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REORDERED PUBLICS

INTRODUCTION

We arrived to a city strained by economic recession, unhinged by a wave of riots, and occupied by demands for alternatives to austerity. In the late summer and autumn of 2011, the public presented a series of challenges to 'business as usual.' On August 6th, the protest against the police killing of a young black man in North London escalated into attacks on businesses and public infrastructure that ignited five days of riots across London and the UK (*Guardian* and the London School of Economics, 2011). On the morning of October 15th, protesters aligned with the global Occupy Movement stormed the London Stock Exchange - a symbolic heart of the local and global financial sector (Occupy LSX, 2011). Forced by police to retreat, protesters established a makeshift tent city along the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral, where they set up temporary residences, educational programmes and political working groups (*ibid*). Similar scenes unfolded in over 2,500 cities around the world, where the ad-hoc public city embedded itself in the crevices of the business city (Occupy Together, 2011). In London, Occupy Camps appropriated pavements, parks and vacant office buildings near the very institutions they deemed accountable for job losses, home evictions, and widening income disparities. Converting 8-hour business districts into palpable public sites of 24-7 civic performance, London's camps spatialised democratic ideals in the everyday non-spaces typically occupied by hurried commuters and symbols of corporate power.

The City of London - a leading global business enclave with a dedicated police force and a small resident population of 9,000 - has responded to recent events with increased securitisation, legal action, and unyielding historic ceremony. During the 5 days of riots, the City's private alert system broadcasted over 100,000

messages to businesses and residents, advising them on how to respond to the events (Vocal, 2011). Although no rioting occurred within the City's boundaries, companies urged employees to avoid public transportation and to work from home, bank branches and retailers closed to the public, and the City's police force remained on emergency alert (City of London Police, n.d.). Despite the presence of the Occupy camp at St. Paul's, the Lord Mayor's parade held to the same 785-year-old route through the City, promenading livery companies, military bands and police teams past the protesters. In February 2012, the Corporation of the City of London secured the legal right to evict the St. Paul's camp, winning a court case on the premise that the 24-7 presence of protesters obstructed businesses and threatened 'public health and safety' (Davies, 2012).

The context of the current financial crisis has intensified pressure on the public realm to mediate between different actors vying to assert political rights, economic claims, and social expression. Although the August riots and the Occupy movement emerged from distinct socio-economic and political conditions, they both illustrate how the control of public space becomes an increasingly valuable asset in a time of crisis. Sociologist Craig Calhoun extends the implications of the 2008 financial crisis beyond the market, positing that "the crisis does not just belong to the financial rating agencies, Goldman Sachs, or other corporations. It belongs to culture and society" (Bregtje van der Kaak, 2011). Architect Laura Burkhalter and sociologist Manuel Castells frame the financial crisis as a failure of both neoliberal market systems and their translations into urban form, declaring that the "bankruptcy of the economic and spatial model" should be addressed equally through urban design and political reforms

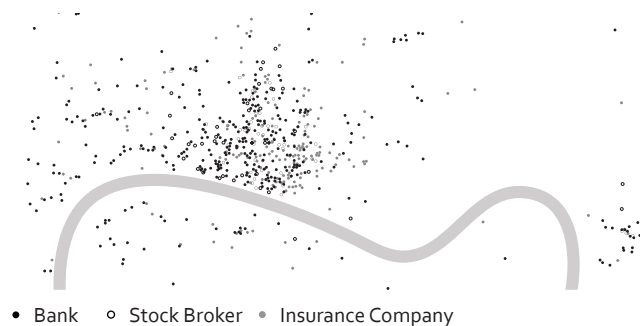


Fig. 1: Financial businesses across London, illustrating a concentration in the City
Source: Google Maps



Fig. 2: Global connectivity of the City's financial markets
Source: Shaxson, 2011

(Burkhalter and Castells, 2009: 24). These multi-disciplinary frameworks for reading economic systems as integral to the design and lived experience of the public realm have shaped our conceptualisation of the financial crisis as a city design problem.

We have arrived at a global moment in which economic enclaves of exclusion are being challenged in cities around the world. And we begin our investigation of the 'public city' in the City of London at this moment of crisis and contradiction: when banks rely on public bailouts as public institutions experience funding cuts, when businesses have more votes than residents and women are restricted from participating in certain political processes (Fig. 4), when public demonstrations are treated as security threats and public security is outsourced to private companies (Vocal, 2011). In this context, we ask what is the 'public city' and what role can it play to address urban inequality? We propose the creation of a more public City of London, in which productivity stems from diversity and intensity, and public spaces facilitate inclusion and opportunity. The City of London is unique, yet it is also kin to a global family of urban business districts. It offers an opportunity to question the efficiency of urban terrain ruled by private interests and to reconceptualise the 'business as usual' city as a true public city for the 21st century.



Fig. 3: Square Mile Medieval Plutocracy

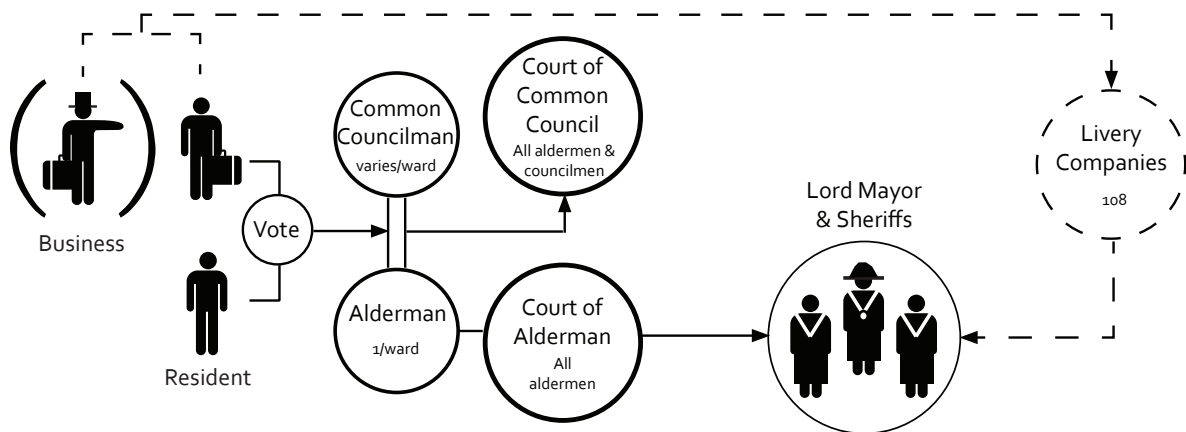


Fig. 4: The City voting structure as it currently exists. Business votes currently outnumber residential votes by 75%. Proportional voting based on employee numbers means that business management chooses which staff vote for them. Only members of livery companies, of which 50% still do not accept female membership, can be eligible for and vote in the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City
Source: City of London, 2009

PART 1. SITE ANALYSIS

Physical Boundaries

Almost 2000 years ago, what is now the City of London had a city wall that shaped its identity. Even though the wall has come down, the City still deploys a spectrum of physical, symbolic and virtual elements to maintain this boundary, including the surveillance network termed the 'Ring of Steel' (Fig. 6) We began this studio at the Barbican complex - a historically-listed residential and cultural cluster at the northern edge of the City of London. After exploring the Barbican's public spaces and their extensions into the City, we began researching the economic, political, social and physical boundary conditions that influence the City of London as a whole and the character of its public spaces. Richard Sennett (2008) describes boundaries as guarded, static divides, as opposed to borders, which are porous and can facilitate flows of exchange. In the post-WWII reconstruction era, the City built the Barbican with the intention of creating a mixed-use and pedestrian-friendly zone with active borders between the complex and the rest of the City. This modernist vision included pedestrian highwalks (Fig. 5), which aimed to facilitate public life separated from street level traffic (Hebbert, 1993). Although envisioned as an elevated network disseminated throughout the City, the plan was unrealised and the pedways for the most part were not built beyond the Barbican boundaries. As a result, the pedways expose pedestrians to bleak, disorienting landscapes that isolate Barbican residents and visitors, rather than inviting new flows of interaction, hybridity and intensity.

The incomplete pedway system indicates a larger limitation of the City's public spaces. Both at the pedway level and ground level, building facades and lobby spaces that bespeak defensiveness and control communicate to pedestrians the City's role as an efficient business district. Public space is designed for particular uses and users (Fig. 8-11), resulting in boundaries that stifle flows of exchange between diverse publics. While a *de facto*

public realm exists in the City's plazas, parks and pavements, their contribution to a vibrant 'public city' is minimal. As Sassen (2005) unpacks in her talk on 'cityness,' public access does not alone determine how a space performs as 'public'. The lobbies of corporate office blocks and towers form parts of the City's pristine, guarded boundaries. Blank walls of concrete and glass contain interior-oriented worlds that are uninviting to passersby (Sennett, 2008). Although glass lobbies may be transparent, security guards, surveillance cameras and immaculate furnishings signal that these spaces function as discriminating thresholds and status symbols, rather than as connected parts of the 'public city'. Examples of these programmatically exclusive yet physically transparent interiors include the OMA's New Court building for the Rothschild headquarters, Royex House at Aldermanbury Square, and the Royal Bank of Scotland at Threadneedle Street. The entrance to the Corporation of the City of London's marketing office also exemplifies a facade of exclusion. Although technically a public amenity offering information to parties interested in leasing office space in the City, its entrance is a locked, mirrored glass door that is monitored by a security camera and its interior display of brochures available at the discretion of a security guard. Another example of public space dedicated to the display of power is the courtyard in front of the Guildhall - the City's official chambers for political and ceremonial functions since 1440. The vast stone plaza is bare of public amenities such as seating, planting, or other indicators that invite people to eat their lunch, linger, or do anything but pass by. A City-wide securitisation of public space is the absence of public trash receptacles. Viewed as a potential depository for explosives, the City of London circumvents providing this public service by instead accepting that people deposit garbage in the street and circulating street sweepers and cleaning trucks that pass each street six times a day (City of London Police, n.d.).

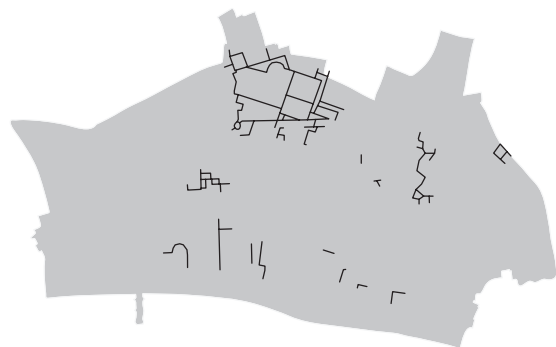
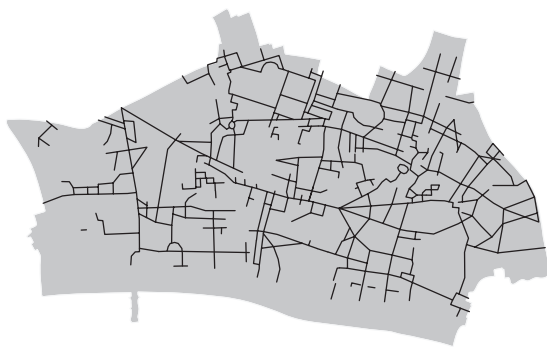


Fig. 5: High-level pedestrian walkways

Left: Thirty-mile network planned in 1963

Right: Network built by 1992

Source: Hebbert, 1993

Social Boundaries

The private thresholds and control systems that permeate the ground level of the City enforce an atmosphere that prioritises the efficient movement *through* rather than engagement *within* public spaces. The spatial influence on social behaviour is evident in how the public presence of the 'floating population' of 300,000 is invisible with the exception of intense intervals of commuting and consumption. Their homogenous demographic profile also shapes the public realm's efficient performance and lack of diversity. 87% of City workers are white, 80% work in finance and business services, and 82% arrive by rail (City of London, 2006). In the film 'Aftermath of a Crisis,' media scholar Gustavo Cardoso points out that while 'bankers' are blamed for causing the economic crisis, there is little social research on who they are, what kind of everyday experiences they have, and what kind of city they want (Bregtje van der Kaak, 2011). Today the finance sector is capsularised into securitised tower blocks, hidden within complex computing networks (Pardo-Guerra, 2010), and individualised in the space of laptops and smartphones. These social and physical boundaries of the workplace are strengthened by the intensification of private security networks that protect financial systems and evade public visibility and access.

Over the course of four months of site documentation and field interviews, we have observed a public culture of efficiency and convenience on the peripheries of office buildings. Workers from the finance and service sector alike take smoking breaks, talk on cell phones, and consume take-out lunches in service alleys, the alcoves formed by scaffolding, and other mundane non-spaces that contrast with the prestigious plazas and lobby spaces of the places where they work. Our interviews with seventeen current and former City workers on how they use public space in the City confirm this site observation and reinforce our reading of corporate culture as taking place in the private interiority of opaque architecture. Our interviewees who work in finance, marketing and retail described their interactions with the public

realm as defined by convenience and efficiency: short lunch breaks that involve purchasing a sandwich, going to an ATM or chemist, and making private phone calls on the street or in the bathroom. This demand for timely everyday amenities results in a highly served urban context (Fig. 24). Of the fifteen people with whom we spoke who currently work in the City, only one described using a public amenity for a non-essential, leisure activity. In a conversation on 20th January 2012, interviewee A., a trader in her 30's working at a leading global bank, outlined her routine of arriving by rail, grabbing breakfast from the cafe on her trading floor, leaving at lunch time for 10-15 minutes to purchase a take-away lunch, and then buying a tea or snack at 4PM, again from her trading floor cafe - each time, consuming the food at her desk. During her 7:30AM to 6:30PM workday, the only leisure activity A. described was using the office gym two days a week for thirty minutes and occasionally walking home to South Kensington, rather than taking the Tube. In a meeting on the same date with interviewee S., a 31-year-old bond trader who previously worked in the City and is now based in Mayfair, he shared his disdain for the homogeneity of the City: 'The worst thing to do is to work around people like you: white, finance and boring. The City of London is dull. Canary is worse' (Fig. 13). In contrast, in Mayfair, he enjoyed the diversity of people he saw on the street, being in proximity to art galleries, and visiting cafes and restaurants during and after work. His colleague, interviewee C., a 36-year-old managing director, also expressed preference for working in Mayfair because of the more relaxed pace and varied social mix of the neighbourhood: 'Here it's like you're on holiday. People walk slowly, they're not bankers - they're normal people. If you're surrounded by people who walk fast, you walk faster and this makes you stressed out . . . it's not healthy running around like an idiot.' While the City's homogeneity and efficiency may not differ greatly from that of other global business districts, it stands out in particular contrast to the City's original trading business run from public coffee shops in the 18th century (Kynaston, 1988) and the vital city envisioned in renderings for the 20th century pedway system.

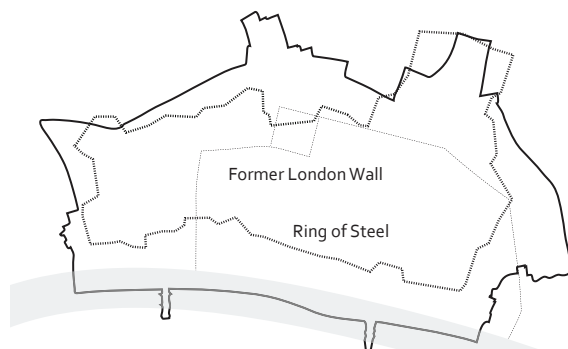


Fig. 6: Walls within walls

Historical layering of the City's fortifications and current political boundaries
Source: henriwilliams.blogspot.com

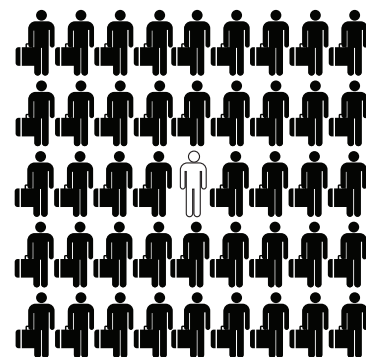


Fig. 7: City of London Worker to Resident 44:1
Source: City of London, 2005

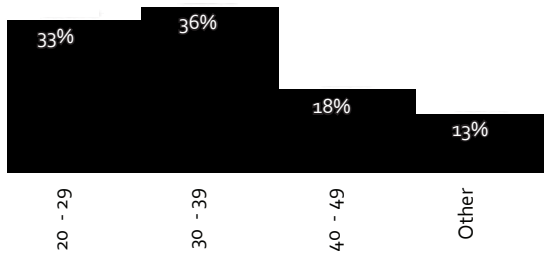


Fig. 8: City worker age profiles

Source: City of London, 2006

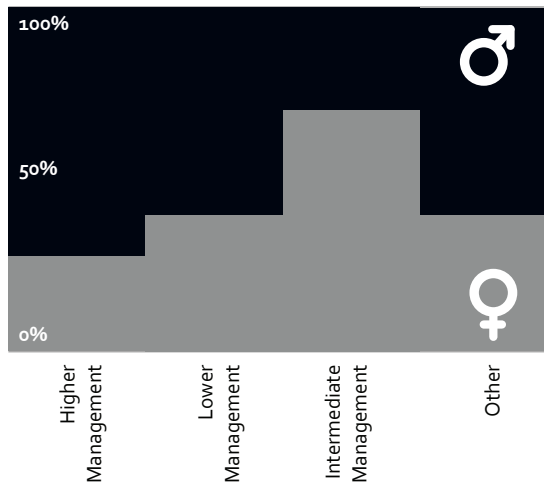


Fig. 9: City worker gender profiles according to occupation

Source: City of London, 2006

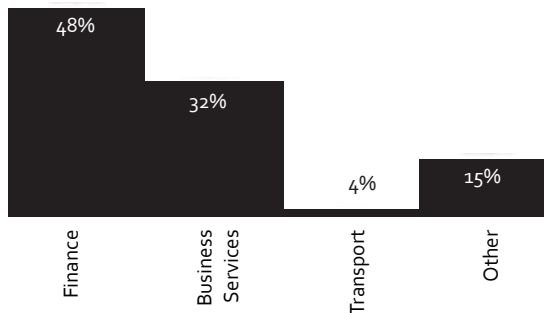


Fig. 10: City worker distribution in industrial sectors

Source: City of London, 2006

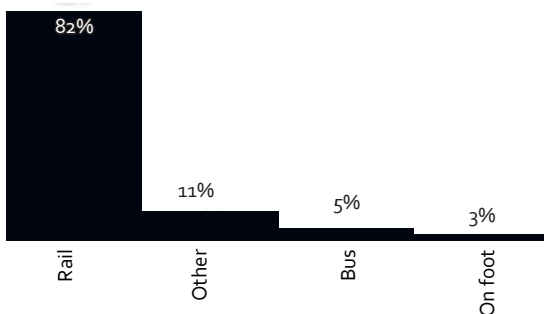


Fig. 11: Modes of travel to work in the City

Source: City of London, 2006

Political and Economic Boundaries

The City's political system is perhaps its thickest boundary, which remains almost unchanged since 1067 (City of London, 2009). The Corporation of the City of London has adapted this medieval political system into a contemporary governance structure that privileges businesses as citizens - approximately 24,000 business votes outweigh 9,000 resident votes - which results in pro-business policies for the City (Lavanchy, 2009). As journalist Nicholas Shaxson exposes in his investigation of global tax havens, this homogeneous group of political stakeholders poses "little or no risk that democratic politics will intervene and interrupt the business of making (or taking) money" (2011: 10). Corporations are allocated votes in proportion to the size of their workforce and then CEOs select who votes - thus the larger the company, the greater influence they have on the outcome of the political process (City of London, 2009). This quasi-democratic electoral system is exacerbated by the City's Livery Companies, whose members are solely responsible for electing the Sheriffs and Lord Mayor (Fig. 3 and 4). The City of London does not fully comply with UK Freedom of Information legislation and is exempt from certain parliamentary regulations, thus evading the country's democratic systems and requisite public participation and accountability (Monbiot, 2011 and Quinn, 2011).

The City of London generates over 20% of the country's total financial services. Its large foreign financial network circulates 37% of global financial share and trades approximately 1.2 trillion pounds at the LSX every day (City of London, n.d.). In light of the recent financial crisis, we have termed it an onshore 'tax island' on welfare - a financial centre reliant on public funds to bailout its UK banking tenants, as it opposes post-crisis UK and EU proposals for new tax structures and regulations (National Audit Office, 2011 and *The Economist*, 2012). Since 2007, public bailouts pledged to private UK financial institutions have totalled £456 billion, more than four times the £83 billion in public sector



Fig. 12: The 27 000 lost jobs in 2011 in the City would have emptied 8.3 'Gherkins' of office space

Source: New Policy Institute and Trust for London, 2011 and CEBR, 2011 and fosterandpartners.com

cuts planned over the next three years (National Audit Office, 2011 and Meadaway, 2011). This corporate reliance on public funds contributes to the City's total financial productivity, yet its exemptions from UK democratic systems and public sector sacrifices makes the City an object of contention both locally and within the EU (*ibid*).

While London as a whole ranks as a top city for financial productivity, it lags behind other cities in Europe and business cities around the world most dramatically in terms of quality of life and environmental health (Mercer, 2011). In a survey of companies leaving London, 69% cited poor quality of life as the reason for relocation (Global Financial Centres Index, 2011). Beyond base efficiency of worker and capital flows, the opportunity for social interaction and information exchange are critical to the collective health and the productivity of a city. In their proposal for urban regeneration strategies in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, Burkhalter and Castells describe how enriching flows of movement are paramount to urban productivity:

Functional cities and a functioning economy rely on timely and efficient movement of people, information and goods . . . [The] quality and number of connections created by people to people and people to information is an essential factor of productivity. The more quality connections a person can establish in an average day, the higher the chance of that person adding innovative value to the economy (Burkhalter and Castells, 2009: 24).

Our definition of the public city is grounded in a concept of a new efficiency that surpasses functionality and ceremony, and instead is fuelled by an intensity and diversity of exchange that culminates in both economic and social productivity.

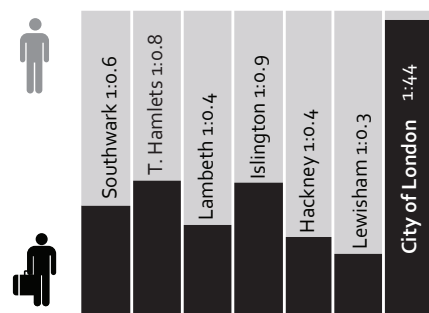


Fig. 13: Resident to Worker Ratios in selected London boroughs
Source: Office for National Statistics



In Inner London, the richest 20% earns 58%, and the poorest 20% earns 3%, of total income.

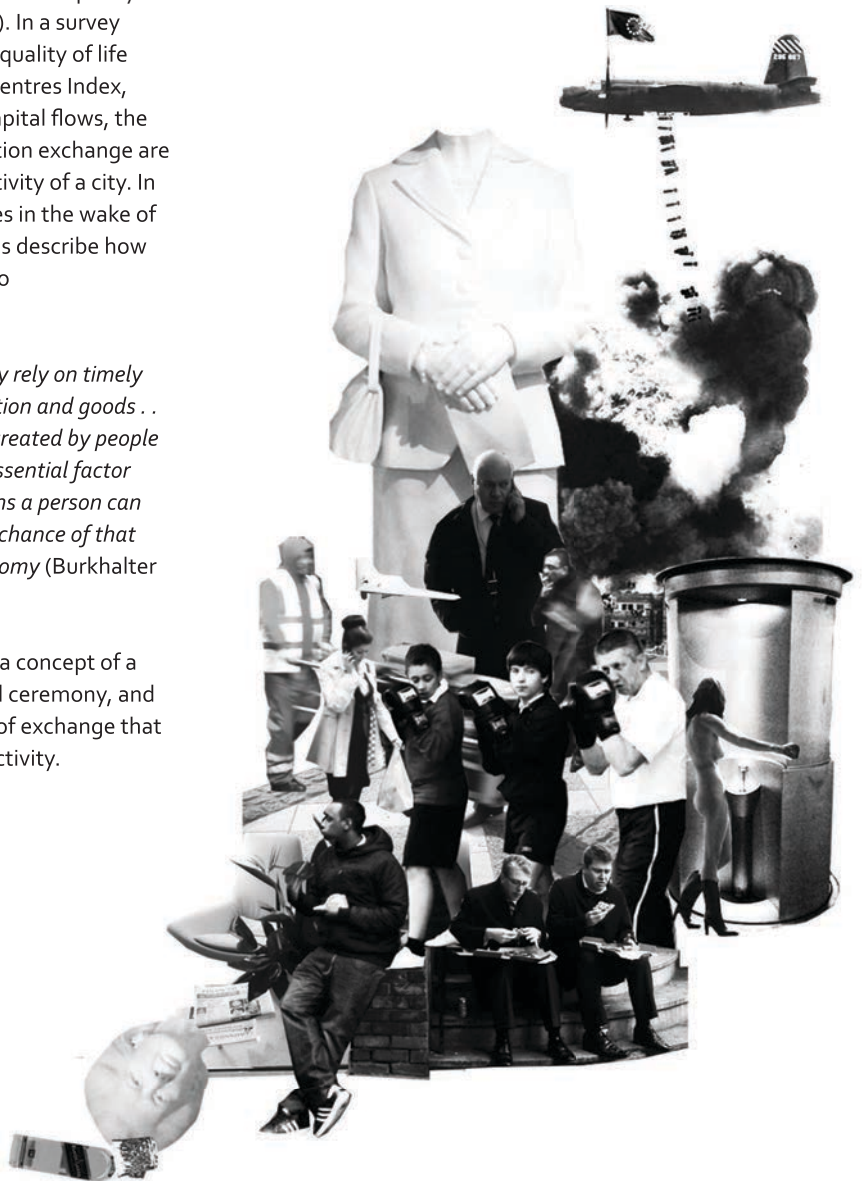


Fig. 14 (Top): Income disparities in Inner London
Source: New Policy Institute and Trust for London, 2011

Fig. 15 (Above): Threats to prosperity: from challenges to neoliberal governance systems and proposed EU regulation to public space used as bare efficiency

PART 2. INTERVENTION

Our vision for the City of London inverts the current governance scheme to balance public good with private interests and radically increase democracy. The public city we envision will create new hybrid typologies of business-residency efficiency and productivity that promote a collective wealth of opportunities and public interactions. High connectivity to public transport and a local electoral system dominated by business interests defines the City's existing efficiency as a top performing business district. Its demographic and political imbalance may yield high productivity for private businesses, but it generates an incomplete and under-performing public realm. We seek to define a new efficiency for the City - one that builds on its existing connectivity and amenities, while diversifying its stakeholders and maximising its range of uses. Our intervention is rooted in the context of widening economic inequality and unemployment that has intensified in the current financial crisis (Figs. 12 and 14). It also responds to the City's under-performing housing density as set by the GLA's housing density matrix – currently, the City provides eight times less housing than the target density based on its connectivity (Fig. 27). Our method of addressing this under-performance and enhancing efficiency within the City is by increasing its residential population. We propose adding a high quality private housing stock that will cultivate an inclusive public realm, and promote economic opportunity and social mobility across social grades. By giving workers the opportunity to live within walking distance of their jobs and residents the chance to build 'linking social capital' by living centrally (Putnam, 2000), we will improve the overall quality of life for workers and residents alike. As Richard Florida posits, "Putting people close to their work makes an economy more competitive" (Jacobs and Pickard, 2011). We elaborate on this dictum, adding that integrating a resident population

into a work zone will catalyse economic opportunity and social mobility. Our intervention also aims to increase the City's competitiveness as a high-performing business district in comparison to its local rivals, Canary Wharf and Mayfair, as well as to other business cities globally.

City Living Policy

'City Living' is our residential policy and strategy for designing a more public 21st-century finance City. We establish guidelines for the repopulation of the City of London, including unit and tenure specifications, rental costs and profiles of future tenants. Our intervention also reverses the City of London's exemption from contributing affordable housing within its territory (City of London, n.d.a). Our policy offers the City a platform to address its home building obligations within the Square Mile, rather than continuing to export affordable homes to neighbouring boroughs (Fig. 25). Although the City is a leading location for the financial services sector, firms are increasingly concerned about a loss of talent and face competition attracting and retaining employees courted by firms in other financial centres such as New York, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Seoul (Lloyd's, 2011 and Global Financial Centres Index, 2011). Through our 'City Living' residential strategy, we propose a revitalisation of the Square Mile and its under-performing public realm by introducing a new residential population within its political boundaries. Composed primarily of employees in the City, this new population will transform the Square Mile into a more public city by multiplying its socio-spatial functions. This increased diversity of spaces and programme will enable firms to better attract and retain talented employees by filling the gap between productivity and quality of life.



1. Block Morphology

2. Tower Morphology

3. Medieval Morphology

Fig. 16: Morphologies identified in our research of building types in the City of London

Source: maps.nokia.com/3D/

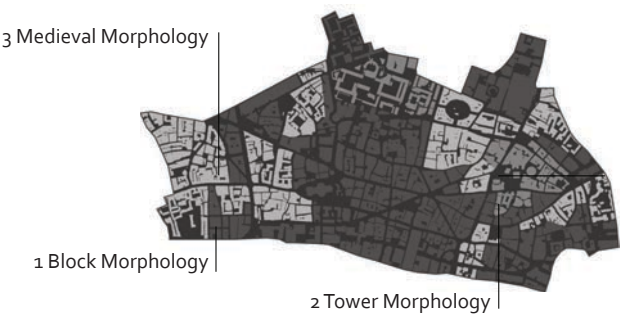


Fig. 17: Location of City morphologies

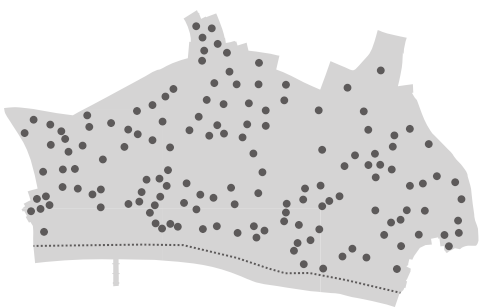


Fig. 18: Key Open Spaces
Source: City of London

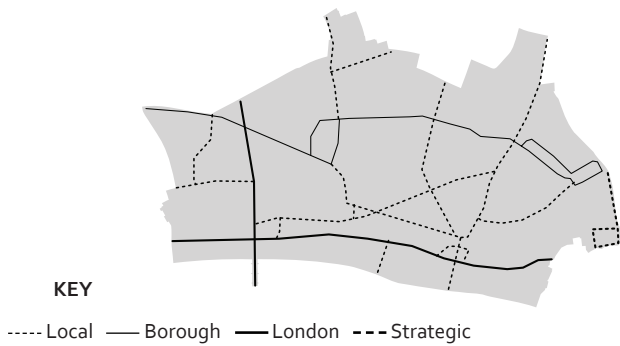


Fig. 19: Major road network in the City

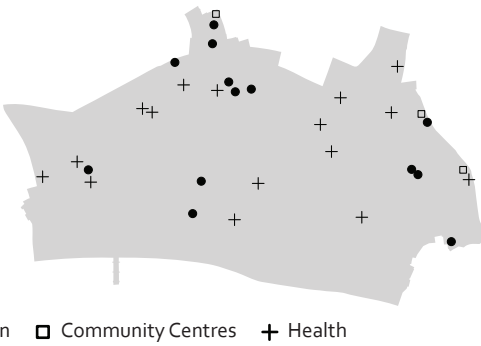


Fig. 20: Social infrastructure
Source: City of London

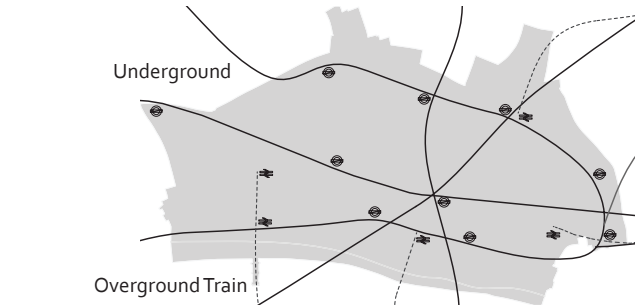


Fig. 21: Rail connections in the City



Fig. 22: High-rise buildings in the City
Source: City of London

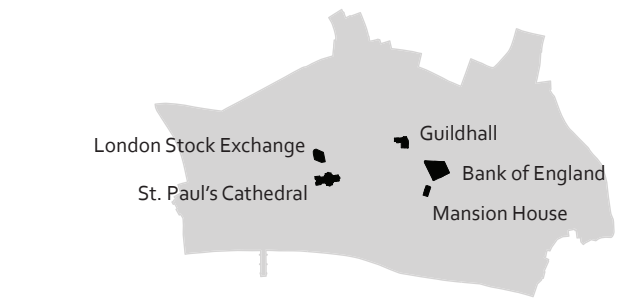


Fig. 23: Institutions of power within the City

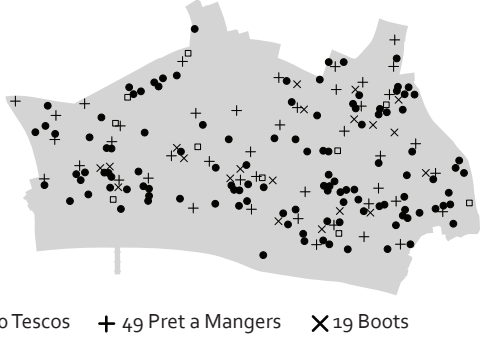


Fig. 24: Primary City retail

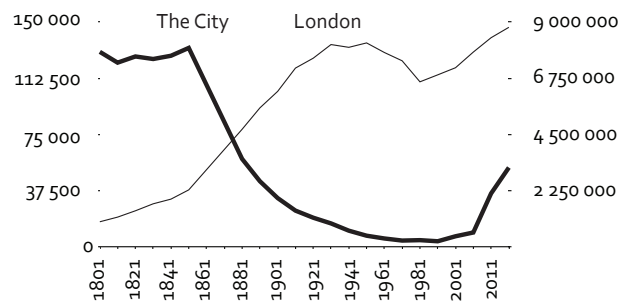
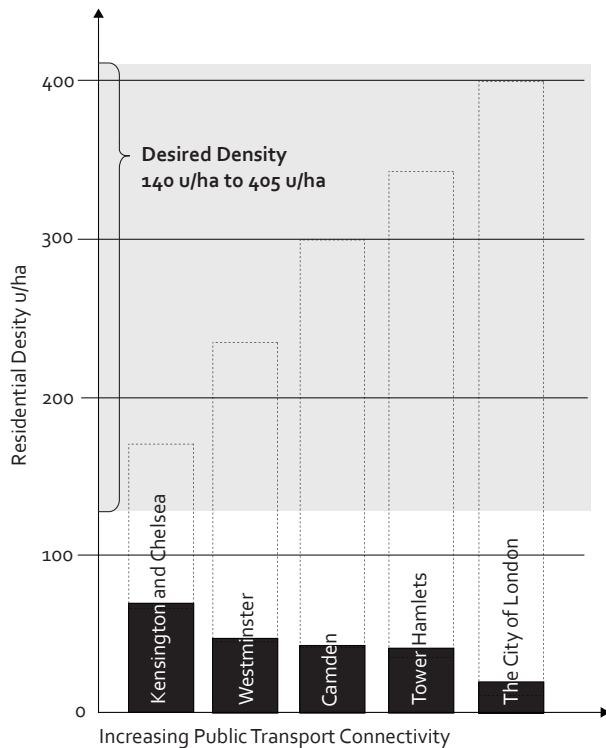
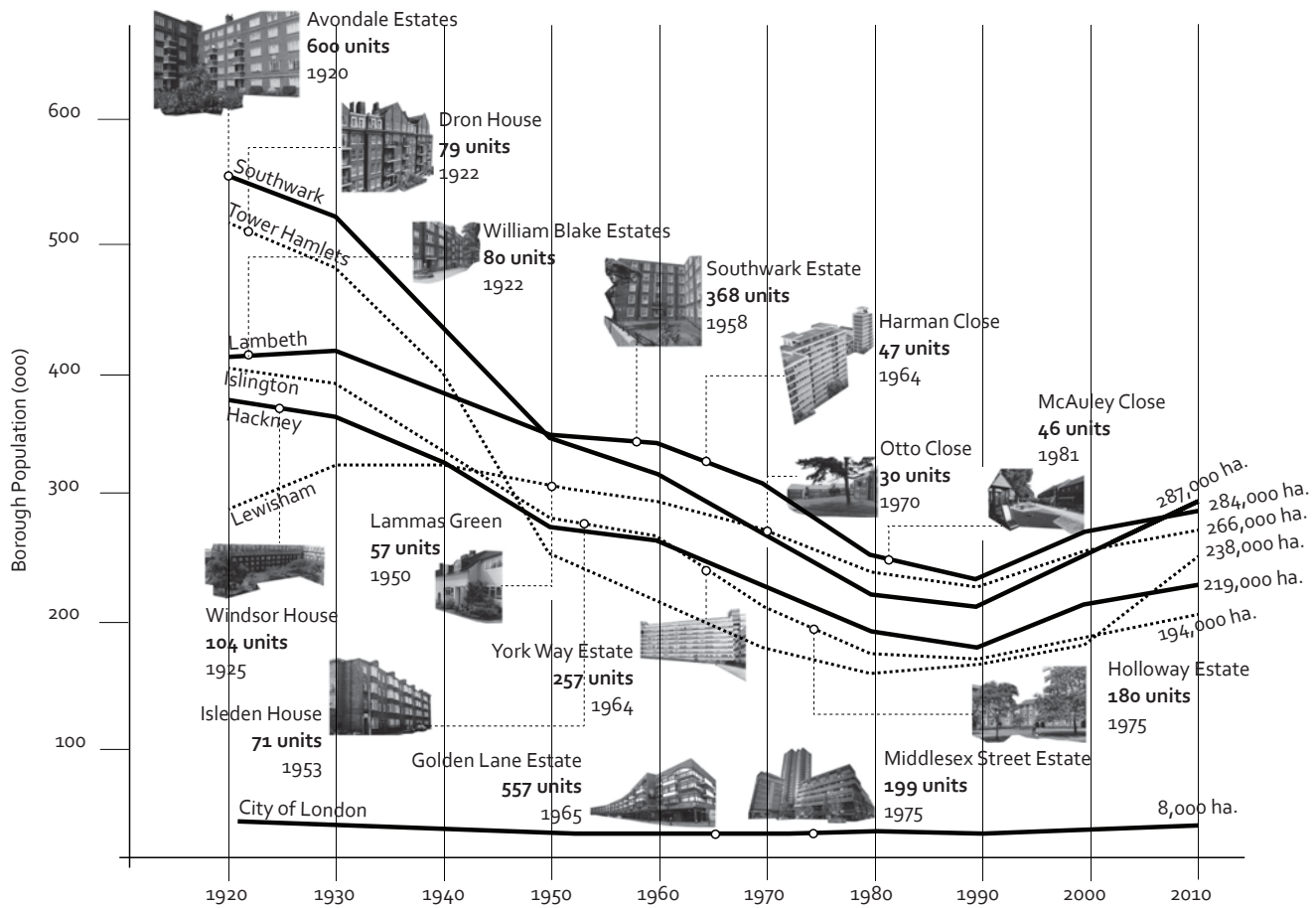


Fig. 25 (Top): Social Housing schemes built by the City in different London boroughs

Source: City of London and Centre for Cities

Fig. 26 (Above): Population growth 1801 - 2011

Source: Great Britain Historical GIS Project and GLA

Fig. 27 (Left): Disparity of residential density, given public transport connectivity

Source: The London Plan, 2011 and Office for National Statistics



Fig. 28: Quality of life in a healthy public city
intensity, diversity, and mobility

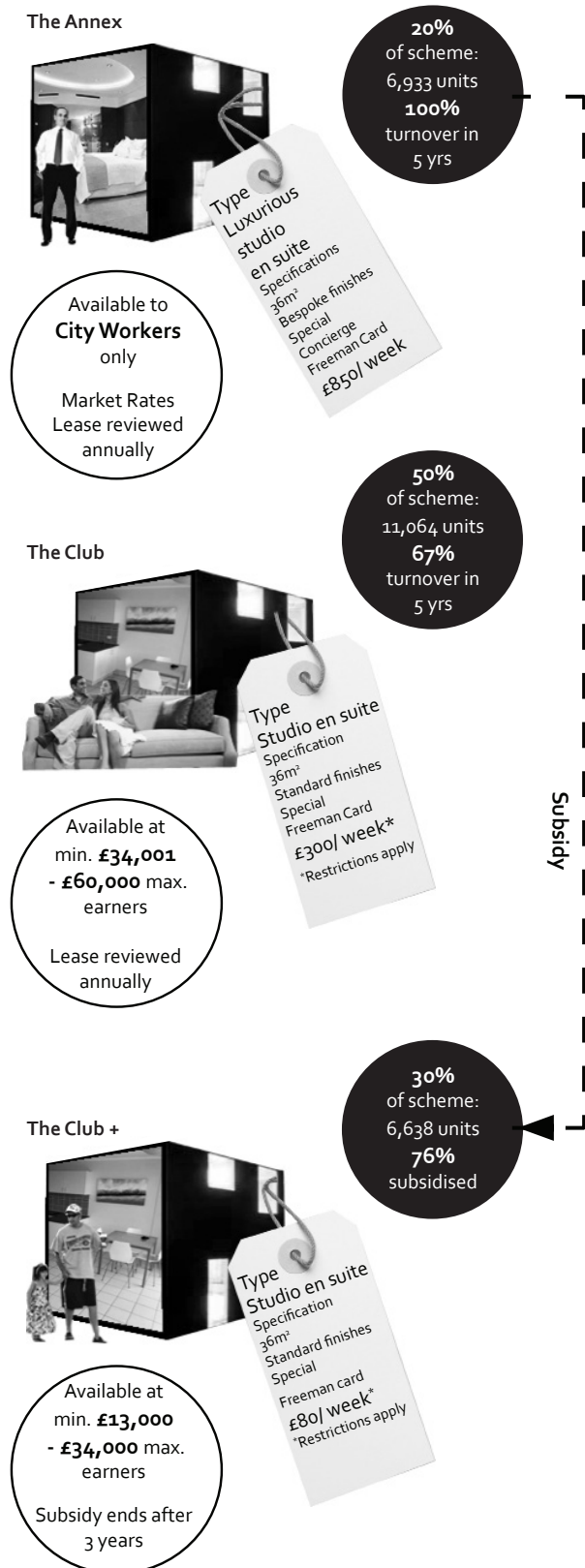


Fig. 29: City Living unit Specifications and financing

'City Living' proposes introducing 52,000 new residents by 2025 into the City of London (Figs. 29 and 34). This would dramatically restructure the political process, as well as political participation. The new resident population would increase the City's residential population to 60,000, inverting its current political and power balance. Residents would have 73% of City votes and businesses 27% (Fig. 30). In addition, 'City Living' details the formation of a new livery company, The Worshipful Company of Residential Occupiers, to which all City residents would be invited as members (Fig. 31). This livery would grant residents a place in local decision making bodies and influence the appointment of the Lord Mayor.

Our spatial strategy outlines the provision of three compact residential units (the Annex, the Club and the Club +) to accommodate a diverse social grade of residents and to maximise the City's high real-estate value and its underutilised public spaces (Figs. 20 and 33). We propose the introduction of 24,000 residential units from 2012 - 2025 (Fig. 34). Every unit will be 36m² and vary only in finishes and amenities (Fig. 29). The Club will comprise 50% of the units, have standard finishes, and will be designed for an average occupancy of 2 persons. The Club+ will make up 30% of the units and will have the same finishes as the Club, but will be subsidised and priced affordably. 20% of the units will be The Annex – which offers luxurious finishes and concierge amenities designed for 1.5 occupants, on average. The Annex's high-end service scheme will appeal to the City's top earners who seek to maximise their efficiency by living close to work. Its market-rate pricing will in part subsidise the rent of the Club+. We have designed a compact residential unit to attract tenants who are focused on increasing their professional development, and who will take advantage of economic and social opportunities that come from living in the City. Unlike the exclusive lifestyle facilitated by developments such as the Heron, our compact residential units house people of diverse socio-economic backgrounds in close proximity to each other and are strategically clustered within nodes of business activity and connectivity to transport (Figs. 35 and 40).

We utilise social grade as the means of categorising the socio-economic profiles of our potential tenants in order to ensure a diverse resident population. Qualifying applicants for Club units will earn a gross annual salary of £34,001-60,000, which corresponds to wages for key city workers, such as entry-level business professionals. Qualifying applicants for Club+ units must earn a gross annual salary of £13,000-34,000, which includes minimum wage workers. Rental rates for both Annex and Club units will reflect market fluctuations. Club+ units will be available for a one-year lease and will be renewable upon annual reapplication for up to three years, and occupation will be compulsory. Annex units will only be available to City workers,

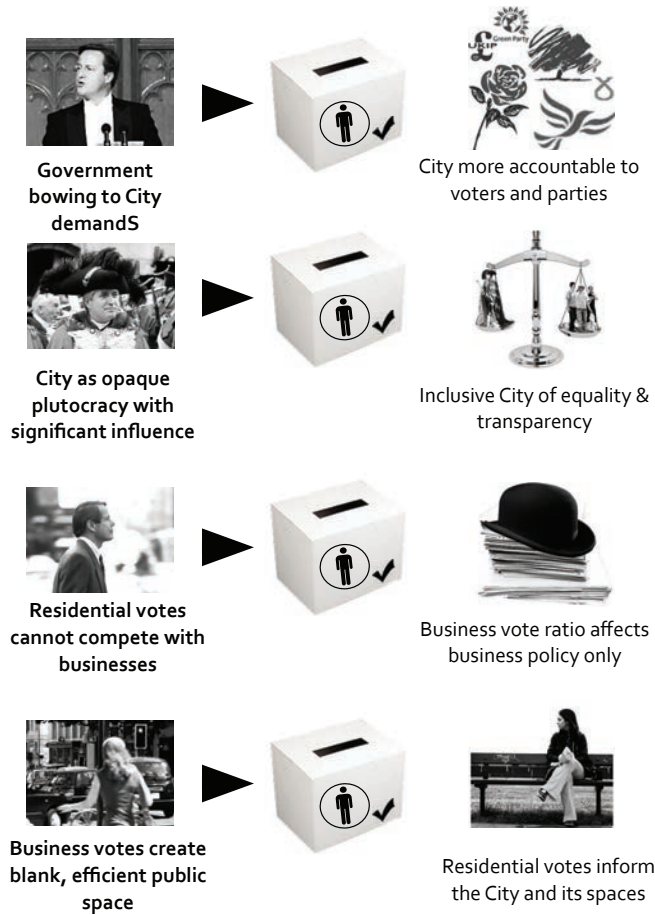
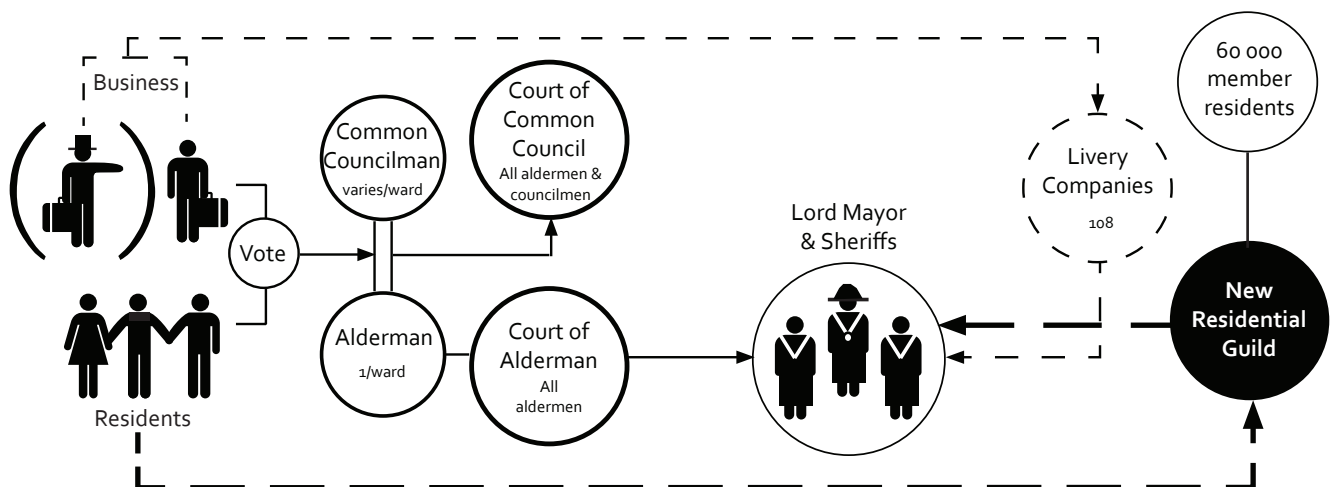


Fig. 30 (Above): The impact of a residential vote on the City

Fig. 31 (Below): The impact of the establishment of the Worshipful Company of Residential Occupiers. Residents will now be able to have a voice in the election of the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, as only livery company members can vote for the City's primary representatives and figure heads



while Club and Club+ will be available to all, although priority will be granted to City workers. These tenure policies and rental rates aim to establish a mechanism by which resident turnover ensures a dynamic population representative of diverse socio-economic backgrounds and multiplies the opportunities for offering the benefits of living in the City. Residential units will not be available for private purchase and the City of London Corporation will remain their sole landlord and administrator. When applicable, the City of London Corporation will lease office space, roof space, etc. in which the residential units and programming shall be added, but will retain ownership of units. These specifications are meant to promote the City's productivity by designating only one party with whom businesses and residents will interface. As landlord of the residential units, the City of London will retain the ability to remove residential units from any building if/when space becomes required by a business, upon review of lease. If residential units are removed, the Corporation will be required to relocate them within the Square Mile to ensure that the total resident population does not decrease.

In our residential strategy we also detail the changes that will be made to public space within the Square Mile, in order to realistically accommodate the needs of our proposed resident population. All City Living tenants will receive a Freeman Card upon the signing of their lease that grants them access to gyms, roof gardens, terraces, canteens and boardrooms of participating businesses throughout the City (Fig. 40). Access to these amenities shall be restricted and subject to a reasonable and equitable usage agreement between the City of London Corporation and the concerned parties, so as not to disrupt collective efficiency and productivity. The Corporation will launch an online platform where City residents and the general public can find and book spaces such as office, meeting rooms and terraces. Businesses that make amenities publicly accessible shall benefit from this public exposure as part of their corporate social responsibility and branding efforts, as well as yield new income.

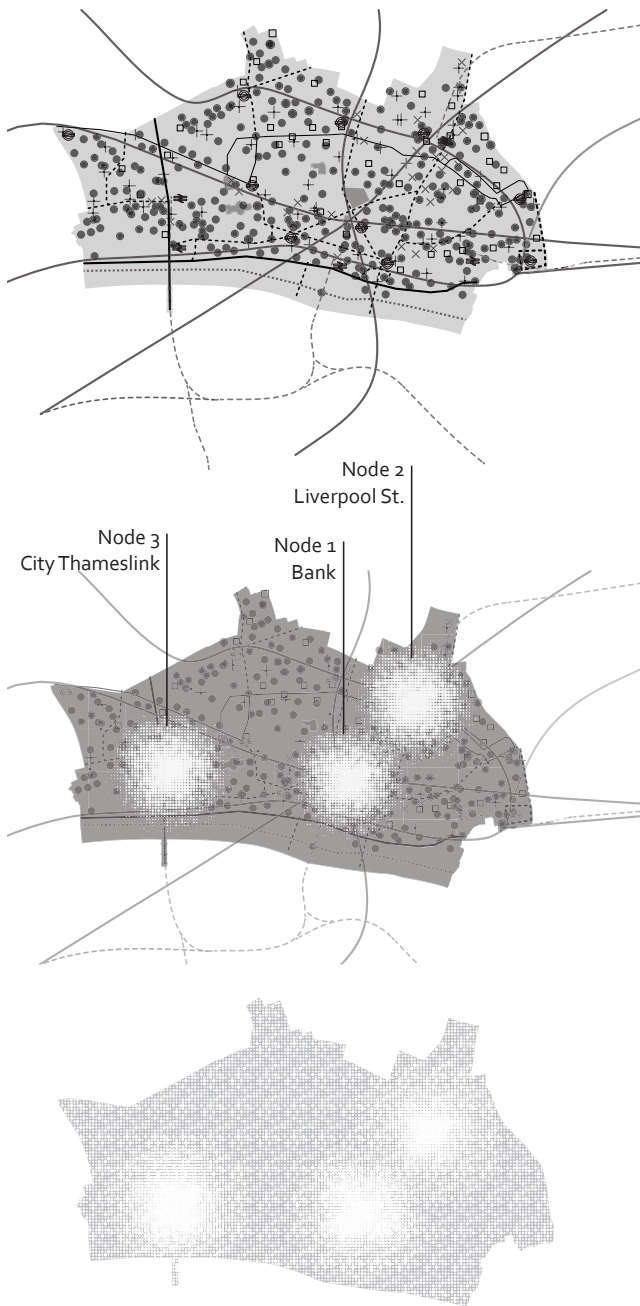


Fig. 32 (Top): Identification

City functions necessary for residential habitation layered in order to establish nodes in which to begin our housing strategy

(Middle) Insertion

In order of phasing, Bank, Liverpool St. and City Thameslink stations are identified as the most serviced and connected parts of the City, where the first residential units should be built

(Bottom) Dispersion. Once the residential nodes are established, further units will be installed across the City, in order to reach the 60 000 resident target

Physical Analysis and Intervention

The City of London was historically home to over 100,000 residents up until the mid 1800s (Kynaston, 1987) (Fig. 26). Although a dense residential population may seem inconceivable for today's City, we believe the City's spatial DNA has proven to be incredibly resilient and elastic. In many parts, the City preserves its medieval street pattern, while accommodating the block and tower morphology of the contemporary city. Another example is the doubling of the City's office stock that occurred between 1985 and 1993, in response to the digitisation of the market and the need to build floor plates to house trading floors and an increased number of workers (Burdett, 1994).

We have identified three urban morphologies that are prevalent throughout the City's built fabric: medieval, block and tower (Fig. 16). By evaluating these three morphologies, their opportunities and constraints, we offer an approach to installing residential units across the City. In order to achieve a residential population of 60,000 by 2025, we envision the incremental addition of 24,000 apartments through strategic phasing. In mapping connectivity, social infrastructure and amenities (Figs. 17-24) we identified three central nodes where the installation of residential units would begin. These are located around Bank, Liverpool Street and Thames Citylink Stations (Fig. 32). These nodes host functions key to resident needs and they have significant block morphology office stock. The insertion of apartments will begin within close proximity of these intensity nodes and then extend across the City (Figs. 37 - 39), disrupting the current segregation of residents into particular wards. In our initial intervention phase, we estimate accommodating 520 residential units at these three nodes in the first year, then gradually increasing annual output to reach 7,800 in 2025 (Fig. 34). We propose beginning the installation of residential units within the block morphology because its rationalised structure would lend itself to this kind of spatial intervention. Gradually, residential units would be introduced into the medieval and tower morphologies, which necessitate greater sensitivity to spatial forms. We recognise that intervention in each of the morphologies must consider issues of entry, circulation, lighting, ventilation and security on a case by case basis.

Block

The block morphology makes up about 58% of the City of London's built fabric (Figs. 42 and 45). The large floor plates of buildings within this morphology, such as Capital House on King William Street and the BT Centre on Newgate Street, offer key opportunities for converting underutilised space into residential units and amenities. The large, open roofs and blank facades within the block morphology could accommodate the installation of residential units and significantly increase the City's residential stock. We envision residential units in the

spacious, open-floor plans of large buildings within the block morphology. For example, instead of entire floors of big office buildings remaining vacant for long periods of time, they can be temporarily converted into high quality studio apartments (Fig. 36).

The temporality of such an intervention would allow for the converted residential space to be reconverted back into office space as the need arises. It is for these reasons that we have identified the block morphology as the best morphology for initial insertion; it offers the ability to host the largest number of residential units with the least amount of disruption. Although the installation of residential units within an office building would require a rearrangement of programmes and management, new revenue streams will be generated from what would otherwise be vacant office floors. From 2009 to 2011, office vacancy in the City averaged at 9.3% (The City of London, 2010 and Capita Symonds, 2012). We consider the installation of homes within already existing, vacant office infrastructure a means of creating a 24-7 environment for areas of the City that become desolate during evenings and weekends.

Tower

At 13%, the tower morphology makes up the smallest percentage of the City of London's built fabric (Figs. 43 and 46). This morphology has the greatest potential for high-density residential intervention. Not only do we envision office space within the towers being converted into residential units and amenities, but built interventions on top of and between towers will make the most of underutilised and available space (Fig. 36). Because towers have small footprints, as well as high quality, robust infrastructure already in place, we believe they offer viable opportunities for accommodating high density and quality apartments. Our exploration of possible interventions within the City's tower morphology was informed by MVRDV's the Cloud, a planned mixed-use residential complex in Seoul (MVRDV, 2011). The Cloud consists of two high rises connected by units that maximise the space between the towers. We imagine many opportunities for residential interventions that append, bridge and plug into the City's tower morphology, without impeding their office functions.

Medieval

The dense, labyrinthine, medieval morphology of the Square Mile makes up about 30% of its built fabric (Figs. 41 and 44). A good example of this morphology is the inner-temple or the area of offices directly west of the Barbican. The insertion of residential units within the medieval morphology will be incremental and will respect its distinct character, which in some instances is the result of centuries of urban accretion. The medieval morphology's architecturally diverse fabric and human scale allows for intimate public spaces. Out of the

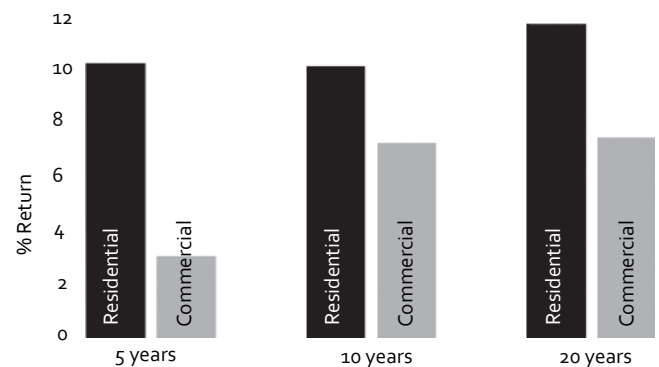


Fig. 33: Average annual total returns of prime residential property in Central London vs. Commercial to 2009

Source: D&G Asset Management, 2011.

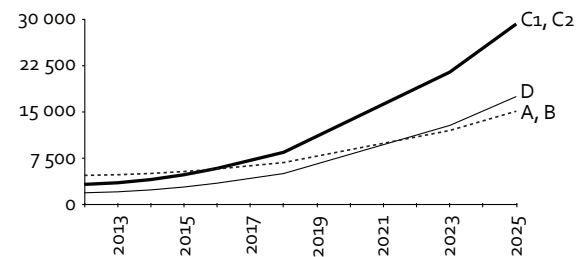


Fig. 34: Proposed population growth and social grade shift

Source: Based on Office for National Statistics

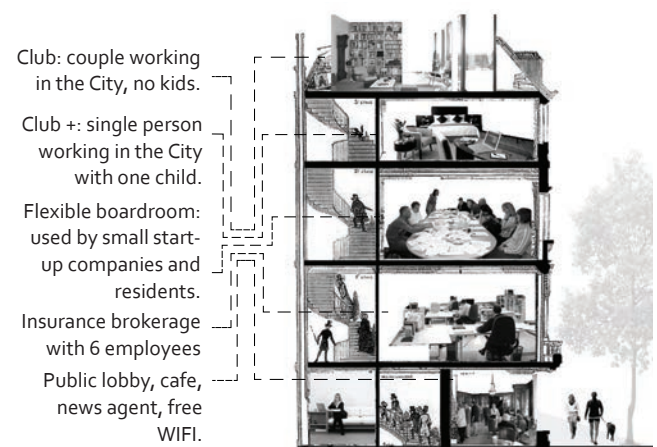


Fig. 35: Opportunities for social interaction through mixed functions

Source: Hetzel, 1846

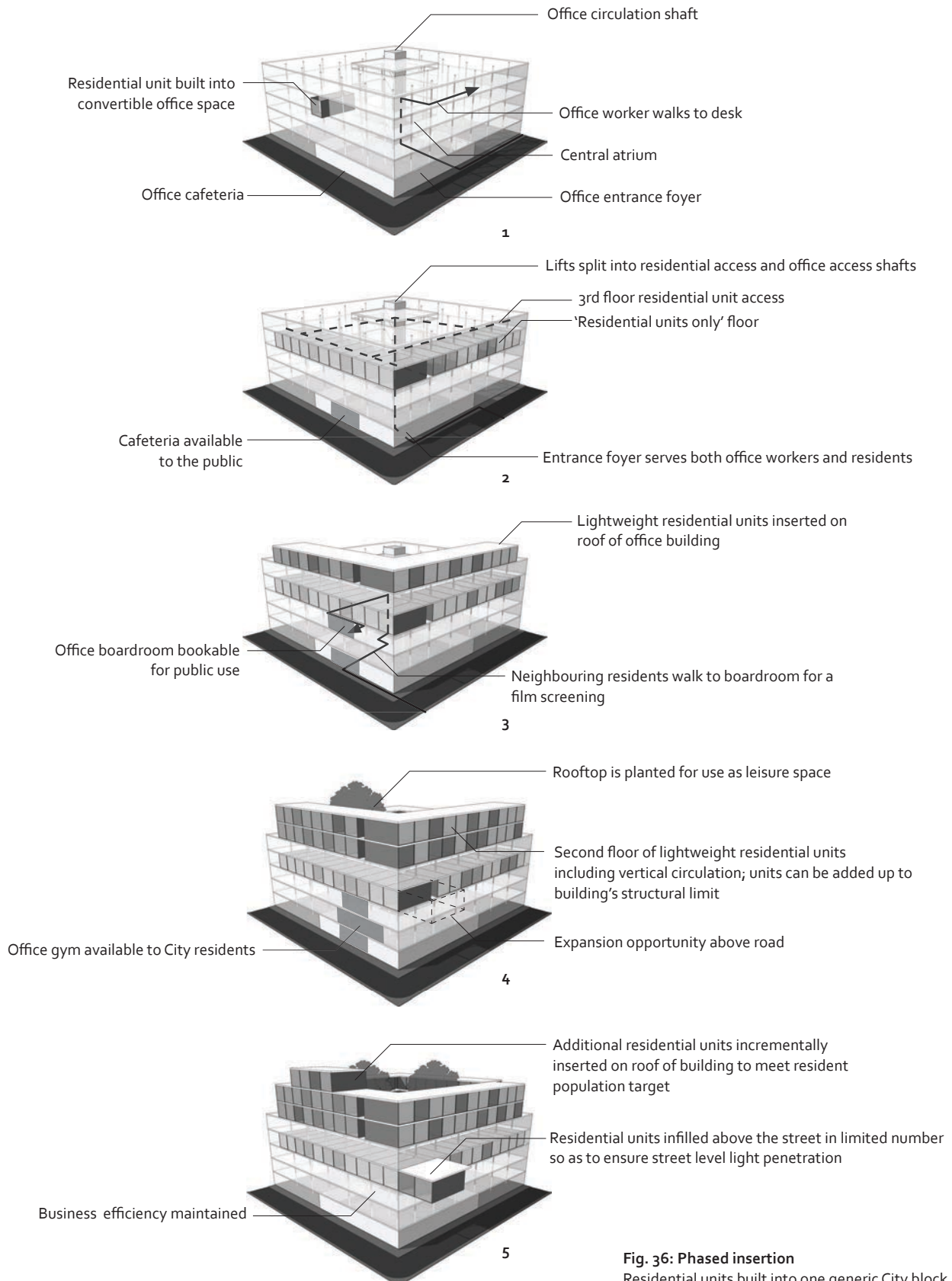


Fig. 36: Phased insertion
Residential units built into one generic City block

three morphologies, we would integrate the fewest number of residential units here because its current form already largely maximises available space and connectivity. Due to the delicate and varied nature of the medieval morphology, as well as its particular opportunities for intervention, we envision primarily installing or plugging residential units into it and utilising the infrastructure and amenities of the nearby block and tower morphologies for public space opportunities. The Nomiya Restaurant, placed on the roof of the Palais de Tokyo, hints at possible interventions within the City's medieval morphology that could be site responsive, 'plug-in' forms, which could utilise prefabricated components that could be attached to existing infrastructure (Studio Laurent Grosso, 2009).

Public Space

In addition to our residential policy, our vision for public space within the City of London is critical. In order to accommodate a residential population of 60,000, the quality of public space within the City must be improved. More accessible public spaces that facilitate a diverse range of interactions amongst a diverse range of users, across social grades, are necessary. Opportunities for public space should be increased, and existing spaces improved by transforming the already existing infrastructure and amenities of City businesses into public or semi-public spaces. The roof gardens, canteens, gyms, boardrooms, lobbies, cafés, courtyards of businesses and firms within the Square Mile are of a high calibre, but are restricted in access. As our proposed intervention unfolds and residential units are installed in converted office floors, plugged into the facades of buildings and built on to available roof space, residents' public space needs can be met by gaining access to these business amenities. These underutilised spaces within the City, such as certain roof spaces, lobby spaces and vacant office spaces, can be converted for public use by residents and workers alike (Fig. 40). To avoid replicating a gated community effect, in which residents and employees have access to high quality amenities that remain inaccessible to the wider public, we will make a number of business amenities accessible to the general public. In order to facilitate general accessibility to certain appropriated and converted public spaces, such as boardrooms, without compromising business needs, online booking networks can be used to query and reserve these spaces. Our vision for public space within the City builds on the design precedents in other global financial centres. For example, Dwell 95 by Yoo, a Wall Street office tower converted into rental flats, has been programmed with amenities, such as free weekday breakfast, a roof-top terrace, a gym and business centre, promote interaction and efficiency (Yoo, 2008). Our vision for the public city goes further by reconceptualising the City's private amenities as a public good.

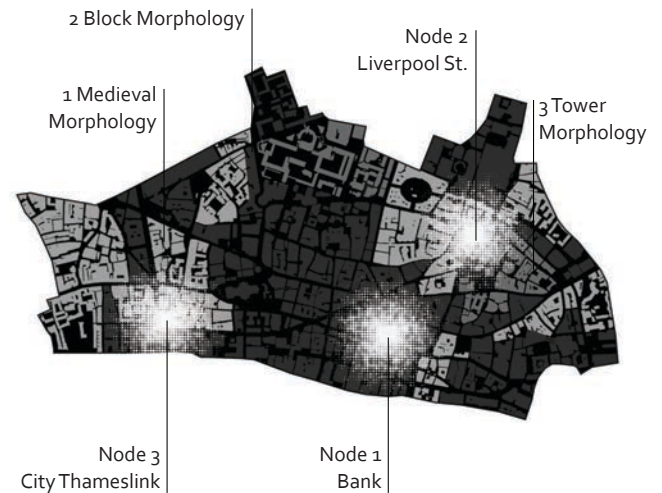


Fig. 37: A
Layering of intervention nodes and morphologies



Fig. 38: B
Incremental installation of residential units starting at the overlap of nodes and the block morphology



Fig. 39: C
City-wide growth and accretion of residential units

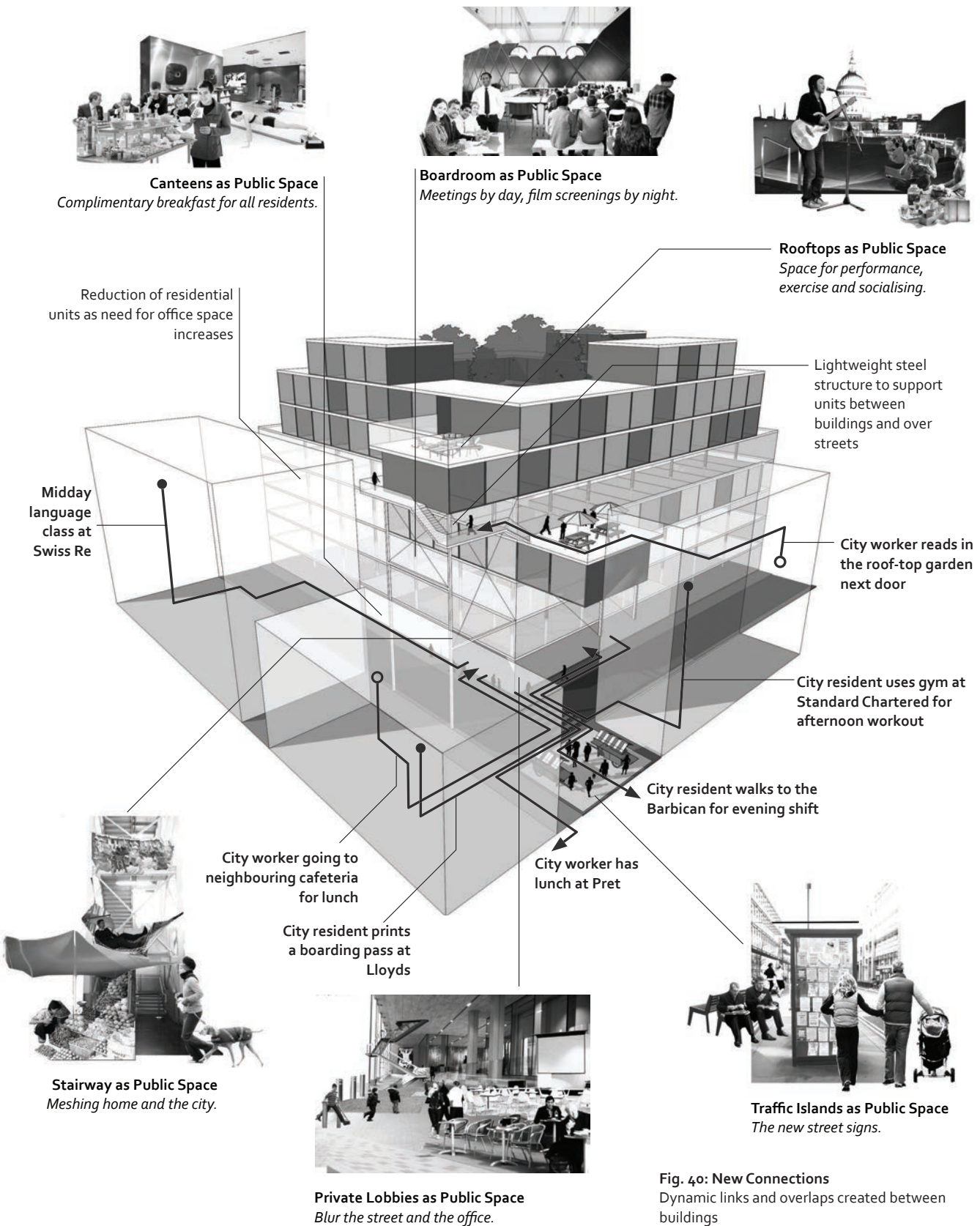


Fig. 40: New Connections
Dynamic links and overlaps created between buildings

Residential intervention, and its effect on the changing public city, as imagined through time:



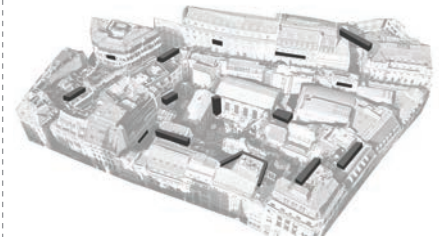
2011



2018

Fig. 41: The Medieval morphology

Accretion of residential units on existing infrastructure as imagined by 2025:



2011

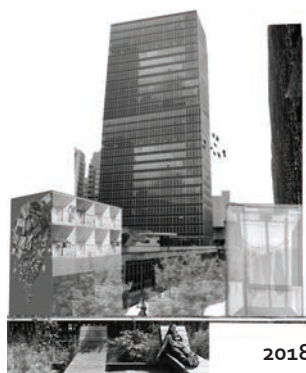


2018

Fig. 42: The Block morphology



2011



2018

Fig. 43: The Tower morphology

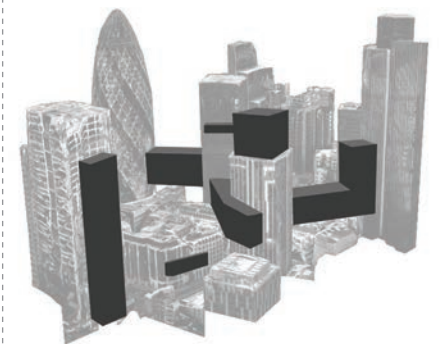




Fig. 44 (Above Left): The Medieval morphology as imagined in 2025

Fig. 45 (Above): The Block morphology as imagined in 2025

Fig. 46 (Left): The Tower morphology as imagined in 2025

Fig. 47 (Facing Page): Final vision of an inclusive, public City

CONCLUSION

The City of London's public realm is defined by static boundaries of historic governance systems and exclusive corporate tenants. To transform the City's boundaries into productive borders, we propose integrating a kinetic residential typology within the existing infrastructure. We frame the global financial crisis as an impetus for the City of London to consider using design as a method of productively responding and reconnecting to the rest of London. We imagine opportunities to create hybrid, multi-scalar and multi-programmed public spaces, complemented by an equally responsive and dynamic residential intervention. While speculative, this project corresponds to a new political push for more residents being accommodated in the City. National policies that would facilitate the City's conversion into a mixed-use neighbourhood are already under consideration. In light of the UK housing crisis, David Cameron ordered a review of the national planning system in the summer of 2011, including a proposal to allow developers to convert offices in the City of London into residences (Jacobs and Pickard, 2011). Under the government's vision, there would be a reversal of the long-term population decline and low residential density of the Square Mile, creating thousands of flats in the midst of the business landscape. UK planning minister Greg Clark favours this increase

in the City's residential population and does not accept the City's practice of exporting its housing to other boroughs:

'Having people living in city centres is a fantastic thing. It civilises cities, so they are not ghost towns at night . . . I know the Corporation of London takes a view that the City is different to most places. But we are very clear that it is important and desirable to have greater flexibility' (ibid).

Developers are also eager to convert offices into flats because residences are currently worth up to double the value of offices (City of London, 2010). One of the main triggers of the 2008 financial crisis was the collapse of subprime mortgage markets due to predatory lending and trading practices (Burkhalter and Castells, 2009: 24). 'City Living' offers a positive reconnection between the everyday domestic realm and the financial sector that has fuelled its foreclosure. We imagine a particular city of compact residences and diverse residents that are integrated into hyper-connected public space. We offer dynamic spatial strategies for a 21st-century finance city, in which local governing bodies and corporations can adapt design as a method to create an inclusive public city.



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