

1. Introduction

The incipience of hub developments in global cities is reshaping contemporary experiences of urbanism. These developments – broadly characterised by the construction of mixed-use buildings around existing transport nodes – are producing polycentric cities; circuits of interconnected, commercially focused destinations, often funded by private investment (Landis & Huang, 1995). However, their increasing prevalence is associated with processes of gentrification and displacement. By definition, not every part of the city can be a hub, hence the spaces that fall outside them are often neglected. In the UK, hub developments form the focal point(s) of most local regeneration programmes but the same plans give little thought to the futures of adjacent and in-between spaces. This issue of neglect remains largely unexamined in urban discourse. Our central concern is that spill-over effects propagated by the encroachment of hub developments can dislocate the social relations that already exist in in-between spaces. In order to counter this threat, our research promotes a richer understanding of the type of urbanism that these spaces are capable of producing. Indeed, while the term ‘in-between space’ connotes a geographical relationship to the areas around it, it gives no indication of the experience of urbanism therein: a space may be ‘in-between’ by dint of its position, and yet may not have the specific social qualities we observed. As such, we use the term ‘mesocosm’ as a way of advancing our understanding of streets possessing these qualities. The definition of this term is twofold:

1. An enclosed and essentially self-sufficient (but not necessarily isolated) experimental environment.
2. A space that grows in conjunction with (but apart from and by different logic(s) to) those around it.

We have identified one such mesocosm at the site of Broad Lane in Tottenham. This street combines both residential and commercial spaces, and has a thriving locally-specific social life that plays out in its shops and public realm. We describe this as incidental urbanism: important to the street’s habitual users, but unremarkable to outsiders. Pertinently, Broad Lane directly links two of Haringey Council’s current hub redevelopment projects at Seven Sisters and Tottenham Hale. It is our contention that these developments prioritise consumption and the attraction of non-locals above incidental urbanism. As a result, not only are the futures of Broad Lane’s residents and commercial tenants susceptible to change, but also – such is the Council’s preoccupation with the redevelopment project – the street’s current problems remain unaddressed. Broad Lane’s qualities are thus threatened by a combination of the hubs’ growth and the Council’s neglect.

Our project reacts to this twin threat: the uneven geographies of urban development and the iniquitous distribution of Council resources. The interventions proposed herein aim to express and enhance certain recognised qualities on Broad Lane in a way that simultaneously commands the attention of the council and demonstrates its stakeholders’ capacity for greater self-determination. In so doing, we hope to promote a new understanding of these mesocosmic spaces that benefits both the Council (for whom time and money is in short supply) and the locals (for whom the street is important). Hence, our project forms both a response to the crisis facing the mesocosm, and a critique of the hub-centric planning convention.

1.1 | Hub developments
Planned hub developments around
Broad Lane



2. Conflicting Visions of Urbanism

Earlier, we established a straw-man dichotomy between hubs and the mesocosm: two different types of urbanism, with the existence of one threatened by the growth of another. Naturally, this view is somewhat disingenuous, not only because there is no single type of hub or a single mesocosm (they exist at different scales and are subject to contextual particularities), but also because the two categories share certain attributes. Indeed, the danger of counterposing hub against non-hub is that it promotes a reductive view of both: the hub with its commercial draw, served by the transitory function of the non-hub. Planners are guilty of making this false distinction, separating the city into a simplistic picture of 'hubs-and-spokes'. A critique of such thinking emerges from a thicker conceptualisation of what constitutes the hub logic of development. Prior to that, however, it is necessary to consider the reasons that underlie the growing incipience of hub developments, and why their dominance is problematic for the rest of the city. We use this polemic to inform our interventions on Broad Lane, so that they do not reproduce the distinctive logic of hub urbanism.

The logic of hub developments

Hub developments, for the purpose of our study, are defined as compact, mixed-use activity areas established in existing inner-city neighbourhoods, particularly around transport nodes. They have become the dominant spatial convention in the place-making schemes characteristic of neoliberal urban development (Harvey, 1989). Cities compete in order to attract limited state funds and increasingly mobile investment in the hope of creating jobs, fostering a favourable business climate, and generally boosting local economies. Hubs are well disposed to achieving these aims since private capital, speculative investment and real estate interests typically fund urban development. To generate the highest possible rates of return, it is in the interests of these stakeholders to optimise land use. As the location's suitability for commercial activity increases, demand and thus value of the land rises, inducing the land developer to use the land more intensely (Landis & Huang, 1995). The profitability of this model has seen it enshrined in strands of global planning doctrine, such as the Urban Village Group, Charter for New Urbanism (2000), and Transit-Oriented Development. Indeed, the economic successes of hub developments have seen them rolled out and replicated as a primary solution for planners worldwide.

In the UK, recent public spending cuts have exacerbated resource scarcity at local authority level. These exigencies have in part contributed to the proliferation of hub-centric planning, as councils court private developers to fund improvements of public services and infrastructure through Section 106 Agreements and the Community Infrastructure Levy. This logic of urban development is made evident in the London Plan, which promotes a 'polycentric approach recognising the importance of a range of different centres' with town centres expected to 'promote beneficial competition within and between centres' (NPPF, 2014). As a model of urban growth, with new hubs created in order to attract business away from competitors, a logic of inexorable consumer spending is promoted. The nature of this type of urbanism, then, gives little consideration of the social values of non-monetary exchange, which we observed as central to incidental urbanism.

Investment in regeneration is associated with a particular visual form. While small-scale, incrementally developed pieces of city tend to have a locally distinctive aesthetic, capital investment of a corporate nature tends to be 'larger in scale and therefore favours a less diverse, more unitary urban form' (Porta et al. 2014, p.2). This form typically features clusters of shops, centred on large open spaces, and the use of standardised materials, such as glass and steel. Although subject to variances in budget, scale and design quality, this typology is cost-effective and can be erected fairly rapidly. As such, it is replicated globally, and is increasingly producing identikit cities.

As alluded to previously, commercial space is prioritised in hubs to generate local employment and encourage consumer spending. Given the high rents these spaces demand, they are frequently occupied by national and international corporations, most notably in the proliferation of 'chain stores'. This dominance amplifies the presence of capital interests, who have the means to control the trajectory of a city's development. Although commerce is an essential function of the mesocosm too, the prevalence of independent ownership facilitates a less formal retailer/customer relationship, in which consumption is not necessarily presupposed. As such, the measure of successful commercial spaces in the mesocosm does not fall so strictly into the footfall and spending measures prioritised by hub retailers. Further, the resources put into the development of new centres and the expansion of chain stores result in increased rents and precipitate the decline of surrounding independent shops and essential services (Simms, Kjell, & Potts, 2005). Simultaneously, open spaces and civic buildings, such as community halls are often left in need of investment. At the human scale, hubs have an expansive sphere of influence that attracts retail trade from people living outside the development. This capacity to draw people and capital to the area is both product and perpetuator of the hubs' function as retail destinations, where consumption is the presupposed behavioural norm. This fixity of use differs from the more routinised and quotidian nature of the mesocosm, where interaction is often based on familiarity between residents and shopkeepers. Further, frequent maintenance and investment is required in order to maintain well-defined retail spaces.

We argue that the logic of development and expansion outlined above produces a particular type of hub urbanism, which prioritises the attraction of non-local flows of capital and popular consumption. The increasing dominance of this singular conception of urbanism, based largely on economic goals, ignores, and occasionally actively neglects, certain qualities prominent in the mesocosm. It is evident then that the goals of hub developments cannot be used to define the success of the mesocosm, so a more thorough exploration of mesocosmic qualities is required.



2.1 | Identikit aesthetic of hub developments
From left to right: Renders of development at Wards Corner, Tottenham; Tottenham Hale, Tottenham; Dalston Square, Dalston (Haringey Council, 2012)

3. The Threat of Hub Urbanism

Broad Lane is situated between redevelopment sites (Figure 1.1). Most prominently, two adjacent transport nodes at Seven Sisters and Tottenham Hale have been gazetted for significant regeneration through private and Council investment over the next 10-15 years (Haringey Council, 2012). On Broad Lane, the encroachment of these developments is evident on the eastern stretch, which is given special attention in the Tottenham Hale District Centre Framework (2014). The plan aims to assimilate this area within the retail hub development by improving accessibility and providing commercial floor-space and parking facilities.

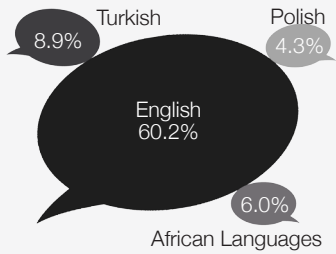
In contrast, the longer stretch of Broad Lane, on which our project focuses, receives only attention as a thoroughfare in the plans, with no attention paid to its commercial and open spaces. When contacted, the Area Regeneration Team for Tottenham acknowledged this lack of planning consideration, citing an absence of development potential and limited returns on any investment. However, they suggested that change would occur as a result of spill-over effects from the nearby redevelopments. Such a statement demonstrates that the economic logic driving the regeneration programme challenges the type of urbanism that we have identified in the mesocosm.

The spill-over effects of developer-led regeneration – well-documented across London and globally – facilitates gentrification and displacement. With the regeneration plans emerging from the rhetoric of improvement that followed the 2011 riots, local opinion remains sceptical. A recurring complaint is that the investment is “not for the [existing] people of Tottenham”, and interviewees worried that the influx of funding is aimed at attracting middle-class users, thus replacing existing low-income populations – a form of “social cleansing”. The language and visuals used in the redevelopment plans certainly give credence to this claim. The render for the new development at Wards Corner, for example, depicts a row of chain stores with manicured public spaces propagating a ‘café culture’ typically associated with a middle-income population. This contrasts with the diverse independent shops and indeterminate open spaces currently extant on Broad Lane. The realisation of such plans threatens to displace current populations physically and culturally alienate those able to stay (Cox, 2013).

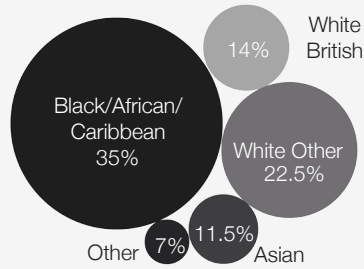
A parallel concern is that these hub developments may encroach onto Broad Lane. The possible mechanisms for this are two-fold. First, the same forces driving hub urbanism may lead to speculative investment in the area, eventually co-opting the mesocosm and actively impinging on the individual character of Broad Lane. Alternatively, efforts to protect commercial interests conform to the same hub logic (offering attractions to increase footfall, for example) and produce a similar end result. Given that the commercial policy of the adjacent hubs is mainly directed towards the operations and needs of major chain stores, the relative economic competitiveness of these chains will put the small-scale, independent businesses on Broad Lane in jeopardy. The variety of these shops, both aesthetically and functionally, are central to producing the street’s sense of place. This connection to locally articulated processes stands in opposition to hubs, where uniformity necessitates a ‘death of diversity’ and undermines a sense of belonging (Simms et al., 2005). Independent retailers represent a form of self-contained investment through localised employment, and studies show that over 50% of the turnover from such retailers is reinvested in the community (Federation of Small Businesses, 2010). By way of comparison, the Portas Review (2011) shows that money spent in chain stores is more mobile, with less place-specific impact than spending in retailers with localised supply chains.

3.1 | Portrait of Broad Lane

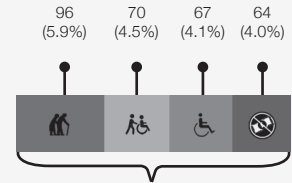
Main Languages Spoken:



Major Ethnic Groups:

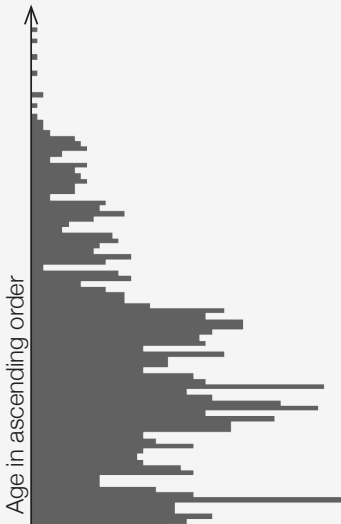


Economically Inactive Persons: (% of residents on Broad Lane)

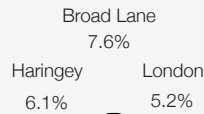


Total: 297 Economically Inactive persons, excluding students (18% of population)

Age Profile:



Unemployment:

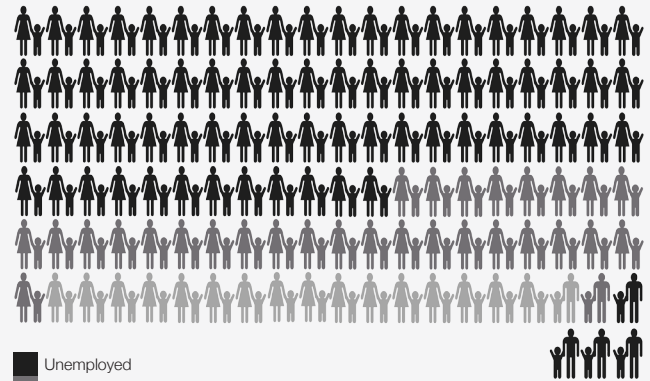


Gender:

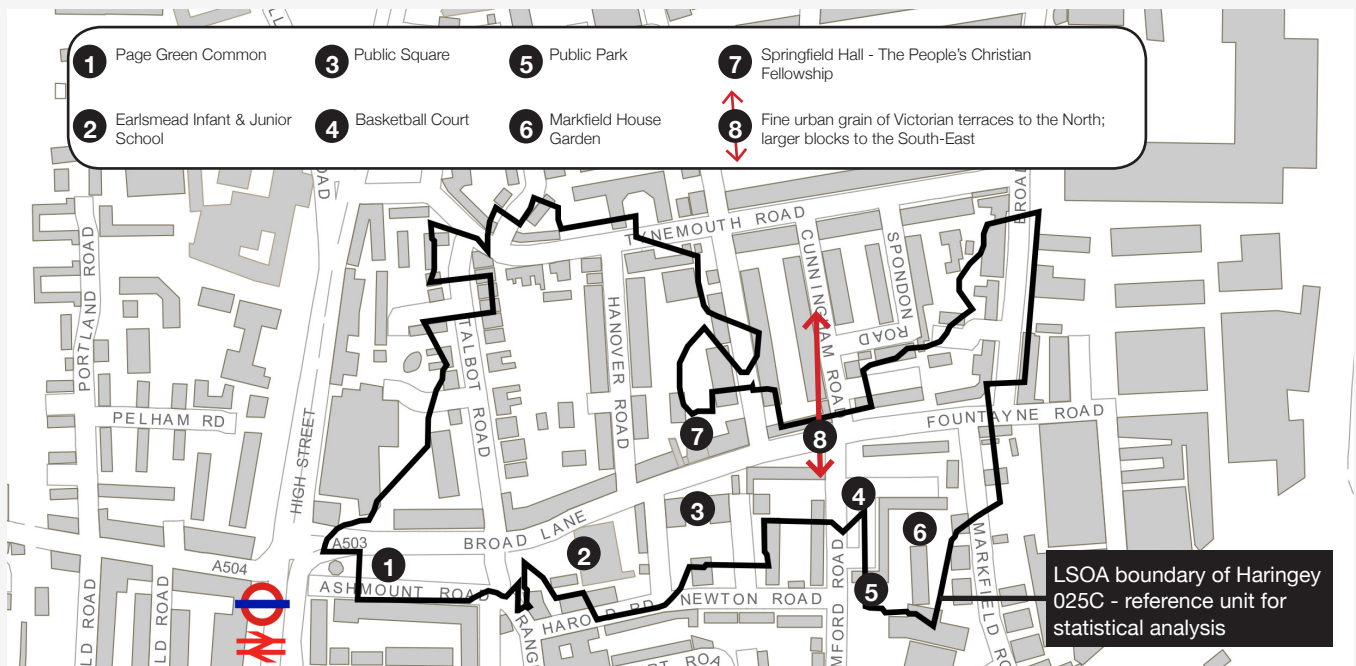


Lone Households with Dependent Children:

Total: 123 households, out of 675 in LSOA
243 dependent children (54.3% of LSOA) in lone parent households



Unemployed
Part-Time Employment
Full-Time Employment



Broad Lane's commercial spaces are mostly operated by independent retailers, and perform both essential and casual functions for their users. Many of the shops on Broad Lane have a plurality of function, which cater to particular needs and demands of the street's different users. The locally-geared nature of these spaces generates social value for consumers beyond the economic. This resembles Oldenburg's (1991) idea of the 'Third Place', with shops providing a function outside the domestic or productive realm as communal space for quotidian interaction. As such, consumption does not necessarily drive the use of the street's commercial spaces, and shopkeepers have a secondary role as public figures – a source of news and assistance. Our research has also revealed a strong sense of intimacy and familiarity within these spaces, with shopkeepers and customers habitually engaging in non-transactional exchanges. This serves to establish and reinforce mutual networks of local support. Further, we observed that certain shops were used almost exclusively by single demographics. Though antithetical to contemporary thought concerning equality and openness in urban environments, we believe that this critical exclusivity produces locally particular micro-publics (Hall, 2013) essential to the social life of the street. Shops thus have an important social function, with much of what we perceive to be the street's public life happening in private commercial areas. The encroachment of the hubs not only challenges the independent retailers on the street but also the social life that they facilitate.

The dominance of the redevelopment is reiterated in the Council's narrow acknowledgement of Broad Lane only in terms of its locational attributes. The plans mention Broad Lane in conjunction with the traffic gyratory around Tottenham Hale, which act as the principal access route to the retail park. While this highly criticised traffic system has been removed, the council's primary intention for doing so was to improve access to the surrounding developments. This propensity to view such streets solely as thoroughfares has been similarly observed and exacerbated in other regeneration plans across London, such as in Mile End/Bow Road. Alongside the implementation of the regeneration plans, it is conceivable that Broad Lane's role as a connector and space of transit between the hubs will be emphasised, while its mesocosmic qualities are ignored.

Against the backdrop of the regeneration plans is a street that presently faces several problems of maintenance and amenity. As Figure 3.2 illustrates, Broad Lane possesses several undeserved public spaces and a number of public facilities in need of repair. Our correspondence with several residents, shopkeepers and the Tynemouth Area Resident's Association (TARA) has revealed that these issues are persistent, with a perceived reluctance on the part of Haringey Council to resolve them. In particular, several of the open spaces are poorly maintained and have been described as unsafe by some residents. Nevertheless, residents use some of these spaces both purposefully and casually. Most prominently, the public square near the centre of Broad Lane is the nexus of a 'compendium of social relationships' (Hall, 2015) that both produces and responds to the activity in the adjacent shops.

In such a way, the shop fronts are activated by a constant flow of discursive action, and the public/private boundary is blurred to the point of immateriality. Various social groups on the street use this square, and the lack of prescriptive programming enables appropriation and interpretation of the space by different actors. For example, the wall is used as seating, despite the provision of benches, and as a surface against which children play football.

In short, it is our contention that hub developments are problematic for two major reasons. First, they promote a singular type of urbanism, heavily geared towards attracting capital and consumption. The spill-over effects challenge the more socially-oriented 'incidental' urbanism of the mesocosm by driving up land prices and, in turn, threatening locally-specific independent trade. Second, hub-centric planning has led to 'uneven development logics' (Graham, 2001, p.10) and concentrations of Council resources. While the hubs command the majority of council attention, and act to siphon resources and attention after their completion, there is no such structured way of assisting non-hub spaces. As such, maintenance and improvements necessary for the mesocosm to function successfully are less likely to be provided. We seek to address this imbalance by emphasising the qualities of mesocosm urbanism in such a way that restores the capacity for self-determination, whilst working and drawing from the changes occurring in the immediate surroundings. In so doing, our programme of intervention develops incrementally alongside that of the hubs but operates by different – mesocosmic – logics. The interventions listed hereafter are suggestions based on these principles, and should be seen as locally specific, with the principles themselves more widely applicable.



"NHS centre is one of the worst in the country"
- Beth, TARA



Vacant Shops:
dead spaces, uninviting fronts,
deterioration



"Overflooding wheelie bins and
dumped rubbish. And still nothing
is done by the 'sit on their hands'
Haringey Council."
- Ian Sinclair, Resident



"The Park is so dodgy!
It's a missed opportunity!"

The street and pavements are
frequently flooded.

"The Square is actually a no drinking
zone! But this never gets enforced."
Sinan, owner of Corner Cafe on
public square

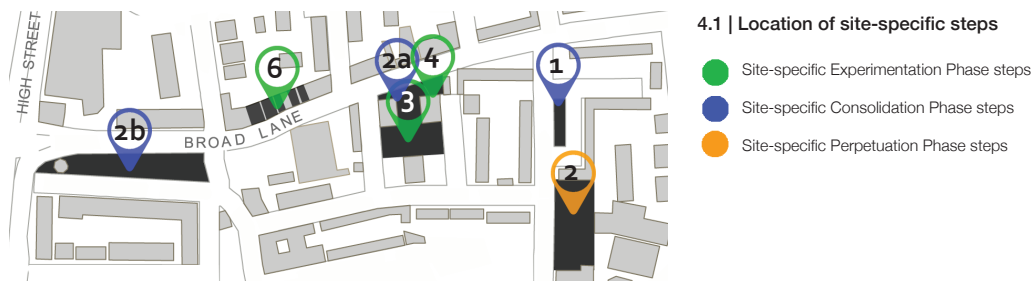
Lack of maintenance



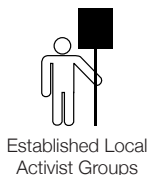
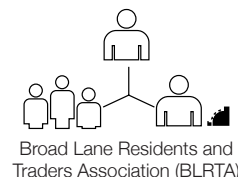
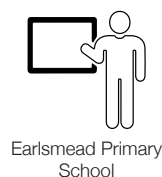
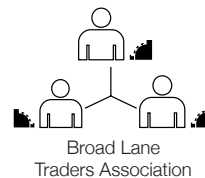
4. Strategic Intervention

The interventions proposed hereafter seek to enhance the already extant qualities that we have identified on Broad Lane. They exploit the street's dormant potential, spatial resources, diversity of users and potential stakeholder interest. In particular, interventions are distributed along the street to avoid creating uneven development geographies. In so doing, the interventions promote the street's successful elements and eliminate some of the problems that have arisen from a lack of Council attention.

Our proposal is a programmatic three-year guideline, theoretically beginning in 2015 and ending in 2017 (subject to flexibility), with a plan for perpetuation. We are concerned more with the processes initiated by these interventions than the tangible results. Most importantly, this processual apparatus will generate a communal platform that listens to and mediates the voices of Broad Lane's varied interest groups and stakeholders. It further generates the long-term commitment of key stakeholders, and instigates a mutual process of learning. To this end, we specify the three guiding principles of self-sufficiency, self-determination and incremental development as a way of rethinking in-between spaces in general terms. Further, returning to our initial definitions, we emphasise the mesocosm as an experimental environment, in which expressions of local participatory democracy can be trialed and honed.



4.2 | Implementer and beneficiaries







4.1 Experimentation Phase

The first phase of our guideline intervention targets different stakeholders on Broad Lane, aiming to foster dialogue, encourage participation, and promote the capacity for self-determination. At the close of the experimentation phase, it is hoped that these disparate stakeholders will have a stronger incentive for collaboration, which will act as a foundation for the following phases. During the experimentation phase, a traders' association is established and low-cost interventions implemented.

Step 1: Business owners establish Broad Lane Traders' Association

Broad Lane's traders currently have strong economic incentives to establish a traders' association, a body that will strengthen the street's economic viability through improved public and social realms. The traders' association comprises a number of independent business owners, who, when interviewed, claimed that improved local circumstance might protect and enhance their profit margins. As such, unlike a conventional Business Improvement District, the traders' association will focus on improving the street as a whole, rather than just its commercial assets. In contrast, high-profit tenants, who rely on non-local, central management to enhance their profit margins, occupy hub developments. These tenants have fewer connections to particular place, and are thus less concerned with enhancing the localities that they occupy.


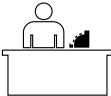
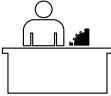
Our inquiries on Broad Lane have demonstrated that its traders:

- Are unsatisfied with the Council
- Have a collective desire for a more inviting public realm which will support improved economic returns
- Are public figures, with an established knowledge of the neighbourhood and direct contact with locals

Established traders associations in London, such as the Broadway Market Traders' Association, have been successful in improving both the commercial viability of their businesses and the local public realm. Their success demonstrates that traders' associations can have positive returns for the street and its stakeholders.

A Broad Lane Traders' Association (BLTA) can achieve similar success by:

- Creating a forum for collaboration, whereby business owners can collectively address problems that are of concern to themselves and different interest groups on the street
- Making traders realise their capacity — as public figures — for influencing local activity
- Initiating experimentation phase

Location	Date/Duration	Difficulty
'Out of hours' shop space for collaborative work	January-February 2015	
Implementers		
		
Beneficiaries		
		

Step 2: Incitement campaign

Provocative posters will be erected throughout Broad Lane, showing both negative and positive alternative futures for the area.


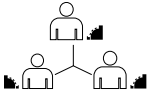

Similar campaigns have already generated interest. In 2015, the 'London Is Changing' project projected the opinions of the city's various interest groups across billboards. The project "intended to facilitate discussion about the impact of economic and policy changes on the culture and diversity of London" (Londonischanging.org).

Aims and tenets:

- Provoke a reaction from Broad Lane's stakeholders
- Generate awareness of local (re)development
- Create a conversation across different stakeholder groups
- Project the possibility of alternative futures
- Detail the date and location of upcoming meeting

The signs will be displayed throughout Broad Lane. Each poster will be erected in an existing space, for example a brick wall or public park, displaying a visual re-imagination of an alternative future for that space. This begets an immediate connection between the existing situation and the latent potential of such spaces.

The campaign encourages attendance at a scheduled community meeting, urging the observer to discuss Broad Lane's future.

Location	Date/Duration	Difficulty
Throughout Broad Lane and surrounding areas	End of March 2015 3 weeks	
Implementers		
		
Beneficiaries		
		

4.3 | Present spaces on Broad Lane (top) and alternative futures presented through signs (bottom)



Step 3: Inauguration meeting

A community meeting, chaired by BLTA, will introduce the idea of the community platform to Broad Lane's residents.

There is a strong spirit of local activism in other parts of Tottenham. Local activist groups, such as the Tynemouth Area Residents' Association (TARA), have a strong understanding of the complex dynamics of the area, extensive knowledge of development plans, and the ability to mobilise the Council to implement improvements. The meeting will build on this established activism.

Aims and tenets:

- Introduce idea of communal platform
- Demonstrate the merit of creating a wider community association, which will collectively improve and defend Broad Lane's commercial and public realms
- Collate individual ideas and aspirations as precursor to drafting a unified set of goals
- Organise the delivery of a noticeboard and imminent low-cost improvements
- Organise voluntary donation box for upcoming interventions
- Create short-term, self-contained economy through BLTA discount card

A BLTA discount card will reward attendance at the meeting. The card will catalyse a short-term, self-contained economy on Broad Lane and benefit both the participating traders from BLTA and residents who attended the meeting. Further, the card will act as a marketing tool for the coming months, informing non-attendees of BLTA's work.

This meeting will take place on Broad Lane's public square, identified as a central reference point for the street's users. Physically occupying this space demonstrates its repurposing for local participatory action. This is a procedural step that engenders principles of participatory democracy and the communication of different interests. Though private interests are at risk of being prioritised in any traders' association, the process of collaboration differentiates it from the commercial competitiveness of chain retailers.

4.4 | Inauguration meeting

Location	Date/Duration	Difficulty
Public Square	End of April 2015 1 day	
Implementers		
Beneficiaries		


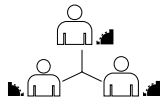
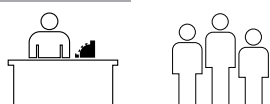


Step 4: Community noticeboard

A black noticeboard will be created in full public view, on the blank wall of the Internet café in the public square. There are a wide variety of demographics on Broad Lane, and the notice board will be a highly accessible intervention that acts as an informal local forum. Passersby are invited to write down their ideas and aspirations for Broad Lane. Similar projects, such as Candy Chang’s “Before I die I want to...” in New Orleans, have proven successful.

Aims and tenets:

- Display grievances and desires for Broad Lane
- Promote debate between different stakeholders
- Generate a range of suggestions to be pursued at future meetings

Location	Date/Duration	Difficulty
Blank wall outside Internet cafe in public square	Mid May to end June 2015 1.5-2 months	
Implementers		
		
Beneficiaries		
		


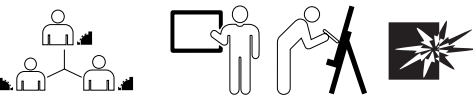
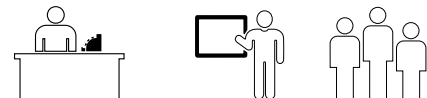
4.5 | Community noticeboard

Compilation of wishes, aspirations and sentiments. BLTA shopkeepers can act as impartial moderators in the case of abusive content.



Step 5: Involvement of Earlsmead Primary School through street clean-up and mural painting days

The local primary school contributes much to the street's activity, particularly before and after school hours. Involving the children in collaborative projects with environmental and creative benefits is both educational and beneficial to the public realm. A street clean-up day involving the children and local activists will demonstrate the deficiency of Council operations, and instill a broader appreciation for the street in the children. Further to this, painting a mural on one of Broad Lane's empty walls will create a tangible attraction of the children's own creation. The project can be guided by some of the artists from the nearby collective on Fountayne Road. Although the government funds various local 'creative urbanism' projects, such as pop-up galleries, these are often the incipient phase of gentrification. Creative endeavours are commodified and co-opted by affluent incomers, who in turn, drive land values up (Porta, Venerandi, Zanella, & Romice, 2014), a risk that accommodating the artists on Broad Lane may entail. As such, this intervention focuses on nurturing creativity at its developmental phase with children receiving educational benefits at a time when the government is cutting arts provisions in schools.

Location	Date/Duration	Difficulty
Murals on vacant walls	June to August 2015 3 months	
Implementers		
Beneficiaries		

Aims and tenets:

- Instigate involvement of younger stakeholders
- Improve the public realm
- Provide educational benefits in otherwise deficient fields
- Demonstrate the impact of low-cost, community organised activism to the Council and residents
- Build faith in the capabilities of the platform to enact change that goes beyond commercial interests

4.6 | Communal cleaning of streets and parks on Broad Lane



Step 6: Vacant shop tax and temporary use

There are six vacant shops on Broad Lane, which add to the street's latent spatial potential. The ability to open these spaces lies with the owners, but BLTA could lobby the Council for an additional local levy on shops that have been unused for over three months. In so doing, temporary occupation would be incentivised, providing a benefit to both users and owners.


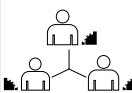




These spaces can be used to house either entrepreneurial or educational endeavours. Indeed, there are a number of pro bono services that could help to alleviate local deprivation indices (as defined by the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit), such as counselling, CV classes, legal aid and a crèche. Flexible spaces of communal interest contrast with the rigid designation in the hubs, and ensure that private commercial interests are not the only cause for occupancy.

Aims and tenets:

- Create new spaces for community use and encourage entrepreneurialism
- Activate currently underused areas
- Resuscitate currently dilapidated shops
- Precursor to Physical Structure (Perpetuation Phase)

Contingency

Should the tax not be enacted, or the owners unwilling to open their shops, a number of commercial spaces could open out-of-hours to provide the same service. As identified, many shops on Broad Lane have a multiplicity of uses, with different functions demarcated spatially. The 'out of hours' solution works on the same premise, but manifests temporally instead. This is particularly beneficial if programmed in the public square, where the closure of the Corner Café at 5.30pm. precipitates a decline in safety.

Location	Date/Duration	Difficulty
Vacant Shops	Commences in June 2015	
Implementers		
 		
Beneficiaries		
  		

4.7 | Utilisation of vacant shops


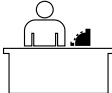
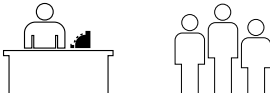


4.2 Consolidation Phase

Having established an autonomous and self-sufficient body for the street, the project is ready to move into the consolidation phase. This phase establishes a larger 'Residents' and Traders' Association', implements more substantial public realm improvements and establishes dialogue with the Council.

Step 1: Consolidation meeting

A meeting attended by traders and residents will mark the beginning of the consolidation phase. The meeting will oversee the incorporation of residents into the renamed Broad Lane Residents' and Traders' Association (BLRTA) and facilitates a discussion to identify and fund further interventions for the area. Our fieldwork has revealed local dissatisfaction with the lack of maintenance and amenities on Broad Lane. Specific wishes included 'hang-out' spaces, wider pavements, an ATM, public toilets and improvements to local healthcare services. BLRTA will help traders and residents implement plans collectively agreed upon. Though not all the disparate interests of the street's different stakeholders can be met, the process of argumentation is discursive and speaks to the higher principles of self-sufficiency and communal empowerment.

Location	Date/Duration	Difficulty
Basketball Court	February 2016 1 day	
Implementers		
		
Beneficiaries		
		

Aims and tenets:

- Create traders' and residents' association
- Collect donations to finance future interventions through a voluntary donation box
- Define other forms of contribution (e.g. time, skill and tools)
- Find further sources of funding (e.g. Esmee Fairbairn Foundation, Association of Charitable Foundations, UK Big Lottery Fund, National Council for Voluntary Organisations)

4.8 | Consolidation meeting at the basketball court

Strategically located to raise awareness of available spaces and their possible alternative uses



Step 2: Small scale public realm improvements


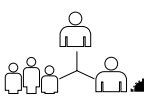
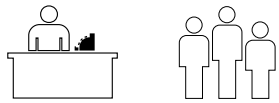
As agreed upon during the second meeting, BLRTA initiates a series of public realm improvements. We suggest the following interventions based on a programme of participant observation and interviews conducted to understand Broad Lane's communal spaces.

Step 2a: Planting communal flower beds in public square

The dynamics of the public square change dramatically from day to night. By day, the square is activated by open shops, with discursive interactions – usually between a large group of men and the shopkeepers – transgressing the public/private divide. The space commands no behavioural expectations of consumption and begets informal exchanges. It is further appropriated by schoolchildren in the afternoon, as they play football and buy sweets in the off-licence. The dynamic changes by 6pm, when the majority of these shops close. The off-licence remains open, supporting alcohol consumption, and there is an absence of the artificial light cast by the shops. After dark, heavy use of the square ceases, and it is ordinarily occupied by large groups of men. Rather than emphasise increased accessibility and commercial activity in the square, as would be typical in hub development, we propose a simple, soft intervention that promotes communal effort to improve existing facilities. The square currently suffers from a lack of maintenance and contains large quantities of litter, accumulating in empty flowerbeds. This is acknowledged as an issue requiring resolution, and one of the shopkeepers expressed a desire to have flowers outside his shop. As such, the will to initiate this project exists already, and its perpetuation would communicate to the Council a desire to see further such upgrades.

Aims and tenets:

- Implement a 'soft upgrade' in the Public Square, through maintenance of the flower beds
- Create a project that can be implemented and maintained communally
- Respect current uses and users of space

Location	Date/Duration	Difficulty
Public Square	Commences in March 2016	
Implementers		
		
Beneficiaries		
		

4.9 | Before and after: simple replanting of flower beds by the local community



Step 2b: Street furniture workshop in Page Green Common


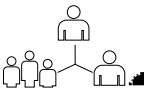

This intervention seeks to create more public seating for Page Green Common through a furniture workshop. The green space lies at the intersection of High Road and Broad Lane and is frequently traversed, but it has been described as a 'missed opportunity' and 'dodgy'. It has only one bench, which is positioned in an uninviting space next to a ventilation shaft. While people occasionally sit in the grass in summer, it was generally agreed that the space was primarily used for transit.

Aims and tenets:

- Address the lack of public seating
- Improve green space
- Generate involvement in projects with tangible results
- Offer an event that creates memories linked to local space

Step 3: Meeting with Council

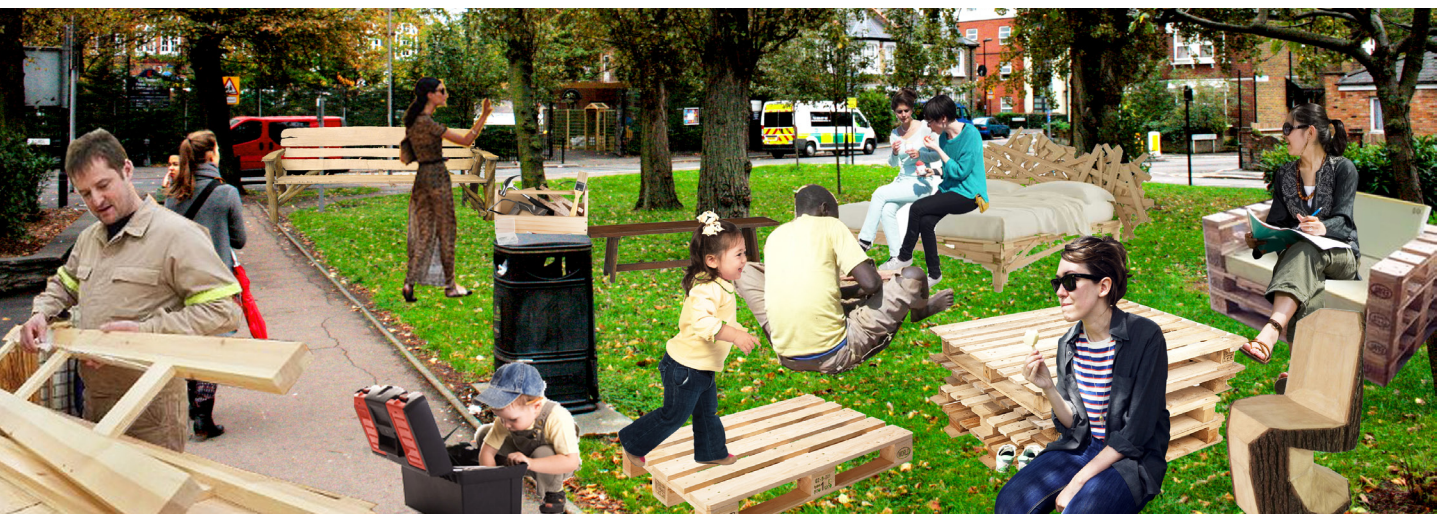
Should the proposed interventions succeed, the mesocosm will be developing as a paragon of self-sufficiency, with approaches to the Council thus far restricted to requests for their permission. However, recognising a future need for cooperation, it is necessary for BLRTA to meet with the local authorities. A small stream of funding will be requested with demonstrable evidence that it will be well used. Further, BLRTA should assuage the Council that the area does not require constant monitoring or micro-management (demonstrable by the self-directed improvements on Broad Lane) and that the majority of their efforts can remain directed towards the hub developments. This meeting is a mediation process. A 'best case' outcome, requiring some compromise from both parties, is likely to be required. The meeting can take the form of a walk through Broad Lane to showcase the recent successes, needs and aspirations of the residents and traders.

Location	Date/Duration	Difficulty
Page Green Common	Commence in Sept 2016; depending on weather	
Implementers		
		
Beneficiaries		
		

Aims and tenets:

- Strengthen communication between BLRTA and Council
- Demonstrate the legitimacy, success and self-sufficiency of BLRTA
- Propose £-for-£ funding scheme (negotiated yearly) as recognition of success. Our research has indicated that this scheme could immediately fund:
 - An ATM
 - Improvements to pavements (to avoid flooding)
 - More frequent rubbish collection

4.10 | Street furniture workshop in Page Green Common



4.3 Perpetuation Phase



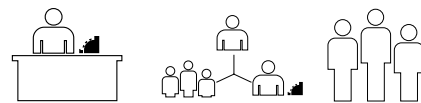
Having established a stable membership base and dialogue with the Council, the intervention can move into its perpetuation phase. This should institute the final safeguards to protect the interests of BLRTA, and will be accomplished through the foundation of a not-for-profit Community Interest Company (CIC). Further, it will oversee the construction of a built structure, which will replace the temporary-use spaces detailed in the consolidation phase. Finally, the Broad Lane discount card is phased out, so that the space does not conform to the logic of a self-contained retail destination.

Step 1: Setting up a Community Interest Company

The establishment of Broad Lane Community Interest Company (BLCIC) draws on a similar CIC that currently exists for Broadway Market (BMP-CIC); a not-for-profit social enterprise with assets locked to Broadway Market Traders' and Residents' Association. Today the BMP-CIC works in tandem with Hackney Council, and in 2010 contributed £1.9 million to the borough's income (Veitch, McDonald, Maddox, & Tran, 2011). Similar to Broad Lane, BMP-CIC was founded with the aim of countering a lack of investment from the local authority. While Broadway Market differs in terms of local demographics and income, the CIC model could help Broad Lane work similarly with the Council to overcome its current state of underinvestment. The notion of the BLCIC promotes self-sufficiency, autonomy and collaboration, with profit reinvested into the surrounding neighbourhood and a board to organise events and allocate funds. Further, it will analyse the potential for drawing funds, through Section 106 agreements, from the private redevelopment projects occurring adjacent to Broad Lane. After its establishment, BLCIC will meet once every 3 months to reassess aims and membership.

Aims and tenets:

- Act as a mediatory body, with the Council on one side and BLRTA on the other
- Anticipate the potential for drawing funds from private development projects in the hubs
- Lobby council for a policy that supports and protects independent shops on Broad Lane, and in the wider Tottenham area
- Implement a first refusal policy on new commercial lets, so that priority is given to members of BLTRA or people with an association with the area
- Become a platform for communication with Council and each other
- Take advantage of Broad Lane's geographical location between the hubs
 - Draw from the space, time and skills available within hub developments
 - Organise events that require participation fees in hub developments, such as Tottenham Hale and Seven Sisters
- Ensure that funds are reinvested in social improvement projects on Broad Lane, potentially drawn from nearby private developments

Location	Date/Duration	Difficulty
Broad Lane	January - March 2017	
Implementers		
		
Beneficiaries		
		

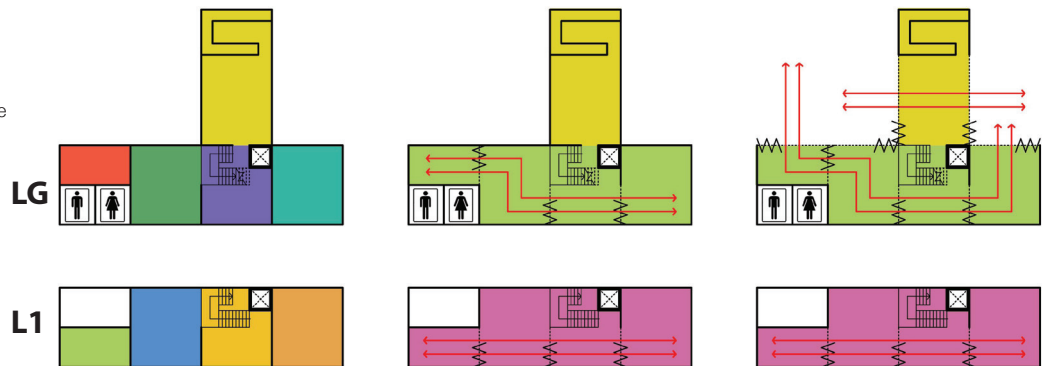
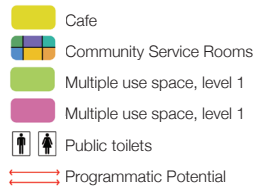
Step 2: Construction of physical structure

BLRTA constructs an inexpensive prefabricated structure, built in the underused public park on nearby Stamford Road. It aims to:

- Activate the currently neglected and uninviting park
- Create a space that embodies the merits of communal planning and self-sufficiency
- Accommodate meetings for discussion and planning of events, programs, workshops, and interventions
- Provide counselling services, legal aid, CV workshops and a crèche, replacing the temporary-use spaces

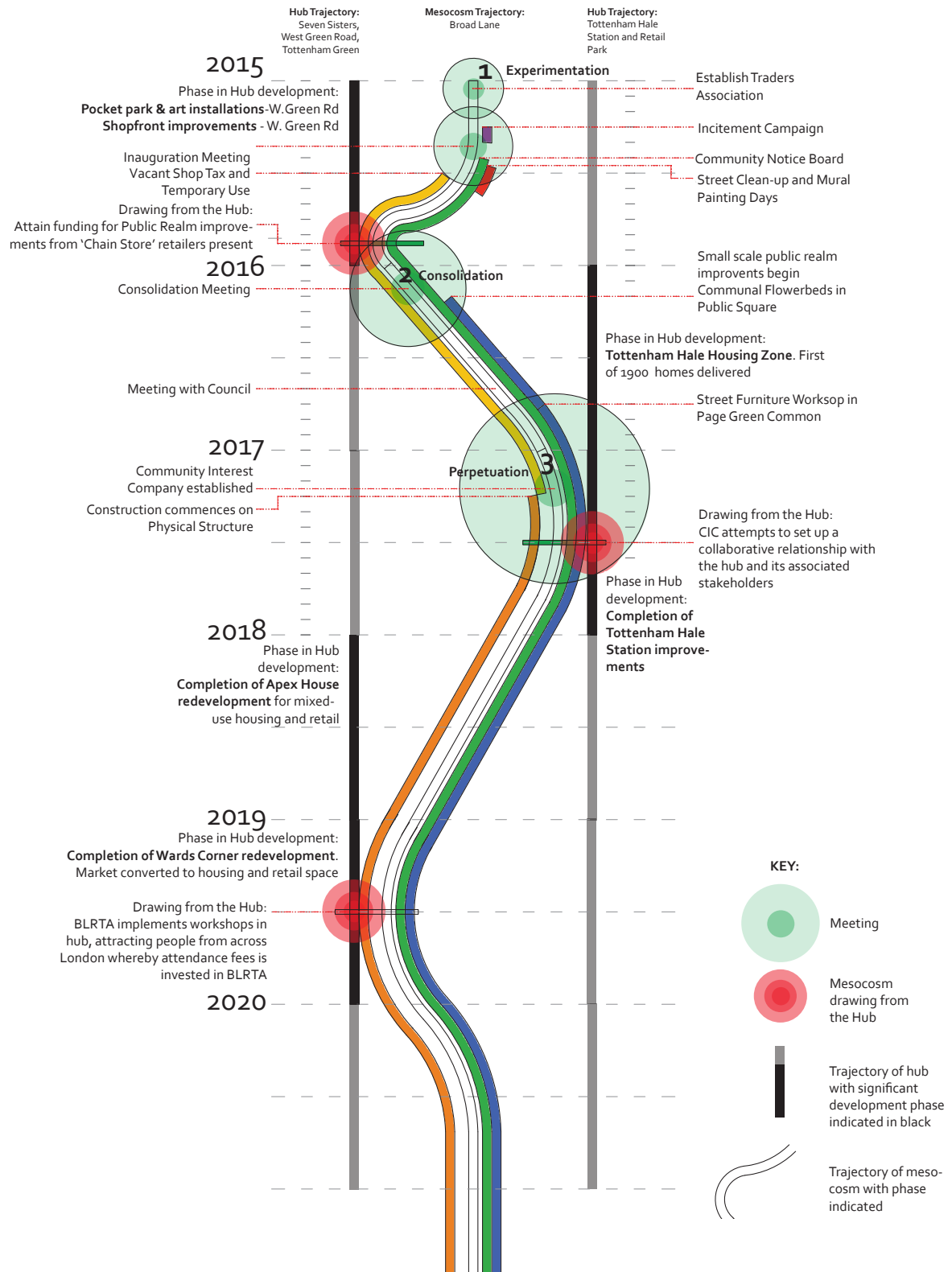
4.11 | Spatial layouts of physical structure

Flexibility and adaptability of structure and materials used enable space to change and be interpreted for multiple purposes



Location	Date/Duration	Difficulty
Park and housing estate garden on Stamford Road	Construction work commences in March 2017	
Implementers		
Beneficiaries		

Timeline of development





4.12 | Physical structure in Stamford Road green spaces

Structure occupies an area which is formed from the combination of a poorly-maintained park and communal garden that is not blatantly in sight when traversing Broad Lane. This aims to offer a 'hidden' facility that caters to locals.

5. Future Directions for a Mesocosm

The above interventions on Broad Lane are both founded on and exact three primary principles: self-sufficiency, self-determination, and incremental development. They recognise the stakeholders affected by the incipience of hub developments and, through self-governmental processes, produce a communal platform that allows people to dictate the future of the space they inhabit. This is captured in Healey's description of local collaboration as a "process of working out how to co-exist in shared space" (1996, p.63). The interventions harness the existing social and spatial potentials of the street so that stakeholders can produce an enhanced, rather than a different, future. It implements processes that require cooperation in order to develop a unity of purpose. This is necessary both in attracting the attention of the local authorities and implementing small-scale improvements, which demonstrates the people's capability for self-governance. The stakeholders of Broad Lane, by implementing these ideas, are helping to safeguard their own future, but equally as important, the future of a particular kind of urbanism.

The nature of the incidental urbanism that we observed on Broad Lane is directly threatened by the economic expediency of hub developments. Indeed, in the course of our research we encountered a business owner moving to the area in anticipation of the hubs' economic spill-over effects. This encroaching presence in cities around the world is part of an increasingly manic logic of development, where centres are constructed to compete against each other, and in which non-local footfall and profits are prioritised. The success of hub developments is quantifiable by the returns that they generate for their developers and commercial tenants. Broad Lane is successful in spite of, or perhaps because of, the fact that the same measures cannot be used to define its own success. Providing a way of rethinking in-between spaces – protecting the mesocosm so that the city retains a diversity of experience – is essential in countering the unchecked advance of cities that prioritise consumption. Perhaps we should not be protecting the future of the mesocosm so much as the mesocosmic future, one in which cities abound with the type of social life seen in Broad Lane.

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