleasing.

A pivotal perspective argues that 'successful urban regeneration must prioritize the needs and involvement of the community, advocating for mixed-use developments and walkable neighbourhoods'[6] that encourage social interaction and economic diversity.

A significant aspect of architectural regeneration is its emphasis on sustainability and resilience. By reusing existing structures and materials, regeneration minimizes waste and reduces the environmental impact associated with new construction. It also seeks to foster social cohesion by creating inclusive public spaces that encourage community engagement. 'Regeneration aligns with the principles of adaptive reuse'[7], which focuses on giving aging or derelict buildings a new purpose while respecting its historical significance. This approach underscores the importance of balancing innovation with preservation, ensuring that regeneration projects contribute positively to the built environment and the people who inhabit it.

Why This Study Matters: A Justification of the Investigation

Tottenham is very suitable for the study as it has undergone regeneration not so long ago. Also, there is lots of data available around this regeneration project not only from stakeholders, but also economic and environmental data which can justify its success. Census data is widely available and can help me to support my understanding within the study. Another reason why this area is suitable, is due to the fact Tottenham has a large local history where there has been evidence of ongoing social tensions between different people in the area, which has overall impacted the relative success of this project. And finally, the convenience of the location of the area means that I am able to travel there easily, allowing me to collect primary data in order for my investigation to be fair.

5 Orbasli, A., & Vellinga, M. (eds.) (2020). *Architectural Regeneration*. John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated. Available at: http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/westminster/detail.action?docID=6268184 [Accessed: 12 December 2024
6 Jacobs, J., *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York: Random House, 1961
7 Douglas, J., *Adaptive Reuse: Extending the Lives of Buildings*, Oxford: Architectural Press, 2006.

Overview of the Regeneration Project

The Tottenham Hotspur Stadium regeneration project, known as the 'Northumberland Development Project'[8], was a comprehensive redevelopment initiative cantered around the construction of the new Tottenham Hotspur Stadium (figure 1), which is situated in North London. This state-of-the-art venue, which opened in April 2019 with a seating capacity of over 62,000, replaced the club's historic White Hart Lane stadium. The project encompasses not only the stadium, but also includes residential units, a hotel, retail spaces, and community facilities, representing a private sector investment nearing £1 billion. It was important that the stadium expanded in capacity due to the fast-growing fan base not only from local supporters, but from fans abroad. The stadium was in need of a change as the last development made was in 1899 when the old White Hart Lane stadium (figure 2) was first initially built. The old White Hart Lane Stadium had a capacity of just over 36,000 seats which limited revenue potential and couldn't meet the club economic demands. The stadium now acts as a multipurpose venue as it accommodates for big NFL games, concerts and other high-profile events.

The primary motivation behind this ambitious project was to act as a catalyst for the regeneration of the Tottenham area, which had faced economic challenges and social issues. By developing a world-class sports and entertainment venue, the club aimed to attract visitors, stimulate local businesses, and create employment opportunities. The project is expected to support approximately '3,500 new jobs and inject an estimated £293 million into the local economy'[9] each year, significantly contributing to the area's revitalization. In previous years, the area of Tottenham and Haringey received bad media after the 2011 riots which perceive the area to be a crime hotspot. This caused the decline in economic progression and continued to give the area a bad reputation. During times of bad press and perception, the area of Tottenham was in desperate need of a rebranding, and the Tottenham Hotspur stadium being the heart of the area was the key to this. Not only was this wanted by local governments and council, but desperately wanted by local residents and businesses who were negatively impacted by the 2011 riots.

Additionally, the regeneration scheme sought to 'enhance the local environment and infrastructure'[10]. Improvements to public spaces, better lighting, and upgraded pathways were implemented to create a more welcoming and safer area for residents and visitors alike. The inclusion of community facilities, such as a health centre and educational establishments, further underscores the project's commitment to fostering a prosperous and cohesive community in Tottenham. Restoring the strong sense of community was extremely important, especially after residents in the area had never felt so apart after the divide of the 2011 riots.

8 Haringey Council. (*Tottenham Hotspur Football Club Stadium Development*) https://haringey.gov.uk/planning-building-control/planning/major-projects-and-regeneration/tottenham-hotspur-football-club-stadium-development [accessed 11 December 2024]
9 Populous, 'Destination Tottenham: How Spurs' New Stadium Will Spark Regeneration', Populous, available at: https://populous.com/article/destination-tottenham-how-spurs-new-stadium-will-spark-regeneration [accessed 11 December 2024].
10 Greater London Authority, Regeneration project in Tottenham, available at: https://www.london.gov.uk/programmes-strategies/shaping-local-places/regeneration-project-tottenham [accessed 30 December 2024]

Figure 1: A breath of new life - The New White Hart Lane stadium 2021

Figure 2: The Old White Hart Lane Stadium 1987

Sports Led Regeneration - The London Olympic Stadium

The regeneration of The 2012 London Olympic Stadium shares similarities with the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium as they are shining examples of how sports infrastructure can drive urban renewal. Both projects share similarities in their goals of transforming underdeveloped areas, creating economic opportunities, and fostering community engagement. However, they also differ in their approaches, design intent, and funding strategies.

The London Olympic Stadium (figure 4), initially constructed for the 2012 Olympic Games, is located in Stratford, East London—a previously neglected industrial area (figure 5). The stadium served as the centrepiece of the Games and was 'ranked 7th in Time Out's Top 50 Destinations in London'[12], with a seating capacity of 80,000. After the Olympics, it underwent an extensive £323 million transformation[13] into the London Stadium, now home to West Ham football club, reducing its capacity to 66,000 and equipping it for multi-purpose use. Significant modifications included a retractable seating system, an extended roof, and facilities for football, athletics, concerts, and other events. Despite criticisms of cost overruns and disputes over tenancy agreements, the project achieved its goal of providing a lasting legacy. The redevelopment spurred the revitalization of the surrounding Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, creating green spaces, commercial hubs, and housing developments, as well as providing thousands of jobs.

Similarly, the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium, aimed to regenerate a historically underprivileged area. Both regeneration efforts share striking similarities in their impact on urban renewal. Each targeted economically disadvantaged areas of London, using the construction of world-class stadiums as a catalyst for broader redevelopment. Both projects embraced multi-purpose functionality to maximize utility and revenue, hosting a wide range of events beyond their primary uses. Importantly, they spurred significant economic and social benefits, including job creation, increased tourism, and community engagement initiatives. However, both faced challenges, including criticism over costs and the displacement of residents or businesses during construction.

Despite these similarities, key differences highlight the unique approaches of the two projects. The London Olympic Stadium was initially designed as a temporary venue, necessitating extensive retrofitting post-Olympics but in the long term 'created an incredible 110,000 new jobs'[14]. In contrast, the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium was conceived with long-term multi-functional use in mind, incorporating advanced features from the outset. Funding sources also diverged: the Olympic Stadium's regeneration relied heavily on public funding, while Tottenham's redevelopment was predominantly privately financed. Additionally, the Olympic Park regeneration encompassed a broader range of legacy facilities, such as the Velodrome and Aquatics Centre, while Tottenham's redevelopment focused more directly on integrating with the local urban environment.

12 London Legacy Development Corporation, 'From Games to Growth: The Evolution of Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park', Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (11 July 2024) https://www.queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/our-stories/games-growth-evolution-queen-elizabeth-olympic-park
13London Legacy Development Corporation, 'Biodiversity', Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park
(2024) https://www.queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/about-us/environmental-sustainability/biodiversity
14 International Olympic Committee, 'Mayor Reveals Olympic Host Boroughs as London's Fastest-Growing Area', Olympics.com (9 October 2017) https://olympics.com/ioc/news/mayor-reveals-olympic-host-boroughs-as-london-s-fastest-growing-area

Figure 4: 2012 London Olympics Stadium

Figure 5: Looking north up the Lea Valley as construction begins on the Olympic venues 2007

Chapter 1: Hypotheses – Investigating the Impact of Regeneration

Breaking the Cycle of Deprivation: Can Renewal Reduce Inequalities?

Hypothesis 1: Deprivation has improved since regeneration has been completed.

If levels of deprivation improve following a regeneration project, it can be considered a sign of success, though not the sole determinant. A reduction in deprivation, manifested through improved employment rates, enhanced access to services, and increased community well-being—indicates that the project has positively impacted the lives of residents. However, the true measure of success extends beyond short-term improvements; it requires sustained benefits, equitable outcomes for all social groups, and alignment with broader goals like environmental sustainability and cultural preservation. Additionally, understanding the causality behind these improvements is crucial, as external factors or broader economic trends might also contribute. Therefore, while reduced deprivation is a strong indicator of a successful regeneration project, it should be evaluated alongside other factors to form a comprehensive judgment. This is a reason as to why four different hypotheses have been formulated.

Unlocking Opportunities: Employment and Economic Growth

Hypothesis 2: Employment levels and employment opportunities have improved since regeneration.

An improvement in employment levels following a regeneration project can be a strong indicator of success, as it reflects tangible economic benefits for the community. Increased employment suggests that the project has likely stimulated local businesses, attracted investment, or created new industries, providing opportunities for residents to secure jobs. 'Growth is inevitable and desirable, but destruction of community character is not'[15] establishing the idea that economic growth is inevitable with regards to regeneration project however the destruction of the community comes hand-in-hand with this. While higher employment levels are a positive outcome, the project would only be fully successful if it fosters sustainable growth, reduces inequalities, and enhances the long-term quality of life for the people it serves.

Building Safer Communities: Tackling Crime Through Development

Hypothesis 3: Crime rates have fallen since regeneration.

The levels of crime often serve as a key indicator of the success of when assessing the extent of success of a regeneration project. A noticeable decline in crime rates following such initiatives typically suggests that the project has achieved a degree of success. This improvement can result from various *factors*, such as enhanced

15 Cheshmehzangi, A. (2020) The City in Need: Urban Resilience and City Management in Disruptive Disease Outbreak Events.

community cohesion, better urban planning, and increased economic opportunities, all of which contribute to creating a much safer environment for locals. Regeneration projects often include measures like improved lighting, surveillance, and public spaces that deter criminal activity. This factor is particularly important with the chosen case study due to the 2011 riots sealing a bad reputation for the area and encouraging crime to the youth of the area. The 2011 riots encouraged local residents to dismantle the good reputation the area had prior. So, a regeneration project of this size should in hindsight improve the levels of crime.

*Shaping New Perceptions**: Changing How the World Views the Area*

Hypothesis 4: Perceptions of the area having improved since regeneration has been completed.

The perception of an area improving after a regeneration project often indicates a degree of success, as it suggests that the initiative has positively influenced public opinion and potentially attracted new residents, businesses, or visitors. Enhanced perceptions can stem from visible changes such as upgraded infrastructure, increased safety, improved amenities, or a more vibrant community atmosphere. 'The negative perception of deprived neighbourhoods is often even further reinforced, producing a vicious circle from which it is difficult to escape'[16] further solidify the idea that perception of an area is easily worsened and can turn into a vicious cycle. The media has a profound influence on our opinions because it serves as a primary source of information about the world, shaping our understanding of events, issues, and people. This further emphasises the importance of the area having a good perception to members of the public and local residence.

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16 Saiu, V. (2020). 'Evaluating Outwards Regeneration Effects (OREs) in Neighborhood-Based Projects: A Reversal of Perspective and the Proposal for a New Tool', *Sustainability*, 12(24), pp. 10559.

Chapter 2: The Evidence Speaks - Analysis of Secondary Data

Secondary data is extremely important within the study as it provides for more of an insight into the statistics. The statistics have been accumulated through large amounts of data and should provide for an accurate insight.

Data Representation – Hypothesis 1
Breaking the Cycle of Deprivation: Can Renewal Reduce Inequalities?

Index of Multiple Deprivation

The IMD Data represented in Figure 3 and Figure 4, show data from both 2015 and 2019. This allows for a comparison of the data, comparing the statistics before regeneration (in 2015) and after regeneration (in 2019). When comparing the two sets of data in figure 3 and figure 4, it is clear to see that there has been an improvement in levels of deprivation within the surrounding areas. In Figure 3, we can see the large improvement in upper Edmonton and Bruce Grove. It seems that the areas of deprivation centre around the High Road, where the most businesses are and population is most dense. This somewhat contradicts the 'broken windows theory'[17]. However, it is clearly evident that the main location of my site has not improved significantly since the regeneration of the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium. The area as a whole has improved in terms of deprivation however my targeted area within Haringey have not seen a large improvement.
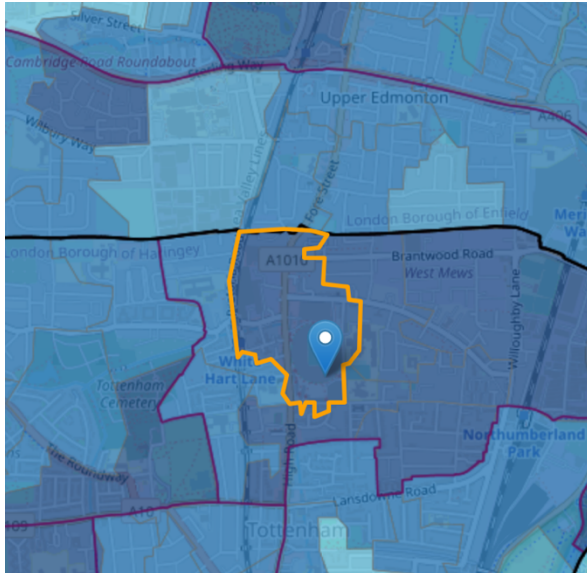
Figure 3: 2019 IMD Data
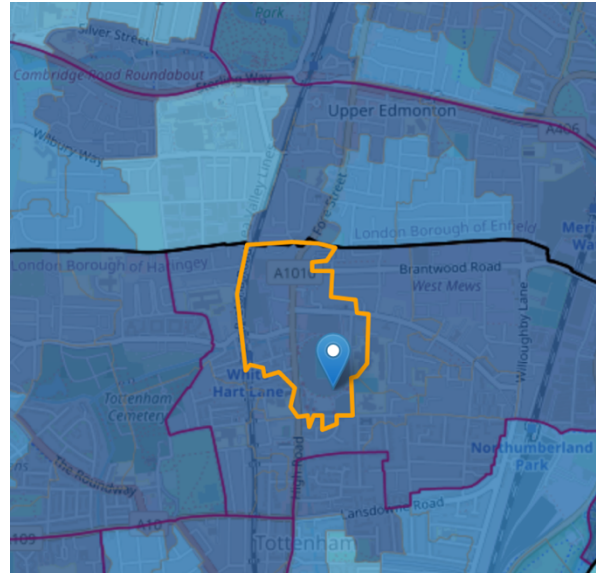
Figure 4: 2015IMD Data
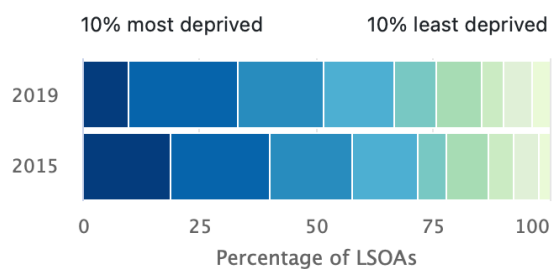
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17 Zhang, W. Xu, and S. Zhou, 'Understanding perceived environment quality in affecting tourists' environmentally responsible behaviours: A broken windows theory perspective', *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 2019

Education and Training Data Linking to Deprivation

High education levels are often associated with successful areas due to the symbiotic relationship between education and economic prosperity. In successful areas, robust economic activity generates resources that can be invested in high-quality schools, colleges, and training programs. These investments attract skilled educators, advanced technologies, and enriching extracurricular opportunities, fostering a culture of academic excellence[18]. Additionally, prosperous areas typically offer stable employment opportunities and higher income levels, enabling families to prioritize education and afford related expenses. When comparing figure 5 and figure 6, it is clear to see that there has been no significant improvement in the levels of education and training after the implementation of this regeneration project. This further solidifies the idea that this regeneration project may have only benefited the local economy and not the local residents.
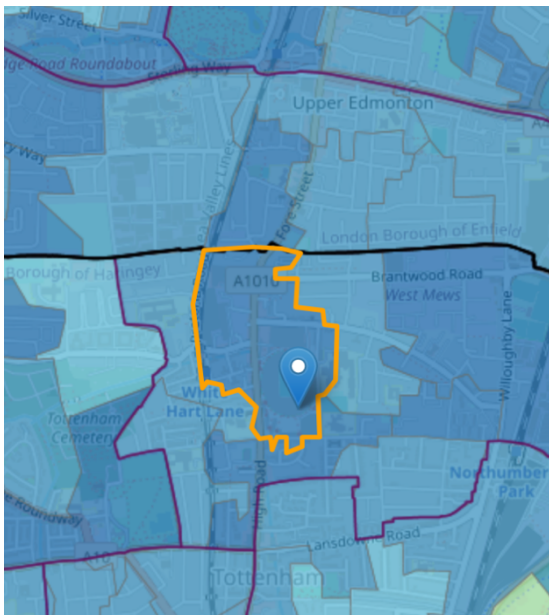
Figure 5: 2019 Education Data

Figure 6: 2015 Education Data

Health Deprivation and Disability Domain / IMD

Health levels are likely to be high in a successful area because success often brings improved living conditions and access to resources that support well-being. A prosperous area typically has better infrastructure, including clean water, sanitation, and housing, which are essential for preventing disease and promoting physical health. Comparing figure 7 and figure 8 shows a vast improvement in health deprivation and disability levels within the area between 2015 and 2019, indicating an improvement after the regeneration project was completed. This is a fantastic indication of a successful regeneration project as it proves that the money spent on the area helped improve health deprivation through the increase of investment in local amenities. This can also be linked to economic factors such as job availability as those with employment have better access to medication and healthcare services. However, it is important to argue that was this improvement in health deprivation directly linked to the regeneration of the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium, or was this linked to an improvement in healthcare amenities in the local area[19].
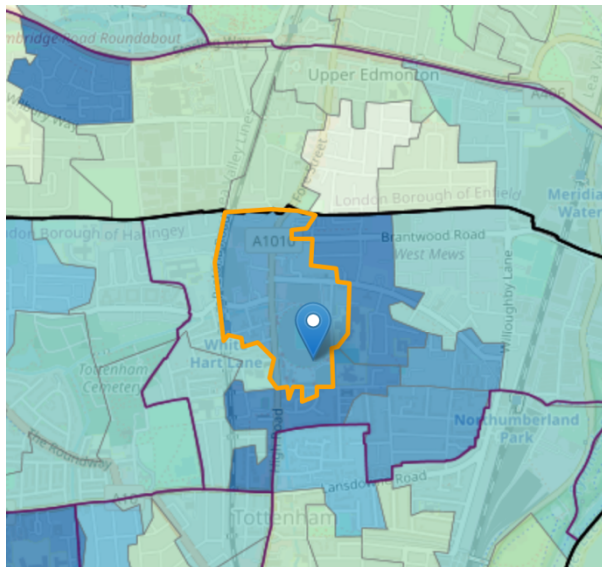
Figure 7: 2019 Health Deprivation and Disability   *Figure 8: 2015 Health Deprivation and Disability*

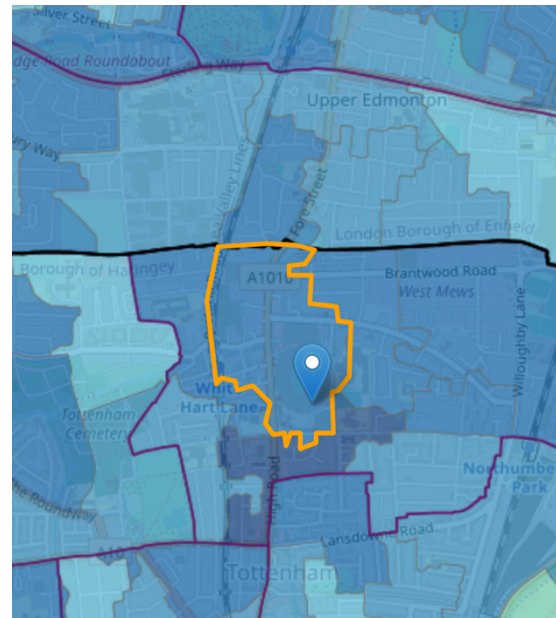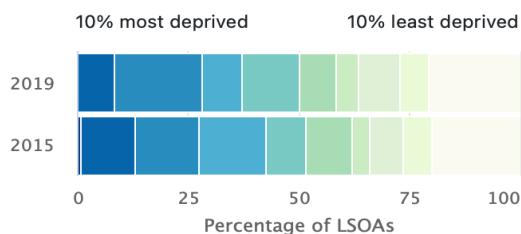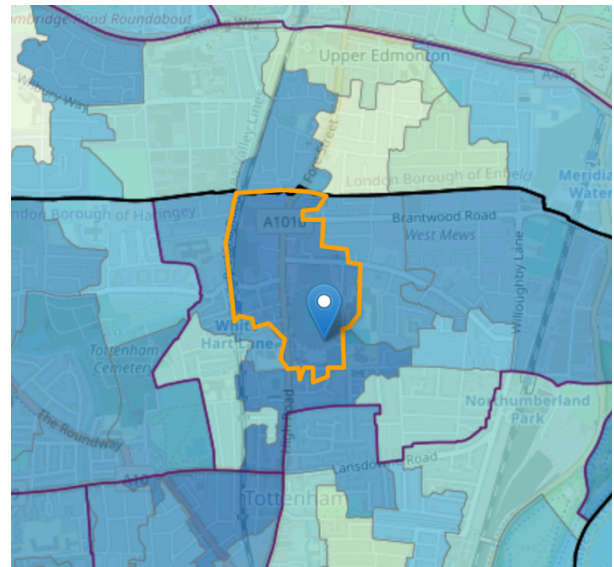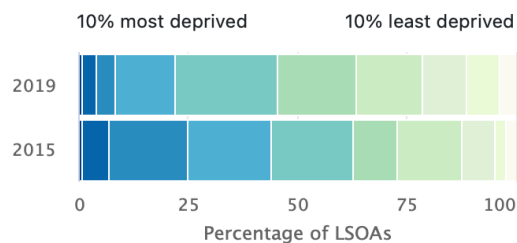**19** Department for Communities and Local Government, *Index of Deprivation (IOD) 2015: Income Deprivation Index,* available at: http://dclgapps.communities.gov.uk/imd/iod_index.html# [accessed 12 December 2024]

Data Representation – Hypothesis 2
Unlocking Opportunities: Employment and Economic Growth

Census data is highly valuable because it provides comprehensive and detailed information about a population particular area which helps my studies focus, offering insights that are essential for decision-making, planning, and research. Governments and organizations use this data to allocate resources, plan infrastructure, and design policies that meet the specific needs of populations. This is a reliable form of data which I can use to further analyse my dissertation question.
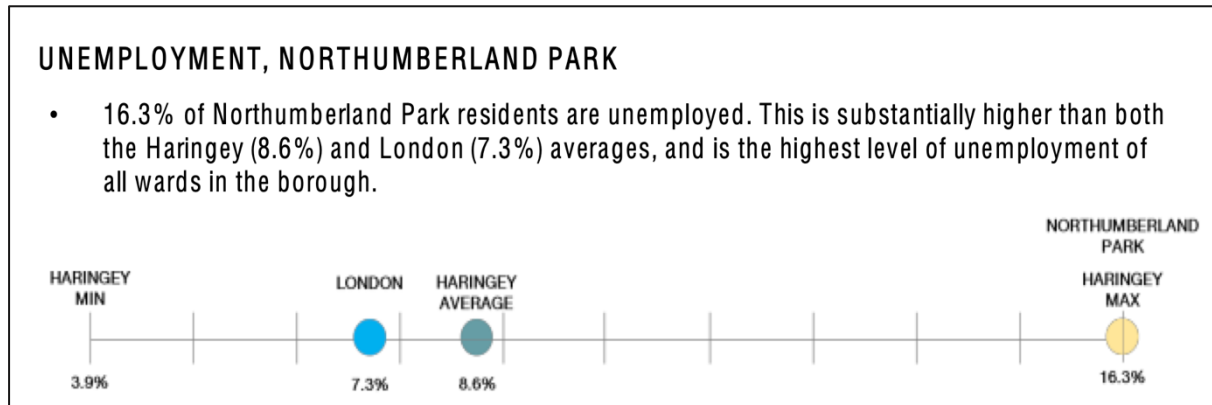
Figure 9: Unemployment census data

Figure 9 states that 16,3% of residents who live in Northumberland Park are unemployed. It is important to notice that this is significantly higher in contrast with Haringey's average of 8.6% and London's score of 7.3%[20]. If an area is experiencing high levels of unemployment, spending within the economy would be lower. This is because less people are economically active which contributes to a decrease in consumer consumption. Furthermore, if more people are unemployed then they will have a low amount of disposable income in which they can spend on necessities. If people cannot afford to buy basic goods, then this could result in an increase in theft which links in to my third hypotheses. Additionally, levels of deprivation vary due to levels of income within an area. Therefore, this will also impact my first hypotheses. However, it is hard to judge the accuracy of this information as it was collected in 2011.This means that this source is relatively limited as it is outdated and the redevelopment of the Tottenham Hotspur stadium finished in 2019, so it is possible that employment has greatly improved since then due to the increase in facilities within the stadium. This data can be used as a point of comparison as it shows data prior to the regeneration project.

20 Haringey Council, *Ward Profile: Northumberland Park,* available at:https://www.haringey.gov.uk/sites/haringeygovuk/files/ward_profile_northumberland_park.pdf

Socio-Economic Data

Following the introduction of Universal Credit, the government ceased publishing unemployment figures as a percentage of the working population and has no plans to resume doing so. However, they do release the number of Universal Credit claimants in each local district council. For this analysis, I have examined the local district council[21] (LDC) encompassing Tottenham and compared it to neighbouring councils. It is important to note that Universal Credit is both an in-work and out-of-work benefit, making this data an indicator of not only unemployment but also underemployment. Tottenham is located within the local authority that has the highest number of Universal Credit claimants in the region.
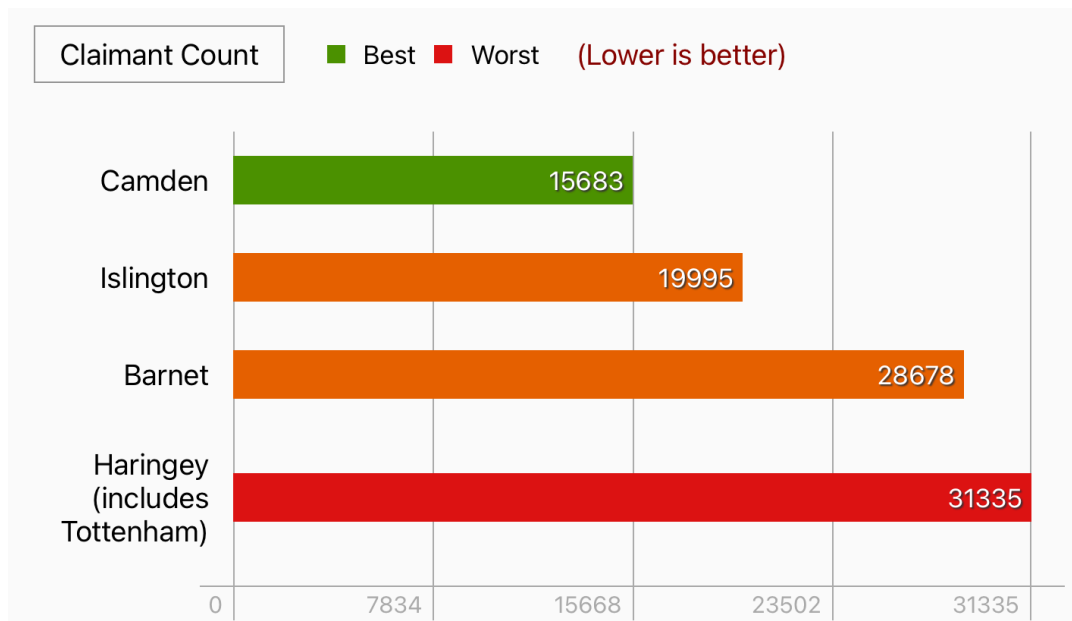
Figure 10: Universal credit benefits statistics for Tottenham 2019

The data (Figure 10) on legacy benefits claims in Tottenham is outdated, representing the last published unemployment rates as a percentage of the population. Despite being dated, these statistics can still serve as a useful indicator of the town's economic prosperity and the challenges residents may face in securing employment. Unemployment in Tottenham has historically been higher than both the regional and national averages[22], suggesting greater difficulty in finding jobs in the area. However, the data's relevance is limited, as it is nearly 6 years old and does not reflect changes in government policies or benefit distribution, particularly in Haringey. Additionally, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic has still significantly impacted the operation of benefits and jobseeker allowances, with recent adjustments aimed at addressing the large government debt exacerbated by the crisis. These factors further limit the accuracy and applicability of the data.

21 Haringey Borough Council, Universal Credit, available at: https://haringey.gov.uk/benefits-financial-support/universal-credit [accessed 13 December 2024]
22 iLiveHere, Statistics for Tottenham, Haringey, available at: https://www.ilivehere.co.uk/statistics-tottenham-haringey-39024.html#google_vignette [accessed 13 December 2024].

Employment Deprivation Domain / IMD

Improvements in employment is a clear sign of successful economic transformation. When job opportunities increase, it reflects the area's ability to attract businesses, foster entrepreneurship, and support industries that generate sustainable growth. Employment deprivation has seen a slight improvement within the four years comparing Figure 11 and 12. In Figure 12, we can infer that White Hart Lane stadium was relatively deprived in relation to other parts of the area. In 2019 (Figure 11), we can see that there has been an improvement in this and many surrounding areas. In 2019, Haringey was ranked 1077 out of 32,844 in England[23]. This was an improvement to the ranking of 1146 in 2015[24]. Therefore, the data suggests that there has been an improvement in employment deprivation. This therefore links into my first and second hypotheses.

In contrast, you could argue that it is hard to get an extremely accurate figure for this form of data. This is because some established businesses do not follow laws and allow workers to be 'off the books'. These factors should be considered within this data in order for it to be more accurate.
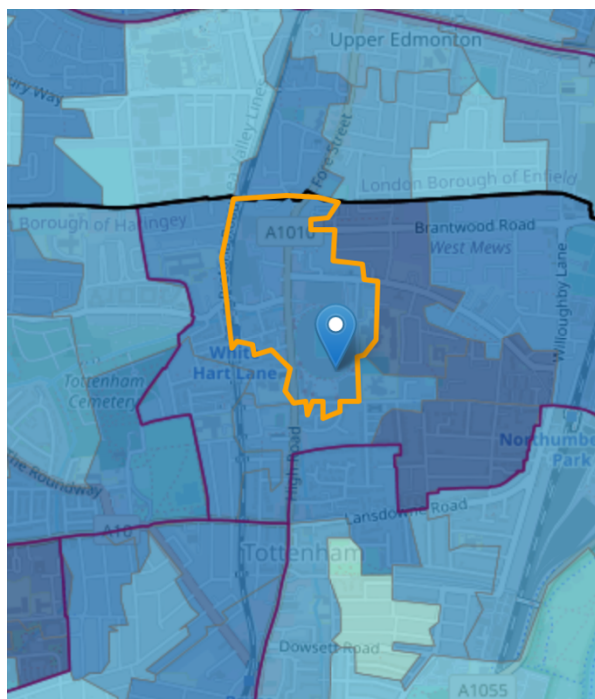
Figure 11: 2019 Employment Deprivation
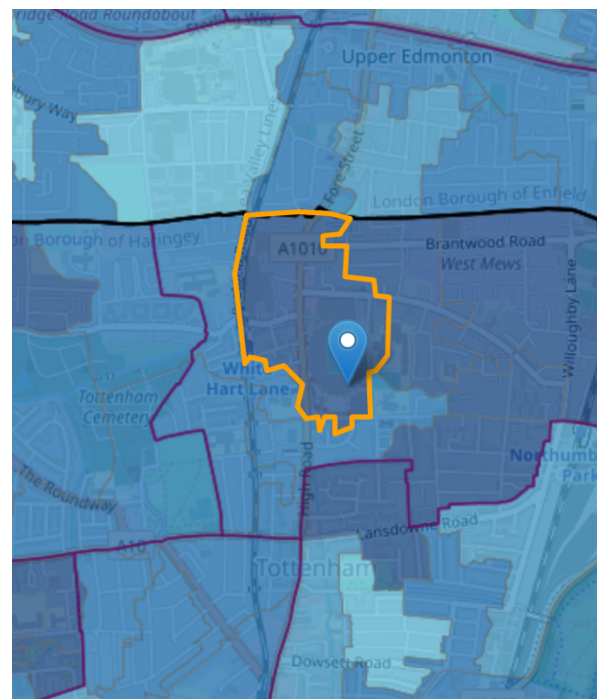
Figure 12: 2015 Employment Deprivation
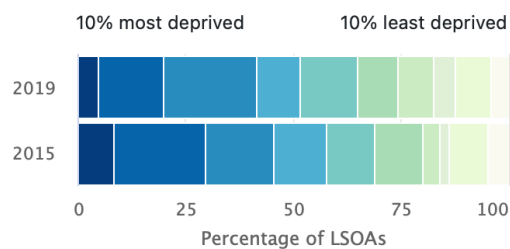
23 Department for Communities and Local Government, *Index of Deprivation (IOD) 2015: Income Deprivation Index*, available at: http://dclgapps.communities.gov.uk/imd/iod_index.html# [accessed 12 December 2024]

24Office for National Statistics, *Haringey: Local Area Profile*, *Explore Local Statistics*, https://explore-local-statistics.beta.ons.gov.uk/areas/E09000014-haringey [accessed 13 December 2024].

Job Websites / Articles

Figure 13 displays the variety and number of jobs available within the local area. Job websites playing an extremely important role in assessing whether or not the employment opportunities in the area have improved as you can assess the changes in wages and the changes in skill-based opportunities for those who are seeking employment. This is an accurate form of information that can be checked daily in order to see a more time accurate representation of job opportunities. Considering in previous data that the levels of employment and education are relatively low in the area of Haringey, it is interesting to see that thousands of jobs are being posted on the job site Total Jobs [25], offering moderately high wages and high skilled job opportunities. The idea of a successful regeneration project is important, and in this case that is proven as job opportunities have improved since the regeneration of the project.
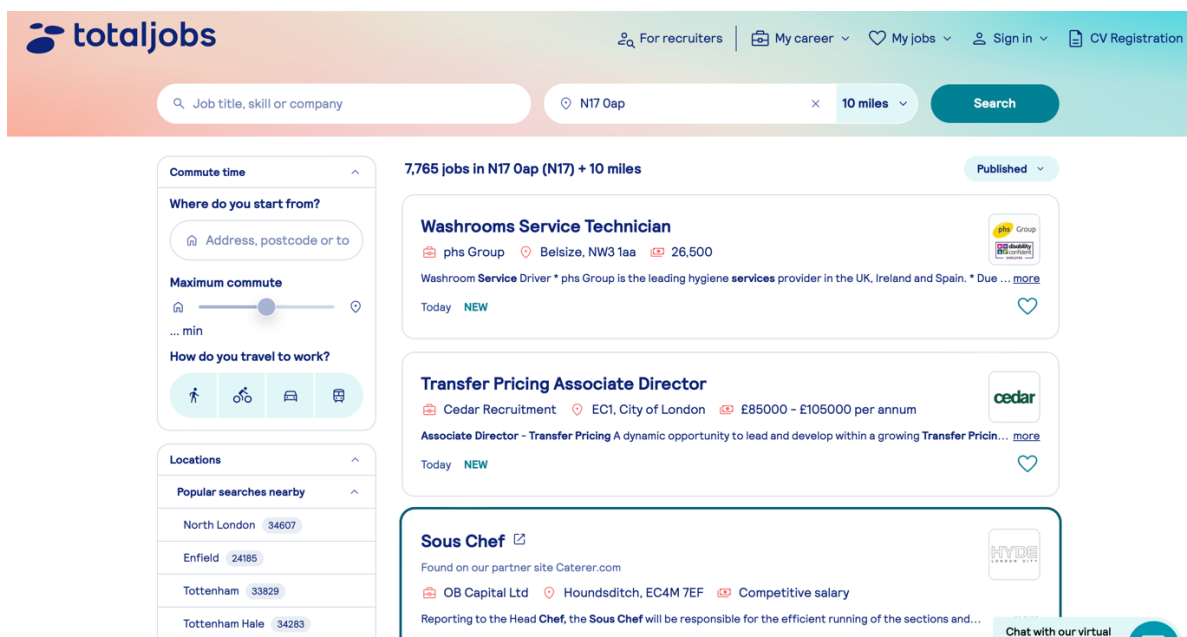
Figure 13: Job post within 30 minutes distance of the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium

The club Tottenham Hotspur itself posted an article ensuring that the regeneration project would create a numerous number of jobs for local residents. The club stated that it is encouraging people to work for the club in an attempt to create more job opportunities for those who have not yet found a place of employment or are looking for an additional placement of employment [26]. Since the regeneration of the football stadium created thousands more jobs it can be argued that this project was successful. The long-term job security created by the stadium emphasises the great success that the economy has faced post regeneration. All hypotheses have relevance to this article as crime levels can also be reduced if more younger people have a place of employment to take them out or distract them from a bad habit or lifestyle and the dangers of others.

25 TotalJobs, 'Jobs in N17 0AP', available at: https://www.totaljobs.com/jobs/in-n17-0ap?radius=10&searchOrigin=Resultlist_top-search [accessed 18 December 2024].

26 Tottenham Hotspur, 'Careers', available at: https://www.tottenhamhotspur.com/the-club/careers/ [accessed 18 December 2024]

Data Representation – Hypothesis 3
Building Safer Communities: Tackling Crime Through Development

From the crime data displayed in figure 14, we can see that Northumberland Park has a significantly higher rate of crime in comparison to Haringey's minimum rate which is 134 crimes per 1000 residents. The census data accounts for all types of crime so using crime data in addition to census data helps to build a better understanding about how high levels of crimes are in Tottenham. Northumberland parks rate of crime is 80 crimes per 1000 residents higher than Haringey. Haringey has 229 crimes per 1000 residents which is 18%[27] lower than London's rate of 193 crimes per 1000 residents.

RATE OF CRIME, NORTHUMBERLAND PARK

- In Northumberland Park there were 309 crimes per 1,000 residents between January 2018 and December 2019 (this relates to any type of crime, from drug use or theft to violence against the person).

- This was significantly higher than the Haringey and London levels (229 per 1,000 residents and 193 per 1,000 residents respectively), and is the third highest rate of all Haringey wards.

- The rate of crime in Haringey is more than 18% above the London rate.

Source: MPS Rate of all crimes per 1,000 population, January 2018 – December 2019

Figure 14: the rate of crime in Northumberland Park against neighbouring areas

A flaw with this dataset is that I am not able to target specifically my areas of study, but more of the broader area within Tottenham/Haringey. This data however, provides a good insight into the levels of crime in comparison to London, Haringey and Northumberland Park.

27 Office for National Statistics, 'How Life Has Changed in Haringey: Census 2021', *Office for National Statistics* (19 January 2023) https://www.ons.gov.uk/visualisations/censusareachanges/E09000014/

All Crime and ASB Reports

Figure 15 represents data to show the changes in all crime and ASB. Evidently, levels of crime are extremely high in this area which can be further justified through census data. We can see that there has been a spike in crimes in March 2021 as crime rates jumped from 1816[28] in February to 2013 in March. Additionally, we can see that crime was at its highest point in the year during the months June and July. From September to December, the graph shows a steady decline in crime rates. We could argue that all crime had increased in March 2021 as COVID-19 restrictions were eased meaning that more people were out and about resulting in higher risks of crimes in the area. This therefore has no correlation to the success of regeneration as this was a global pandemic and everyone experienced the same restrictions and precautions across the nation. Additionally, crimes like robberies and theft tend to increase during the run-up to December due to Christmas and this figure was not as high as I expected it to be.
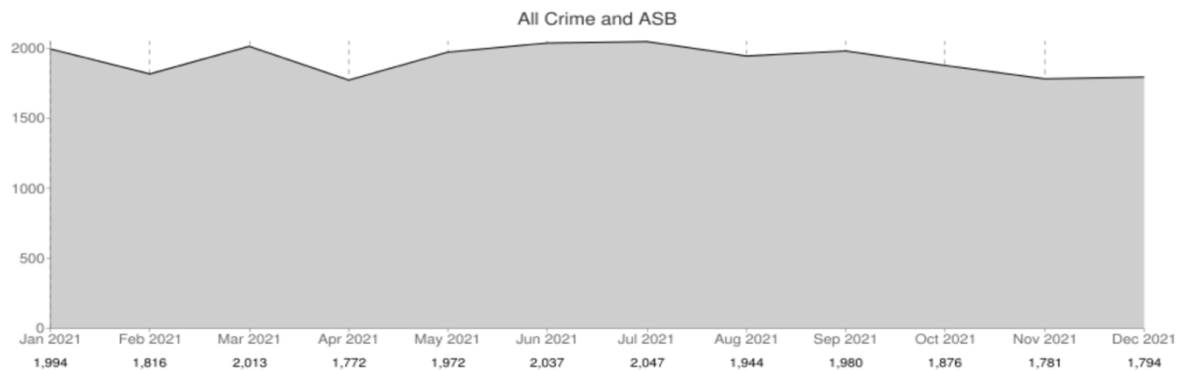
Figure 15: all crime and ABS reports from January 2021 to December 2021

Anti-Social Behaviour Reports

Figure 16 in particular is extremely relevant to my hypotheses question. Antisocial behaviour is influenced by not only the individual, but also their surroundings. Therefore, regeneration would play a huge role in the number of reports of antisocial behaviour as the physical environment has a huge impact on the social well-being of its residents. The trends from figure16 suggest that there has been an overall reduction in the number of antisocial behaviour related crimes reported. We can clearly see that there were two significantly large spikes in antisocial behaviour crimes being reported in both January and March. In January, 807 crimes were reported in relation to antisocial behaviour. This decreased to 655 in February but experienced a large peak in March with 743 reports. From April to May, the reports had reduced to 546 and 550[29]. Then from June onwards to December there was a steady decline in antisocial behaviour or crimes. This therefore justifies my hypotheses as we can see that there has been a large fall in the number of ASB being reported as at the start of the year there were 807 reports in comparison to 368 reports which were established at the end of 2021 in December.

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28 CrimeRate, 'Haringey Crime and Safety Statistics',
CrimeRate (2 November 2024) https://crimerate.co.uk/london/haringey
29 CrimeRate, 'Haringey Crime and Safety Statistics',
CrimeRate (2 November 2024) https://crimerate.co.uk/london/haringey
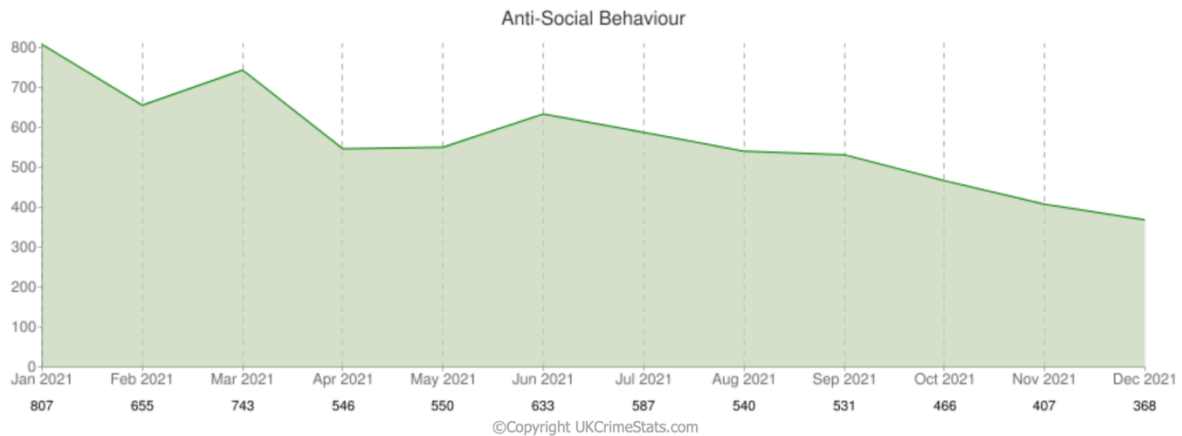
Figure 16: All antisocial behaviour reports from January 2021 to December 2021

Violent Crime Reports

After looking the graph in Figure 17, it is clear to see that there has been no considerably large improvement in violent crimes across the year. In fact, the number of crimes from January to December has increased. In January 2021, 370 violent crimes were reported whereas in December 2021, the number of crimes reported was 422. In July 2021, there was an evident peak in violent crimes as it reached its highest rate throughout the whole year of 513 reports[30]. Violent crimes alone have not improved after regeneration has occurred as this still very large numbers of violent crimes being reported throughout the year. Violent crimes relate directly to social characteristics of the offender. Surroundings and environmental placement have a large impact on the actions that others may conduct upon each other. Therefore, regeneration should have an impact on the social welfare of those living in the area. So, this should cause a reduction in the number of violent crimes being committed. However, it is important to acknowledge that football stadiums average higher levels of crime than other areas due to clashes of interest with rival fans which can cause fights and outbreaks of violence. This should be considered.

Figure 17: Violent crime data from January 2021 to December 2021

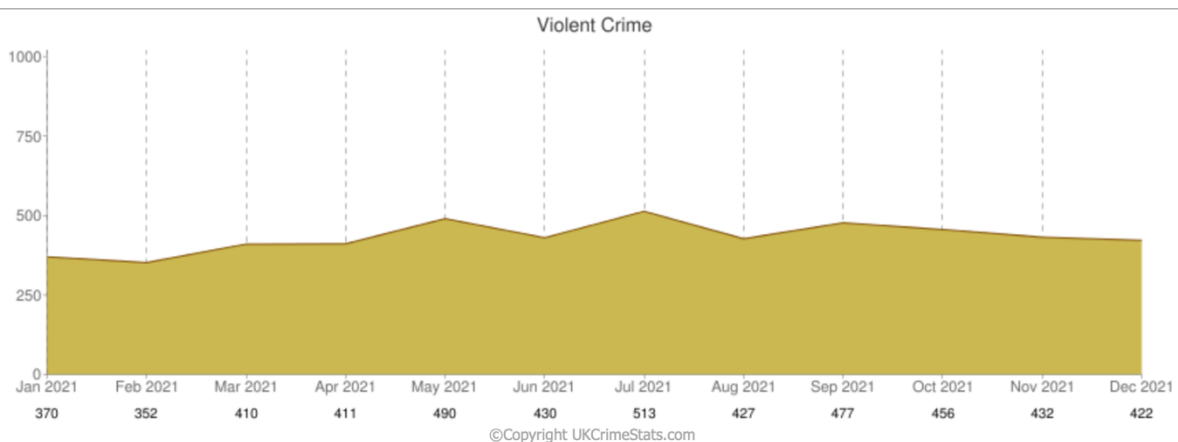**30** CrimeRate, 'Haringey Crime and Safety Statistics', CrimeRate (2 November 2024) https://crimerate.co.uk/london/haringey

Comparing success's – The Tottenham Stadium Vs The London Olympic Stadium

The regeneration of the Olympic Park and the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium have both delivered significant economic, social, and environmental benefits, though the scale and scope of their impacts differ. Both projects demonstrate how sports infrastructure can drive urban renewal, create jobs, and foster community engagement, yet their approaches and outcomes are tailored to their respective contexts.

The economic benefits of the two projects highlight their transformative potential. The Olympic Park's regeneration created over 12,000 permanent jobs within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and surrounding areas, contributing an estimated '£28 billion to the UK economy by 2030 through tourism'[31], business, and housing development. In Stratford, local businesses saw increased footfall, especially with the rise of retail hubs like Westfield Stratford City. The regeneration was heavily reliant on public funding, with '£701 million allocated to the park and £323 million'[32] for the stadium transformation. In contrast, the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium regeneration created over 3,500 permanent jobs, generating an annual local economic impact of £293 million. The stadium project, funded predominantly through private investment of £1 billion, has also boosted local businesses, particularly in food, retail, and hospitality.

Social benefits from both projects have been significant, though distinct in their execution. The Olympic Park regeneration facilitated the construction of over 10,000 new homes, with '50% designated as affordable housing'[33], alongside facilities like the Aquatics Centre and Velodrome, which are open to the public. Additionally, programs promoting sports participation have reached over 2 million young people, and the establishment of Chobham Academy[34] provides educational opportunities focused on STEM and sports. By comparison, the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium regeneration includes around 500 new homes and has delivered targeted community benefits through initiatives led by the Tottenham Hotspur Foundation. These include education programs, construction apprenticeships, and hospitality training for local residents, impacting over 10,000 young people annually.

From an environmental perspective, both projects have incorporated sustainable practices and green infrastructure. The Olympic Park emphasized 'large-scale environmental transformation, creating a 560-acre park with wetlands'[35], woodlands, and cycling paths to improve biodiversity and public access to green spaces. Transport infrastructure improvements, including upgrades to Stratford station and new cycling routes, further supported the area's regeneration. The Tottenham Hotspur Stadium regeneration adopted a more localized approach, with energy-efficient stadium design, rainwater harvesting, and a zero-to-landfill construction policy. Urban greening and green roofs have enhanced the environmental footprint of the surrounding area.

31 Department for Culture, Media & Sport, *Report 5: Post-Games Evaluation – Meta-Evaluation of the Impacts and Legacy of the London 2012 Olympic Games and Paralympic Games: Economy Evidence Base*, prepared by Grant Thornton, Ecorys, Loughborough University, Oxford Economics, and Future Inclusion (July 2013) https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7ccdea40f0b6629523bea0/Report_5_Economy_Evidence_Base_FINAL.pdf

32 Owen Gibson, 'Olympic Stadium Cost Rises to £701m from Initial £280m Estimate', *The Guardian* (19 June 2015) https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2015/jun/19/olympic-stadium-cost-rises-west-ham

33 Harris Academy Chobham, 'Welcome to Chobham Academy', Harris Academy Chobham (2024) https://www.harrischobham.org.uk

34 London Legacy Development Corporation, 'Rising to the Housing Challenge', Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (8 May 2024) https://www.queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/our-stories/rising-housing-challenge

35 London Legacy Development Corporation, 'Biodiversity', Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (2024) https://www.queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/about-us/environmental-sustainability/biodiversity

Culturally, the two projects have positioned London as a global leader in urban regeneration through sports. The Olympic Park has become a vibrant hub for community events, sports, and tourism, attracting over 5 million visitors annually and hosting major international events. It also serves as the home of West Ham United Football Club. Similarly, the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium has established itself as a premier venue for sports and entertainment. The stadium attracts over 2 million visitors annually, contributing to Tottenham's growing reputation as a key destination in North London. It cannot be argued that all sports led regeneration projects are somewhat successful because the Berlin Olympic Park[36] as it Is deemed as a huge failure within the sports led regeneration community. This is due to its poor lack of future visions.

To summarise, the Berlin Olympic Park's regeneration efforts failed because they were not supported by sufficient investment or long-term planning[37]. Its historical associations, underutilization post-Olympics, and lack of integration with the city's broader urban development strategy prevented the park from realizing its full potential as a driver for regeneration. Unlike other cities, such as London or Barcelona, where sports infrastructure played a pivotal role in revitalizing neighbourhoods, the Olympic Park in Berlin never fully fulfilled its promise as a lasting symbol of urban renewal.

36 Olympiastadion Berlin, , Olympiastadion Berlin (2024) https://olympiastadion.berlin/en/home/
37 Darren M. O'Byrne and Christopher Young, 'The Will of the Führer? Financing Construction for the 1936 Olympics', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 57.1
(2022), https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/00220094221074823

Chapter 3: Voices of the People - Analysis of Primary Data

Human Stories: Key Insights from Interview

In order to gain information on how local stakeholders (business owners) feel about the impact of the Tottenham Hotspur regeneration project, I conducted an interview with a local business owner. After sending multiple emails to different businesses the owner of the 3 Points café responded and was open to have an interview with me. The owner emphasise that he would like to remain anonymous and that the interview was not recorded. The 3 Points Café is located at 804 High Road, Tottenham, London N17 0DH, and is a popular local establishment known for its friendly atmosphere and diverse menu. Many local residents are familiar with this café as it is a hotspot on match days.

What were the direct impacts of the regeneration project on your business?

"Well, I have to say that when the Spurs stadium reopened business was booming. The stadium attracts a lot of tourists because of the dare walk and the Formula One exhibition so I've seen an increase in people in the area. Of course, I have regular customers on match days, but I have been seeing more and more new faces. I think a lot of the businesses around here have benefited because the area is much busier."

Would you say that you have benefited from this regeneration project?

"Absolutely! As I said business was booming after the stadium opened again. A lot of the businesses around here stay open on match days because that is when it's most busy but now that the stadium hosts American football games it's like every week there's an event. I speak with a lot of the business owners in the area especially the ones close to the stadium and we were all shocked by how the regeneration of football stadium changed our lives so much for the better"

In your opinion, has the perception of the area improved?

"I think a lot of people know that the riots really did impact the area. My shop was damaged during this time and I had thought of packing up and moving! But when you have lived here for so long and worked here, you know that the area isn't bad. Bad media ruined the areas reputation. But I'd like to think that the new Tottenham Stadium attracts good media rather than bad… so yes, I think it has improved"

In summary, interview was a success because it allowed me to understand how the locals feel about the regeneration project and why they believe it was successful. It's interesting to see how much it really did benefit local businesses as in many cases regeneration 'It's not for us'[38] inferring that locals do not benefit. Whereas other statements emphasise that 'Initiatives can positively impact on a type of urban regeneration that upholds locally held values'[39] which in this case is true.

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38 Watt, P., *Estate Regeneration and its Discontents: Public Housing, Place and Inequality in London*, Bristol University Press, 2021

39 Architectural Regeneration, edited by Aylin Orbasli, and Marcel Vellinga, John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/westminster/detail.action?docID=6268184.
PAGE 178

Survey Ranking Questions – Sites of data collection

For this survey, a will systematic approach will be adopted. The goal is to gain 100 responses from different people at different sites. At each site, I would like to speak to 20 people in order for me to have a wide variety of different opinions. I would like to avoid speaking to people who are not residents of the area as I would like to focus my questioning to those who have been in the area before and after regeneration. Doing this will allow me to compare opinions between what the area was like before and after it's big regeneration plan. This approach would be far more effective than an online survey as I will not be able to filter out responses of people who are not residents of the area. I will be visiting the site between 12 - 3 pm as that is when the area has the most commuters and residents out of their homes.

From my survey, I was able to gather a range of different information which will allow me to help make my final decisions with regards to my hypothesis questions. The reason as to why I done this was so that I could gather data systematically in order to be as efficient as I could on my trip to the area. High scores indicate an improvement and low scores indicate that there has been no change or that these factors have become worse and not improved.

Site Locations for survey

Figure18: Site 1 White Hart Lane Overground Station

Figure 19: Site 2 Northumberland Park Sainsbury's

Figure 20: Site 3 Tottenham University College / Lillywhite House.

Figure 21: Site 4 White Hart Lane Stadium

Figure 22: Site 5 Bloomingscent Café

Community Voices: Survey Results and What They Tell Us

How much have local services improved by in the area? (Hypothesis 1)

Results:
Site 1 Average Score – 7.5
Site 2 Average Score – 6.9
Site 3 Average Score – 5.7
Site 4 Average Score – 8.4
Site 5 Average Score - 7.9

The data here suggests that there has been a clear overall improvement of services in the area. Site four had the highest average score whereas site three had the lowest average score. This answer could have been a bias if Tottenham Hotspur fans where to answer the question. This may be because they admire the stadiums development and consider this as an improvement to a service in which they frequently use.

Has education improved since regeneration? (Hypothesis 1)

Results:
Site 1 Average Score – 4.9
Site 2 Average Score – 5.7
Site 3 Average Score – 9.4
Site 4 Average Score – 6.7
Site 5 Average Score – 5.1

The set of data Has shown a wide variety of results. At sight three the average score was extremely high. However, this was to be expected as this was the site of the Lillywhite house. The other results were similar and averaged between a score of 4.9 and 6.7. This in fact agrees with the census data as it shows small changes in education around the Lillywhite house (Site 3).

Have employment opportunities within the area improved? (Hypothesis 2)

Results:
Site 1 Average Score – 8.7
Site 2 Average Score – 6.9
Site 3 Average Score – 6.7
Site 4 Average Score – 8.3
Site 5 Average Score – 7.2

The data collected from the survey was overall very positive. Site 4 had the highest average score of 8.3. Site 3 had the lowest average score of 6.7. This data clearly shows that there have been improvements in employment opportunities within the area. This data has been gathered first-hand from those who are in employment or are looking for employment

Do you think crime levels have improved since regeneration? (Hypothesis 3)

Results:
Site 1 Average Score – 3.2
Site 2 Average Score – 3.5
Site 3 Average Score – 2.1
Site 4 Average Score – 4.0
Site 5 Average Score – 4.2

While the data from this question was mainly negative, it was supporting the information which I had already found from the UK crime data set. The overall scores are very low, the lowest that I have seen through this questionnaire. It is clear to see that locals believe that the crime levels have not improved since regeneration and have in fact, become worse.

The idea of this survey was to gather information to tackle all of my hypotheses, while also gathering what the perception of the area is in the eyes of the local residences.

A Picture of Change: Word Clouds That Speak Volumes

In my questionnaire, I included a question which allowed people to write down three word which they associated with Tottenham as an area.

Figure23: Word cloud created by author

Hypothesis 1: Surprisingly, the word "deprived" was one of the most common words which was used within this question. Many locals still see the area as "deprived"," rough"," scary" and "crowded". It is interesting to see that locals feel this way considering that indices of multiple deprivation data display the opposite to this.

Hypothesis 2: We can see that the word "commutable" and "busy" are commonly used within these answers in which I received. "Commutable" suggest that the area has easy accessibility for people to travel to, leading to more people in the area. This will encourage employment within certain facilities. "Football" also appeared within the responses frequently

Hypothesis 3 & 4: The most dominant word on the entirety of this world cloud is "crime". From this I can infer that "crime" is the word which is most associated with the area. We can also see that the words "scary" and "knife crime" have also been included within some descriptions. It's clearly evident that people still perceive the area as a crime hotspot. The word "riot" is even included within this world cloud meaning that people's perception is still affected by the 2011 riots which occurred in the area. Perception is very important in evaluating the success of an area as despite all of the investment and money being spent, if people still perceive it as a dangerous or unsafe area, then naturally people will be stirred away from it.

This word cloud is most definitely a summative piece for my data representation as presents many of the key ideas and themes explored by this study. However, there are limitations to using this data, such as the font colours, which may cause words like "family" or "scary" to be missed by the viewer or even misinterpreted, despite it being a frequently used word by the locals.

Conclusion: The Legacy of Regeneration

Progress in Addressing Deprivation
Conclusion of Hypothesis 1 - Deprivation Has Improved Since Regeneration

The evaluation of available data strongly supports the hypothesis that deprivation has improved since the completion of the regeneration project. Analysing the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) data (pages 13 to 15) reveals a series of significant positive changes across various sectors within the study area.

One of the most striking improvements is observed in health-related deprivation (page 15). Comparing data from 2015 to 2019, the area has experienced a dramatic enhancement. Notably, the Local Super Output Area (LSOA) associated with the site of study improved its ranking from 4,517 in 2015 to 7,112 in 2019[40] (page 15). Areas that were once in the bottom 10% for deprivation have now climbed into the top 10% for least deprived, reflecting a profound transformation. Additionally, the broader local authority progressed from a ranking of 21 in 2015 to 37 in 2019[41], further underscoring the impact of regeneration.

These health improvements likely cascade into other sectors, particularly economic productivity. Enhanced access to healthcare enables residents to maintain better health, reducing absenteeism and boosting workforce efficiency. This, in turn, fosters business productivity and catalyses a multiplier effect, driving further economic and social gains. Over time, this momentum allows local authorities to reinvest resources into addressing lingering challenges, creating a virtuous cycle of development. Improvements in education and training data also demonstrate positive trends, albeit less pronounced than those in health. The percentage of LSOAs in the area now ranks among the 10% least deprived in terms of education, a significant leap from being in the bottom 10% before regeneration.

Lastly, the overall IMD scores for Haringey show steady progress. While some of these changes are incremental, the broader pattern of improvement is undeniable. Between 2015 and 2019, small but consistent gains have been observed across multiple indicators, signifying gradual but meaningful advancement in quality of life for residents.

In conclusion, the analysis of the most recent and relevant data strongly affirms the hypothesis. Deprivation levels have improved across multiple dimensions, signalling the success of regeneration efforts. This improvement not only enhances the welfare of residents but also strengthens the local economy, highlighting regeneration as a catalyst for long-term positive change. The findings underscore the effectiveness of the intervention and the transformative potential of targeted development strategies.

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40 Department for Communities and Local Government, *Index of Deprivation (IOD) 2015: Income Deprivation Index*, available at: http://dclgapps.communities.gov.uk/imd/iod_index.html# [accessed 12 December 2024]
41 Department for Communities and Local Government, *Index of Deprivation (IOD) 2015: Income Deprivation Index*, available at: http://dclgapps.communities.gov.uk/imd/iod_index.html# [accessed 12 December 2024]

Assessing Hypothesis 2: Economic and Employment Outcomes

Conclusion of Hypothesis 2 - Employment levels and employment opportunities have improved since regeneration

The collected data strongly supports the hypothesis that employment levels and opportunities have improved following the regeneration of Tottenham. Both qualitative and quantitative evidence substantiate this claim. Notably, survey responses highlighted a positive perception of employment opportunities, with this category scoring relatively high compared to other questions.

Further reinforcement comes from the 'total jobs' data (page19), which indicates significant employment opportunities linked to the new football stadium. To further support thus, an article from The Guardian reports the creation of 5,000 new jobs through the regeneration project[43]. These opportunities extend beyond the immediate vicinity, benefiting local residents as well as professionals involved in the stadium's construction, such as builders, surveyors, architects, and planners. This demonstrates the wide-reaching impact of regeneration, benefiting both the local community and the broader region. The index of multiple deprivation further validates this hypothesis. From 2015 to 2019 (page 18), employment deprivation rankings improved significantly, shifting from 1,146 to 1,077[44]. This upward trajectory underscores tangible progress in employment accessibility within the area.

However, not all data aligns with this narrative. Socio-economic statistics present a more complex picture. Universal Credit benefit statistics for Tottenham (Haringey) reveal higher percentages of claimants (15.5%) compared to the national average (13.5%), positioning Tottenham unfavourably relative to Camden, Islington, and Barnet. Additionally, the median household income in Northumberland Park, at £25,090 per year, lags significantly behind Haringey's average (£37,696) and London's average (£39,264). This disparity highlights persistent economic challenges. However, it is crucial to note that some of this data, such as the census figures from 2012, is outdated and may not accurately reflect the current conditions, potentially skewing the analysis. While some employment opportunities created by regeneration may be lower-skilled, as indicated by the "total jobs" data, the overall trend remains positive. The increased availability of jobs, particularly in the stadium and its surrounding developments, has likely improved quality of life for many residents who previously relied on low or fixed incomes.

In conclusion, the majority of accurate and up-to-date data demonstrates that employment levels and opportunities have improved as a result of Tottenham's sports-led regeneration. While challenges remain, particularly in addressing income disparities and reducing benefit dependency, the creation of new jobs has had a meaningful impact on the area. By providing both employment opportunities and a platform for broader economic growth, the regeneration has delivered significant benefits to the local community. Continued focus on ensuring these opportunities are accessible and sustainable will further enhance the long-term success of the regeneration effort.

43 Barker, A., 'Tottenham Regeneration: How the Spurs Stadium is Changing London's Most Deprived Area', *The Guardian*, 22 March 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/mar/22/tottenham-regeneration-londons-most-deprived-spurs-stadium [accessed 18 December 2024].
44Office for National Statistics, *Haringey: Local Area Profile*, *Explore Local Statistics*, https://explore-local-statistics.beta.ons.gov.uk/areas/E09000014-haringey [accessed 13 December 2024].

Exploring Hypothesis 3: Crime and Community Safety Findings
Conclusion of Hypothesis 3 - Crime rates have fallen since regeneration

After a thorough review of the data gathered, it is evident that the hypothesis—that regeneration would reduce crime and violence—has been disproven. Contrary to expectations, regeneration has not diminished crime levels in Tottenham. Instead, certain categories of crime have increased, challenging the commonly held perception that regeneration universally improves socio-economic and safety conditions.

UK crime statistics reveal a concerning upward trend in several types of crime throughout 2021. Reports of violent crimes increased from 370 in January to 422 by December (page21), indicating a steady and troubling rise. Similarly, cases of criminal damage and arson nearly doubled, escalating from 69 incidents in January to 111 by year's end. While it could be argued that these increases are not directly attributable to regeneration and may instead reflect broader societal pressures—such as the impact of COVID-19 on economic stability and social behaviour—this does not negate the reality of rising crime. These findings are particularly surprising given the expectation that regeneration projects reduce crime through improved infrastructure, enhanced community spaces, and better socio-economic opportunities.

One positive trend emerged: reports of antisocial behaviour (ASB) declined significantly during 2021. At the start of the year, over 800 ASB cases were reported[41], but this figure (page 21) steadily fell, reaching an all-time low of 368 by December. Despite this improvement, the overall picture remains concerning. The broader crime data indicates that regeneration has not delivered the anticipated reductions in criminal activity. Instead, crime rates have remained consistent or worsened in several key areas. Survey responses (page 29)and the accompanying word cloud analysis further reinforce the negative association between Tottenham and crime. The perception of the area remains heavily oriented around terms such as "crime," "knife crime," and "scary." This persistent image indicates that residents do not feel safer or perceive meaningful change. This aligns with the Egan Wheel framework[42], particularly in its emphasis on social and cultural sustainability. Perceptions are as vital as statistical data when evaluating the success of a regeneration project. If residents feel dissatisfied with safety and crime prevention efforts, the project's broader success is undermined. The lingering association with crime, rooted in the area's history, including the 2011 riots, continues to overshadow regeneration efforts.

In conclusion, both quantitative data and qualitative feedback indicate that crime rates have not decreased in Tottenham since the regeneration project. Instead, crime levels have remained steady or worsened in some areas, undermining the goal of improved community safety. The word cloud analysis vividly highlights the enduring reputation of Tottenham as a crime-associated area. These findings underscore the importance of integrating community-focused crime prevention strategies into regeneration projects. Addressing the root causes of crime and reshaping public perceptions are essential for the long-term success of such initiatives. Until these factors are adequately addressed, the stigma of crime will continue to hinder Tottenham's regeneration narrative.

45 UK Crime Stats, 'Crime Statistics for Constituency 66074', *UK Crime Stats*, https://www.ukcrimestats.com/Constituency/66074 [accessed 18 December 2024].
46 Norwich City Council, 'Creating a Sustainable Community', *Norwich City Council*, https://www.norwich.gov.uk/info/20435/creating_a_sustainable_community [accessed 18 December 2024]

Findings for Hypothesis 4: Perceptions and Thoughts
Conclusion of Hypothesis 4 - Perceptions of the area having improved since regeneration has been completed.

Despite the regeneration of Tottenham, including the redevelopment of the stadium, local perceptions of the area remain largely negative. Feedback from residents indicates that the improvements have not successfully shifted the deeply ingrained reputation of Tottenham as a crime-ridden and unsafe area, a stigma that stems from the 2011 riots. Survey results and qualitative data, such as word cloud analysis, reveal that terms like "crime," "knife crime," and "scary" continue to dominate descriptions of the area. This suggests that while physical and economic changes have occurred, they have not significantly altered the social and cultural perceptions held by the community. For regeneration to be truly impactful, addressing these negative associations and improving the lived experiences of residents must become a priority. The interview with the business owner further reassured the idea that the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium brings better media to the area further improving its bad perception.

However, this has not significantly hindered the area's progress. The regeneration of the stadium has driven substantial economic growth, created thousands of new jobs and attracted investment into the local economy. Increased employment opportunities, particularly in sectors connected to the stadium and surrounding developments, have improved financial prospects for many residents. These economic benefits suggest that while public perception may take longer to shift, the tangible outcomes of regeneration—such as job creation and enhanced economic activity—highlight its overall success and long-term potential for transforming Tottenham.

Overall Conclusion

In conclusion, from the data presented and collected, the regeneration of the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium has been regarded as a success due to its significant positive impact on the local economy. Firstly, the construction of the state-of-the-art stadium provided a major boost to local employment, with thousands of jobs created during both the building phase and the subsequent operation of the stadium. This influx of employment opportunities helped to reduce unemployment in the area and raised local income levels. Additionally, the stadium has attracted numerous high-profile events, from football matches to concerts, which has driven footfall to the area and supported local businesses, including retail, hospitality, and transportation services. The influx of visitors and tourists has contributed to increased consumer spending, thus boosting the local economy. Moreover, the stadium's presence has spurred further investment in infrastructure, including public transportation improvements and new housing developments, which have enhanced the overall attractiveness of the area. While levels of crime have not improved. This alone is not a significant enough factor to regard the project is unsuccessful.

Ultimately, the Tottenham Hotspur Stadium has played a crucial role in revitalizing the local economy, creating a thriving environment for both residents and businesses. While the perception of the area is clearly still damaged, the overall functionality of the area has improved, simulating economic growth never seen before previously in Tottenham.

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Figure26: Word cloud created by author.

Methodology and Data Collection

Data collection technique	Primary / secondary Qualitative / Quantitative	Method of gaining Data	Purpose of data collection method	Potential limitations and adaptations
IMD	Secondary Quantitative	The way in which this data is gained is through research in the IMD records from its most recent year in the area of study. I will be looking into rates of deprivation and how they have changed over time across the different sites in which I am looking into. I will reach a judgement which is specifically suited for my first hypothesis question. I am also able to see where regeneration may not have been successful and compare the deprivation of areas in Tottenham and how it's changed over time.	The index of multiple deprivation is a relatively comprehensive source as it is provided by the government. It contains accurate information that can be used to help me come to a relatively realistic conclusion. By using it, I was able to compare changes in deprivation over time, and across the different sites. Moreover, by focusing on specific factors which link to my first hypothesis question which is deprivation has improved since the regeneration has been complete.	One issue which could however affect the accuracy of using this data is that the IMD was last updated in 2019 meaning that it is outdated by just over 5 years. This means that the IMD is unable to consider recent events which may affect the results.
Census data	Secondary Quantitative	Census data can be found online through official website. I will analyse my findings from the census data in relation to my hypothesis's questions. Census data has a lot of useful information in which I can use for all of my hypothesis questions.	Census data will provide data of high levels of accuracy as it is carried out by the government. In particular this will help me to enhance my understanding of how employment levels have increased which directly responds to my second hypothesis question.	Similarly, to IMD data, the census data is from 2011 Making it very outdated by 14 Years. To account for this, I intend to give the census data less weighting when making my judgement so that I can give an accurate final judgement.
Interview/ survey	Primary Qualitative and Quantitative	I have created a survey/questionnaire using systematic sampling to achieve my result. At each site in which I visit, I will be asking 20 people questions in which I have created in relevance to my study. If I successfully collect 20 responses at each site, I will have a total of 100	Using a questionnaire as a form of data collection allows me to get a good variety of both quantitative and qualitative answers. I will also have a wide range of different responses which will allow me to see other people's	A huge limitation with this style of data collection is that some people may refuse to answer the questionnaire due to lack of available time, concern of its importance. People may be reluctant answer as they may

		different answers. The questionnaire will contain multiple choice answers in its majority; however, I will include some open questions.	perspective and feelings towards this regeneration project.	worry where their answers may be posted.
Crime Rates	Secondary Quantitative	Using police statistics such as ward profiles, I will be able to find previous crime rates in the area. This is relevant to my third hypothesis question which states that crime rates have fallen since regeneration. This links directly to my third hypothesis question which states that crime rates have fallen since regeneration.	The purpose of this data collection is to analyse whether or not there has been a significant change in crime rates which would connote that regeneration has been successful. People may feel less of a need to commit crimes such as theft and burglary as more jobs are created.	It is important to understand that a significant amount of street crime is not actively reported, resulting in these figures not appearing in official statistics. This undermines its accuracy as no one can be sure as to what real crime rates are which affect its accuracy.
Socio-economic statistics	Secondary Quantitative	Socio-economic statistics can be found online. It presents useful information about key facts related to Tottenham and a comparison area (England).	Socio-economic statistics can help to answer the second hypothesis question related to employment as it states occupational statistics and different levels of employment across Tottenham (Haringey)	Not all people who are unemployed or economically inactive are recorded. This could lead to inaccuracies within the data as more people may be unemployed than initially stated.
Job Websites (Total Jobs)	Secondary Quantitative	Gaining data from researching job availability within the area can all be found online.	This will help answer my second hypotheses question on improvement in employment opportunities and levels as it will show what jobs are available within the area.	It only displays what is currently available job wise and what has not been created post regeneration.