INFRA

The LSE Cities Programme

The Cities Programme at the London School of Economics is an innovative centre for graduate education and research on urban issues. The Programme focuses on the relation between the social and physical organisation of cities and urban spaces. We understand design as a process of research and practice that shapes urban environments, responds to urban problems, and integrates social and material forms in the city. We take a multi-disciplinary approach to these issues, drawing on expertise and insights from the social sciences, architecture and urban design, engineering, planning, law, economics and other fields. The faculty team includes social scientists, architects and urban designers, transport and planning experts. Our MSc City Design and Social Science aims to support the development of critical and committed urbanists who can work across disciplinary boundaries and have a positive impact on the making of cities in the future.

The City Design Research Studio is the centrepiece of the Master's programme, linking critical debates and research with the detailed analysis of problems of city design and development, and advancing original proposals for urban intervention. It promotes an understanding of the city as a social as well as a built environment. In 2015-16, the Studio focused on urban infrastructure as a context for analysing and responding to current urban conditions and future challenges. Our central concern was with infrastructure as urbanism, engaging with different forms of infrastructure in different site contexts across inner London. Our interdisciplinary teams explored how infrastructures help to 'make up' the city, and how spatial and social arrangements might in turn be transformed through infrastructural interventions. Their work was based on an expansive and critical understanding of infrastructure, examining how different elements of infrastructure are materialised within the built environment, as well as how they make legible logics of investment and disinvestment, diverse urban histories, strategies of regulation, and patterns of social interaction. The infrastructural forms we consider involve different spatial morphologies and support diverse aspects of urban experience: everyday mobilities and transit connectivities; environmental affordances and social exchanges; livelihoods and living spaces.

The Studio group worked in interdisciplinary teams to define and research their site contexts, to develop sensitive accounts of existing conditions and potential futures, and to propose original strategies for urban intervention. Their analyses, insights and propositions form the basis of this year's publication.

Fran Tonkiss
Director, LSE Cities Programme

Infrastructural Urbanism

Infrastructure has been central to the work of architects, urban planners and technical experts for a long time. But it is only more recently – with the 'material turn' in sociology for example – that it has also become a key concern for social scientists. Our investigations in the City Design Research Studio this year involved an expansive and critical understanding of infrastructure and its social, spatial, cultural, economic and political dimensions. 1│

1│ See, e. g., Bennett, T. and Joyce, P. (eds) (2010) *Material Powers: Cultural studies, history, and the material turn*. New York: Routledge.

2│ Larkin, B. (2013) 'The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42, pp. 327–343.

Urban infrastructure can be defined as an "architecture of circulation" or as "matter that enables movement to matter"; it is usually seen as merely playing a supporting role, as a complex collection of "objects that create the ground on with other objects operate". 2│ For many, infrastructure is invisible and only becomes visible when it breaks down. 3│   In this way, urban infrastructure is often seen as something that allows the city to function but which is in some sense separate from the life of the city itself. It is imagined as a tool, a means to an end with little or no embedded 'cityness'.

In contrast, our overall approach emphasises an understanding of infrastructure not merely *for* but also *as* urbanism. We explore how spatial and social forms are being transformed through infrastructural interventions. And we trace the social life of infrastructure and its spatiality. We are interested in the interplay between social and spatial aspects of infrastructural systems within the current economic and political context. And we are attuned to the ways in which this interplay may produce new economic and political relations.

Approaching infrastructure as urbanism allows us to explore some questions that are crucial for understanding and intervening in today's contested, unequal cities. To what degree are infrastructural systems 'neutral'? How are they economised and socialised as sites of investment and disinvestment? How do built infrastructures relate to social practices? 4│   How can small-scale interventions centred upon infrastructures speak to larger scale urban challenges, such as uneven patterns of social integration and fragmentation? What political projects are encapsulated within infrastructure, i.e. in what ways are particular infrastructures compatible with and 'require' certain social and political relations to sustain the city? 5│

Students focused on five different infrastructural types, with three different spatial and physical morphologies, which we understood as linear, hub and network geographies. Research was carried out in three different site contexts across inner London: Railway Infrastructure in Elephant and Castle, Social Infrastructure in Somers Town; Green Infrastructure in Elephant and Castle; Street and Pavement Infrastructure in Hackney; and Canal and Waterway Infrastructure in East London.

The different projects pose unique challenges to our understanding of infrastructure as urbanism. These projects exhibit wide diversity in terms of site, scale and objective. But they share a set of underlying challenges and recurring motifs. We have identified and highlighted five of them: **Governance** , **Visibility** , **Capacity** , **Connectivity** and **Diversity** . These motifs cut across individual projects and encourage us to read beyond different infrastructural types, morphologies and site contexts. Taken together, these projects offer an important insight for urbanists and urbanites today: infrastructure is not marginal but central to understanding and shaping the urban experience.

Günter Gassner, David Madden, Don Slater, Fran Tonkiss
Convenors, City Design Research Studio 2015-16

3│ Leigh Star, S. (1999) 'The Ethnography of Infrastructure, *American Behavioral Scientist* 43(3), pp. 377–391.

4│ See Simone, A. (2004) 'People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg', *Public Culture* 16(3), pp. 407–429.

5│ See Winner, L. (1980) 'Do Artifacts Have Politics?', *Daedalus* 109(1), pp. 121–136.

Social
Infrastructure
Somers Town
pp. 33 – 58

Railway
Infrastructure
Elephant and Castle
pp. 7 – 32

Green
Infrastructure
Elephant and Castle
pp. 59 – 84

Canal and Waterway Infrastructure

River Lea Navigation Canal, East London
pp. 111 – 135

Street and Pavement Infrastructure

Mare Street, Hackney
pp. 85 – 110

Infrastructural Urbanism

Railway Infrastructure: Capacities for Diverse Economies

Project Team: Darren Gill, Cristian Gil-Sánchez, Nayab Jan, Nabeela Malik

Introduction: Methodology

There exists a dialectical, mutually reinforcing relationship between a city's infrastructural landscape and its broader socioeconomic context. The capacity of infrastructural spaces can set the stage through which a vibrant economy and contemporary society can unfold. In our analysis of Elephant & Castle, we have observed this complex relationship and identified the various gaps which currently exist between its spatial structure and the wider urban context.

The problematic identified in Elephant & Castle revolves around the concepts of capacity and diverse economy. Specifically, there are significant volumes of underutilized capacity throughout Elephant & Castle, including transport management, land use (e.g. railway arches), retail provision and land values. Furthermore, the existing business environment could provide the foundation for a diverse economy (including diversity of capital, goods and services, and ethnicity), which the area seeks to achieve. However, the existing retail sector faces inequitable market competition against corporate capital associated with the regeneration project.

Through this intervention, we seek not only to have an impact on the local economic diversity of Elephant & Castle through affordable retail floorspace provisions, but also seek to create spatial permeability through the railway arches into the high street, integrating these components with the broader the regeneration area. This can enhance and foster the ability to participate in the urban environment. 3 |

This study is composed of six sections with the first providing context and a conceptual framework to outline the structure of this project. The following sections

1 | Elephant & Castle Roundabout (Al-Othman, H. (2015) 'New road layout at Elephant and Castle causes misery for commuters', *Evening Standard* Available online at http://www.standard.co.uk/news/transport/new-road-layout-at-elephant-and-castle-causes-misery-for-commuters-a3131086.html [Accessed 5 February 2016].)

2 | Proposal for Elephant Park (Lend Lease (2014) *South Gardens launches this week*. Available online at http://www.elephantandcastle-lendlease.com/uncategorized/south-gardens-launches-week [accessed 5 February 2016].)

3 | Storper, M. (2013) *Keys to the city: How economics, institutions, social Interaction, and politics shape development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

present factors of the area's problematic: capacity and diverse economy. The last three sections detail the intervention, offer two scenarios as means of implementation, and present conclusions.

The methodology used for this project include interviews with local business owners and other key stakeholders, field observations throughout the regeneration site and railway arches, and extensive demographic and economic analysis using resources such as the 2011 UK Census data. Furthermore, we have compiled a comparative site study, a comprehensive literature review on the history and policy of affordable workspace provisions, and several case studies from London to inform our intervention.

4 | Conceptual Framework

5 | View of Artworks (Harper, P. and Jackson P. P. (2015) 'The problem with "Young Architecture'", *The Architectural Review*. Available online at http://www.architectural-review.com/archive/the-problem-with-youngarchitecture/8678914.fullarticle [accessed 12 May 2016].)

6 | Advertising at the Strata Building

It is important to note that this study does not seek to prescribe a specific end product in Elephant & Castle, but it aims to strategically intervene in the process of design and appropriation. 8│ This can be used to harness the underutilized capacity in the area to cultivate an accessible inclusive business environment that can expand through the process of regeneration, and encourage a diverse and competitive retail landscape. Furthermore, we aim to adapt the function of the railway arches to reconceive their spatial capacity as an infrastructural influence on the diversity of urban form.

Context: Motivation

Elephant & Castle is currently in a state of flux, with multiple stakeholders engaged in a mix of efforts and negotiations to regenerate the area in order to transform it into a vibrant and dynamic destination.

Infrastructure as urbanism is manifested in Elephant & Castle by the symbolism of the area as a transportation hub. The juxtaposition of the fixedness and fluidity of infrastructure in the area is illustrated by the permanence of the railway arches on the one hand, and the demolition of the Heygate Estate on the other. Ironically, the historic rupture for the establishment of the railway line has left its arches as residual spaces that are now, in the midst of new ruptures, becoming important spatial actors for integration and diversity. The railway arches have preserved a unique form of urbanism which sits in contrast to the street pattern that dominates London. 9│ The public utility of the infrastructural railway lines has ensured the ongoing existence of the railway arches.

Changes to infrastructure can produce lasting socioeconomic transformations in the broader urban fabric. Development in Elephant & Castle today presents both challenges and opportunities in the context of reconceiving infrastructure as urbanism specific to the social, spatial, and economic conditions in the area. Therefore, this project must be situated within the specific context of the site's ongoing redevelopment.

7│Renovated arches and public realm in Elephant & Castle

8│Waldheim, C. (ed.) (2006) *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

9│Shannon, K. and Smets, M. (2010) *The Landscape of Contemporary Infrastructure*. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers.

This study sits within the policy framework of Elephant & Castle's regeneration detailed by Southwark Council in the 2011 Supplementary Planning Guidelines and the 2015 New Southwark Plan. The Council outlined its goals to establish the area as the southern gateway to central London and to create a Latin Quarter. This rebranding focuses on cultivating a rich and diverse retail landscape, recognising an underperforming retail sector in the area. The 2015 plan reflects changes at the borough level but notably includes the addition of a low line in Elephant & Castle that activates the arches, facilitates economic growth, and improves access along the railway.

The Council aims to achieve its planning objectives in collaboration with two major developers on site: Delancey and Lend Lease. Delancey is set to design a town centre, replacing the area's current shopping centre while Lend Lease is focused on new private housing developments where the Heygate Estate once stood. Lend Lease is also slated to connect Elephant Park to the new town centre through pedestrianising railway arch viaducts that sit between the sites. Both developers demonstrate a strong push for mixed use and active street front retail.

Artworks, a temporary boxpark business incubator, is another important actor in the area that sits between the neighbourhood's present and future. Artworks was hired by Lend Lease as an affordable retail space provider and business incubator in an effort to maintain retail and business activity and vibrancy during the area's redevelopment. The space is indicative of businesses that would want to set up in Elephant & Castle in the future.

Amidst the enthusiasm for a diverse local economy and a vibrant retail landscape characterised by ethnically diverse business owners, there is a real possibility that the

10 | Projected Retail Spaces in Elephant Park (Authors based on Lend Lease (2014) *The second phase of Elephant Park - West Grove - Final Design Exhibitions*. Available online at http://www.elephantandcastle-lendlease.com/news/second-phase-elephant-park-west-groveopen-constulation [accessed 5 February 2016].)

11 | Proposed Town Centre plan (Delancey (2015) *Elephant and Castle Town Centre Regeneration Public Exhibition*. Available online at http://www.elephantandcastletowncentre.co.uk/EandC-%20Exhibition-Boards.pdf [accessed 5 February 2016].)

ongoing redevelopment itself poses a threat to the economy it seeks to boost. 12│
Evidence for this perceived threat lies not only in the trajectory followed by other
similar regeneration projects, as described in the GLA Small Shops Study, but also
in the particular case of Elephant & Castle, where the borough's prioritization of
high-end comparison shopping, coupled with its use of large retailers as 'anchors'
for the revitalization of the area's retail sector make it highly likely that local and
entrepreneurial capital will face unrealistic competition and multiple barriers to entry
into the local economy. 13│   In light of the aforementioned circumstances, we have
developed a conceptual framework to organise our work and this study. The two main
factors driving the problematic are capacity and a diverse economy which ultimately
amount to issues of accessibility and underutilisation. 4│   The components of this
framework highlight the important spatial, social, and economic factors that identify
the problematic and inform the intervention.

Capacity

In understanding Elephant & Castle's infrastructural capacity we highlight the gaps
in the area in order to bridge them through appropriate linkages and simultaneously
support Southwark Council's goal of transforming the railway arches into an active
low line. Ultimately, the objective of our intervention is to adapt the function of the
railway arches to reconceive their spatial capacity as an infrastructural influence on
the diversity of urban form. In any regeneration site, an analysis of its infrastructural
capacity is crucial in identifying spatial and socioeconomic concerns and
opportunities. This type of survey can reveal underutilisation and provide effective
means to adapt to solve the problems of other underperforming factors in the city.

There are significant volumes of underutilised capacity throughout Elephant &
Castle, including transport management, land use (e.g. railway arches), retail provision,
and land values. The various factors involved in the area's capacity fall into three
categories as outlined in the conceptual framework: space, transport, and people.

Spatial

Public utility and monopoly ownership of the railway lines has ensured the ongoing
existence of its arches. Yet these arches have remained residual spaces never fully
integrated into the urban fabric. As seen in 16│, 35% of the arches in Elephant &

12│ Instone, P. and Roberts, G. (2006) 'Progress in retail led regeneration: Implications for decision-makers', *Journal of Retail and Leisure Property* 5(2), pp. 148–161.

13│ Greater London Authority (2010) *London Small Shops Study 2010*. London: Greater London Authority.

Southwark Council (2015) *New Southwark Plan*. London: Southwark Council.

14│ "We'd love to move into an arch. I love the industrial feel to them. My one concern would be the noise from the trains above but I'm sure there are ways to soundproof them."
(Jigsaw Senior Architectural Designer (2015) Interview conducted as part of the fieldwork.)

15│ "Such a re-examination of infrastructural space involves the recognition that all types of space are valuable, not just the privileged spaces of more traditional parks and squares, and they must therefore be inhabitable in a meaningful way. This requires the rethinking of the mono-functional realm of infrastructure and its rescue from the limbo of urban devastation to recognize its role as a part of the formal inhabited city."
(Mossop, E. (2006) 'Landscapes of Infrastructure', in *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*, ed. C. Waldheim. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, on p. 171.)

Shop / Restaurant (24%)
Car / Motor Parts (16%)
Logistics / Storage (23%)
Underutilized Closed (22%)
Underutilized Open (13%)

98 Arches / Units
135m2 Ave Floor Space
13,230m2 Total Floor Space
35 Under Utilized Arches (35%)
4,725m2 Underutilized Space

Castle are underutilised. The arches occupy a strategic position between Walworth Road, social housing complexes, and the new Lend Lease and Delancey developments. Currently, each of these areas in Elephant & Castle acts as an island. The arches have the potential to activate and integrate these areas to create a cohesive and interactive environment.

The spatial capacity of the arches implies versatility and adaptability to a multitude of uses. 17 | Railway arches across London offer an abundance of capacity potential from restaurants to music studios to offices yet many parts of the city, including Elephant & Castle, haven't capitalised on the unique spatial adaptability of this infrastructure. Therefore, reconceiving the arches' spatial capacity through adaptation will not only enhance their infrastructural impact but also will influence the diversity of urban form.

Furthermore, the aesthetic appeal and uniqueness of the railway arches attracts many businesses. When interviewing business owners in Artworks, several were enthusiastic about relocating to an arch if their business grew enough.

Transport

Located just outside the congestion charge boundary, yet within Zone 1, Elephant & Castle's accessibility by road attracts specific businesses and visitors, acting as a gateway to London. While many car garage services have shut down throughout the city, a number of them remain active in Elephant & Castle where customers can enjoy the area's proximity to central London while still avoiding the congestion charge.

Despite being known as a transit hub, the area's public transport capacity is severely under performing with an over-crowded tube station and poor accessibility to the various transport routes. This under performance was exemplified when the GLA

17 | Matrix of adaptable uses

and Department of Transport announced in January 2016 that TFL will be taking on responsibility for inner suburban rail services that operate within Greater London. While Network Rail's mandate remained restricted to the rail's structural integrity, TFL's expanded mandate requires service and public realm improvements.

People

While Elephant and Castle's transport infrastructure remains underutilised due to spatial constraints, the area remains an attractive location to Londoners due to its centrality. The area pulls a large number of workers from south London and acts as a strategic half way point between north and south London. Many business owners located in the arches and Artworks highlighted the area's ideal locality.

Additionally, social dynamics within the area sit in specific spatial contexts: these arches hold not only economic livelihoods, but important opportunities for community organisation, protest, transition, renewal and reconfiguration. The clustering of these businesses has already formed important networks and utilises the existing spatial capacity to support these social networks which contribute to Elephant & Castle's economic resilience.

Diverse Economy

A diverse economic base is required to maintain a resilient local economy. 20| Elephant & Castle already has a diverse economy in the sense of ethnicity, but the area's current transformation is an opportunity to foster an inclusive business environment. Therefore, the term diversity in the context of this study functions on three different levels: ethnic diversity, diversity of goods and services, and diversity of capital.

18| Map of congestion zone (Authors based on Transport for London (2011) *Congestion Zone Map*. Available online at http://content.tfl.gov.uk/congestion-chargezone-map.pdf [accessed 5 February 2016].)

19| "Network Rail are not funded to take on cosmetic work. They are not happy with the way the railways are maintained aesthetically, but they often do not affect the structures stability, and are therefore not Network Rail's responsibility." (Talbot, R. (2014) *Light at the End of the Tunnel: Transforming central London's railway viaduct, Vol. 1*. Available online at http://crossriverpartnership.org/media/2014/09/LET-Vol-1-Main-Findings.pdf [accessed 5 February 2016], on p. 73.)

20| Storper, M. (2013) *Keys to the city: How economics, institutions, social Interaction, and politics shape development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

People

The strongest concentration of the Latin American community in London is focused around Elephant & Castle. The Latin business community appears to be the most visible and vocal ethnic minority in the neighbourhood, concentrated in the shopping centre and railway arches. However, this simplified perception masks the heterogeneous reality of the business community's ethnic diversity. In recent years, Latin Elephant, a small community based organisation, has been working with the Council to assert the community's space within Elephant & Castle.

Industry

The economy of Elephant & Castle has developed along similar lines to the London economy, however there are specific industries that are underperforming. The percentage of enterprises and employment in the retail sector remains low compared to the sector's citywide performance. 22│ Any initiative to promote retail should align within the context of a major structural shift in the sector which is questioning the need for new retail space due to the growth of online sales. 28│

21│Elephant & Castle as a half way point

"We get a lot of local clients coming through here...it's a good location because we're still in Zone 1 so it's easy for them to take the train."
- Ideas Made Digital, Business Owner

"We mostly get people coming to the gym before or after work when they're passing through the area [via bike] to get home."
- 3 Aces Crossfit Gym, Business Owner

"We were looking for space in Elephant & Castle because it's basically the midway point between our homes – so a good place to meet in the middle."
- SODA Business Owner

22 | Enterprise and employment distribution by sector - a comparison of Elephant & Castle to London (Authors based on ONS (2015) *Business: Local Units by Broad Industry Group*. Available online at http://www.neighbourhood.statistics. gov.uk/ [accessed 12 May 2016].)

25 | "S Elephant & Castle es el punto de encuentro de todos los latinos en el sur de londres [Elephant & Castle is the meeting point of the latin community in the south of London]"
(Anon. (2015) Being Latin in Elephant. Available online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VtC-IFIZKjM [accessed 5 February 2016].)

26 | Location of Latin American business along the arches (Latin Elephant (2015) Migrant and Ethnic Businesses in Elephant and Walworth. Available online at http://issuu.com/chloetreger/docs/final_report_on_mebs_for_ewnf_by_uc/1 [accessed 5 Febuary 2016].)

23 | Ethnic diversity of business owners along Walworth Road. Each colour represents a different country of origin. (Latin Elephant (2015) *Migrant and Ethnic Businesses in Elephant and Walworth*. Available online at http://issuu.com/chloetreger/docs/final_report_on_mebs_for_ewnf_by_uc/1 [accessed 5 Febuary 2016].)

24 | Concentration of Latin American communities in London. Darker blue represents higher concentrations. (Authors based on ONS (2011) *Census Data at the Super Output Area Level*. Available online.)

As seen in 27│ and 30│, retail land prices are comparatively low in the London context. More significantly, retail prices remain disproportionately lower than office land prices in Southwark. This could indicate that there is an oversupply or underutilisation of retail space in parallel with an undersupply or over-demand for office space. Alternatively, lower retail land prices may reflect a lower standard of retail space, commonly associated with convenience, rather than comparison, shopping.

27│Current distribution of land prices by use (Authors based on Valuation Office Agency (2015) *Business floorspace and rateable value statistics by Borough.* Available online at https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/valuationoffice-agency/about/statistics [accessed 5 February 2016].)

30│Price ratio of retail to office space in London boroughs (Authors based on Valuation Office Agency (2015) *Business floorspace and rateable value statistics by Borough.* Available online at https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/valuation-office-agency/about/statistics [accessed 5 February 2016].)

29│Concentration of retail employment in London. Darker blue represents higher concentrations. (Authors based on ONS (2011) *Census Data at the Super Output Area Level.* Available online.)

28│Morton, A. and Dericks, G. (2013) *21st Century Retail Policy: Quality, Choice, Experience and Convenience.* Available online at http://www.policyexchange.org.uk/images/publications/21st%20century%20retail%20policy.pdf [accessed 1 February 2016].

Scale

As mentioned above, a diverse economy includes the diversity of types of capital. Sharon Zukin has provided a useful framework of the retail landscape which presents three forms of capital to characterise the current competition for space and clients in cities: new entrepreneurial capital, corporate retail capital, local capital. 31 |

In the pursuit of comparison shopping in Elephant & Castle, there exists a risk of attracting a disproportionate volume of corporate retail capital into the local economy. A diverse economy in terms of capital generates local resilience through employment and the business landscape so that the associated risks of economic activity are distributed along a broader spectrum, avoiding concentration or

31 | Defintion of different types fo capital (Zukin, S., Trujillo, V., Frase, P., Jackson, D., Recuber, T. and Walker, A. (2009) 'New Retail Capital and Neighborhood Change: Boutiques and Gentrification in New York City', *City & Community* 8(1), pp. 47-64.)

Type of Capital	Definition	Example
New Entrepreneurial Capital	small local chains or individually owned stores	boutiques
Local Capital	individually owned small businesses that served long-term resident prior to recent redevelopment	hair salons, delis, markets
Corporate Retail Capital	publicly traded, franchised, or large local/translocal chains with considerable market shares	chain stores

32 | Diagram of diferent types of capital and their interactions

Economic diversity by capital

dependence on particular economic sectors or enterprises. 34 | A well managed local economy should foster the availability of different types of capital, sectors, and enterprises. Most importantly, a local economy should provide accessible spaces to produce, distribute, and consume.

The gaps apparent in Elephant & Castle's infrastructural capacity and local economy as outlined in the two sections above highlight issues and potential successes for accessibility and utilisation in the area. The components identified from the conceptual framework provide an important foundation for the impact and viability of our proposed intervention.

Intervention: Policy Guidelines for Affordable Retail

The intervention is developed in response to the research carried out in Elephant & Castle and consists of a series of policy recommendations to improve affordable retail provision as part of a broader development strategy. 35 | These recommendations are specifically tailored to Elephant & Castle but could also inform debate in other boroughs. The intervention also includes two scenarios as potential means of operationalizing these recommendations onsite. Scenario A is a modified institutional

33 | Key terms

Key Terms
Affordable Retail Rent
A market mechanism that seeks to promote and protect small and medium enterprises through the provision of lower market rates (similar to social or affordable housing)   • policy innovation promoted by the GLA   • adopted on an ad hoc basis by 17 boroughs   • web of negotiations between local authorities, developers, workspace providers, and SMEs.
Workspace Provider (WSP)
An organization co-plans designs, manages flexible work space   • facilitate business support, networking, mentoring   • work with the council to inform skills development and employment pathways   • public entity, a non-profit or a private company
Business Improvement District (BID)
A BID is a business-led and business funded body formed to improve a defined commercial area   • ballot formed entity on renewable 5 year terms   • flexible mechanism with varying compositions and scale   • 32 BIDs in London covering 7.6% of London's firms

34 | Storper, M. (2013) *Keys to the city: How economics, institutions, social Interaction, and politics shape development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Glaeser, E. and Joshi-Ghani, A. (eds) (2015) *The Urban Imperative towards Competitive Cities*. Oxford: OUP India.

form of a Business Improvement District while Scenario B is an improved asset management and spatial strategy focused on the railway arches and pursued by TFL.

While there are social incentives and long-term economic benefits to affordable retail workspaces, there are also immediate economic costs to the provider. Thus, policy intervention is required to initiate the process. 36 | As many of the existing policies are deliberately vague, this paper seeks to draw out the causes and consequences of the policy tool in an effort to identify and prioritise the negotiable and non-negotiable aspects of the proposed guidelines as well as their risks, limitations, and consequences. Where fixed non-negotiable metrics are not identified, the paper tries to offer indicative ranges to act as the basis for negotiation.

Theme	Issue	Existing Policy	Recommended Policy (Non-Negotiable)	Indicative Basis (Negotiable)
Fostering Competition	Time	Indefinite /No limits mentioned	Some limits to be agreed between the WSP and business from the outset	Indicative 2 year limit
	Unit Size	No description (GLA cite limit of 80sqm)	Physical expansion should be limited	Indicative 100% expansion limit
	Rental Rate	Up to 60% of market value	Rates should gradually increase to market value	Indicative 50% starting point
Perpetual Support		No limit	Micro spaces (less than 10sqm) to be included in the provision	Exact number and location
Proportion of Floor Space		10% of new development	Volume should increase or decrease to achieve optimum range	Threshold at either end of the clone street spectrum
Geography of Coverage	Applicable Developments	Only new	New and existing	How to integrate existing developments
	Geographic Scale	Borough wide	Calibrated to individual high streets / Central Activities Zones	Affordability benchmarks can vary from location to location

36 | Policy recommendations

Fostering Competition: Pushing Businesses Into the Market

While promoting affordability appears a worthwhile pursuit, there is a risk associated with static support through the creation of a parallel market for unproductive and underperforming businesses. Concerns about productivity across the UK economy and specifically, the retail sector, are increasingly being recognised as a threat to competition. [38] Examples of marginal start-ups or established firms with no incentive to move on have been identified within tech incubators and the workspace provision efforts going back to the 1980s. [39] This not only raises questions about the accountability of ongoing subsidies, but also potentially hinders new businesses entering the market.

Thus this paper proposes a conceptual shift via the policy framework. Rather than merely support local businesses, the policy should strive to assist businesses to enter and maintain a competitive presence in the wider market. This is not seen as a zero-sum game whereby a local business simply takes market share from corporate capital, but in symbiotic terms as a means to foster competition and expand the market through greater diversity and specialisation. While this represents a fixed change in policy direction, the means of achieving it must be tailored and negotiated. We identify three parameters which could be negotiated with the workspace provider in an effort to push more businesses into the market:

1. Time
A universal time limit ignores the inherent differences that exist between business types, sizes, markets, business plans, and seasonal adjustments. A new business may need to build a customer base, whereas an existing business may require one seasonal cycle to change stock holdings.

2. Physical Space
An increase in the need for physical space is commonly identified as an indicator of business success or potential market viability. It serves as a basic indicator of increased demand necessitating more stock or staff, or increased service provision requiring a larger variety or size of space(s).

3. Rental Rates
Currently set at specific rates relative to the market (e.g. 50-60%), they pose a considerable challenge to any business if and when they suddenly jump to 100%. Thus, we propose the implementation of graduated rents in order to transition from

37 | "But if workspaces are in fact being used merely for the indefinite support of marginal start-ups with little chance of ever 'graduating,' or alternatively as long-term locations for established firms with no incentive to move on, this should surely be of some concern to those bearing the cost of the subsidy."
(Green, H. and Strange, A. (1999) 'Managed workspace. Do tenants stay too long?', *RLCE* 14(3), pp. 245–256, on p. 246.)

38 | Morton, A. and Dericks, G. (2013) *21st Century Retail Policy: Quality, Choice, Experience and Convenience*. Available online at http://www.policyexchange.org.uk/images/publications/21st%20century%20retail%20policy.pdf [accessed 1 February 2016].

39 | Green, H. and Strange, A. (1999) 'Managed workspace. Do tenants stay too long?', *RLCE* 14(3), pp. 245–256.

the starting point (e.g. 50%) to an intermediate rate (e.g. 75%) to market rates (100%). The level and duration of these rents can vary on a case by case basis.

Perpetual Support: Propping up Shops

There are some businesses that may never be able to compete in the wider market. While this draws nostalgic concern from some commentators around a loss of high street character, the failure of a business implies deeper socioeconomic factors that deserve specific attention. 40 |

Entrepreneurial Opportunity

Market stalls have traditionally served as entry points for budding entrepreneurs. Such spaces tend to be small (less than 10sqm), limited in number, and potentially temporary in nature. The cost of their provision is relatively small in the context of the retail sector. Perpetual support of these spaces should be included in the provision and could be accommodated not just within the markets (New Town and East Street) but also in other parts of Elephant & Castle (including the railway arches).

The risk with perpetual support is the creation of a parallel subsidised economy which discourages success. Thus, the model presents ongoing challenges which this research has not been able to fully address. While the provision of essential goods and services may have alternative mechanisms, the provision of entrepreneurial spaces does not appear to have reliable alternatives.

Proportion of Affordable Space: Optimum Range not Minimum Requirement

The evidence base used to guide existing policy tends to restrict the proportion of affordable floorspace in a new development to the maximum amount of floorspace without compromising the market viability of the development. 41 | This proportion varies across boroughs and projects with examples ranging from zero to 25%. There are obvious flaws in this methodology as it only addresses the supply side without assessing demand or vacancy rates. We recommend that a more appropriate methodology is using an optimum range or best practice rather than merely a minimum requirement. This type of analysis requires a more in-depth survey than the GLA's Town Centre Health Check but is beyond the scope of this study. 42 |

40 | Carmona, M. (2015) 'London's Local High Streets: The Problems, Potential and Complexities of Mixed Street Corridors', *Progress in Planning* 100, pp. 1–84.

41 | Islington Council (2014) *Islington's Guidance on Affordable Workspace*. Available online at http://www.islington.gov.uk/publicrecords/library/Economic-development/Information/Guidance/2014-2015/(2015-02-12)-Guidance-on-Affordable-Workspace-Dec-2014.pdf [accessed 1 February 2016].

42 | Kensington and Chelsea Council (2013) *Notting Hill Gate: Analysis of Available Retail*. Available online at https://www.rbkc.gov.uk/pdf/NHG%20Retail%20Study%20FINAL%20v5%20LR.pdf [accessed 1 February 2016].

43 | "…it is urgent to change public policy that fails to protect long-term, local shops while fostering the growth of new retail clusters. Although, in the last analysis, rent rather than consumer goods and services determine who lives in a neighborhood, the right to the city passes through the right to shop there" (Zukin, S., Trujillo, V., Frase, P., Jackson, D., Recuber, T. and Walker, A. (2009) 'New Retail Capital and Neighborhood Change: Boutiques and Gentrification in New York City', *City & Community* 8(1), pp. 47-64., on p. 62.)

The New Economic Foundation's clone street index as seem in 53 | provides a useful barometer for additional or less affordable floorspace provision. 44 | Rather than merely assessing supply and demand, it provides indicators that can be used to gauge the desirable scale of diversity on the high street.

Existing Areas: Integration of the Policy Framework

A significant gap in the existing policy framework is the failure to integrate existing floorspace into the affordable provision. In practice, the entire policy discussion revolves exclusively around new developments. These policy guidelines recommend the inclusion of existing floor space into the policy framework while the scenarios outline productive strategies to accommodate affordable retail into existing spaces. There are significant limitations to the current policy so the integration of existing floorspace is recommended for the following reasons:

- The ongoing structural shift in the retail sector warrants that there will be less need for additional physical retail space which will result in fewer new developments. 45 | In the absence of new developments, the current policy framework will effectively have no application.
- New developments currently represent a small percentage of the total provision of retail space. 46 | Therefore, the impact of current policies on affordability is exceedingly limited.
- New developments tend to be more expensive and can have an inflationary influence on the affordability of existing retail space. The failure to regulate existing spaces poses a risk to their continued affordability.

Integrating existing floorspace into the policy framework represents one of the most fundamental adjustments recommended in this paper. The integration would significantly expand the potential of the tool, enabling the policy to achieve the desired results. This provides a more sustainable means to manage capacity, encourage diversity in the market, maintain the availability of affordable retail space, and sustain the ongoing potential of retail as a step on the ladder of social development. The challenge here is less about whether existing space should be integrated and more about how existing space is managed and how the costs of integration are shared. This will be explored further in the scenarios.

Local Calibration: Categorization of the Policy Framework

Given the socioeconomic diversity and sensitivity of local markets, coupled with the untested nature of the policy tool, the GLA appears to be correct in granting boroughs the autonomy to adapt the policy on an ad hoc basis to local conditions. However, another fixed recommendation we propose is to calibrate the policy tool

44 | Cox, E. and Squires, P. (2010) 'Re-imagining the High Street: Escape from Clone Town Britain', *New Economic Foundation*. Available online at http://www.neweconomics.org/publications/entry/reimagining-the-high-street [accessed 1 February 2016].

45 | Morton, A. and Dericks, G. (2013) *21st Century Retail Policy: Quality, Choice, Experience and Convenience*. Available online at http://www.policyexchange.org.uk/images/publications/21st%20century%20retail%20policy.pdf [accessed 1 February 2016].

46 | Carmona, M. (2015) 'London's Local High Streets: The Problems, Potential and Complexities of Mixed Street Corridors', *Progress in Planning* 100, pp. 1–84.

Cut Across: Canal and Waterway Infrastructure

Vittoria Wharf, Fish Island by Richard Brown (affordablewick.com)

Creative Enterprises in Hackney Wick

Excerpts from an interview with Architect Richard Brown, founder of AffordableWick, conducted by Francis Aguillard, Surannit Chit, and Helena Montero in Hackney Wick, 2015:

"The area [Hackney Wick] has historically been heavily industrial but Hackney Council, under the guidance of the GLA and the Plan for London, "released" this area for residential development.

The canal should be a public space on both sides, not just the towpath side. Historically the non-towpath side was the side for loading and unloading.

Historically, buildings along the canal were low and not many stories.

at the sub-borough level to the idiosyncrasies of the individual high street or Central Activities Zone (CAZ). Analyses of existing policies reveal that a borough-wide categorisation may be too coarse to be effective, ignoring the heterogeneity within the boroughs. There are instances where the borough-wide benchmark is set too high (Kensington). Conversely, if the benchmark is too low, it risks the provision of too much affordable space, discouraging growth and competition. A more granular assessment has been used in some cases (e.g. Islington) and appears far more appropriate to the intention of this policy.

47 | "A further way in which local centres are currently competing with larger centres and identifying for themselves a specific role and function is through "differentiation" to cater for local communities which are otherwise underserved by the mainstream retail offer. Many of the communities that are underserved by existing local centres and have disadvantaged access to alternative retail offers include a high proportion of ethnic minorities. Such centres have long had a diverse range of small independent retailers catering for the specialist consumer needs of local residents."
(Instone, P. and Roberts, G. (2006) 'Progress in retail led regeneration: Implications for decision-makers', *Journal of Retail and Leisure Property* 5(2), pp. 148–161, on p. 158.)

Further away from the canal (further back) they were higher. I've always thought this is a good development typology to follow. Keep the buildings low along the canal and preserve that character and get density in the back. I made this proposals for Victoria Wharf where I suggested doing that, but what people told me and what developers say is that you have to build high along the canal because this makes sense. This is an issue in all of the UK, tall buildings right along the canal.

Printers were the biggest industry of the areas before the Olympics. But many of them lost a lot of business leading up to the games and during the games and kinda moved out of the area to areas further outside of London. This actually opened the way for other sorts of artists and creatives to come fill the spaces the printer's left behind.

During the Olympic construction and during the games themselves, the identity of the area became stronger because of the cul-de-sac effect. Many people just felt like nothing was going to happen in the area. Of course, this thought was a bit naive. Many of the people buying property knew that the area was going to increase in value post-Olympics.

We are losing the makers that are in East London because we don't have the right types of work space. It is all office space, and that's not good for banging around, chopping wood, etc. Everything the GLA calls for is office space for more white-collar professions."

Scenarios & Consequences: Operationalizing the Policy Guidelines

This paper proposes two means of operationalising the policy recommendations. These scenarios take the form of revised institutional forms and business strategies that can support a more inclusive economy and integrated spatial structure. Scenario A presents an opportunity for business owners themselves to manage the local business landscape, whereas Scenario B proposes a more viable asset management strategy for TFL, and has a distinct spatial characteristic. Both scenarios have provisions for the incorporation of affordable floorspace.

Scenario A: Expanded BID with Affordable Retail

Several studies have called for an expanded mandate for BIDS, and although alterations have been proposed (Crossrail Act and General Competence Act), much of it has not materialised. 48│ Scenario A builds upon the existing mandate of BIDS, which includes determining the retail mix and improving the public realm and business environment. We propose to introduce new authorities and tasks within the

48│Morton, A. and Dericks, G. (2013) *21st Century Retail Policy: Quality, Choice, Experience and Convenience.* Available online at http://www.policyexchange.org.uk/images/publications/21st%20century%20retail%20policy.pdf [accessed 1 February 2016].

BID such as inclusion of more stakeholders in the decision-making processes and empowerment of the BID to oversee modifications to the existing building stock.

As a balance to these extended powers, BIDS should also be responsible for monitoring, maintaining, and increasing the provision of affordable floorspace within existing areas, as a means of expanding and diversifying their constituency. In effect, the BID can fill the management void in existing developments and would spread the immediate cost of affordable retail across all businesses within its catchment.

Structure and Institutional Process

The proposed extensions to the BID's mandate can be granted directly by Southwark Council. Concerns about a BID's democratic accountability can be mediated by increasing the involvement of elected and community constituents within the institution. We propose the inclusion of fee-paying property owners, as opposed to merely business owners, as voting members of the BID, along with representatives of the Council, and community associations. In Elephant & Castle, this approach seeks to utilise the linear membrane fabric of Walworth Road (the high street) as an alternative structuring device to the abstract and isolated town centre ("blob") discourse on which most strategic planning in London is based. 49 |

As seen in 50 |, the BID would play a significant institutional role in Elephant & Castle, aligning key stakeholders and empowering them collectively to support and enhance a diverse economy through the management of affordable retail spaces via a local workspace provider. The BID's organisational structure at the micro level is further outlined in 52 |, involving local businesses that feed into the Board, with some functioning under affordable workspace provisions coordinated through the workspace provider. At the outset of the BID's establishment, community based organisations like Latin Elephant, the Elephant and Walworth Neighbourhood Forum, and the Elephant Amenity Network, can act as effective recruiters to generate interest in the BID.

Specific to affordable floorspace, the institutional framework allows for the Council to have a monitoring role in conjunction with the workspace provider. This would provide some element of independent quality control to ensure the BID is carrying out this requirement.

Challenges

Perhaps the greatest challenge to this model is the voluntary nature of BIDs, which necessitates that businesses in Elephant & Castle vote for the creation of one. Given the additional requirements proposed here, there is no guarantee that such a BID would ever form and would require local lobbying by actors such as Latin Elephant and other local organisations. Another long term challenge pertains to the potential

49 | Carmona, M. (2015) 'London's Local High Streets: The Problems, Potential and Complexities of Mixed Street Corridors', *Progress in Planning* 100, pp. 1–84.

Community Engagement

Business

Planning Policy + Regeneration

BID

Community Based Orgs

Transport, Planning, Regeneration

TFL Property Management

TFL Strategy + Planning

WSP

Business

Negotiate	
Collaborate + Support	

50 | Institutional framework for Scenario A

Policy

BID Authorization

Planning Auth.

COUNCIL

BUSINESSES

Planning Auth.

Recruitment + Registration

BID

Staffing   Planning   Execution

51 | Timeline for Scenario A

BID SHARE HOLDERS   COUNCIL

BID BOARD

FACILITIES MANAGER   WORKSPACE PROVIDER

BUSINESSES   BUSINESSES

52 | Organizational framework of the BID for Scenario A

underperformance of the BID, although existing case studies reveal internal checks by BID members to be an effective mechanism of controlling performance issues.

Scenario B: TFL Asset Management

Another means to operationalise the policy recommendations is through asset management improvements – specifically the railway arches, soon to move under TFL's purview. This approach is also consistent with Southwark's low line strategy. Both the underutilised capacity of the arches and their monopoly ownership present an appealing financial opportunity for TFL. Moreover, as the arches currently provide inexpensive rental rates, the implementation of the policy seems to offer a seamless transition to maintain and expand affordable floorspace provision within existing developments. Rather than considering the arches solely in isolation, this strategy is conceived as a means to jump start the integration of existing areas (e.g. Walworth Road) into the development discussion.

Pitch to TFL

As seen in 57│, this scenario represents a considerable opportunity in Elephant & Castle to significantly increase the revenue created by its assets while supporting a diverse economy and improving the spatial character of the area. 58│ The scalability of this strategy across potentially thousands of arches throughout London and the UK justifies further investigation.

53│Future scenarios of capital diversity along the arches

54 | Institutional framework for Scenario B

55 | Timeline for Scenario B

56 | Organizational framework of TFL for Scenario B

Structure and Institutional Form

This scenario does not require any legislative action or policy changes from the Council but recognition on part of TFL and Network Rail of the financial viability and spatial suitability of the arches for these changes. Depending on scale and TFL's internal capacity, the asset management and role of workspace provider could be vertically integrated or outsourced to specialised sub-contractors. 56 |

Spatial Strategy

The necessary spatial interventions are detailed in 61 |, building on the unique urban form of the railway infrastructure. By breaking open the urban blocks between the railway line and the high street, the space will increase permeability and the mixed-use potential of the streets that link them, activate the street fronts, and enliven the high street. 59 |

At a broader urban level, renovation of the arches will help to counterbalance the development of the area by encouraging vibrancy along the western edge of Elephant & Castle, sustaining the centrality of Walworth Road, as opposed to the new developments in the east. These efforts will integrate the disproportionate levels of social housing found west of the arches. Thus, the physical integration of the arches and Walworth Road can create a connective social fabric across the neighbourhood. Ultimately this will physically integrate the arches and the high street by transforming the underutilised arches from local boundaries to borders. 60 |

Estimated Cost Breakdown			
Item	# of Arches	Ave Cost (£/arch)	Total
Arches in the Area	98		
Existing Rental Yield	63	42,000 / year	£2.7m / year
External Repairs	31	36,000	£1.1m
Internal Repairs	25	100,000	£2.5m
Total	31	136,000	£3.6m
Increase in Rental Yield	25	42,000 / year	£1.1m / year
Potential Rental Yield	88	42,000 / year	£3.8m / year
Return on Investment (ROI): 31% in Year 1 (Capital Cost Recovery in 3.5 years)			

57 | Estimated cost breakdown

58 | Cross River Partnership (n. d.) *Light at the end of the Tunnel.* Available online at http://crossriverpartnership.org/media/2014/09/LET-Celebration-Document.pdf [accessed 1 February 2016].

59 | Carmona, M. (2015) 'London's Local High Streets: The Problems, Potential and Complexities of Mixed Street Corridors', *Progress in Planning* 100, pp. 1–84.

60 | Sennett, R. (2008) *The Public Realm.* Available online at http://www.richardsennett.com/site/senn/templates/general2.aspx?pageid=16&cc=gb [accessed 5 February 2016].

61 | Spatial interventions required

62 | Visualization of potential low line
intervention

Challenges

The greatest challenge to this scenario is TFL's willingness to take it on and the potential institutional stasis if Network Rail retains exclusive control of the arches. It requires a creative approach to the asset management of the arches which could be seen as a distraction to both TFL and Network Rail from their primary role as transport providers.

Conclusion

Elephant and Castle stands at a critical juncture, with multiple competing forces intervening to alter its built form and local socioeconomic profile. The intervention developed in this report is one attempt at critically analysing these dynamics, developing a strategy targeted at capitalising upon the unique spatial structure of the area, and utilising it to generate broader socioeconomic benefits.

The provision of affordable retail space under the railway arches is one way in which we can foster and maintain a vibrant economy and social activity. It is a strategic process that remains aware of site specific contexts and relies on an integrated approach to ensuring socioeconomic and infrastructural diversity, in all senses of the word. The scenarios outlined in this study present a means to harness the underutilised capacity within Elephant & Castle to cultivate an accessible inclusive business environment that can expand through the process of regeneration, and encourage a diverse and competitive retail landscape. In particular, the adaptation of the function of the railway arches attempts to reconceive their spatial capacity as an infrastructural influence on the diversity of urban form.

It is also important to note that although we have considered the specificities of Elephant and Castle while proposing this intervention, we believe that this policy can be applied in the broader context of London. The scalability and adaptability of this intervention allow for its application throughout the city. In light of the influx of more corporate capital in other major redeveloped areas of London, this strategy can be applied in other boroughs where similar interventions by corporate capital present the risk of creating clone streets.

To take this further, the GLA could establish a consistent, more systematic means of measurement and evaluation in order to better understand the synergy between different types of capital and allow for different more strategic analysis and intervention. This could be of help to the London Boroughs as lessons are emerging from the ad hoc application of this innovative policy tool.

Social Infrastructure: The Regeneration of Somers Town

Project Team: Elton Chan, Caroline Freisfeld, Ana Villarreal Anzaldo*

Introduction

At the heart of public discourses on social infrastructure numerous broad definitions prevail, one such example being the "glue that holds communities together". 2⎢ At the local level, however, this broad definition is narrowly applied, sometimes only iterating those assets related to education, healthcare, community facilities and affordable housing, while disregarding other services such as informal babysitting networks. This discrepancy of definitions exposes a structural problem for social infrastructure provisioning and maintenance. In the case of major urban developments, inadequate assessments of the social implications of a project can have substantial negative impacts on the social infrastructure in surrounding neighbourhoods, resulting in increased inequality and decreased social cohesion.

This report investigates Somers Town, a neighbourhood located in the highly polarised borough of Camden. Camden Council's plan to redevelop the neighbourhood's outdated primary school and nursery - financed by building new private-market homes - has brought to light the ambiguity inherent in social infrastructure provisioning. Thus, while the Greater London Authority describes social infrastructure as the "[...] uses and activities which contribute to making an area more than just a place to live", Camden Council, in their redevelopment proposal for Somers Town, has only considered a handful of facilities: A school, a nursery, open space and affordable housing. 3⎢ Clearly, a more robust definition of social infrastructure, which accounts for its multi-faceted features, is necessary. There is a strong case for adopting assessment tools such as the Social Infrastructure Assessment (SInA) recommended in this paper; it is essentially a planning instrument for developers and Local Planning Authorities (LPAs) that holds them accountable for the potential implications of developments on social infrastructure. The sections

1⎢Location of Somers Town (ST) within Camden, London

that follow, provide a working definition for social infrastructure, discussing in detail the context of Somers Town and Camden Council's redevelopment plan. They also present the rationale and structure of a SInA and its possible application in the Somers Town context. The conclusion to this report summarises the possible challenges a SInA could encounter.

Methodology

The data discussed in this publication comes from a variety of qualitative and quantitative sources, including site observations as well as informal and semi-structured interviews with local residents, charity workers, school officials, and members of residential and community associations. Besides these, census data and document analyses based on case studies and Council publications are also referenced.

Social Infrastructure: Definition

'Social infrastructure' has been broadly defined by academics and public policy makers across the spectrum. This is, firstly, because of the subjectivity that is inherent in the understanding of the concept; each individual and agency has their own take on how it should be defined. 4│ Secondly, depending on whose purpose or agenda it serves,

5│Definition of Social Infrastructure

INFRASTRUCTURE

BENEFICIARY SERVICES

e.g. Water, Electricity, Sewage, Drainage

CITY BUILDING

REDISTRIBUTIONAL SERVICES

Fundamentals:
1. Education
2. Healthcare
3. Affordable Housing

Intangibles (Soft):
- Networks of Relationship
- Support Systems

Others:
Recreational,
Cultural Activities

SOCIETY BUILDING

4│Wai, S. H., Yusof, A., Hai, T. and Ismail, S. (2012) *A Conceptual Review of Social Infrastructure Projects*. Available online at http://www.ibimapublishing.com/journals/CIBIMA/2012/222039/222039.pdf [accessed 5 May 2016].

the definition accordingly encompasses those elements of infrastructure or the 'social' that meet the requirements of that purpose.

For the objective of investigating 'social infrastructure' in the context of Somers Town, it can be aptly described as 'redistributional' services, which is a term that refers to all facilities that need to be generated and allocated to citizens for the purpose of bridging gaps in inequalities, be they income-related or access to education and healthcare. 7| Hence, 'redistributional' services embody all those facilities or services in the absence whereof the community that is deprived of them is rendered at a significant socio-economic disadvantage, compared to communities that do have access to them. They are services that, if normatively characterised, all people should have access to regardless of their ability or willingness to pay for them.

The most fundamental and obvious components of 'redistributional' or 'social' infrastructure are education, healthcare, and affordable housing. Also integral to social infrastructure are intangible or 'soft' infrastructure such as support services, networks of relationships that provide social safety nets, and social security like insurance and services for the elderly and special needs groups. 8| Recreational and cultural facilities also fall under the category of social infrastructure.

Social infrastructure, thus, sets the foundation for building communities and creating community cohesion, as distinct from other forms of infrastructure – 'beneficiary services' – such as sewage, power, water, roads, etc. This enables social infrastructure to function both as a platform as well as a tool for facilitating "democracy, equality, innovation, and freedom". 9| It also empowers its beneficiaries with bargaining capacities to debate and determine their needs and the terms by which they choose to live.

Context: Somers Town

Somers Town is a neighbourhood of approximately 8000 people located in Central London. Flanked by St. Pancras and Euston Stations, its history has been intimately linked to the railways. During the 19th Century it was inhabited by large numbers of refugees and migrant industrial workers. As a result of the decrepit living conditions at the time, Somers Town developed a reputation for being a secluded and deprived neighbourhood, eventually becoming one of London's most notorious slums. 10| This reputation continues to inform current perceptions of Somers Town. As one of our informants put it: "I'm terribly afraid of it appearing to be completely cut-off". Rather, she said, it is an area that "has been forced to look inwardly". The perception

8| Wai, S. H., Yusof, A., Hai, T. and Ismail, S. (2012) *A Conceptual Review of Social Infrastructure Projects*. Available online at http://www.ibimapublishing.com/journals/CIBIMA/2012/222039/222039.pdf [accessed 5 May 2016].

Lang, J. (1992) *Developing Cities: Who Pays?: Financing Social Infrastructure*. Surry Hills: New South Wales Council of Social Services.

9| Friesen, M. (2013) *Social Infrastructure: Underpinning the Success of Cities*. Available online at http://events.tamarackcommunity.org/library/social-infrastructure-underpinning-the-success-of-cities [accessed 5 May 2016].

7| Lang, J. (1992) *Developing Cities: Who Pays?: Financing Social Infrastructure*. Surry Hills: New South Wales Council of Social Services.

10| Campkin, B. (2013) *Remaking London*. London: I.B. Tauris.

of Somers Town is one of complicated identities and of a diverse community living in a small area that is physically bounded by imposing infrastructural projects.

Differing images of the neighbourhood are invoked by different actors at different times, often in highly politicized contexts. It is sometimes presented as a fictional "integrated community" with a history of fighting "against the establishment". 13 | At other times it is perceived as a safe-haven for the working-class and immigrant groups that are unable to integrate into mainstream London. Sometimes it is presented as a harmonious and attractive place for families, at other times it is portrayed as a place that is actively avoided by outsiders due to its "bad reputation" (personal interviews). The many histories of Somers Town tell us a lot about the complicated relationships and ongoing negotiations between residents, institutions and the State, complicated by Somers Town's layout and its socio-economic character.

Located in one of the 20% most deprived wards nationally, Somers Town is home to a significant number of vulnerable groups. 14 | Compared to the rest of Camden

11 | Somers Town Map: Somers Town's location in relation to surrounding landmarks

12 | 2015 IMD Map of Camden Distribution of deprivation in Camden (Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) (2015) *English Indices of Deprivation 2015 – LSOA Level.* Available online at http://opendatacommunities.org/data/societal-wellbeing/imd/indices [accessed 10 February 2016].)

Quintiles of Deprivation

20% Most Deprived

20% Least Deprived

13 | Clarke, L., Costello, T., Mason, J. and Thomas, M. (1977) 'SOMERS TOWN HISTORY WORKSHOP', *History Workshop Journal* 4(1), pp. 249–250, on p. 250.

R. E. S. (1977) *SOMERS TOWN HISTORY WORKSHOP 29 January 1977.* Available online at http://hwj.oxfordjournals.org/content/3/1/205.full.pdf [accessed 5 May 2016].

14 | Hayhurst and Co. (2015). *Central Somers Town CIP: Design & Access Statement - Plot 3 Charrington Street Terrace Extension.* Available online at http://camdocs.camden.gov.uk/webdrawer/webdrawer.dll/webdrawer/rec/5550902/view/ [accessed 5 May 2016].

15 │ Socio-Demographics: Economic Activity
(above) and Qualifications (below) comparison
between Somers Town and Camden (Office
for National Statistics (2011) *Census Data of
Camden Lower Level Output 022A, 022B, 022C,
022D, 022E*. Available online at http://www.
neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/
LeadHome [accessed 12 May 2016].)

Somers Town — 44%, 44%, 6%, 6%

Camden — 32%, 60%, 4%, 4%

- ■ Employed
- ■ Full-Time Student
- ■ Unemployed
- ■ Economically Inactive

Somers Town — 11%, 1%, 25%, 25%, 12%, 11%, 15%

Camden — 9%, 1%, 13%, 7%, 8%, 50%, 12%

- ■ No Qualifications
- ■ Level 1
- ■ Level 2
- ■ Level 3
- ■ Level 4 and Above
- ■ Apprenticeship
- ■ Other Qualifications

16 │ Tenure Distribution: Tenure percentage
comparison between London and Somers Town
(Office for National Statistics (2011) *Census Data
of Camden Lower Level Output 022A, 022B, 022C,
022D, 022E*. Available online at http://www.
neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/
LeadHome [accessed 12 May 2016].)

Private Rented — London 26%, Somers Town 11%

Social Rented — London 23%, Somers Town 71%

Owned — London 49%, Somers Town 11%

- ■ London
- ■ Somers Town

and London, it has low education and employment levels, a lower life expectancy, high numbers of ethnic and religious minorities (particularly Bangladeshi and Muslim groups) and a majority of its population (71%) living in Social Rented Housing. 18│ This means that a high proportion of its population is at risk of poverty and social exclusion, making any intervention in Somers Town a socially and politically charged event.

Consequently, a distinct landscape of social infrastructure has emerged in Somers Town. On first inspection, the area appears to have a high concentration of education, community and recreational facilities, to a lesser extent healthcare provision. Many of these services, however, are offering more services than what a simple overview of their purpose and activities indicates.

17│Social Infrastructure in Somers Town:
Distribution of institutional assets within
Somers Town

● Medical, Dental, Healthcare Services
1 Camden Eye Clinic
2 Brook Sex Healthcare
3 Somers Town Medical Centre
4 Yuji Chinese Medicine
5 Mornington Dental Clinic
6 Crowndale Health Centre

● Schools, Nurseries, Learning Centres
7 Regents HIgh School
8 Maria Fidelis Catholic School
9 St Mary & St Pancras School
10 Edith Neville Primary School
11 Richard Cobden Primary School
12 St Aloysius Junior School
13 St Aloysius Infant School
14 St Aloysius Nursery
15 St Christophers Community Nursery
16 Camden City Learning Centre
17 Training Link
18 The Speech, Language and Hearing Centre
19 Kip McGrath Education Centre
20 Working Men's College

● Sports facilities, Parks, Playgrounds
21 Somers Town Community Sports Centre
22 Plot 10 Community Play Project
23 Brill Place
24 Oakley Square Gardens
25 Goldington Crescent Gardens
26 Chalton Street Playgound

● Youth Centres and Community Centres
27 Somers Town Community Centre
28 New Horizon Youth Centre
29 Doreen Bazell Hall

● Religious Institutions
30 St Aloysius RC Church
31 Somers Town C&E Centre
32 Al Rahman Mosque
33 Joy Christian Centre

● Libraries, Arts and Cultural Centres
34 British Library
35 Catholic Central Library
36 Camden Town Library
37 P21 Gallery
38 Chalton Gallery
39 Theatro Technis (Scene & Heard)
40 The Shaw Theatre

18│Office for National Statistics (2011)
*Census Data of Camden Lower Level Output
022A, 022B, 022C, 022D, 022E.* Available
online at http://www.neighbourhood.
statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/
LeadHome [accessed 12 May 2016].

19 | Social Infrastructure in Somers Town
1. Somers Town Community Centre, 2. Chalton
Street, 3. Cock Tavern, 4. St Mary and St Pancras
Primary School, 5. Brill Place, 6. Edith Neville
Primary School

For example, Scene and Heard (S&H) is a charity that works directly with schools and local community organisations to offer mentorship to at-risk children. It does so by pairing them with professional actors and getting them involved in acting and play-writing. But it does more than that. It often fetches and feeds the children and also offers guidance to parents on various issues. As a member of S&H said: many families distrust social institutions and can be hard to reach and have to rely on S&H. Much of its effectiveness comes from the 'soft' or intangible support networks it fosters between children, volunteers and family members. These support networks exist between individuals and amongst institutions and all play an important role in the life of Somers Towners.

Central Somers Town Community Investment Programme

Somers Town's situation, however, is bound to change dramatically in the near future. This traditionally 'inwardly looking' area is now experiencing increased pressures to 'open up' and become better integrated to its surroundings. As another informant told us: "Anything you see coming here is the result of King's Cross. It has turned Somers Town into Central London". Somers Town's increasingly desirable location has many local residents wondering what Somers Town will look like 10 years from now (personal communication). At the time of our research tensions were running high as Camden Council was preparing to submit a planning application for the redevelopment of Central Somers Town (CST).

20 | Soft Infrastructure Diagrams
Intangible and soft support networks depicted
in orange

21 | Somers Town before (left) and after (right) redevelopment: spatial distribution of facilities based on land use and height of building by storeys. (DSDHA (2015) *Central Somers Town CIP Masterplan Design and Access Statement.* Available online at http://camdocs.camden. gov.uk/webdrawer/webdrawer.dll/webdrawer/ rec/5460242/view/ [accessed 5 February 2016]; modified by authors)

Plot 10 Play Project

Edith Neville Prinamry School (ENPS)

Cooper Lane Tenants' Hall

Brill Place

Housing + Nursery + Play Project   New Housing   ENPS   Community Hall + Housing   Brill Place Tower

Private Housing
Social Housing
Commercial and Retail
Community Facilities

The CST-proposal is part of Camden's Community Investment Programme (CIP). Due to Central Government cuts, Camden has lost over £200 million in capital funding and is forced to find self-financing solutions to reinvest in its aging infrastructure. Their solution is the CIP, a 15-year plan that aims to raise funds by selling or redeveloping "properties that are out of date, expensive to maintain, or underused and difficult to access". 22 | The money, thus raised, is then reinvested into improving the Council's facilities and services.

In the case of CST, the Council is proposing to rebuild Edith Neville Primary School (ENPS), St. Aloysius' Nursery and Plot 10 Community Play Project, all of which are in indisputable need of rebuilding. The proposal also includes the improvement of open public spaces and the creation of 44 new units of affordable housing. These redevelopments will be funded through the construction of 92 private-market homes, the majority of which will be located in a 26-storey tower that will later be sold to a developer. This tower would be located in what is now a public park known as Brill Place, next to St. Pancras Station. For many residents, particularly those living in Coopers Lane, an adjacent council estate, the tower has become a symbol of unwelcome changes in the neighbourhood.

In their evaluation of the proposed redevelopment, the Council has only focused on the positive impacts of the proposal: those related to the school, the nursery, the public space, and the new affordable housing. By focusing on these, however, they have not addressed other concerns of the community such as the increased pressures on health centres, the long-term impacts that the new market-price housing will have on the community or the sustainability and long-term implications of the funding model.

23 | Central Somers Town Context Map: Site of development proposal depicted in orange

22 | Camden Council (2016) *Camden Council: Community investment programme.* Available online at http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/environment/planning-and-built-environment/two/placeshaping/twocolumn/community-investment-programme/ [accessed 7 February 2016].

While no-one disputes the need for reinvestment in the school, some question the unspecified costs the redevelopment could have on the fabric of Somers Town's existing social infrastructure (from personal interviews). Although the Council is providing much needed investment for some social infrastructure assets, this may affect the ways in which softer kinds of social infrastructure operate. The Council needs, and is currently lacking, an instrument that will help it account for the possible impacts that new developments could have on existing communities. In the sections that follow we discuss what such an instrument might be.

Intervention: Social Infrastructure Assessment (SInA)

The lack of a right instrument to assess various social impacts means that elements of social infrastructure are being overlooked and ignored by the Council when considering a development project. The potential social change and its implications on all relevant social infrastructure, including the soft and informal ones, should be formally considered and addressed by the developers and the Local Planning Authorities (LPAs) within the planning process in the form of a Social Infrastructure Assessment (SInA). The SInA allows to study, analyse, project, and address the implications and impacts any developments could potentially have on the social infrastructure in the neighbourhood. Projecting such impacts is difficult and possesses a significant degree of imponderability, but this should not prevent the developers and councils from assessing and considering implications of development projects. The aim is not to prevent any and all social change and development, but to make sure that the proposed developments will not result in the corrosion of social infrastructure in the long run. The key goals and objectives for establishing an SInA are as follow:

1. To raise awareness and transparency of the various social implications of urban development projects, and to prompt the councils and developers to consider and to address them formally in the planning process.

2. To give more responsibility and accountability to the council and LPAs by providing them with an appropriate instrument to help make planning and development decisions.

3. To safeguard the long-term future of local communities by ensuring that any negative implications on social infrastructure are mitigated, and that any voids or needs in the existing social infrastructure are addressed.

Existing Impact Assessments

In order to create a robust and viable Social Infrastructure Assessment, it is a useful exercise to study and analyse existing conceptual frameworks and structures of a typical Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) that is being used in the UK planning system, the Equality impact Assessment (EQIA) that Camden Council implements in some of its projects including the CST redevelopment proposal (though it is technically not required in the planning application), and a set of Social Impact Assessment (SIA) principles developed by the International Association for Impact Assessment.

Guiding Principles for SInA

Based on an examination of the preceding assessments, some guiding principles can be conceptualised in the formulation of the SInA, specifically that it should:

1. Consider all relevant social infrastructure in the affected neighbourhood.

2. Be context-specific and not a universal checklist that can be applied to every project.

3. Be conducted by independent professional specialists or consultants, and paid for by the developers.

4. Be incorporated from the early stages of the development, and it should inform and aid design and planning decisions.

5. Facilitate negotiations between the Council and community throughout the entire process, to ensure a constant and barrier-free dialogue among various stakeholders.

6. Ensure that LPAs make a decision after carefully deliberating and considering all alternatives and mitigation measures, as well as taking various stakeholders' opinions and concerns into account.

7. Implement a long-term follow-up plan after the completion of the project.

8. Be done conjointly with other existing planning instruments like the Section 106 and Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL); the SInA can help to better identify the need gap of social infrastructure.

Key Stages of SInA

Every proposed development project should go through a screening process for SInA. Projects that meet certain standard criteria can be exempted from the assessment. Some of these criteria can be formulated based on:

- Overall development area or number of units.
- Sale or rental price in relation to existing average.
- Percentage of affordable housing, retail or office spaces.

This will not only eliminate any unnecessary workload of the LPAs, but it will also incentivise the developers and councils to provide more socially responsible and sustainable developments. Projects that adhere to the SInA will go through the following process:

1. Scoping: Deciding what, who, and where need to be assessed, identifying the key issues to focus on. This should be determined by the developer and its consultant under the guidance of the council.

	Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)	Equality Impact Assessment (EQIA)	Social Impact Assessment (SIA)
What is it?	"The evaluation of effects likely to arise from a major project (or other action) significantly affecting the environment" (Jay et al., 2007: 287)	A way for "working out the effect our policies, practices or activities might have on different groups" (Camden Council, 2015: 1)	"SIA is analysing monitoring and managing the social consequences of development" (Vanclay, 2003: 6)
Objective	"The aim of Environmental Impact Assessment is to protect the environment" (DCLG, 2014)	To ensure that "services are as effective as they can be for every-one Camden serves" (Ibid.)	To "bring about a more sustainable and equitable biophysical and human environment" (Ibid.)
Things Assessed	The physical environment	Equality (as per Equality Act 2010)	Social consequences
Indicators	CO_2, NOx levels, number of trees, noise levels, etc.	Mainly census data	Social change processes
Use	Required for specific projects for planning application in the UK	Submitted by Camden Council as a supplementary planning document	Mainly for high level policy making e.g. EU
Shortcomings	Lack of a strong monitor and management process after the project is approved.	Lack of a structured process. Only assesses quantifiable data, long-term impacts not assessed.	Resource and time-intensive. Can be limited if the process is done with little public participation

24 | Existing Impact Assessments
Analysis and comparison of various existing
impact assessments

25 | SInA Flow Chart: Diagram outlining the key stages and processes of SInA

2. Baseline Studies: Background study on the existing conditions of the identified relevant social infrastructure in the neighbourhood through both qualitative and quantitative research such as socio-demographic analyses, surveys and interviews with key stakeholders.

3. Projected impacts: These should include positive and negative, direct and indirect, intended and unintended, short term and long term effects. The projections should be done based on both empirical figures as well as qualitative research including case studies and past experience.

4. Alternatives: Consider different possible alternatives before proceeding to one final proposal for further study.

5. Consideration and recommendation of mitigation measures on the unavoidable, adverse impacts and who (council, developer or 3rd party, e.g. NGOs and charity) should be responsible for what. They should include both spatial and socio-political mitigations.

6. Submission of the final Social Infrastructure Statement for deliberation and approval by the Local Planning Authority.

7. Finally, a plan for monitoring and managing, including continued data and information collection, consultation, and assessment, should be developed to ensure that the mitigation measures are done to the desired effects, and that the projected impacts are managed and administered well beyond the completion of the project. This is particularly important for future developments and plans.

The entire process should be done in public consultation with the local community as well as in negotiations with the LPA and Council. This is crucial for encouraging communication among all the stakeholders and for ensuring that everyone's voice is heard from the very outset of the project.

SInA For Somers Town

The following section outlines a possible application of the SInA to the Somers Town case.

1. Scoping
This includes defining the boundaries of Somers Town, the stakeholders involved and, crucially, the issues for SInA to address; the latter two points are briefly elaborated below:

26 | "Rich people don't want to look at run-down council houses. 10, 15 years down the line, our houses will be torn down."
(Brill Place resident)

27 | "Plot 10 is happy to get a renovation, but it misses the point: its future funding isn't secured at all."
(Member of Somers Town Community Association)

Defining stakeholders

Special attention should be brought to groups which are particularly vulnerable and heavily rely on social infrastructure given its redistributional character. In the case of Somers Town, while children are major stakeholders and have an imperative need for the school in order to improve literacy and capacity-building for employment, in the sections that follow, we address the concerns of one group of stakeholders - specifically, the tenants of social housing.

Key issues

In Somers Town, many concerns pertained to the change of living conditions due to the arrival of new people who were perceived as 'others', more specifically the possibility of:

• Displacement of residents, businesses, and services, thus depriving them of their regular social infrastructure.
• Segregation among existing and new residents with respect to using separate types of social infrastructure, precluding social infrastructure from being a platform where people meet as equals.
• Overwhelming healthcare facilities without providing additional GP capacity.

28 | Tenure Map: Tenure type distribution within Somers Town

Private Housing
Council Housing
Housing Association
Community Facilities
Open Public Space

- Confined to select funding options for existing and future financing of social infrastructure in Somers Town.

2. Baseline Studies

Besides gathering socio-demographic and socio-economic data, for a comprehensive picture of the social infrastructure in place, Institutional Social Infrastructure can be

29 | Chalton Street Shops: Maps showing the distribution of shops, their user base (left) and how long they have been on Chalton Street (right)

30 | Simone, A. (2004) 'People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg', *Public Culture* 16(3), pp. 407–429.

mapped, and less visible forms can be identified if not quantified; for instance, places of encounter, and informal support networks amongst people. This task is complex and based on ethnographic observation and consultations with stakeholders, which gives people the ability to discuss what Social Infrastructure is important to them. 30 |

3. Projected Impacts
Projecting the impacts of a development vis-a-vis displacement and segregation, for instance, could be done in an assessment that includes the following two components:

31 | Skyline Diagram: Height of Brill Place Tower in relation to surrounding high-rises (dRMM Architects (2015) *Design & Access Statement – Brill Place Tower*. London: dRMM Architects; modified by Authors)

219m AOD

Brill Place Tower

99m AOD

89 m AOD
71 m AOD

18.7 m AOD

Euston Tower	UCH	Ampthill Estate	Evergreen Tower	St Pancras Tower	Urbanest Tower	KX200
192m AGD	92m AGD	64m AGD	64m AGD	82m AGD	81m AGD	72m AGD
219m AOD	118m AOD	89m AOD	89m AOD	99m AOD	111m AOD	92m AOD

32 | Newman, K. and Wyly, E. (2006) 'The right to stay put, revisited: Gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York city', *Urban Studies* 43(1), pp. 23–57.

Atkinson, R. (2000) 'Measuring Gentrification and Displacement in Greater London', *Urban Studies* 37(1), pp. 149–165.

33 | Atkinson, R. (2004) 'The evidence on the impact of gentrification: new lessons for the urban renaissance?', *European Journal of Housing Policy* 4(1), pp. 107–131.

Watt, P. (2009) 'Housing Stock Transfers, Regeneration and State-Led Gentrification in London', *Urban Policy and Research* 27(3), pp. 229–242.

34 | "[...] the proposed scale of the building should relate strongly with the urban character of Euston Road and the Kings Cross area rather than attempting to fit into the smaller scale context of Central Somers Town."
(dRMM Architects (2015) *Design & Access Statement – Brill Place Tower*. London: dRMM Architects, on p. 26.)

(i) Evidence Base

The evidence base should be informed by research on inward-migration of high-income households into poorer neighbourhoods that has been conducted since the 1960s. 32 │ It prognosticates that a substantial risk of displacement and segregation has been specified for regeneration processes in London, and reveals that renewal can have adverse effects, especially on the most vulnerable people of an area. 33 │

The crucial factors for displacement can be direct, if homes are being demolished for redevelopment, or if rents become too expensive. They can also be indirect, if taxes increase, and the area's shops, facilities and employment opportunities adjust to the inward migrants, becoming unaffordable for certain residents.

Displacement can be a vicious cycle, where displacement leads to deterioration of social support networks, and then results in more displacement. 36 │ As Bahar Sakizlioğlu illustrates in a case study from Istanbul: "Displacement casts a long shadow and deeply and increasingly affects residents as the actual displacement approaches, removing sources of social support in the area". 37 │ It has been shown that an increase in the mere risk of being displaced can be associated with a 52% to 72% decrease in community benefit expenditure per capita, or a 17% to 13% decrease in the number of organisations active in an area. 38 │

(ii) Factors at work in Somers Town

When reviewing the CST-proposal in isolation, the challenge for Somers Town is to accommodate around 136 additional households, most of them being significantly more affluent than the Somers Town average. This could lead to price increases in the shops and facilities of the area. The main shopping street in Central Somers Town, Chalton Street, is already undergoing transformation; only one out of ten shops that came to the area in the past five years is catering predominantly to local residents. Moreover, an "us and them" is the dominant discussion in Somers Town, created not least by the design of the development (from personal interviews). The aesthetics of Brill Place Tower in particular, are more in line with those of the redeveloped King's Cross area, prompting the question of whether or not the tower residents might use King's Cross facilities for their Social Infrastructure demands; sending their children to other schools, for instance could exacerbate the potential of segregation. 39 │

An important question is in how far the CST-proposal would engender further development. There is a significant rent gap in Somers Town since the rent yield of social housing is low compared to the valuable land it sits on. The future strategy for

35 │ "I am very concerned that the high level of housing proposed for sale will result in social polarisation contrary to Camden's policy 'to minimise social polarisation'..."
(Tomlinson, P. (2016) *Consultation Response*. Available online at http://camdocs.camden. gov.uk/webdrawer/webdrawer.dll/webdrawer/ rec/5523551/view/ [accessed 11 February 2016].)

36 │ Beardon, G. (2015) *Gentrification: Demolishing a Sense of Community?* Available online at http:// www.adamsmith.org/blog/miscellaneous/ gentrification-demolishing-a-sense-of-community/ [accessed 5 February 2016].

37 │ Sakizlioğlu, B. (2014) 'Inserting Temporality into the Analysis of Displacement: Living Under the Threat of Displacement', *Tijdschr Econ Soc Geogr* 105(2), pp. 206–220.

38 │ Sheppard, S. (2012) *Why is Gentrification a Problem?* Available online at http://www.c-3-d. org [accessed 5 February 2016].

39 │ dRMM Architects (2015) *Design & Access Statement – Brill Place Tower*. London: dRMM Architects.

the social housing stock is unknown, and it could be subject to further regeneration or to stock transfer plans. The tower at Brill Place could set a precedent for attracting more tall and luxurious buildings to Somers Town.

4. Tradeoffs and Mitigation Efforts

The SInA also has to assess the positive impacts of the development and weigh them against the negative ones. More importantly, it needs to conceptualise mitigation efforts for the projected negative impacts. These can include, but may also go beyond, Section 106 agreements and payments towards the Community Infrastructure Levy, besides involving local government commitments. To counter the fear of displacement and segregation, the following measures could be adopted for mitigating negative impacts that the CST-proposal could have:

- Requiring a commitment by the Camden Council to maintain the quality and quantity of the existing social housing stock.

40 | Mitigation Strategy: Possible inward and outward strategies for integrating Brill Tower into Somers Town's context. (dRMM Architects (2015) *Design & Access Statement – Brill Place Tower*. London: dRMM Architects; modified by Authors)

- Developing a social infrastructure management strategy that seeks to integrate the tower with its surroundings. This would require bringing people into the interior of the tower by housing a community facility in it (such as a nursery) or by promoting mixed-income households within the tower. Tower residents can also be encouraged to venture out into the centre of Somers Town by promoting, through community building initiatives, activities on Chalton Street (reviving the street market, for example).

Challenges and Limitations of SInA

1. For Whom? By Whom?
Who a SInA benefits may not necessarily be who it is intended to benefit; vested interests of projects, such as private developers, can potentially influence the outcomes of SInAs to suit their own agendas especially if they are funding the SInA itself. This raises the ethical concern of the need for neutrality and impartiality. For this reason, it is critical that all parties and stakeholders participate in discussing social infrastructure and its significance in creating community cohesion. Yet, while it is important to avoid a paternalistic approach to the SInA, it is crucial to be cognisant of the fact that what one community decides (whether democratically or otherwise) to include and exclude in the scope of a SInA or even the definition of 'social infrastructure' (for example, religious spaces but not abortion clinics) may not align with the principles of choice and freedom.

Better definition of Social Infrastructure in planning frameworks e.g. NPPF, London Plan

Adoption of SInA in Local Development Frameworks - LPAs to supervise and evaluate SInA in planning applications

Developers to conduct and incorporate SInA in design + Consultation with the public

Legislative bodies on National, Regional and Metropolitan Levels

Local Governments/LPAs

Developers

Public

41 | Policy and Practical Implications: Diagram illustrating SInA's implications on other policies and practices

Cut Across: Diverse Infrastructures

Social Infrastructure: Social Media in Somers Town

Street & Pavement Infrastructure: Space between buildings, Mare Street

Canal and Waterway Infrastructure: Cyclist Along the Towpath

2. What Methods? Case in Point: Camden's EQIA
A technical issue for SInAs is that of the tools used for conducting them. Qualitative assessments are harder to conduct than quantitative ones. A case in point to illustrate this is the 'Equalities Impact Assessment' conducted by Camden Council for the Somers Town CIP. The EQIA's concluding statement is that "No potential unlawful discrimination and no negative or disproportionate impacts on protected groups have been identified as a result of the proposed activity". Furthermore, it states "No information gaps have been identified".
These statements are problematic because:

(i) The EQIA does not elaborate on what qualitative methods (if any) were used for basing their conclusions.

(ii) Based on case studies and historical data, there is ample evidence to refute the conclusions since displacement and segregation are real and potential threats.

(iii) The EQIA measures the success of the school on literacy and employment rates but these parameters are not necessarily comparable or commensurable with parameters used for gauging other well-being indicators such as health, community cohesion, and safety.

3. Buy-In at a National Level
While the CIP intends to generously address the need-gaps in education and housing, it does not even touch upon the impact that an additional 136 households in the neighbourhood will have on the neighbourhood's existing health facilities.

Elephant & Castle Park Use by Distance Traveled and Reason for Use

Green Infrastructure: On-site Observations

**Railway Infrastructure:
Railway arches interaction with
Walworth Road and Town Centre**

An alternative or 'worst-case scenario' (assuming that the NHS cannot expand its facilities) that a SInA could propose is that Camden Council incentivise private healthcare providers to establish clinics in Somers Town and cater to those residents who can afford to pay the premium for private services, thereby taking off some of the pressure imposed on the NHS clinic.

The challenge lies in that social infrastructure, including health-care, serves as a platform that brings people together, thereby enforcing equality and equal treatment of all. But private healthcare provisions can potentially segregate residents and breed resentment amongst different socio-economic groups.

Major social infrastructure exigencies, such as health-care gaps, need to be addressed urgently at the national level so that neighbourhoods like Somers Town, which are microcosms reflecting the dire state of nationwide healthcare, are not further deprived.

42 | Wai, S. H., Yusof, A., Hai, T. and Ismail, S. (2012) A Conceptual Review of Social Infrastructure Projects. Available online at http://www.ibimapublishing.com/journals/CIBIMA/2012/222039/222039.pdf [accessed 5 May 2016].

Conclusion

Social infrastructure is everywhere and it is the basis of every community building effort. Its various manifestations surely require further exploration, but this cannot be a reason to turn a blind eye on questions regarding social infrastructure. 42│ Instead, our research in Somers Town has shown that the discussion of social infrastructure can be a starting point for debating key urban issues. In proposing SInA, we offer an instrument that helps grappling with social infrastructure implications of urban developments that go beyond counting school places and GP capacities. Adopting a SInA in the planning process will not only contribute to the exploration of social infrastructure, but will also improve on the situation of those affected by new developments today.

It is evident that the implementation of SInA is more complicated and nuanced than its conceptualisation. We have discussed the danger of arbitrariness, the challenge of finding consensus over qualitative assessments, and SInA's limitations when it touches social infrastructure provision which lies in the competence of higher political levels. In addition, it will need to be figured out in how far SInA shall have binding legal force. SInA which is not aiming at preventing developments but at mitigating their social impacts is the right way to reconcile these issues for now. However, above all, the greatest challenge is the concern that SInA becomes a bureaucratic procedure conducted as a mere formality, rendering the entire SInA a futile exercise. It lies within the responsibility of all stakeholders and all political groups to avoid this outcome. Social infrastructure as a conduit of social citizenship can thus become an arena of public debate and negotiation.

We encourage every developer and every LPA to adopt SInA-principles immediately. In the long run, it is important that the SInA is formally embedded in the planning process and framework to ensure that it is organised and conducted to the required level of detail, consistency as well as professionalism. We propose that public policy at all levels should clarify the definition of social infrastructure used in the various planning frameworks. In addition, it should be emphasised (like Policy 3.16 of the London Plan already does) that a loss of social infrastructure should be prevented. SInAs should then be conceptualised on local government level and find their way into the Local Development Frameworks (LDFs).

Finally, we want to come back to Somers Town. Many Somers Towners are excited about the proposed beautification of the neighbourhood's centre, the new community facilities and, overall, more activity in Somers Town. However, no one wants to lose their home one day because of this regeneration project. Our exemplary SInA has shown that this concern is not unfounded, and should be addressed.

Green Infrastructure: Collaborative Placemaking

Project Team: Alejandra de la Mora, Tarik Mufti, Heather Zaccaro

Introduction

This project discusses green infrastructure in Elephant & Castle, in the borough of Southwark in Central London. This neighbourhood includes a wide variety of visible green infrastructure. 1│ These include green roofs and green walls, which provide aesthetic value and environmental benefits, as well as green technologies such as solar panels and wind turbines. We acknowledge the importance and impact of these forms of green infrastructure to environmental and public health. However, within the context of urbanism, the green infrastructure that has the most obvious and complex impact on our daily lives is undoubtedly green space, whether that space is as small as the often-ignored roadside median greens or as large as a city park, these spaces play dominant roles in our experience of cities.

We begin by discussing various approaches for defining and evaluating green space. Next, we introduce the context of Elephant & Castle as a neighbourhood in transition. We then address the problematic of green placemaking in this contested neighbourhood, followed by proposing a political intervention to reconcile this fragmentation and establish an inclusive, empowering process of green placemaking. We conclude by discussing the implications of this project on the physical, social, and political understandings of green infrastructure.

Defining and Evaluating Green Space

We define green space in the urban context fundamentally by the presence of plant life, whether that be a garden's biodiversity or a field's groundcover. However, this intuitive definition becomes far more complex when issues of ownership and accessibility are taken into account. For example, there are clear distinctions between

1│Examples of Green Infrastructure in
Elephant & Castle

Green Technology

Green Space

		Empty	Leisure	Recreation
	Open	Open Green	Landscaped Green	Functional Park
	Public	Open Green	Landscaped Green	Functional Park
	Semiprivate	Council Green	Council Green	Council Green / Schoolyard
	Private	Green Roof	Terrace	Schoolyard
	Innaccessible	Green Roof		

the front lawn of a private residence and a sports pitch in a public park, but the difference between a grassy roadside median and a stretch of green alongside a housing estate is somewhat less obvious. The typology and accompanying map in 2 | represent our earliest attempt to categorise green spaces according to usage and access, the former being based on features such as benches and playground equipment, while the latter explains whether anyone can use the park versus exclusive groups such as residents or schoolchildren. This typology is useful for answering questions regarding who uses green spaces and for what purpose, but it fails to address why these spaces are valuable in cities.

Conversely, typologies of green space in the literature focus on the functions of green space: one such typology defines public parks by their provision of 'education, pleasure and recreation' whereas 'attached green spaces' linked to 'industrial,

3 | Diversity of Green Spaces in Elephant & Castle experienced along a walk

Incident Greens   Southwark Parks

Google Parks

Southwark Parks

commercial, utility' or 'residential' land serve primarily aesthetic and environmental functions. 6│ While these distinctions are significant to the maintenance of green space, their effect on the experience of green space is minimal: a tree provides just as much shade regardless of whether its roots lie in the public or private realm, and a flower is no less beautiful nor less alluring to pollinators if planted by a citizen rather than a government contractor. This is not to suggest that ownership of green space is irrelevant to urbanism: public versus private ownership may determine acceptable uses of space and users' ability to advocate for or make improvements to it, and we will return later to this theme of green placemaking.

Though definitions of green space seem straightforward, in practice they present surprising inconsistencies. One such disagreement is demonstrated in 4│ where parks listed on Southwark council's website but omitted from Google Maps are coloured blue. This discrepancy highlights the difficulty of formulating a clear definition for particular types of green spaces. It is also significant that public parks tend to be the only green spaces formally recognised by these sources, while publically accessible playgrounds connected to housing estates and small, incidental green spaces are seldom included. These unrecognised spaces tend to be smaller than parks, but they are quite prolific in urban settings like Elephant & Castle as shown in 3│, and they demonstrably improve mental health. 7│

These many complications in understanding green space highlight the challenge of formulating clear definitions. However, while such an exercise is academically stimulating and philosophically interesting, these questions are less essential to the everyday user's experience of these spaces than their outcomes. Ownership of green space is most impacts urbanism to the extent that it determines the quality of care the

5│Evaluating Green Space

6│ Kong, F. and Nobukazu, N. (2006) 'Spatial-temporal gradient analysis of urban green spaces in Jinan, China', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 78(3), pp. 147–164.

7│ Peschardt, K. and Stigsdotter, U. (2013) 'Associations between park characteristics and perceived restorativeness of small public urban green spaces', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 112, pp. 26–39.

space receives, the process by which spaces are maintained and improved, whether citizen feedback is adequately incorporated, and the types of uses permitted in the space. This leads us to our next enquiry, which is how green spaces are evaluated.

There are many different approaches for evaluating green space in the literature. Some rely on phenomenological, qualitative assessments by users whereas others quantify the value of these spaces. We have grouped the measures encountered in our literature review into three mutually inclusive categories shown in 5 │. The first category contains indicators based on features of green spaces, such as a census of facilities provided including playground equipment and sports pitches. 8 │ Another approach is to analyse buffer space between different features and between trees, which could impact active versus passive use of the space. 9 │ Measures evaluating context focus on how green space relates to its surroundings rather than on the green space itself. Indicators in this category include measuring walkability to residential areas or assessing environmental justice by comparing the distribution of trees relative to disadvantaged racial and ethnic clusters. 10 │ Impact indicators aim to capture the experience of being in or near green spaces. These frameworks are often subjective and collect qualitative, sensory perceptions of green spaces or ask users to report their perceived stress alleviation. 11 │ Many indicators fall between these categories, incorporating elements from two or more of them. For instance, hedonic valuation is a technique that measures the increase in market value of residences due to proximity to green space. 12 │ Measures of ecological biodiversity combine the feature of plant-life in green spaces with the impact on avian and pollinator populations. 13 │ An indicator of particular importance is hectares per capita, which combines park size with residential density. This measure is particularly problematic, as it presumes that bigger is better when valuing green spaces and therefore accounts for quantity of green space without considering quality. In the context of a transitioning neighbourhood like Elephant & Castle, relying on hectares per capita to determine future investment in green space could perpetuate disparity, a problem to which we will return in the following section. Importantly, our literature review reveals that green spaces in the urban context are diverse as are approaches to understand and evaluate them. We therefore feel it is important not to rely on any single indicator when valuing green space, but rather to combine multiple measures.

8 │ Shores, K. and West, S. (2008) 'The Relationship Between Built Park Environments and Physical Activity in Four Park Locations', *Journal of Public Health Management and Practice* 14(3), pp. e9–e16.

9 │ Goličnik, B. and Ward-Thompson, C. (2010) 'Emerging relationships between design and use of urban park spaces', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 94(1), pp. 38–53.

10 │ Heynen, N. (2006) 'The Political Ecology of Uneven Urban Green Space: The Impact of Political Economy on Race and Ethnicity in Producing Environmental Inequality in Milwaukee', *Urban Affairs Review* 42(1), pp. 3–25.

11 │ Grahn, P. and Stigsdotter, U. (2010) 'The relation between perceived sensory dimensions of urban green space and stress restoration', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 94(3–4), pp. 264–275.

Peschardt, K. and Stigsdotter, U. (2013) 'Associations between park characteristics and perceived restorativeness of small public urban green spaces', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 112, pp. 26–39.

12 │ Morancho, A. (2003) 'A hedonic valuation of urban green areas', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 66(1), pp. 35–41.

13 │ Sandström, U., Angelstam, P. and Mikusiński, G. (2006) 'Ecological diversity of birds in relation to the structure of urban green space', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 77(1–2), pp. 39–53.

To reflect this complexification of the valuing of green space and the importance of encouraging the production and use of different kinds of green spaces, we formulated a new typology keeping in mind measures of features, context, and impact. This new typology shown in 14│ employs Likert scales to subjectively measure the feelings produced by green spaces. It has two dimensions. The first deals with the features of the park, ranging from landscaped to programmed, and aims to capture the benefits of both a quiet, relaxing space to enjoy versus an exciting, stimulating space in which to get active. The second dimension - connected versus tranquil - deals with the relationship between a green space and its broader context. It highlights the allure of a green space whose disconnection allows an escape into nature, as well as the appeal of a green space that allows one to enjoy the vitality of a city rushing past. This typology makes no suppositions about which kind of green space is most desirable, as each of its four fluid corners can be successful. As seen in 15│, there is a great diversity of green spaces present in Elephant & Castle, which we will now explore in depth.

14│Interactive Typology

This park makes me feel (value = x-coordinate)

○ Very relaxed (value = -2)
○ Somewhat relaxed (value = -1)
◉ Both relaxed and excited (value = 0)
○ Somewhat excited (value = 1)
○ Very excited (value = 2)
○ Neither excited nor relaxed (value = 0)

I wish this park was (horizontal arrow vector)
○ A lot more relaxing (value = -1)
◉ A little more relaxing (value = -0.5)
○ Both more relaxing and exciting (value = 0)
○ A little more exciting (value = 0.5)
○ A lot more exciting (value = 1)
○ Fine as is (value = 0)

I use this park because it has (value = y-coordinate)
○ Lots of nature (value = -2)
○ Some nature (value = -1)
◉ Both nature and equipment (value = 0)
○ Some equipment for activities (value = 1)
○ Lots of equipment for activities (value = 2)
○ Neither nature nor equipment (value = 0)

I wish this park had (vertical arrow vector)
○ A lot more nature (value = -1)
◉ A little more nature (value = -0.5)
○ More of both nature and equipment (value = 0)
○ A little more equipment for activities (value = 0.5)
○ A lot more equipment for activities (value = 1)
○ Fine as is (value = 0)

Green Space in Elephant and Castle

Elephant & Castle is undergoing substantial redevelopment. At its centre, the Heygate Estate, a massive council housing estate built in the 1970s, is being replaced by Elephant Park, a luxury tower complex developed by Lend Lease. Although some former Heygate residents were rehoused in the adjacent Strata Tower, the vast majority was displaced southwards and eastwards. 16│ Whenever displacement and redevelopment coincide, the disadvantaged are most likely to relocate. This is captured statistically in 18│, which shows changes in education rates among adults over ten years. Across London and Southwark Borough, the least educated are leaving while more educated residents flock to the city, and these trends are dramatically more pronounced in the immediate vicinity of Elephant & Castle.

15│Character of Parks in Elephant & Castle

16│Elephant Amenity Network (2013). *The Heygate Diaspora - 35% Campaign.* Available online at http://35percent.org/blog/2013/06/08/the-heygate-diaspora/ [accessed 10 Februrary 2016].

17│Southwark Council (2012) *Elephant and Castle: Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) and Opportunity Area Planning Framework (OAPF).* London: Southwark Council.

This narrative of displacement has important implications for green space, particularly in light of Southwark Council's over-reliance on hectares per capita. 17 ▎ The first phase of Lend Lease's redevelopment was the construction of Trafalgar Place on the site of the former Wingrave Estate. Trafalgar Place notably has twice as many units as did Wingrave, and Elephant Park will similarly house far more families than lived in Heygate. 19 ▎ If the population increases without any change to the amount of green space, hectares per capita in the area will correspondingly decrease. This means that over-emphasis of this singular indicator would necessitate the council to invest further in green space nearest to the areas that are already receiving significant investment at the cost of improving green spaces in neglected parts of the neighbourhood. The result would be the prioritisation of green spaces predominantly used by wealthier residents and ignoring spaces used by those who are less well-off, which would perpetuate inequality. This potential pitfall by examining capacity changes in local schools is demonstrated in 20 ▎. As the figure shows, private schools in the

18 ▎ A Neighbourhood in Transition (Kitson, R. (2013) 'Heygate Estate's last resident is forcibly evicted by police', Evening Standard. Available online at http://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/heygate-estate-s-last-resident-is-forcibly-evicted-by-police-8928643.html [accessed 10 February 2016].)

% Change in Level of Education from 2001 - 2011

Southwark 009F
Southwark Borought
London

Level of Education in Southwark 009F before and after Heygate Estate vacated

2001 (n=2,068)

2011 (n=1,423)

No qualification   Level 1   Level 2   Level 3   Level 4/5

19 ▎ Friends of Victory Community Park (2016) Interview; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

area are seeing enrolment increases nearest to the areas of redevelopment, while public schools are increasing in the southeastern portions of the neighbourhood, matching the aforementioned pattern of displacement from the Heygate Estate. Consequently, investments in green spaces in areas of increased residential density will disproportionately serve those who can afford to pay for private schools, neglecting green space near those who cannot.

Alongside this narrative of displacement and disparity is a misconstrual of the placemaking occurring in Elephant & Castle. Redevelopment often places transformative power the hands of the state and the developers. Promotional material for the Elephant & Castle rebranding, such as that in 21 | emphasises this, particularly in the context of green placemaking. While it is true that both Lend Lease and Southwark Council have roles to play in the creation, maintenance, and improvement of green spaces in Elephant & Castle, this sort of marketing masks the active efforts of grassroots movements in the neighbourhood. Prior to Lend Lease's involvement,

20 | School Capacity Analysis (Authors, based on Ofsted Data Dashboard (2016) Find a Data Dashboard. Available online at http://dashboard.ofsted.gov.uk [accessed 10 February 2016].)

13 Public Schools

17 Private Schools

Quartiles of Net School Enrollment

Decrease in pupils

0.6 - 2.3 new pupils

2.4 - 4.6 new pupils

4.7 - 10 new pupils

11 or more new pupils

21 | Promoting a Green Neighbourhood (Lend Lease (2011) Elephant & Castle Regeneration. Available online at http://www.lendlease.com/europe/united-kingdom/projects/elephant-and-castle-regeneration [accessed 12 May 2016].)

22 | Measuring Green Space in the new Elephant Park

Elephant Park
Total Area = 90,000 m2

27%
73%

■ Total = Open/Green Space 65,790 m2
■ Total = Built Space 24,210 m2

23 | Measuring Green Space in the former Heygate Estate

Heygate Estate
Total Area = 90,000 m2

19%
81%

■ Total = Open/Green Space 72,935 m2
■ Total = Built Space 17,065 m2

Cut Across: Diverse Infrastructures

Canal and Waterway Infrastructure: Lea River Boat Locations

ELEPHANT & CASTLE REGENERATION

ELEPHANT & CASTLE

TImeline: 2012 - 2027
Opportunity Area: 122 hectares
Development Area: 440,000 sqm
Office Space: 30,000 sqm
Office Rent: ???GBP/sqm
Retail: 45,000 sqm
Hotel: ???sqm (? rooms)
Open Space: 2 additional hectares (???)
Residential: 4,000 units + ??? student
Residential Sales: 7,000+ GBP/sqm
Affordable: 35%
New Jobs: 5,000
Cost: 3 billion GBP

Source: Southwark SPD & OAPF (2012) / Financial Times (2015)

KINGS CROSS REGENERATION

KINGS CROSS

TImeline: 1996 (planning begins) - 2020
(project completion)
Opportunity Area: 54 hectares
Development Area: 557,000 sqm
Office Space: 315,500 sqm
Office Rent: 646+ GBP/sqm
Retail: 46,500 sqm
Hotel: 3,000 sqm (90 rooms)
Open Space: 10,500 sqm
Residential: 2,000 units + 650 student
Residential Sales: 7,500 - 15,000 GBP/sqm
Affordable: 42%
New Jobs: 20,000
Cost: 3 billion GBP
Source: Kings Cross Opportunity Area Development Brief (2004) /
Urban Land Insitute Case Study (2014)

Elephant & Castle was already a very green neighbourhood. This is highlighted in 22-23│ where the amount of built versus green space on the former Heygate Estate is compared against the plan for Elephant Park. As the figure shows, Heygate actually included more green space than its replacement.

More significant than the misconstrual of the quantity of green space already present in Elephant & Castle is the portrayal of Lend Lease as the active power in greenifying the neighbourhood. Elephant & Castle is host to many grassroots organisations with missions involving green space. These include the Friends of Southwark Parks, each of which is dedicated to the care of an individual park; Green Links who create safe routes between parks; Guerrilla Gardeners who beautify small, neglected green spaces alongside roads; and Mobile Gardeners who occupy vacant land with educational urban gardens. Lend Lease, to their credit, have supported the initiatives of these organisations by funding estate beautification projects, consulting the organisers of these groups in designing their own parks through the Park Advisory Group (PAG), granting a five-year lease on their yet-to-be-developed lot for a community garden, and providing signage for Green Links. However, this makes Lend Lease the enhancer of these green placemaking efforts, not the driver.

Even the council, despite its ownership of the public parks, cannot claim to have created these green spaces. Time and time again, we have heard anecdotes about resident-led efforts to found new parks for their children to play in, to beautify the council property around their homes, or to preserve trees and other green space slotted for development. One such anecdote comes from an interview with the Friends of Victory Community Park:

Street and Pavement Infrastructure:
Comparison of Price of Full English Breakfast

Social Infrastructure: Seen in Somers Town

"The people in that block; the people in the street where I live, Balfour Street; the people in the next street going down that way, Henshaw Street; and a big council housing block that was just over there all got together and campaigned to have the space – the derelict land after the tenement houses came down – turned into somewhere where their children could play safely. Because apart from that, the children were hemmed in by Rodney Place, which is quite a busy road; New Kent Road, which is a highway; and the rest of Rodney Road down there. So they were stuck in here with nowhere to play". 24│

25│Guerrilla Gardeners Intervention (Guerrilla Gardening (2008) Blog April–May 08. Available online at http://www.guerrillagardening.org/ggblog14.html [accessed 8 February 2016].)

24│Friends of Victory Community Park (2016) Interview; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

Non Participation

| 1 | **Manipulation** | *Powerless advisory committees educated by government* |

| 2 | **Therapy** | *Behavioural interventions disguised as participation* |

Tokenism

| 3 | **Informing** | *One - way comunication no feedback* |

| 4 | **Consultation** | *Surveys and hearings as frormalities Limitations* |

| 5 | **Placation** | *Concessions based on feedback but no decision - making power* |

Citizen Power

| 6 | **Partnership** | *Sharing power, negotiate revitions to governmental plans* |

| 7 | **Delegated Power** | *Decision - making power over specified initiatives* |

| 8 | **Citizen Control** | *Full oversight of policy, management and funding* |

Southwark Council

Lend Lease

**Peter Wright
PAG - GREEN LINKS**

PIC
Park Improvement Commission

INFORMAL LANDSCAPE OPTION

Let's talk about...
SOUTHWARK PARK - OLD NURSERY SITE

CONTROLLED USE OPTION

This anecdote demonstrates that even green space owned and maintained by Southwark Council often results from bottom-up grassroots movements rather than top-down state establishment.

As in the case of Friends of Victory Community Park, many of these organisations formed through Tenant and Resident Associations. Others, like Green Links, formed through the partnership of multiple organisations, and almost all came into being in response to an unserved need in the community, often providing something that was lacking be it safe space for children to play or safe routes to get them to that space. Others formed to beautify neglected green spaces. An example of their mission can be seen in 25 | : it shows a council-owned green space on the roundabout at Elephant & Castle that was poorly maintained by the council and restored (illegally) by Guerrilla Gardeners. Whether they grew out of other organisations or out of an unserved need in their communities, these grassroots organisations should be recognized for their green placemaking efforts, not masked behind developer propaganda and council ownership.

Problematic

In transitioning neighbourhoods, particularly ones where less-educated residents are displaced by privileged newcomers, concerns are often raised regarding how to reconcile the 'old' identity and occupants of the neighbourhood with the 'new'. In the context of green space in Elephant & Castle, we share similar concerns, particularly because the level of engagement between the council and the neighbourhood's longtime residents is insufficient. To explain this problem in depth, we turn to Sherry Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation. 26 |

Arnstein's ladder ranges from full citizen control to manipulation, where advisory committees are formed not to give advice but to be educated about the government's agenda. 28 | The central rungs are what Arnstein calls 'tokenism' where citizens participate to a certain extent but have no decision-making power, nor any guarantee that their input will be taken into account. Based on our examination of the council's engagement related to green space, we place them on the fourth rung: consultation. They have online surveys and hold hearings to collect feedback. However, they do not publish the results of their surveys or the minutes of their hearings. 29 | Consequently, though they collect feedback, there is neither accountability nor transparency to ensure that input is incorporated or even considered in their plans.

Lend Lease falls one rung deeper at placation. Their Park Advisory Committee, composed of proactive members of the community, has a voice in designing Elephant Park's green spaces. However, final decision-making authority over its implemented still rests with Lend Lease. 30 | Many grassroots organisations, including Green Links and Friends of Southwark Parks, are far more transparent in their incorporation of member opinions into their projects and even go so far as to treat all

28 | Arnstein, S. R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35(4), pp. 216–224.

29 | Southwark Council (2016) *Help us improve Southwark Park*. Available online at http:// www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200073/parks_ and_open_spaces/3710/help_us_improve_ southwark_park [accessed 10 February 2016].

30 | Wright, P. (2016) Interview with Peter Wright; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

voices, including those of children, as equally valuable. 31| However, although these organisations have a deep level of engagement, their lack of partnership with the council means they have no power over the council-owned green spaces they advocate for. Our intervention aims to foster an even deeper level of engagement: delegated power. This depth will be achieved by transferring decision-making authority over green spaces to the community and by ensuring people have an equal chance to participate in green placemaking regardless of their level of education.

Southwark Council's greatest shortcoming in citizen engagement is their disenfranchisement of Elephant & Castle's longtime residents. The surveys they conduct regarding green spaces typically involve complicated diagrams such as those in 27|. This severely limits feedback to a simple poll rather than inviting further input to determine priorities. Furthermore, these diagrams are difficult to understand. Overwhelming visuals coupled with alienating language used by the council in both their surveys and hearings intimidates the less educated residents of Elephant & Castle, who are consequently too intimidated to participate:

> "They have a perception that if they go to a meeting – and I'm putting words in other people's mouths – it'll be middle class, there'll be wine on the table, they'll talk in words I don't understand, they'll want me to write something and I can't spell. It's this whole myriad of things, and the walls getting taller." 31|

Furthermore, not only do these hearings exclude those who feel disenfranchised, they also occur on an unrealistically short timescale. The turnaround time between announcing a hearing or workshop, holding it, and implementing change is so rapid it does not leave time for sufficient discussion of varying viewpoints, nor for any process of revision and further feedback to occur. Deep engagement requires both time and trust. It requires establishing a rapport to allow for open, honest dialogue, and it requires making participants feel included rather than intimidated through tactics that facilitate comfortable sharing of views without shaming them for being unable to write or speak well. 32|

This lack of engagement, coupled with an over-reliance on hectares per capita measure, will only result in further segmentation in Elephant & Castle. The areas around the development will continue to see investment in their green spaces, while the privileged, educated new residents will feel comfortable advocating for their needs with the council. Simultaneously, the proactive grassroots organisations will continue to pick up the council's slack in the southeastern parts of the neighbourhood still largely populated by longtime residents; however, without authority over their local green spaces and without reliable sources of funding, they will be unable to protect the spaces they care about from becoming neglected or, worse yet, sold off for development. To alleviate this disparity, we propose a political intervention that implements deeper, transparent engagement between the council and the community

32| Wright, P. (2016) Interview with Peter Wright; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

Wilson, S. (2016) Interview with Head of Community Development, Lend Lease; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

31| Wright, P. (2016) Interview with Peter Wright; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

and that transfers decision-making authority over green spaces to the people that use them.

Intervention

The significance of fostering dialogue in which all voices involved are heard can never be over-emphasised. This applies not only to green space, but also to municipal infrastructural placemaking in general. In an ideal democratic platform, everyone should have the opportunity to partake and work towards a viable common goal.

In the case of Elephant & Castle, decision-making authority lies in the hands of Southwark Council and Lend Lease. These two parties formally signed an agreement in 2010, establishing a 15-year deal declared to be "not just about bricks and mortar", but rather, "using property as a catalyst for a wholesale regeneration of the area". 33│ However, one might argue that the voice of the community is absent in this agreement. Lend Lease is a private developer, and is not obliged to meet the demands of community members, except at their own discretion. Participation at the community level, other than stipulations prescribed in a Section 106 Agreement, is not compulsory.

The council, as a municipal entity, is more accessible to the community by default; however, they lack the capability to handle the wide range of complex social dynamics in the community. A community-based association would be better equipped to articulate these social complexities, as its members would be more familiar with explicit details and better able to compile these grievances in ways that would be more easily palatable by the council or the developer.

There are many grassroots organisations devoted to green placemaking in Elephant & Castle. In 35│, the dense social network between these groups is clearly visible. The majority of partnerships in this network rely on trust and working relationships between personal contacts. While these relationships are powerful, they can quickly dissolve. They depend heavily on individual capabilities rather than a sustainable set of procedures. Consequently, if a key member within the community were to move away, the impermanence and vulnerability of this network would be exposed. PAG, acting as the catalyst between developer and community, is among the few institutionalised partnership between these parties; however, it is merely a temporary body which discusses one private park-to-be. 34│ The only true example of a durable, systematic community-council partnership is with the Tenant and Resident Associations (TRAs) who receive funding via the Tenant Fund. 35│ The TRAs-council relationship is a functional and workable example of how the members of the community, by way of open discourse, have decision-making power over allocated council funds. This example can serve as a useful model for other community-council relationships.

33│Southwark Council (2010) *Elephant regeneration agreement formally signed*. Available online at http://www.southwark.gov.uk/news/article/193/elephant_regeneration_agreement_formally_signed [accessed 10 February 2016].

34│Lend Lease (2014) *Elephant Park: Park Advisory Group - Elephant & Castle*. Available online at http://www.elephantandcastle-lendlease.com/news/park-advisory-group-invitation-members [accessed 10 February 2016].

35│Southwark Council (2016) *Tenant and resident associations*. Available online at http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/1012/council_tenant_involvement/737/tenant_and_resident_associations [accessed 10 February 2016].

Mission
-Plan and carry out specific improvements/additions to green spaces
-Provide a democratic platform for participatory engagement
-Foster a sense of ownership over publicly accessible space

Authority
-Fomally represent members' interests in all matters related to green space
-Decision making authority over allocation of Park Fund
-Capacity to autonomously implement small-scale improvements
-NOT Responsible for general maintenance and upkeep of green space

Funding
-Quarterly budget from council´s Park Fund
-Can negotiate for additional funding for specified projects
-Can seek outside funding in form of grants

Membership
-Democratically elected officers
-Open to anyone with interest in local parks
-No residency or age requirementv

Engagement
-Ongoing process of participatory research
-Monthly events (workshops, meetings, walkabouts, etc.)
-Outreach to promote inclusion of the disenfranchised

Partnership
-Collaborate on improvements to council greens (TRAs)
-Negotiate for improvements publicly accessible private parks (Elephant Park)
-Coordinate events with Friends of Parks and other stakeholders (NGOs)

36 | Description of PIC

This brings us to the crux of our intervention: establishing the Park Improvement Commission (PIC), as seen in 42 | , which will fill the gaps that currently exist by institutionalising the relationship between the council and the community (similar to the TRA model), and creating a sustainable model that ensures full accountability in green placemaking efforts. The strength of our intervention lies in its ability to engage the numerous bodies involved in a positive and productive manner, seamlessly connecting the major (and minor) actors, to formulate a well-informed set of decisions in a way that empowers the disenfranchised. The components of PIC are detailed in 36 | . Decision-making on improvements will take place in an inclusive way, actively engaging the community. A steady and continuous budget will allow for sustainable, small-scale improvements with additional funding negotiated as needed. Ultimately, these acupunctural interventions will add up to a significant whole. As the Head of Community Development at Lend Lease acknowledged, a few swings and trees can inject substantial 'personality' to a park. 37 | Similarly, minor changes implemented in Salisbury Square Park, including a flowerbed, path, and play area, transformed this space from an under-utilised field to a beautiful, beloved park. 38 | The impact of these small changes are exemplified in 43-45 | . These interventions would not cost much, yet the difference they will make to green spaces is substantial, transcending the basic physical addition of objects by altering the meaning associated with the space and its surroundings. After all, "Intervention is all about revitalization, an indispensable way of making an organism function and change". 39 |

PIC will not interfere with pre-existing practices of park maintenance conducted by the council. Rather, its focus will be extensive community outreach, including monthly events and workshops and collaboration with council TRAs, private sector groups and NGOs. This will be complimented by a website with mobile device capabilities, as seen in 46 | , providing extensive information about on-going projects in neighbourhood green spaces and the organisations involved and providing users with interactive means to engage with community members, such as opinions on projects, forum discussions, or surveys using our interactive typology among other tools.

To highlight the potential of a functional relationship between community and public sectors, we draw from the successful partnership between the Taipei City Government and the Treasure Hill urban farming community. Once a derelict and neglected part of the city with a history of social activism, its recovery started with small-scale urban acupunctural changes administered by the locals and a group of architecture students. 40 | This evolved into a process of reinvigoration, with the participation of the city government, in conjunction with local and international artists, collaborating with the local organic farmers at Treasure Hill, by way of hosted on-site events such as outdoor movie nights, art lectures and exhibitions to facilitate creative and artistic involvements in the community. 40 | This partnership can be viewed as a triumph in community preservation, whose strength lies in the close-knit and open coordination between the city government and community members to patiently build trust over the long term, and establish a sense of empowerment among the stakeholders.

38 | Wright, P. (2016) Interview with Peter Wright; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

37 | Wilson, S. (2016) Interview with Head of Community Development, Lend Lease; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

39 | Lerner, J. (2014) *Urban Acupuncture.* Washington, D.C.: Island Press, on p. 1.

40 | Taipei City Government (2016) *Treasure Hill.* Available online at http://english.tch.gov.taipei/ ct.asp?xItem=155349&ctNode=15315&mp=111 002 [accessed 10 February 2016].

KEY

- - - Institutionalised Partnerships

· · · · Social Contacts / Working relationships

41 | Current Structure of Green Placemaking
Organisations

KEY

- - - Institutionalised Partnerships

· · · · Social Contacts / Working relationships

42 | Future Structure of Green Placemaking
Organisations

43 | Physical Green Infrastructure: Acupuntural Urbanism

44 | Physical Green Infrastructure: Acupuntural
Urbanism

45 | Physical Green Infrastructure: Acupunctural
Urbanism

46 | PIC Website and App

We should bear in mind that successful models of government-community engagement are scarce, and limitations to an intervention such as PIC do exist. The involvement of multiple voices, for instance, can lead to difficulties in reaching a consensus when collective decisions need to be made, slowing down the process of change. Also, as expected with any project, funding is always a concern. Incremental changes can be completed even with small budgets, and we believe it is in both the council's and the developer's long-term interest to provide continuous financial support for PIC, as any success in the community realm will bolster both their reputations. We believe that this period of transition provides a unique opportunity to implement an intervention like PIC. The proactive grassroots movements provide the momentum necessary to overcome the challenges of establishing PIC, the presence of developer investment and Section 106 agreements can be put towards the start-up costs of PIC, and the projected increase in council tax thanks to the construction of so many luxury homes can sustain PIC for generations to come.

Sociopolitical Life of Green Space

There is a longstanding assumption that infrastructure is "normally invisible" and that it only "becomes visible when it breaks". 48 │ Southwark Council's approach to the management of green space certainly fits this perception of infrastructure as invisible until broken: their surveys and projects are carried out only after the identification of a problem, such as dog owners' failure to cleanup after their pets. 49 │ Our analysis of the green space in Elephant & Castle, however, has revealed that infrastructure can be visible, especially when it is working. Green space is not merely physical. It has dynamic social and political lives with important implications for urbanism.

Physical
Green Infrastructure

GREEN
INFRASTRUCTURE

Social
Green Infrastructure

Political
Green Infrastructure

47 │ Physical, Social and Political Infrastructure Diagram

48 │ Leigh Star, S. (1999) 'The Ethnography of Infrastructure, *American Behavioral Scientist* 43(3), pp. 377–391.

49 │ Southwark Council (2016) *Dogs in parks*. Available online at http://www.southwark. gov.uk/info/200073/parks_and_open_ spaces/3169/dogs_in_parks [accessed 10 February 2016].

This multifaceted reading of infrastructure is displayed in 47│. Similarly, small-scale acupunctural improvements like those carried out by PIC will have social and political impacts as well as physical ones.

The social life of infrastructure can be seen in the sense of community it creates. Green spaces are not only places for people to play or relax. They are also places where they encounter and connect with other people. Just as residents of major cities identify their neighbourhoods based on the nearest transit station, so too do the residents of Elephant & Castle identify their communities based on their local parks. By giving these park users authority over green space, there is an opportunity to greatly enhance this social aspect of infrastructure by fostering a feeling of ownership over public space. In cases where grassroots organisations have persisted to acquire grant funding and council permission to make changes to Salisbury Row Park, this is precisely what has happened: children who chose their own playground equipment became protective of 'their' space, attended gardening and clean-up events, and continued to preserve it into their teenage years. 50│ The children whose parents fought to establish Victory Community Park on their behalf now bring their own children to play in the beloved space. 51│ In these ways, green infrastructure is more than just physical. It becomes a hub of social life and the heart of a community.

Once a community is formed around the establishment, protection, improvement, or use of a green space, and once that community feels empowered by their ability to advocate for and implement changes to that space, green infrastructure has the potential to take on a political life as well as a physical and social one. The political life of green space is no new concept. Parks have historically served as sites of political protest, most famously in the form of the Occupy movement worldwide. Elephant & Castle is also no stranger to political action around green space: in the transition from Heygate to Elephant Park, there have been a series of protests to protect the aged trees on the land including naming the trees to humanise them and a memorable naked sit-in. 50│ The political life of green infrastructure, however, goes beyond political action within the green space itself. Rather, the act of empowering a community to fight for and improve a green space can spill over into other realms. In the case of Salisbury Row Park, having a body of citizens organised around the park allowed them to make substantial changes to roads and pavements in their community, ultimately resulting in a more walkable place to live. 50│ The political life of green infrastructure, therefore, goes beyond the green.

In conclusion, we feel that Elephant & Castle presents a unique opportunity to maximise the social and political benefits gained from empowering users of green space. This project will not only ensure that the voices of both 'new' and 'old' residents of Elephant & Castle are heard, it will also help to reconcile these voices in the formation of one cohesive but diverse neighbourhood with unique, quality green spaces. If successful, this project can serve as a framework for community-led green space in transitioning urban neighbourhoods around the world.

50│Wright, P. (2016) Interview with Peter Wright; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

51│Friends of Victory Community Park (2016) Interview; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

Street and Pavement Infrastructure: Occupy Well Street

Project Team: Megan Groth, Daphne Lee, Mehran Qureshi, Maria Elena Rioseco Zenteno

The Urban Context of Creative Economies: From Global Discourse to Local Hackney

The global popularity of employing 'creativity' as an urban-economic strategy has heralded a creative urban age. Cities worldwide are heeding Landry's 'Creative City' concept of harnessing local creative potentials for economic revitalisation; or replicating Florida's 'Creative Class' thesis of place-making to attract highly-skilled creative workers, who are the magnets for knowledge-intensive and creative industries fostering growth. 1│ The UK has also become a renowned model, particularly London, as it was where creative industries as an economic policy and valued sector first emerged with the 'Creative Industries Task Force' created in 1998. 2│

Be it a policy emphasis on the organisational culture of city-making, consumption services or production industries, the synergetic relationship means these creative discourses generally favour particular urban locales, entrepreneurial practices and the 'creative class', thereby producing spatial, social and economic inequalities. "Creative advantage presupposes creative disadvantage", which can play out as uneven opportunities amongst cities but also at a more localised, intra-urban level. 3│

Within London, Hackney borough extensively pursues a 'Creative Hackney' agenda which we have identified as a cause of inequalities and imbalanced power dynamics on Mare Street – best exemplified by the intersections of Westgate Street and Well Street. 4│ Just 250 metres away from each other, they represent two different lifeworlds. Westgate Street sits proximately to the trendy Broadway Market and railway arches, and is surrounded by a growing cluster of creative studios, design offices and artistic pop-ups, along with upmarket café-restaurants to serve the creative workers. On the other hand, the long-established, everyday neighbourhood of Well Street is close to social housing estates and is linguistically and ethnically diverse, providing 'ordinary' domestic services to a large, lower-income population.

Our concern is that council support for creative class, enterprises and workspaces overlooks or undermines existing, ordinary businesses and communities. As a result, these areas are either left out of economic regeneration or being subsumed into a 'creative' make-over that erases the social diversity of Hackney. Our project thus aims to critique and address the uneven dynamics of creative regeneration manifested on Mare Street, by strengthening the presence/representation of the ordinary Well Street cluster. In doing so, we hope to empower traders and users of Well Street in making

1│ Landry, C. (2000) *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*. London: Routledge.

Florida, R. L. (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.

2│ Flew, T. (2011) *The Creative Industries: Culture and Policy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

3│ Peck, J. (2005) 'Struggling with the Creative Class', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(4), pp. 740–770, on p. 767.

4│ Hackney Council (2005) *Creative Hackney A Cultural Policy Framework for Hackney*. London: Hackney Council.

Hackney Council (2010) *Creative Hackney: Cultural Policy Framework*. London: Hackney Council.

claims for their space, thereby countering the impinging creative force from Westgate Street and omission from the Council's regeneration vision for Hackney.

Creativity & Infrastructure

The various strands of creative urban strategies are underpinned by particular notions of infrastructure. For Landry, a key element of creative city-making involves shaping creative milieus that comprise both hardware (building, transport, utilities) and software (sensory and atmospheric experience of place) to provide a nurturing setting for innovation, imagination and exchange of ideas. 7 | Similarly for Florida, attraction and retention of the creative class is dependent on critical infrastructure/amenities that appeals to their preferences. 8 | Even direct promotion of creative industries demands suitable workspaces for artistic appropriation. Hence, the built environment is the physical platform for creative practices to flourish; and it could be reversely argued that creative practices exert prominent spatial footprints.

An infrastructural question of the creative discourse is thus relevant. In this vein, and aligned with the studio theme on infrastructural urbanism, our project uses an infrastructural lens of streets and pavements to examine the everyday experiences and problems of creative urban development in Hackney. 9 | This is done through ethnographic observations of activities and materialities on the streets/pavements, mapping of street adjacencies, interviews with traders and users, quantitative exploration of census data to contextualise the site we are focusing on, and qualitative analysis of documents and news related to the issue.

By looking at the effects of creative urbanism on mundane, taken-for-granted infrastructure of streets and pavements, we seek to offer a fresh understanding and

5 | Well Street intersection (left) and Westgate Street intersection (right) on Mare Street

7 | Landry, C. (2012) *The Origins & Futures of the Creative City*. Gloucestershire: Comedia.

8 | Florida, R. L. (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.

9 | Angelo, C. and Hentschel, H. (2015) 'Interactions with infrastructure as windows into social worlds: A method for critical urban studies: Introduction', *City* 19(2–3), pp. 306–312.

critique of Hackney's creative policy. At the same time, we will demonstrate how solutions to the resulting inequalities correspondingly require an infrastructural approach, in which streets and pavements present a useful medium of reimagining more equitable socio-spatial development.

Hackney Council's Creative Industries Strategy: Creativity & Infrastructure

The official strategy for Hackney envisions the borough as a future of creative entrepreneurship, and a thriving residence and workplace for artists and designers. The role of Creative and Cultural Industries (CCIs) remain definitive in this endeavour. The identification of the 14 core creative industries, which was formalised in 2001 by the Department for Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS), are broken down in Hackney in 10 │. As it shows, Hackney's creative industries only generate 7% of borough employment yet the Council places disproportionate emphasis on this sector and uses it to drive the borough-wide regeneration discourse and place marketing.

For example, the document 'Creative Hackney: Cultural policy framework' emphasizes the role of CCIs as vital to the regeneration and identity formation for the borough:

> "Hackney is a major provider of the 'cultural offer' in East London through our concentration of practicing artists, major cultural venues and creative industries. Part of our remit as a local authority is to ensure that Hackney remains the creative heart of East London and that our practitioners and organisations are best placed to take advantage of any emerging opportunities...The creative industries are a significant part of the economy of the borough..." 11 │

10 │ Subsectors of Creative Industries in Hackney (Hackney Council (2014). *Local Economic Assessment; Employment in Hackney: Sectoral and Spatial Analysis*, London: Hackney Council.)

Creative Industries in Hackney	Total Employment
Advertising, Market Research and Media	2,153
Designers and Photographers	861
Architects	846
Artistic Creation and Performing Arts	745
Clothing, Footwear, Jewelry Manufacturing	407
Film, Music and Sound Recording and Production	373
Other Publishing Activities	212
Media Services and Binding	205
Reservations & Event Organizers	104
Total	**5,906**
Percentage of Borough Employment	**7%**

11 │ Hackney Council (2010) *Creative Hackney: Cultural Policy Framework*. London: Hackney Council, p. 9.

Also, the 'Regeneration Delivery Framework' mentions "innovative and creative economy" as a part of its "long term vision" and the Council has highlighted special requirements in its Development Management planning policies to secure additional affordable workspaces and studios. 12 │ This is corroborated by recommendations to continue the 'Art in Empty spaces' scheme and convert available council-owned as well as other privately-owned spaces into 'meanwhile' or short-term leases for this purpose. 13 │

Problematic Discourse: Creativity & Class Difference

Hackney has a substantial industrial heritage, particularly in wholesale manufacturing and housing for industrial workers. With de-industrialisation in the 1970s and 80s, only car breaking, scrap dealing and warehousing activities were left. 14 │ These traits are still visible in Hackney's urban landscape today. Furthermore, it is still among the most deprived boroughs in the UK where migrants and low-income, ethnically diverse populations reside. 15 │ The wards of Homerton and Victoria, which share their boundary with Mare Street (towards the East), have high deprivation levels, concentration of social housing and ethnic and linguistic diversity. These historical and socio-demographic characteristics inform the label of 'working class' we will use

16 │ Deprivation levels in Hackney: High deprivation levels in Homerton and Victoria as compared to London Fields and Hackney Central (Hackney Council (2015b) *Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2015 Briefing*. London: Hackney Council.)

Index of Multiple Deprivation

Least Deprived
Top 40% most deprived
Top 30% most deprived
Top 20% most deprived
Top 10% most deprived

12 │ Hackney Council (2009) *Regeneration Delivery Framework*. London: Hackney Council, p. 2

Hackney Council (2015) *Workspace Provider list, May 2015*. London: Hackney Council.

13 │ Hackney Council (2012) *Report of the Living in Hackney Scrutiny Commission*. London: Hackney Council.

14 │ Hackney Council (2014) *History and Heritage of Hackney*. Available online at http://www.hackney.gov.uk/xp-factsandfigures-history.htm#.VrxYrF9FDGh [accessed 5 February 2016].

15 │ Hackney Council (2015) *Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2015 Briefing*. London: Hackney Council.

Wessendorf, S. (2014) ' 'Being open, but sometimes closed'. Conviviality in a super-diverse London neighbourhood', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17, pp. 392-405.

in this report, which resonate with the demographic majority of Hackney. Conversely, the wards of London Fields and Hackney Central towards the West, where all the creative industries and accompanying retail services are concentrated, have witnessed significant decrease in deprivation levels in the last 5 years, with increase in private-rented housing and White ethnic groups as compared to other wards in the borough. Ethnicity is also bounded with class here as 89.8% of jobs in the creative industries are held by 'White' ethnic groups. 19 |

Despite this context of contrasting socio-economic conditions, the creative discourse of Hackney deploys the class difference between the creative class and working class in multiple, often conflicting, ways. Firstly, we see creative class as a conflation with upper-middle income classes. While official data considers the creative industries as separate from financial and business services, the discourse implicitly relies on their inter-dependence in practice. High-value service economies requires marketing, advertising and design work as supporting services; and their high-middle income professionals drive the demand for creative sub-sectors of retail like restaurants and cafes. Together they constitute a socio-cultural and economic realm that is distinct from the working-class populations of Hackney.

Secondly, Hackney's creative regeneration discourse attempts to bring the multi-ethnic character of Hackney into its fold as if they are mutually reinforcing. For example, lower-income Black and Asian Ethnic Minority (BAME) owned enterprises are

18 | Collage of contradictory excerpts from various Hackney Council documents

17 | Collage of excerpts from public documents

What I don't like is the pretense and the assumption that someway or another Hackney needs to be grateful for all these up-and-coming industries. What's wrong with a proper working class area having proper working class jobs?

--Grant Kingsnorth, Interviewee with 'The Guardian'

Hackney is now the 6th most diverse borough in London, down from 3rd in 2005.

--'A Profile of Hackney, its People and Place', January 2016

6 A Dynamic and Creative Economy

Evening and Night-Time Economy

6.25 Evening and night-time economy uses such as public houses, cinemas, restaurants cafés, drinking establishments, hot food takeaways, local night clubs and other leisure uses are an important part of the local economy in Hackney. These contribute towards the customer and visitor experience and provide opportunities for business start-ups and employment, particularly for members of the black and ethnic minority communities. Hackney also has a rich and growing cultural and creative activities sector that is becoming an important part of it's economic base attracting visitors and businesses particularly in the City Fringe areas.

Hackney's strategic planning policies for 2010-2025

Creative Hackney

There has been a real surge in the growth of cultural and creative industries in parts of Hackney, replacing manufacturing as the prime industry in the borough. The offer is immense and varied, and has made Hackney a place people come to visit, a place in which people want to live and work. Many of our small cultural enterprises are black and minority ethnic owned, our rich, diverse cultural heritage.

Micro and small businesses (less than 10 employees), many of which are black and minority ethnic organisations, dominate Hackney's cultural sector. Not all cultural organisations follow the traditional economic growth model so many will continue to operate as Small to Medium Enterprises (SMEs). We need to ensure infrastructure support is in place to provide small businesses with business advice, access to training and funding. The Black and Minority Ethnic Arts organisation (BEMA) has potential to expand to provide that support in partnership with the Council and other agencies.

Hackney Regeneration Delivery Framework 2009

Hackney Cultural Policy Framework 2010

19 | Department for Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS) (2014) *Creative Industries: Focus on Employment*, UK. London: Department for Culture, Media & Sport.

mentioned under the label of 'Creative Hackney' and are recognised as progressing from traditional manufacturing and warehousing to art and leisure services on the same aspirational level. 20│ This is clearly shown in excerpts from the official position on creative economy vis-a-vis ethnic diversity in 18│.

Thirdly, in direct opposition, the cultural and creative entrepreneurial character of the place and changing demographics, with specific mention of higher-income residents moving in, are considered as strengths and opportunities; whereas the presence of small businesses and poor retail offer are considered as threats and weaknesses. 21│

We identify this contradiction in the discourse to be creating serious confusions, as it attempts to conceal the difference or at least bring this vast diversity together under the label of 'creativity' as though lower-income, ethnic-minorities are similarly working towards determining Hackney's 'creative' image.

Implications: Fragmented & Uneven Development of Mare Street

Class differences at the borough level ultimately translate into spatial distinctions at the local scale of Mare Street. As a result, the various segments of the street have different character, thereby breaking its linearity into a series of urban rooms. This fragmentation is most pronounced between Westgate Street intersection and Well Street intersection.

Westgate Street intersection are mainly comprised of creative offices and studio spaces like Netil house, Kelton House and The Laundry, and it is creative workers - noticeably are mostly Whites - from these buildings that activate the area. Also, this part of the region has "distinctive visitor and evening economies", which is supported

22│Graphical representation of the problematic

VISION FOR LONDON AS A CREATIVE CITY

CREATIVITY - LED REGENERATION

COUNCIL VISION FOR HACKNEY AS A CREATIVE HUB

CREATIVE ECONOMY: (anchored in middle class, privileged in official discourse)

PROBLEMATIC

The problematic is located in bringing together the categories of creative economy and diversity / difference in close vicinity as if one reinforces and informs the others.
In reality, the forces of creative economy subject the ethnically diverse working class presence to erasure.

(ETHNIC) DIVERSITY: (low income, working class, high deprivation levels)

20│Hackney Council (2009) *Regeneration Delivery Framework*. London: Hackney Council.

Hackney Council (2010) *Core Strategy Hackney's strategic planning policies for 2010–2025*. London: Hackney Council.

21│Hackney Council (2009) *Regeneration Delivery Framework*. London: Hackney Council.

by our observations. 24│ Interviews with traders at Broadway and Netil House Market reveal that they are frequented by tourists and people from other parts of London. While the official discourse claims that night-time economy of the region is beneficial to BAME businesses, our ethnographic research suggest that this is actually anchored in a distinct market base, such as The Dolphin Pub and other bars in London Fields, not associated with them. 25│

Well Street intersection, on the other hand, has a context determined by diverse ethnic, multi-lingual and low-income user-groups. It is mostly composed of ordinary retail e.g. salons, pawn shops and money transfers, launderettes, pharmacy and grocers, take-away and cafes, shoe repair, and mobile phone repair. The shops are local in terms of long length of residence in the area, owners' place affiliations and customer profile; with some services like hairdressing particularly catered for Black Afro-Caribbean or Vietnamese communities. The cluster is not formally organised as a traders association or neighbourhood group as is the upper Well Street market, and do not receive any council support. Shop-fronts appear worn-out and owners echo

23│Well Street Intersection showing year and type of retail establishments

●	Restaurant/ Cafe
●	General Store / Supermarket
●	Hair and Beauty
●	Health and Pharmacy
●	Home Services: Laundrette/ Shoe Repair/etc
●	Other Service: Car Hire/ Printing/ Solicitors
●	Money Transfer/ Cash Exchange
●	Betting Shops
●	Community Services: Homeless Hostel/ Funeral/ etc
●	Internet Cafe
○	To Let
◉	Creative Enterprise

24│Hackney Council (2010) *Hackney Local Development Framework 2010–2015*. London: Hackney Council, on p. 84.

25│Hackney Council (2010) *Creative Hackney: Cultural Policy Framework*. London: Hackney Council.

the minimal (physical) changes in the area besides rising rents and instability of more recent shops.

The difference in user-groups and services between the two intersections can be better understood and established by invoking Bourdieu's notion of 'distinction' based on 'cultural capital'. Cultural capital refers to:

> "...the collection of symbolic elements such as skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings, credentials, etc. that one acquires through being part of a particular social class...But Bourdieu also points out that cultural capital is a major source of social inequality. Certain forms of cultural capital are valued over others, and can help or hinder one's social mobility just as much as income or wealth". 27 |

Hence, it "plays a central role in societal power relations" and can function as "means for a non-economic form of domination and hierarchy, as classes distinguish

26 | Comparison between Well Street and Westgate Street (Authors based on ONS (2011). Available online at http://infuse.mimas.ac.uk [accessed 11 February 2016].)

Ethnicity, Well Street

Legend: White; Mixed/multiple ethnic groups; Asian/Asian British; Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; Other ethnic group

Highest Level of Qualification, Well Street

Legend: No qualifications; Level 1 qualifications; Level 2 qualifications; Apprenticeship; Level 3 qualifications; Level 4 qualifications and above

Ethnicity, Westgate Street

Legend: White; Mixed/multiple ethnic groups; Asian/Asian British; Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; Other ethnic group

Highest Level of Qualification, Westgate Street

Legend: No qualifications; Level 1 qualifications; Level 2 qualifications; Apprenticeship; Level 3 qualifications; Level 4 qualifications and above

27 | Routledge (2011) *Cultural Capital*. Available online at http://routledgesoc.com/category/profile-tags/cultural-capital [accessed 10 December 2015].

themselves through taste". 29 | Different cultural capitals and the resultant tastes form part of a collective identity and consciousness that there are social differences and hierarchies; and that each individual belongs to one's place and habitus. 30 | This is what we are witnessing of the Westgate and Well Street intersection – they are distinct habitus. A closer look at these distinctions can be observed through material culture manifestations.

Westgate Street intersection is characterised by a strong cycling presence and a mute minimalist aesthetic of its shopfronts and signages that serves pricier artisanal food products. On the other hand, Well Street intersection is mostly pedestrian-based with active presences of two major supermarkets – Iceland and Lidl – well-known for their working class customer base. The storefront and signage aesthetic is kitsch and 'loud', but products/services here are modestly priced. The respective intersections, therefore, embody two distinct cultural and social realms, and their users exhibit specific contextual familiarity with each respectively.

However, the Westgate Street 'habitus' is activated by the official discourse of 'Creative Hackney' because of its more marketable image; whereas Well Street intersection remains a mere passive presence sidelined by Council regeneration priorities. This passive presence is gradually subjected to erasure, given the Council-assisted aggressive force of the creative habitus, which potentially unsettles and appropriates 'non-creative' spaces of the Well Street intersection.

28 | Westgate Street Intersection showing year
and type of retail establishments

29 | Gaventa, J. (2003) *Power after Lukes: A Review of the Literature*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, on p. 6.

30 | Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

31 | Comparison of Well Street shopfronts
showing the different aesthetics

32 | Comparison of Westgate Street shopfronts
showing the different aesthetics

Cut Across: Diverse Infrastructures

Street and Pavement Infrastructure: Mare Street

Canal and Waterway Infrastructure: River Lea Navigation Canal

Intervention

The aim of our invention seeks to address the socio-spatial fragmentation and uneven development manifested on Mare Street, which we have identified as an outcome of Hackney Council's narrow creative/cultural policy. The Council's stance privileges particular creative industries and class for place branding and economic regeneration at the expense of the working-class communities. To this end, we develop an intervention framework that focuses on supporting the disadvantaged, less dominant groups at the Well Street intersection, particularly by strengthening their presence on the street.

We define 'presence' here as the visibility and recognition of the ordinary retail and urban life of working-class groups (for themselves and others), which will serve as an important basis for marking claims to the space. Due to the top-down policy forces, working-class presence can only be effectively exerted through both structurally intervening with the policy discourse and having bottom-up approaches from working-class groups that assert their agency in the space and in society. Our approach to consolidating presence is approached from multiple dimensions: cultural presence in terms of the style and character of the place (following Bourdieu's distinction), physical presence in terms of the amount of public street/pavement space and thus users, and political presence through representation to negotiate with Hackney Council. 33│ Our three-pronged intervention strategy thus rests within these hierarchical and sectoral framings, which are mutually overlapping and reinforcing, thus delivering a stronger strategy as a whole.

Social: Somers Town Park Circulation

Railway Infrastructure: Elephant and Castle

Green Infrastructure: Elephant and Castle

Increasing Cultural Representation

Utilize existing businesses' skills & experiences

Improve storefront

Street Furniture

Scheduled Public Events - Winter Market Festival

Organize Lower Well St. Traders Association

Increasing spatial/visual representation (develop an identifiable centre)

Opening up Weston Walk to be integrated with Nursery

More pavement

Lighting & Signage

Improve online presence for businesses

Increasing Political Representation

Revise creative industry discourse/policy

33 | Venn Diagram depicting our three-pronged intervention strategy

Although our intervention (reversely) privileges Well Street intersection and its traders/users, it is not exercised as a zero-sum game that explicitly seeks to take something away from Westgate intersection and the creative class to bolster the working classes. Instead, our goal is the empowerment of a neglected, diverse working class that challenges the power dynamics of an institutionally-supported class conflict, which can be self-perpetuating and thus sustainable in the long-term.

Revising Hackney Council's Regeneration Policy & Vision

The 'Creative Hackney' vision of the Council needs to be fundamentally changed in order to not hinder the existing diversity of businesses and communities in the Well Street/Mare Street intersection. Instead of using a single dominant label like 'creative', we propose formally envisioning Hackney as a place of multiplicity and difference in the policy literature. This means acknowledging the ethnic, socio-cultural and economic diversity of the borough not just for its passive heritage value, but as active stakeholders for shaping the borough. The focus of economic regeneration should be encouraging and supporting the entrepreneurial spirit of all classes, including the diverse working class which is often overlooked. To put these goals into practice, we propose altering two existing council policies to officially include the work and service requirements of the deprived social classes in the borough.

PARTNERSHIPS AND COLLABORATION
Develop partnerships between Council and 'Working class grassroots organizations' specifically targeting regeneration of markets with small and local businesses

SCHEMES REFORMULATION

MAPPING AND DOCUMENTATION
Prepare a ward level inventory of empty spaces in working-class catchments in consultation with these organization

TRADING LICENSE IN EMPTY SPACES
Allow casual and formal traders to utilize the empty spaces for small working class businesses with extended lease

34 | Graphic representation of Creative Schemes Reformulation

Cultural Stakeholder Conferences & Creative Cluster Networks

There is a formal framework to ensure two-way dialogue between Hackney Council and creative enterprises through cultural stakeholder conferences and the practitioner-based Creative Cluster Networks. 34│ Under 'Creative Hackney', these engagements are confined to a specific audience such as culture houses, creative studios, independent cinemas and non-profit institutions that promote design e.g. 'Hidden Art'. We propose that Hackney Council should also develop formal partnerships with working-class grassroots organisations to lead regeneration of specific markets with local and small businesses.

Art in Empty Spaces' Program

Instead of exclusively providing free or discounted retail spaces to Creative Class art and design entrepreneurs through the 'Art in Empty Spaces' Program, the scheme can be reformulated to also promote start-ups of local diverse working-class groups. These vacant spaces across the boroughs, utilised as pop-ups for a few days to a few months, are often the first entry of creative services into a working-class area, destabilising the habitus through their clientele and spatial expressions. 35│ Adjacent market retail play a significant role in determining the vibrancy and quality of public social life on the streets and pavements. By correcting the creative/cultural policy at the structural level, the diversity of everyday experiences of working-class high streets can be sustained. Working top-down is thus important in preventing the overtaking of ordinary urbanism by creative urbanism that is artificially accelerated by Hackney Council.

35│Excerpt from 'Hackney Citizen' News on destabilising creative forces on Well Street (Assanowicz, M. (2011) 'Hackney artists flock to Well Street', *Hackney Citizen*. Available online at http://hackneycitizen.co.uk/2011/11/08/hackney-artists-flock-to-well-street/ [accessed 5 February 2016].)

36│Imagining of Westgate Street as the Creative Class. (InterUrban Studios (2013) *Re-imagine Mare Street Triangle*. Available online at www.interurbanstudios.com/208931/2022186/projects/london-design-festival-2013 [accessed 5 February 2016].)

Hackney Artists Flock to [upper] Well Street

The **recent closure of several shops in the street following rent hikes** by the owner of the buildings has generated much ire; it has also led to vacancies, and **Hackney Council is in discussion with the landlord about** making this space available for pop-up studios and galleries as part of its Art in Empty Spaces programme…

WESTRA Secretary Ian Rathbone was cautious in his reaction to the possibility of the street instead becoming a hive of artistic creativity: **'Two galleries are OK, but five or six start to make [the street] something different. A lot of people think that it's being taken over'**.

-- Excerpt from Hackney Citizen News, Nov 2011

37│Hackney Council (2010) *Creative Hackney: Cultural Policy Framework*. London: Hackney Council.

38 | Imagining Well Street as a Working-Class habitus

Establishing Lower Well Street Traders & Residents Association (L-WESTRA)

To enable effective partnerships at the macro level, active local organisations need to be present to facilitate communication and cooperation. While Well Street does not have any formal traders associations, our interviews with several traders and ethnographic work reveal a close-knit community between various traders and between traders and regular customers. Many hoped for improved business prospects, though traders unanimously commented on the lack of council support for this area and no formal association nor affiliation to the upper Well Street Traders and Residents Association (WESTRA). Establishing a Traders & Residents Association at Lower Well Street would enable cooperation across disparate stakeholders with the agency to convey their presence in multiple ways on the space:

*   Create a representation/voice to negotiate for support and establish the presence of Lower Well Street in the eyes of Hackney Council
*   Invest funds for social improvement projects and physical upgrading of storefronts or the area in the way they desire
*   Build institutional capacity and resources – skills, knowledge, relationships and networks across traders – that will support the socio-economic dynamism of Well Street
*   Collaborate with WESTRA (which is currently struggling against landlord rent hikes and the Council's prioritisation of resultant vacancies for creative enterprises) that will strengthen socio-economic improvement opportunities and political clout for negotiations. One possible collaboration with WESTRA to further enhance the cultural presence of working-class groups on Well Street is the co-organisation of the annual Well Street Winter Market Festival. Due to the stiff competition of markets in Hackney, we recommend beginning with markets as a festivity by leveraging on existing event than as a permanent feature at lower Well Street, which could be expanded more regularly over time should the Association deem feasible.

Creating the association is vital in promoting a sense of ownership and control over the future of the Well Street intersection that incorporates the diverse working class

Lower Well Street Trader and Resident Association (L-WESTRA)

Hackney Council

Executive Committee

Elected Board
4 member (2 residents, 2 traders)
Executive Director
Treasurer

Members

Voluntary

39 | Organisation structure of L-WESTRA

interests. Compared with Westgate Street intersection, the social and human resource of creative industries, along with backing by the Council (and even London) for its development, have enabled the re-imagining of the triangle pavement through the partnering of SPACE, Netil House and The Trampery for The London Design Festival 2013. Redevelopment plans are also in the pipeline for opening up Netil House's building interaction with the street. This goes to show how facilitating different working-class groups with interest in the Well Street junction to come together is equivalent to giving them the opportunity to also imagine and shape their streets, pavements and type of urbanity they hope to see. Our purpose of establishing the Association is as much a spatial tool than a socio-political one, where street/pavement infrastructure becomes the equalising medium.

Improving Public Space at Well Street Intersection

With the existing narrow pavements and lack of street seating, we recommend increasing the amount of pavement into a plaza space and providing seating objects for users to stay and socialize in the public realm. These physical changes will act as a catalyst for habituation practices and develop the area into an identifiable centre, thereby further highlighting the working-class presence on the Well Street intersection.

40 | Spatial extent of L-WESTRA

Our Design Thinking

Drawing on Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and Kristine Samson's work on performative urban design, the basis of our design is that an object exist not in its own terms but as a constellation of relations with users and other objects around it. 41│ The design thus draws meaning from its social-material situation and allows for an 'emergent' urban space that works with existing qualities of the space. 42│ Performance is defined as the act of reassembling these relations through material objects that incite new bodily routines and interactions, which itself becomes an aesthetic. 43│

Our intention is to design, or rather stage, the urban scene of Well Street intersection, by introducing a seating configuration, for a multiplicity of 'performances' by the working-class users, through which their aesthetics are expressed. We view this approach as valuable in reinforcing spatial and cultural presence of the working class groups as it takes into account:

- The plurality of working class (recognises diverse users instead of designing a configuration that is too prescriptive of a particular type of performance)
- The aspirations of the working class and changes of the habitus (does not freeze the place or people in a specific socio-economic condition compared to designing in a specific working-class aesthetic)

While this creates uncertainty in outcomes, we want to ensure an open-ended design that is completed by its users so that the Well Street 'stage' gains meaning only through their participation. In this sense, the spatial intervention is also a way of building spatial agency through engagement with the habitus users, which will better bring out the working class cultural presence.

Ownership is established by involving the community (the Lower Well Street Traders & Residents Association) in the planning and design process of the newly created plaza, which will be administered by Hackney Council. The framework of the process is detailed in 45│ below that comprises guiding questions we have identified in order to realise our design thinking and how community perspectives are incorporated in a feedback loop.

The intention is to phase the design intervention so that the community is involved at multiple steps throughout the process and can visualise the incremental results. Problems with community consultations are that they often end up as mere gestures of tokenism as the public seldom understands the scope of work – often from an inability to read architectural drawings and diagrams. The multiple check-ins, meetings on the site and discussion questions are meant to strengthen the dialogue between Well Street community and the Council, leading to a place-based response that will be recognized by the working-class groups as their own.

41│ Law, J. (2002) 'Objects and Spaces', *Theory, Culture & Society* 19(91), pp. 91–105.

42│ Samson, K. (2013) *Designing in the Emergent City: Assemblage, Acts, Performance*. Available online at http://www.nordes.org/opj/index.php/n13/article/view/333/348 [accessed 5 May 2016].

43│ Samson, K. (2011) 'Performative Urban Design: How to do things with the city', in *Engaging Spaces: Sites of Performance, Interaction, and Reflection*, eds E. Kristiansen and Olav Harsløf. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

MARE STREET

WELL STREET

New Day Care to increase importance of intersection everyday life & provide important social services for the community

Raised & pedestrianized Weston Walk provides space for Well Street events

New plaza at intersection with street trees and street furniture (hybrid option shown)

Revised and raised crosswalks at intersection favor the pedestrian

N

44 | Map depicting our site of intervention at the Well Street intersection

Design Team Consultation

1

Aim: To increase presence on the street
Aim: To claim the space as belonging to Working Class people of Well Street

Meeting to present idea and timeline of project/community involvement for new pedestrian plaza.
- How does the community imagine wanting to use the space?
- Visions for place/public realm?
- Concerns & comments?

Reconfigure Street for Traffic
Demarcated future plaza with paint

2

How can the space be designed so that the most 'working class' people use it?

How can the space be designed so that the Well Street community identifies it as their own (as a center of activity)?

Meet on-site to lead discussion:
- Budget (benefits & limitations)
- What elements should be there for most/best use?
- What does ownership mean to you?
- How do you imagine that you will and will want to the use the space for resting & socializing (re: street furniture)?
- Concerns & comments

Put plastic moveable stools & tables in plaza.
Mark where trees (and other elements) will go

3

How can the furniture be designed so that people occupy it at all hours of the day?

How can the objects be designed to allow for a multitude of uses?

How can the objects be designed to express the cultural values of the occupants ('working class')?

How can the site be claimed as a space of protest from the city?

Meet on-site with plastic stools to simulate placement of seating & lead discussion:
- Ideas about use by different amounts & types of people at different times
- Difference between fixed & moveable furniture
- Color options and the significance of color in the space (furniture & paving patterns)
- Relationship of seating & activity to existing shops

Plaza is paved & trees are planted

4

Meet on-site (paved & already planted)
- Show three to five seating option plans (with furniture mock-up) and through discussion pick one option to be built on-site

Furniture is produced & installed

5

How does the physical space reinforce the consolidation of working class identity on-site and in the eyes of the Council?

Meet on-site to celebrate opening of new plaza with Hackney Council, Lower Well Street Trade & Residents Association and anyone who wants to join!

45 | Diagram of Community Involvement Framework for deriving the design for the Well Street intersection public plaza

46 | Scenario 1: Moveable Furniture

Involves the possibility of rearranging the furniture - of light metal or plastic material - by the users; therefore has possibilities of multiple configurations. This typology could also be incorporated as an experimental phase in the intervention: a process by which user behaviour and tendencies can be identified and consequently incorporated in permanent furniture fixtures.

47 | Scenario 2: Fixed Furniture

Lets users adapt to fixed concrete square
blocks. The users appropriate and subject their
performance around the fixed benches; unlike
the previous case, where the user performance is
not determined around the movable chairs.

48 | Scenario 3: Moveable & Fixed (Hybrid)

Involves concrete blocks inset within the pavement, that can be raised to two different heights - seats 18" and table 30" - or returned to be flush with paving. A control panel on the adjacent storefront will adjust the raising and sinking of the blocks. The paving pattern and block colour will determine which volumes are adjustable. Block surfaces will also have sound and light sensors installed to prevent any accidents. The arrangement is provocative as a symbolic installation on its own and anticipates diverse performances on the Well Street plaza that are hitherto unknown.

Limitations

For this hypothetical design exercise of the plaza seating, we will use a mix of ethnographic research and observations to stand in for community participation in order to answer the design questions we proposed. In the spirit of provocation, claiming territory and the metaphor of the street as a place for conflict and social negotiation, we envision three potential scenarios that state a different relationship with the pavement and the habitus users.

We recognise that there are limitations to these interventions. One is that change cannot be stopped. We anticipate that 'creative' businesses within the catchment area will partake in the Traders Association and that the Well Street public spaces can be used by everyone. This will lead to further negotiations between classes in the public realm, which we do not wish to artificially restrict. Our stance is not to resist change but empower the working-class groups to open up potentials for different futures. Economic need for inter-borough competition is also one key driver of the 'creative' rhetoric in Hackney Council's policies and branding. Furthermore, at least at the borough level, Hackney is becoming less deprived. There may be great inertia for Hackney Council to replace its economically-driven focus by a socially equitable one. This policy change will have to be worked out over time within the Council, and hopefully within the vision that we have set out in the intervention framework.

49 | Image of Well Street Pizza graffiti and quote (Spinks, R. (2015) 'Long-time east Londoners on Hackney hipsters: "They need a humour injection"', *The Guardian*. Available online at http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/mar/02/east-london-hackney-hipsters-humour-locals [accessed 5 November 2015].

"The thing that Hackney people find frustrating is that they read about things in the newspaper and see stuff on the telly and they think 'That's not where we live'. Though it may be geographically, it's not their world, it's not their environment"

Grant Kingsnorth, Interviewee with 'The Guardian'

Rethinking Creative Regeneration Through Streets & Pavements as Infrastructure

Our analyses on Westgate Street and Well Street demonstrate that streets and pavements as infrastructure are perceptible indicators of:

- Social-spatial fragmentation that comprise different habitus characterised by distinct user-groups and styles;
- Spatial aggression/provocation of creative regeneration due to the spread of studio workspaces, art pop-ups and trendy cafes over time;
- Uneven development linked to Hackney Council's cultural-economic priorities on the creative sector.

The relational nature of street and pavement infrastructure, in the context of Hackney's creative policy, are thus not invisible unless broken down, but a constant and visible site where social agonisms are played out. [50] They reflect power relationships – between ordinary working classes, the creative class and the council – and the importance of place ownership. The working classes feel threatened as though their 'habitus' is being taken over, especially when they are unable to identify with the Council's discourse and new descriptions of Hackney. [51] Therefore, we can conceive streets and pavements beyond technical and neutral mediums through which vehicles and people flow. Instead, they can be thought of as a series of fragments that different groups of people lay claims on for different urbanisms. Street and pavement infrastructure thus becomes a relevant resource to address the inequalities of creative regeneration. Our spatially-targeted interventions detailed above are thus founded on this principle, with the primary objective of enhancing the abilities of working-classes to lay claims on their infrastructures.

Following this logic of street and pavement infrastructure as social and political, they can serve as infrastructures of equity if re-regulated, creating a more inclusive form of urban regeneration. As Peñalosa argues for public realm as an equalising factor, "parking bays carved where there should be pavements…shows that the needs of citizens with a car are considered more carefully than those people who walk…who make up the majority of the population". [52] Similarly, streetscapes of overwhelming numbers of designer cafes encroaching a working-class habitus suggest that preferences of the creative class are privileged over needs of residents with lower consumptive power, who are actually the bulk of Hackney's population. [53] By promoting fragmentation and according working classes their right to place through street and pavement infrastructure, it is possible to retain social diversity and open up different futures for different groups and Hackney beyond an alienating creative label.

[50] Leigh Star, S. (1999) 'The Ethnography of Infrastructure, *American Behavioral Scientist* 43(3), pp. 377–391.

[51] Spinks, R. (2015) 'Long-time east Londoners on Hackney hipsters: "They need a humour injection"', *The Guardian*. Available online at http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/mar/02/east-london-hackney-hipsters-humour-locals [accessed 5 November 2015].

[52] Peñalosa, E. (2007) 'Politics, Power, Cities', in *The Endless City*, eds R. Burdett. and D. Sudjic, pp. 307–319. London: Phaidon, on p. 313.

[53] Peck, J. (2005) 'Struggling with the Creative Class', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(4), pp. 740–770.

Canal and Waterway Infrastructure: Fluid Citizenship

Project Team: Francis Aguillard, Surannit Chit, Tiffany Lam, Helena Monteiro de Oliveira

An Infrastructure in Transition

Today, civic agencies such as the London Assembly Environment Committee acknowledge that the capital's canals are comprised of many users: commercial craft operators, leisure cruisers, people living on boats, rowers, pedestrians, cyclists, and more. These users form associations, clubs, and other groups, thereby "creating a complex set of stakeholders". 2│ At the River Lea Navigation, which flows between Hackney Wick and Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, one encounters the aforementioned users and others, such as artists living and working in warehouses, residents, and concert-goers attending shows in warehouse yards. Moreover, built environment objects such as National Rail routes, Overground tracks, and new buildings crisscross and abut the canal.

This contemporary mixed-use nature of the canal is palpable, but relatively new. In the 1760s, entrepreneurs and the government built the canals as an industrial transit infrastructure, connecting the UK midlands to the coastal ports, linking areas of resources, production, and trade in a rapidly industrialising Britain. Historian Liz

1│Varying Urban Typology: Diagrammatic derivation of areas surrounding the canal

LEGEND

Waterways
Residential
Council Residential
Sport Field / Green
Park
Nature Reserve
Light Industrial
Reservoirs
Heavy Industrial

2│London Assembly Environment Committee (2013) *Moor or Less: Moorings on London's Waterways*. Available online at https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/gla_migrate_files_destination/Moorings%20report%20agreement%20draft%20FINAL.pdf [accessed 8 February 2016], on p. 6.

McIvor describes the canals as a "network" enabling "communication between towns and cities which didn't exist before". 3│ The first popular gestations of the canals as mixed-use may derive from L.T.C. Rolt's 1944 travelogue, Narrow Boat, which argued for the canals as sites of leisure. Since private companies owned and managed the canals for many years, like early railroads and roads, Rolt's idea of the canals as spaces beyond industry could only gain salience after the Transport Act of 1947 nationalised the canals and the towpaths opened to the public in 1964. Thus, London's canals are a historic transit infrastructure transitioning from heavily industrial uses to mixed-uses.

Infrastructural Governance and Subjects

Canal Governance

As an infrastructure in transition, the canals produce "[n]ew forms of social consciousness and modes of being… developed through individuals' encounters with these new infrastructural systems", which raises questions about the new "urban social and spatial ideals…[being articulated that] may be democratic or not". 4│

The decline of industrial activity along the canals coupled with London's urban growth increases the visibility of canals as urban spaces. The London Assembly Environment Committee describes them as "becoming increasingly popular as a place for people to spend their leisure time and to live". 5│ Concurrent new developments alter the historic industrial typology along canal adjacencies. As the canals transition to a mixed-use and multi-user infrastructure, similar to a street, complexities arise that make us question their current governance setup. For many years, the governance of the canals has diverged from other forms of urban governance, focusing on their connective rather than place-making capacity. London-based architect David Knight explains that the canals, originally "ruthlessly efficient arteries of the industrial revolution", were "unconcerned with notions of place or community". 8│ Since the late 1940s, the canals have been managed by a variety of special government

3│McIvor, L. (2015) *Canals: The Making of a Nation*. London: BBC Books, on p. 7.

4│Angelo, H. and Hentschel, C. (2015) 'Interactions with Infrastructure as Windows into Social Worlds: A Method for Critical Urban Studies: Introduction', *City* 19(2–3), pp. 306–312, on p. 307.

5│London Assembly Environment Committee (2013) *Moor or Less: Moorings on London's Waterways*. Available online at https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/gla_migrate_files_destination/Moorings%20report%20agreement%20draft%20FINAL.pdf [accessed 8 February 2016], on p. 4.

6│Place of Industry: As recently as 1982 the area was heavily industrial (Seaborne, M. (1982) *Bow Creek Looking Lorth from the A13 Canning Town Flyover*. Available online at http://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/776149.html [accessed 11 February 2016].)

7│Place of Leisure: During the evenings and weekend, many enjoy a beer along the canal at the White Building

8│Knight, D. (2010) 'Living on Infrastructure: Community & Conflict on the Canal Network', in *Critical Cities: Ideas, Knowledge and Agitation from Emerging Urbanists, Vol. 2*, eds D. Naik and T. Oldfield, pp. 216–225. London: Myrdle Court Press, on p. 218.

(Top Left: Seaborne, M. (2005) *View Looking East Across the City Mill River Towards the Site for the Main Olympic Stadium*. Available online at http://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/776186.html [Accessed 11 February 2016].)

(Bottom Left: Seaborne, M. (2006) *Pura Foods Factory Shortly After Closure, Orchard Place, Leamouth*. Available online at http://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/776152.html [accessed 11 February 2016].)

1929 - Grand Union Canal Co. forms through merger
1944 - L. T. C. Rolt's travelogue, Narrow Boat
1948 - Canal network nationalises via Transport Act 1947
1959 - Horse drawn boats cease to operate

1998 - High revenues allow restoration of derelict canals
2000's - Boating numbers overtake industrial revolution high
2005 - London wins Olympic bid
2009 - British Waterways starts looking for more secure funding

1960 - London docks begin to close due to containerization
1962 - Transport Act 1962 breaks up British Transport Commission, establishes British Waterways Board
1964 - Towpaths open to the public
1970 - Last shipment of coal on the canals
1974 - Locks made self operating
1980 - Leisure boats reach 20,000

2012 - Canal & River Trust replaces British Waterways
2013 - East Village has first residents
2014 - Canal Park reopens
2015 - Here East opening
2020 - First Olympicopolis developments to open

entities, quangos, and charities, including the British Transport Commission, British Waterways, and now the Canal & River Trust (CRT).

Established in 2012 as a charitable organisation accountable to the Charity Commission, the CRT's objectives are to preserve, protect, operate, and manage inland waterways for public benefit, including navigation, walking, and recreation. Additionally, the CRT monitors movements of boaters and derives some of its income from issuing boat licenses. As the guardian of the canals, the CRT possesses substantial governance and decision making powers in the space, including the towpaths and other assets. Despite its wide powers, less than 40% of its council members are electorally accountable to the users or citizens of the canal. Furthermore, the CRT's existence as separate governance structure perpetuates a pre-

CHARITY COMMISSION

UK Citizens

Governance of the space

THE WATERWAYS OMBUDSMAN

Canal & River Trust

Decisions about the built environment

Council Members, Board of Trustees, Executive

Private Boating (5)

Boating Businesses (2)

Walkers, Anglers, Cyclists, Donors, Neighbours (4)

Historic Environment (2)

Partnership Chairs

Local Government (2)

(13)

Volunteers (1)

English & Welsh Citizens

Co-options (3)

Inland Waterways Assoication (1)

Natural Environment (1)

Employees (1)

*28-37%

*Amount of council members responsible (directly or indirectly through voting) to citizens of the site

1964 conceptualisation of canals as zones distinct from the rest of the city. Today, the canals' abilities to provide connectivity and high-quality public realm are inextricably linked and need not be mutually exclusive.

In the site, the canal cuts through several London boroughs and the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC)'s jurisdiction. LLDC has planning authority over a large area of the site, and exemplifies the new form of urban governmentality resulting from the implementation of the Localism Act 2011. It was formed in 2012 to deliver the legacy of the Olympics and drive regeneration efforts in East London. Elected officials are underrepresented in LLDC's Planning Decisions Committee, which is responsible for the long-term planning and development of the site. Only about 40% of the members are local councillors representing the four boroughs

11 | LLDC Organization

MAYOR OF LONDON

LLDC Board

LLDC Board Members

Independent Members

Citizens of the site

Hackney (1)

Newham (2)

Tower Hamlets (1)

Waltham Forest (1)

Planning Decisions Committee

Officers of the Planning Policy + Decisions Team

*0-42%

Decisions about the built environment

*Amount of committee or team members responsible (directly or indirectly through voting) to citizens of the site

around the Olympic Park. A similar issue of inadequate elected representation arises in CRT's council. In more traditional set-ups like in the City of Westminster, citizens vote on councillors who serve on the planning committee, which means that 100% of the people making decisions about the built environment are accountable to local citizens. 12│

Canal Users/Citizens

If "the right to the city is not merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it after our heart's desire", then citizens must have a say in the processes shaping the built environment, including planning authorisation. 13│
As one of the densest clusters of creatives in Europe, the artists and residents of Hackney Wick Fish Island (HWFI) founded the HWFI Cultural Interest Group (CIG) in 2009 to amplify their voices in planning processes. They seek to ensure that proposed changes to the area will not obliterate its diverse ecology of self-subdivided warehouses providing affordable living and studio space for groups of artists. 14│
Despite the rhetoric of preserving affordable workspaces in HWFI in the LLDC's regeneration guide, the artists fear that they are omitted from this dialogue given the massive transformation on the site, including new residential developments along the canal.

One group of citizens on the site are 'classical' citizens, those who reside and are able to vote. While the notion of representation is often tied to the voting based on residence on land, living on a boat complicates that. Currently, in order to vote one must provide an address on land. Boaters live on water and must move every two weeks per CRT regulations and lack a fixed address. Boaters we interviewed typically utilise a friend's or family member's address to register to vote. While continual cruisers may vote in the borough where they declared a local connection pursuant to electoral laws, they may only be in the borough where they vote for a limited time during a year. Cyclists are another transient group of users that complicate the

15│Recent Developments in the LLDC Area: Light red for pending applications, dashed red in pre-application phase, red with outline approved (as mapped by Hackney Wick Planning and Development group). Dark red are upcoming LLDC developments.

12│Westminster Council (2013) *Westminster Community Information*. Available online at http://www.westminstercommunityinfo.org/content/westminster-council-committees-and-sub-committees [accessed 10 February 2016].

13│Harvey, D. (2003) 'The Right to the City', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27(4), pp. 939–941, on p. 939.

14│Brown, R. (2014) 'A Letter from London', *Architectural Research Quarterly* 18(4), pp. 403–406.

understanding of citizenship. Currently, local authorities are only responsible for addressing crashes that occur within their boroughs. 17 │ However, canal towpaths are considered 'off the road', which means that boroughs don't take responsibility for crashes there.

Given the high amount of transient users, we need to understand citizenship more broadly. For us, any consistent user of the site or similar infrastructures constitutes a multi-scalar citizen of the site. Citizens are 'multi-scalar' with "fractious forms of belonging in urban space due to their production of distinct scales of political society, each with its own vision of territorialized social rights". 18 │ Gerald Frug's assertion that "a person's territorial identity should not be reduced to his or her address", captures the problematics of the mobile urban citizen, like transient cyclists and boaters who frequently use the space. 19 │ Ideally, by being able to vote for the politicians and board members who govern the site, both multi-scalar

16 │ Political and Organisational Actors of the Site: The site is mixed-use in more than just users and urban typologies.

Canal & River Trust

Hackney

Newham

Waltham Forest

Tower Hamlets

London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC)

Hackney Wick Fish Island Cultural Interest Group (CIG)

Lea Valley Authority

HydroCitizenship

17 │ Owen, R. (2015) Interview; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

18 │ Centner, R. (2011) 'Microcitizenships: Fractious Forms of Urban Belonging after Argentine Neoliberalism', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36(2), pp. 336–362, on p. 339.

See also Sassen, S. (2006) *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

19 │ Frug, G. E. (1999) *City Making: Building Communities without Building Walls.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, on p. 101.

and classical canal citizens would have a tangible and traceable right to the city. Indeed, Frug suggests institutionalising "a person's multiple identities by giving people multiple votes throughout the region so they could vote where they worked, where they shopped – indeed where they wanted to live". 20│ While providing this Frugian suffrage to the multi-scalar canal citizens is not possible now, it is possible to increase their voice and participation through the policy and spatial interventions discussed later. In addition to enabling the right to the city for both classical and multi-scalar citizens through greater participation in the processes that shape the built environment, a broader recognition of citizenship is essential in negotiating claims to the canal and contestations over its mixed uses. Both multi-scalar and classical citizens need agency in the site because "[b]y connecting the dots between individuals' encounters we examine how infrastructural systems lay out patterns of social integration or differentiation, create feelings of belonging or alienation, connection or isolation, and lead to political engagement or lack thereof". 21│

The London Assembly Environment Committee explains that "multiple uses of the water [in London's canals] can lead to crowding and a degree of competition, particularly at specific mooring locations, and there are contested efforts to regulate or ration future users". 22│ Divergent ideas of how the site should be utilised and visions for its future produce "fractious forms of [urban] belonging". 23│ The contestation of use on the site emerges as a key issue through our interviews and analyses of planning documents, online forums and news articles. Though canal users can be grouped in a variety of ways, these categorisations are fluid and not homogenous. For instance, the London Boaters Facebook Group – an informal,

20│Fishman, R. (2001) 'City Making by Gerald E. Frug', *Harvard Design Magazine* 13. Available online at http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/13/city-making-by-gerald-e-frug [accessed 10 February 2016].

21│Angelo, H. and Hentschel, C. (2015) 'Interactions with Infrastructure as Windows into Social Worlds: A Method for Critical Urban Studies: Introduction', *City* 19(2–3), pp. 306–312, on p. 310.

22│London Assembly Environment Committee (2013) *Moor or Less: Moorings on London's Waterways*. Available online at https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/gla_migrate_files_destination/Moorings%20report%20agreement%20draft%20FINAL.pdf [accessed 8 February 2016], on p. 6.

23│Centner, R. (2011) 'Microcitizenships: Fractious Forms of Urban Belonging after Argentine Neoliberalism', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36(2), pp. 336–362, on p. 339

24│Campaign Signs: Some promotional material from the CRT

active forum of around 4500 members – reveals the diverse range of the boaters: retirees who are recreational boaters, young professionals who romanticise living on a boat, and people who cannot afford to live on land. There is overlap between the user groups, too, particularly the transient users. We noticed that there are many boats with bikes on them. In interviews, boaters affirmed that having a bike as a mode of transportation on land grants them greater freedom and flexibility in where they moor, since they worry less about being close to public transit options.

25 | Site in Motion: Map of the various mobile users in and around the site

LEGEND

National Rail, Overground, freight trains

Narrowboats, rowers, kayakers, River Bus

Bikes, pedestrians

Cars, buses, lorries

Terminates at 90 degrees

Continues out of frame (extra-site)

Towpath Contestations

The tensions between cyclists and pedestrians are immediately tangible on the towpath. A Guardian article highlights how cyclists can make the towpath unsafe for children and elderly people, two of the most vulnerable groups of users. CRT towpath ranger Kerena Fussell claims: "People with kids don't come down here because they are worried their kids will get run over". 27│ Caroline Russell, Chair of Islington Living Streets, states that "for an elderly person if you have a trip or a fall that can be life changing. It is quite threatening for an older person if you have someone [cycling] behind you, even if they are being perfectly polite". 27│ If cities should be designed with the most vulnerable users in mind, as Peñalosa says, then the towpaths can certainly be improved to optimise both perceptions and realities of safety for all users. 28│

26│Existing Conditions: Some parts of the canal are wide enough to accommodate many users (top section), while other sections are narrow and bounded (bottom section)

27│Laker, L. (2012) *How Cyclists and Pedestrians Can Share Space on Canal Towpaths*. Available online at http://www.theguardian.com/environment/bike-blog/2012/nov/01/cyclist-pedestrian-canal-towpath [accessed 9 February 2016].

28│Peñalosa, E. (2007) 'Politics, Power, Cities', in *The Endless City*, eds R. Burdett and D. Sudjic, pp. 307–319. London: Phaidon Press.

Sharing the towpath is an issue that the CRT has struggled to adequately address. It has received responses to its Sharing Towpath email consultations like, "Ban cyclists. They're a menace", "Penalise boats which heap their belongings on the towpath - dangerous, unsightly. Guidelines: Walkers/joggers - keep left. Single file. Cyclists: Bells compulsory. Dog walkers: Keep dogs on short leads". Respondents also complain that "[t]here are some towpaths that are so narrow that it is questionable whether any shared use should take place at all". 30 │ The CRT has introduced a Towpath Code of Conduct and launched various campaigns to encourage cyclists to slow down on the towpath.

Despite the contentiousness on the towpath, "the fact that cyclists are choosing a crowded, narrow path next to an open body of water in preference to the roads is an indictment of urban road conditions". 31 │. Hackney Councillor Nick Sharman has described Hackney Wick as a 'funnel' for a lot of vehicular traffic, which endangers cyclists. 32 │ The Hackney Cycling Campaign has corroborated this, identifying how streets peripheral to the towpath privilege vehicular traffic. HWFI artists and cyclists we interviewed agree that the towpath is the quickest and most efficient route to Central London from the East and "a great way to get to work". 33 │ This partially has to do with Hackney's relatively poor public transportation connectivity to Central London. It is the only borough in inner London with no underground stations. While there are 14 bus routes and Overground stations, this overall uneven distribution of public transit in the borough compounds isolation and deprivation.

As an efficient and vehicle-free route to Central London, the towpath can be integrated as a cycling route. It traverses different boroughs and connects different kinds of people with varying levels of income and education. While most cyclists

29 │ Cyclist Along the Towpath

32 │ Sharman, N. (2015) Interview, Towpath Condition and Sharing of Responsibilities; conducted as part of the fieldwork.

30 │ Canal & River Trust (2014) *Sharing Towpaths Consultation*. Available online at https://canalrivertrust.org.uk/media/library/7099-sharing-towpaths-emailed-comments.pdf [accessed 10 February 2016].

31 │ Laker, L. (2012) *How Cyclists and Pedestrians Can Share Space on Canal Towpaths*. Available online at http://www.theguardian.com/environment/bike-blog/2012/nov/01/cyclist-pedestrian-canal-towpath [accessed 9 February 2016].

33 │ Slawson, N. (2015) 'Troubled Waterways: Canals Take the Strain of London's Housing Crisis', *The Guardian*. Available online at http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/may/04/troubled-waterways-canals-london-housing-crisis-property-boats [accessed 31 January 2016].

LEGEND

- Research and development of products or processes / light industry (B1)
- Car park
- Assembly and Leisure including sports facilities (D2)
- Shops (A1)
- Non - Residential Institutions (Including Education & training centres, Places of worship, and Community Centres) (D1)

- Train station
- Restaurants and cafes (A3)
- Council residential (C3)
- Private residential (C3)
- General industrial/storage and distribution/ Light industry (B1, B2, B8)
- Creative studio/work spaces
- Amenity Green Space

- Cemetery churchyard
- City farm and allotments
- Educational
- Equestrian centre
- Formal garden
- Golf course
- Nature reserve

- Park
- Playing field
- Woodlands
- Right of ways
- Vacant land

LEGEND

Trails	▬▬▬
Dedicated bike lanes	▬▬▬
Bike friendly roads	▪▪▪▪
A11	▬▬▬
City of London	▬
Dangerous areas for cyclists	★

are affluent white men, studies show that there is a high demand for bike share among racial and ethnic minorities. 36 | Studies additionally reveal a transportation paradox: The lower your income, the more likely it is that you are going to walk or bike to work. 37 | The residential demographics of the 12 middle super output areas surrounding the site reflect high level of deprivations, a mixed ethnic composition and a mostly working-age population, which underscore the need to address barriers to cycling among low-income populations of colour. Moreover, 10% of the residents of those wards are bicycle commuters. The projected population growth in the areas in the next 10 years, plus the new developments in Hackney Wick and Newham suggest increasing utilisation of the towpath, again highlighting its the relevance as a mixed-use space. Diminishing barriers to towpath utilisation, including dispelling its actual and perceived inaccessibility, acknowledges the asymmetries in "our ability to convert resources into actual freedoms" and that "[v]ariations related to sex, age, genetic endowments, and many other features give us unequal powers to build freedom in our lives even when we have the same bundle of primary goods". 38 |

Intervention: Dual Strategy

The survival of London's canals in an active and animated form is a testament to their flexibility, what Sennett might call 'openness'. 39 | They can be considered an 'open system', in that their built form has sustained the "transforming work of time". 40 | Moreover they provide the opportunity for the 'mixture of difference', which Sennett says "is more largely the very essence of an open system that difference should provoke...the ideal public realm has appeared one in which people react to, learn from, people who are unlike themselves". 41 | The canal connects areas of deprivation with areas of relative privilege, as well as ethnically and racially diverse neighbourhoods.

Maintaining the canals for mixed-use enables them to continue being open systems adapting to a changing London, as well as spaces for negotiation that "allow for the possibility that conflict may appear and to provide an arena where differences can be confronted". 42 | There must be both physical and political space for 'agonistic pluralism' so that all actors can exercise their "'basic capabilities': a person being able to do certain basic things. The ability to move about is the relevant one here". 44 |

36 | Ogilvie, F. and Goodman, A. (2012) 'Inequalities in London Cycle Hire Scheme', *Prev Med* 55(1), pp. 40–45.

37 | Badger, E. (2016) *Why Bike Lanes Make People Mad*. Available online at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/01/14/why-bike-lanes-are-hugely-unpopular-in-some-neighborhoods/?tid=pm_business_pop_b [accessed 10 February 2016].

38 | Sen, A. (1990) 'Justice: Means versus Freedoms', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 19(2), pp. 111–121.

39 | Sennett, R. (2008) *The Public Realm*. Available online at http://www.richardsennett.com/site/senn/templates/general2.aspx?pageid=16&cc=gb [accessed 5 February 2016].

40 | Sennett, R. (2008) *The Public Realm*. Available online at http://www.richardsennett.com/site/senn/templates/general2.aspx?pageid=16&cc=gb [accessed 5 February 2016], on p. 5

41 | Sennett, R. (2008) *The Public Realm*. Available online at http://www.richardsennett.com/site/senn/templates/general2.aspx?pageid=16&cc=gb [accessed 5 February 2016], on p. 10

42 | Mouffe, C. (2000) *Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism*. Available online at https://www.ihs.ac.at/publications/pol/pw_72.pdf [accessed 9 February 2016].

Given the nature of the contested space of the canal and the towpath, our strategy for intervention to provide spaces for negotiation is twofold: (i) a policy intervention to reassess the relationships between various actors and (ii) a spatial intervention on the towpath to better accommodate various users.

Policy Intervention

We propose a packet of policy interventions to give presence and greater voice to different actors and local groups in the area, balance the power distribution in the area, and simultaneously increase boroughs' visibility and accountability.

43 | Diagram of Investigation

CANAL & ITS IMMEDIATE ADJACENCIES

TOWPATH · BANK · BRIDGES · CANAL — PHYSICAL CONDITION

MIXED USED — RESIDENTIAL · COMMERCIAL · RECREATIONAL · TRANSPORTATION

RESIDENTS / BUSINESSES · BOATERS — USER — PEDESTRIANS · CYCLISTS

LLDC · BOROUGHS — AUTHORITY — HWFI CIG · CRT

CITIZENSHIP & GOVERNANCE

44 | Sen, A. (1980) 'Equality of What?', in *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, ed. S. M. MacMurrin. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, on p. 218.

See also Mouffe, C. (2000) *Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism*. Available online at https://www.ihs.ac.at/publications/pol/pw_72.pdf [accessed 9 February 2016].

Organising Multi-scalar Citizens

As the "waterways are now a focus for economic renewal in the towns and cities they helped to create", the contestation of space among various users along the canal is likely to become more pronounced. 47│ This is already evident in the site based on the wide array of issues the HWFI CIG covers and the existence of an informal group that proposes alternative development plans for the area. The growing population in the area and new developments underscore the urgency for a more inclusive political space for negotiation among the various users of the site.

45│Local Conditions (Authors based on ONS (2011) Available online at http://infuse.mimas. ac.uk [accessed 11 February 2016].)

Multiple Deprivation: Site mapped according to Middle Layer Super Output Area, percentage of household deprived in 4 dimensions

Ethnicity Percentages of the Surrounding Area

33%	27%	
BLACK	WHITE	
24%	5%	12%
ASIAN	OTHERS	MIXED

Modes of Transit: Types of transit residents from the ten wards surrounding the site take to work

Age Breakdown of Site: Similar to ethnicity, the area has a diverse and broad range of age groups

0-9
10-17
18-29
30-44
45-59
60-74
75 and over

Therefore, we propose the establishment of a 'Community Interest Group' for the Hackney Wick, Fish Island and the Olympic Park area that enable the site's multi-scalar citizens to be involved in local neighbourhood governance and civic activities. The membership for the group should be open to anyone who works in or would like to participate by claiming an interest in the site. With at least 21 members, such a group can then apply to be designated as a 'neighbourhood forum' pursuant to the Town and Planning Act 1990. By prescribing the group as a 'neighbourhood forum', users who are not classical citizens would have a platform to participate in decision-making and development plans on the site. Additionally, the 'Community Interest Group' would have more political clout and bargaining power to engage the site's various authorities, as evidenced by the Neighbourhood Forum established in Stratford called 'the Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Area'. The Stratford precedent suggests that this proposal could lead to more inclusive citizen participation, empower transient users, and provide a platform for political negotiation for the site's various users. However its sustainability hinges upon sufficient interest and funding from its members, as well as getting the site's transient users, such as cyclists and boaters, to actively participate in the Community Interest Group's activities.

Duty to Cooperate

"Over half the UK population lives within five miles of a canal or river", which means that developments on or adjacent to the canals impact a significant portion of the population. 48 | As the sole authority entrusted with governing and maintaining the canals, the CRT performs a crucial role and the ramifications for its actions (or inactions) extend beyond the canals. However, as a national-level charitable body

46 | Varying Conditions of the Towpath

47 | Canal & River Trust (CRT) (2012) *Introducing the Canal & River Trust A National Treasure*. Available online at https://canalrivertrust.org.uk/media/library/916.pdf [accessed 10 February 2016].

48 | British Waterways London (2007) *London Quaterly Newsletter*. Available online at https://web.archive.org/web/20080227185950/http://www.britishwaterways.net/images/BW_London_News_Letter_Summer_2007.pdf [accessed 10 February 2016].

(with clear under representation of the different local-level stakeholders of the canal) there is dissonance in the CRT's relationships with various local-level actors. In the site, the fact that the LLDC and CRT primarily only collaborate in occasional public consultations for development plans in the area exposes their weak relationship.

To elevate the CRT's prominence as an important stakeholder in local development, we propose designating it as one of the "specific consultation bodies" under the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004. This will compel "neighbouring local authorities, or groups of authorities, to work together on planning issues in the interests of all their local residents". 49 | This proposal places a 'duty to cooperate' on the planning authorities on the site, like LLDC and the London boroughs, to consult CRT about development plans. It recognises CRT as an important stakeholder in the site, consistent with one of its objectives in its memorandum of association: to "promote sustainable development in the vicinity of any Inland Waterway for the benefit of the public". 50 | It will also hold CRT more accountable to its constituents and grant the site's multi-scalar citizens a wider platform to voice their views on development plans that affect them.

A positive precedent is the designation of other non-planning authorities with similar functions to the CRT, such as the English Heritage and Environment Agency, as specific consultation bodies. While the designation of the CRT will pave the way towards a stronger collaborative relationship with other planning authorities, the real challenge is to ensure that CRT is able to constructively fulfill its responsibilities which demand in-depth knowledge of certain site-specific conditions, such as the towpath's carrying capacity and the volume of users at the site during certain times of day. The CRT's already-stretched budget will exacerbate. 51 |

52 | HWFI Cultural Interest Group Meeting
(Available online at http://hackneywick.org/
about/ [accessed 11 February 2016].)

49 | DCLG (2012) *A Plain English Guide to the Localism Bill*. Available online at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/5959/1896534.pdf [accessed 10 February 2016].

50 | Canal & River Trust (2006) *Articles of Association of CRT*. Available online at https://canalrivertrust.org.uk/media/library/1338.pdf [accessed 10 February 2016].

51 | Yearsley, J. (2014) *APPG Waterways inquiry into the Canal & River Trust - The All Party Parliamentary Group for Waterways Report from the inquiry into the progress and future of the canal and river trust*. Available online at https://www.waterways.org.uk/pdf/appg_waterways_inquiry_into_crt [accessed 10 February 2016], on p. 6.

Site

BOROUGHS

Currently Work Together

LONDON LEGACY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

USER GROUPS

Weak Collaboration

CANAL & RIVER TRUST

Site

BOROUGHS

Continue Existing Relationship

LONDON LEGACY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

USER GROUPS

'Neighbourhood Forum'

TFL Model

'Duty to Cooperate'

CANAL & RIVER TRUST

53 | Proposed Site Organisational Diagram

Cut Across: Green Infrastructure

Community Gardening, Elephant and Castle

Grassroot Networks in Elephant and Castle

Interview with Peter Wright, Chair of East Walworth Green Links, conducted by Alejandra de la Mora, Tarik Mufti and Heather Zaccaro at Longwave Bar + Cafe, The Artworks in Elephant & Castle, 2015:

"How did you get involved with Green Links?"

"I didn't get involved with Green Links, I started Green Links, effectively. When I first moved here, our park was under threat of being built on. And I ran a campaign to stop that, which I did. That's Salisbury Row park. You know it?

...And so we put in applications for funding pretty much every year, and so bit by bit we got a path put across one bit of the park and then we got another bit of path across the park

CANAL & RIVER TRUST

SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

BOROUGHS

Can focus on maintaining "architecture of circulation"

Provide unifying vision

Create local agency and involvement

Tasks related to the hydrological and hydraulic care of the canal requiring special equipment

Land-based maintenance of canal and towpaths not requiring specialised equipment, similar to current park and street care in the boroughs

Clear vegetation from tunnels, culverts and bridges

Help with vegetation clearing on bridges

Caring for heritage

Caring for heritage: Boroughs are required to consult with CRT's development guidelines for historic properties along the canal by adding these CRT requirements to their local planning requirements

54 | Balancing Power: Diagram of proposed full and partial transfer of responsibilities from the CRT to the boroughs

and then we got a memorial put in and then we got flowerbeds put in, and a play area. And so we developed it into more of a park instead of the green urban space that the council had just left with trees and grass. And that became Salisbury Row Park, and it became well known for being a very pretty park to go and sort of sit among flowers.

Alongside that, the other local parks – so we've got just over here another park, Victory Community Park, which is run by Celia. And we knew her, and we always exchanged information and helped each other. Then just beyond that is Nursery Row Park, which is run by Luke and John, essentially. And we got to know them, and we sort of networked and just went to each others' functions, etc. etc. And then, just beyond there's Salisbury Row, and just beyond that there's Surrey Square Park, and Julian is very much involved with

that. We got chatting again and we sort of talked about parks, and then of course there's a short step to Burgess Park, and we know Friends of Burgess Park.

... Anyway so, one thing lead to another and Transport for London said, "No", "No", "No", and then one day they said "Yes" and gave us 2 million quid...

... And then basically we had workshops and 50 people turned up to workshops. And we sat down and people really said what they wanted, because I used my skill to run the workshop so that people weren't disenfranchised and weren't scared. Because basically working class people have been totally disenfranchised, and so they won't speak up in a meeting. So I devised meetings where people got to talk quietly in different groups and so on and so forth, used all the structures

and got everybody's opinion. And it was hard work, because when it came to cars versus parking versus people, you know it was a bloody nightmare. It was a shouting match. But in the end we got through, because we isolated the people who were just trying to bully for what they wanted. And that's why we've got a community now. Because actually the community fought with each other and understood each other for once, and then said this is what we want. And virtually that's what we got."

Enhancing Collaboration

Today CRT and boroughs barely collaborate, except for some ad-hoc agreements for trash collection or towpath lighting. We propose that CRT share responsibility for maintenance of the towpath with the boroughs, analogous to the cooperation between Transport for London (TFL) and boroughs, a promising model for collaboration between an agency in charge of a connective infrastructure and agencies in charge of maintenance and local infrastructure. 55 | Currently, TFL and the boroughs support each other and share responsibilities for the same physical spaces, such as bridge reconstruction projects and the public spaces around Crossrail stations. The boroughs are not expected to 'do more with less' or assume all of TFL's responsibilities, and the financial flow between them enables action. TFL deals with the larger infrastructural systems: the underground, red roads, and Oyster system. While the boroughs also take care of some larger systemic issues, like traffic control and snow clearance, their largest role is the day-to-day maintenance of the street as an object (e.g. addressing potholes and complaints) and objects accompanying the street (e.g. signage and street furniture upkeep).

55 | Transport for London (2015) *Annual Report and Statement of Accounts 2014/15*. Available online at http://content.tfl.gov.uk/annual-report-2014-15.pdf [accessed 10 November 2015].

This intervention would address the ad-hoc and distracted governance along the canal that absolves both the boroughs and CRT of greater accountability to in-transit users. The boroughs would be responsible for the maintenance of the towpath and everything related to land use of that space (e.g. managing trees, hedges and grass, and clearing vegetation from bridges). Boroughs would become more responsive to the complaints of cyclists, boaters, and those who work and reside near or on the canal. Given the transience of many of these groups, it is not a perfect solution, but is a better one than the current ambiguous representation in the CRT. The CRT would be responsible for maintaining the canal as an "architecture for circulation". 56 │ This entails ensuring movement along the canal; upholding standards of maintenance and preventing boroughs from obstructing movement so that the junctions between political entities meet up properly; and finally dealing with locks, water levels, and other hydrological issues. This proposal institutionalizes shared responsibilities, allowing each agency to focus on what they do best and supporting the other. For instance, CRT has special hydrological equipment to deal with water-based issues. Meanwhile, boroughs have capacity and skill in caring for vegetation as they currently care for parks and street plantings. One example of shared and supporting task would be clearing vegetation from bridges. The boroughs would do this at street level while the CRT would deal with the underside.

Spatial Intervention: Widening the Towpath

Our proposals attempt to help better integrate the canal into the urban fabric. As an integrated piece of city, the canal is a valid space for the "production of 'presence' by those without power and with a politics that claims rights to the city and to the country rather than protection of private property". 57 │

Maintaining the canal as circulatory, mixed-use, and democratic, with a broader concept of citizens beyond the resident, expands how we think about "an active right to make the city different", "to shape it", and to "re-make ourselves". 58 │ This occurs through robust planning processes and the "creation of a new urban commons, a public sphere of active democratic participation" stretched throughout London on the towpaths, helping to "imagine a more inclusive, even if continuously fractious, city based not only upon a different ordering of rights but upon different political-economic practices". 59 │

"Waterfronts are unique resources, which enhance the well-being of those who are able to enjoy them. If the public good is to prevail, access to all waterfronts must be open to all citizens". 60 │ "In urban areas waterfronts must have infrastructure to facilitate their enjoyment", which justifies our intervention to widen the towpath as a shared space. 60 │ One approach to widening the towpath might be to variably widen it for cyclists, taking advantage of expansion on land when possible and

56 │ Larkin, B. (2013) 'The Politics and Poetics of infrastructure', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42(1), pp. 327–343.

57 │ Sassen, S. (2011) 'The Global Street: Making the Political', *Globalizations* 8(5), pp. 573–579, on p. 574.

58 │ Harvey, D. (2003) 'The Right to the City', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27(4), pp. 939–941, on p. 939.

59 │ Harvey, D. (2003) 'The Right to the City', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27(4), pp. 939–941, on p. 941.

60 │ Peñalosa, E. (2007) 'Politics, Power, Cities', in *The Endless City*, eds R. Burdett and D. Sudjic, pp. 307–319. London: Phaidon Press, on p. 313.

61 │ Peñalosa, E. (2007) 'Politics, Power, Cities', in *The Endless City*, eds R. Burdett and D. Sudjic, pp. 307–319. London: Phaidon Press.

SEPARATED CYCLING + WALKING LANES W/ DISTINCT MATERIAL

New floating pedestrian lanes (pink)

Define existing tow path as cycle lane (green)

Boater utilities and moors placed between cycling and walking path

Plantings in the centre delineate waking and biking zones

WIDENED TOWPATH W/ SIMILAR MATERIAL

Trees define shared towpath space for cycling and walking. Existing towpath surfaced with same material as new floating lanes.

Moors placed at canal edge and towpath expanded on land where possible (shown as dash in plan).

Double-sided benches unite currently distinct paths and allow for variable spaces within new path expansions (dashed in plan)

Floating lanes used in constricted areas where land expansion not possible. Benches help define shared zone.

otherwise, expanding into the water. Boat moors would be located near the water's edge, defining, along with trees, benches, and hedges, the new, widened shared space. Consistency in materials used would promote more equitable mixed-use of the space.

Safe mobility is a basic democratic right, and expanding the towpath would reduce the perceived endangerment that constrains different users' access to and mobility in the space. 61 │ The FAQ 'Why is the towpath not wider?' on CRT's website illustrate the widespread perception that the towpath is too narrow. Ethnographic research shows that this diminishes feelings of safety, comfort, and enjoyment. Widening the towpath maintains the canal as an open system that can adapt and evolve as complexity comes into being instead of being prescribed. 63 │ These everyday engagements with the complexities of sharing space enables people to "develop time- and place-specific understandings of the world through these moments - such as perceptions of the city they inhabit, the nation of which they are a part - and normative expectations about good cities, functional communities or battles worth fighting". 64 │

The CRT claims that the towpaths are narrow since they were built over 200 years ago for horses and that where possible, it has widened the towpath "so it can be shared more comfortably by everyone". 65 │ However, there are many areas in the site where this is not the case, perhaps because the surrounding land is owned by the boroughs, or that CRT is stretched too thin governing 2,000 miles of waterways in England and Wales.

The fragmented governance and poor inter-borough communication can also complicate towpath improvement. For example, to install lights near Hertford Union Canal, first Hackney and Tower Hamlets needed CRT's approval since they own the towpath. Hackney then had to purchase and install the lights, and Tower Hamlets had

63 │ Sennett, R. (1992) *The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities*. New York: Norton, W. W. & Company.

64 │ Angelo, H. and Hentschel, C. (2015) 'Interactions with Infrastructure as Windows into Social Worlds: A Method for Critical Urban Studies: Introduction', *City* 19(2–3), pp. 306–312, on p. 306.

65 │ Canal & River Trust (n. d.) *Towpath FAQs*. Available online at https://canalrivertrust.org.uk/our-towpath-code/towpath-faqs [accessed 10 February 2016].

66 │ Angelo, H. and Hentschel, C. (2015) 'Interactions with Infrastructure as Windows into Social Worlds: A Method for Critical Urban Studies: Introduction', *City* 19(2–3), pp. 306–312, on p. 308.

67 │ View of the White Building in Hackney Wick

to maintain them. The difficulty in accomplishing a seemingly simple task such as lighting the towpath speaks to how opaqueness in infrastructural governance leaves people "quite literally groping in the dark,...try[ing] to grasp the whole from what is at hand". 66 │ Infrastructural governance (or lack thereof) materialises on the site. In tandem with our proposed policy interventions, our proposed spatial intervention on the towpath will optimise the capabilities of multi-scalar citizens to utilise the space.

Conclusion

As industrialisation and deindustrialisation have shaped the history and current use of the canal, it is important to understand this site as an infrastructure in transition, struggling to be fully integrated in urbanism. Its transitional nature illustrates how users' interactions with infrastructure are "opportunities to gather knowledge about the changing setting in which one finds oneself, or to develop a sense of self as a resident of a city, as a member of a nation or as a part of other larger social wholes. However, relations at the moment of encounter are also opaque—even when (and especially because) the infrastructural system itself is also quite difficult to understand". 68 │

Micro-level contestations of use and movement on the towpath are linked to broader issues of how power relations, inequality, and governance impact participation, sociality, and mobility in urban spaces. These contestations simultaneously concretise how different users unevenly exercise their 'right to the city' in quotidian negotiations for space and movement, and illustrate the spatial manifestations of fragmented, asymmetric governance. More importantly, they demonstrate "how a local fight about infrastructure is a product of broader socioeconomic changes,...really a fight about who has the right to place". 69 │

The dual pronged intervention aims to interweave the site into London's urban fabric, which requires an acknowledgment of new infrastructural subjects and a more expansive conceptualisation of citizenship. The canal complicates notions of 'place' and 'neighbourhood' associated with classical citizenship premised on local residence. The current exclusion of the ubiquitous groups of in-transit, fluid users that frequently utilise the site (boaters, cyclists, pedestrians), along with the uneven power relations among different actors in the site result in a lack of transparency and accountability with severe implications on resource allocation, claims to space, and urban belonging.

If public space is a great "equalizer" and cities can generate equality, inclusion, and urban quality of life by allowing people "contact with nature...and waterfronts; being able to see and be with people; and feeling included and not inferior", the canals must remain mixed-use architectures of circulation. 70 │

68 │ Angelo, H. and Hentschel, C. (2015) 'Interactions with Infrastructure as Windows into Social Worlds: A Method for Critical Urban Studies: Introduction', *City* 19(2–3), pp. 306–312, on p. 308.

69 │ Angelo, H. and Hentschel, C. (2015) 'Interactions with Infrastructure as Windows into Social Worlds: A Method for Critical Urban Studies: Introduction', *City* 19(2–3), pp. 306–312, on p. 310.

70 │ Peñalosa, E. (2007) 'Politics, Power, Cities', in *The Endless City*, eds R. Burdett and D. Sudjic, pp. 307–319. London: Phaidon Press, on pp. 311 and 319.