

**Karl Baker
Hinako Maruyama
Sweety Sharma
Carolyn Sponza**

Bow Church
THE DEEP
HIGH STREET

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: THE DEEP HIGH STREET

At Bow Road the nineteenth-century high street meets the suburban highway. Fragments of densely-packed shops collide with the vast structures of modernist transport planning. Bow Church, existing on the same roadway site for seven hundred years, is wrapped by a concrete flyover of fast traffic. The once continuous and fine-grained high street frontage has been superseded by a fragmented scattering of takeaway food joints, car repair shops, and housing estates. This juxtaposition of old and new structures, fast and slow paces, makes the English imagination of high street neighbourliness and everyday shopping a nostalgic memory, and calls for a re-thinking of the place of the high street in twenty-first century London.

The re-thinking of the role of the high street need not involve, however, a complete departure from the popular 'ideal'; an image where:

the high street functions as the commercial hub; a place where near neighbours 'bump' into each other on their way to the post office, parents accompany children to the library and the elderly swap local gossip at the bus stop (Griffiths et al, 2008: 1155).

At Bow Road, we see a neighbourhood centre that struggles to remain a 'commercial hub', yet still retains a reasonable 'buzz' of activity. This is a public life supported by the overlapping activities of everyday life; people waiting at the bus stop, collecting money at the cash machine, or buying milk at the convenience store. With this bustle of activity Bow Road still remains definable as a 'high street', offering an 'intensity of locally-based activity and enterprise that sets [it] apart from other urban structures' (Gort Scott and UCL, 2010: 5). While the retail functions of this section of high street have declined, the continuing presence of 'a crowd' makes locations like Bow Road a strategic site for experimenting with new imaginations of what the city street can offer.

We are aware of the challenges facing the English high street; the trends over the past sixty years towards increased urban mobility, dispersed urban form, big box retailing (Dawson,

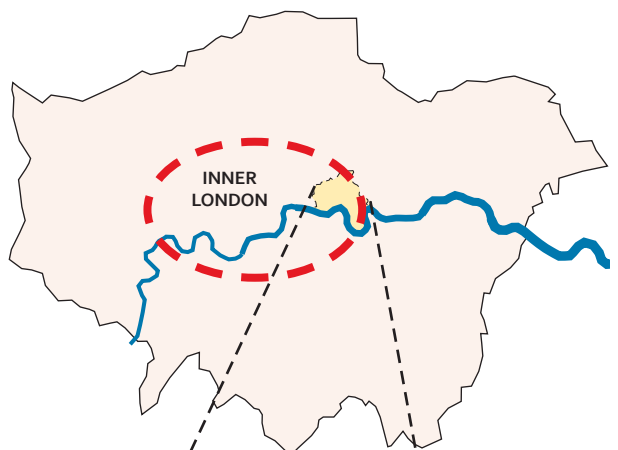
1988; NEF, 2003), and in recent years, internet-based shopping (Griffiths, 2008: 1167). Commenting on the 'demise' of the high street, it has been suggested that Britain's neighbourhood centres might become polarised between 'lattes, book festivals, and high-end casualwear if you're lucky; pound shops, Ladbroke's and boarded-up businesses if you're not' (Harris, 2011). The recent trajectory of Bow Road points toward the latter scenario, with the current condition being an instance of the 'unlucky' high street.

We do not, however, see the high street at places like Bow Road as a lost cause. Beyond the threats of continued decline and disinvestment, we see potential for the high street to assume a renewed role as a place of casual sociability that provides a more dignified setting for the activities of everyday life. We join attempts to re-imagine the high street as 'places where shopping is just one small part of a rich mix of activities including working, sharing, exchanging, playing and learning new skills' (NEF, 2010: 4). Building on the continuing concentration of people around public transport nodes, we look to establish a quality public realm that invites lingering and social exchange, a new permeability between the ground-floor of buildings and the street, and a revived array of social and community functions arranged around a 'deep' high street. We see that offices, workshops, institutions, galleries, and schools can present a more visible face to the street in a way that builds an active public life.

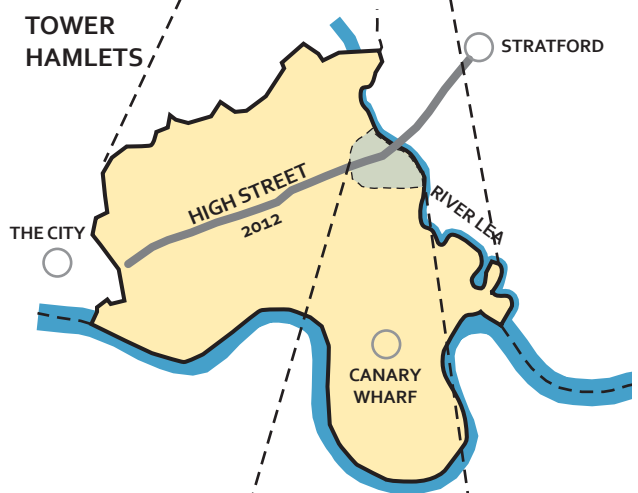
Countering the conflict between the fast traffic of the high street (its link function) and the slower pace of public life (its place function – Gort Scott and UCL, 2010: 57), we look to opportunities for 'deepening' the high street. Using existing laneways leading off Bow Road, and opening new frontages on the backs of buildings, we anticipate 'thickening' the distribution of activity on the high street toward the layers behind the street-front façade. Our interventions cater to an 'urbanism of the everyday'; one that enriches residents' day-to-day inhabitation of their local area and sees everyday life as a realm for potential social transformation.



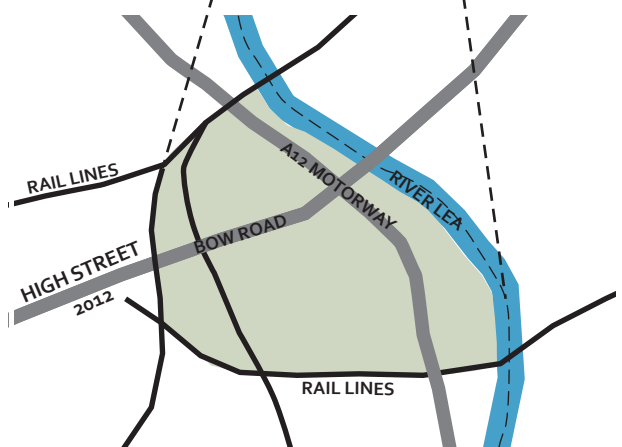
LONDON



TOWER HAMLETS



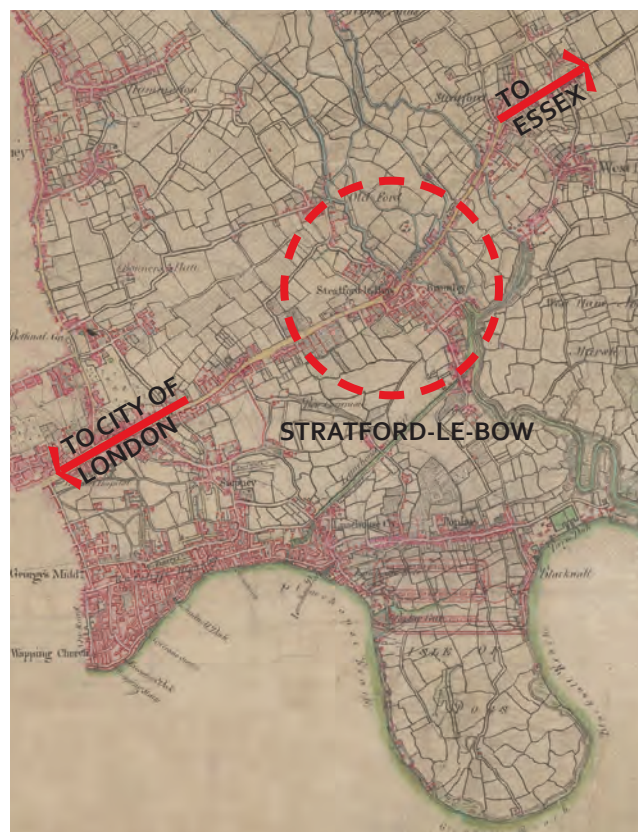
BOW NEIGHBOURHOOD



BOW ROAD IN CONTEXT

Bow lies at the eastern edge of London's East End. The Lea River marks a political border between the boroughs of Tower Hamlets and Newham which might also be seen as an edge between inner London and its outer suburbs. A distinct shift in the urban fabric occurs at Bow as one passes from the industrial landscape of Stratford over the Lea into the leafy, 'village' character of the high street at Bow Church. The destruction of buildings during World War II, however, accelerated the decline of this 'traditional' high street, replacing the fine-grain urban fabric with larger-scale housing estates. Unlike much of the high street between the City and Stratford, the section at Bow has long been a commercial centre. The motorway that abuts the eastern edge of Bow was built in the 1960s and forms a 'fast edge' to inner London, one of the few built portions of a planned ring-road for the central city (Forshaw and Abercrombie, 1943). The presence of this six-lane highway and its interchange with the high street establishes a sharp contrast between the pace of fast motorway traffic, and the slower rhythm of buses, pedestrians and traffic lights that dominates inner London.

Left: The Bow neighbourhood – on the fast edge of inner London.
Below: A 1799 map of East London – a village has existed for many hundred years on the River Lea at Bow. British Library Online Gallery www.bl.uk



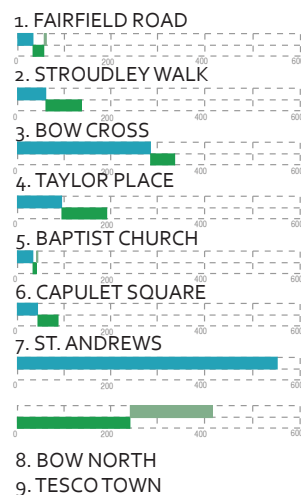
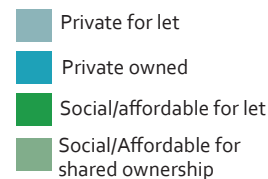
AT THE FAST EDGE OF INNER LONDON

This fast edge of the inner city has long been home to poor, and often marginalised populations. The socio-economic problems present in the neighbourhood surrounding Bow Road help explain the neglect, under-investment, and lack of commercial vitality visible on the high street. Prominent properties along the street are occupied by car-servicing yards. There are few attractors that draw people from the wider London region, although educational institutions associated with the Bow Business Centre attract young people from other parts of East London. The Bow Arts Trust live-work spaces take advantage of the relatively low rents in the area and the presence of 'The Nunnery' gallery has established a minor cultural destination.

The density of new housing development around the Bow neighbourhood reflects its strategic location, with easy access to the City, Canary Wharf and the emerging centre at Stratford. The proximity of Bow to the Olympic Park has driven the most recent wave of housing development, although little attention has been given by public authorities to ensuring the spatial integration of the new park and housing on the Olympic site with the Bow area. Bow is likely to attract a new demographic of young professionals to new-build apartments. The promise of an enduring legacy from the 2012 Olympic Games that addresses socio-economic problems in the East End (CLG, 2009), calls for spatial interventions that make connections between the Olympic site and adjacent areas, and balance private real-estate investments with socially-focussed interventions.



Projected new housing unit numbers and tenure types



Over 1500 new households are being built in Bow. These developments will change residential demographics and spatial patterns of use in the neighbourhood. Most will be privately owned, and will reduce the dominance of social housing in the south of the neighbourhood. ONS 2010a; projected development numbers extracted from plans submitted for planning approval to LBTH.

SPATIAL PROBLEMS AND INTERVENTIONS

Serving the everyday and the ordinary

Our strategy for intervention aims to capitalise on investment in London's East End to better serve the everyday needs of residents at Bow. We take the idea of the 'ordinary city' (Robinson, 2006), to inform our strategy for spatial intervention. Against dominant imaginations of London as a 'world city' and the accompanying focus on spaces of elite consumption, we see value in the spaces occupied by ordinary people during their everyday lives. While the Olympic development ties in with the 'London as world city' narrative, it also aims to deliver a positive legacy to the East End; very much part of the ordinary city.

The Bow neighbourhood and its high street are spaces of everyday life where shopping, walking, and domestic routines are the predominant activities. While we acknowledge that Bow Road functions as part of a metropolitan-scale transport link, we see these larger-scale transport needs as being well met by current conditions. We focus on enriching the spaces of local rhythms and routines, rather than on 'regenerating' space toward the ideals of the global city.

Demographic data for the area (ONS, 2010b) shows that there is a higher than average concentration of single-parent households and the proportion of children in the neighbourhood is almost 8% higher than the London average. Almost half of the residents are either economically inactive or unemployed. In addition to generally low overall rankings on the Index of Multiple Deprivation, the area suffers from particularly low rankings in the 'barriers to housing and services' category, which means basic services such as shops, surgeries and post offices are relatively inaccessible for Bow residents. The more vulnerable residents of the neighbourhood, including children, unemployed and elderly, are likely to lead more spatially-restricted lives. For these residents, neglect of everyday spaces is unacceptable; they are fundamental to the formative experiences of children, and to the quieter existences of the elderly and frail who are anchored in the area.

Our approach

Our strategy is structured around the identification of three key spatial problems and a series of tools that build on each other towards what we call the 'complex inhabitation' of the deep high street. Our problems exist at a neighbourhood scale, but we analyse them more closely around Bow Church. We have summarised our problems, and accompanying intervention strategies as follows:

- Divided space 'Connected Space ... by strengthening the lattice
- Fast space 'Lingering Space ... by inhabiting the lattice
- Dead space 'Living Space ... by animating the lattice

The 'lattice' refers to the development of a legible pattern of well-defined streets and laneways around Bow Road. Building on this lattice, we seek to improve the public realm (inhabiting the lattice), and introduce mechanisms that encourage the adaptation of building uses within a cluster of buildings around Bow Church (animating the lattice).

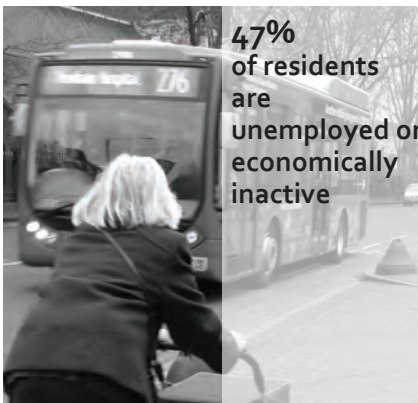
Bow residents experience high 'Barriers to Housing and Services'



30% of residents are under 17



47% of residents are unemployed or economically inactive



Bow is in the lowest tenth percentile of multiple deprivation in England



DIVIDED SPACE TO CONNECTED SPACE

Divided space

The railways, motorways and roads that slice through Bow divide the neighbourhood into 'islands' separated by fast traffic, brick walls, viaducts and trenches. Unpleasant underpasses, noise and air pollution help establish psychological barriers that work against a fuller inhabitation of the neighbourhood by local residents. These barriers reduce pedestrian accessibility both within the neighbourhood, and between Bow and the adjacent districts of East London. The barrier of the A12 motorway, for instance, means that few residents encounter the Lea River and its network of recreational opportunities that are geographically on the neighbourhood's doorstep. While the presence of high-speed transport makes for quick links to the rest of London, it also produces barriers at the neighbourhood scale. This is a common conundrum in cities; neighbourhoods thrive on the 'multiplicity of choice' offered by fast city-wide transportation, but at the same time there is a need to mediate the negative effects that this infrastructure imposes on fine-grain urban fabric (Jacobs, 1961: 339-340).

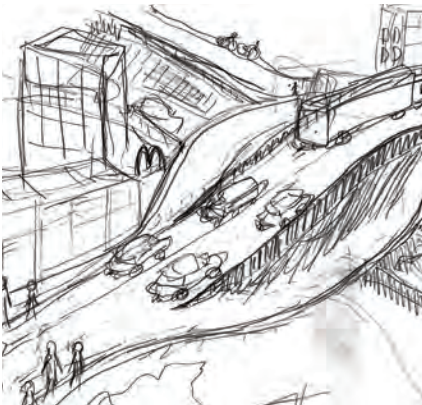
Attempts to ameliorate the impacts of infrastructure have been weak, with an uninviting underpass beneath the motorway the only link to the Lea River and railway viaducts in the north and south isolating the neighbourhood and creating dead-end spaces. These barriers create an illusory distance between

Bow and adjacent assets, such as the Olympic Park, relatively inaccessible although within a 15-minute walking distance.

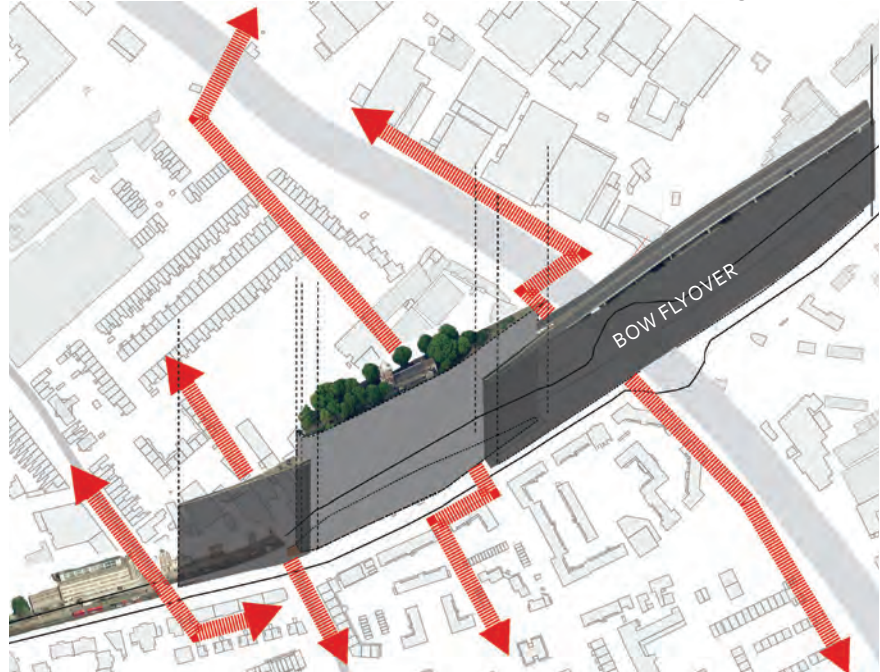
On the high street itself, heavy traffic creates another barrier, reinforcing the socio-economic divisions between the north and south of the neighbourhood. The flyover establishes a considerable length of impenetrable barrier and a tunnel-effect along the road that is uninviting for walking. Pedestrian crossings are inconvenient with heavily engineered fences designed to segregate pedestrians and traffic.

There are obvious physical barriers that divide the neighbourhood, but we also identified more subtle spatial features that limit pedestrian connectivity. The links to interior spaces off the high street are often poorly articulated, while in the housing estates to the south of the high street, a complex arrangement of ill-defined spaces are difficult to navigate. These physical problems of connectivity have social implications, presenting perceived and real dangers for people on foot.

Our pedestrian surveys showed fewer women walking on the street at night. This problem of pedestrian connectivity is especially serious given the high levels of socio-economic deprivation at Bow. The majority of households rely on journeys by foot and public transport, with only 41% of households having access to a car (ONS, 2010b). By improving pedestrian connectivity residents can more easily access local opportunities, and enjoy safer connections to public transport hubs.



Bow Road acts as a barrier between the north and south of the neighbourhood. We identify four sites for improved connections that link with wider-scale walking and cycling networks



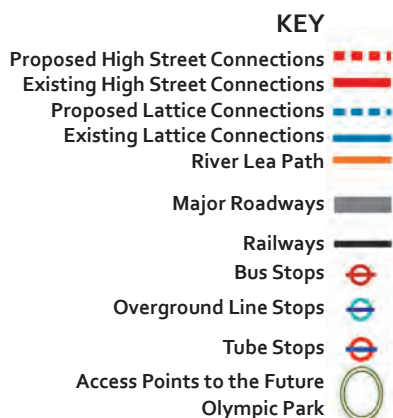
Connected space

Our response to the problem of divided space involves 'strengthening the lattice' to build up a legible pattern of well-defined streets and laneways providing multiple pedestrian connections between the Bow and its adjacent neighbourhoods. Strengthening the 'legibility' of the neighbourhood by providing a clear pattern of pathways and landmarks can encourage fuller use of local assets by residents and also provide a more understandable environment for visitors less familiar with the area (Lynch 1960: 3).

Initial interventions will improve pedestrian crossings on Bow Road by providing flush pavings, longer signals, and removing metal railings that divide the roadway. Traffic calming through surface treatments and reduced road widths will make crossing

Bow Road safer. The east-west pathway along the north side of Bow Road will be strengthened by widening and levelling the pavement, removing clutter and establishing a formal crossing point at the motorway junction. This strong east-west path will intersect with the north/south Lea River pathway, where a more visible connection will be made between the high street and the river. More ambitious interventions around Bow Church involve creating a new crossing immediately east of the church, opening up a pocket of quiet space in the churchyard, but also linking to a new north-south pathway through the neighbourhood. This strategic pedestrian and cycle route provides an alternative to the footpath alongside the motorway. New bridges across the A12 offer clear pedestrian connections with the Olympic Park, and the district centre at Bromley-by-Bow, allowing access to substantial new assets that will be available nearby.

Right: Improved connections through the neighbourhood will provide better access to existing assets located across the A12 and new amenities such as the Olympic Park.



Below: Strategic connections require strengthened crossings of the high street around Bow Church



FAST SPACE TO LINGERING SPACE

Fast space

The presence of heavy traffic on Bow Road and the accompanying noise and air pollution makes this a 'go through' rather than a 'go to' space. Public activity on the high street is largely associated with public transport, as people walk to train stations or wait for buses. People are engaged in 'necessary' rather than 'optional' activities (Gehl, 2010: 9); on their way somewhere else, rather than voluntarily spending time on the street. While there are pockets of respite from the noise and speed in the quieter interiors of the neighbourhood, these parks and public spaces are poorly connected to the high street and appear under-used by residents. Many residents appear to use their neighbourhood as a 'dormitory suburb', while living their public lives in other parts of London. Stronger retail and employment centres pull people out of Bow. The lack of any concentrated diversity of activities, combined with a poor quality public realm makes Bow Road a fast 'go through' space, and discourages a slower lingering and dwelling in the area.

Lingering space

We aim to encourage more active inhabitation of the neighbourhood by providing slower spaces along everyday pathways. There is no shortage of people, as can be seen by the crowds of commuters making their way to Tube stations at the morning rush hour – average daily use of the Bow Road Station is 16,000 people per day (TFL, 2009). We aim to increase dwell times and encourage informal interaction between residents.

Our strategy strengthens connections to existing slow spaces including Grove Hall Park, and provides new 'pocket' public spaces on the high street 'spine' of the lattice. The existing condition of the high street provides a strong base from which to build quality public space. The high street holds a critical density of pedestrian activity, an initial diversity of commercial activities, and a historic built fabric that can accommodate the complementary activities necessary for successful public space.

We have identified two areas as potential sites for new public space along the high street: unused yards and front yards currently used as parking lots. These new public spaces, carved out of privately held properties, will be adaptable to multiple functions. These small spaces will be designed with an emphasis on details that engage the senses. These types of spaces will provide 'open' places for people to inhabit, without prescribing rigid uses (for example, playgrounds or youth centres). Local public space where people can be among others in an undemanding way (Gehl, 2010) is particularly important for those residents with limited mobility such as children and the elderly. It may also prompt those 'dormitory suburb' residents to forge stronger connections to their local area and make use of the under-appreciated assets on their doorsteps.

Bow Road lacks the concentration of shops and eating places that support a more vibrant public life on other London high streets.



Stronger links between Bow Road and 'slow spaces' (in red) on and behind the high street façade help deepen the high street.

More active uses can be encouraged in vacant and under-utilised properties



DEAD SPACE TO LIVING SPACE

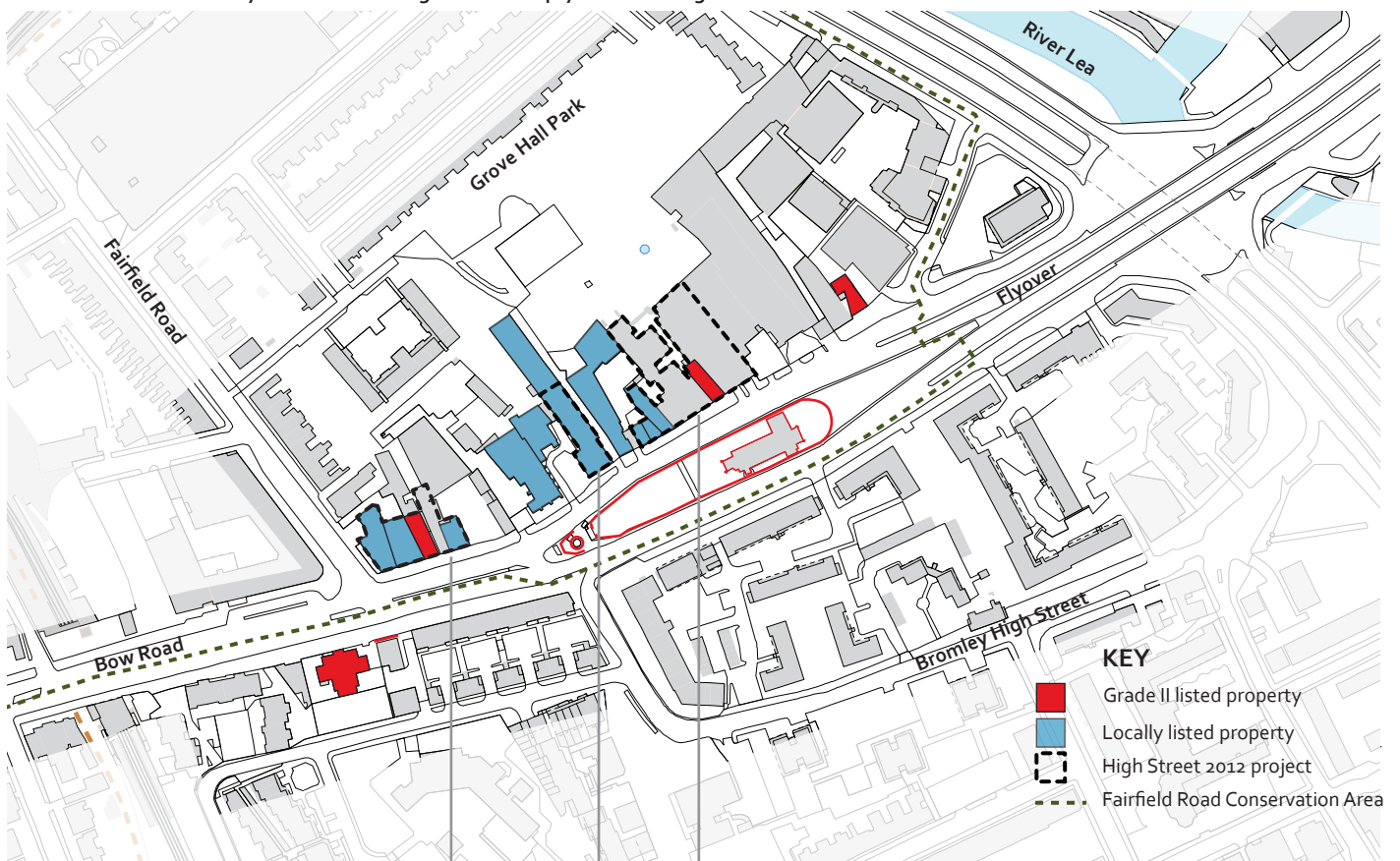
Dead space

Boarded-up shopfrontages, empty lots, dilapidated and abandoned buildings all contribute to a lack of life on Bow Road. There are active businesses on Bow Road, but many produce a type of activity that is not supportive of public street life. Tyre shops, van rentals, and car servicing garages occupy key positions along the high street adding to the dominance of vehicles on the street while detracting from the experience of walking. Post-war housing blocks present long blank frontages to the street.

The historic, fine-grained built fabric around Bow Church is a significant asset for the neighbourhood. An elevation along the north side of Bow Road indicates the diversity of historic buildings and the empty street frontages

Living space

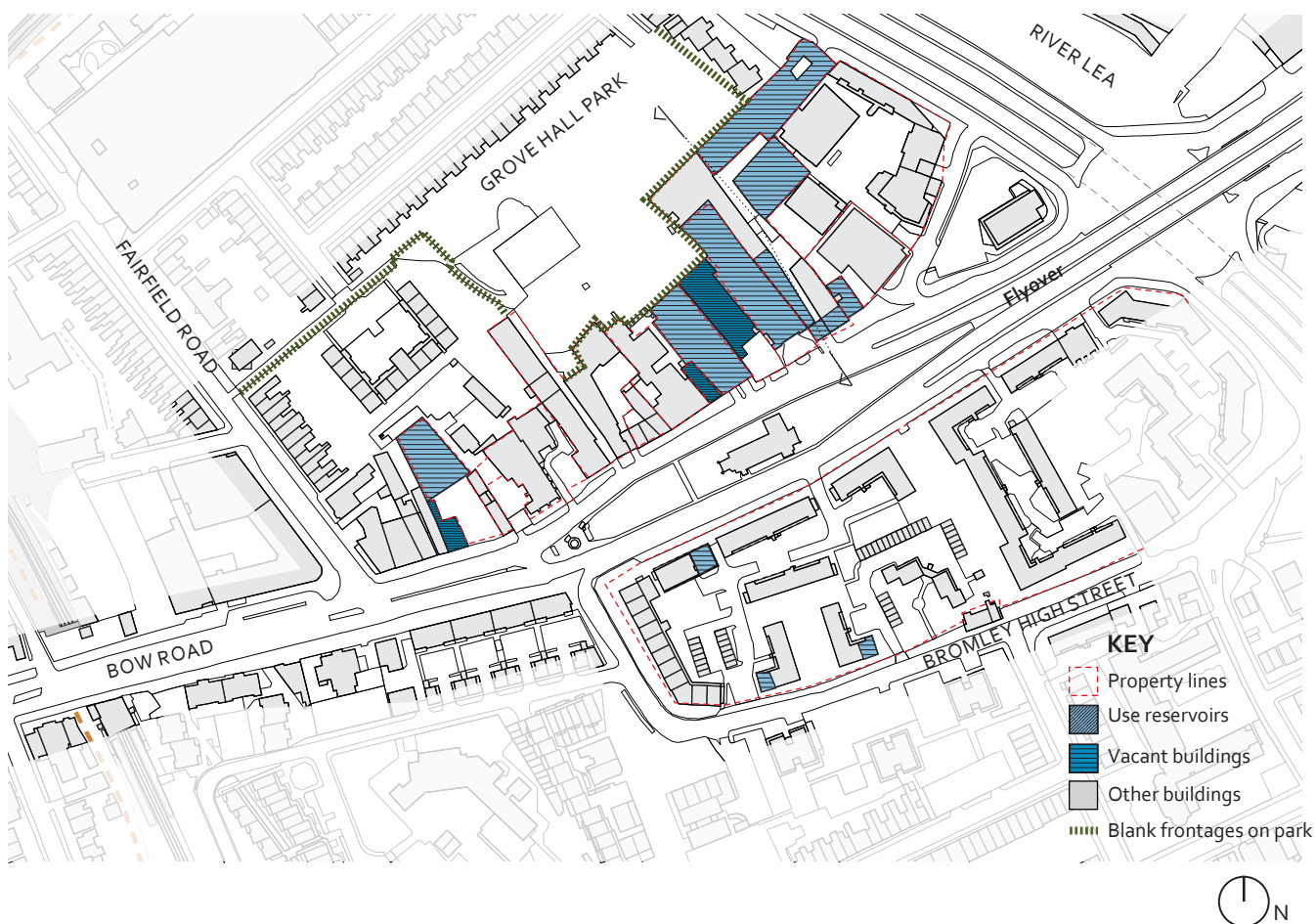
'Animating the lattice' is a strategy concerned with the occupation of buildings to support a vibrant community and economy at Bow. A collection of historic buildings opposite Bow Church currently stands neglected and under-used. These buildings are an asset for the area, with the fine-grained fabric open to mixed use development and 'adaptability' to changing economic conditions (Griffiths et al., 2008: 1163). This area already mixes a diversity of uses – artist lofts, small manufacturing workshops, hairdressers, and an alleyway coffee shop.



We see opportunities to build on this mix of uses by encouraging semi-public uses of vacant buildings and facilitating changes in the use of some buildings. Several properties are either vacant or offer 'use-conservation reservoirs' (see Jacobs, 1961: 397). Buildings on eight separate properties have been identified; conversion of uses can occur over time as leases lapse or properties change hands, but will need to be supported by council policy and building use regulations. This includes regulating against the use of the ground floor of historic high street properties for garages, car workshops, or car parks.

For example, a former stable building might be used as a furniture workshop rather than its present use as a car park. The Metropolitan Police Garage on the high street could be required to have retail or semi-public uses on its ground floor. Other sites offer opportunities to use corner properties in a way that activates street frontages and makes the neighbourhood more legible. Our strategy aims to improve residents' access to everyday needs (food stores, eating places, shops and services) and make a more permeable border between the street and buildings on key pedestrian pathways.

Two categories of properties were considered as having potential for more active uses along Bow Road. *The authors.*





PUTTING THE INTERVENTIONS TOGETHER

An urbanism of accretion

Our analysis identifies three spatial problems and accompanying intervention strategies. We see the provision of clear pedestrian connections – the 'lattice' – as a basic spatial framework upon which public spaces and semi-public building uses can grow. The implementation of our proposals involves an incremental approach that sees a gradual layering of changes to the area. We see these interventions as being realised over a period of five to ten years with the three strategies being worked on in parallel. The interventions work together, so that strengthened pathways support lively public space. Quality public space can in turn prompt the adaptation of buildings towards uses which further strengthen the pedestrian pathways. We offer our proposal as an open framework that allows for constant feedback and fine-tuning in response to on-going evaluation of a changing neighbourhood and metropolitan conditions. The modest scale of our interventions respects the existing dense inhabitation of the neighbourhood and reflects our concerns with everyday life, rather than offering grand visions for a radically transformed area.

Left: Building on a strengthened connectivity lattice, the gradual layering of public spaces and new building uses can transform Bow Road
Left (inset): Section through the alley development
Bottom: The alley through the housing estate to the south of Bow Church can be redeveloped into a clearer pedestrian pathway



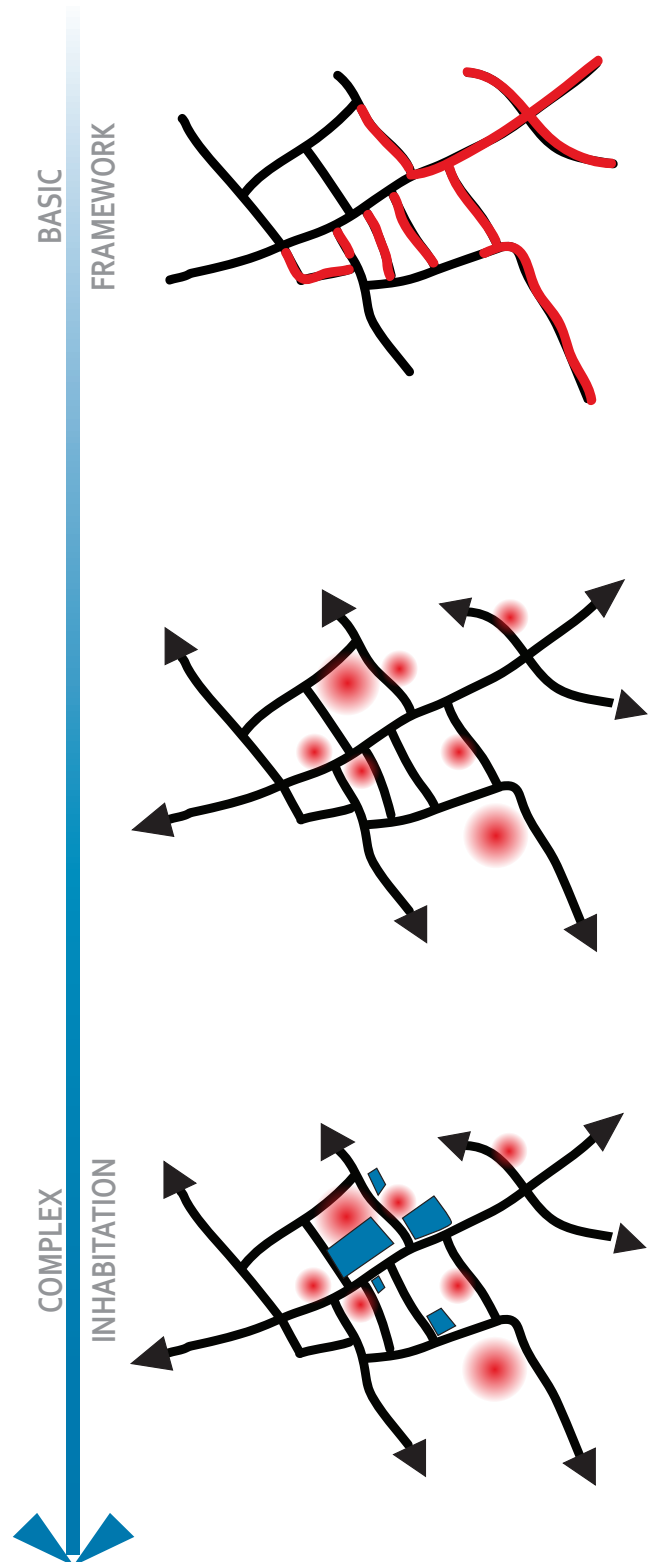
CONCLUSION

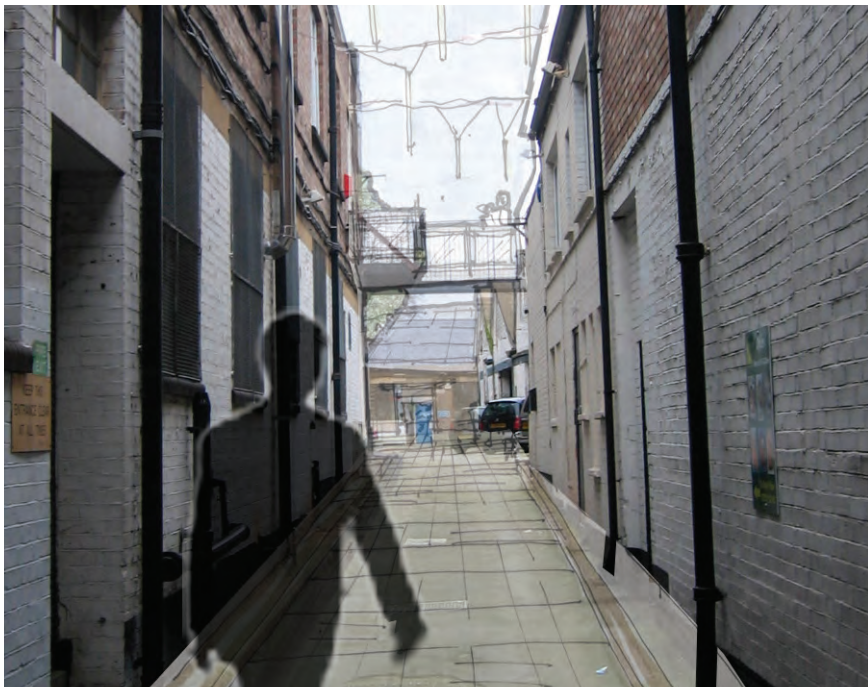
Our strategy for spatial intervention at Bow Road responds to three key problems that hinder a more vibrant everyday inhabitation of the neighbourhood. Addressing these three spatial problems can contribute to improved social outcomes for residents who have often been marginalised from the wealth and opportunities that London provides. Our proposal places value on the everyday experiences of local residents inhabiting the ordinary spaces of everyday life. We see value in these experiences not because we seek to 're-localise' people's lives, or because we romanticise a past imagination of village life, but because we understand the local and the everyday street as remaining fundamental to urban existence in the modern city.

Despite Londoners' extensive connections to networks that stretch throughout and well beyond the vast city, residents still have homes to return to at the end of the working day. These 'home zones' may offer a place of familiarity and respite from the pace of the city, and by placing value on the daily rhythms and routines that occur in these spaces we might offer a more rewarding place of the everyday, from which new opportunities, fresh thoughts and actions can emerge. For the most vulnerable Londoners, such as children and the elderly, these 'local' spaces are even more important.

The high street of dense small-scale commercial activity that once existed at Bow Road has been hollowed out in the face of fast mobility, extensive metropolitan-scale networks, and large-format retail. Yet Bow Road still remains a high street. It is a key transport link for both private vehicles and public transport to the rest of London. This function alone will ensure a continuing congregation of people at Bow Road. Our intervention strategy for the site builds on this initial concentration of people to imagine a more complex inhabitation of the neighbourhood.

Key to our strategy is the concept of giving 'depth' to the high street. While existing proposals associated with the High Street 2012 project have focused on restoration of building façades, our proposal aims to ensure that such treatments go beyond aesthetic surface improvements, and exploit the potential of a re-imagined high street to more deeply impact on residents' everyday lives. Rather than a thin zone of activity fronting the high street, the new potential of the high street at Bow Road involves lines of intense activity burrowing deeply into the interiors, providing perpendicular cross-links through the neighbourhood and allowing connections between existing assets. If improved façades 'restore' the high street to a nostalgic ideal, our deeper high street looks forward to the un-realised potentials of the twenty-first century high street.





Top: Small projects can contribute to larger packages of improvements which may be implemented over time. All strategies are pursued in parallel.
 Above: Lighting and improved paving can be used at the north alleyway to create more pedestrian friendly spaces.
 Right: Physical cues, such as a new canopy, can be used to signal entry to this new alley.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- CLG (2009) London 2012 Olympic legacies: Conceptualising legacy, the role of Communities and Local Government and the regeneration of East London. London: Department for Communities and Local Government.
- CLG (2008) The English Indices of Deprivation 2007. London: Department of Communities and Local Government. www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/733520.pdf [accessed 16 March 2011].
- Dawson, J.A. (1988) Futures for the High Street. *The Geographical Journal*, 154/1, pp. 1-12.
- Forshaw, J.H. and Abercrombie, P. (1943) County of London Plan. London: MacMillan & Co.
- Gehl, J. (2010) *Life Between Buildings*. 6th edition. Copenhagen: The Danish Architecture Press.
- Gort Scott and UCL (2010) High Street London. Design for London.
- Griffiths, S., Vaughan, L., Haklay, M., and Jones, C.E. (2008) The Sustainable Suburban High Street: A Review of Themes and Approaches. *Geography Compass* 2/4: 1155-1188.
- Harris, J. (2011) The British High Street: RIP. *The Guardian*, Saturday 22 January. www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/jan/22/future-of-high-street-hmv [accessed 16 March 2011].
- Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.
- LBTH (2007) Fairfield Road Conservation Area. www.towerhamlets.gov.uk/lgs/501-550/511_conservation_areas/character_appraisals.aspx [accessed 16 March 2011].
- LBTH (2010a) Core Strategy 2025. www.towerhamlets.gov.uk/lgs/851-900/855_planning_consultation/core_strategy.aspx [accessed 16 March 2011].
- LBTH (2010b) Tower Hamlets Second Local Implementation Plan Consultation Draft. www.towerhamlets.gov.uk/lgs/851-900/867_consultation/lip2.aspx [accessed 16 March 2011].
- LBTH (2011) High Street 2012. www.towerhamlets.gov.uk/lgs/800001-800100/800017_olympics/high_street_2012.aspx (accessed 16 March 2011).
- LBTH (2010c). Maps, Current Planning Applications. webgis.towerhamlets.gov.uk/LBTHMapView/MainMap.aspx?displaylayerid=CURPLANNINGAPPLICATIONS&V=JS [accessed 27 October 2010]. Refer to specific planning applications for: Crossways Estate, Rainhill Way; Bow Baptist Church, 1 Payne Road; Tesco Store, Hancock Road; Site At 3 To 5 And 19 To 25, Payne Road; Stroudley Walk Market, Stroudley Walk; Former St Andrews Hospital, Devas Street; and 69 Fairfield Road.
- Lynch, K. (1960) *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Mawson, A. (2008) *The Social Entrepreneur: Making Communities Work*. London: Atlantic Books.
- NEF (2003) *Ghost Town Britain II: Death on the High Street*. London: New Economics Foundation.
- NEF (2010) *Re-imagining the high street: Escape from Clone Town Britain*. London: New Economics Foundation.
- ONS (2010a) Indices of Deprivation, 2007 data. www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/ [accessed 22 October 2010].
- ONS (2010b) Neighbourhood Statistics, 2001 Census data. www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/ [accessed 22 October 2010].
- Ordnance Survey Drawings, Map of Stratford-le Bow of 1799, accessed at www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/ordsurvdraw/s/0020sd000000006u00387000.html (accessed 6 March 2011).
- Poynter, G. (2009) The 2012 Olympic Games and the reshaping of East London in Imrie, R. et al. (eds.) *Regenerating London: Governance, Sustainability and Community in a Global City*. London: Routledge, pp. 132-150.
- Robinson, J. (2006) *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development*. London: Routledge.
- TFL (2009) Customer metrics – Bow Road, 2009. www.tfl.gov.uk/tfl/corporate/modesoftransport/Tube/performance/default.asp?onload=entryexit [accessed 24 March 2011].
- TFL (2011) Traffic accident data for Bow Road provided by the Transport for London: Research & Data Analysis Officer on 1 February 2011.