

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

FACULTY OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

BARTLETT SCHOOL OF PLANNING

**The Impacts on Local Stakeholders and the Locality and Their
Implications for Regeneration, When Football Stadiums Relocate: A
Comparison Between Millwall FC and Arsenal FC.**

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**Being a Report submitted to the faculty of The Built Environment as part
of the requirements for the award of the MSc Development and
Planning: Urban Regeneration at University College London:**

**I declare that this Report is entirely my own work and that ideas, data
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I would like to acknowledge the help received by Dr. Claudio De Magalhaes in completing this report.

Word Count: 10,118

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Abstract

The literature review examined many aspects of stadiums and their role in regeneration. Stadiums impacted greatly on the local environment but also played a significant role in regeneration as well. The literature underlined some of the negatives of living near to a stadium such as problems with parking and noise. However it also outlined some of the positive aspects of living near a football stadium such as the economic factors and civic pride. The literature review also examined the effects of a football stadium relocating, underlining some of the positive aspects such as section 106 benefits and economic multiplier effects. Again it also highlighted some of the problems such as loss of tradition and increased traffic and loss of residential amenity.

An overview of both the Arsenal FC (AFC) and Millwall FC (MFC) developments was undertaken. AFC's development was significantly larger than MFC's. The AFC development provided many section 106 benefits such as housing and new facilities, leaving a big footprint on the local area. MFC's development was low key in comparison and operated under close conjunction with the local council. MFC focused more on community related benefits and training programmes. The MFC development didn't produce the array of section 106 benefits that the AFC development did, however it did build a sports centre as part of the development. In comparison AFC too, made provisions to increase its community work.

Within the analysis it was viewed that AFC had succeeded in providing positive externalities to the Local Authority, themselves and the fans, however with strong community opposition to the move, it was viewed as failing to provide the community with positive externalities. MFC were considered to have benefited themselves, the community and the Local Authority but not the fans who were not consulted on the move and still hold strong ties to the old ground today. It was viewed that the different grounds produced different regeneration benefits due to the size and nature of the club, with the smaller, MFC, providing more community orientated benefits and AFC providing more physical benefits. In conclusion it was felt that in order for a football club to relocate successfully, in regeneration terms, all stakeholders would have to receive positive externalities and be included within the partnership.

Introduction

Following the Taylor Report, which was an investigation to the Hillsborough disaster, the implications on football clubs to provide a service changed dramatically (Taylor 1990). Football clubs have had to undergo radical change in the services they provide for fans. All seater stadiums, for the top two tiers of English league football, are now mandatory. Given the nature of the average English league football ground located often within inner cities close to housing, redevelopment, to accommodate the Taylor report's recommendations, proved difficult with many clubs deciding to relocate rather than redevelop. This study aims to look at the impacts on the locality and local stakeholders when football stadiums relocate.

The majority of football clubs exist in inner city urban areas. In general, and especially in London, these areas suffer from a decaying physical environment, high unemployment and social exclusion (Lawless 1989). A football club relocating within its community has the ability to tackle these problems by improving the built environment providing new infrastructure and facilities. A football club can also stimulate economic growth by providing new jobs (Bale 1990) and give the community a sense of civic pride, by promoting the area through exploits on the football field (Hayes 1990). This is why I believe it is important to further examine the impacts of a football stadium relocating.

This essay aims to investigate how successful football clubs are in producing positive externalities for the area, including its impact on a variety of stakeholders. Comparing and contrasting the developments at Millwall Football Club (MFC) and the ongoing development of a new stadium at

Arsenal Football Club (AFC) will hopefully give a general insight to the issue of football stadiums and their positive and negative externalities on the processes of regeneration.

Both AFC and MFC are located in inner city areas, AFC in North London, Highbury and MFC in South London near Bermondsey. These areas contain problems familiar to London's urban landscape as mentioned previously. Nevertheless, the two developments contrast in many ways, especially in size and magnitude, and it is hoped that this will provide a good discussion as both clubs' developments focus on different aspects of regeneration.

Literature Review

"Of the twelve original members of the football league only Stoke, Preston and Burnley still play on the grounds they occupied in 1888"
(Bhargava 1989; 6)

This quote written is now dated as Stoke City moved to a new all seater stadium on the outskirts of the city in 1997 (dspace; 2005). The statistic underlines the vast amount of relocations to new grounds in the past century. From a historical viewpoint little has been published on football stadiums impact on the locality. However from a social, spatial and political view the literature is a little more healthy.

Inglis (1987; 1990) gives detailed and interesting accounts of the history and the architecture of stadiums gone by, and stadiums still eminent. He writes passionately about the uniqueness of British stadiums, with their 'bit by bit' development and absence of running tracks, but in terms of the impact on the locality Inglis offers little insight. Churchman also commented on the uniqueness of British football stadia indicating their worth as landmarks, a point which is relatively self explanatory. A more relevant point on football stadiums history was made by Bale (1993). Bale outlined the recent trend of football clubs moving ground from their traditional urban inner city locations to out of town sites, giving good insight as to the motives behind these moves.

The literature surrounding the architecture and the construction is not wholly relevant to the issues that are to be explored in this study. Sociological and geographical literature is seemingly more relevant to impacts on locality. As such there are a host of studies and theories promoted by various

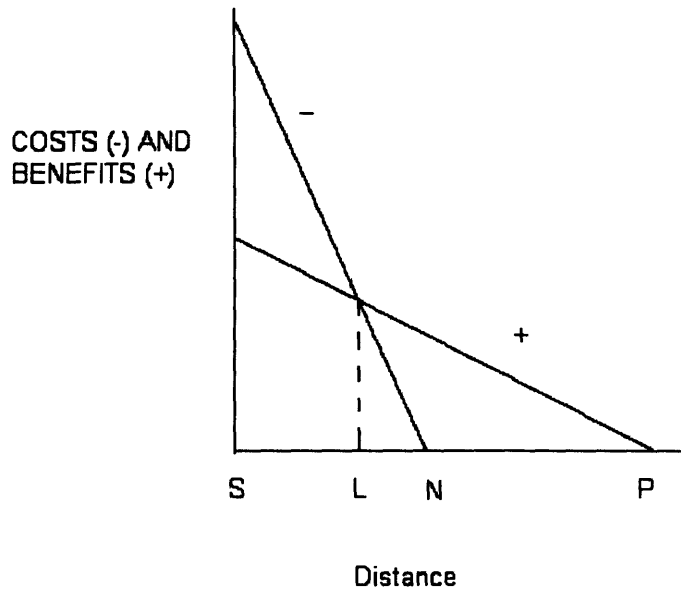
academics. A lot of these studies document the nuisances of football stadia on the locality and residential population.

Bale's graph (A, see below) serves as a good starting point on the negative effects of living near to a football ground. The graph shows that people who either, reside, or work, within the distance of 'L' from the stadium (S), are likely to experience negative externalities due to the proximity of the football ground. These have been well documented by many different studies. Studies by (Richards 2003; Mason C 1991, 1993; Churchmann 1995) look at the effects of football grounds on the locality. They underline many negative aspects that affect residential amenity of near by residents. Though these are probably best summarised by Bale (1993). In *Sport, Place and the City*, Bale describes the problems relevant to a football stadium in a specific locality. Problems such as parked cars, traffic, noise, hooliganism, anti-social behaviour, property damage, deprivation of light and smell were all identified as consistent and perennial problems for businesses and residents within radius (S-L) around a football stadium.

Richards, Mason and Churchmann confirm these fears in their studies, highlighting problems such as supporter's cars blocking driveways and taking resident's usual parking spaces as well as ~~impend~~ing emergency access. A finding that was consistent with many stakeholders within the locality of the stadium is that Hooliganism and anti-social behaviour didn't top the list of grievances. As Mason and Robins (1991) and Pinch (1985) explain this may be in part due to such activities taking place away from the ground in town

Diagram i

Positive and Negative Externality Gradients in Relation to a Football Stadium



(Bale 1993; 104)

centres further afield. Although this is still a problem that needs to be addressed, it would seem that traffic congestion is still the top grievance among local residents in proximity to a football stadium.

Pinch's (1985) study showed further grievances of residents towards the noxious externalities, in which a loss is incurred by someone who is not compensated. Many of the residents interviewed by Pinch and Mason in relation to negative externalities of a football stadium felt that they were incurring a loss and not getting anything in return. Especially in terms of policing outside the ground for match days, a cost that the community has to incur. Spring (2003) also points out that benefits that are derived from the

locality, such as increased trade, are subject to financial leakage. Bale (1993) supports Spring's point and details how the fan base is no longer densely located within walking distance to the football stadium, therefore people travelling by car may choose to get petrol from a petrol station near their house rather than near the ground allowing financial leakage (Spring 2003). Despite these costs and negative externalities there is a big literature on the positive aspects of living near to a football stadium as Kirby (1982) describes;

"However, the football ground example reminds us that dis-benefits have also to be balanced against benefits and that apparently negative externalities may constitute positive externalities to some people" (Kirby 1982; 11).

Bale (1993 & 2003) is again at the forefront of the debate outlining the many tangible and intangible benefits that a football stadium brings to the locality. Graph i shows that people living at a distance greater than L and less than P are likely to receive positive externalities in the form revenue for local outlets such as bookmakers, public houses and fast food outlets. Richards (2003) and Mason (1993) both confirmed in their studies that local retailers have vastly increase trade on match days. Bale (1993) goes on to state that up to a third of retailers in the locality of a football stadium receive an increase in revenue on match days, Chase and Healy (1995) echo these sentiments outlining the benefits that local shopkeepers receive from increased trade and the multiplier effects of these on the community. In response to Pinch's point on noxious externalities, (Bale 1980) reminds us that the club is likely to pay a very high rateable income in comparison to other businesses and this may go some way in compensating for any negative externalities.

Bale (1993) was keen to include non-tangible benefits such as local or civic pride as positive externalities. Hayes (1993) re-iterates this point, detailing a football club's strong identity with an area which, when the team is doing well, can really lift and unite a town. It has even been proven that a successful football team can increase productivity and reduce absenteeism within a town, following Derrick and McRory's (1973) study on the town of Sunderland when they won the F.A. cup against Leeds in 1973. This study proved that a football club really can raise the morale, aspirations and perceptions of a city. This, in turn, also raises the club's and, more importantly, the city's profile. Brown (2001) continues this point; bringing to our attention that a city can have a raised profile from a football team excelling in the league or cup. He terms this as 'free advertising' for the city.

The more successful clubs can actually be seen as tourist attractions, part of the cultural experience of visiting the city. However this is limited to the more successful and famous football clubs. As well as giving the city free advertising communities and residents also receive extensive benefits from various community and regeneration schemes implemented by, or in partnership with, the local football club. These are often done by football clubs as part of a process in establishing good links with the local community.

Impacts of Relocation

As outlined in the introduction, the increase in football clubs relocating grounds have thrown up problems faced by local stakeholders. This is likely to have major impacts on the locality of the old and new sites of football

grounds. There is a range of literature outlining arguments for and against both, insitu development and relocation.

Developing on an existing site is favoured by the Royal Town Planning Association (RTPI) (Bale 1993; Caldwell 1992; Hayes 1993) for a number of reasons. The current grounds already have a developed public transport network surrounding them making them easily accessible, especially for younger fans. Shepley (1990a) championed insitu development as existing grounds are accessible by public transport and also provide intangible effects on the local community. The benefits of redeveloping the current grounds are more appealing when considering the many obstacles with relocation. The GLA (2003), Hayes (1993), Shepley and Barratt (1991) and Moffat (1994), all identify obstacles such as finance and lack of available sites within the local fan base as problems for relocation. Hayes (1993) furthers this argument by detailing the huge cost for transport accessibility to the stadium in the car. Hayes raises the point that both planners and local residents would oppose such increases in traffic in a new area. Football stadium relocation has also been seen as a way for developers to disguise vast retail schemes (Shepley 1990), something that planners and residents would also oppose.

As a result of this, the GLA states in its 2003 paper, that football clubs should not be treated as normal commercial enterprises for reasons such as their role in community, topophilia towards the club and local identification as described in detail by Bale (1993). Despite Rivett's (1975) view that any relocation won't have any affect on the football club, Bale wrote extensively about the topophilia that fans feel for a stadium. The feelings fans have for their respective home grounds are strong and play a significant role in ones

life over many generations. Caldwell (1992) also stated that the value of tradition and atmosphere should not be taken lightly. The Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research (2005) agrees, believing that the relocation of a football stadium is likely to suffer the loss of the fans culture and atmosphere, with the new stadiums evoking little memories of community traditions.

Despite these strong arguments for retention and redevelopment of existing grounds dozens of football clubs have relocated (mostly due to the Taylor report) but also as a way of increasing capacity and creating more revenue. Some clubs and cities have experienced benefits because of this. The clubs receive more revenue and the city receives increased growth due to the stadium providing new jobs in construction and the following multiplier effects of these developments (Jones 2001). Stadiums are seen as city boosters and catalysts for regeneration (Bale 2003; Richards 2003). A new stadium can also provide a good bidding tool for cities wanting to lever development and events (Jones 2001).

New stadiums also provide better facilities than can be shared with, in Brentford FC's example, local rugby clubs, increasing the use of the stadium (Churchmann 1995; Percy 2000). New stadiums also benefit from planning gain and section 106 agreements that provide new facilities for areas that otherwise wouldn't be by way of local authority or government funding. This could include facilities such as sports centres, conference facilities and affordable housing. Affordable housing is in desperate demand, especially in London, and the ODPM is keen for big developments to provide some affordable housing as part of a section 106 agreement (ODPM 2005a). A new

football stadium would therefore be the type of development that could enable this provision.

It is clear that there are both arguments for and against the benefits of stadiums and for and against their redevelopment or relocation within the present literature. Football stadiums will always have negative effects on their immediate locality as graph A illustrates. However we must be wary, as Chase and Healy (1995); Moffat (1994) rightly point out, that people who live near a football stadium often have subjective views, meaning that you can't relate one study with all grounds. For example, a football fan living next door to his club may have a positive outlook on the stadium; whereas an old lady may have a negative outlook. This kind of subjectivity in some ways hinders the validity of negative experiences outlined by residents in various studies reviewed in this literature. However, as stadiums relocate it is argued they introduce more problems that go beyond a 'Not In My Back Yard' attitude.

There is a growing amount of literature outlining what football clubs need to do in order to settle in their new homes. A proposition accepted by almost all stakeholders, and the RTPI, is that any relocation should be developed on disused brownfield land in order to help contribute to the regeneration process and to preserve public amenity. Further points are made in relation to the regenerative aspects of relocating to a new stadium on a brownfield site. The GLA clearly states that the benefits outlined by different academics in this chapter are not inevitable outcomes and have to be worked at. This means more involvement with the local community and residents in order to give a greater contribution to the locality. An increased usage of football stadiums for activities other than football is favoured by Bale (1993),

GLA (2003) and Hayes (1993) as a way of getting more value out of the football club by using it for other sporting activities for local people, using conference suites as meeting rooms as well as providing various training.

Churchmann (1995), Moffat (1994) and Shepley and Barratt (1991) all call for greater communication and links between the Local Authority, Residents and the relevant football club. All these writers highlight the need for all stakeholders to be involved in the delivery of the football stadium and various projects that are likely to emanate from it. This means greater involvement from the community, the local authority and the club. Percy (2000) underlines this point and calls for monitoring groups to develop and maintain links with the relevant stakeholders. It is thought that this new process of partnership can help harness the benefits derived from having a stadium in the locality, whilst minimising the negative externalities felt by various stakeholders.

Methodology

This study aims to examine the issues surrounding football clubs relocating to new grounds and what implications they might have on the locality in regenerative terms. It will aim to look at the impact in a physical sense as well as economic and social one. The study also examines non-tangible issues, such as civic pride, topophilia and culture which are all relevant to the various stakeholders. By examining impacts on all the stakeholders and not just the locality it helps us to inspect who really benefits when football stadiums relocate. The literature review was the starting point for examining these questions.

The literature review covered many different academics and writers, writing in both practical and theoretical terms. Various books on stadiums such as Inglis (1996) and Bale (1993) were broad in scope, and covered issues in a theoretical context relating intermittently to various examples. However some articles related directly to a case study such as Chase and Healy (1995) and Smith (1996). The literature review gave an indication of the types of issues applicable to such a study as well as who is likely to be affected from them.

From the literature review, though more specifically from the literature on case studies, it became apparent that each case study should be judged on its own merits as each study brings up different problems in different areas of the country. It was thought that in order to examine the issues surrounding the relocation of a football stadium a case study would be best. However, the study aims to examine a range of issues derived from stadium relocation and this is unlikely to be achieved by reviewing one club. It was therefore decided

that two different clubs with similar circumstance on the one hand, and vastly differential circumstance on the other, would provide an ideal comparison and contrast as it would examine similar issues, without the variables being too disparate.

MFC and AFC fitted this description. Although AFC have not finished their stadium, it was still felt relevant to include them in the study, as the processes of developing the stadium and the proposed regeneration benefits have relevance to regeneration. The aim of the study was not to determine whether or not the stadium was a nuisance, though of course this is a consideration, but more to determine its role in regeneration terms as well as its links to other stakeholders. Both clubs shared similar characteristics, location in inner city London, relocation within the close proximity of the previous ground and local council support and help with the move. At the same time the club's shared different characteristics; MFC are relatively poorly supported club that struggles in the lower league both financially and in playing terms. AFC however are one of Europe's super powers, a successful English club with a very strong financial backing and good support.

By contrasting these two clubs it was felt that each would raise different issues, each being more successful in one area than the other. The study outlines each development and its proposals at the beginning of the study. Following the outline of the proposals, the positive and negative externalities are examined on all four different stakeholders involved; the community (residential and commercial) the Club, the Fans and the Local Authority.

The cross section of the stakeholders, and the externalities they receive, enables us not only to look at the affect of the stadium as a whole,

but also to examine who the stadium benefits most. This is important as, if a stadium relocation benefits no one but the club, then its regenerative impact will be significantly less than a stadium that benefits the community and the fans. These benefits and costs to the various stakeholders are linked back into regeneration terms in the analysis in order to determine the impact of football clubs relocating in regenerative terms.

The Arsenal Stadium Development.

Overview

Table 1: Overview of the AFC Ashburton Grove Stadium Development

Issues	
Reason For Relocation	<p>Accommodate more fans.</p> <p>Generate more revenue.</p> <p>To have the ground capacity of rival football teams.</p> <p>Inability to Redevelop Highbury</p>
Site Chosen	<p>In order to remain within the borough of Islington (LBI)</p> <p>Close to existing stadium</p> <p>Good Transport Links</p>
Local Authority	<p>Supported proposals</p> <p>Wanted to Keep AFC within the Borough</p> <p>Significant Section 106 benefits.</p>
Opposition	<p>Islington Stadium Communities Alliance (ISCA) alliance of 16 different local community groups actively opposed the stadium.</p> <p>Group of residents took legal action to quash consent.</p> <p>Public Inquiry into CPO of Queensland Road site businesses.</p> <p>Inspector recommended non-implementation of CPO's, overruled by the Secretary of State.</p>
Development (see Appendix A)	
Site 1- Ashburton Grove	<p>New 60,000 all seater stadium incorporating restaurants, cafeterias and bars + AFC Shop.</p>

	<p>Pedestrian Bridges.</p> <p>Residential Accommodation + Community Health Facility</p>
Site 1- Queensland Road Buildings	<p>New roadway</p> <p>Demolition of existing SME units to develop mixed use office shops and restaurants plus health facility.</p>
Northern Triangle	<p>9 Storey mixed use development including Arsenal sports and community centre. Minimum 25% Affordable Housing</p>
Site 2- Lough Road	<p>New waste transfer centre operations and related council services</p> <p>7-8 Storey Residential Blocks + Health Club. Minimum 25% Affordable housing.</p> <p>C block mixed use residential development</p>
Site 2- Caledonian Road	<p>Residential units with some office retail space. Minimum 25% affordable housing</p>
Site 3- Old Stadium site	<p>Residential Flats with gym and health club. Minimum 25% affordable housing.</p> <p>Basement parking and storage.</p> <p>Nursery, Community Health facility and memorial gardens.</p>

(LBI 2002; LBI 2002a; ISCA 2001)

The Positive and Negative Externalities of the Arsenal Stadium

Development on the Various Stakeholders

Arsenal Football Club

For AFC the move is a major bonus to their continuing development as a successful football club. The club have managed to increase their capacity which will also increase revenues, add this to the extensive restaurant facilities, executive boxes and pre-match entertainment, the club has a bright financial future. This is not only important in terms of being profitable but it is also important for the club who will be more capable of competing (in money terms) with Manchester United and Chelsea. Staying in Islington is another bonus for the club as they can maintain links established with the community as well as its local/commuting fan base.

AFC also cite the prestige of the new stadium as a factor in improving the club's image as 'world class' (Arsenal.com 2005). Arsenal also hope that the new ground will attract visitors to the area on non-football days, bringing in extra revenue. There is also the opportunity to hold up to six non-football events each year (Arsenal.com 2005), which AFC hopes will also increase revenue as well as increasing the use of the stadium making it more economically viable. The increased parking facilities and local transport improvements will mean that accessibility to the stadium is improved, possibly encouraging more people to attend matches, thus increasing revenue.

The regeneration affects that Arsenal are anticipating will also have a positive effect on the club as it can foster improved relations with the local

community and the Borough. The new 5-a- side pitches to be constructed in the Northern Triangle site will enable AFC to increase its community schemes. The new media centre will also be available as a computer training centre when not being used by AFC; this could lead to training qualifications in non-sport related areas which would improve AFC's standing as a regenerative body. However, in a study taken by the GLA (GLA 2003), participants per year for the Arsenal community schemes in Camden and Islington were roughly 80,000. In Brentford, a significantly smaller club in terms of fan base, size and tradition, had roughly 88,000 participants in there community schemes. This is obviously an area in AFC will look to improve on, and the new stadium could go towards enabling that.

The Fans

There was little supporter opposition to the proposed insitu development at Highbury in 1998, and since then there has been consistency in dialogue between the supporters wish to move and the club's. Many of the supporters are keen to move to a bigger stadium in order to increase the capacity of the stadium in order to accommodate more fans, increasing income for the club, increasing the club's ability to compete financially in the premiership. Nevertheless the topophilia, as described by Bale (Bale 1993), is still strong for the Highbury Stadium which has a great history of Marble Halls and changing rooms that front the streets around the stadium. A question put to one of the AFC message boards, arseonline.com (2005), showed a mixed reaction (See appendix B).

All fans were in favour, citing reasons such as financial competition and staying in Islington as reasons for supporting the move. One fan stated;

"Personally I am not overjoyed but see it as a modern necessity"

(arseonline.com 2005)

There is a general feeling that some don't want to move but feel it necessary. The ICSCA have challenged this view, stating that the majority of AFC supporters in favour of the stadium are from outside N5 and N7, suggesting that local AFC fans don't want a move;

"hundreds of residents, football fans included, sent objections to the Ashburton Grove Planning Brief. The great majority of those who were in favour lived outside N5 and N7" (ISCA 2005).

Although this may well be a fair assumption it doesn't discount the fact that the majority of AFC supporters interviewed, whether local or not, were in favour of having a bigger stadium with improved facilities.

London Borough of Islington (LBI)

The council have received heavy criticism from the local community over its desire to relocate AFC to Ashburton Grove. The forerunner for this criticism was the ISCA which will be touched upon below. The council have had departures from its UDP policies, including policy D6 which doesn't allow buildings to be 30m in height above ground level as well as policies E4, E8 and E13A that don't permit proposals leading to a loss in business floor space (Islington 2005).

The Council have also been heavily criticised in terms of the actual regeneration benefits that will follow the Arsenal Development, again this will

be touched upon below. Nevertheless the determination of LBI to re-locate AFC has brought them many benefits which the LBI believe will have a lasting affect on the community (See Appendix C). These benefits include increased employment, construction jobs, pre-vocational training, qualifications, new business and commercial space, transport improvements, new housing and affordable housing, new health facilities, new learning facilities and community use of the stadium.

There is no doubt that a development such as this size will create jobs, and the Council will hope to benefit from this increase in employment. The Council have also managed to secure a range of section 106 benefits including a new waste transfer centre, significant affordable housing, season tickets for local people, learning and health facilities and a community trust/ programme to be contributed to by AFC. The Council will obviously benefit from such agreements as better services will be provided for the local community and more resources will be available to them.

The Council aims to see benefits such as increased skills base, healthier living, reduction of crime and increase opportunities for economic benefits all as a direct result of the Arsenal Development (Islington.gov.uk 2005). As well as these more tangible benefits civic pride has also been included as a major reason for keeping AFC in the borough;

“Islington have a bigger stadium with more local people attending games with new high profile buildings to promote a sense of well being and civic pride” (Islington.gov.uk 2005)

These positive outcomes for the council and the borough help to justify the LBI's decision to support AFC's proposals. However the disagreement

between residents groups and businesses in view of the proposals could lead to a disintegrating of trust and partnership towards the council. The aftermath of this could have a negative affect on the council in delivery and co-operation with local stakeholders in future years.

The Community

As already touched upon in the literature review analysis of residential perceptions is very subjective. As Chase and Healy (1995) concluded in their studies, different residents will have different opinions on a club and to ascertain a conclusive view on residents opinion would undertake a more detailed sociological study.

Despite this point it is worth accepting locals people's opinion as a general one of the community when it is as united and considerable as the opposition to the AFC development. As mentioned before, the main voice in representing opposition to the development is the ISCA which is a body made up of around 16 groups representing thousands of residents, tenants and businesses in Islington opposed to AFC's plans. The ISCA opposes the stadium on three fronts. First being the way in which Arsenal have been granted planning permission, secondly that the Stadium is too big for the area and thirdly challenging the view that the development can be classed a regeneration project. It is a fact that 2,133 Islington residents wrote in against the stadium proposals and 712 wrote in supporting. This gives a fairly clear indication that the majority of people that had a view on the stadium

development, and hence could be motivated to write to the LBI, don't believe that the stadium relocation will benefit them, the residents of Islington.

The ISCA have challenged the Council on its procedures for the whole development claiming that the CPO's on the Queensland Road site were unlawful and detrimental to the local economy with the removal of small businesses who were not given sufficient support to relocate elsewhere. The ISCA have also challenged the Council's decision to relocate the Waste Transfer services to a residential area off Lough road, and the following implications of 24hour entry to that site (Carmichael 2004).

The ISCA believes that the Arsenal development didn't require the additional developments at Queensland Road and Lough Road. The ISCA states that this was just a way for Arsenal to raise land values and hence enable the development. The ISCA cite major departures from the Islington UDP, and the overturning of Rupert Grantham's (the planning inspector) decision at inquiry in favour of the local businesses pursuant to the compulsory purchase order. This unequivocal support from the LBI to AFC has led the community to believe that the Council's own corporate image has been put before the needs of the Borough.

The ISCA and community believe that the ground is far too big for the densely populated residential areas of Highbury. The increase in spectators visiting the new stadium is almost two fold, with around 35-40 games a season plus extra events. During rush hour periods especially the strain on the local transport system and local residents will be great and this is a main reason for opposition to the development (ISCA 2004). However this does smack of a NIMBY attitude, and should the overall benefits for the wider

community be great, then the inconvenience of the immediate residents to the stadium can be recognised as necessary for the wider good.

Here is where the community and regeneration professionals disagree with AFC and LBI. Martin Crookston¹ (2004) outlined a detailed report on the failings of the Arsenal development as a regeneration project. In his report he outlined the negative impacts of the regeneration scheme;

- *“The loss of the borough’s largest protected industrial site (IWA2)*
- *The net loss of 65,000 m2 of industrial space*
- *The possible loss of a number of important businesses and of the successful Queensland Multi-Media Arts Centre*
- *The loss of land forming part of a Site of Metropolitan Importance (SMI) and of the ecological value of other SMI land surrounding the important Gillespie Park” (Crookston 2004, Para 3.1)*

The regeneration programme fails to match a significant amount of the criteria that the British Urban Regeneration Association sets out in its ‘Guide to Achieving Lasting Regeneration’ (BURA 2002). Crookston points out that neither AFC nor LBI identified the problems and potentials of the area. The local community was not engaged in the regeneration process, there was no strategy, no capacity studies and in some parts of the development, no need.

¹ Martin Crookston is a Director of Design and Planning Practice Llewelyn-Davis, gave proof of evidence in favour of the ISCA’s opposition to the AFC development as a regeneration scheme.

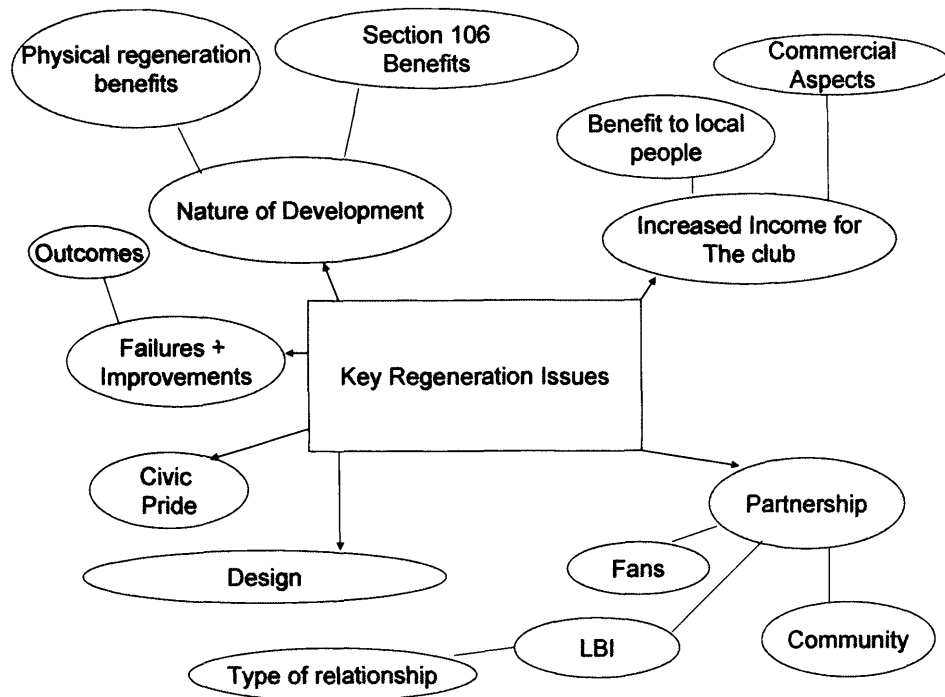
The Gillespie ward in which the New Stadium and the Highbury Stadium both reside is in fact the second least deprived ward in the borough.

These issues have meant much of the community, even the Arsenal supporting members, have lost faith with the council and the club and are wary about the benefits that they have been proposed to receive from the development. This situation will not bode well for community relations between these three stakeholders, especially as AFC are expected to deliver a number of community programmes as part of the section 106 agreements. Crookston sums up the ISCA's view of the regeneration scheme in the below quote;

“ It is clear that the entire regeneration argument has been retro-fitted to justify a scheme that has evolved from an originally simple desire to build a football stadium” (Crookston 2004; Para 5.2)

The community believe that they will face negative externalities as a result of this development due to the lack of regeneration benefits and the increased number of supporters attending games and visiting the borough. It is almost certain that the increased number of people will have a detrimental on match days. Whether the stadium development will provide the sustainable regeneration as promised by the LBI and AFC is questionable and it may be the case that this can only be properly investigated with the benefit of hindsight.

Diagram ii: Key Regeneration Issues from the AFC development.



The Millwall Stadium Development

Overview

Table 2: Overview of The MFC 'New Den' Stadium Development

Issues	
Reason for Move	<p>Deterioration of Old Ground (Old Den)</p> <p>Refusal of Permission for re-development of Old Ground.</p>
Site Chosen	<p>Within 400 Metres of Old Ground</p> <p>Didn't want to alienate local fans by moving far</p> <p>Site provided by Local Authority London Borough of Lewisham (LBL)</p> <p>Underused Brownfield Land</p>
Local Authority	<p>Good relation following previous sponsorship deals</p> <p>Supportive of move and provided site plus grant.</p>
Opposition	<p>Many fans opposed to the move, angry at the lack of consultation</p> <p>Some resident protest in the form of various letters to council, but not of any great significance</p>
Development (See Appendix D)	
Site 1- Zampa Road Site	<p>New 18,000 all seater stadium incorporating bars, restaurant and conference facilities.</p> <p>Off street parking</p> <p>Sports centre with access for local people</p> <p>New public open space</p>
Site 2- Old Den Stadium Site	<p>Demolished old ground and new housing estate provided with</p>

	improved access
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(Inglis 1990; Millwall History 2005; Marks 1993; Caldwell 1992; Anon 1993a)

The Positive and Negative Externalities of the Millwall Stadium

Development on the Various Stakeholders

Millwall Football Club

The club, albeit reluctantly, moved after trying so desperately to redevelop the Old Den and the results have been positive for the club in terms of success on the pitch and off. The New Den was pioneering as it was the first all-seater stadium to meet all of the Taylor requirements and this gave the club good publicity, for MFC this is often needed. The new ground had state of art facilities in terms of safety and comfort. The ground had access points at all four corners for emergency vehicles. The concourses were wide with refreshment outlets dotted along, providing food and drink at half time and before the game. The ratio of toilets to capacity for supporters was at the time the highest at any football ground in the country (Parkinson 1993 AJ).

The New Den also meant that the club was providing 21st Century facilities in an era of great change for football. The new stadium has also helped to improve the image of the much maligned club;

“The club's reputation as the pit bull of English football was bolstered by its ancient, low-lying, corrugated metal stadium situated in a derelict industrial pocket” (Murray 1993; 38)

The New Den has gone some way to shed this image. The move was well timed for MFC in a period when many other football teams where

struggling to offer their supporters the facilities expected of the post Taylor era. Obstacles such as finance and lack of available development sites have proven sticklers for many football clubs wishing to relocate to a new stadium, but not for Millwall.

The New Den has allowed the club to attract more families to watch football in a safer environment providing future generations of support. It has also allowed MFC to continue its work within the community as well as provide new facilities already outlined in this chapter, such as the new sports centre. The new conference facilities in the West Stand are regularly used for various meetings and hospitality by local organisations such as Primary Care Trusts and other public bodies. The new 5 a side pitches offer local people a chance to play in a safe area on a 'state of the art' artificial surface, not widely available in inner city areas such as Bermondsey. This has helped MFC foster good relations with the community and the council easing its transition into its new home a process of evolution rather than one of conflict.

Despite these benefits the club might have lost one of its greatest assets in the Old Den. The fact that hold the longest unbeaten run at home in the football league, a run that spanned over 3 years in the early seventies, was in no doubt partly due to its intimidating atmosphere. This will ultimately never be regained as many supporters have expressed (See Appendix E). However this point will be touched upon later.

London Borough of Lewisham (LBL)

The local council, LBL, has been involved in instigating the move from the very beginnings of the development. LBL provided the site in which the New Den was constructed, plus a grant to aid the development. In return the council has requested MFC build a new sports centre as well as off street parking. The LBL believed that this investment will bring benefits to the borough through the various regeneration schemes outlined in table A.

The new premises give the council an extra location in which to operate its health and fitness schemes, or to use in a functional capacity for meetings or conferences. Along with the council's schemes, MFC's own programmes aim to bring various issues in the borough such as social exclusion through increased participation in sport and other related activities. The borough is keen to use the football club as a focal point, especially in targeting young males to engage in social activities, under the guise of MFC, that they otherwise wouldn't be interested in.

The Council also receives free advertising and the LBL logo, although not emblazoned on the MFC team shirt, is still visible on the club's programme and various advertising hoarding around the ground. This will enhance LBL's image not only within the borough but also around the country, improving LBL's corporate image.

The Council have put a lot of investment into MFC and they have reaped some of the benefits in terms of regeneration and various programmes in which MFC participate and support. However some of the negative press that MFC receives tars the club reputation and hence tars LBL. Although this

may have some truth there has been increased press coverage on the MFC membership scheme² in trying to tackle hooliganism and racism within football. As this publicity increases so does the reputation of the club and the LBL, by association, will ultimately benefit.

The Community

MFC's community work has often been undervalued and under-reported from people outside of the club, however the new stadium enabled MFC to increase this valuable work. The Old Den provided 'over 50's' facilities, soccer weeks, crèche, initiated work experience schemes, they also employ a community development officer who is responsible for developing links with the community (Lightbown 1989).

The New Den enabled MFC to intensify its community schemes and offer new facilities for conferences, meetings and functions. The new stadium also provided a community centre offering all weather 5 a side pitch, sports hall and fully equipped fitness suite all available to the local community. MFC offers a range of programmes that aim to tackle many regeneration issues such as health, employment and social exclusion through its new sports centre at the New Den.

² The scheme allows only members to attend home and away games with a membership card.

Table 3: An Overview of Millwall FC's Involvement with Local Regeneration Schemes.

Project	Project Description
The Karrot Project	Metropolitan police project in which Millwall FC provides football sessions on housing estates.
The Lions Sports for All project	Partnership with the New Deal for Communities (NDC) Scheme for New Cross gate and Lewisham, the project offers sporting opportunities for people with disabilities
Playing 4 the City Project	Conjunction with the Corporation of London, the Football Foundation, The Bridge House Trust and EC1 NDC. Run football schemes aiming to target juvenile crime and anti social behaviour.
Lewisham Estate Football & Pinnacle/Sports Match 5-a-side League.	Conjunction with the Football Foundation, Sports Match and Pinnacle. Offers a league for inter estate competition and opportunity to gain coaching qualifications.
Positive Activities for Young People (PAYP) Southwark and Lewisham	Football coaching and tournaments in Lewisham and Southwark.
Health, Fitness and Lifestyle-Active Silwood.	Offers +16 years olds on the Silwood estate a chance to participate in regular weekly health and fitness sessions.
Positive Futures	Educational and physical activities to help underprivileged children.
Southwark Community Games	Funded by Sports action zone, offers coaching on the estates of Rotherhithe and Bermondsey

(Millwall FC official website 06/06/05)

By doing this MFC perpetuate the principles set out in the Sport and Regeneration planning bulletin from Sport England (Sport England 2001). As already touched upon in the literature review, analysis of residents' perceptions is very subjective. As Chase and Healy (1995) concluded in their studies, different residents will have a different opinion on the club and to ascertain a conclusive view on residents opinion would undertake a more detailed sociological study of the area. There were objectors from the local community. However, these objections did not produce themselves in the

form of a group or association. Objections from the community were often letters written by single residents protesting about crowd trouble (Broadley 1992). Other letters especially from local business situated on the site protested at the right to light and the problems that would be caused by match day traffic (Spicers Ltd 1992). Following a telephone conversation with a Liz May Store Manager at Stone House tiles (See Appendix F), a business only 200 yards from the New Den, she stated that:

“Our unit has to close early on Saturdays due to the football and the traffic generated, this obviously affects business” (May, L 2005; Appendix F)

It would be likely that the usual problems of parking and traffic congestion, well documented by Mason and Robins (1991) in their studies, would apply to Millwall FC's local residents. However this is par for the course of living near a football stadium and is not a new phenomenon to be attributed to MFC. However it is likely that issues such as hooliganism can be attributable to MFC more so than other clubs. Although there had been no serious incidents outside the New Den for over 8 years hooligan elements still occurred, this culminated in a riot on May the 2nd following MFC's loss to Birmingham City in a play off semi final. In which;

“Forty-seven officers were injured after they came under attack from up to 900 hooligans outside the club ground in Bermondsey, south east London” (Guardian 2002).

Obviously local residents and community will be affected by this type of behaviour, maybe more so than other grounds in the country given the ferocity of the rioting. Nevertheless MFC's much championed membership scheme, introduced after the incident, has had a major affect on the hooligan

problem that has persisted Millwall for so long. In a recent survey by the Evening Standard, covering areas such as racism and hooliganism in all 12 London football clubs MFC fared well, and in terms of fans witnessing fighting or hooligan activity MFC had the lowest percentage in the whole of London.

“A surprise to many outside The Den will be that Millwall have the smallest proportion of fans - only 13 per cent - who had seen trouble there”
(Spall, 2005)

It may seem that the local community and residents are benefiting from the membership scheme, allowing them to re-place hooliganism with parking and traffic as top of the agenda items for grievances of living in proximity to MFC. Local businesses benefit as well, local pubs, fast food restaurants and booking shops all receive a significant boost in income on match days.

However, as already mentioned some local business do suffer on match days,

Despite these problems suffered by local business and residents it would not be unfair to conclude that the local community and residents have benefited from the extensive regeneration programmes managed by MFC. The club maintains good links to the community and as such there is no formal opposition in the guise of a residents association or community group that actively opposes the Club or its move. Neither was one set up to oppose the move. In fact, Hatcham Park Residents Association actively supported the move from the Old Den (Bale 1980) to the new.

The club brings a sense of local pride to an otherwise forgotten area of London, especially for the residual white working class who see the club as a last outpost to a forgotten area (Collins 2004). Alongside this sentiment MFC has actively tried to recruit local and ethnic minority residents to the matches

and is pioneering in its dealing with racism and hooliganism within the ground. It is fair to deduce that MFC has settled well into its new home making extensive links with the community, whilst trying to minimize any grievance that local residents might face.

The Fans

It is often the fans, the most regular users of a football stadium, who are the last group to get consulted, if at all, on moving stadium. This appears to be evident at MFC where numerous supporters and supporter groups were against the move. There were numerous letters written to LBL voicing concerns about the lack of fan consultation. Barry O'Keefe chairman of the Independent Millwall Supporters Association (IMSA) wrote voicing concerns of many Millwall fans that no consultation was given (O'Keefe 1992). Six other fans submitted an identical letter objecting to the development, citing reasons such as lack of consultation as reasons for non-development.

Other letters were more concerned with the topophilia associated with the Old Den. S, May (1992) objected to proposals claiming the club would lose an unacceptable degree of its identity, tradition its very heart and soul. This feeling towards the Old Den is still very much expressed among Millwall fans, especially those of an older generation. A questionnaire put to one of the MFC message boards, millwallonline.co.uk, showed a strong reaction in favour of staying at the Old Den (See Appendix E).

Almost all fans were against the move now and still held strong feelings for the old ground. One fan commented:

"I was against the move and felt the ground could have been re-developed but still leave the unique atmosphere in place. I said at the time "we now kick-off 0-0 with the other team" (millwallonline.co.uk 2005)

This was a general feeling amongst all the fans who replied, stating their passion for the Old Den and their regret at the move. However there were numerous fans who stated that they felt that the move was necessary to bring the club forward;

"I reluctantly accepted, but as 'selion' said we should have tried to develop" (millwallonline.co.uk 2005)

"B, but reluctantly accepted the lack of an alternative. While I don't and never will love the new place in the same way, I've got used to it."
(millwallonline.co.uk 2005)

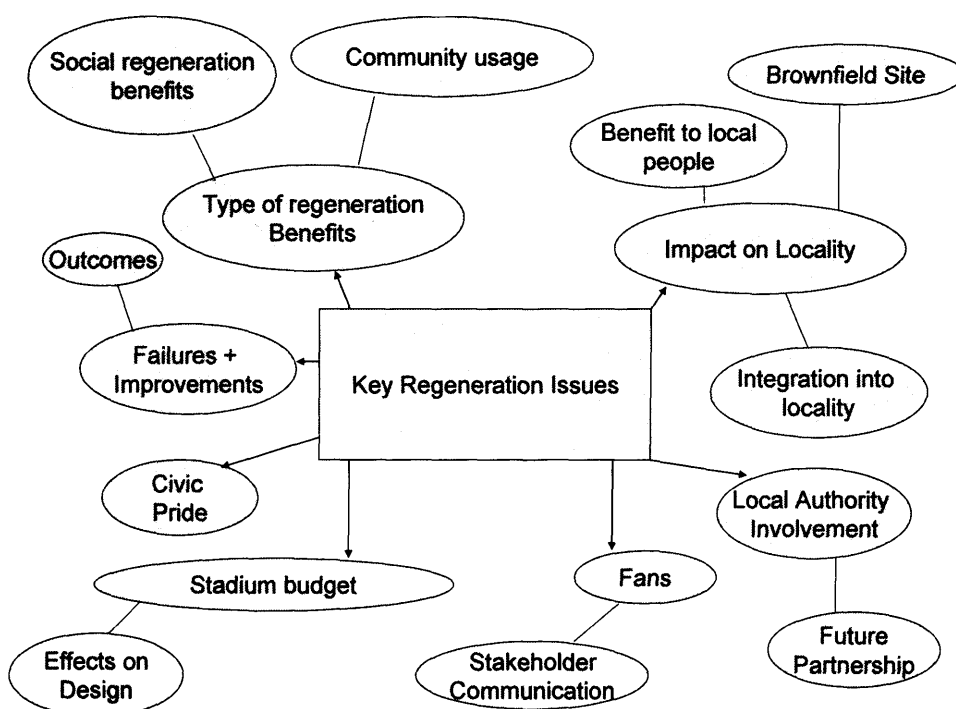
As well as those who thought the move was necessary there were those who at the time were in favour of the move but later decided against it.

*"Me and my mates were well for it, we were kids at the time, and my granddad kept trying to drum into me that the new den would be sh*t, but we didn't care, to us the New Den looked massive. Didn't take long for the bubble to burst when it actually felt smaller" (millwallonline.co.uk 2005)*

"I was excited about having a new stadium but from the first time I walked into the new ground it just didn't feel right and have hated it since."
(millwallonline.co.uk 2005)

Despite these feelings the fans accept that the stadium had to be brought up to modern standards, either through insitu redevelopment or by a move, the grievances have come about through a lack of consultation between the fans and the club. The fans would have likely favoured a redevelopment of the old ground. Many of the generation who grew up at the Old Den find it difficult to love the New Den. However the new stadium will provide younger fans with a home that is fit for modern football in the 21st century. Over time as the younger generation comes through the strong feelings associated with the Old Den are likely to diminish and the New Den is likely to emerge as MFC's home.

Diagram iii: Key Regeneration Issues from the MFC Development



Analysis

Table 4: Comparisons Between the Successes and Failures of Both the Arsenal and Millwall Football Ground Relocations.

	Millwall Stadium Development	Arsenal Stadium Development
Successes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Relationship to the community * Relationship with the local authority * Development on underused Brown Field Site * In line with council's policies for leisure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Relationship with local authority * Creation of additional housing and new community facilities * Design of stadium * In line with fans preferences * Financially beneficial to the Club- * £100 million Emirates Sponsorship of Stadium
Failures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Design of the Stadium * No financial benefit to the club * Not in line with fans preferences * No major infrastructural improvement on the area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Lack of partnership with local community * Loss of SME space within the development * No regeneration strategy * Not inline with some of council's policy

There are many similarities between the two clubs developments. Both MFC and AFC are clubs located in London that have moved across the river Thames to their present locations. Both clubs are the only two clubs in London to have relocated within London since the war³, added to this is that both clubs have relocated less than 500 metres from their old stadiums. More relevant in regenerative terms is that both clubs received significant help from

³ This doesn't include ground share or Wimbledon who moved to Milton Keynes.

the Local Authority in securing the planning permission and sites for development. In order to understand the impact in regeneration terms the outcomes of both developments have to be analysed in order to understand their implications on the locality.

The relocation of football stadia provides an injection of investment into areas that otherwise would not receive this type of investment. The development can kick start a failing economy as well as proving new jobs. Like any investment, a football stadium has many externalities that can impact upon the regeneration of an area. In bigger stadium developments the economic gains for an area can be substantial. As seen with the AFC development, the proposed number of new jobs (See Appendix C) within the local area is expected at 972 plus various other outputs. This will have a significant impact on regeneration as it can create spiral effects for economic growth. As more people within the area get jobs, spending within the area increases, leading to more jobs, and so on.

These multiplier effects can often lead to further investment from other parties, which again perpetuates the spiral of economic growth. Smaller clubs will find it difficult to have such an impact on the area's economy. A development such as AFC's will provide more jobs from the construction of the stadium to the day to day running of a football club. MFC do not require, and cannot afford, the amount of staff that AFC will employ. The new AFC stadium is likely to attract an extra 25,000 people a game having significant spin off affects on local businesses and the number of employees within the club. MFC on the other hand have not had the significant increase in capacity from relocation, in fact, due to the necessity of seating, the club's capacity has

decreased following the move. In regeneration terms the size of the club will often determine how much economic impact it can have on a local area.

Relocation of a football stadium can also help improve facilities through planning gain and section 106 benefits that can aid regeneration by providing new and improved services to the area that otherwise might not have been invested in. In AFC's case the development has led to an increase in private and affordable housing, as well sport facilities and waster transfer facilities. These improvements would not have been undertaken by AFC if they remained at Highbury, and the Local Authority would struggle to develop items on such a scale without having the opportunity cost of other services suffering.

From comparing and contrasting MFC's and AFC's developments it would become clear that the type of benefits received in terms of planning gain and regeneration outputs is determinant of the size of the football club. As mentioned above, the AFC development has bought many large scale physical benefits to the area and is likely to have an economic multiplier effect on the local area. This is partly due to the size of the development and the opportunities within borough, but the size of the club has an impact of what type of benefits are achieved.

By comparing the successes and failures in Table 4, there is a clear distinction in what each club have been more successful in. As mentioned earlier, AFC's development is a lot larger and produces far more physical improvements that are likely to significantly change the fortunes of Highbury and the surrounding areas. MFC's development did produce physical section 106 benefits, but not on the size and scale of AFC. The result of this, is more

social regeneration schemes, with improved facilities to help develop community work within the borough.

This point ties in with the way in which the two clubs operated with their respective local authorities. MFC were given the land from the council on the grounds that a new sports centre was built with access for the community. The nature of the development meant that MFC had to accept the Local Authority's request and increase their role within the community, providing local people within the borough schemes aimed at tackling social exclusion, crime and health. Due to financial constraints, smaller clubs can't propose big redevelopment schemes as they haven't the resources to do so. Therefore they rely on the support, both financially and in planning terms, of the local authority, as did MFC.

In return for this the local authority will expect benefits that will benefit local people of the borough, hence the regeneration benefits following the MFC development were more focused on providing for local people, communities and residents. In contrast, AFC had the resources to provide a commercial proposal that helped enable the development of the new stadium. The local authority supported the proposal on a planning basis, but they did not lead the development, unlike in the MFC case.

This is not to say that bigger clubs don't have an impact on social regeneration, however due to the nature of development the smaller clubs are more likely to succeed in creating partnerships with the local community as their proposals are more likely to directly benefit the local community. Also the scale of the development is unlikely to impinge upon the local area when

compared to the big developments. This was evident within the two case studies.

AFC's proposals were to have big affects on the community, in terms of the built environment and the character of the Highbury area. AFC's development would have dramatic effects on local people, meaning that more local groups and residents are likely to be affected either negatively or positively. More people being affected in a negative way can increase local opposition causing fractures in partnerships between the community and the club. Issues such as community involvement and community empowerment are high on the agenda for best practice of implementing regeneration (Roberts, Sykes 2000; ODPM 2005) and therefore should not be treated as light issues.

From the case studies it would appear that the bigger developments would have less regard for the involvement of the community, as potential opposition could mean certain proposals will either not be permitted or delayed which would mean costs for private developments such as AFC's. On the other hand MFC have had good relations and partnership with the local community and regularly work together with residents groups through regeneration programmes. Having a good partnership with local people, the council and all other relevant stakeholders means a better understanding of the issues affecting the locality, as well as the opportunity to share resources and information to provide better services. A smaller more locally focused football club will obviously be more apt at carrying out this process, than a big club with a more wide ranging spatial and financial orientated focus.

The final point is likely to apply both clubs, but maybe more so to the smaller clubs, this concerns civic pride. New football staid, as discussed before, brings economic and social regeneration benefits to often relatively deprived inner city areas, as seen in both the case studies. These tangible benefits can be measured in terms of outputs; jobs created, floorspace developed, number of community programmes etc. However what can't be measured is the boost in terms of civic pride to an area that a new football ground can bring.

For many of the smaller less well known clubs, such as MFC, a new stadium can lead to increase gates due to better facilities. This means more revenue, which could lead to and improvement to a team's performance which could lead to a promotion up the league or a cup run that could promote the town and put it on the map. This didn't materialise at MFC due to the fans not wholly embracing the new stadium due their strong topophilic ties to the Old Den.

However there are examples, Hull City left their decrepit Boothferry Park stadium to play at a brand new 25,400 all seater stadium in 2002 when they were in the bottom tier of English Professional football. Hull City now have an average attendance of 20,347 (ITV Stats, 2005) almost double their average attendance 5 years ago, and are currently residing in the championship, one league below the premiership. For big clubs this may be of less importance as most people recognise AFC throughout the country, however for fans, especially local ones, a new stadium can provide an increase in civic pride giving a general lift to the area. How this relates to regeneration is a study in its self, nevertheless it is more likely aid the

regeneration of an area than not. If people have pride in where they live due to the appearance of a new stadium, or due to a team doing well because of it. 7

Conclusion

This study has aimed to examine the impacts of football clubs relocating stadiums on the stakeholders of the surrounding area and try to examine what this means for regeneration. The current literature review on the relocation of football stadiums and its effects on the locality is still relatively minimal. The available material showed us that many people are affected by football stadia directly, by residing or working near a football stadium, or indirectly, in non-tangible ways such as topophilia or civic pride. The literature highlighted four main stakeholders as the groups who are most affected by a football club relocating stadium, the community (residents and businesses), the respective Club, the Local Authority and the fans.

A football club relocating impacts upon all these stakeholders, some positively, others negatively. For the Club it is chance to develop new state of the art facilities to promote the image of the club. It can also mean a less exciting atmosphere and unfamiliar surroundings. For the fans it can be an opportunity watch football in comfortable surroundings, possibly with a roof and a seat. It can also mean a sense of loss to a place with strong ties. For a Local Authority it can mean a chance to promote development and improve infrastructure, however it can also mean having to protect residential amenity greenbelt land. For the community it is a chance to welcome a development that could stimulate growth and generate jobs. It can also mean losing car parking spaces and facing major traffic in local streets every other Saturday.

By looking at the individual cases of AFC and MFC we have unearthed some of the issues similar to those above that have affected both clubs as well as some issues that have only affected one of the clubs. Both

developments impacted upon local stake holders in certain ways. MFC developed a good partnership with its local community and local authority, enabling an easy transition to its new home, integrating well with its surroundings in design terms as well as its relationship to its locality. In contrast AFC had major opposition to its scheme, with the application being called in by the Secretary of State, and local groups organising an alliance to campaign against the development.

This is not to say AFC didn't produce any positive externalities to its locality, it provided the local authority with much needed affordable housing and a vast array of section 106 benefits that the council would otherwise be unable to provide. It also meant progression for the club financially, as it would allow for more spectators to view the games. MFC, in contrast, didn't provide any major section 106 benefits, and the new stadium didn't lead to an increase in spectatorship.

As mentioned in the literature review each case study is different and will raise different issues for different reasons. From examining the two cases of MFC and AFC we can see that the size of the developments has had an impact on the different types of regeneration benefits that have been accrued. The bigger the club, the bigger the scheme, as was the case with AFC. Bigger developments are more likely to produce more physical outputs such as significant section 106 benefits including housing, new waste transfer facilities and leisure facilities. This is due to the size of the club and their ability to dedicate the time and finance to such developments.

Smaller clubs, like MFC, lacking the financial clout of the bigger clubs, cannot allocate time and resources to proposing big development schemes,

let alone being able to finance them. Therefore, the positive externalities that occur from smaller clubs relocating tend to be through regeneration programmes concentrated through community schemes. This is also an outcome of the relationship between the club and the local authority. In MFC's case the club's development was led by the local authority who put forward the site and gave MFC a grant to help with the development. The council in return received specific benefits to help local people, like the many regeneration programmes MFC are involved in (Table 3) and a sports centre for community use.

When compared to AFC's development there is a difference in the partnership between club and council. The LBI were approached by AFC, who proposed the development. As LBI wanted to keep AFC within the borough, for the benefit of the borough, it accepted the proposals and supported AFC (in contrast to the LBL who proposed the scheme to MFC). Therefore in terms of potential social regeneration benefits accrued from a relocation of a football stadium, size matters.

This is not to say that bigger clubs don't play their part in social regeneration nor, that smaller clubs don't produce significant physical regeneration. AFC's development provided a new community facility, community training rooms and has set up a community trust. MFC's development provided a new sports centre, conference facilities and parking. A new football stadium is always going to produce some form of physical regeneration as the stadium will form part of the built environment; however it has become increasingly important, especially for small clubs who rely on

local support the locality to provide services to the local community and play a key role within it.

To compare both the clubs achievements on merits would be wrong as both the developments are different in many ways, and AFC's scheme remains to be implemented fully for it to be thoroughly examined. However football clubs should always be mindful of all the stakeholders that they affect when proposing new developments. Careful cooperation with local authorities and programmes to help local people can help integrate a club to its locality, as witnessed with MFC. Also consultation with fans to seek their views, as the main users of the club, as well as creating a stadium that will attract people to football, can help the club increase its revenue and 'give more back' to the community, as is hoped with AFC.

If football clubs work hard to engage all stakeholders, then better use can be made of the new stadiums and their role in the community as a regeneration catalyst. This means creating benefits for the fans, the community, the Local Authority and the club. As we have seen with the AFC and MFC development this is not an easy task. If new stadiums can work towards this goal, then the impacts on the locality in regeneration terms, are likely to be greater and more sustainable.

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Appendix B: Answers from Arsenal Online Questionnaire conducted on the 26th July 2005 on www.arsenalonline.com

will Posted on 26/7 13:50

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

Help Required

Hello, I am currently doing a bit of Uni work comparing the relocation of the Millwall Stadium with the move of your stadium to Ashburton Grove. I was wondering if you could help me by answering the following question, it would be much appreciated.

Now that the Arsenal are moving stadium are you;

- a) In favour of the move
- b) Against the move
- c) Neither

Feel free to include reasons as to why you picked either a,b or c.

Thank you to all who reply to this question it will be a great help. Cheers.

IP: Logged

Rochester_Gunner Posted on 26/7 13:55

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

In favour of the move due to the extra revenue it will provide to the club to enable us to compete with our competitors financially in the future.

Plus will be nice to have the pleasure of frequenting a nice new ground and all the comforts it brings.

IP: Logged

Alpasty Posted on 26/7 13:58

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

a) mostly as it will help the club compete financially with those that are not run as a profit making business. It's always going to be sad to leave, but there will be plenty more generations of Gooners because of it.

Good luck with it.

IP: Logged

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

IP: Logged

PEARLJAMTILLIDIE Posted on 26/7 14:15

re: Help Required

In favour, alternative was to leave Islington.

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

IP: Logged

Goon1 Posted on 26/7 15:22

re: Help Required

Personally im not overjoyed but see it as a modern necessity.

i grew up going to Highbury and will miss the place - im sure it will feel very strange and take a while to get used to AG being our "home". Memories etc take a long time to build and weve all got loads from highbury.

Highbury was also different in that it is classy - marble halls, the traditions that go with the place etc i always felt set us aside from other clubs and ther identikit stadia.

I will love the new facilities, the size is awesome and the revenue generated should assist us in staying at the top end of the table so in that aspect its good as we all want to see quality players winning tropheys.

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

IP: Logged

HenryLover Posted on 1/8 22:14

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

B- The Club places more emphasis on money than it does on history and tradition. Highbury is home. Totally opposed to the move.

IP: Logged

IP: Logged

AFC_441 Posted on 4/8 19:47

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

A- Increased capacity at the new ground is alone a valid reason to move, besides all the other advantages the move will bring.

IP: Logged

IP: Logged

Gunnertiltheend Posted on 5/8 13:15

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

A) It will of course be sad to leave Highbury, but you cannot ignore all the advantages the new stadium will bring.

IP: Logged

IP: Logged

AFC_MAD Posted on 7/8 23:47

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

In favour of the move. Good luck with the work.

IP: Logged

Robbo1980 Posted on 8/8 16:41

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

In favour of the move- looking forward to having a bigger ground and better facilities

IP: Logged

IP: Logged

bloodisred Posted on 10/8 10:07

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

Opposed to the move (B)- No where else but Highbury can be called home

IP: Logged

IP: Logged

GOONER_27 Posted on 11/8 18:58

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

A- Above all, we desperately need the increased stadium capacity

IP: Logged

IP: Logged

ProudToBeArsenal Posted on 12/8 11:57

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

A) The extra revenue the new stadium will generate can only help Arsenal become a bigger and better club. I will be sad to see the back of Highbury, but I am looking forward to watching them play in the new stadium and hopefully rise to the top of their game.

IP: Logged

dsmith_4 Posted on 14/8 11:42

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

B- I am against the move to the new ground, far too costly and not worth the upheaval

IP: Logged

WrightydaLEGE Posted on 16/8 22:03

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

Cannot wait to move to the new ground, and see the club reap the benefits of this move.

IP: Logged

oldgoonER Posted on 17/8 19:17

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

A- Should bring more fans to the club. Best of luck with your work.

IP: Logged

oneandonlyAFC Posted on 17/8 23:19

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

A definite yes for the new stadium- more fans, more money, better prospects for the club. I don't understand why any Arsenal fan would be against it.

IP: Logged

Goonertilidie Posted on 22/8 11:41

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

a- very much in favour of the move, for all the obvious reasons

IP: Logged

Al_smithy2 Posted on 24/8 22:13

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

a- in favour- I might have a chance at getting a ticket!

IP: Logged

gary_gooner Posted on 27/8 11:57

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

A- I will miss Highbury, but the latest pictures show a truly world class stadium. It will be a great move for the club, in every way.

IP: Logged

LadyArsenal Posted on 29/8 19:52

[Email this Message](#) | [Reply](#)

re: Help Required

b) I am against the move to the new stadium. I think the benefits are being oversold, and that it won't in fact make that much difference.

Appendix C: An Overview of the Proposed Regeneration Benefits to be Derived from the Relocation of AFC.

Appendix 6, Committee Report ,Arsenal Report Guide (2002)

<http://www.islington.gov.uk/pdf/arsenalfinal/arsenalappendixa6.pdf>. (05/06/05)

Appendix A6

Arsenal Potential Regeneration Benefits

Description (Output)	Quantity	Comments
Employment		
Aggregate net additions (within local area)	972	Full Time Equivalent
Aggregate net additions (within wider sub region)	1,821	Full Time Equivalent
Construction Jobs	2,148	Short term Full Time Equivalent jobs
Unemployed people into permanent jobs (without intervention)	209	15% of 1,396 jobs created by the project (i.e. half way between aggregate net additions within the local area and the wider sub region)
Unemployed people into permanent jobs (with intervention)	349	25% of the 1,396 (i.e. half way between aggregate net additions within the local area and the wider sub region) jobs created by the project. Implies that an initiative will be undertaken to introduce local people to these opportunities.
Construction training	215	Assume training required to secure 10% of 2,148 construction jobs predicted for local people.
Pre-vocational training	1,485 qualifications	Target individuals and communities with low-level skills for substantial proportion of medium-term jobs – characteristically labour market "entry level" jobs. Assume target 5,000 individuals to achieve 731 jobs taken up (i.e. 25% of total new permanent jobs). Of these target 33% with low-level skills = 2145.
Qualifications: NVQ1 to NVQ3	2250 qualifications	Assume 40% of individuals targeted above will be supported with training leading to qualification.
Qualification NVQ4 and above	723 qualifications	Work with UNL to target local people for small number of high-level jobs.
Business		
New business/ commercial floorspace	52,000	This includes A1 B1.D2, A3, Health clubs, nurseries. (Excludes the stadium and Waste Recycling Centre and Depot)
Live/Work Units	45	Includes 2,595 sq. m of work space
Environment		
Land improved for development	7 ha directly improved	Includes the Lough Road site (9 ha) less an estimated area for land which is in use.– approx 2 ha). This figure does not include any part of the Ashburton Grove or Highbury sites.
Public Open Space	3.07 hectares	See Overview Report

Transport		
Improvements to Holloway Road Underground Station	1	Improvements to the station's capacity and accessibility, making it accessible for disabled passengers. This would benefit existing users and make it available for new users, including students at UNL and those shopping at Nag's Head Town Centre.
Improvements to Drayton Park Station	1	Occupiers of the proposed new housing and other uses should result in a significant increase in the use of the station. This should help stimulate service improvements along the Moorgate to Welwyn Garden City line. The proposed lift and CCTV coverage should make the station accessible for disabled passengers and safer.
Waste treatment		
	1	New Waste Recycling Centre, with improved facilities for recycling, a better civic amenity site and a classroom to facilitate waste awareness education amongst children.
Housing		
New dwellings (total)	2,045	Total no. of new homes proposed on all three sites (including live/work units, refurbished homes & intermediate housing)
New dwellings (affordable)	436	Based on securing dwelling mixes outlined in the overview report.
New dwellings (student/intermediate)	188	Based on no.'s of homes counted as cluster units.
Community benefits		
New health facilities	Up to 4	Potentially 4 new Primary Care facilities: 2 at Ashburton, 1 at Highbury and 1 at Lough Road .
New sports and leisure facilities	3	New expanded Arsenal Sports/Community Centre with 2 additional five a side pitches, plus 2 gym/health clubs.
Community use of stadium	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of boxes in stadium by local residents & businesses • Community festivals, public art, theatre on podium space
New learning facilities	Up to 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New ICT-based learning centre within the stadium (100 places) • Up to 2 x children's nurseries • classroom in Waste Recycling Centre
Improvements to Aubert Court Community centre	1	Financial contributions towards improving the community centre and the local environment.

Appendix D: Map Citing the Millwall Football Club Development Sites



Appendix E: Answers from Millwall Online Questionnaire conducted on the 26th July 2005 on www.millwallonline.com.uk

will Posted on 26/7 13:46

Assistance Required.

I am writing a dissertation for my degree at the moment i need as many people on this site to answer the following question, i know that the question needs you to think back 12 or so years but if you could take the time it would be a great help;

When Millwall moved to the New Den where you:

- a) in favour of the move
- b) against the move
- c) Neither

Feel free to add reasons or comments as to why you chose either a, b, or c.

Thanks very much to all who reply it is much appreciated.

IP: Logged

Londonlion Posted on 26/7 13:53

re: Assistance Required.

I wanted to move to a nice new stadium which brought us in line with the other grounds but on the other hand I didn't want to leave something that had such a place in my heart.

For what it's worth, I'd give anything to be back there instead of what we have got now.

IP: Logged

dartfordwall Posted on 26/7 13:53

re: Assistance Required.

B. time is no great healer either.

Yes it probably had to be done and who knows where we'd be if we hadn't moved but it still wrangles.

IP: Logged

paulietheboy Posted on 26/7 13:54

re: Assistance Required.

B but reluctantly accepted the lack of an alternative. While I don't and never will love the new place in the same way I've got used to it.

IP: Logged

EggMFC Posted on 26/7 13:54

re: Assistance Required.

As someone who only stated following Millwall in that last Old Den season, I'd have to say neither, as I didn't get a chance to get to know the Old place as fondly as others.

I must add that on the half a dozen occasions that I went, I loved the place.

IP: Logged

selion Posted on 26/7 13:58

re: Assistance Required.

against the move.

The board should have done more to redevelop the old den

IP: Logged

LAR61E Posted on 26/7 14:03

re: Assistance Required.

Reluctantly accepted, but as selion says should have tried to redevelop..

When you think back that place rocked when full.

don't get me started

IP: Logged

Millwall_Camel Posted on 26/7 14:08

re: Assistance Required.

Option B for me please

IP: Logged

dartfordwall Posted on 26/7 14:08

re: Assistance Required.

Sorry I know I've already posted My vote, just wanted to add West Brom 3-0 in the cup against Regis Cunningham etc..

Leicester 2-0 against Lineker and Smith

Great nights and just don't think we'd have got those results playing at the new place, (I still call it that even after all these years, sad old git)

IP: Logged

Terry_Hurlock Posted on 26/7 14:14

re: Assistance Required.

What?????

What do you mean we've moved!!!!

Do you mean my spot on the halfway isn't there anymore??

THEO OUT.

IP: Logged

Governor0_1 Posted on 26/7 14:16

re: Assistance Required.

Me and my mates were well for it, we were kids at the time, and my grandad kept trying to drum into me that the new den would be sh t, but we didn't care, to us the new den looked massive. Didn't take long for the bubble to burst when it actullay felt smaller, especially with the cries of mmmmmmmiiiiiiiii..... not having the same surround sound effect.

IP: Logged

rossie_lion Posted on 26/7 14:17

re: Assistance Required.

Against it definately. I was only a young kid at the time but i loved it there. We should have redeveloped the old den definately the atmosphere was incredible. It was intimidating to the max unlike the new place.

IP: Logged

obeney Posted on 26/7 14:27

re: Assistance Required.

Was against the move and felt the ground could have been re-developed but still leave the unique atmosphere in place. I said at the time "we now kick-off 0-0 with the other team" ●

IP: Logged

Secondwave Posted on 26/7 14:34

re: Assistance Required.

The in their face intimidation has now gone at the New Den. I remember Ellery (The Ref) and his comments about the place.

IP: Logged

monkeymfc Posted on 26/7 15:08

re: Assistance Required.

b).

IP: Logged

paulion1 Posted on 26/7 15:11

re: Assistance Required.

B, I still yearn for the old place

IP: Logged

robbo_mfc Posted on 26/7 15:20

re: Assistance Required.

I was excited about having a new stadium but from the first time i walked into the new ground it just didn't feel right and have hated it since.
Don't forget we were promised all sorts of things were gonna happen there from concerts to major sporting events and it was gonna be great for the club.
Well i cant remember any concerts and only 1 boxing fight, So much for it being a multi purpose arena.

--- Post edited by robbo_mfc on 26/7 15:21 ---

IP: Logged

Teesside_Lion Posted on 26/7 17:35

re: Assistance Required.

Against it! As someone else said earlier the club should have developed the old site. The original Den was great. Can't comment much on the 'new' ground. Only been once but I'm bias against all-seater stadiums anyway. Bring back the terraces!

IP: Logged

wacker Posted on 26/7 17:56

re: Assistance Required.

against
bought into the idea that we might become a successful top flight club, remember we were not long out of top division.so wasnt prepared to blow myself up in opposition to the move.
blagged again eh?

IP: Logged

hurlockisgod Posted on 26/7 19:50

re: Assistance Required.

b)very much so

well done the late, great reg burr

IP: Logged

hogeysman Posted on 26/7 20:02

re: Assistance Required.

B) for me i miss the old place.

Appendix F: Transcripts from Telephone Call to the Day Manager of Stone House Tiles, 42, enterprise business estate, Bolina road, London SE16 3LF, 26th July 2005.

Stonehouse Tiles
42 Enterprise Business Estate
Bolina Road
London SE16 3LF
Tel: 0207 237 5375
Manager: Lizzie May

Transcript of a conversation between Will Kumar and Lizzie May, Manager of Stonehouse Tiles, on Monday 12th September at 4:10pm.

LM: *Good afternoon, Stonehouse Tiles, Lizzie speaking.*

WK: Good afternoon, is it possible that I could speak to a manager please?

LM: *I am afraid that the Directors are all out at the moment, but I am the Store Manager. Can I be of any assistance at all?*

WK: Yes, I am sure that you could. My name is Will, and I am a student at University College in London. I am doing a dissertation which involves comparing the impact of the Millwall Stadium on the local area. Would you have a few minutes to answer a few questions please?

LM: *Yes, of course. What can I help you with?*

WK: That's great. I won't keep you too long. Firstly, on match days, what general effects are there on business?

LM: *Well, on a Saturday, we cannot open the shop past 2:30 in the afternoon. This is mainly because the road is closed, so our customers cannot get to us. If they do want to visit, they would have a long walk, as there is no other local parking available to them. Obviously because of this, there is little point in staying open.*

WK: So, I would imagine that you are potentially missing out on sales at a time when most people are off work and would want to shop in your store?

LM: *There is little doubt that we lose out on sales for this reason, yes.*

WK: Is that the only reason that you cannot stay open all day on a Saturday, because parking and access to the store is restricted?

LM: *No, there is also the fact that it would not be very safe to remain open. We have to think of both the security of the store, and of our staff and customers.*

WK: Has your store ever been vandalised on a match day?

LM: *No, it hasn't, but the threat would always be there if we were to remain open on a Saturday.*

WK: Are there any benefits to having the Millwall Stadium in such close proximity to the store?

LM: *Yes, on match days, we charge TV crews for the use of our car park. But still, the revenue generated by this still does not exceed the potential lost earnings from closing the store.*

WK: Have you found that you have had to place greater emphasis on the website and ordering through that because you cannot open the store all day on a Saturday?

LM: *It has had an affect along these lines, but it also has to be remembered that we do not get a great deal of passing trade here- we knew that when we opened the store. It is more to do with the inconvenience of our customers who already know about us, having to be selective with what time they visit. They cannot just come along at any time on a Saturday like they can any other store, and this is another reason why we lose out on trade.*

WK: Have customers ever complained about access?

LM: *We do hear many 'unofficial' complaints if you like, whereby people will mention to us that they find it annoying that they cannot come down to the shop at the weekend etc. We have had a couple of letters over the years, and they have been where potential customers who have heard or known about us, have tried to visit the store and found it impossible to get anywhere, as the roads are closed due to the game. I know in one instance, the customer went elsewhere. Again, another example of lost revenue.*

WK: Lizzy, that is about all I need to ask you. Thank you so much for your help. Would you mind if I included the information you have given me in my dissertation?

LM: *Not at all Will. Glad I was able to help you. Hope the work goes alright. Take care.*

WK: Thanks Lizzy. You too. Bye.

LM: *Bye*