David Church
Yen Nguyen
Maria Sisternas Tusell
Javier Vergara Petrescu

BISHOPSGATE AS A BORDER

1 Bishopsgate Goods Yard – Northern Facade – Section 1

2 Bishopsgate Goods Yard – Northern Facade – Section 2

3 Bishopsgate Goods Yard – Northern Facade – Section 3


WELCOME
SUNDAY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Identification of the problems: City Fringe constraints

1 Bishopsgate: in-between two development models
The recent urban development of London emphasises the need for economic growth, in part through the promotion of a global city agenda and its physical translation through the tall buildings strategy boosted by former mayor Ken Livingstone. This development strategy is in contrast, not to say tension, with the conservation and protection strategy preferred by the local authorities of certain boroughs, who wish to save for themselves some level of decision-making aside from the Mayor's plans for London.

2 Local activity: residential and small business densities around the site
The analysis shows a clear absence of small business development density, especially to the east of the site.

3 The importance of high-quality public transport infrastructure
Transport services should serve the various needs of managers and professional employees commuting to the area from the more affluent neighbourhoods of London, local residents, and the low skilled and less affluent service employees commuting into the area.

4 Local industries and labour markets: clothing and printing
SME-sized publishing offices are a flourishing sector in the City Fringe, perhaps to the detriment of other local economic activities: although this has been in decline in recent decades, Spitalfields has historically been a centre for the clothing industry – the East London Line Extension offers the opportunity to revitalise this flagging industry since much of its labour market travels to Spitalfields along the new route.

5 The 'back-to-the-fringe' movement of capital
A major tension in the area arises from the status of the City Fringe as a lucrative site for investment adjacent to one of the most deprived wards in England. The steady colonisation of the area by capital produces uneven patterns of valorisation and threatens to displace the existing local population.

6 The physical boundaries
The construction of the railway in the second half of the nineteenth century meant the connection of central London with outer suburbs, but it had major consequences in terms of its physical footprint: the construction of the Braithwaite Viaduct was intended to connect the two parts of the city divided by the railway, but it now acts as an impassable trench, disconnecting the northern and southern sides of the site.

7 Political and administrative boundaries
The juxtapostion of the Broadgate groundscapers or the 21-storey Bishopsgate tower against the small residential units of a fine urban grain is not accidental. The physical boundary between the different scales of development corresponds to the different political boundaries that intersect at Bishopsgate.

Vision: Weaving the City Fringe

Given the fragmentation of the site, our project seeks to improve the few existing connections and articulate a new high-quality public realm. Placed at the intersection of different urban development regimes, the viaduct has acted, until now, as a boundary. Removing the walls of the construction site, opening the arcades and filling them with programmes, and leaving a large proportion of open space, will create the conditions for Bishopsgate to become an active border.

4 Bishopsgate Goods Yard is a 4.6 hectare site located between Tower Hamlets and Hackney.

Proposal

1 Analysis of site constraints

The Braithwaite Viaduct is a listed structure, protected under the guidelines of English Heritage. This means that the viaduct must be preserved, and that the alterations must maintain the 'nature and character' of the original structure. This does not preclude, however, building above the viaduct.

2 Project Outline

Instead of concentrating the required density within the limits of the site, we identify a series of surrounding plots that might need to concentrate the growth, allowing for the viaduct to have public uses and open spaces.

We set out the rules for intervening in each of the sites that can be developed:

- Providing at least 50% of affordable housing, following Livingstone's proposal
- Allowing densification and higher heights around the site
- Creating a sense of place
- Providing public amenities for the critical mass expected to arrive to the site due to the East London Line as well as for the local residents
- Creating adaptable programmes that can change over time.

3 Urban Densification

By using a Net Present Value calculator developed by Michael Edwards at UCL we were able to produce a number of development scenarios based on a range of densities. We then compared these data to a real life case study (Coin Street on London's South Bank).

4 Spatial Strategy

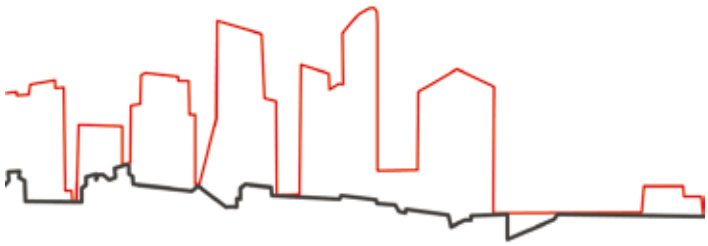
The project aims to compensate for the lack of investment in social infrastructure. In such a context of ingrained patterns of deprivation there is an urgent need to stimulate the local economy as well as provide affordable housing. Crucial to this strategy is the understanding of the viaduct as an infrastructure for sports, cultural exchange and for small businesses to ply their trade. Is it the urban form that will move people to act as imagined? Or is it the people who will make the place thrive? Our project aims to create a public space for different people to gather together without artificially defining which activities should start where; a public space that can be fed and protected by the intensity of the surrounding activities. The visual relation between the Braithwaite Viaduct and the adjacent open spaces should foster the appropriation of the open areas at ground-floor level with temporary and flexible uses.

CITY FRINGE CONSTRAINTS

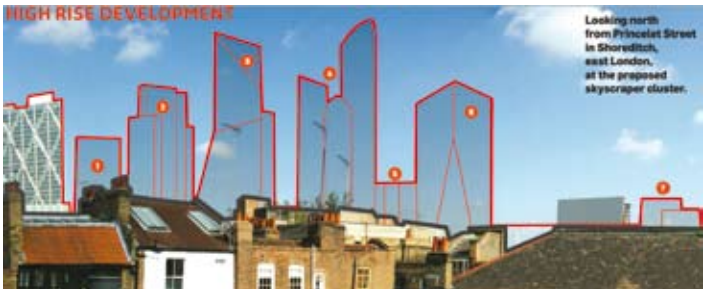
1 Bishopsgate: in-between two development models
The urban development of London over the past two decades has been characterised by the promotion of a 'world city' ideology in which the processes of urban change are facilitated by "private sector leadership combined with central government backing" (Newman and Thornley, 2005: 138). Thus, business-led interests have caused a fracture within the local urban grain, which has greatly transformed the Bishopsgate, Spitalfields and Banglatown area of East London. The transformation of these neighbourhoods is expressed in the emergence of office towers and condominiums juxtaposed against the inherently conservative nature of London's historic urban fabric. This rupture in the built environment is vividly apparent when comparing Bishopsgate and Shoreditch High Street with Brick Lane. London's growth can be characterised as an example of a split model development where skyscrapers emerge and are set against a low-rise historical background.

Many competing aspects of London developmental, regeneration and political agendas have influenced the split-model development within this area and within London as a whole. However, there are two dominant reasons for a split-model development within the existing context of the Bishopsgate Goods Yard. These factors are the manifestations of a political agenda that is geared towards private sector led development with minimal governmental and community involvement. This strategy was evident in Mayor Ken Livingstone's London Plan, which advocated the construction of tall buildings to house financial enterprise and attract international investment as a core strand of the world city promotion. The adoption of tall buildings has its origin in the former Mayor's "desire to promote London as a world city and the need to ensure that the city has a good stock of suitable office accommodation to attract the global activities' which will also '[increase] the population and employment density within the city" (Newman and Thornley, 2005: 149). However, the principal type of population and employment growth supported by office tower space is corporate, particularly international business that has few links to the lifestyles and livelihoods of the local citizens of East London. Thus, while the intention of the London Plan is to provide a strategic plan for the development of London, it "giv[es] too much attention to globally oriented activities [...] producing a central area bias in its spatial strategy" (Buck et al. in Newman and Thornley, 2005: 149).

5.1 Historical profile of London in which the typologies of the building structures correspond to their neighbour and are all at a height of no more than 6 storeys.



5.2 The juxtaposition of the historical profile with that of contemporary developments and new typology for building mega-structures shows a dramatic variance in the form of developments through time.



5.3 Placing the two contrasting profiles (historical vs. contemporary developments) within the context of Shoreditch neighbourhood.

Conservation Areas and Strategic View Corridors
Development patterns within London's built environment are to some extent dictated by policies and regulations that highlight the conservation zones and strategic viewpoint corridors. These planning and design guidelines set out by English Heritage are intended to conserve and protect special areas of interest that are a part of the image of London. Conservation zones and view corridors allow local authorities to control changes to the urban fabric through the development control process. However, these policies also create constraints and limitations on development.

Although the site is not within the boundaries of any conservation zone, it does contain two listed buildings (the Braithwaite Viaduct and the Shoreditch High Street Gateway). Thus, the design of the project will need to take into consideration the historic values of the viaduct. Additionally, the site's adjacency to conservation areas to the southeast of the site creates a challenge for integrating the surrounding plots within the project.

The view corridor guidelines determine permitted building heights based on the view of St Paul's Cathedral. This limits the height of construction which results in both lower densities and tighter developers' net-profit margins. However, this view corridor does not pass through the site which indicates that there is a potential to build high within this area.

6.1 Strategic view corridors are defined in the London Plan for the management and restrictions of tall building construction. The linear views are taken from St. Paul's Cathedral.

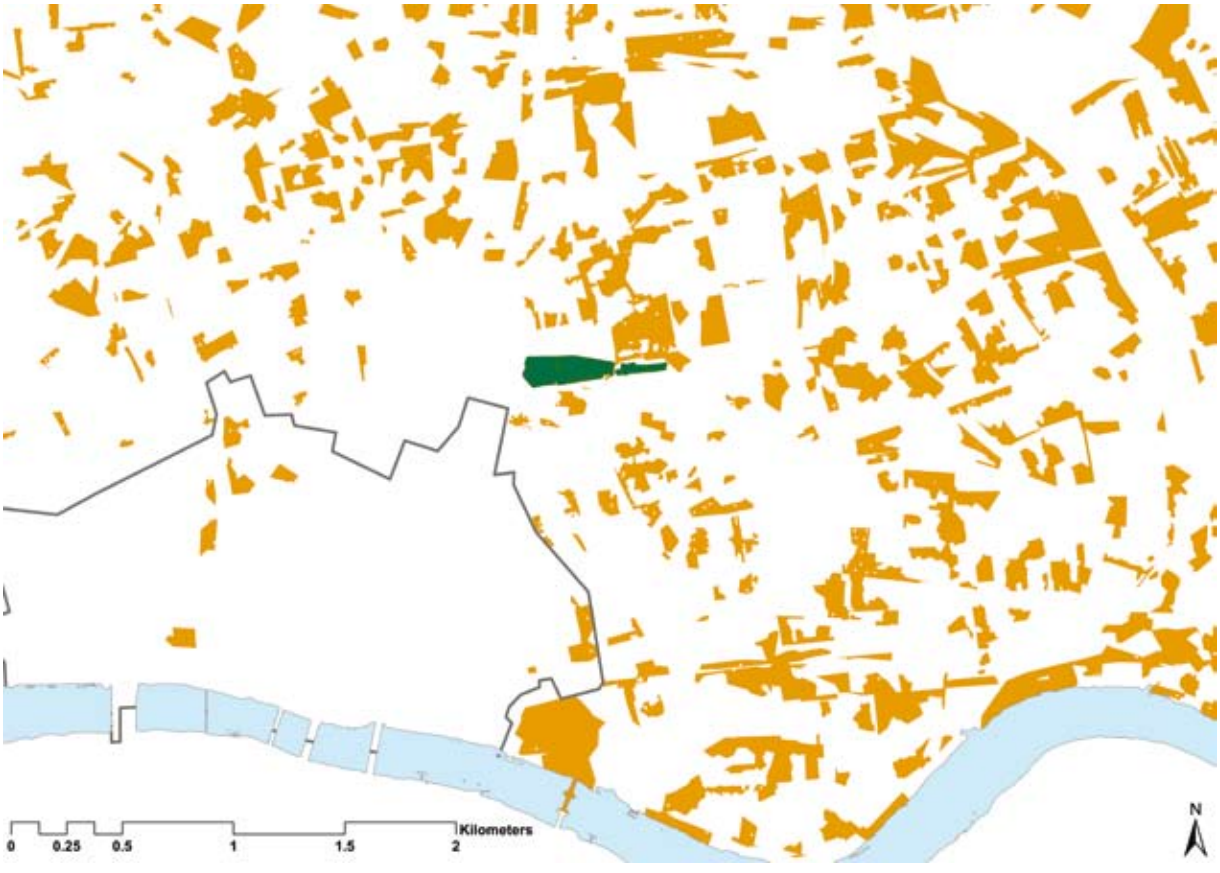
6.2 Location constraints include listed building (highlighted in red) and various grade of conservation areas. The conservation areas are intended to preserve the character of the place, however, the areas that are not within these zones are open to other form of development, which helps produce a split-model development effect.

2 Local activity: residential and small business densities around the site

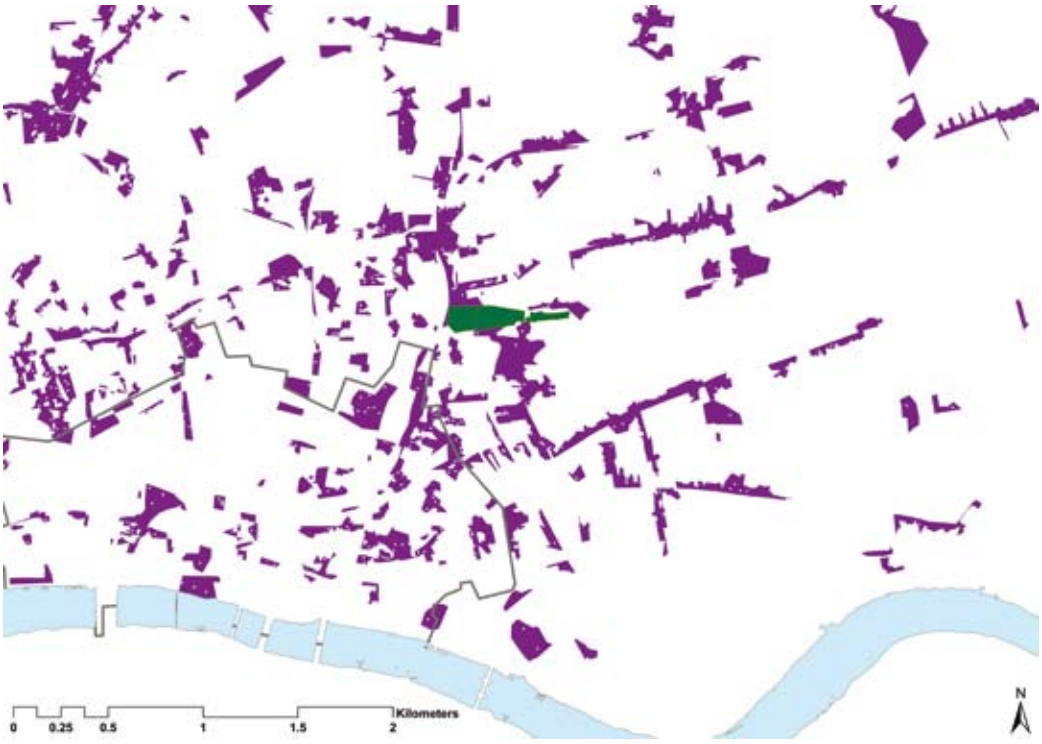
The relationship between residential and commercial density is recognised as one of the key factors in determining urban spatial structure (Vickerman, 1984). By combining data on the number of residential addresses within each London postcode unit with the mapping capabilities of ArcMap 9.2, we were able to build up a picture of the residential density of the City Fringe area. In the same way, by combining data on the number of small businesses within each postcode unit we were able to build up a picture of the spatial patterning of local enterprises. We then combined the two maps, again using ArcMap 9.2 in order to gain an insight into the relationship between residential and local business densities in the City Fringe.

Residential development in the City Fringe has produced a block-pattern while the locational importance of particular streets (e.g. Whitechapel Road, Bethnal Green Road) has meant that small businesses (defined as firms with fewer than 50 employees) in the area have typically produced linear urban forms. What is immediately noticeable in the area to the east of Bishopsgate Goods Yard is the low density of both residential and small business development. This analysis reveals the potential for further residential densification through infill in a number of sites to the east. The potential also exists for connecting the principal local economic centres of Bethnal Green Road and Whitechapel Road by facilitating small business start-ups along Vallance Road. The upgrading of the transport network should parallel a resurgence in both residential and local business densities in the Spitalfields area, with our proposed development forming the catalyst for this revitalisation.

7 Residential and Small Business density in the City Fringe
This map shows those postcode units (shaded orange) with 27-100 residential addresses (the median total of residential addresses per postcode unit for London is 22).



8 This map shows those postcode units (shaded purple) with 9-65 small business addresses (the median total of small business addresses per postcode unit for London is 1).



9 This map shows the interrelationships between densified residential and small business clustering at the postcode unit. Bishopsgate Goods Yard is marked in green on all three maps and likewise the boundary of the City of London is marked in grey.

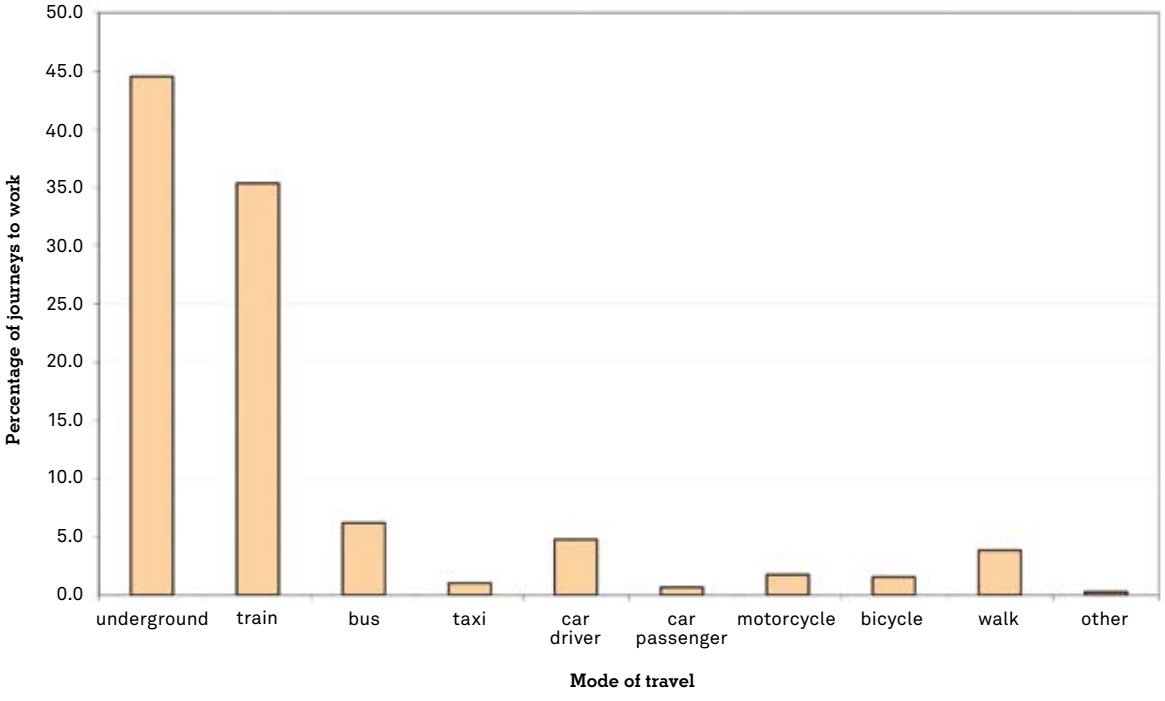
3 The importance of high-quality public transport infrastructure
There is a positive relationship between increased residential density and development of the rail network in London, according to Levinson's recent (2008) study. Increased densities provide the demand (and thus rationale) for providing more infrastructure, leading to the creation of a 'virtuous circle' of high-density, city core population growth coupled with the provision of high quality public transport infrastructure.

The key role played by rail services, both overground and underground, for bringing commuters into Bishopsgate is evidenced by the graph below. We recognised early on the importance of, and advantages offered by, the East London Line Extension, and aimed accordingly to harmonise the blend of residential, social and sporting facilities on the site with the presence of a major transport hub.

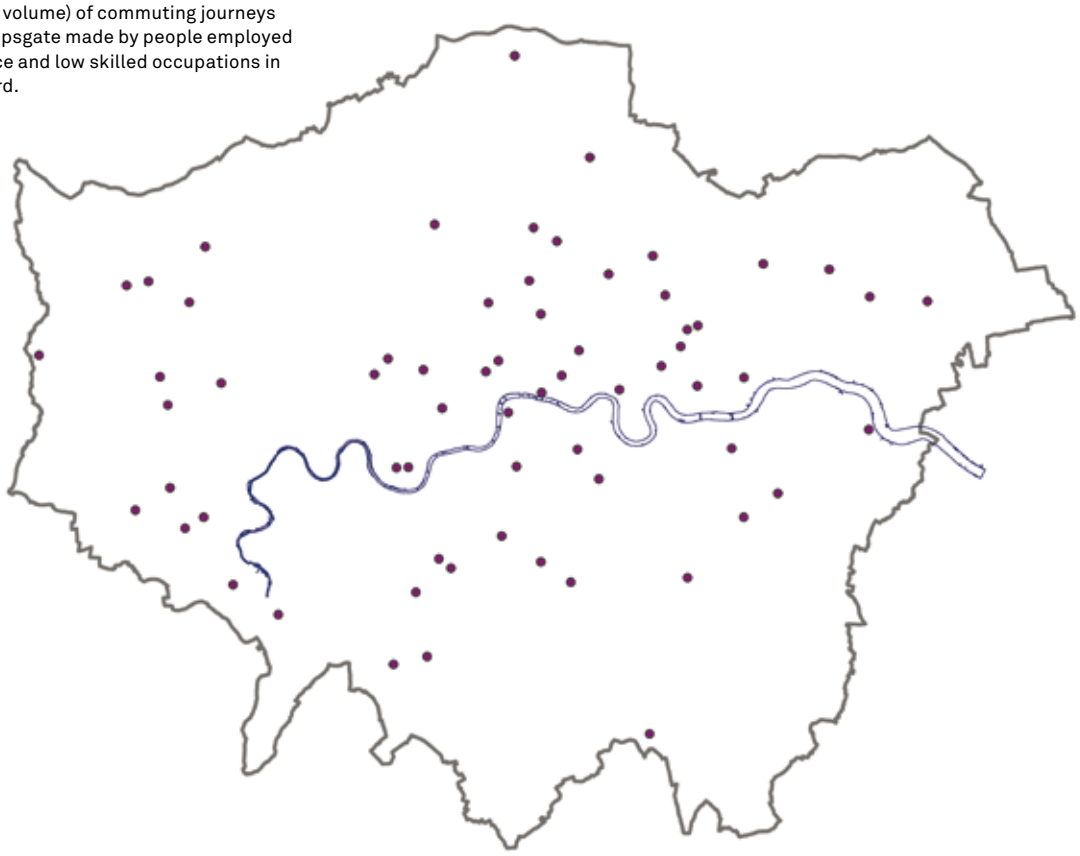
Commuting patterns
At present, a strong boundary condition exists in commuting patterns into the financial district of Bishopsgate. Those who travel to Bishopsgate to work in the low-skilled and service sectors of the local economy make their daily commutes from a dispersed range of areas excluding the most affluent boroughs. Commutes by managers and professional employees into the area are also dispersed with a notable increase in trips from the most affluent areas of west London.

Mapping origin-destination data allows us to gain an insight into how global and local processes overlap and interact. Many of the managers and professionals commuting into Bishopsgate work for firms with a global reach, whilst many of the low-skilled and service sector employees who serve them their morning cappucinos and who clean their offices when they leave work each evening come from all over the globe. Yet many of these low-paid employees are trapped within the constraints of the local employment market (Edwards, 2002: 27).

10 Commuters to Bishopsgate ward by modal split
The graph shows the modal split of commuters to Bishopsgate ward. This is based on Census interaction data and was created by identifying all commuting journeys which terminated in Bishopsgate ward using CIDER's origin-destination matrices. The resulting graph shows the proportion of all commuting journeys terminating in Bishopsgate ward as percentages of the total.



11 Origins of commuting journeys to Bishopsgate ward (2001 Census)
This map shows the origin of the upper 50% (by volume) of commuting journeys to Bishopsgate made by people employed in service and low skilled occupations in that ward.



12 This map shows the origin of the upper 50% (by volume) of commuting journeys to Bishopsgate made by people employed in managerial and professional roles in that ward.

4 Local industries and labour markets – clothing and printing

Spitalfields has been associated with the manufacture of clothing for centuries (Rowe, 1967), an industry which has formed the bedrock of employment for the waves of immigrants to east London since Stuart times (Kershen, 2005). As the map below demonstrates, the employee pool within the clothing industry in Spitalfields and Banglatown is drawn from narrow segments extending north-east through Haggerston, Tottenham and Edmonton along the Lea Valley and east towards Plashet and Ilford.

Although this industry has been in decline in recent decades, the extension of the East London line to Dalston Junction by 2010 should offer employees in the clothing sector much improved transport to and from their places of work.

Within Spitalfields, clothing firms are tightly clustered along Whitechapel Road and Commercial Road, demonstrating the agglomerative nature of this industry (Crewe and Forster, 1993).

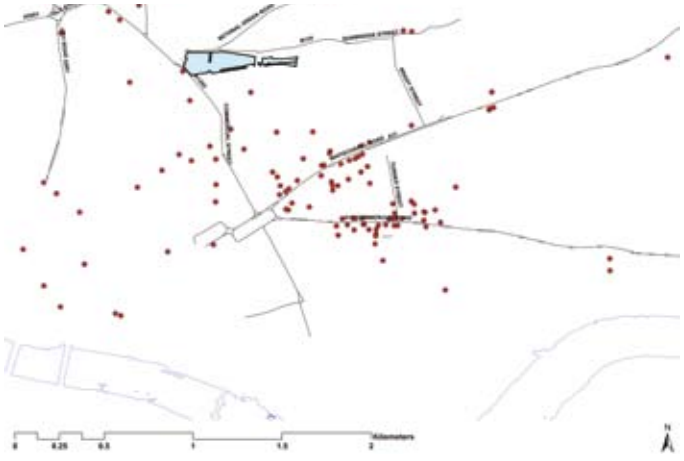
Commuters to Spitalfields & Banglatown employed in the clothing sector

13a This map shows the origin of the upper 50% of commuting journeys (by volume) made by people employed in the clothing industry in Spitalfields and Banglatown ward.

13b The location of the clothing industries in the ward, plotted using ArcMap 9.2.

13a

13b



A much more recent growth industry in the City Fringe area is SME-sized publishing services, as evidenced by a recent report into the importance of this sector to many City firms, with 9% of all UK and 25% of all London publishers located in the City Fringe (LDA, 2004: 18). The employment market for those working in the publishing sector is clearly structured completely differently than in the clothing industry, with employees travelling to work from a much wider area of London. Although house prices have been rising in recent years, publishing firms in the City Fringe still a enjoy considerable cost advantage relative to similar locations (LDA, 2004: 78). It is however imperative that a number of more affordable premises for rent are released into the market to sustain and grow this sector.

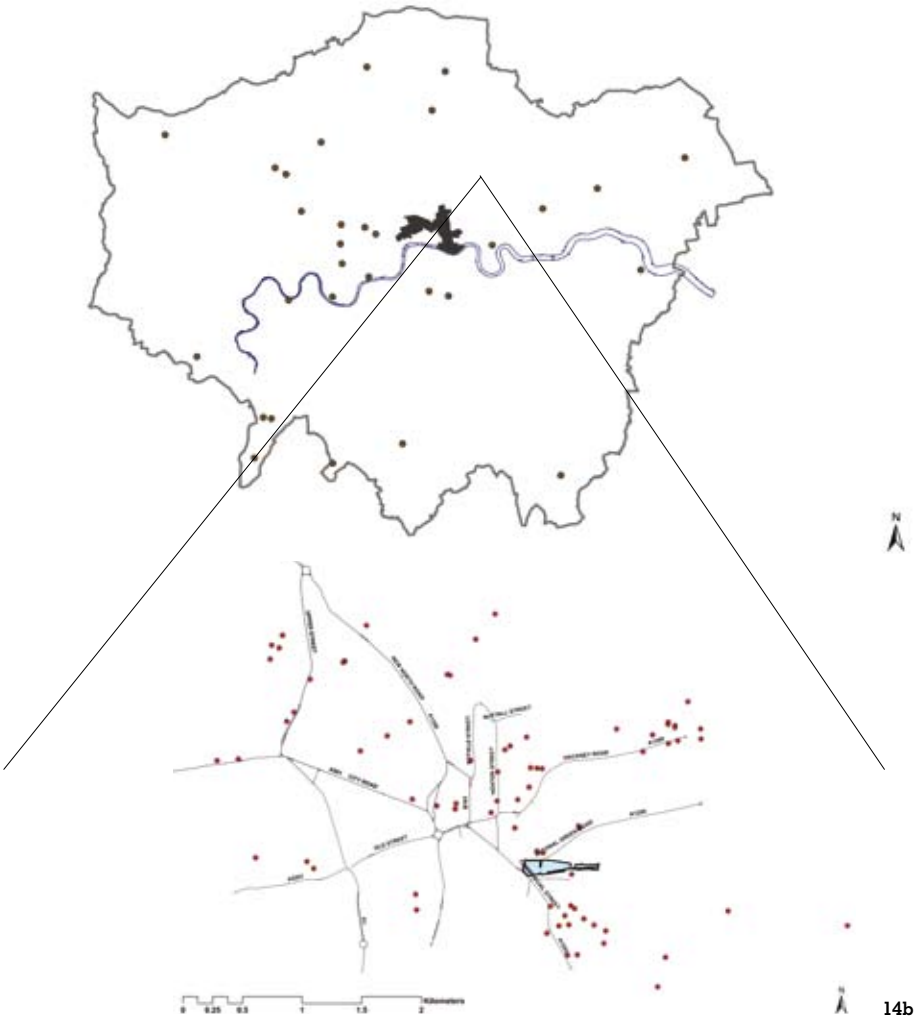
Both of these pillars of the local economy could be consolidated by offering a range of housing types in an area which suffers from a drastic shortage of affordable housing supply (Edwards, 2006), enabling those to stay in the area who may otherwise be pushed out through processes of gentrification.

Commuters to the City Fringe employed in the publishing sector (2001 Census)

14a This map shows the origin of the top 50% of commuting journeys (by volume) to the City Fringe made by people employed in the publishing industry in Spitalfields and Banglatown ward.

14b Map Location of the major publishing firms in the City Fringe, plotted using ArcMap 9.2.

14a



14b

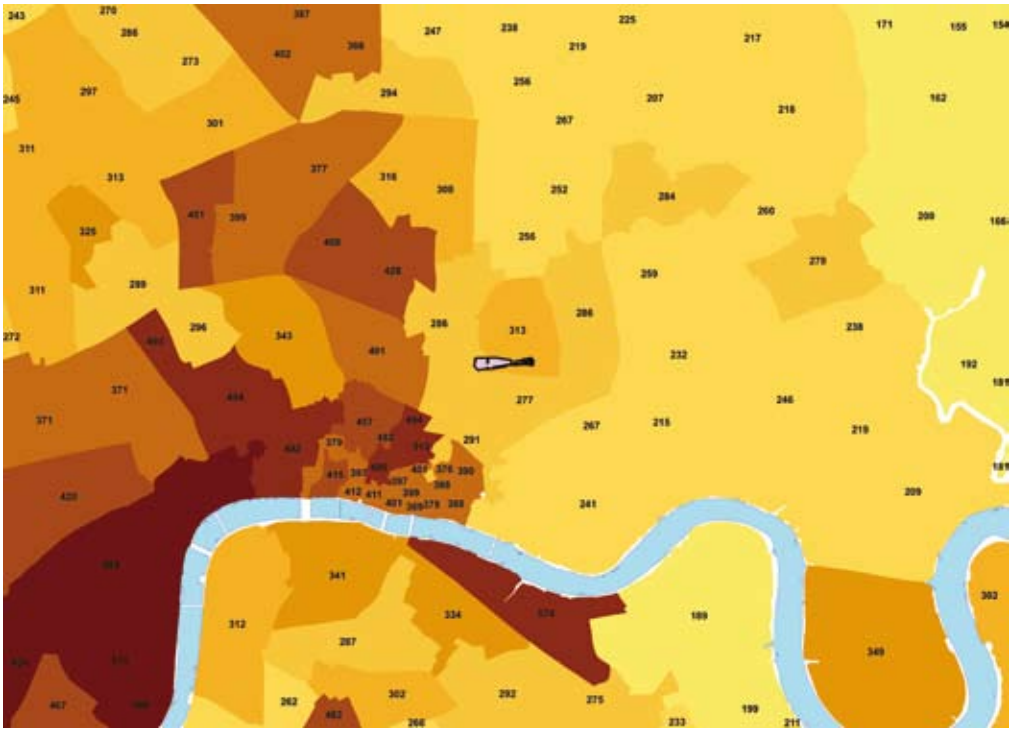
5 The 'back-to-the-fringe' movement of capital
Even if they are not visible, there are innumerable boundaries that separate different zones of people with different experiences of city life and city opportunities. Drawing on Mike Davis' description of Fifth Street in Downtown Los Angeles as "the shortest route between Heaven and Hell in contemporary America", (Goodwin, 1996) described Bishopsgate as an equivalent limit between the City and Spitalfields:

"Indeed, one can, traffic permitting, cross Bishopsgate in a matter of seconds. To the east is Britain's Bangladeshi community and the most deprived ward in London. To the west is Broadgate, the city within a city, the largest single redevelopment seen in the City of London since the Great Fire of 1666, and an international office quarter where some 25000 people a day work, shop and play. If the Broadgate development epitomises the emergence of London as a 'global city', then the poverty and deprivation experienced literally in its shadow in Spitalfields alert us to the huge social disparities that are increasingly evident in such cities" (Goodwin, 1996: 1395).

Liverpool Street Station at 9 am in the morning is a spectacle of lawyers, bankers and businessmen and women beginning their work journeys in a zone of the city containing the skyscrapers and office buildings that are the physical expression of the Square Mile's economic success – or at least, this was the case until the beginning of the current economic crisis. Contemplating the scene, one could define cities as places where people work, produce and accumulate capital; cities as facilitators of economic activity. Yet cities must, primarily, be seen as places where people live: cities are made of streets, parks, libraries, shops, markets, schools, housing.

An alternative view of the city could emerge from the consideration of the city as a profitable business, when the real-estate markets allow it. Cities are never conflict-free zones, since these perceptions of the city can collide and compete for the same spaces. One of the intrinsic conflicts in contemporary cities arises from the fact that, within the capitalist economy, land and its improvements become commodities (Smith, 1996). It could be argued that from a free market perspective this doesn't entail any contradiction per se. The issue of conflict emerges when examining which sectors of the population have access to those improvements. Having the economic power to spend in those exclusive facilities, the wealthiest strands of the population begin to colonise those devalorised areas in which the 'rent gap' is sufficiently wide and where the prospect of making a 'sound investment' is greater (Smith, 1996).

15 GIS Map of the average housing prices (in thousands of £) per postcode in the City Fringe. Personal elaboration.



Gentrification and displacement

It is now widely recognised that 'slum clearance programmes' such as those carried out under Robert Moses in New York City during the 1960s or the current relocation of thousands of people in Shanghai, are unjust and socially unsustainable over the long term. Nevertheless, in western cities, we tend be less critical of market-produced inequalities. Gentrification is particularly pernicious in Western contexts since it epitomises the free-market approach tied to individual property rights. Who could stop a furniture-maker in a dilapidated Georgian house near Spitalfields selling it for a market price to move further to the east along Brick Lane or even further, to Barking? Jane M. Jacobs, (1996) describes such processes of gentrification taking place in Spitalfields during the 1980s. Loretta Lees (2000: 394) claims there is a now second cycle of gentrification driven by investment flows connected to London as a global city. She convincingly argues that "the desires of gentrifiers win out over others because they are willing and able to pay for the privilege". Chris Hamnett shares this view when he links the view of the city as the engine driving gentrification to the transformation of the global economy:

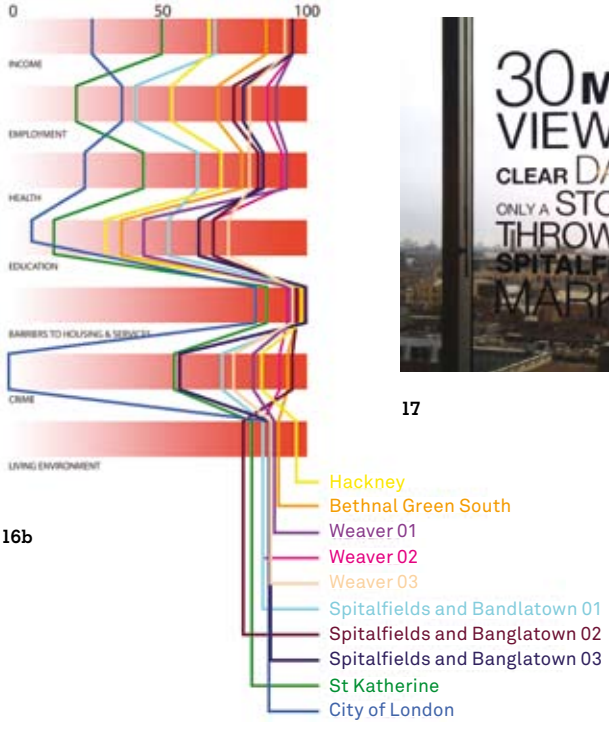
"Gentrification is the social and spatial manifestation of the transition from an industrial to a post industrial urban economy based on financial, business and creative services, with associated changes in the nature and location of work, in occupational class structure, earnings and incomes, life styles and the structure of the housing market" (Hamnett, 2003: 2401).

The maps we produced provide strong evidence that a second wave of gentrification is indeed taking place in the area. On the one hand, current housing prices show that the area near Bishopsgate is becoming increasingly expensive. The traditional sharply-defined limit between east and west London in terms of prices is beginning to blur, with the appearance of new pockets of expensive housing colonising the City Fringe. These data have to be contrasted with the statistics for social deprivation in the area. According to the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (ONS, 2007), Spitalfields and Bishopsgate are amongst the most deprived wards in the UK, especially in terms of 'Barriers to Housing and Services' and 'Living Environment'. These various data support the idea that Bishopsgate is an 'opportunity area' which is attracting capital 'back-to-the-city-fringe'. However, as the boundary of the City threatens to expand further, local people are at greater risk of displacement.

16a–b Indices of Multiple Deprivation in the different wards of the area, showing how the Barriers to Housing and Services and the Living Environment are the indices that rank worst in all cases.

17 Advertisement in the window of the Bishopsgate Tower, property of British Land developers. It reads: '30 mile view on a clear day, but only a stone's throw from Spitalfields Market'.

16a



16b

17

6 Physical Boundaries
In order to understand our project's approach to physical boundaries, it is important to point out the definitional work upon which the project relies – principally by Richard Sennett and Kevin Lynch. The central concept is that of 'boundaries' as linear, fixed, organising features and 'borders' as more open, interactive systems of edge conditions. We studied physical boundaries in terms of historical layers and their impact on the configuration of the current Bishopsgate Goods Yard.

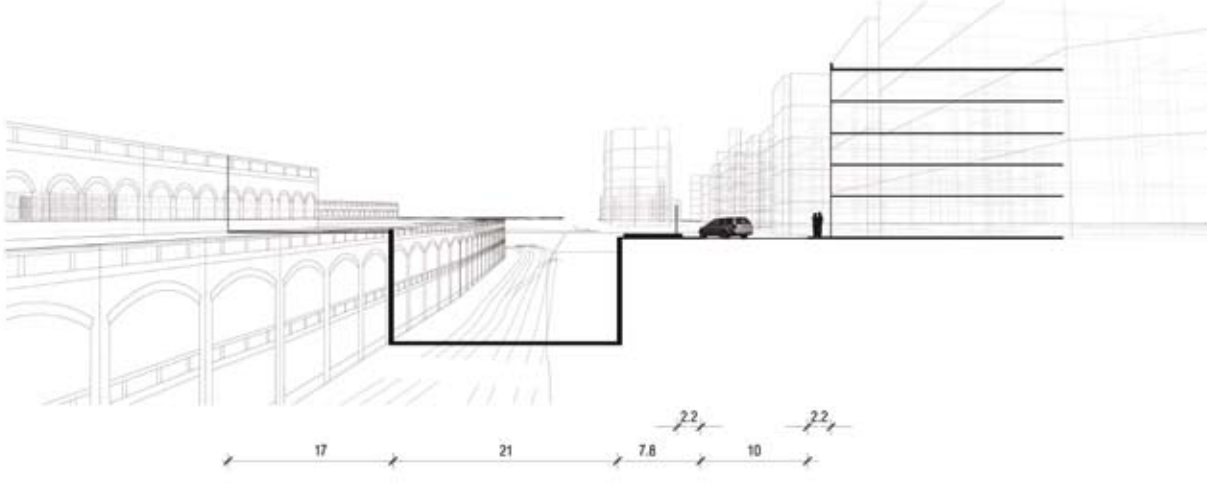
The notions of thickness and discontinuity are two basic concepts that can help us to understand how physical boundaries operate within and transform the site's surroundings. There are several elements that are crucial for understanding the city system, but remain hidden given their underground nature, such as the sewer network which dates from 1865 and was an important infrastructure which collected rain and brown/grey water from the markets. In the same vein, other structures that were once an integral part of a city-wide network are nowadays much more exposed and disruptive. The railways constructed during the second half of the nineteenth century were the focal point of a range of systems which brought above vast improvements in the production and distribution of goods, but at the same time they constitute one of the strongest physical boundaries at the local scale. These infrastructures were added to the city as trenches, severing the existing urban grain, generating an axiomatic impact on the street morphology and in the particular case of Bishopsgate Goods Yard, creating new boundaries between the station and residential areas.

Today, Bishopsgate Goods Yard is isolated and disconnected from the urban fabric as the spatial logic once dictated by the railway infrastructure. It is important to point out the presence of the train tracks from the national railway services, which are hidden underneath the ground level at Shoreditch High Street, but emerge eastbound on Chilton Street. Additionally, aside from the modern day rail tracks that arrive at Liverpool Street Station, a huge void remains from the footprint of what was once the Goods Yard. Transport has been the main focus of the continuous regeneration proposals on the site, but besides the current construction of Shoreditch Station as part of the East London Line extension, none of these initiatives have successfully seen the light of day. As Davis (2008) argues, one of the main reasons that the site remained derelict for so long is that it never fully recovered from the damage caused by the fire of 1964.

18 1916 Ordnance Survey map showing area around Liverpool Street Station and Bishopsgate Goods Station when it was still active
Interventions such as the Broadgate development in the 1980s and the sale of air rights above Liverpool Station rail tracks have patched over the boundaries at ground level.

19 Railway track
Transport Infrastructure such as the railway system which passes Bishopsgate Goods Yard acts as a metropolitan connector at the city-regional scale, as well as an important boundary within the local urban grain. The railway footprint constrains the relation between the two sides of the tracks.

20 Street profile – Quaker Street
Braithwaite Viaduct southern facade. The profile illustrates the urban fabric gap between Bishopsgate and the very first street towards the south.



In addition to the railway tracks and the current void, a third element contributes to the thickened size of the boundary. The collection of residential buildings in the immediate foreground of Bishopsgate Goods Yard increases the thickness of the boundary stressing the disconnection between the neighbourhoods to the north and south. Indeed, a significant amount of residential areas within the south side of the railway tracks are defined as residential cul-de-sac zones, functioning as independent and isolated realms only connected with the northbound areas every 500 metres.

Nevertheless, there are other points at which the boundary becomes more porous, such as the small bridge at Three Colts Corner or the tunnel under the viaduct at Vallance Road. These points of connectivity across the two sides of the boundary are separated by a distance of 500 metres. It is possible that the boundary created by the railway no longer acts as the porous structure it was initially designed to be by John Braithwaite. The engineer's solution was to elevate the railway lines in order to leave the viaduct at ground level, creating porosity. The reality today is that only a few of the arcades can be crossed through dark intimidating tunnels, while the others remain closed.

21 Bishopsgate Goods Yard has three different crossings which act as arteries: from top down, Vallance Road, Brick Lane and Shoreditch High Street.

The Walls: same boundary, different borders
The existing physical boundaries, such as the walls of the viaduct around the site, can be redefined as fulfilling various border conditions. The northern facade houses the vibrant activities of Brick Lane Sunday UpMarket, defined by temporary uses and informal activities taking place along the wall on the sidewalks. At the other end, the southern facade is defined by features that are unlike the northern wall. On the southern wall the boundary's character is enhanced by the railway's presence. On this side the wall not only acts a single physical boundary, but also as a sequence of subsidiary boundaries layered on one another. Housing blocks, railways and voids all merge, creating a significant distance between Bishopsgate Goods Yard and surrounding urban fabric. The informal activities taking place along the northern side of the wall do not exist on this side, stressing the different characteristics of each border.

Current physical boundaries are defined by the overlap of city layers dating from the nineteenth century. The urban fabric has been developed up to the limits of Bishopsgate Goods Yard, showing uneven relations along the north-south and east-west axes. Our principal finding is that the physical boundaries are not composed of single elements, but as an intermingling of city layers contributing to its different degrees of 'thickness'.

22

23

22 & 23 Bishopsgate Goods Yard within the city context. The maps show the difference between the thickness of the boundary before and after the train station closed in 1964.

24 Bishopsgate Goods Yard has been in a constant state of flux, undergoing a series of metamorphoses from an industrial site, to a market depot and currently a place for expanding business enterprises. Historical maps show that Bishopsgate station was once better connected to its surrounding area allowing more activities to occur within its porous structure. Present day analysis of the site shows a thickening boundary that has severed Bishopsgate Goods Yard from its context (Davis, 2008).

7 Political and administrative boundaries around the site

Although many people are unaware of the (invisible) spatiality of political and administrative boundaries, Bishopsgate Goods Yard is intersected by a number of such borderlines, both historic and current.

The parish has been the ancient area of demarcation in Britain since Anglo-Saxon times (Fletcher, 2003: 178). Throughout the medieval and early modern period, the parish was central to the social life of every community, both urban and rural, since it was responsible for the collection of tithes (before the days of formal taxation) and the support of the poor (Fletcher, 2003). People had an intimate spatial relationship with the parish boundary, through the annual 'Rogation Perambulation', which involved the local parish dignitaries patrolling the bounds. The importance of these perambulations declined with the increase in more accurate map-making during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, and the importance of the parish declined accordingly (Fletcher, 2003). Such patrolling of the parish bounds was very much in the style of what Richard Sennett has termed 'urban dramaturgy' and vestiges of such drama can be seen in the informal markets and trading that take place around the boundaries of the site today.

The New Poor Law of 1834 was described by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1963: 171-72) as "the Death of the Parish", since it amalgamated parishes together into larger, more centralised administrative units for the purpose of providing relief to the poor. The map (below right) shows the Poor Law Unions as they stood in 1840 in the vicinity of the site. The Poor Law was created principally out of a desire to classify different categories of the poor in order to separate the 'worthy' from the 'undeserving'. There were large disparities in the treatment meted out by different Unions, depending on their rateable value and existing transient population, meaning that one's birthplace and spatial location assumed a literally life-and-death quality (Brundage, 2002: 118).

The parish has been replaced as the unit of political and administrative governance by a whole series of modern-day divisions, such as Westminster constituencies (for national elections) as well as ward, borough and GLA boundaries (for local and regional government elections). Although contemporary political and administrative boundaries clearly exert less direct influence on people's lives, their presence nonetheless impacts on the development process in more subtle ways. For example, different approaches to development control have led to substantial differences in the urban fabric between those parts of the site bordering the City of London, Tower Hamlets and Hackney. Our proposal recognises the contrasting local planning regimes in operation across the site and responds to the challenges posed by this by phasing the development in a way that maximises the benefits to local residents whilst remaining politically viable.

25 Historic boundaries in the City Fringe
Parish boundaries in central London, c1851
Boundary data accessed via: edina.ac.uk/ukborders/
Historic maps obtained from:digimap.edina.ac.uk/historic/HistoricMap

26 Historic boundaries in the City Fringe
Poor Law Union boundaries in central London, c1840
Boundary data accessed via: edina.ac.uk/ukborders/
Historic maps obtained from:digimap.edina.ac.uk/historic/HistoricMap

Contemporay political and administrative boundaries around the site

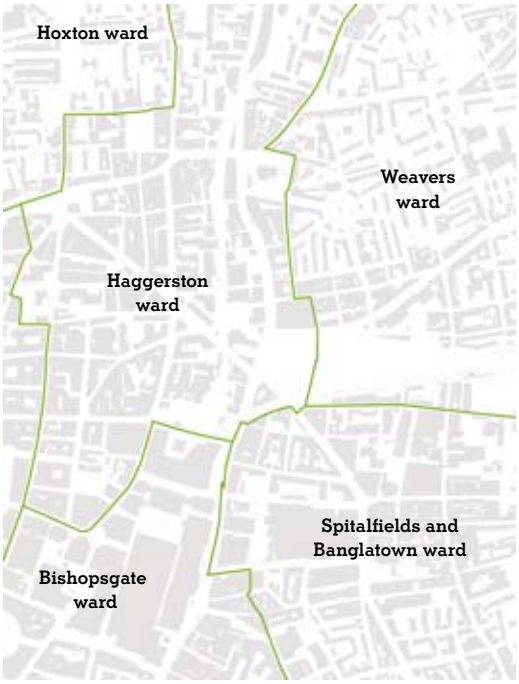
27 This map shows local authority boundaries around the site. These are undoubtedly the most important boundaries in terms of influence exerted on the built environment, with different LAs pursuing divergent planning agendas. For example, the housing market in Tower Hamlets between 1987-2006 was much more volatile than in Hackney in terms of proportion of housing completions to construction starts (Housing Provision in London Annual Monitoring Report 2005/06).

29 This map shows Greater London Authority boundaries. At the last GLA elections in May 2008, both the City & East and North East constituencies were won comfortably by Labour. However, the GLA elections offer the opportunity for parties outside the political mainstream (such as the Greens) to gain election through Proportional Representation (Rallings and Thrasher, 2000: 756).

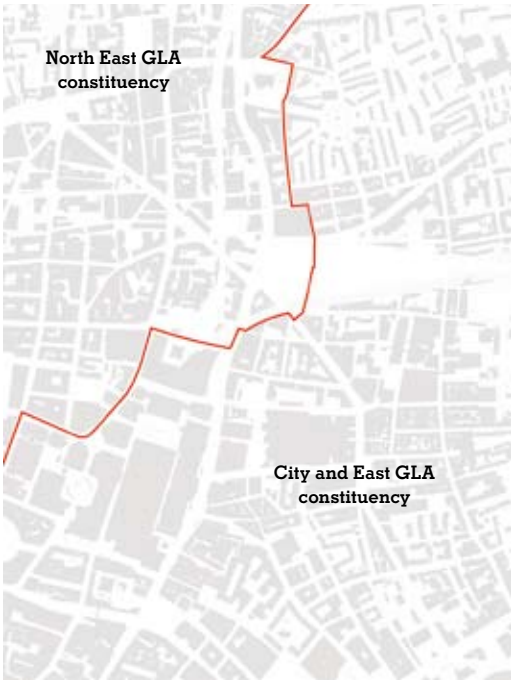
28 This map shows ward boundaries around the site. Wards are the basic 'building blocks' of local government and significant boundary changes occurred in London in 1999, meaning that elector-councillor ratios in Tower Hamlets were reduced from 22.5 to 10.4 and in Hackney from 10.0 to 5.5. This should, in theory, lead to greater democratic equality in the value of each vote cast (Rallings et al, 2004: 1367).

30 This map shows Parliamentary constituency boundaries. Hackney South voted Labour at the last election, George Galloway (Independent) took Bethnal Green and Bow, and the City voted Tory. Ward & John (1999) have shown that marginals such as Bethnal Green are allocated up to £500 million annually in extra grant from central government, a factor which can greatly influence the development policy of planning departments.

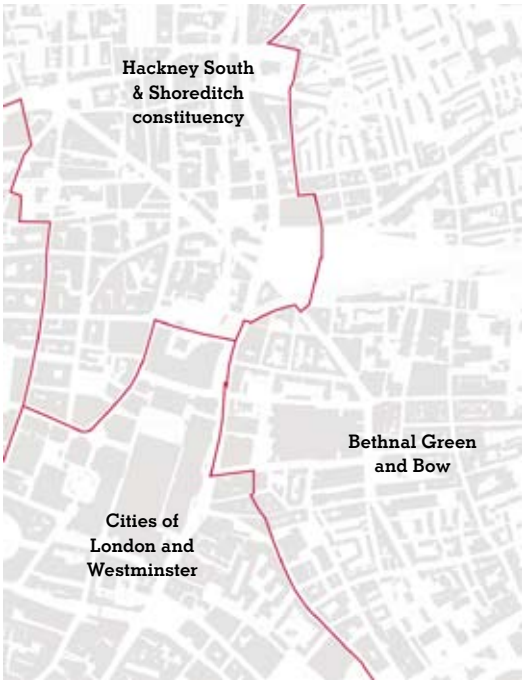
27



28



29



30

VISION: WEAVING THE CITY FRINGE

The City operates differently according to its different users, meaning that the Bishopsgate area offers competing narratives. One is of the weekend market activities. Another is of the city being used by local people, including tenants of the social housing estates. The two are barely integrated and the spaces used by one group are often avoided by the other. The following images help us to understand these two narratives of the area.

One can stroll around the traditional high streets of the area: Shoreditch High Street and Whitechapel Road have traditionally supported the local network of retail, small shops and informal activity, since they constituted the radial paths used to enter the City of London in medieval times through Aldgate. During the weekend, the commercial life of the area is transformed. The 'trendy shopping itinerary' begins at Aldgate, continues through Middlesex Street, Commercial Street and Brick Lane. It weaves the urban fabric of the informal market of Petticoat Lane, the more formalised and strongly gentrified stalls of Spitalfields, and the informal activities around Brick Lane. If one maintains the straight direction without going off course to Cheshire Street, it is possible to cross Bethnal Green Road and end one's journey at the Flower Market at Columbia Road, having bought some vintage clothes, eaten some international food on the go, and now carrying a bunch of daffodils.

During the weekends, the non-regulated stalls with second-hand tools, antique furniture or mobile phones of dubious provenance colonise the streets, but not randomly. The informal vendors choose those streets which support the majority of small businesses. Because of their fine urban grain, Bethnal Green, Whitechapel Road and the north part of Shoreditch High Street, as well as Brick Lane, support a consolidated web of small shops that are very important for the local economy of the area.

In contrast, the other perception of the area, the city of the social housing estates, follows a radically different logic. Following the bomb damage of the Second World War, the London County Council (LCC) replaced the old terraced houses – vividly described by Young and Willmot (1947) – by housing estates that were built in different phases. This lapse of time between buildings is still visible today, with the social housing estates being completely separate from one another, and lacking an articulated system of public spaces.

31 Map of London (c1804) showing the convergence of important routes into and out of central London.
Personal elaboration based on the Map of 1804.
Source: Foxell, 2007.

32a–b Shoreditch High Street, Whitechapel Road and Bethnal Green Road have historically constituted the main routes into and out of the Bishopsgate area.

32a

32b

33 The ‘shopping itinerary’ on weekends connects the major High Streets and generates a series of routes that are used by people to move from one market to another. Market activities happen along Brick Lane, Petticoat Lane, Commercial Street and Middlesex Street.

34 Current social housing blocks are disconnected and have very few activities at ground floor level, other than residential. This is a fragmented piece of city, built by pockets of open blocks, which lack a coherent logic to articulate the open space between them.

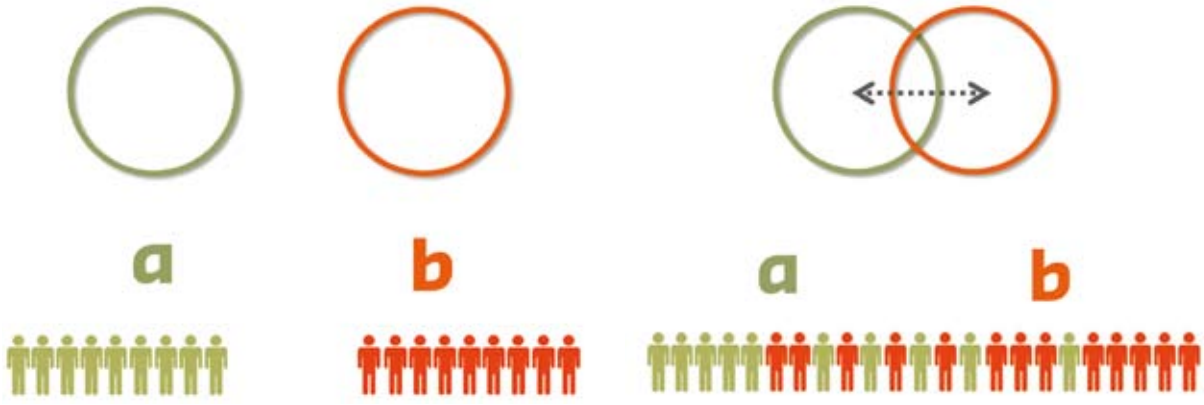
Bishopsgate as a border

Given the fragmentation of the site, our project seeks to improve the existing connections through the use of the viaduct as a focal point, articulating a new high quality public space. Our project recognises the vital importance of public realm as well as the buildings that surround it. Drawing on Sennett's (2008) description of closed and open systems; borders and boundaries; cell walls and cell membranes; porosity and resistance; we sought to transform the viaduct into a central public space. Placed at the limit between different political divisions, the viaduct has acted, until now, as a boundary. By removing the walls of the construction site, opening the arcades and filling them with the elements of our programme, and finally leaving the space released as an open surface in which different activities can happen, our proposal will create the conditions necessary for Bishopsgate to become an active border.

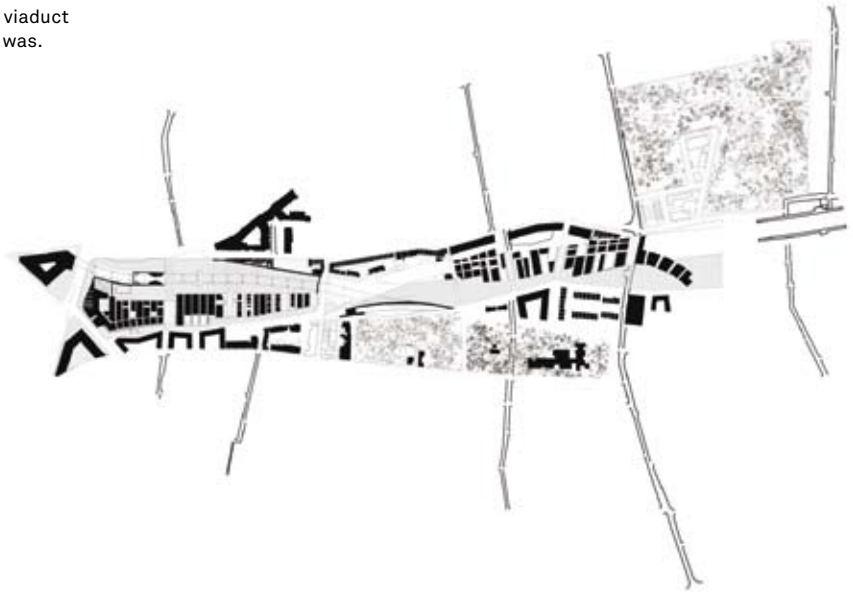
By observing the fine grain of Brick Lane, we realised that the size of the arcades was ideal for accommodating a double row of retail and local business served by a corridor. Leaving the viaduct as open as possible and suggesting only a few permanent structures, without falling into the trap of over-determining every single use, may contribute to the function of the viaduct as a centre for people to meet. Just as in natural ecologies, where the cell wall impedes the entrance of certain substances and the membrane lets flows in and out selectively (Sennett, 2008), our proposal provides a strategy for transforming Bishopsgate into a dynamic border zone.

36 The scattered housing blocks are poorly connected to the existing high streets

35 Permeable borders create active zones of interaction and exchange (Sennett, 2008)



37 The proposal aims to restore the viaduct to the porous structure that it once was.



38 Part of our vision aims to create an open public space both within the viaduct and along it, providing public amenities and small commercial activities. It seeks to connect the linear space to the existing high streets and the two parks. Finally, it intends to articulate the spaces between the social housing estates, reinforcing a series of north-south connections.

39 The narrow spaces left between the walls of the viaduct are the optimal size for supporting small scale activities that have the potential to generate a vibrant setting at ground floor level. Passages across the viaduct will encourage this activity.

40 The strategy seeks to concentrate the activity at the intersection between the north and the south, converting the railway – boundary – into an active space – i.e. a border.

PROPOSAL

In developing our proposal for intervention, we recognise the importance of site-specific constraints as well as the opportunities offered by this uniquely situated infrastructure. Our project addresses interventions across a range of spatial and temporal scales.

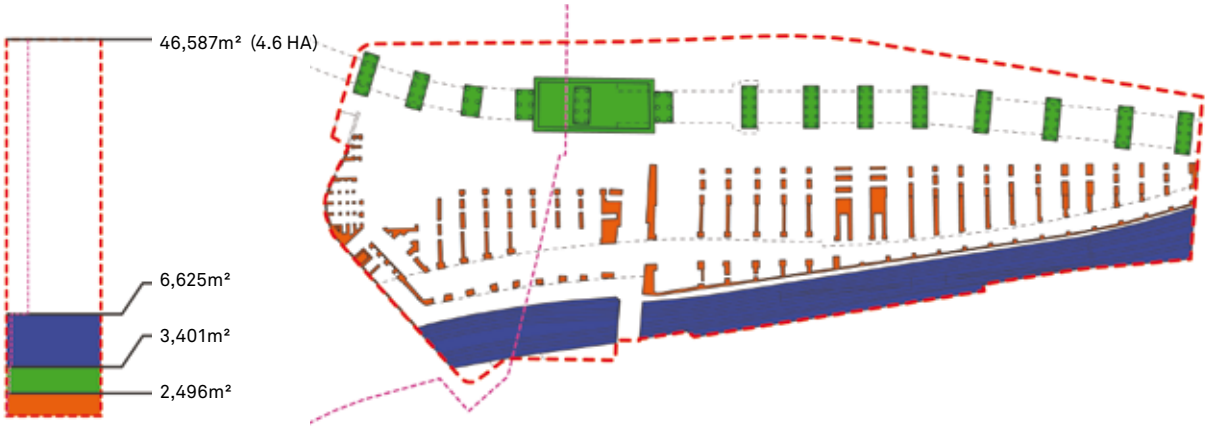
1 Analysis of site constraints

The site is constrained by the existing Braithwaite Viaduct and the newly constructed East London Line extension. The Braithwaite Viaduct is a listed structure under English Heritage guidelines, meaning that the viaduct cannot be demolished and any alterations must maintain the 'nature and character' of the original quality of the structure (English Heritage). The viaduct occupies 40% of the site reducing the space available for new construction. However, at ground level new programmes can be accommodated between the existing structural walls of the viaduct. Additionally, the upper level of the viaduct can support new construction (up to a maximum of six storeys).

Furthermore, the buildable area of the site is limited by the site's dual role as a transportation hub with the new East London Line extension (ELLX). Although the ELLX is designed to accommodate an additional structural load for future development above the concrete structure, the railway line acts as a physical boundary between Bethnal Green Road and the site. The foundation of the ELLX restricts ground level development and creates an under-passage space in which new programmes would have to conform to the foundation column structures. Additionally, there are other infrastructural constraints created by transportation growth within the site. These physical constraints create challenges in terms of the space available for construction; thus, new development must adapt itself to the existing condition of the site.

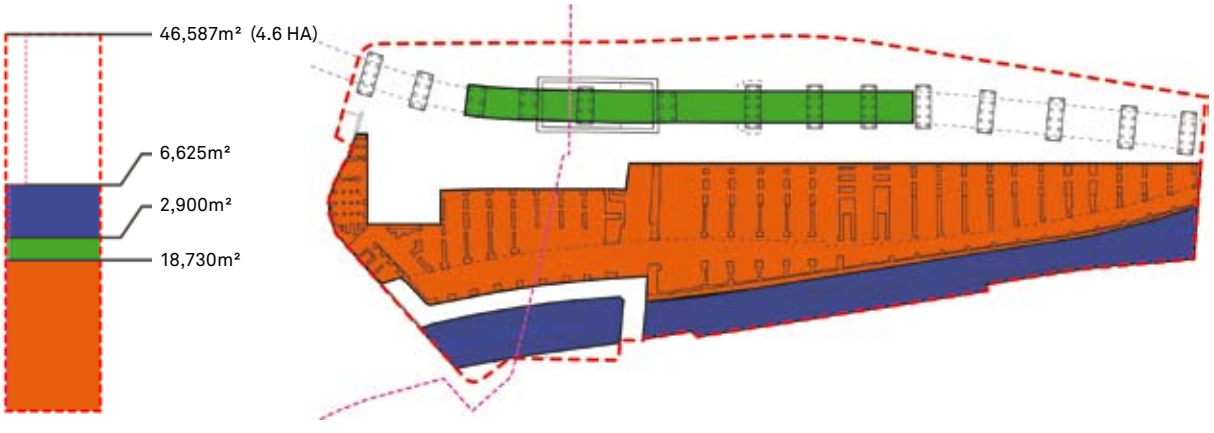
41 Ground level plan showing the structural constraints due to the foundation columns of the ELLX, structural walls of the viaduct and lower level railway.

42 Upper level plan demonstrating the available space for new development. As shown, the viaduct can accommodate up to 40% buildable area.



Ground Level Capacity

41



Above Ground Level Capacity

42

43a Site boundary with physical constraints.

43b Network Rail suburban line tunnel adjacent to the mainline cut. Potential remodel of the tunnel for 'vehicular surface loading proposed by the development' (Knowlton and Law, 2007).

43a

43b

43c Mainline cut below level of Network Rail lines from Liverpool Street Station.

43d Central Line (London Underground) cuts through the ELLX at proposed platform location.

43c

43d

43e Communication tunnel (BT) along a north-south axis though Wheeler Street.

43f The potential addition of an 8-track rail line, originating from Liverpool Street. It is intended that the tracks will accommodate additional transportation capacity if Crossrail is not implemented. New construction must make provision for the tracks.

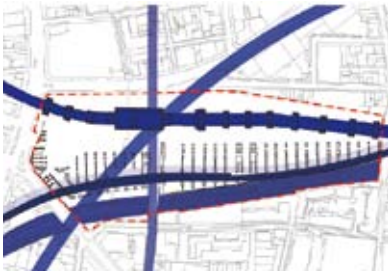
43e

43f

43g East London Line extension to accommodate two tracks.

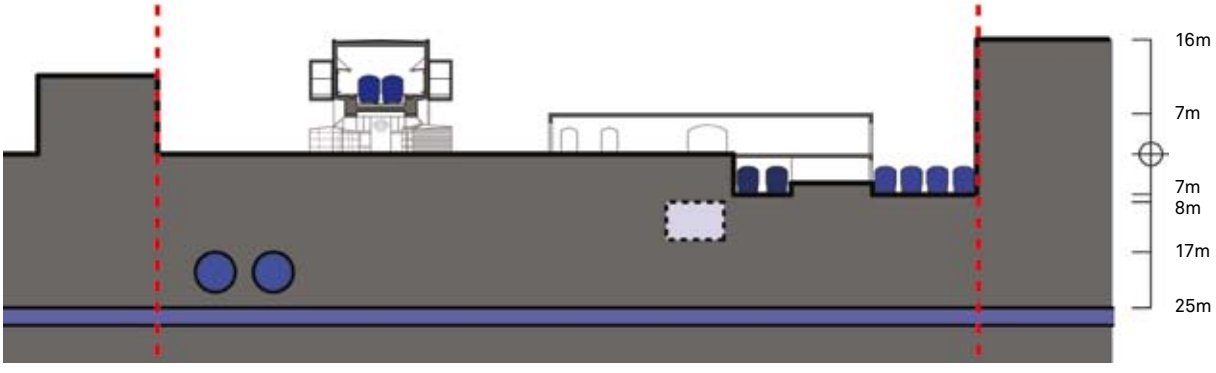
43h The consideration of transportation infrastructures demonstrating the constraints for new developments.

43g



43h

44 The section shows the culmination of various infrastructure constraints and height limitations within the site. The majority of these infrastructures are transportation related.



2 Project Outline

Through our analysis of Bishopsgate Goods Yard and its environs, we have demonstrated that the site acts as a restrictive boundary by creating a dichotomy, characterised on one side by private enterprise and on the other by local communities. Additionally, over the course of time, the site has been developed and managed as a transportation hub which does not take into account the surrounding neighbourhood context.

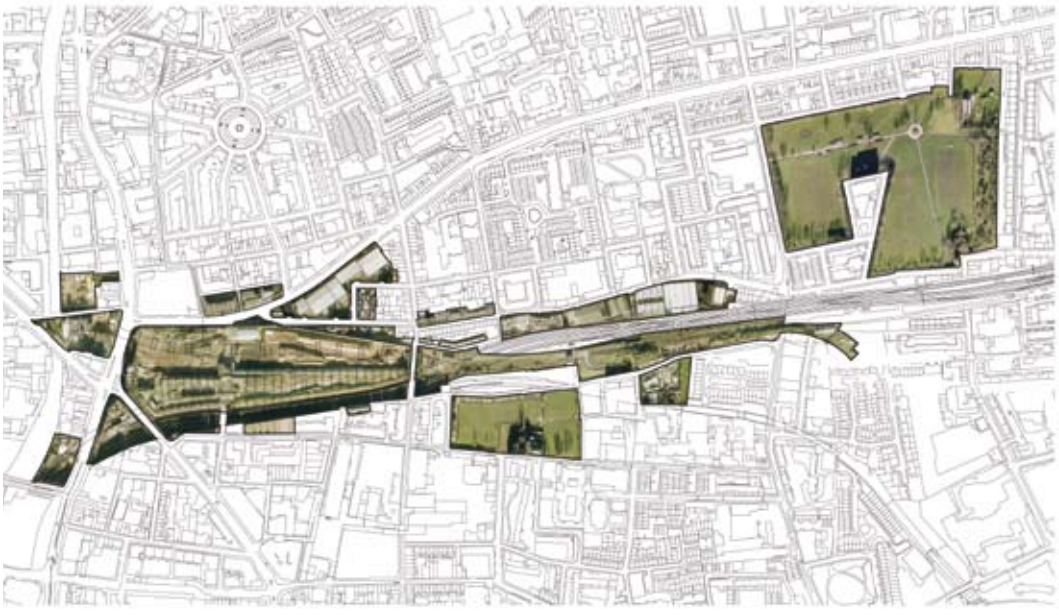
The vision for this project is to realise Sennett's interpretation of a border by using Bishopsgate Goods Yard as the starting point for regeneration. We maintain that in order to produce a holistic design and inclusive approach to planning and development of the site, we have to move beyond both a 'split-model of development' – focusing on current market trends for commercial developments of strategic sites – and a contrasting focus on the 'centrality' of community development. The development of the surrounding context of the site is important to the long-term success of the vision and the programmes being introduced at Bishopsgate Goods Yard.

According to Sennett (2008) '[emphasising]...the centre leads the designer...to neglect the edge condition, treating it as inert, lifeless – one version of the boundary [as a site of potential] exchange between different racial, ethnic, or class communities is diminished'. Thus, our vision takes the plots adjacent to Bishopsgate Goods Yard as an edge condition to be integrated into our project.

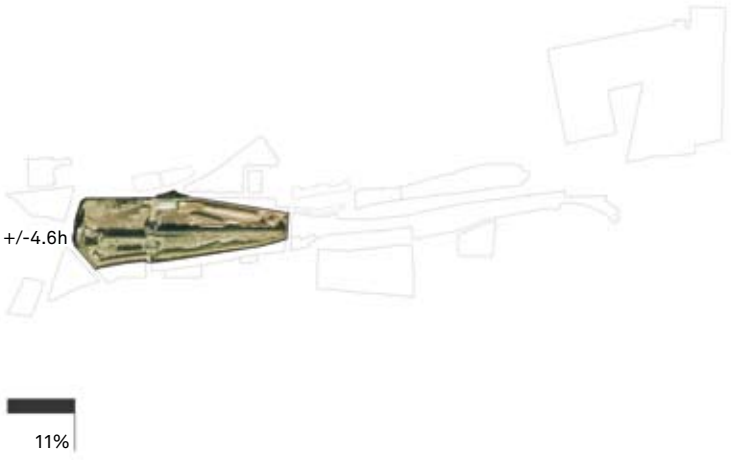
Each phase of the project will focus on the following goals:

- Providing housing within the City Fringe, with 50% being affordable housing.
- Allowing densification and higher building heights around the site as appropriate.
- Creating a sense of place and highlighting the proximity of the site to the City of London.
- Providing public amenities at both the local scale and allowing for a wider metropolitan connection.
- Creating adaptable programmes that can change according to the needs of the area.

45 Phase 1: Project Site
We chose these plots strategically for development and regeneration due to their adjacency to the Bishopsgate Goods Yard. It is intended that the regeneration of these plots will help enhance and create a better public realm and living environment for the neighbourhood.

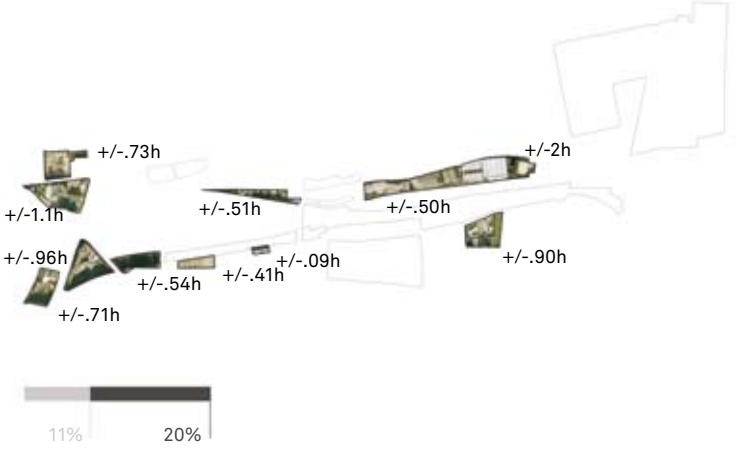


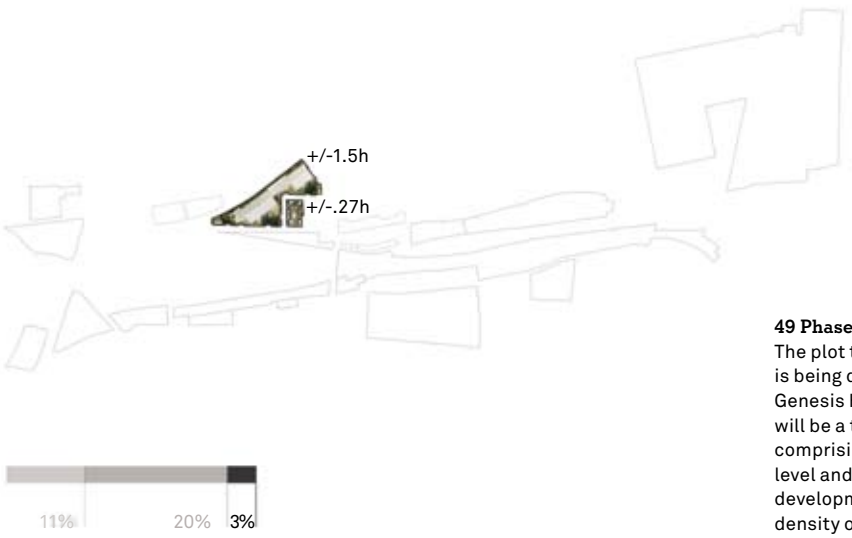
46 It is envisioned that Phase One will focus on the development of Bishopsgate Goods Yard. The preservation of the Braithwaite Viaduct is a part of this phase as well as the construction of public amenities and housing (comprising mixed tenure). The development of BGY is only 11% of the total development area per hectare.



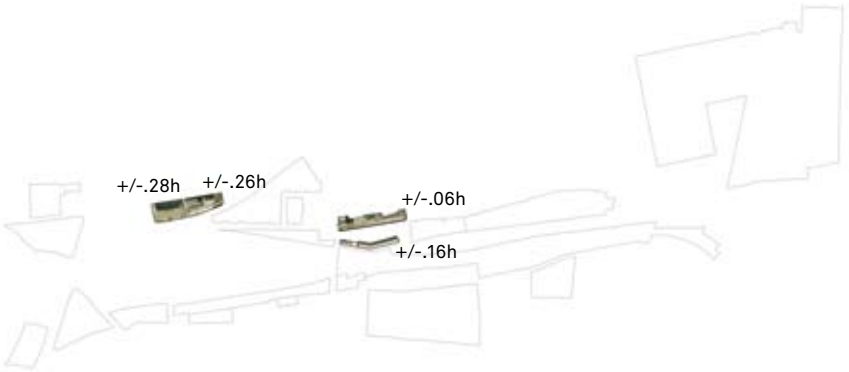
47 Consultation area which includes Bishopsgate Goods Yard and adjacent urban blocks to the south of Commercial Road, west of Shoreditch High Street, and east of the site towards Weavers Fields. This area includes existing development as well as listed buildings.

48 In order for BGY to be fully integrated into its environment, it is necessary to develop the adjacent plots to increase the density of the area through the creation of public amenities and housing to support the activities at BGY.

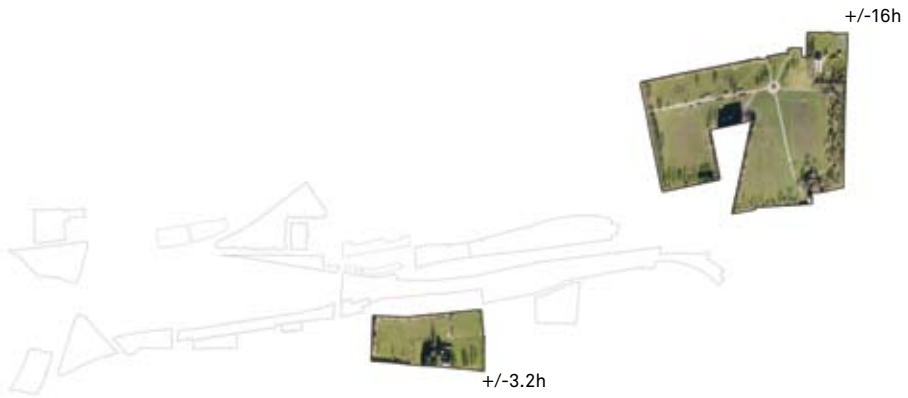


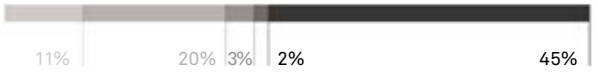


49 Phase 2: The Supportive Surroundings
The plot to the north on Bethnal Green Road is being developed by Telford Homes and Genesis Housing Group. The development will be a twenty-four storey block comprising commercial retail at ground level and mixed tenure housing above. This development will substantially increase the density of the area.

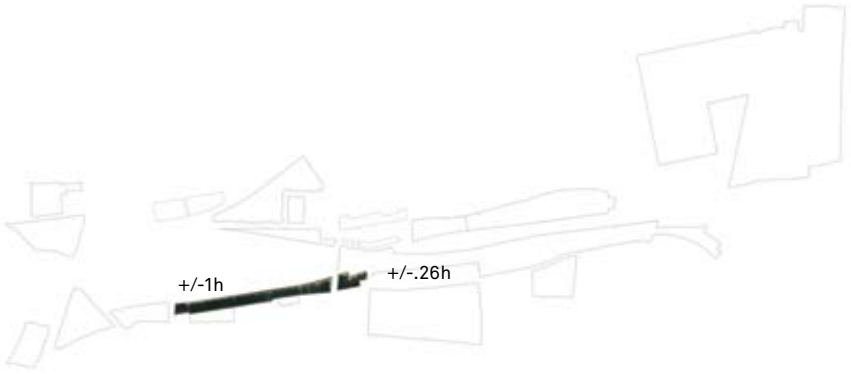


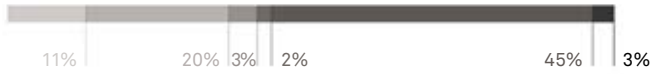
50 These plots include listed buildings as well as buildings that are deemed to be of historical importance. We intend to maintain these buildings to strengthen the character of the neighbourhood.



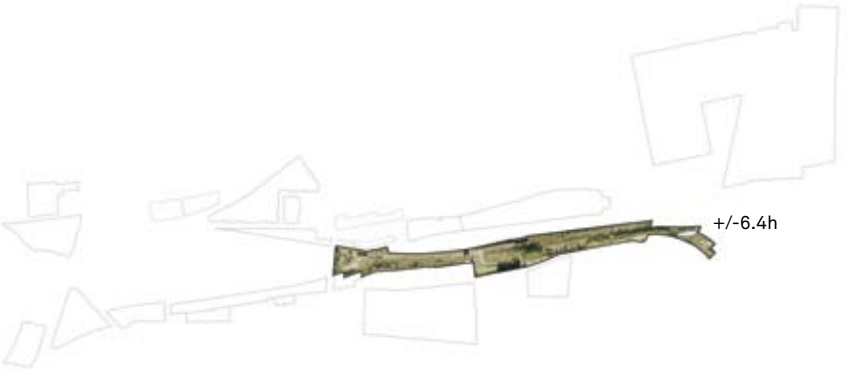


51 Allen Gardens to the south and Weavers Fields to the northeast will be regenerated to create quality open space that will link to the leisure facilities at BGY making an urban itinerary that will extend beyond Shoreditch High Street.

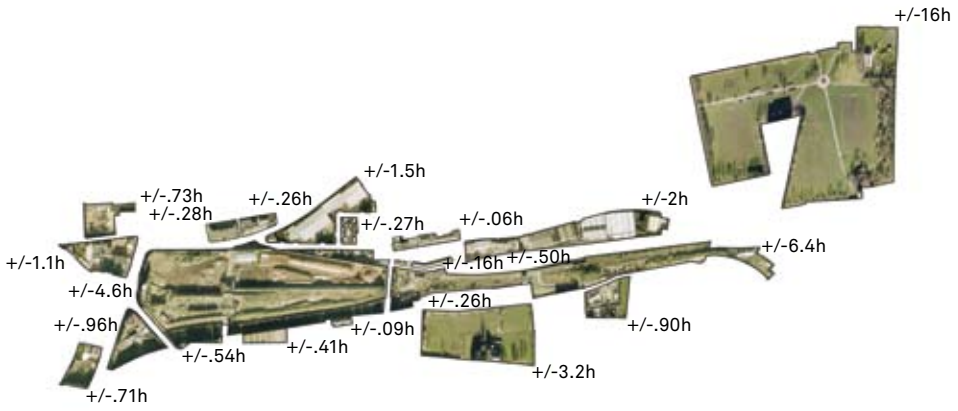




52 It is anticipated that the mainline cut for the undergroundl rails will be covered in the future for potential construction of amenities.



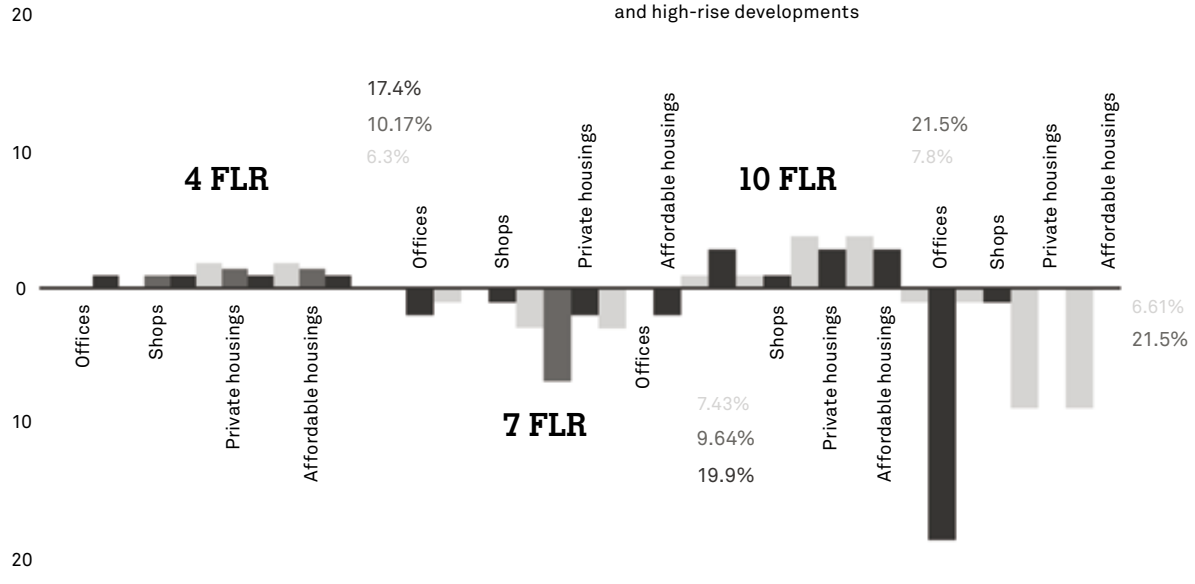
53 This plot contains an overground rail platform and has the potential to be developed into a linear park that could create a connection between BGY and Weavers Fields to the east.



54 The totality of the project and how it culminates in the development and regeneration of the wider area.

3 Urban densification
We used a Net Present Value calculator to create a number of development scenarios involving a mix of residential, office and commercial construction. In the present economic circumstances, we discovered that, from a developer's perspective, it would be almost as profitable to build a medium-rise development focused on residential units (17.4% Rate of Return – ROR) as a typical high-rise office dominated development (21.5% ROR).

55 Calculated rates of return for medium and high-rise developments



Alternative development models
Having established the viability of an alternative development model, we then sought out real world examples upon which to model our proposal. One of the most interesting contemporary alternative developments in London is on the South Bank. The Coin Street story both encapsulates and diverges from the pattern of the central London development cycle. The eight sites totalling 5.2 ha which make up the Coin Street development were the subject of numerous large scale office proposals from the early 1970s (Tuckett, 1988: 249). Largely due to the serendipitous combination of an economic climate not conducive to grand projets (such as Richard Rogers' plans for 92,500m² of offices) and the support of the Labour-controlled Greater London Council, the mega-developers' plans for the area were staved off. In the words of Tuckett, "pigs were now flying over Coin Street." In July 1984, the GLC sold the site at a vastly reduced price to a consortium of community groups which coalesced and became known as 'Coin Street Community Builders'. CSCB's slogan, 'There is Another Way' came to stand for the possibility of an alternative to urban regeneration beyond the 'clean sweep' approach offered by the major developers (Brindley, 2000: 365). Within two decades, this derelict former industrial area had been transformed into one of London's most desirable neighbourhoods, with an unconventional, cross-subsidising mix of social housing, retail and a gourmet restaurant. At present, four housing co-operatives provide a range of family accommodation for around 1,000 people.

However, as the development cycle turns full circle once again, cracks have appeared in the previously united front presented by CSCB. Baeten, (in Imrie et al (eds.), 2009: 238) argues that the South Bank Employers' Group (SBEG) which began as merely one of the consortia representing local interests in the mid-1980s, now acts as the conduit for "corporate-friendly organisations and partnerships that have installed a non-oppositional, post-political, non-democratic regime of regeneration." Resistance to the pragmatists' vision that the only way to safeguard the future viability of Coin Street lies in the commercially-oriented Doon Street development has become apparent. The current situation is eerily reminiscent of the heyday of the Canary Wharf development; indeed the head of the SBEG has a blunt vision for Coin Street:
"The total opportunity here is on the scale of Canary Wharf in the first phase. People have not really grasped that. If you look at the actual developments and the potential developments in the draft Waterloo Development Framework then there is huge potential" (Baeten, in Imrie et al (eds.), 2009: 253).

Coin Street demonstrates that although 'another way' is possible, the question is, 'For how long?'

56a

56b

Principal design features of Coin Street, South Bank
Source www.coinstreet.org/

56a Aerial view of the Coin Street site, with proposed Doon Street development superimposed.

56b The iconic Oxo Tower development, comprising residential units, artists' studios, a top-floor restaurant and the offices of CSCB.

56c Coin Street neighbourhood centre, providing childcare, conference facilities, local business support and after-school activities.

56d The Iroko housing co-op, completed in 2001, provides a range of family homes (up to five bedrooms) at high densities (68 dwellings per ha / 332 habitable rooms per ha).

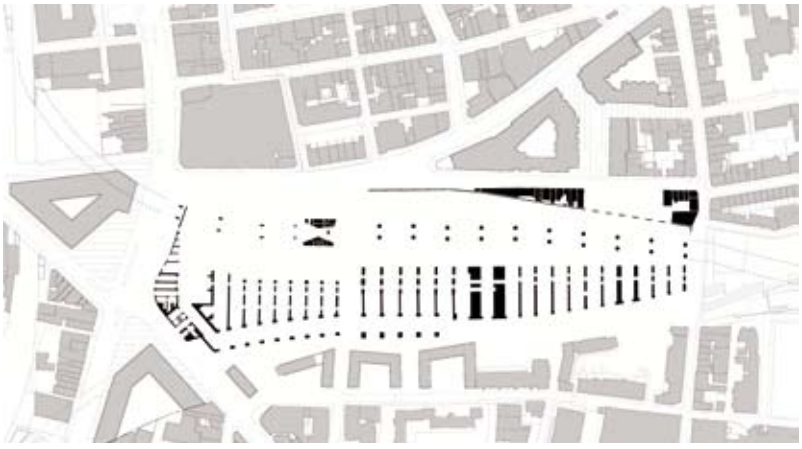
56c

56d

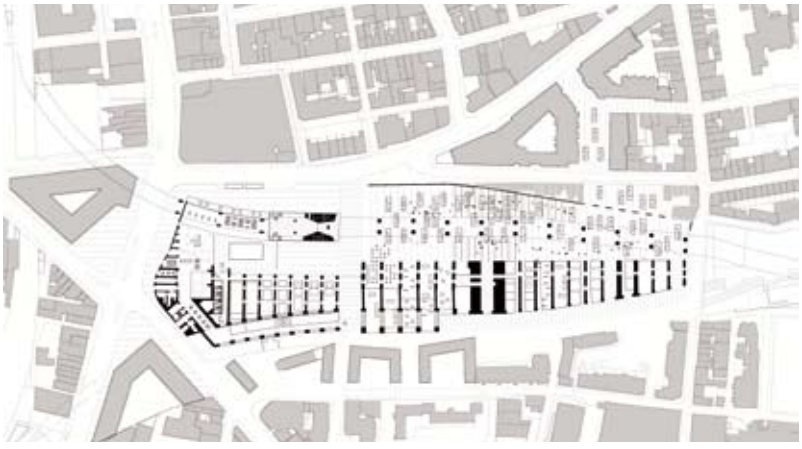
4 Spatial strategy
How we deciphered the relationship between social needs and market demands on the one hand, and physical form and potential programmes on the other, is essential to understanding the project's approach to public space.

We stress the need for public space for people, not just for those who can afford it but for those who cannot choose due to lack of opportunities, barriers to individual development, and poor socio-economic conditions. Therefore a proportion of housing and jobs is intended to be public-allowance-based. Our main purpose is to frame the conditions needed to improve local people's capabilities through the inclusion of local businesses and spaces for leisure and affordable facilities. Public space serves different users' needs, therefore, our project's awareness of commuters' demands arising from the ELLX is addressed through the inclusion of complementary market-oriented businesses, expanding the current Sunday UpMarket activities taking place on Brick Lane.

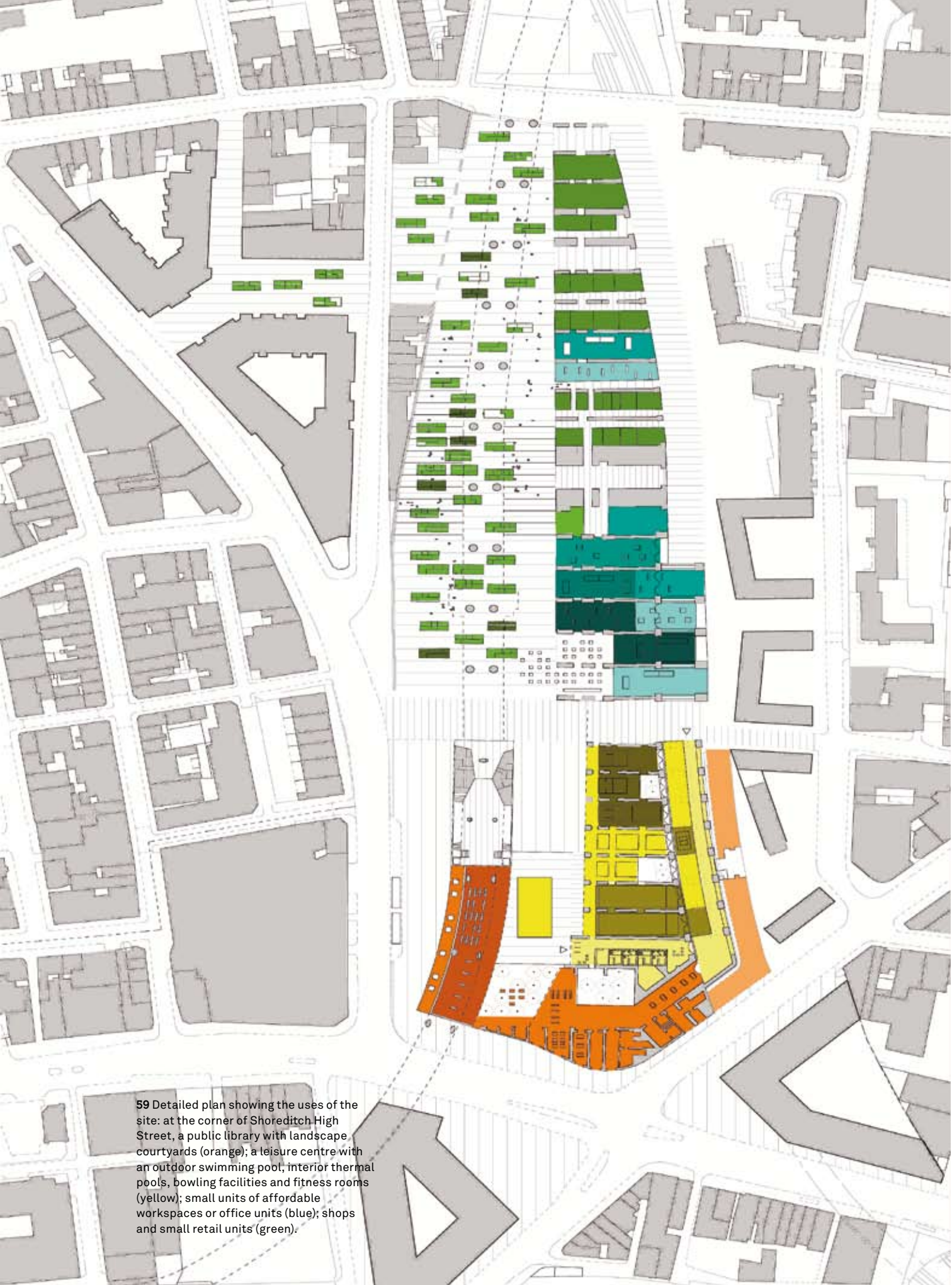
The physical relationship draws on the revitalisation and refurbishment of the abandoned viaduct for the enhancement of local people's facilities. In general, the key concepts we used for the public realm were variety and multiuse. We recognise that the provision of affordable housing is essential to reduce social inequalities, therefore, together with the construction of new units above the viaduct, the project is based on a strong reformulation of the ground floor, enabling local entrepreneurs to run small-scale businesses. Together, these programmes cater to the housing and employment needs of a broad range of people and users. On the west side of the viaduct facilities such as a leisure/cultural centre are expected not only to weave the urban grain, but also to intermingle different users and commuters through public open programmes.



57 Scheme showing the structural walls of the Braithwaite Viaduct at ground floor level.



58 Plan showing the possible appropriation of the existing structure with formal programmes that include a leisure centre and a library, and more informal activities such as weekend markets with temporary stalls.



59 Detailed plan showing the uses of the site: at the corner of Shoreditch High Street, a public library with landscape courtyards (orange); a leisure centre with an outdoor swimming pool, interior thermal pools, bowling facilities and fitness rooms (yellow); small units of affordable workspaces or office units (blue); shops and small retail units (green).

Public space and densification

Our proposal aims to significantly densify the surrounding context. The area of operation comprises the existing urban fabric suitable for residential intensification together with the construction of new programmes in areas which were underused or defined by the proximity of rail tracks and massive negative externalities caused by dilapidated infrastructure. The project's strategy attempts to gather a suitable critical mass of residential and floating population that can support the public realm operations at Bishopsgate.

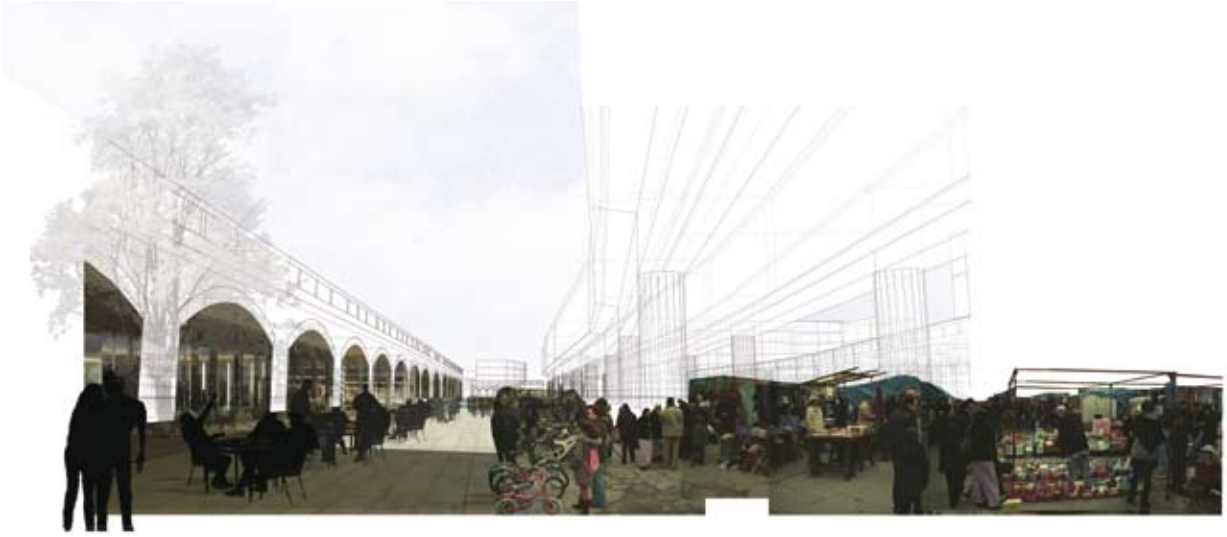
Besides the substantial densification of Bishopsgate's borders, the proposal consists of residential units mixing public and private development above the viaduct's structure. We envisage that these units could house a wide range of users along the viaduct's east wing. This structure allows the construction of up to six additional storeys above the viaduct's slab, thus, the project is developed combining 11 metre-wide typologies according to what the existing brick wall structure dictates. The buildings erected above the slab create space for the use of public gardens and open-air sports facilities, such as tennis courts or lawn bowls. On the ground floor the spaces will be set aside for commercial, leisure and small business activities. Shops, kiosks, training-skills workshops and businesses intermingle with each other, creating a 'fishbone' configuration amongst the viaduct's transversal brick walls. The aim is not just the reactivation of the interior arcades but also the creation of an inside-out porous ground level realm connected to a flexible exterior space. In physical terms, the inclusion of new programmes attempts to weave the urban fabric in all directions, making Bishopsgate act no longer as a boundary between north and south, but rather as a border of activities. In social terms, the public realm is understood as a place of inclusion for existing residents of different ethnicities and ages and new people coming from other parts of the city.

60a-b Plan and section of the residential units to be built above the viaduct. Given the 13m wide span of the structure, the units should contain duplexes and follow the same orientation. They could have private terraces and share a common space at ground level.

61 General elevation of the Braithwaite Viaduct: the residential units should be up to four storeys high, because the 13m distance between blocks does not allow for higher buildings if natural lighting is to be admitted. The space between buildings could be shared by the residents of the surrounding blocks. The disposal of private terraces always facing the south-east orientation would grant a certain degree of intimacy in the exterior spaces between housing units. Special attention should be given to the design of residential typologies in an area in which there exists poor quality housing stock and there is evidence for overcrowding.

24/7 Sport facilities and public amenities
After studying different possible public programmes, our proposal for public space is defined by the creation of sport amenities and the understanding that these types of facilities are places that can enhance people's quality of life. The core programmes for the sport facilities were chosen through a comparative analysis of the existing sports facilities in the surrounding area. A 25m public swimming pool with thermal baths is proposed as part of a major sports centre which comprises multiple activity programmes framed by a flexible structure along the northern edge of the Braithwaite Viaduct. The 25m swimming pool will attract a wide range of people during different times of the day. While open for the elderly and disabled in the morning, it can be used by local employees in the evening and children and students during the day. By the same token, other sports facilities, when combined with current nightlife activities and the local businesses envisioned for the area, can create a 24-hour system of intense uses, opening the urban experience to different people and users. Sports venues within Bishopsgate can host activities not just on weekdays, but seven days of the week, feeding into the current intensity of activity on Brick Lane.

62 The expansion of the weekend unregulated market activities in the open space in front of the market.



63 Bishopsgate without the construction walls, showing the new residential buildings and the refurbishment of the Braithwaite arcades.

64 Night image of the site's public space occupation at ground floor level. The new ELLX station will increase the site's accessibility, a crucial condition for a place to be active during night times.

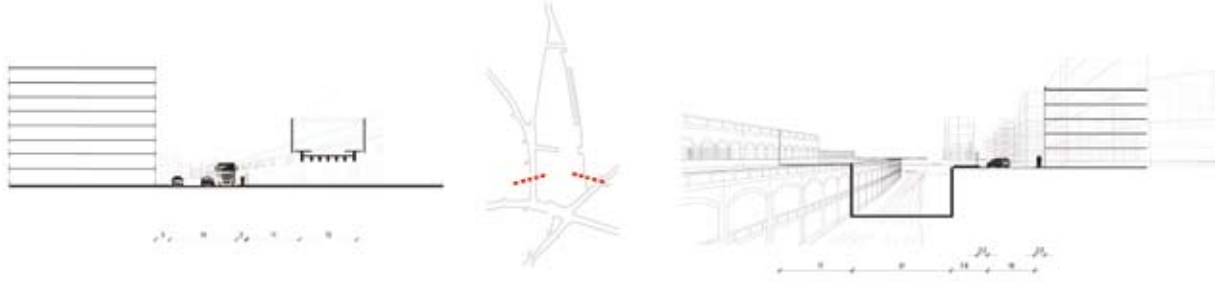
65 The outdoor swimming pool of the leisure centre to be built in the viaduct. School children, City workers or local residents can share a public space at different times of the day.

Conclusions

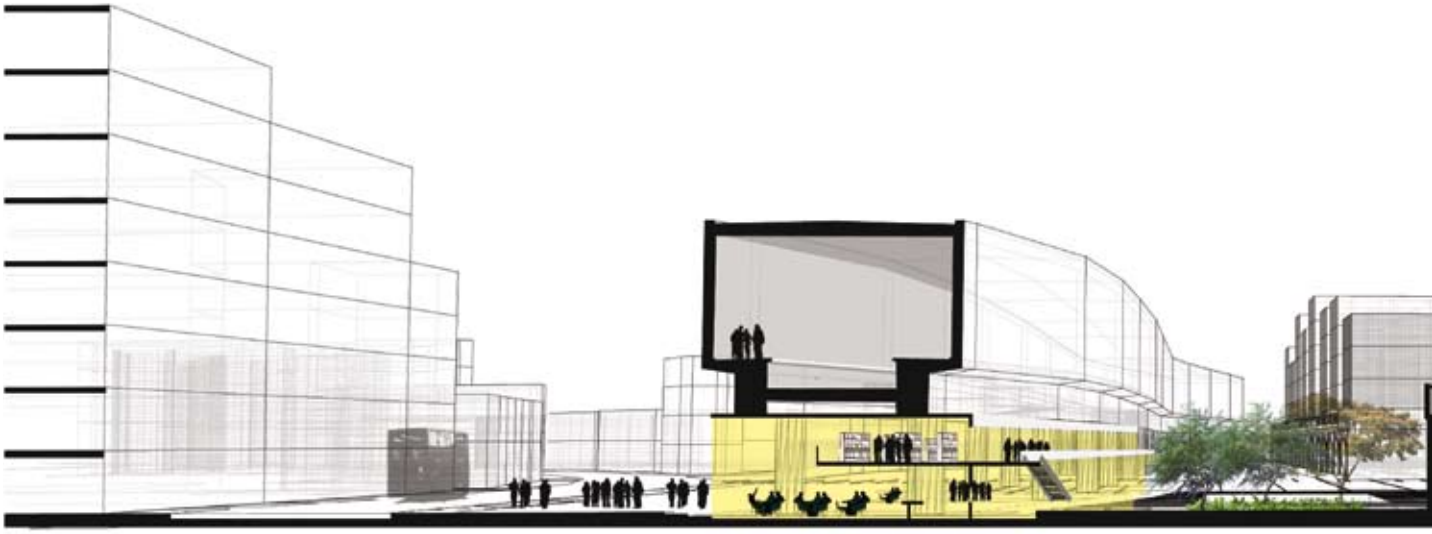
In search of a physical intervention that responds to the issues of conflict that affect the edge between the City and Spitalfields, our proposal has sought to convert the site of Bishopsgate from an underused derelict space into a thriving piece of city, weaving together a fragmented urban fabric. We began with a critical analysis of the physical, political, social and economic processes that shape a highly uneven urban environment. It has been claimed that a new wave of gentrification is threatening to colonise the empty sites of Spitalfields and displace the local population, many living in conditions of serious deprivation. We then contended that the physical boundaries of the site both contribute to the fragmentation of the surrounding area and provide the optimal stage for the informal markets to expand at weekends.

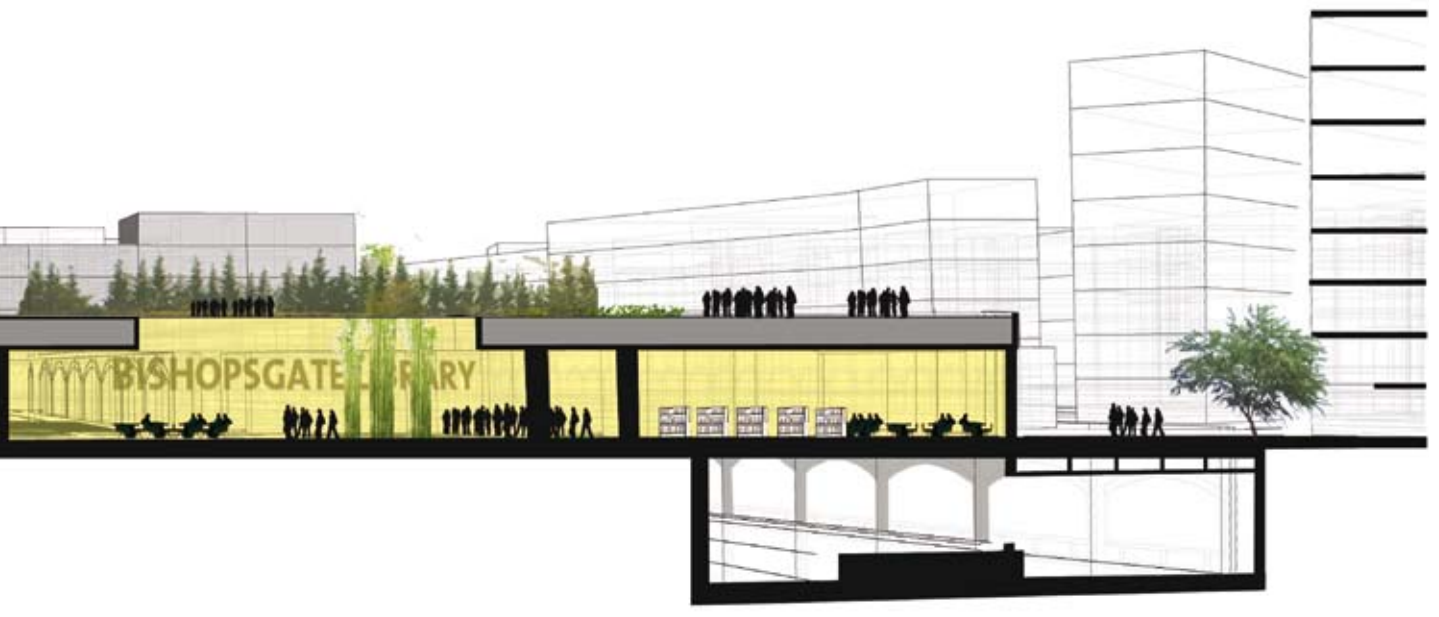
Working with the existing infrastructure gives us the opportunity to 'weave' the existing urban condition of the site, creating a fine-grain network of small shops and businesses to enhance the local economy. Although it is an alternative proposal to the conventional market response (in putting the provision of the public realm first), it is a viable strategy, both programmatically and financially feasible. Rather than concentrating on the physical growth of the site (at the centre of the development), we have identified a series of peripheral plots to be developed by private investors, thus creating a stronger integration between the Goods Yard and the neighbourhood.

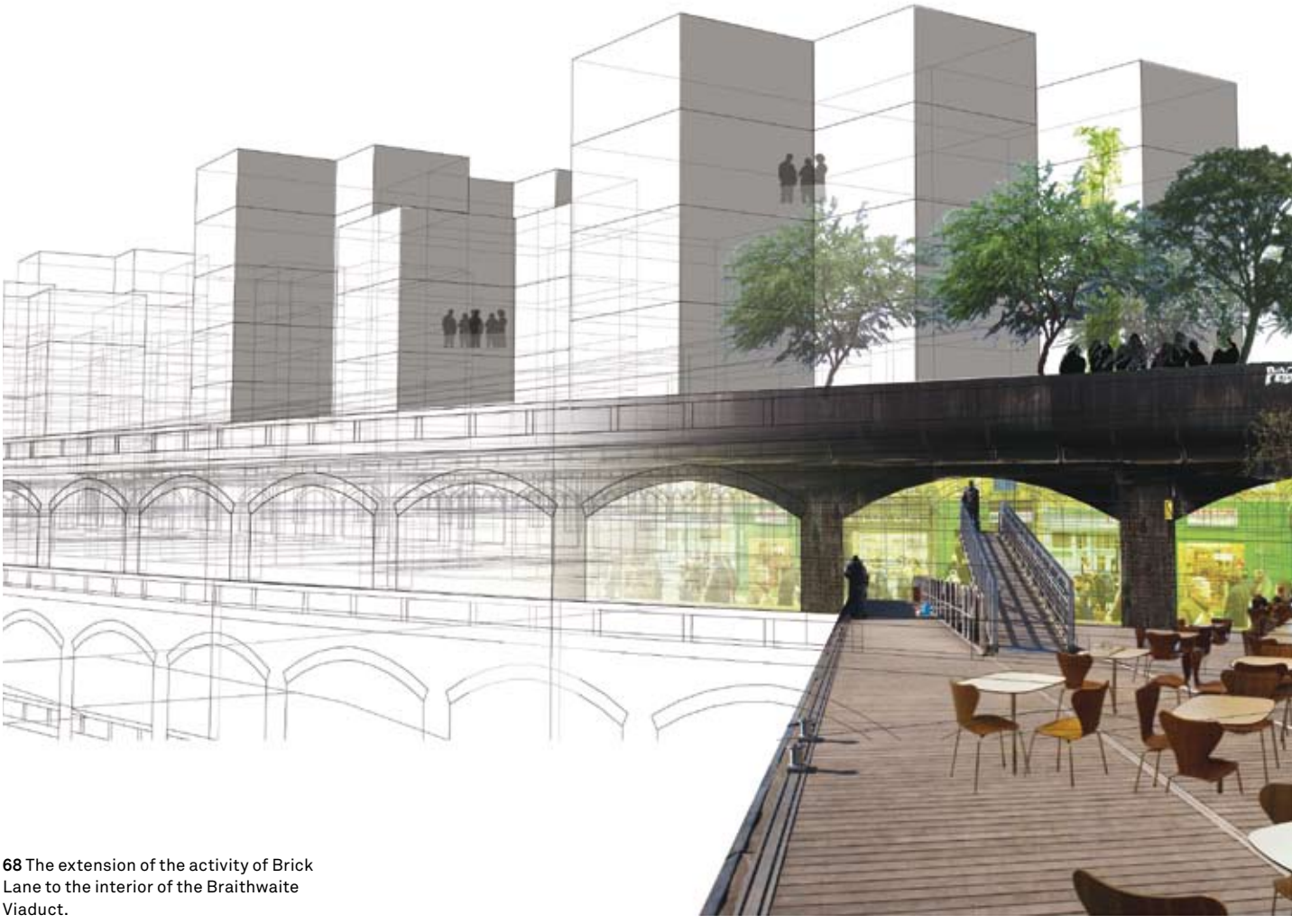
66 Analysis of the site constraints (pictures taken from the Design Brief). The existing perimeter of the site acts as a strong boundary.



67 General sections of the site showing different possible occupations: the utilization of the ELLX bridge as a library space, a landscape courtyard and the conversion of the viaduct into a public library. Future situations could make use of the viaduct as a platfrom for special events or accomodating new buildings.




BISHOPSGATE



68 The extension of the activity of Brick Lane to the interior of the Braithwaite Viaduct.

We believe that a high-quality public realm needs to be supported by a minimum of fixed activities and a flexible physical design that is permeable to the local residents and attractive to the ‘floating’ population. Instead of thinking of the site as an artificial centre by filling the void with tall residential buildings and offices, we are filling the void with publicly accessible programmes gearedtowards the needs of the local population. In this way we seek to transform Bishopsgate Goods Yard into a ‘liveable border’.

References

Brindley, T. 2000. Community roles in urban regeneration: new partnerships on London's South Bank. City, 4/3.

Brundage, A. 2002. The English Poor Laws, 1700-1930. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Centre for Interaction Data Estimation and Research (CIDER). cids.census.ac.uk

City Fringe Partnership. www.cityfringe.org.uk

City Fringe Partnership. 2007. City Growth Strategy: London City Fringe – Main Strategy. London: City Fringe.

Crewe, L. and Z. Forster. 1993. Markets, design, and local agglomeration: the role of the small independent retailer in the workings of the fashion system. Environment and Planning D, 11/2.

Davis, J. 2008. Re-imagining Bishopsgate Goods Yard. Architectural Research Quarterly, 12/1.

Davis, M. 1990. City of Quartz: Excavating the future in Los Angeles. London: Verso.

Department for Communities and Local Government (CLG). www.communities.gov.uk

Edina UK Borders. www.borders.edina.ac.uk

Edwards, M. 2002. Wealth creation and poverty creation: global-local interactions in the economy of London. City, 6/1.

Edwards, M., 2006. What if... the next London Plan were better? Planning in London, 57.

English Heritage. What is a Conservation Area? www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/nav.1063.

English Heritage. 2002. Delivering the Goods: Bishopsgate Goods Yard, An Alternative Vision. London: English Heritage.

Fletcher, D. 2003. The Parish Boundary: a social phenomenon in Hanoverian England England. Rural History, 14/2.

Forman, C. 1989. Spitalfields: A battle for land. London: Hilary Shipman.

Foxell, S. 2007. Mapping London: Making sense of the city. London: Black Dog Publishing Limited.

GLA. 2004. The London Plan. London: Greater London Authority.

Goodwin, M. 1996. Governing the spaces of difference: regulation and globalisation in London. Urban Studies, 33/8.

Hamnett, C. 2003. Gentrification and the middle-class remaking of inner London. 1961-2001. Urban Studies, 40/12.

Improvement and Development Agency. 2006. Section 106 Agreements. www.idea.gov.uk/idk/core/page.do?pageId=71631

Imrie, R., M. Raco and L. Lees (eds.). 2009. Regenerating London: Governance, sustainability and community in a global city. Abingdon: Routledge.

Jacobs, J.M. 1996. Edge of Empire: Postcolonialiam and the city. London, Routledge.

Kershen, A.J. 2005. Strangers, Aliens and Asians: Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields 1660-2000. Abingdon: Routledge.

Knowlton, J. and D. Law. 2007. BGY: Crossroads of Cultures. MSc City Design and Social Science dissertation. London: LSE Cities Programme.

LDA. 2004. Understanding the print and publishing sectors in the City Fringe. London: London Development Agency.

Lees, L. 2000. A reappraisal of gentrification: towards a 'geography of gentrification'. Progress in Human Geography, 24/3.

Levinson, D. 2008. Density and dispersion: the co-development of land use and rail in London. Journal of Economic Geography, 8/1.

London Borough of Hackney. www.hackney.gov.uk

London Borough of Tower Hamlets. www.towerhamlets.gov.uk

London Boroughs of Hackney and Tower Hamlets. 2008. Bishopsgate Goods Yard. Draft Interim Planning Guidance. London: Greater London Authority.

Lynch, K. 1960. The Image of the City. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Newman, P. and A. Thornley. 2005. Planning World Cities: Globalization and urban politics. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Rallings, C. and M. Thrasher, 2000. Personality politics and protest voting: the first elections to the Greater London Authority. Parliamentary Affairs, 53/4.

Rallings, C., R. Johnston and M. Thrasher. 2004. Equalising votes but enabling bias: the electoral impact of the 1977 and 1999 ward boundary reviews in London. Urban Studies, 41/7.

Rowe, D.J. 1967. Chartism and the Spitalfields Silk-Weavers. Economic History Review, 20.

Sennett, R. 2008. The Public Realm. www.richardsennett.com

Smith, N. 1996. The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city. London: Routledge.

Transport for London. 2007. East London Railway. www.tfl.gov.uk/corporate/projectandschemes/networkandservices/2105.aspx.

Tuckett, I. 1988. Coin Street: There ls Another Way. Community Development Journal, 23/4.

UK National Statistics. www.statistics.gov.uk/hub/index.html

Vickerman, R.W. 1984. Urban and regional change, migration and commuting – the dynamics of workplace, residence and transport choice. Urban Studies, 21/1.

Ward, H. and P. John. 1999. Targeting benefits for electoral gain: constituency marginality and the distribution of grants to English local authorities. Political Studies, 47/1.

Webb, S. and B.P.Webb. 1963. The Parish and the County. London: Cass.

Young, M. and P. Willmott. 1947. Family and Kinship in East London. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.