

Citizens' Inquiry
into the **Tottenham Riots**

I ❤️
TOTTENHAM

Darra Singh, Chair of the Riots Communities and Victims Panel said:

“The Citizens’ Inquiry into the Tottenham riots provides a useful insight to the causes of the disorder there, and solutions to prevent it from happening again.

“In our interim report the Panel said that leaders, both national and local, must commit to building strong, resilient and thriving local communities to avoid future disorder.

“This important analysis from local people will now contribute to our final report, due out in March.”

Paul Lewis, Special Projects Editor of the Guardian, who led the Reading the Riots study, said:

“While government and national bodies have failed to get to grips with why the riots occurred, and what should happen to avoid them, local initiatives such as the Citizens’ Inquiry into the Tottenham disorder are filling the gap.

“In Tottenham, citizens come together through this inquiry and said the unpalatable truths that others are willing to overlook. The national response to the riots has been feeble, but now the people who experienced the riots, and continue to live with their consequences, are coming up with their own, more valid interpretations.

This inquiry is so much more than a cathartic process for a community seeking answers in the aftermath of chaos - it is a thoughtful, reliable and ground-up roadmap for the way forward.”

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Foreword

By David Lammy

This Inquiry is the best example of a plan for change that is written, led and carried out by communities in Tottenham working together.

This report is the culmination of three months of work, not by big government, nor by think tanks, but by local people who live and work in Tottenham. Communities, through North London Citizens, have organised together to listen and respond to the shocking events that rocked our community in August 2011.

After the Broadwater Farm riots in 1985, the people of Tottenham picked themselves up, only to be devastated by another riot a generation on. The events last summer highlight the need for serious and effective change on a local and national scale. I wholeheartedly support and respect the work of these nine commissioners who have decided to stand up, not put up. The golden thread that runs throughout the *Citizens' Inquiry into the Tottenham Riots* is citizens taking responsibility for their own neighbourhoods.

This inquiry is the best example of an organised route for change that is written, led, and carried out by communities in Tottenham working together - there is ownership and an understanding of obligations to one another. What will make this inquiry last is that its leadership is rooted in Tottenham and will remain rooted long after the TV cameras leave.

I praise the commissioners and the hundreds of people who made the inquiry happen, each of them fighting for the things that matter: jobs, empowerment, regeneration and a change in police culture. This is a pursuit with purpose. I look forward to working with North London Citizens to make this happen.

Above all, this report is a powerful statement of what makes me proud of Tottenham. Led by local people, it is something we should point to in the future as an authoritative and authentic effort to respond to the issues that matter.



David Lammy

PEOPLE TOLD
THEIR STORY

7000

QUESTIONNAIRES
COMPLETED

3077

LOCAL COMMUNITY
INSTITUTIONS
LISTENED AND
COMMITTED
TO ACTION

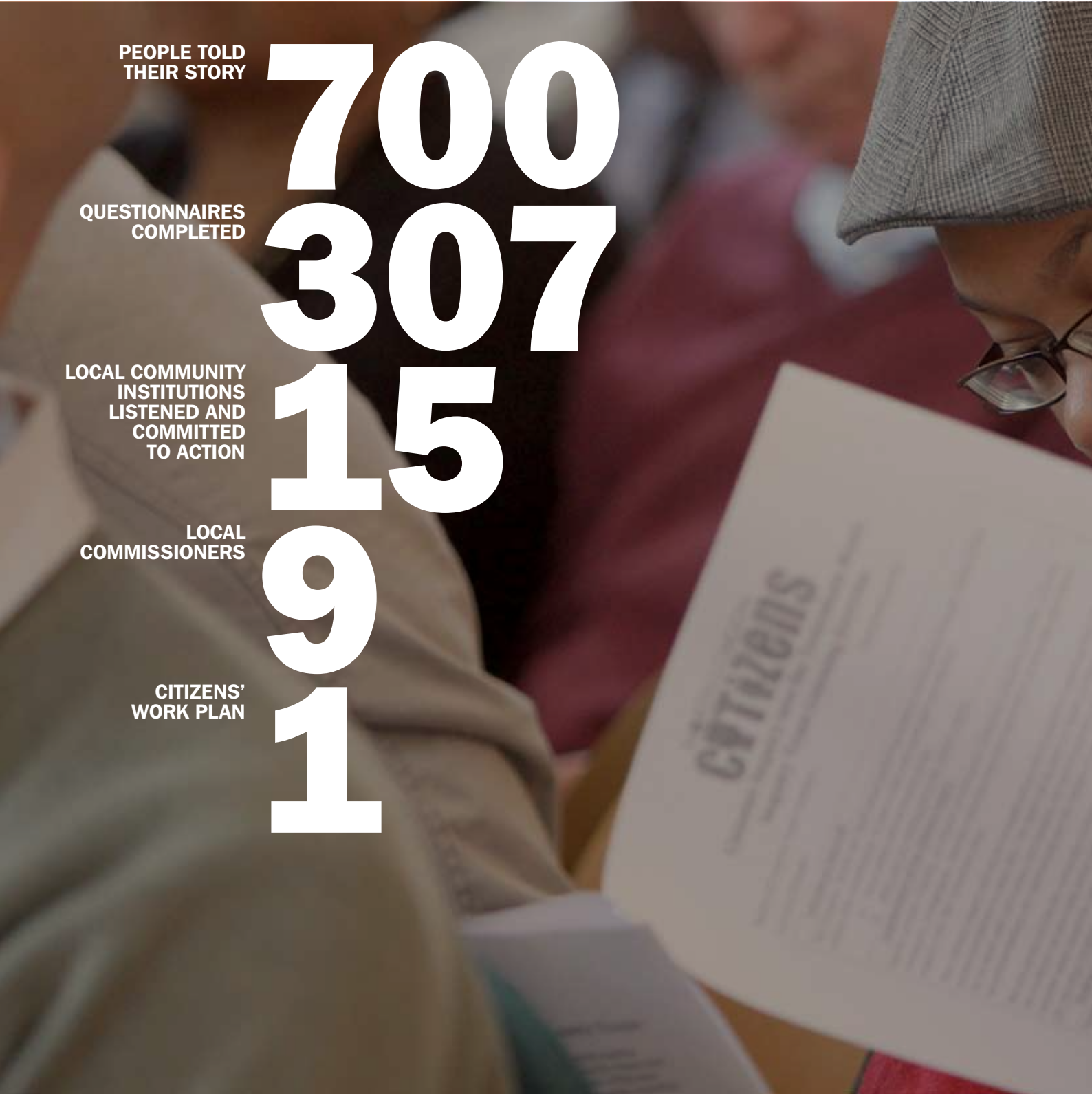
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LOCAL
COMMISSIONERS

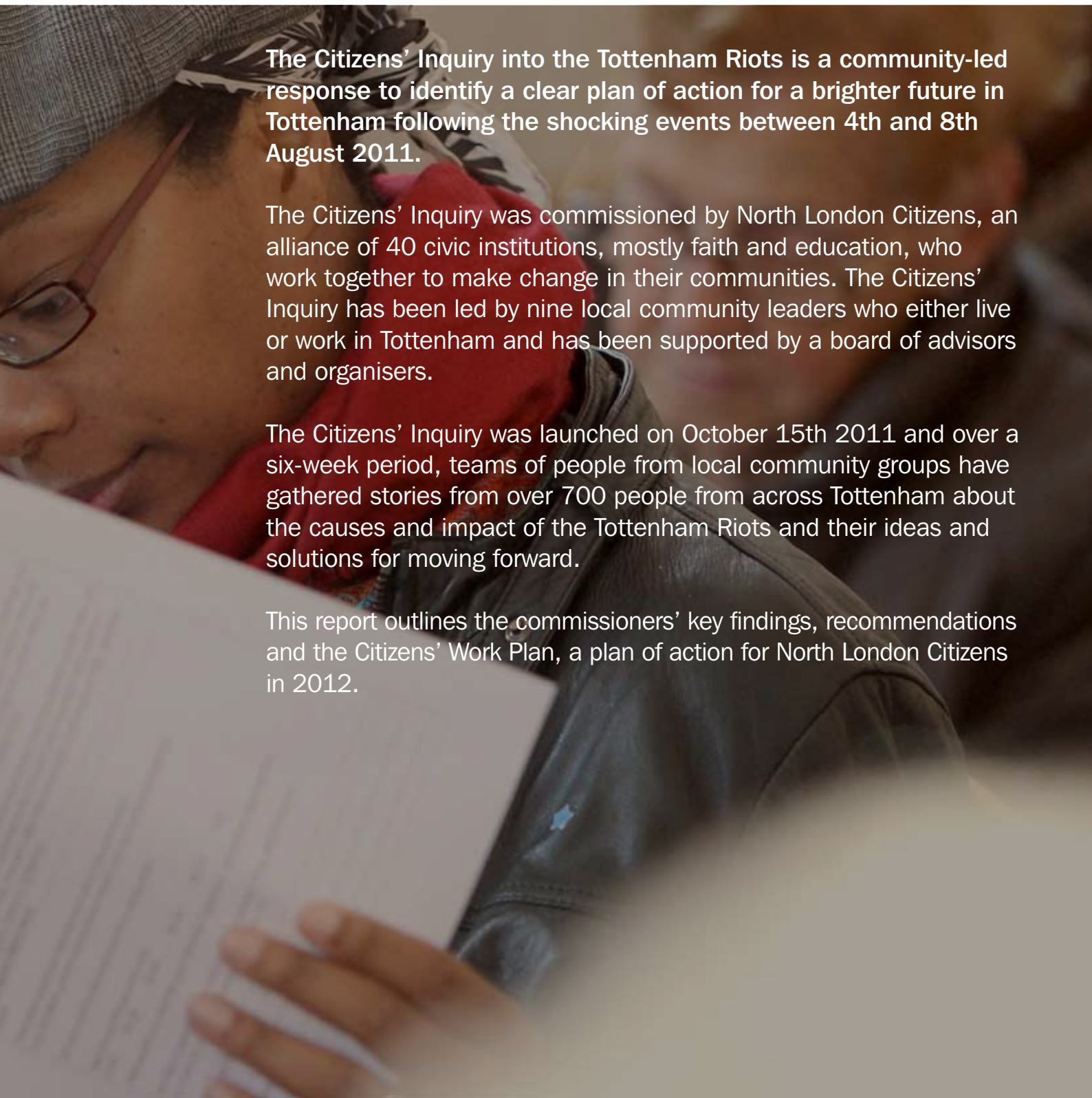
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CITIZENS'
WORK PLAN

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Introduction

A close-up photograph of a woman with glasses and a grey beanie, looking down at a document she is holding. The background is blurred, showing other people in a crowd.

The Citizens' Inquiry into the Tottenham Riots is a community-led response to identify a clear plan of action for a brighter future in Tottenham following the shocking events between 4th and 8th August 2011.

The Citizens' Inquiry was commissioned by North London Citizens, an alliance of 40 civic institutions, mostly faith and education, who work together to make change in their communities. The Citizens' Inquiry has been led by nine local community leaders who either live or work in Tottenham and has been supported by a board of advisors and organisers.

The Citizens' Inquiry was launched on October 15th 2011 and over a six-week period, teams of people from local community groups have gathered stories from over 700 people from across Tottenham about the causes and impact of the Tottenham Riots and their ideas and solutions for moving forward.

This report outlines the commissioners' key findings, recommendations and the Citizens' Work Plan, a plan of action for North London Citizens in 2012.

Executive Summary

Key Findings and Recommendations

Breakdown of Community-Police Relationships

Page 12-13



Youth Unemployment

Page 16-17



Recommendation...

Rebuilding relationships between the Community and Police

Page 14-15

A long-term campaign to build positive relationships between the community and police through joint action on street safety and community participation in police training.

Recommendation...

Tottenham 'Working Futures' Campaign

Page 18-19

A two-year campaign to create 1,000 new jobs and work opportunities for young people aged 16 – 24 years in Tottenham.

Condition & Reputation

Page 20-21



Powerlessness

Page 24-25



Recommendation...

Recommendation...

'I Love Tottenham' Regeneration Campaign

Page 22-23

A collaborative effort of local communities, Haringey Council, the Greater London Authority and businesses to regenerate Tottenham High Road and improve Tottenham's reputation.

The Tottenham One Hundred

Page 26-27

A North London Citizens commitment to train 100 local leaders to take forward the Citizens' Work Plan, as part of a wider partnership to make Tottenham a Centre of Excellence for Youth Leadership.

About us

Who made this happen?

The Commissioners



Ajmal Masroor
Imam
Tottenham
kj.sncjka.nsc.ansclbaskmx.aslnc.

"It is very important that all communities of the borough are heard. Responsible local communities who are united will be able to avert any similar incidences happening in the future. The inquiry is important because it is independent. An honest inquiry is important and that's why I'm a commissioner."



Reverend Bunmi Fagbemi
Area Dean for East Haringey
Holy Trinity Church

"The tragic shooting of Mark Duggan that sparked the Tottenham Riots and many of the events that followed took place in the parish boundaries of my church. I am the Area Dean of East Haringey and have lived and served in Tottenham for over 10 years. My aim is to bring together the individual gifts, skills and vocations of this community."



Dawn Ferdinand
Head Teacher
The Willow (formerly Broadwater Farm Primary School)

"I am in my 11th year of Headship and have worked tirelessly to support and develop the leadership of black and Asian Headteachers. My school was devastated by the death of Mark Duggan and more than 200 young people, parents and teaching staff have been involved in the Inquiry trying to understand the underlying causes of the Tottenham riots."



Edward Badu
Student
St Ignatius College

"Tottenham is my home, I went to St. Francis De Sales, Primary School here and am now in my final year of Sixth Form at St. Ignatius, Enfield. I've always valued the wealth of experience I gained living here, and I wouldn't live anywhere else. I became a Commissioner because I want to show the world that every young person is different and you shouldn't stereotype young people in Tottenham."



Hannah Adu
Youth Worker
Highway Youth Club (Bruce Grove Youth Centre)

"I am a mother of five and have been doing youth work in Haringey for the last 14 years. The week before the riots I led a team of 35 teenagers to clean the streets of Haringey in order to serve their community during the school holidays. My goal is help young people make an informed, safe and healthy transition into adulthood."



Father Peter Randall
Parish Priest
St. Ignatius Roman Catholic Church

"Before I became a Jesuit Priest I worked as a psychiatric nurse and a family therapist and this has given me an intense spiritual and psychological concern for the healing of Tottenham post-riots. Over the last 4 years being a member London Citizens has facilitated a wider sense of outreach for our parish community of nearly 2000 English speakers, Polish and Latin Americans."



Dr Segun Johnson
Church Pastor
Liberty Church

"As the current convenor for the Borough Deans in Haringey and with a background teaching Political Science at the University of Lagos, I understand the power of people coming together for collective action. From my church office, I look straight onto the devastation of the old Carpet Right building and I was excited by the prospect of being able to make genuine, positive change in Tottenham through the North London Citizens Inquiry."



Fr Simon Morris
St Mary's, Landsdowne Road
The Good Shepherd,
Mitchley Road

"St Mary's is opposite Carpet Right and in the immediate aftermath of the riots, the church members kept the doors open for sixteen hours, six days a week to provide respite and care to all those nearby. I have served here for 3 years and the riots had a deep impact on the members of our diverse community."



Symeon Brown
Co-Founder of Haringey Young People Empowered (HYPE)

"I grew up in Tottenham and I was out on the night of the riots, seeing friends and members of the Tottenham community out in this frenzy of protest, criminality and opportunism is something I wanted to understand and I knew the only real way to do that was to hear their own stories, accounts and vision for change."

The Citizens' Inquiry has been led by nine commissioners, who are local community leaders that live or work in Tottenham, and has been supported by a board of advisors and organisers.

The Advisors



Andy Hull
Senior Research Fellow
Institute for Public Policy
Research



Michael Ellman
Solicitor
North London Citizens member
North London Progressive
Jewish Community



Mike Kelly
Head of CSR Europe
KPMG



Pamela Pemberton
Community Engagement
Manager
HAVCO



Tunde Okewale
Barrister
Doughty Street Chambers

The Organisers



Alvin Carpio
Organiser of *Citizens' Inquiry*
into the *Tottenham Riots*



Sophie Stephens
Senior Organiser of North
London Citizens



Matthew Bolton
Lead Organiser of North
London Citizens



Neil Jameson
Director of London Citizens


Overview

Aims

- > Develop and train teams of citizens in order to strengthen relationships between local communities and build the capacity of people in Tottenham.
- > Identify credible and workable recommendations for the future of Tottenham
- > Develop a clear work plan for North London Citizens to work constructively with business, local Council and police.

“The riots felt like a moment of power but people shouldn’t only feel powerful when they are being destructive. I want people in Tottenham to be leaders every day, all the time, so we can take charge of the future of our borough”
Student, St. Thomas More

“I want to look at Tottenham on August 6th 2012 and be proud of how our community has become a phoenix rising out of the ashes.”
Parent, The Willow Primary School



The shooting of Mark Duggan on 4th August 2011 was the spark that ignited the riots in Tottenham. We hope for a just and fair conclusion to the investigation into his death by the Independent Police Complaints Commissions.

Our Inquiry has identified four underlying causes of the Tottenham riots. For each of these causes, we have developed clear and practical recommendations. We have drawn up a Citizens' Work Plan – our strategy for implementing these recommendations throughout 2012.

2011

The story of our inquiry

Just some of the events that have taken place in our Citizens' Inquiry



First Public Hearing at the Tottenham Town Hall.

We launched the Inquiry with a Public Hearing at the Town Hall with nearly 100 local people. The commissioners heard stories from residents, families, young people and shopkeepers about their experiences of the riots and suggestions of how Tottenham can move forward. Highlights included the inspirational testimony from Anna Lowe and the local wrestling club.



The Willow Primary School hosts parents' coffee mornings.

The Willow Primary School hosted two coffee mornings to speak to parents from the Broadwater Farm estate about the causes, impacts and solutions to the Tottenham riots. Over twenty parents attended and contributed their views, led by Linda Tomlinson, a teacher at the school. More than 25 staff and 200 students at the school participated in the Inquiry.



Inquiry Team visit to Tottenham Hale Retail Park

A team of volunteers from St. Ignatius College, led by Commissioner Edward Badu, visited Tottenham Retail Park on a busy Saturday afternoon. The team interviewed staff from stores such as JD Sports and B&Q, local residents and shoppers who use the retail park on a regular basis. By the end of the afternoon, the team had gathered over 30 questionnaires from one to one interviews.



Volunteers speak to hundreds at 3 Tottenham Mosques

Making the most of Friday prayer, 50 volunteers spoke to young and old attending Wightman Road, Clyde Road and Assunah Mosques. The commissioners were intent on making sure the views of Tottenham's diverse community was included in the Report.



Final Public Hearing at the Tottenham Town Hall

Nearly 100 people attended the final event of the Hearing where the commissioners heard from local officials and business leaders. These included Cllr Alan Strickland, Cllr Bernice Vanier, David Lammy MP and Chair of Tottenham Traders Partnership, Moaz Nanjuwany.

04 August	Mark Duggan is shot dead by police from Operation Trident.
06 August	Peaceful protest outside Tottenham Police Station. Riots start that evening in Tottenham and spread throughout the country over the next two days.
07 August	30 community leaders gather in Holy Trinity church to discuss community-led response.
08 August	200 people gather on Monument Way for a Peace Vigil. Speeches from community leaders call for an end to the violence and condemn the rioting.
31 August	150 community leaders from the London Citizens alliance meet in Hackney to discuss civil society's organised response to the riots.
04 October	Commissioners and advisors meet and plan the inquiry at the Citizens' Inquiry Away Day.
15 October	100 people meet in Tottenham Town Hall for the launch of the Citizens' Inquiry and the first public hearing.
07 November	Interim meeting for commissioners and advisors.
08 November	Commissioner Hannah Adu and Advisor Michael Ellman visit Wood Green Crown Court to witness riot trials. Listening session at the Willow Primary School.
13 November	Listening session at St Francis de Sales Church.
14 November	Commissioner Fr Simon Morris hosts BBC Radio 5 live debate about the riots at St. Mary's Church.
15 November	Listening sessions in the Willow Primary School and St Mary's Church.
16 November	Private Hearing in the Welbourne Centre.
18 November	50 community leaders from across London speak to hundreds of people outside the Wightman Road, Assunah and Clyde Road mosques.
19 November	Listening session in Tottenham Hale shopping district.
20 November	Listening session in Liberty Church.
21 November	Listening session in CONEL.
22 November	Listening session in the Selby Centre.
25 November	Listening session in the Willow Primary School.
26 November	Final public hearing.
10 December	Commissioners and advisors reflect on 6-week inquiry and plan report.

Our Key Findings

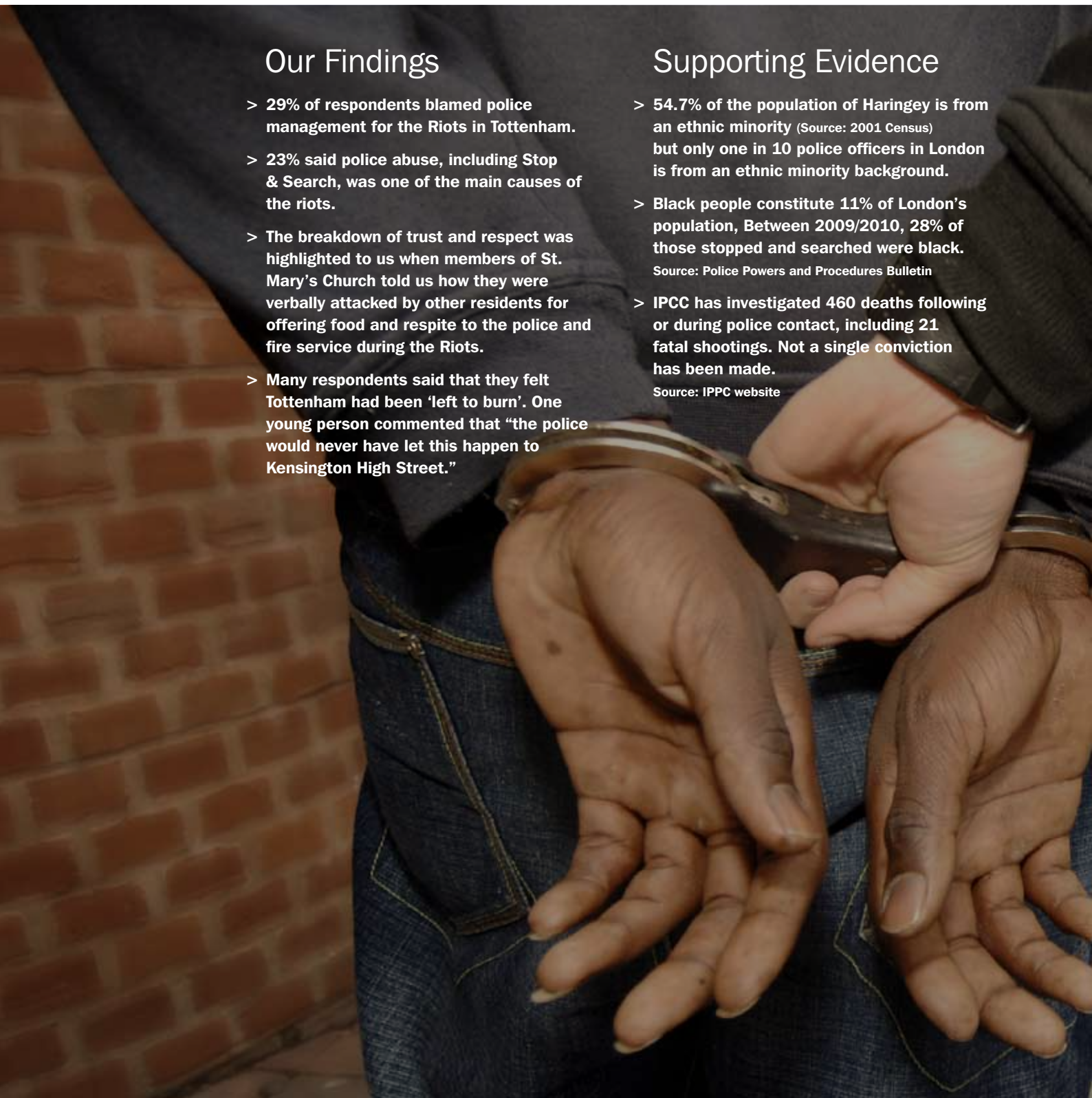
Breakdown of Community-Police Relationships

Our Findings

- > 29% of respondents blamed police management for the Riots in Tottenham.
- > 23% said police abuse, including Stop & Search, was one of the main causes of the riots.
- > The breakdown of trust and respect was highlighted to us when members of St. Mary's Church told us how they were verbally attacked by other residents for offering food and respite to the police and fire service during the Riots.
- > Many respondents said that they felt Tottenham had been 'left to burn'. One young person commented that "the police would never have let this happen to Kensington High Street."

Supporting Evidence

- > 54.7% of the population of Haringey is from an ethnic minority (Source: 2001 Census) but only one in 10 police officers in London is from an ethnic minority background.
- > Black people constitute 11% of London's population, Between 2009/2010, 28% of those stopped and searched were black.
Source: Police Powers and Procedures Bulletin
- > IPCC has investigated 460 deaths following or during police contact, including 21 fatal shootings. Not a single conviction has been made.
Source: IPCC website



“The police allowed the riots. They could have controlled and contained it, instead of standing and watching the rioters cause damage. The police have to take some responsibility.”
Parishoner at St Mary the Virgin Church, 51-70

Commissioners' Assessment

From the stories we heard, there has been a long-term deterioration of the relationship between people in our community and the police, in particular young people from ethnic minorities. Stop and Search was frequently described as being excessive and disrespectful. We welcome the recent policy announcement to make the practice more targeted. We want to help the police, through recruitment and orientation, be more attuned to the community in Tottenham.

It is extremely disturbing to hear so many people say that they felt Tottenham has simply been left to burn by the police. People need clear answers as to why the police did not intervene sooner to stop the rioting. Regrettably, without a proactive attempt to explain this and rebuild trust we will not see an improved relationship between the community and the police.

“A concerted effort is needed by all parties to rebuild a more positive relationship between community in Tottenham and the police. Large parts of the community feel that Tottenham was left to burn.”

Recommendation

Rebuilding relationships between the Community and Police

The community should be involved in the orientation of new police officers in Haringey.

We recommend to citizens that...

We should help design a 6 month orientation process involving local communities to be piloted with the 50 new officers arriving in February 2012.

We recommend to Haringey police that...

You should work with North London Citizens to bring local community leaders into the training and orientation of new Haringey officers, starting with the 50 new officers arriving in February 2012.

The Metropolitan Police should increase the diversity and number of local people involved in police work in Haringey, and across London.

We recommend to citizens that...

North London Citizens should help to broker a relationship between the Metropolitan police and RARE recruitment to pilot a scheme to increase the number of ethnic minorities in the police force.

We recommend to Haringey police that...

Haringey Police supports and engages with North London Citizens, RARE Recruitment and the Metropolitan Police to recruit more people from ethnic minorities into the police, especially in areas of high diversity. The Metropolitan Police should also focus on recruiting more Londoners into the police force.



We want to increase positive joint work between young people and the police by developing Tottenham High Road as a ‘City Safe Zone.’

We call for a public explanation from the Borough Commander and the Metropolitan Police Commissioner about the events in August to counter the feeling that Tottenham was ‘left to burn’.

We recommend to citizens that...

We should develop a City Safe zone in Tottenham where shops, schools, cafes report 100% of crime and pledge to offer a safe place for any young person in immediate danger – a City Safe Haven. Developing City Safe Zones should be led by young people and supported by Haringey Police.

We also encourage local community groups to reach out and build relationships with their Safer Neighbourhood Teams

We recommend to Haringey police that...

Haringey police force should actively support the City Safe campaign in Haringey by working with local community leaders to run a ‘City Safe’ community walk on Tottenham High Road

Haringey Police should focus on building positive relationships with local schools and youth groups through other initiatives such as the Haringey Young People Empowered football tournament

We recommend to the police that...

The Haringey Borough Commander and the Metropolitan Police Commissioner should make a public statement to address the feeling that Tottenham was ‘left to burn’ and this should be developed into a proactive strategy to rebuild trust locally.

Also, the Council should set up a direct line of communication between the Borough Commander and the Leader of the Council so that if rioting or large disturbances happen again, the different agencies can be in direct communication and therefore organise a more effective response.

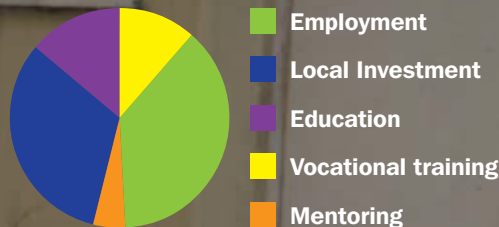
Our Key Findings

Youth Unemployment

Our Findings

- > **53.1% of people said unemployment was the key cause of the Tottenham Riots.**
- > **32.9% identified poverty as a major cause.**
- > **50% said opportunism was the reason for the Tottenham Riots but no one said opportunism or criminality was the sole cause.**
It was connected to 'nothing for young people to do', lack of values' or 'unemployment'
- > **73% of people identified employment or local investment as the key solution for Tottenham to rebuild post-riots.**
- > **A further 29% of people identified a need for better education and more vocational training for young people.**
- > **Tottenham Hotspur FC was consistently cited as one of the most important organisations for the future of Tottenham.**

Solutions identified to tackle the problem



Supporting Evidence

- > **At the time of the riots, there were over 10,000 unemployed people in Haringey and only 367 job vacancies.**
Source: www.guardian.co.uk/society/unemployment
- > **The TUC estimated there are 29 people chasing each job vacancy in Haringey.**
Source: www.guardian.co.uk/society/unemployment
- > **35% of the adult rioters who were arrested were claiming an out of work benefit compared to 12% of the working age population in England Feb 2012.**
Source: www.justice.gov.uk
- > **40% of young people arrested for their role in the riots were on Free School Meals compared to 26% of all London pupils at secondary school.**
Source: www.justice.gov.uk
- > **The largest employer in Haringey is the Council and 95% of businesses employ less than 24 people.**
Source: Annual Business Inquiry 2007

“Poverty, unemployment, lack of confidence in government. [Young people] feel let down, they have no hope.”

Shopkeeper, Tottenham High Road

Commissioners' Assessment

When we listened to young people who chose not to riot, their most important reason was that they had a stake in the community: family and community ties, education and job opportunities.

While young people are constantly being persuaded they need to acquire expensive things in order to have status, too often they are not being offered a decent chance to work and earn. It is in everyone's interest that people in Tottenham feel that if they work hard, there is a legitimate route to earning money and achieving status.

Four months before the Riots, North London Citizens members had begun listening to people across Haringey who were flagging up the growing levels of disenchantment about a lack of youth employment opportunities. A decent chance of getting a job is central to young people feeling they have a stake in the community.

So starting with our own schools, and faith communities, we are going to offer work opportunities to local young people. We want to build a partnership between North London Citizens, Haringey Council, small and big businesses, and set ourselves the ambitious target of 1,000 opportunities for young people in Tottenham. As communities, we can also help take responsibility for engaging young people into taking up those opportunities and supporting them to make the most of them. One good chance is enough to set someone on the right road for the rest of their lives.

“A decent chance of getting a job is central to young people feeling they have a stake in the community.”

Recommendation

Tottenham 'Working Futures' Campaign

North London Citizens, Haringey Council and businesses in Tottenham and beyond should create 1,000 new jobs and work opportunities for young people in Tottenham over the next two years.

We recommend to citizens that...

North London Citizens partner with Haringey Council and work with local education providers such as CONEL and local businesses, including Tottenham Hotspur FC, Tesco, the Tottenham Traders Partnership and Business in the Community, to create 1,000 new jobs and work opportunities for young people in Tottenham aged 16 – 24 years old.

We set an example ourselves by offering young people a work opportunity in our schools and faith communities. Then, by taking inspirational teams of young people to meet businesses of all descriptions, North London Citizens can build up momentum behind the campaign, working with Haringey Council to reach the 1,000 target in two years.

London Citizens approaches Lord Alan Sugar to act as an ambassador to the campaign, offering work opportunities and using his contacts and profile.

We recommend to Haringey Council that...

Haringey Council partner with North London Citizens and jointly adopt the target of 1,000 new jobs and work opportunities for young people in Tottenham. A joint strategy is developed to approach and encourage businesses to offer placements, to use peer-to-peer influence and to celebrate those that commit.

Haringey Council provide financial subsidy to leverage business buy-in and encourage other public sector partners to also offer work opportunities.

Haringey Council use their own procurement policies to encourage contractors to recruit staff locally and offer work opportunities to local young people.

We recommend to businesses that...

Businesses operating in Tottenham and across London, including Tottenham Hotspur FC, Tesco, JD Sports, Ikea, Tottenham Traders Partnership and Blackberry commit to offering jobs and work opportunities to young people in Tottenham.

Business in the Community act as a strategic partner to North London Citizens and Haringey Council, playing a lead role in encouraging businesses to participate.

Local communities and education institutions should take responsibility for engaging young people and supporting them to make the most of these jobs and work opportunities.



We recommend to citizens that...

Local communities and education institutions engage young people and support them to take up and make the most of these 1,000 jobs and work opportunities. This includes providing and accessing training on leadership skills, job readiness and CV development.

North London Citizens work with organisations such as 'Give Tottenham a Chance' that aim to provide young people in Tottenham with a mentor that can help broaden life experience and increase aspirations.

We recommend to Haringey Council that...

Haringey Council support the crucial role played by communities and education institutions to help young people take up and make the most of these jobs and work opportunities.

The Council work to increase and improve the provision of local training and support for young people in relation to accessing work, starting with the redevelopment of the 'Opportunities Centre' in Broadwater Farm.

Our Key Findings

Reputation and Condition of Tottenham

Our Findings

- > Many identified the cause of the riots as the aesthetics of the Tottenham.
‘Lack of bins’
‘horrible smells’
clusters of chicken and betting shops
- > People named ‘unpleasant high street shops and unpleasant living conditions’ as a key cause of young people not respecting the community.
- > 53% of respondents said the main effect of the riots was fear and the feeling there was a breakdown of trust amongst people, in particular young people, in Tottenham.
- > The owner of Peppers and Spice, which was not attacked after calls on BBM to protect it, said there were not enough businesses in Tottenham owned and run by local people.
- > 56% of respondents identified either regeneration/civic pride (23%) or local investment (33%) as a key solution to the Tottenham riots.

Supporting Evidence

- > Nationally, the number of town centre stores fell by almost 15,000 between 2000 and 2009 with an estimated further 10,000 losses over the past couple of years.
Department for Business, Innovation and Skills/Genecon and Partners (2011), Understanding High Street Performance
- > Tottenham Traders Partnership Executive estimated their trade to have fallen 50% in the 6 months following the riots.
- > Out-of-town developments have enjoyed positive growth rates since 2001 while town centre growth has been largely negative.
The Portas Review, Verdict Research (2011) UK Town Centre Retailing
- > “I believe that our high streets can be lively, dynamic, exciting and social places that give a sense of belonging and trust to a community. A sense of belonging which, as the recent riots clearly demonstrated, has been eroded and in some instances eradicated. I also fundamentally believe that once we invest in and create social capital in the heart of our communities, the economic capital will follow.”
Mary Portas, The Portas Review, December 2011

“We need to make Tottenham more like a clean place – a clean borough, that is well looked after.”

Jed Marvin Santiago, 11-18, St Ignatius Church

Commissioners' Assessment

“Not only was the poor condition and reputation of Tottenham one of the contributing factors that led to the riots, but now in the aftermath of the riots, the perception of Tottenham across London and the world has been damaged even further. This has a negative effect on our self-esteem and on the economic opportunity here in Tottenham.”

We need to work together to improve the condition and reputation of Tottenham so it becomes a place where successful members of our community stay, a destination for Londoners to visit, live and shop and a place we can all be proud of. This means taking risks and embracing new things. A prosperous future for Tottenham lies in mixed community residential developments and attracting high profile retail chains that will increase footfall and drive the local economy.

We recognise the efforts of those behind the ‘I Love Tottenham’ campaign and are committed to work together to give clearer purpose, impact and longevity to this movement. There is a great energy in the community to improve Tottenham. We believe that a re-branded and re-launched fund, similar to the Haringey Council ‘Making the Difference’ programme, could use public money to leverage a huge amount of community and private sector resource. This will unlock creativity and energy as well as build ownership of the local area.”

“There is a great energy in the community to improve Tottenham. We want to help Tottenham become a destination for Londoners and need planning and regeneration strategies that encourage investment.”

Recommendation

I love Tottenham Regeneration Campaign

A collaborative regeneration and planning strategy that unlocks the energy of the community and attracts investment into Tottenham.

We recommend to citizens that...

North London Citizens support Haringey Council to design the most effective fund that seeks to match public investment with community energy and business resource, to improve Tottenham High Road.

Communities develop proposals for Haringey Council for improvements along Tottenham High Road, contributing their energy, time and ideas towards a collaborative effort to positively transform the local environment.

North London Citizens engage effectively with Haringey Council's Draft Regeneration plan, open for consultation in March 2012, supporting strategies that will attract investment into the area such as mixed community residential developments and high profile retail chains.

We recommend to Haringey Council that...

Haringey Council build on the success of their 'Making the Difference' programme and work with North London Citizens to design and re-launch a dedicated fund for improving Tottenham High Road. With £250,000 available as a first stage, this fund aims to match fund the voluntary investment of local community groups and build ownership around regeneration.

Haringey Council use their planning and regeneration strategy to improve the offer that Tottenham makes for people to live, visit and work. This means mixed community residential developments, high profile retail chains and attractions such as a cinema. Also, this includes the limitation of any further spread of the all too common betting shops and fast food restaurants.

Haringey Council reconsider current parking restrictions and in collaboration with Tottenham Traders Partnership and other businesses, find a compromise that maximises footfall on the High Street.

We recommend to businesses that...

Businesses in Tottenham such as Tesco, Asda, Iceland, Carpetright upgrade their shop fronts to make Tottenham a more vibrant and attractive place. High profile retail chains such as Marks and Spencer's consider opening stores in the area and the Picturehouse chain consider reopening a cinema in Tottenham.

A re-launch of the 'I Love Tottenham' campaign that raises the positive profile of Tottenham and helps make it a place to be proud of.



We recommend to citizens that...

North London Citizens work with the Council and Tottenham Traders Partnership to give greater energy and focus to the 'I Love Tottenham' campaign. This includes an extension into 'Why I Love Tottenham' where local communities and media run events celebrating what they like about the area.

Local communities should promote respect for Tottenham by working together to keep the streets tidy, by reporting problem areas.

The 'I Love Tottenham' branding is co-ordinated with the City Safe Zone and the 'Making the Difference' fund (proposed in this Report) that will together contribute to a safer and more attractive Tottenham High Road.

We recommend to Haringey Council that...

Haringey Council partner with North London Citizens and the Tottenham Traders Partnership to develop an effective development plan for the 'I Love Tottenham' campaign.

Haringey Council commit to better enforcement of keeping Tottenham tidy through increasing funding for enforcement around dumping.

We recommend to businesses that...

The Tottenham Traders Partnership works closely with North London Citizens and Haringey Council on the 'I Love Tottenham' campaign for 2012.

Shops and local business contribute to promoting the brand by partnering with local communities on joint events.

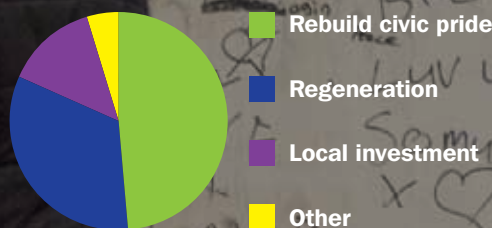
Our Key Findings

Powerlessness

Our Findings

- > 28% of people identified lack of power as a major cause of the Riots.
- > A number of respondents spoke of a poor relationship between local communities and the establishment.
- > One respondent, echoing the views of many we spoke to, said: “the riots were caused by the arrogance of people in authority, both in local and central government.”
- > Many people identified a need for stronger community values and leadership.
- > 2/3 of people suggested community cohesion (20%), empowerment (20%) or community development (23%) was the solution for Tottenham to move forward.
- > 47% of people said one important solution is opening new youth projects, such as the Bruce Grove Youth centre which is currently facing closure. One man at Clyde Road Mosque said “we need more youth development centres like the mosque: classes, language skills, so youth leaders can pass on relationships.”

Proposed Solutions



“Young people have to believe that change can occur from being involved.”

Kawbena Oduro Ayiom, 26, Youth Leader and executive member of HYPE

Supporting Evidence

- > Just 51% of rioters agreed with the statement ‘I feel I am part of British Society’ compared to 92% of the public.

Source: ICM, Guardian, LSE research

- > In 2006, the voter turnout in Tottenham was just 36% and in 2002 it was 30%.
- > Turnout for the 2010 General Election rose to 60.3%. However, the poorest wards and where the riots started had much lower turnout than prosperous areas in the west of Haringey such as Alexandra Park (74%). Tottenham Green (49.2%) Northumberland Park (51%) Tottenham Hale (52%) Bruce Grove (54%)

Source: www.haringey.gov.uk/index/council/voting/haringey/election/results/2010 NOTE: Page NOT FOUND.

“It was the best night of the year, it finally felt like all the people coming together, united to do something, even if that something was ultimately destructive.”

Rioter, student, 17

Commissioners' Assessment

The most striking analysis we heard was that the riots were, for some, a unique moment of feeling powerful. While this moment was destructive, harmful and only compounded problems, too many people feel that they lack the capacity to act and control events in their everyday lives.

We believe that the strongest commitment to develop the power of local people is ensure Tottenham is seen as a Centre of Excellence for Youth Leadership, where young people are given the space to work positively together, learn new skills and understand ways to make change in their community.

This needs to start with reclaiming the history of the Bruce Grove Youth Centre, which was left by Lord Lynch in the 1940s for the benefit of young people in Haringey. We want to ensure it is once again a flagship for the development of young people in Tottenham. The Bruce Grove Youth Centre is a state of the art youth facility that is now tragically underutilised. If that is the face of opportunity in Tottenham, it is no wonder people feel powerless to bring about successful change in the community.

We need to work together to broaden our horizons in Tottenham so ambition, ownership and leadership are allowed to flourish. Of course, with power comes responsibility and, as communities in Tottenham, we need to train and develop the leadership of those around us. This is why we are proposing developing a 'Tottenham One Hundred' of powerful, diverse and active citizens who take responsibility for working with others to implement these recommendations.

Recommendation

The Tottenham One Hundred

Train 100 people from diverse institutions in Tottenham to act as powerful, effective leaders to take forward the Citizens' Work Plan.



We recommend to citizens that...

We identify 100 leaders in local institutions in Tottenham to led on the Citizens Work Plan. The Tottenham One Hundred should be diverse in age, faith and background.

North London Citizens should offer training and development for the Tottenham One Hundred so they are better equipped with the skills to be powerful leaders in their own community.

The Tottenham One Hundred will be responsible for the implementation of the Citizens Work Plan through local community institutions.

The Tottenham One Hundred, with training, build teams of people in their institution to develop more powerful and active citizens across Tottenham.

We should have more focus as civil society on the training and development of people within our communities and encourage them to engage more directly with local, regional and national politics.

We recommend to Haringey Council that...

Haringey Council recognises the leadership of the 'Tottenham One Hundred' by working with them and North London Citizens to implement the Citizens' Work Plan.

Haringey Council continue its successful work of increasing voter turnout, further growing the 60% turnout achieved at the 2010 general election (up 34% from the previous election).

The Council improve its communication with the Tottenham community, to ensure their participation in the local decision making structure and to ensure people attend the celebratory events hosted by Haringey Council. We suggest setting up a text messaging service.

We should build momentum and partnership around a vision of Tottenham as a Centre of Excellence for youth leadership, with 10 hubs of high quality youth provision and training across Tottenham.

We recommend to citizens that...

Civil society should work together to share best practice and grow excellent youth work across the borough.

North London Citizens help build a Consortium that can bring the Bruce Grove Youth Centre, a state of the art youth facility that is currently under utilised and facing closure, back into full use as one of these 10 hubs.

North London Citizens provide training in leadership and community organising to hundreds of young people in schools and faith communities across Tottenham.

We recommend to Haringey Council that...

Haringey Council partner with North London Citizens, youth workers, educational and business leaders to develop a plan for establishing and financing 10 hubs providing quality youth provision and youth leadership training across the borough.

Haringey Council pro-actively build a partnership across the youth sector, bring in expertise and share best practice, and develop a sustainable funding strategy for the 10 hubs by leveraging business and inward investment.

Haringey Council support a consortium to redevelop the Bruce Grove Youth Centre and ensure it serves the young people of Haringey as a centre for universal youth provision and leadership development.

We recommend to David Lammy that...

You should commit to work North London Citizens, young people, Haringey Council, educational leaders and experts to develop a plan for establishing Tottenham as a Centre of Excellence with 10 successful hubs across the borough.

Help bring in business leaders who could financially support a hub as part of the development of Tottenham as a Centre of Excellence for Youth Leadership.

We recommend to businesses that...

Businesses such as JD Sports, Ikea, Blackberry, Tottenham Hotspur FC and Tesco should partner with local civil society and Haringey Council to support the creation of Tottenham as Centre of Excellence for Young Leadership by sponsoring a hub of youth provision and leadership development.

2012

The Citizens' Work Plan

- 7 February** **Launch of the 'Citizens Work Plan – Tottenham's Response to the Riots'.** The nine Commissioners release their findings and recommendations, drawn from the six week Citizens Inquiry into the Tottenham Riots. North London Citizens launches the 'Citizens Work Plan' for action with Haringey Council, local and national business, Tottenham Hot Spur FC, David Lammy MP and Haringey police.
- Mid February** **'I Love Tottenham' Community Walk along Tottenham High Road.** A community walk with members of North London Citizens visiting local shopkeepers. The 50 new police officers joining the Haringey Police Service will be invited to join the community walk to build positive relationships and share the love for Tottenham.
- Late February** Members of North London Citizens in Haringey begin to recruit a diverse range of people from local communities to form the **Tottenham One Hundred** who will then attend training and begin to deliver the Citizens' Work Plan.
- Early March** North London Citizens, including members of the Tottenham One Hundred, Haringey Council and Stuart Lipton, with the Greater London Authority Task Force, meet to discuss the **regeneration plans for Tottenham** and develop ideas for the involvement of community members in implementation.
- Late March** North London Citizens and Haringey Council work in partnership to develop the **'Tottenham Working Futures Campaign'**. The Tottenham One Hundred leaders begin meeting with local business leaders to discuss the creation of new job opportunities for young people in Tottenham.
- Early April** North London Citizens works with David Lammy MP and Haringey Council to organise a round-table meeting for experts, educational leaders and local community groups to design a blue-print for the future of the youth provision in Tottenham and the **development of Tottenham as a Centre of Excellence** for Youth Leadership.
- Mid April** North London Citizens seek a meeting with the Borough Commander to develop a **six-month orientation plan for the 50 new Haringey police officers** that includes working with local community leaders and young people in Tottenham.
- 26 April** The Tottenham One Hundred, having engaged their community groups in the upcoming **Mayoral Election, join 2,500 other members of London Citizens for the Mayoral Accountability Assembly** at Westminster Hall to hear the commitments of the four mayoral candidates to the Citizens Agenda. This includes Living Wage, Housing, Youth Opportunity and Street Safety.

- May** **‘Tottenham Working Futures Campaign’** The Tottenham One Hundred work together to organise recruitment fairs at local institutions to meet with young people interested in work opportunities. North London Citizens hosts training days for young people to develop themselves in preparation for the workplace and for job interviews with some of the employers offering placements to the ‘Tottenham Working Futures Campaign.’
- 9 June** **City Safe Day of Action.** The Tottenham One Hundred organise a City Safe action at Tottenham Hotspur FC and along Tottenham High Road, meeting shopkeepers who have become City Safe Havens for people in danger and working together with the local police to support the initiative. The City Safe action in Tottenham is co-ordinated with 22 other London Boroughs to mark the creation of 100 City Safe zones across the capital and to celebrate the launch of the ‘100 Days of Peace’ – an initiative to reduce knife crime in the lead up to the 2012 Olympic Games.
- July** **Launch of the plans for Tottenham as a Centre of Excellence, Bruce Grove** Following meetings with David Lammy, Haringey Council and educational and youth work leaders, we launch a blue print at the Bruce Grove Youth Centre. We hope this will be once again fully operational and one of several hubs for young people throughout the summer holidays.
- August** **‘I Love Tottenham’ action on August 6th 2012, a year on from the riots.** The Tottenham One Hundred organise an event with local community groups, businesses and Haringey Council to celebrate the changes in Tottenham since the Riots and to recognise the work of young people in the borough who are bettering themselves through employment and leadership development.
- September** North London Citizens works with Haringey Council and the GLA to begin implementing plans for the regeneration of Tottenham High Road, including joint work with local community groups volunteering their time in exchange for investment in the community from the Council and business partners.
- October – November** The Tottenham One Hundred organise local training events for young people through ‘Hubs of Excellence’ that form part of the plan to make Tottenham a Centre of Excellence for Youth Leadership. The Tottenham One Hundred recruit and support young people into the ‘Tottenham Working Futures Campaign’ – through community based recruitment fairs and identifying more work opportunities to hit our 500 target for 2012.
- December** **‘I Love Tottenham’** festive action to strengthen relationships between young people and the police to support shopkeepers being City Safe Havens and promote Tottenham as a destination for shoppers, young people & families.



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“We pledge to work as North London Citizens to implement the Citizens’ Work Plan.”

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We would also like to thank all the Citizens' Inquiry teams:

- The Willow Primary School, Broadwater Farm
- Holy Trinity CoE
- Good Shepherd, Mitchley Road
- St. Mary's Church, Landsdowne Road
- Assunah Mosque
- Clyde Road Mosque
- Liberty Church
- Conel 6th Form College
- North London Progressive, Jewish Community
- St. Ignatius College
- St. Ignatius RC Church
- Bruce Grove Youth Centre
- Haringey Young People Empowered
- Wightman Road Mosque

Image of the notes written by Sara, a Year 6 student at the Willow Primary School on Broadwater Farm, who led a discussion group about the following questions with six students in Year 5.

1. How did you feel during the Tottenham Riots?
2. What do you think caused the Riots?
3. What would make Tottenham a better place?

1. Horrible
2. Terrible
3. Aful
4. Treful
5. Pechrifide
6. Scared
7. Terrifide
8. Disapointed
9. Horrifying
10. Soked
11. Heart broked
12. discovered
13. anxious
14. Horrifying
15. ~~af~~

1. Mark Dobugan Dieded
 2. ~~Dan~~ gangsters
 3. The was fire everywhere
 4. They stoled something from JD
-
1. more Parks
 2. more shops
 3. more Police
 4. more femeparks
 5. more zoos
 6. more cheper plazmas
 7. no more ~~gang~~ gangstars
 8. more School
 9. no more guns

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