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# EXCHANGE PUBLICS

## INTRODUCTION

### Reconceptualising exchange in the public city

Understanding the public city involves not just public space but also the people that use it and how use changes over time, accommodating diverse needs and demands. In this chapter, we explore the lived realities of the public realm on Whitecross Street and address questions regarding how people function within diverse systems of exchange in their everyday lives. Whitecross Street, which is situated within the Bunhill ward in the borough of Islington along the northern edge of the City of London, plays an essential role in providing facilities for the residents and various daytime populations in the wider vicinity. With a range of shops and a popular daytime market, the street contributes to a sense of 'publicness' in the area.

In exploring the nature of everyday public life, we do not shy away from acknowledging the way in which the urban is shaped by capitalism and consumption. Instead, we recognise that human interactions are embedded in systems where the social and the spatial, consumption and production, and the monetary and non-monetary are not only linked but interdependent. Throughout this project, recognising the potential of these systems has been essential for understanding urban spaces that are changing at an ever increasing pace. We are inspired by Lefebvre's questions: "would not specific urban needs be those of qualified places, places of simultaneity and encounters, places where exchange would not go through exchange value, commerce and profit? Would there not also be the need for a time for these encounters, these exchanges?" (1996: 148). Throughout this project we have focused our analysis on Whitecross Street as a place of exchange within a complex system with the capacity to bring people together both within and outside of the traditional nexus of monetary exchange. By moving beyond exchange as consumerism, we have explored the public city through notions of the everyday, accumulation, temporality, iteration, and recognition. We have found that using this perspective of 'exchange systems' has significant consequences in terms of how we analysed the site and designed our interventions.

To understand the particularities on Whitecross Street, we have utilised a range of research methodology including observational fieldwork, stakeholder interviews, literature and policy documents review, as well as census and historical data analysis. We have developed our interventions with a coherent methodological approach, avoiding over-determined designs and instead focusing on recognising analytical categories that might be applicable to other spaces or contexts. This essay begins with our conceptual framework and goes on to explain our analysis of the spatial and social architecture of Whitecross Street. We then detail our intervention and conclude by exploring the implications of our work in terms of how we understand the public city and the role of design.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Despite what some might argue, the public city is not a space into which all individuals enter as equals (Peñalosa, 2007: 318). There is a pressing need for spaces and skills that enable us to work collectively with others who are different from us. This is particularly true in cities facing increasing inequalities and economic, political and environmental crises. Following Young (1990), our concept of the public city moves beyond the dichotomy of the public as the universalist and homogeneous 'common good', and the private as individual identities, desires, roles and interests. The 'heterogeneous public' is defined by difference and particularity with a multiplicity of spatial connections and social interactions. However, weak spatial and social architectures of public life lead to interaction with others happening as an extension of the private sphere, or not at all, as Jane Jacobs describes. "The more common outcome in cities, where people are faced with the choice of sharing much or nothing, is nothing" (Jacobs 1961: 65), resulting in homogeneous groups with little, if any, contact with those who are different. We believe some sort of collectivity lies in the kind of public interaction made up of 'side-by-side particularities' that Iris Marion Young puts forward. The 'being together of strangers' and the 'room for great difference' of city publicness that Young (1990: 237) and Jacobs (1961: 72) refer to, can best develop through the principles of cooperation described by Richard Sennett, which open up "an indeterminate mutual space, the space in which strangers dwell with one another" (2012: 23). His explanation of dialogic exchanges, in which participants can engage without dissolving in common ground, exemplifies how certain kinds of public interaction can express particularities and be mutually beneficial. This is because "through the process of exchange people may become more aware of their own views and expand their understanding of one another" (Sennett 2012: 19). We believe that cooperation, as Sennett argues, is a skill at the heart of exchange and is vital for strengthening systems.

We view Young's 'heterogeneous public' as a system; its components are not only interconnected but mutually dependent, with the whole being larger than the sum of its parts. These ties may be stronger or more fragile, but they imply that no component is self-sufficient. As Kevin Lynch says, "nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings" (1960: 1). In the case of Whitecross Street, we see how neither the street nor any of its parts stand on their own, but rather work within complex systems at various scales including the local, borough, and city levels. What happens in one location has repercussions throughout the whole street and, therefore, particular attention must be paid to the interdependencies between individual sites within the street network. In this sense, we have focused on the accumulation of small connections and interactions on Whitecross Street and how together they strengthen the systems they belong to.



#### Civic and Cultural Institutions.

1. St. Luke's Centre and Education - Sports cluster
2. City of London Community Education Centre
3. YMCA
4. Cass Business School
5. Golden Lane Campus
6. Barbican Centre
7. Guildhall School of Music and Drama



#### KEY

- |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| After 1980s   | 1920s - 1940s |
| 1960s - 1980s | 1890s - 1920s |
| 1940s - 1960s | Before 1890s  |

#### Historical Encroachment

Evolution of the street fabric  
Source: Edina Maps

## THE STREET

We have focused on the way the various intricate parts come together and their relationship within the entire street network, paying particular attention to the spaces and institutions already part of the everyday experience. To develop our understanding of the street in relation to the neighbouring spaces, we focused on the area delineated between the arterial routes of Goswell Road to the east, City Road to the west and Old Street to the north. This northern boundary is particularly important in connecting Whitecross Street to the larger city network, given its role as an important east-west connector, the proximity to Old Street roundabout as an important transport node, and the sheer number of people passing through this intersection.

There is a significant diversity of uses and stakeholders on this relatively small stretch of city: residential, independent and chain retail, educational, cultural, office space and some services. Together, they function within networks that have the potential for collaboration between the various stakeholders in the vicinity. In particular, we would like to highlight three types of institutions along the street. First, in terms of the 'everyday' institutions, there are several self-organised groups with vested interest in the area such as the various resident associations and the Whitecross Street Market Traders' Association. Secondly, there are a number of civic institutions including educational, sports clubs, and the YMCA. While many are spread throughout the area, there is a significant cluster adjacent to St. Luke's in the north. Finally, the street functions as the physical connection for the 'Cultural Quarter' a partnership linking the three major cultural institutions: St. Luke's, home to the London Symphony Orchestra, the Barbican Centre and Guildhall School of Music and Drama. The prominence of these arts and culture institutions attract people from throughout London but also visitors from around the world.

In addition, the street is shaped by external forces and processes that go beyond immediate space and present time. These external forces leave lasting repercussions in the fabric of the street. For instance, the legacy of the World War II bombings resulted in the redevelopment of the southern and eastern sections of Whitecross Street with the introduction of a new street fabric and building typology. In recent years, the proximity of the City of London has fostered the construction of big office building complexes, which are encroaching on the small historic tissue of the area. Nevertheless, the northern part of Whitecross Street has remained a local commercial street with an important number of small two or three storey units, which date back to the late 19th century.

This small grain of historic fabric supports the small-scale commercial activity on the street, which has a highly fragmented ownership pattern. Through looking at the ground floor uses at the larger medium scale, Whitecross Street's local character



stands out. Today, with 27% Food and Beverage and 20% services, it has a great number of independently owned shops, compared to the proliferation of chain restaurants and stores along the periphery of our study area. However, the street also hosts a large Waitrose supermarket, which functions as a main shopping destination. While the plaza located at the entrance of the store is meant for lingering, it is actually underutilised as such despite heavy pedestrian traffic using it as an access point during opening hours.

Despite offering a range of goods and services, vacancy is an escalating issue on Whitecross Street with 23% of the shops sitting unused along the street. The middle section of the street (from 141 to 157 Whitecross Street) contains a unique group of 9 derelict buildings that break up the rhythm of the street. An interview with Islington Council Planning Officials (February 2012) revealed that the council had already tried to solve this

problem through compulsory purchase but was unsuccessful. It is currently owned by one proprietor and is awaiting planning permission. While this creates uncertainty for the street, the significant number of vacancies concentrated in the north is equally worrisome because this cluster creates a disconnection to Old Street and the larger city network. There are three main reasons for these vacancies. First, it is a result of owners wanting to change buildings' use to residential, which is seen as a more profitable use. In order to apply for a change of use with the council, owners must prove the building has been vacant for at least six months and that they have undertaken a marketing campaign of at least one year to find commercial tenants but have been unsuccessful. Secondly, these vacancies could be seen as a larger sign of 'commercial gentrification' as rental rates are rising yet businesses are unable to increase their revenues, causing shops to close. Finally, the inability of local food shops to compete with the market has caused some shops and market stalls to go out of business.



Food &amp; Beverage



27%

36%



Retail



11%

9%

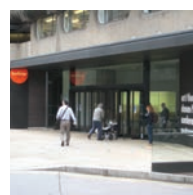


Vacant Spaces



23%

28%



Institutions

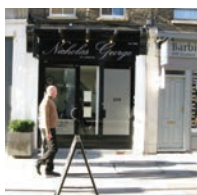


6%

5%



Services

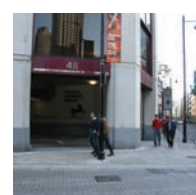


20%

16%



Office Spaces



5%

4%

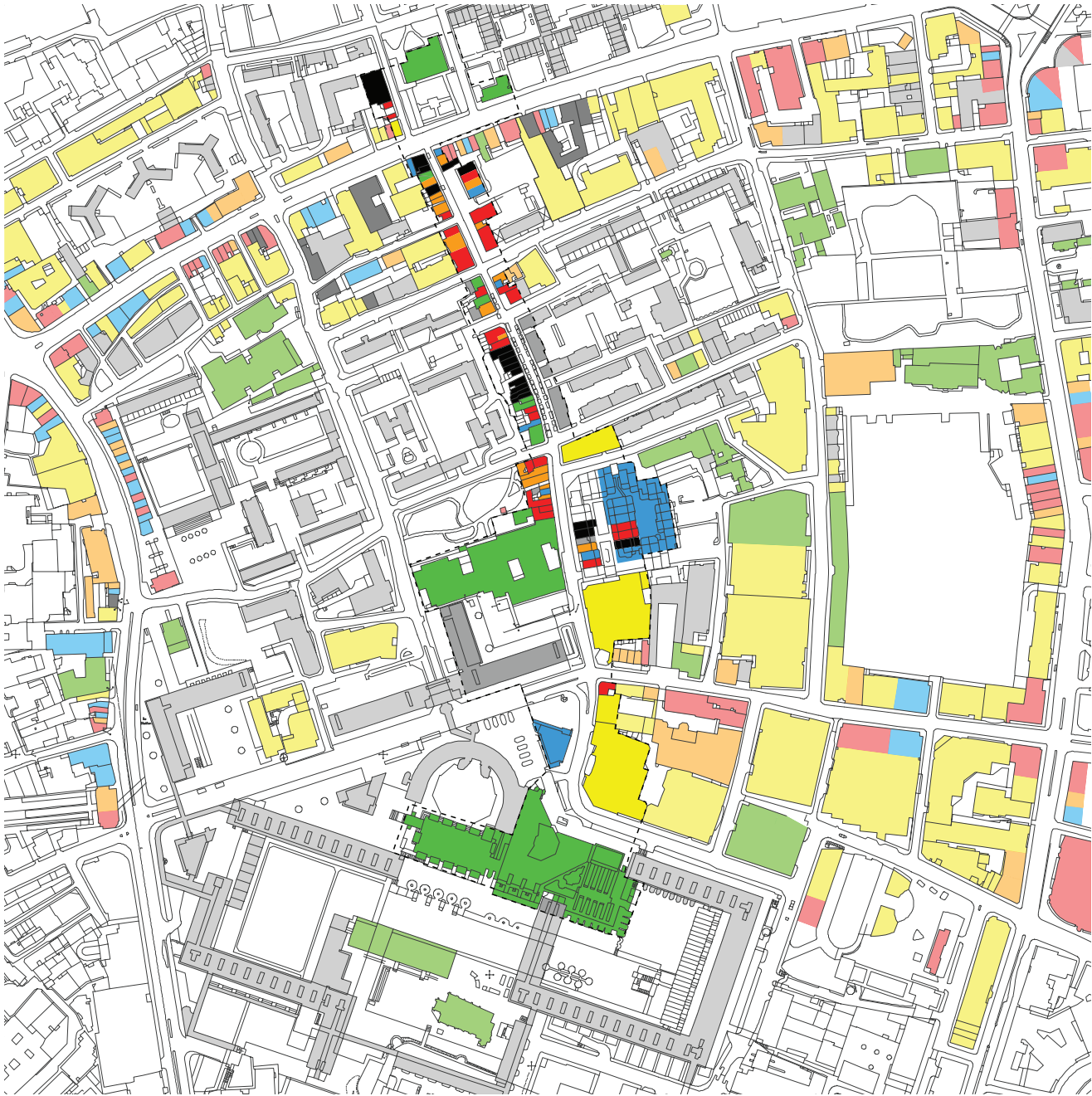
## KEY

Street Units

Street and Market Units

## Above: Comparison of Groundfloor Street Uses

As the number of units increases when the market is included in the total count, the percentage of each category changes



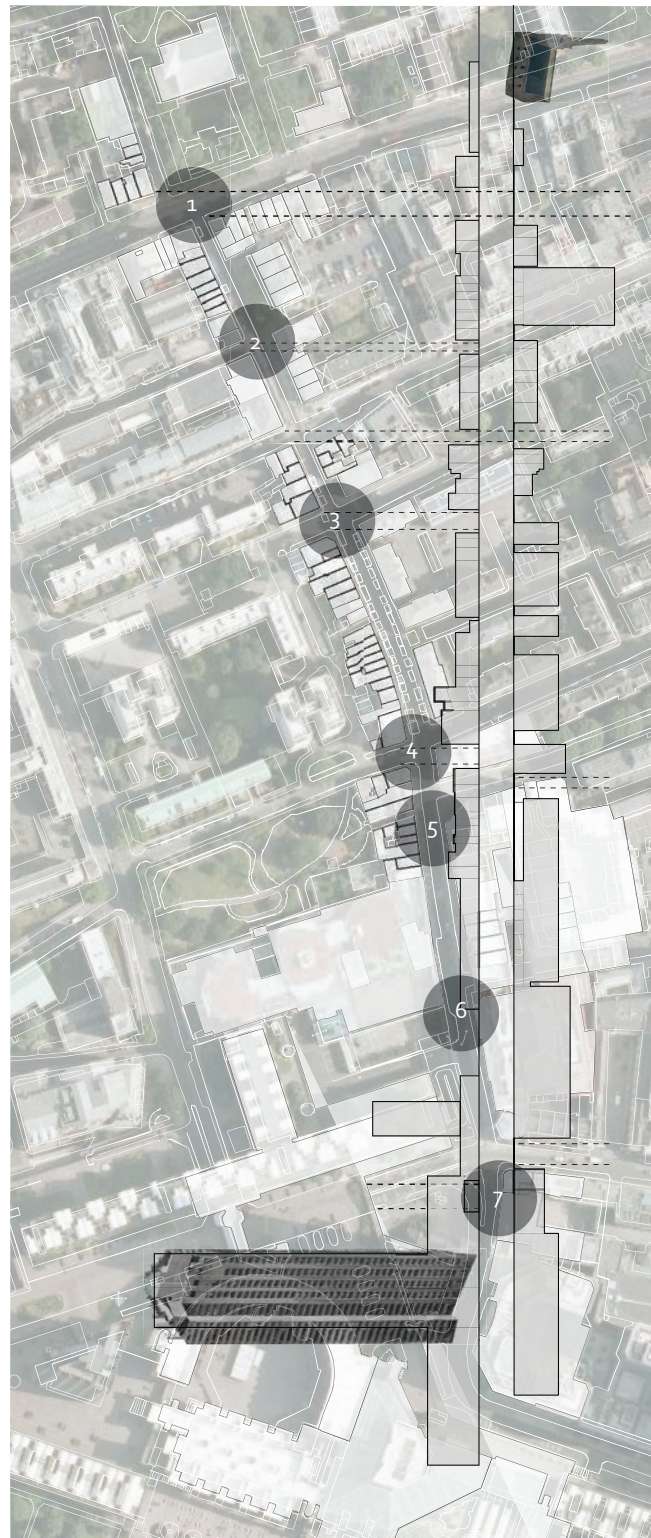
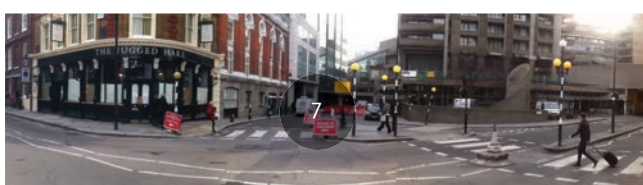
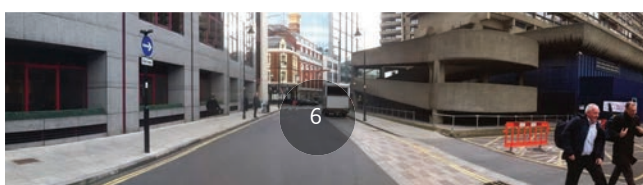
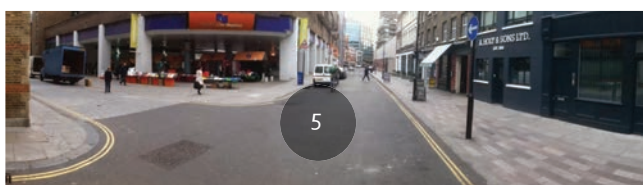
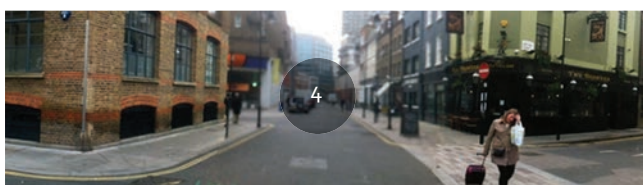
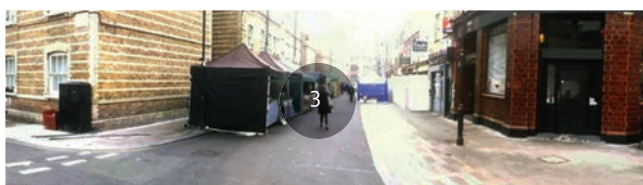
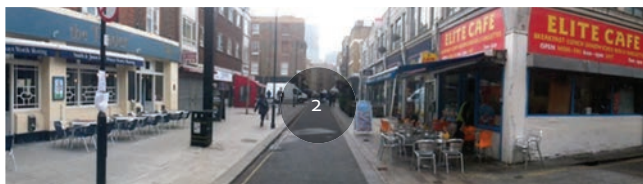
KEY

- |  |  |  |   |
|--|--|--|---|
| <span style="color: red;">■</span> Food and beverage | <span style="color: orange;">■</span> Services | <span style="color: yellow;">■</span> Office | <span style="color: green;">■</span> Institutions |
| <span style="color: grey;">■</span> Residential      | <span style="color: blue;">■</span> Retail     | <span style="color: black;">■</span> Vacant  |   |

Groundfloor Uses

The street's small grain and level of vacancy stands out, as does the difference in scale between the northern and southern office clusters





### Whitecross Street

Changing perspectives of the streetscape, with a plan and section of the street.

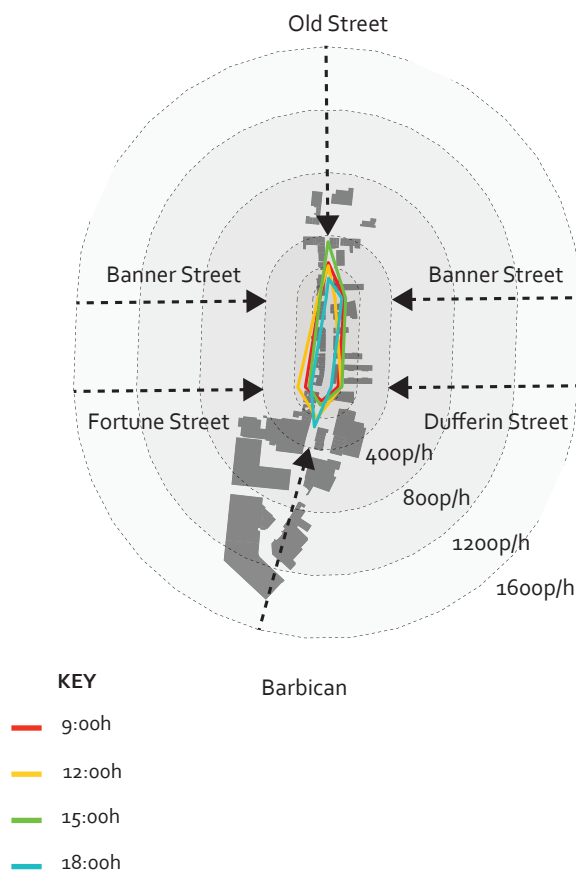
## THE MARKET

The current perception of Whitecross Street's main asset is its role as a market street, as discussed in Islington's Core Strategy (2011b). However, more than just an opportunity for economic development, markets have historically been platforms for cultural encounter, social interaction, and places where groups experience the combination of monetary and non-monetary exchange. Today, markets like Whitecross Street provide important opportunities for new or small businesses and stand in opposition to the shopping mall, 'a monolithic space dedicated just to consumption' (Sennett, 2011: 17).

The Whitecross Street Market is one of London's oldest markets, dating back to medieval times. The evolution from a textile and goods-oriented market into a predominately food-driven market has happened over the past three decades as the original market declined with the number of stalls falling from over 140 in 1985 to around 45 in 2005 (Quinn, 2006). Today, despite reinvestment in the market over the past 5 years, there are only 31 stalls,

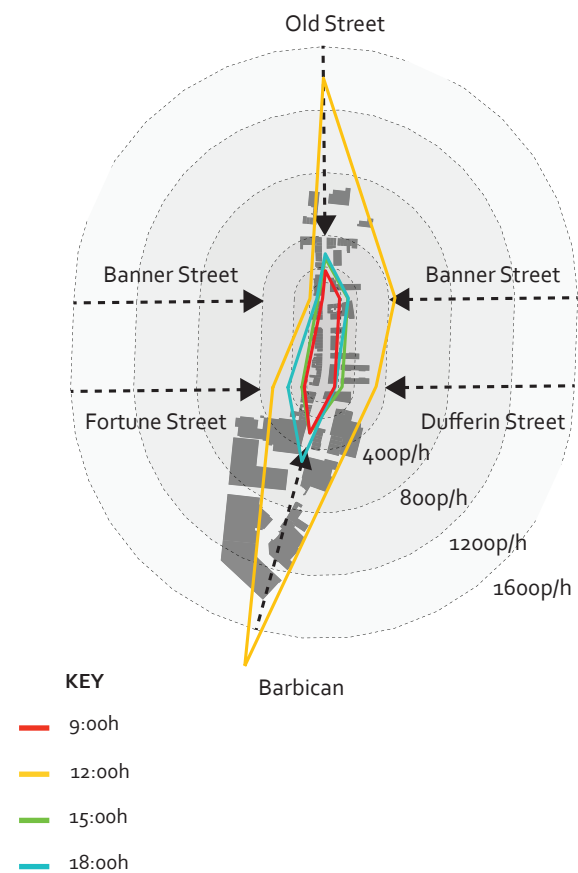
approximately half the number of pitches available. In addition, the market was originally conceived to stretch across the entire street, yet today it remains clustered in the middle. This is due to the prevailing perception among market vendors that the bulk of their clientele is coming from the City of London. However, our fieldwork indicates that there is actually only a marginal difference between the number of customers entering the street from the north and south.

The market capitalises on the strategic location in the city fringe by catering to more affluent office workers. Due to this location, the offer has been tailored to serve predominately prepared food that is sold weekdays from 11-1:30 during the lunch rush, encouraging a 'buy and bye culture.' From a business perspective, the daytime working population offers a profitable consumer audience, however this focus on this market segment has resulted in a mono-offer of food and a declining offer of a variety of affordable products.



### Non-Market

The diagram is a representation of footfall as a tally of pedestrians and cyclists on a non-market day



### Market

In this case, the yellow depicts the lunch time rush



This newest incarnation of the market as a popular weekday lunch-time destination was envisioned as a regeneration project for the area. As part of the initial phases of the EC1 New Deal for Communities (EC1 NDC), Market Squared, a consultancy which led the regeneration of Borough Market, was commissioned to develop a ten-year vision and strategy for Whitecross Street Market to boost the local economy and promote inward investment. However, according to the market's former business development manager, Davina Fell (Interview, January 2012), the 'Borough Market model' failed to acknowledge local particularities of the area and the diverse needs of the residents. To address this, during the later stages of the EC1 NDC initiative, considerable resources were invested in the physical regeneration of the street to better suit the market

function, as well as in encouraging local residents and shops to establish market stalls, through a community communications campaign and business-related training. Despite the conclusion of the initiative over a year ago, there have been some additional successes visible in the self-organisation of traders and the addition of new local stalls.

The market is integrally linked to the street as a whole which is why it does not simply work as a self-contained one-size-fits-all, plug-in economic development engine for a neighborhood. With direct connections to other shops, restaurants and open spaces, Whitecross Street market is connected with the city on different scales. Due to the increased competition from the market, many shops have capitalised on the influx of customers by offering



**Local Network Connections**  
Between shops and stalls on the street

services either within the market itself or that complement the market. For example, knowing that it is difficult to get people to come into the stores when the market is happening, five shops have opted to operate a stall as part of the formal market. In addition, several cafes and pubs along the street have allowed customers from the market to eat their food inside if they purchase a drink. This strategy has been an effective way for shops to increase their customer base, especially when there is unseasonable weather. In addition, open spaces such as Fortune Street Park, located in the center of the street, and St. Luke's courtyard, just opposite Old Street, both complement the market by providing open space for lingering during market hours.

### Socio-spatial architecture of the market

This spatial configuration of the market impacts how individuals experience, interact, appropriate space and navigate the market. Due to the density of stalls, there is limited space within the market for lingering. However, there are open spaces at either end of the market, where Whitecross Street intersects with other streets that act as transition points. Located out of the way from the dense crowds, these spaces provide an opportunity to stop, observe what options are available, choose where to go or simply linger. In addition, the official configuration of the market pitches, as marked on the pavement, is designed to face the street as the main pedestrian corridor. However, this is subtly subverted by the actual diversity of stall configurations which result in a variety of ways in which vendors and visitors interact.

### The Street Rhythms

As a dynamic system, both the spatial and temporal rhythms fluctuate at various time scales which range from the historical evolution of the physical built environment over decades and centuries to the fluctuation of pedestrian movements which respond to the everyday routines of the various publics and users coming through. These complex temporal rhythms that change both hourly and daily also respond to changing seasons and weather conditions. Furthermore, at different times, Whitecross Street accommodates various micropublics and is appropriated by a range of constituencies, drastically changing the dynamics of public life and resulting in very different experiences when the market is opened and closed.

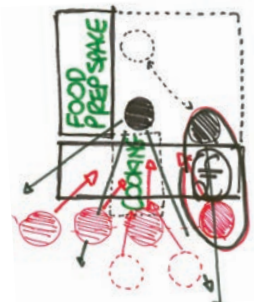
We have used a metaphorical musical score to illustrate the importance of the overlayed temporalities. When the piece is played under different conditions, such as when the market is there or not, the results differ. Even with the same bass line, understood as the built environment, the different lines interact, responding to the harmony and the improvisations.

The results vary; everyday, a new musical piece will be played.



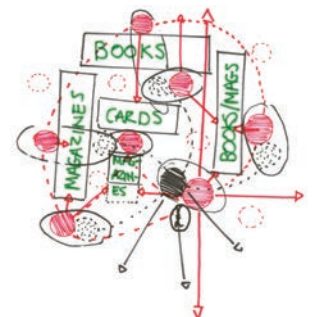
**Barbican Express**

Barbican Express is not only a restaurant on Whitecross Street but also operates a stall during in market hours which is located in front of the shop. Both the L-shaped, front-facing design of the stall and the assembly line process allows for people to be highly engaged with the stall, the three workers and the preparation of the food.



**Linda Book Stall**

Despite feeling like an enclosed space, the book shelves around the edges create a U-shaped design that is one of the most open and penetrable stalls in the market, allowing for free movement for both the vendor and customer. The stall also takes advantage of its corner location and utilises the periphery of the pitch to put free standing displays to attract customers

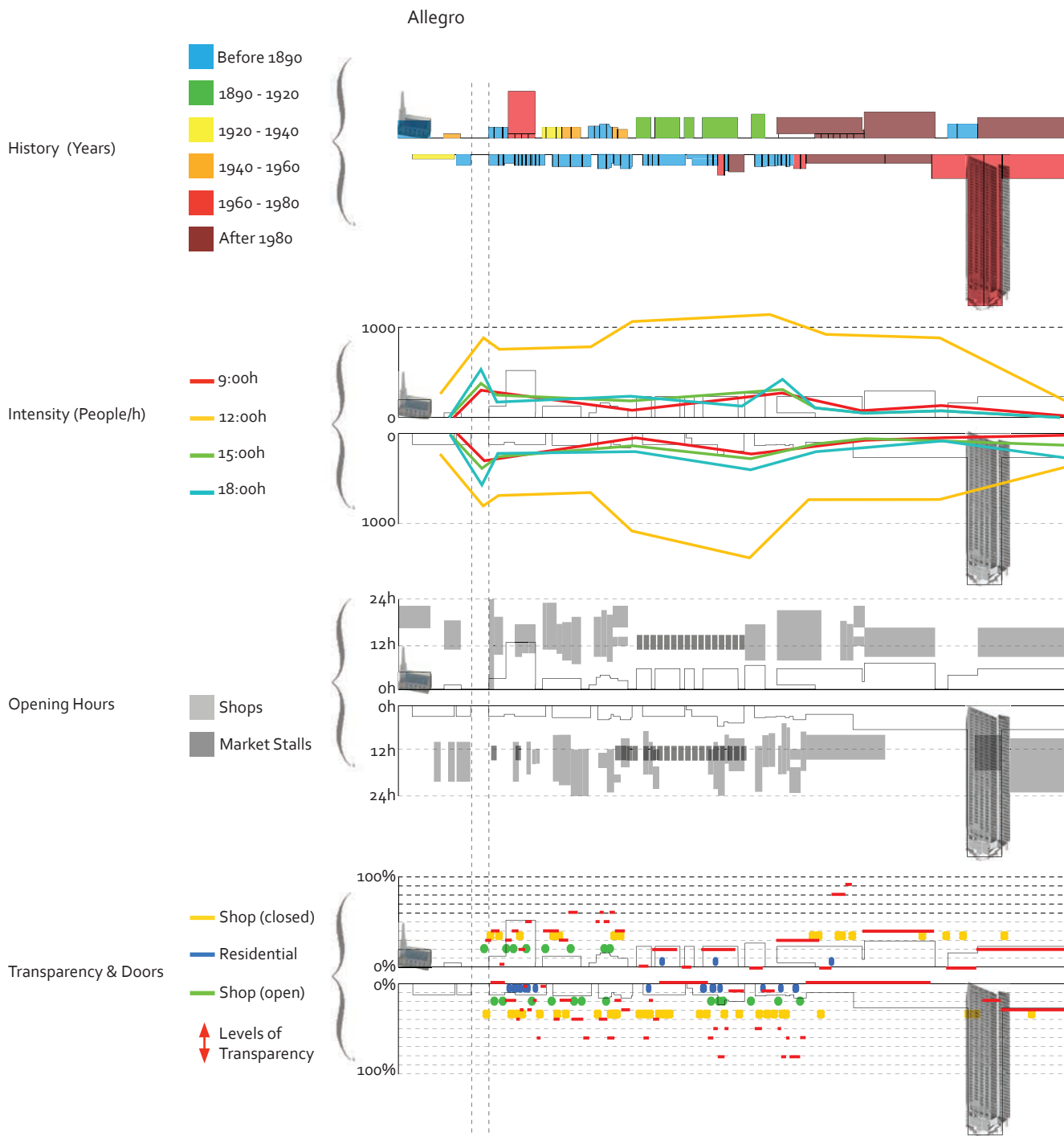


#### KEY

- Journey (Customer)
- Visual Connection (Customer)
- ← Visual Connection (Stall Owner)
- Stall Owner
- Possible Positions
- Linger
- Customer
- Interaction

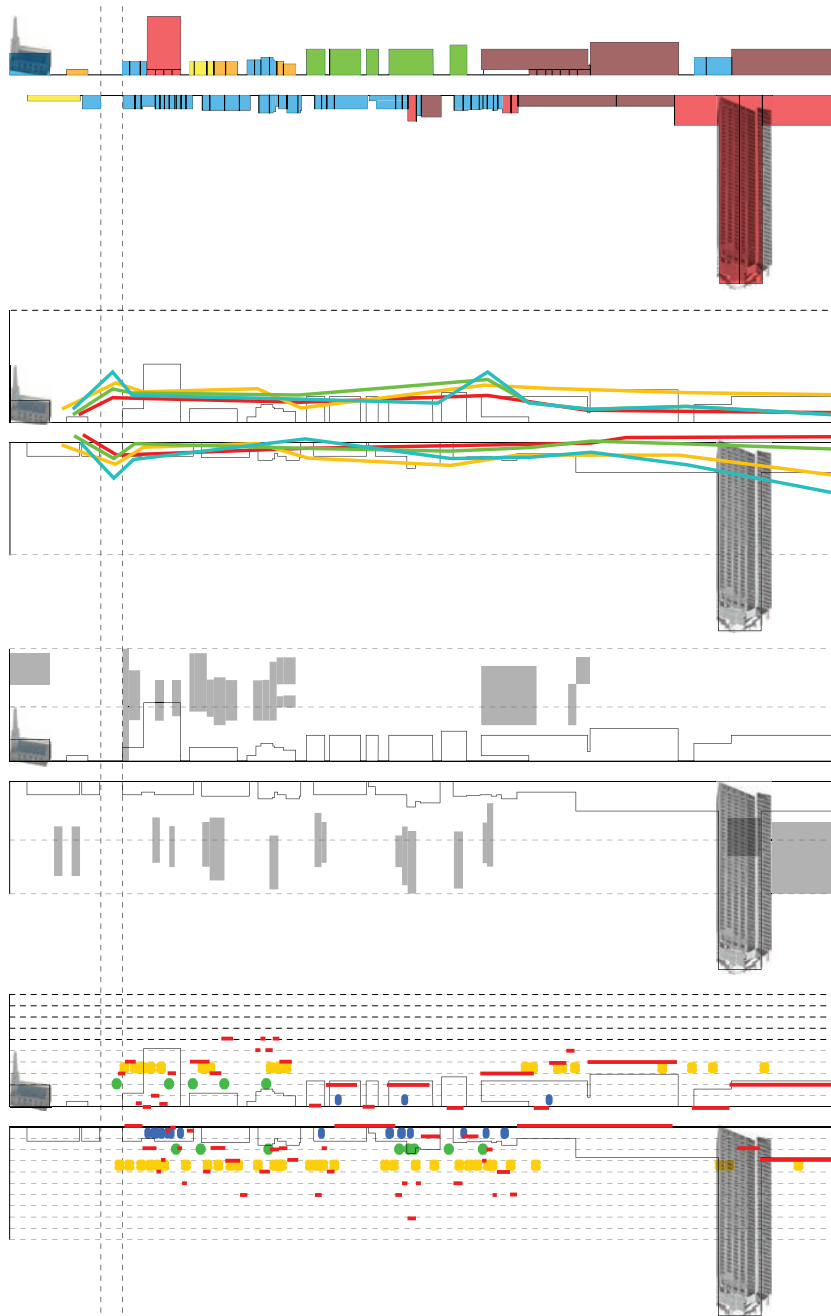


## Weekday



## Weekend

## Adagio

**The Bass Line**

Plays supporting role  
Holding up the harmony and the melody  
Marks the rhythm  
A new note appears reconfiguring  
the rest of the piece

**The Melody**

The leading line improvises over the chords  
Rules to be followed  
A place for inventions

**The Harmony**

Configures the refinements of the tones  
Shapes the attitude

**The Texture**

Opens possibilities  
New worlds to explore  
The unknown



## INTERVENTIONS

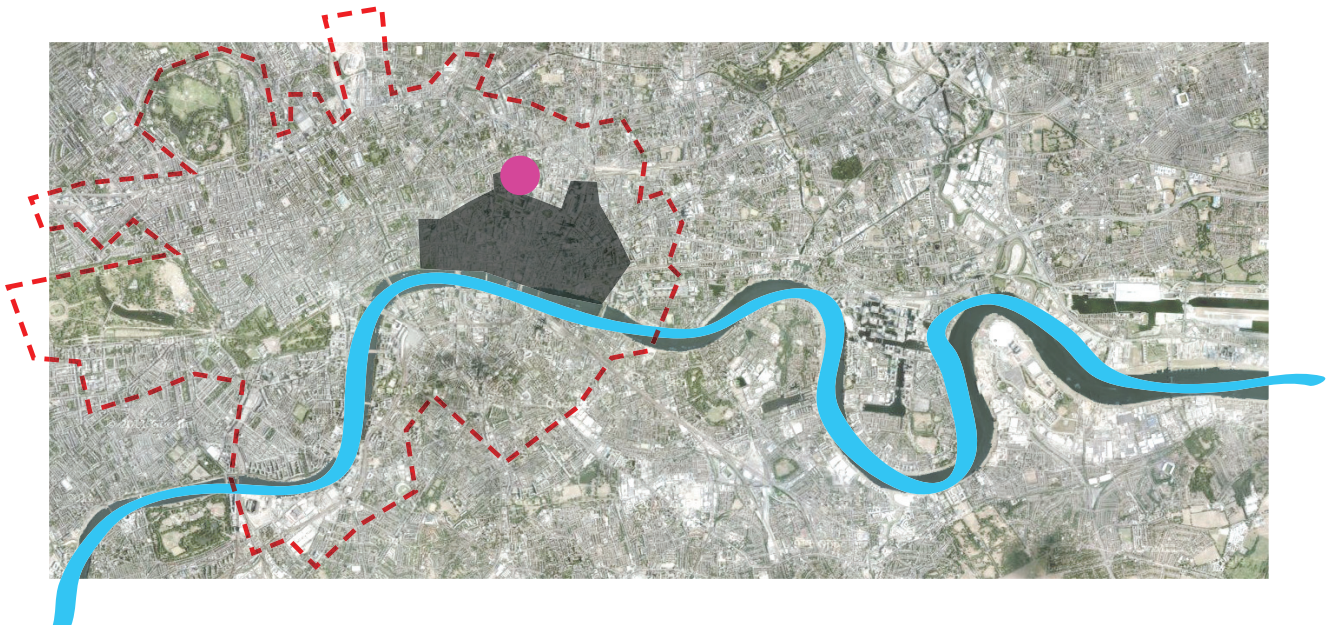
Whitecross Street's location within the city fringe strategically positions it within London's Central Activities Zone (CAZ) as well as within a highlighted opportunity area for growth according to the London Plan. Over the next 15 years, the Bunhill and Clerkenwell area is expected to grow significantly both in terms of population and jobs, having to take in a projected extra 14,000 jobs and 3,200 new homes by 2025 (Islington Council, 2011b: 40). In examining the possible future consequences of historic and current trends of development in relation to the City as a global financial centre, we believe that its influence will continue to expand into neighbouring territories. In addition, the completion of large scale infrastructure and development projects like Crossrail and the Old Street roundabout development, which includes public realm improvements as well as new offices, commercial and residential spaces, will also contribute to the on-going changes in the vicinity (Islington Council, 2011a). This gives us reason to be concerned about the future of Whitecross Street and the small-scale urban grain that supports its diverse mix of uses. These small enterprises are "vital drivers of the UK economy not only in terms of job creation and growth but also through their flexibility, capacity for innovation and geographical spread" (City of London 2010). The desire and need to increase office provision and residences could jeopardise the very attributes of Whitecross Street that make it a unique and important commercial street for the area.

Our intervention is divided in two phases which address our intention to strengthen the street's networks, both in terms of its connections with the rest of the city and internally as a space

for interaction and exchange that includes but goes beyond consumerism. Productive and cooperative exchange between the different groups or components is key to sustaining "social groups across the misfortunes and upheavals of time" (Sennett 2012: 6). Fostering resilience seems particularly important for systems undergoing significant change, as we have seen in the case of Whitecross Street. Fragmentation and difference can be seen as a weakness but they also have a strength in multiplicity, complementarity, flexibility, adaptation, capacity and innovation.

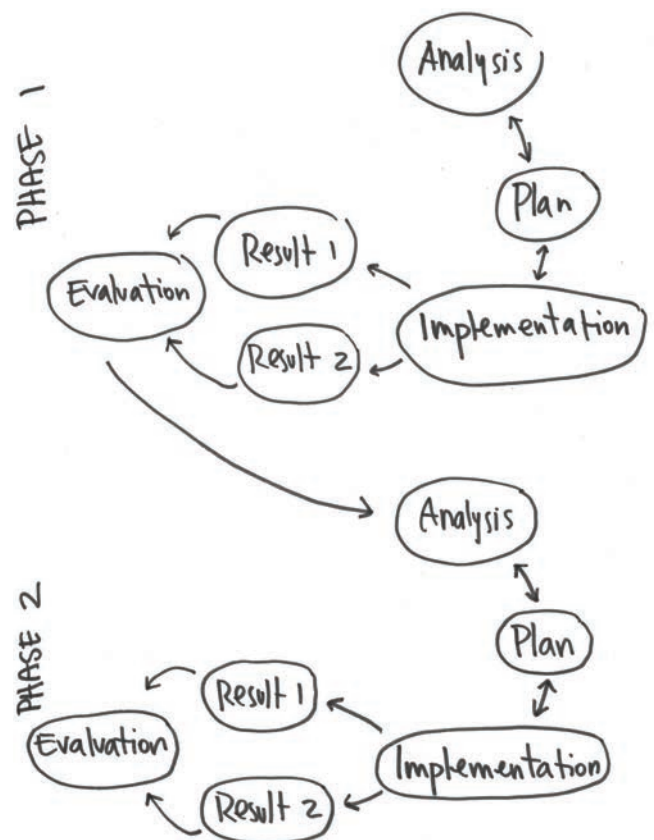
Our intervention seeks to unveil the possibilities of interdependencies that are sometimes hidden in seemingly self-contained structures and diverse groups: market stalls, residents, shops, schools, vacant buildings, art centres and others. We aim to challenge the way groups and institutions think about exchange through time, organisational devices, programming, and spatial configuration.

Our intervention model is based on four practical steps which relate to the principles and key notions we've used to understand Whitecross Street, but could be used as an approach to other sites and cities as well. We aim to recognise what is there and build incrementally on that, basing our proposals in the symbiosis between reflection and action, instead of trying to impose pre-conceived solutions. In doing so, we have placed emphasis on removing barriers for participation or engagement throughout the whole intervention process and not only at the implementation or result stage. Inspired by the open-endedness



of Sennett's dialogics (2012), we approach our interventions as cyclical, iterative processes rather than linear projects. Iteration is particularly significant as a principle for participation purposes, since it relies on feedback loops and evaluation in all stages of decision-making and it allows for inclusion of participants at any point of the process. Our intervention includes the following stages:

1. Analysis: listening and observing as the basis for recognising particularities, relationships, assets and potentialities. Although this stage is mainly to do with reflection, analytical thinking is cross-cutting at all stages, to inform decision-making and achieve a richer interpretation of results.
2. Plan: setting goals, developing strategies, priorities and scenarios open to changing circumstances. Room should be given for experimentation and special attention given to the way in which the different phases build on previous ones.
3. Implementation: effective engagement should be sought through flexibility and expectation management. People should be able to participate in the way and to the extent they want to and are able to. Special attention should be given to managing limitations and scarce resources, internally and externally (own and others' time, money, expertise, networks, etc.).
4. Results and evaluation: emphasis should be placed on monitoring and measuring quantitative and qualitative outcomes, as well as communicating them internally and externally.



Opposite Page: Central Activity Zone

#### Right: Intervention and Phasing Model

Above: Our intervention model is a four-step process which iterates between analysis and implementation. We recognise the uncertainty of the implementation stage which can result in unexpected outcomes. Below: When the model is implemented in phases, it is informed incrementally



## PHASE ONE

Although Whitecross Street is a highly localised commercial street, we recognise that the street is not self-contained and therefore must be more integrated into the larger city network. In order for Whitecross Street to withstand the outside pressures over the next few decades, it is crucial to establish better connections to the city system, with the Old Street junction being a strategic location. As a gateway to Whitecross Street, this northern location is prime not only economically but also in terms of publicness and access to the wider public network.

Our intervention focuses on recognising the ways in which the local systems within Whitecross Street function and can be utilised to improve the northern connection. Acknowledging that a certain level of footfall is necessary to remain a viable place for small retail, phase one focuses on the need to establish a strong anchor in the northern section of the street. An anchor is a point of reference which functions as a centripetal force, naturally attracting users to the space. In doing so, our goal is that more people will circulate throughout the area, supporting existing systems of exchange on the street. Rather than creating a single anchor, phase one harnesses the utility and potential of the market for the good of the whole street to establish the northern section of the street as a destination.

Our fieldwork recognised the existing value of St. Luke's as a highly visual urban structure with a courtyard and facilities that complement the market. While St. Luke's has the potential to be an even stronger anchor in the north, we would like to strengthen this connection by filling the vacant shops in the area. This will be done by stretching the market north, dispersing the gravity of the street and shifting the perception of the street towards the north. We will do this through a vacant shop rental model pilot program based on the Renew Newcastle initiative, from Australia, which we have adapted to fit the context of Whitecross Street. Our model is based on creating incentives for vendors to relocate by allowing them to access facilities within vacant shops during market hours. These incentives are needed because of the current perception that the southern end of the market is the best place for business given perceived footfall. Through a partnership with vacant shop property owners, any stall vendor on Whitecross Street will be able to apply to use the facilities of vacant ground-floor shops including water supply, electricity, storage, bathrooms and possibly cooking facilities. In addition, vendors will have access to window space to display advertising on Whitecross Street to promote their business. As part of this program, grants will be secured in order to assist landlords in cleaning up the ground floor space in return for free rental during the pilot phase and to prepare for permanent occupancy.

## Strengthen networks; establish anchor in the north

### Analysis

- The relationship between the market and Fortune Street Park based on proximity
- St. Luke's and its potential as an anchor
- Stronger systems have an increased capacity to withstand change through time
- Market is concentrated in middle of the street
- There are a significant number of vacant shops clustered in the north, disconnecting Whitecross Street

### Plan

- Develop a baseline to measure the profitability of shops moving north as well as perceptions of working conditions to be used during evaluation
- Develop vacant shop rental model
- Generate a strategy for liaison with different partners: landlords, traders, relevant council officials

### Implementation of vacant shop pilot program: six step process

- Build partnership with landlord and support from Islington Council
- Assess state of property
- Determine financing – develop budget and apply for grants
- Start conversations with vendors to gauge specific facility and space requirements.
- Competition/application to use available shop space
- Begin using the space

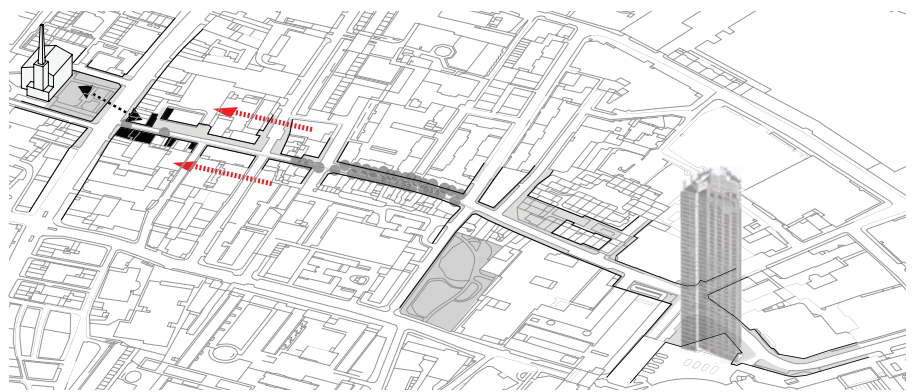
### Results and Evaluation after one year

- Stalls will relocate and vacant shops will be utilised during market hours with the potential to expand hours
- Better connection to larger city system
- Evaluate: How did perceptions of footfall change? Are the newly-filled vacant shops attracting new visitors to Whitecross Street? Is there more footfall from Old Street?

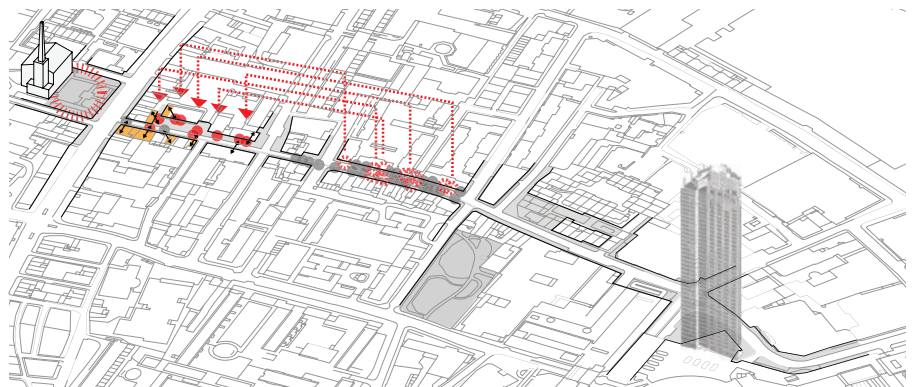
Similar to the complementary relationship between Fortune Street Park and the market, due to the spatial proximity of St. Luke's courtyard we believe that the courtyard can perform a similar function as a destination for people to retreat. In addition, we recognise the potential of the vacant shops, located in the north.



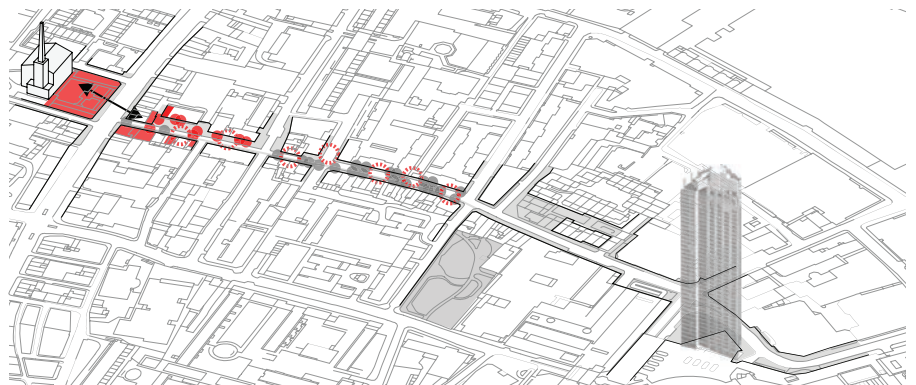
Develop vacant shop model which will disperse market along street in partnership with building owners and other key interests.



Stalls relocate to use vacant shops



Due to the dispersal of the market, vacant shops are filled and a clearer connection to St. Luke's and Old Street is established. This also creates pockets within the market itself which will be utilised in phase two of our intervention.







Big John's Cakes

Forget the diet today  
and dig into a homemade  
apple tart

Nice Pie !!

The Pie Place

Pop in to the Pie place when you  
buy your lunch time pie from Jason,  
Whitecross Street's pie expert  
Eat, talk, read, catch the news but most  
importantly learn the 5 secret tips on  
how to make the best British Pie !

POP UP SPOT





## PHASE TWO

The goal of phase two is to foster new ways for different publics to engage with the market, the street and each other. The newly formed 'pockets' created during phase one will provide spaces in the market for new elements or activities. By diversifying the market, we can take advantage of Whitecross Street's strategic location and create an opportunity for more complex and interesting public exchanges to occur; spaces where various publics can interact and where they can cross the same path. In addition, through an 'Idea Market', we also aim to promote institutional and cultural exchange through the involvement of local educational establishments and the Cultural Quarter. This would reconfigure perceptions of Whitecross Street as more than a place for commerce but also a place for cultural and social development, focusing on the potential of linking 'everyday culture' and 'everyday economy'. This interaction would not just happen by sharing consumption spaces, but also through production processes based on cooperation between different local groups and institutions, strengthening existing networks. Our three approaches to thinking more radically about the potential of exchange are:

1. Introducing non-prepared food products or services on a daily basis to cater to residents and other groups currently under-represented in the market's offer, such as clothing, fresh produce, or groceries. By expanding the offer, this will create an opportunity for experiencing the 'side-by-side particularities' (Young 1990) of various publics coming together or at least sharing space.
2. Introducing non-monetary types of exchange through an 'Idea Market' for the publics, by the publics. This would be an invitation to be a part of the production process of the market. People would be given the opportunity to use space in the market (during but not necessarily reduced to market hours) for cultural, social, creative, performative, educational and other kind of uses. The invitation would be open to all users of the area including but not limited to the market traders, residents, local businesses and institutions. Planning and operational efforts for this would be considerable; therefore, it would not be a daily activity but more of a special event, happening seasonally.
3. Expanding both monetary and non-monetary exchanges beyond current market hours in order to reach groups that use the street at other times. Despite the fact that the street is perceived as relatively lifeless, as shown by our analysis of street rhythms, we acknowledge that it is appropriated when the market is not there, and we would like to provide an opportunity for these groups to appropriate the space in the same manner as office workers do during the market. Activities could cater to children and parents from Golden Lane Campus School after classes, residents during the weekend, and construction workers early in the morning.

## Diversifying and re-conceptualising the market

### Analysis

- Market and street are an opportunity to expand types of exchange by introducing non-monetary and cultural exchange
- Pockets created in phase one
- There is an important range of local stakeholders and this intervention would hope to foster cooperation between them

### Plan

- Develop strategy in coordination with the Market Traders' Association to reach new vendors
- Involve local stakeholders, promote exchange between them and develop strategy for non-monetary exchange programming (Idea Market)

### Implementation

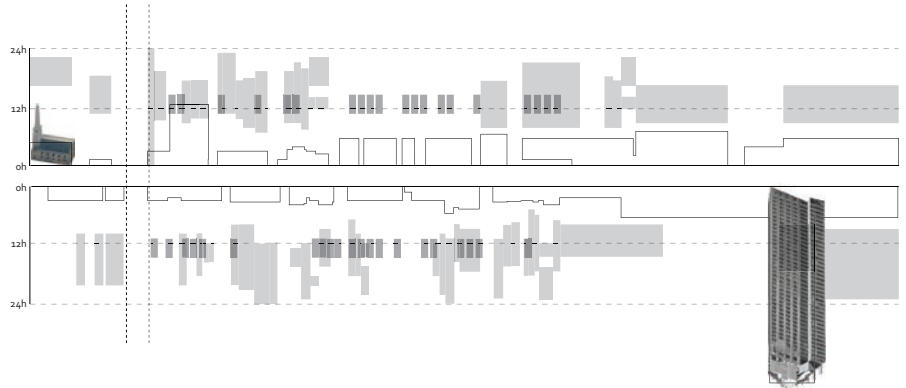
- Idea Market Charrette
- Work with new market participants to design the spatial configuration of their pitches in order for them to maximise social interaction
- Introduce new monetary (non-food) and non-monetary exchange in the market
- Work with and monitor new stalls and programming outside market hours

### Results and evaluation after one year

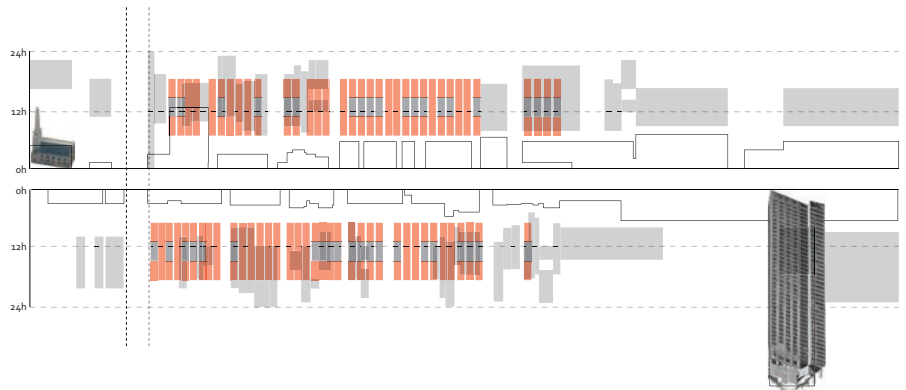
- Increased diversity of goods and services offered
- Range of non-monetary exchange experiences involving cooperation between the different stakeholders
- Evaluate. What publics were involved, to what degree? How many new vendors and non-monetary activities? How many stakeholders were involved, what was the type and quality of the exchange, and what is their commitment for future initiatives?



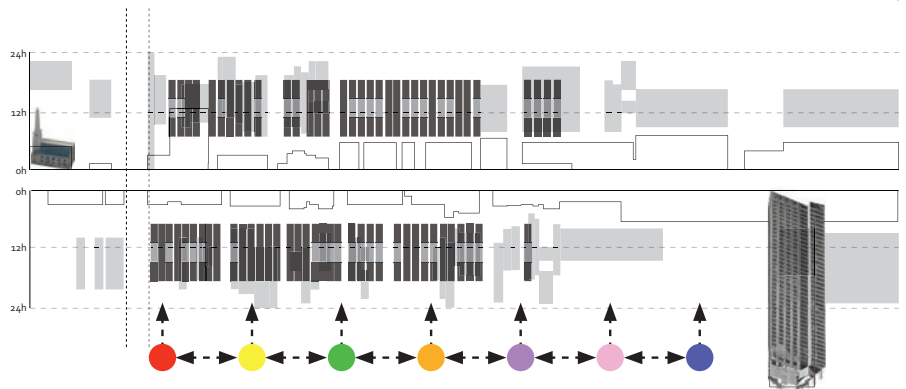
This diagram shows the opening hours during a market trading day. The pockets created in phase one creates the opportunity to diversify the market.



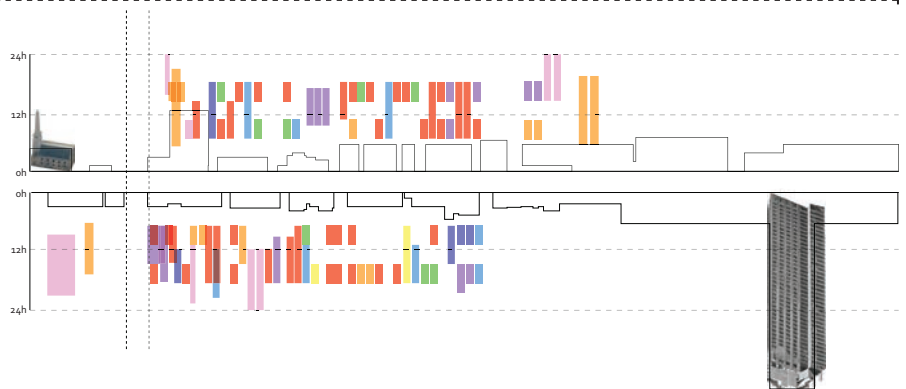
Orange shows the opportunity for market expansion by filling pockets created in phase one and expanding market hours. Planning activities would include surveys, interviews and an Idea Market charrette, as is an intensive participatory design workshop.



The different stakeholders, represented by the colours, plan for and implement the Idea Market. This would involve cooperation between the different local groups and institutions to envision and plan the ways in which Whitecross Street could be appropriated through non-monetary exchange.



The various colours represent the range of offer potentially available in the market.



## CONCLUSION

In order to understand public life in the contemporary city, our analysis of Whitecross Street focused on its diversity of uses, spaces and interactions. We approached our site as a dynamic entity and its context not just as a background but rather a set of active, interrelated forces that shape the lived realities of urban spaces. By contextualising the site in this way, we have recognised the particularities of Whitecross Street that are integral to the way the street functions. In doing so, we have given importance to the area's social and physical assets, considering it a system formed by a simultaneity of scales and relationships.

As a dynamic system with a rich history, the street has and will continue to go through significant changes in the coming decades. We have acknowledged existing resources available on the street in order to assess what is necessary to set our interventions in motion. In an uncertain urban environment, where governments, leaderships, and funding can shift development priorities, we focused our methodological approach on how to maximise efforts and resources. By developing our intervention through phasing, we have focused on experimentation through pilot experiences that

rely on human innovation and resources as well as strategic, collaborative partnerships, rather than large amounts of financial capital. Building on Whitecross Street's capacity to foster exchange, not only in terms of promoting consumption and economic development but social exchange as well, we believe that this approach has the potential to strengthen existing networks, making the entire system more resilient in the face of uncertainty.

Throughout this project, we have recognised the particularities and interdependencies that support the city street system. Unfortunately, conventional modes of design often neglect these idiosyncrasies in the design process, resulting in standard design solutions and one-size fits all economic models which prioritise efficiency over effectiveness. While we have challenged this conventional mode of design by placing considerable emphasis on fine-grained analysis, we realise the financial and time limitations that practitioners have in reality. Therefore, we believe stronger, more strategic collaboration between research centres and practitioners should be a priority in order to foster a more effective coupling of research and action.





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