

I, Jane Clossick, hereby declare that this thesis
and the work presented in it is entirely my own.
Where I have consulted the work of others, this
is clearly stated.

Signed:.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Jane Clossick". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style. The first name "Jane" is written in a larger, more prominent script, and the surname "Clossick" follows in a similar but slightly smaller script. The ink is dark and the background is a light, textured surface.

For Tommy, Birdie, Penny and Mo. The GMH babies.

And also, for the Cass. Thanks for looking after me.

Acknowledgments

It's tricky writing this part. Because there are simply so many people who have given me something along the way, and there isn't enough space here to write down everything that I've received, nor enough words to articulate how grateful I am.

I had my little boy Tommy two years into researching and writing this thesis, and lots of people admiringly tell me they 'don't know how I do it'. And the truth is: I don't do it, my family does. My beloved husband Colin O'Sullivan has cheered me on, been my confidante, counsellor and best friend since the moment we met. I wouldn't be the person I am today if we hadn't found one another. So, thank you my love. My parents Joyce Clossick and Peter Clossick have cared for me with huge love and generosity since I landed in their laps in 1982, and I will truly strive to give everything they have given to me, and more, to Tommy, by way of payback to the universe. They have supported Colin, Tommy and me in more ways that we could have possibly imagined, and we literally couldn't have done it without them. Thank you M & P.

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of Tottenham High Road, and how the urban blocks which comprise its depth are composed. Depth has a number of components: architecture, space and time; depth is the armature in which people live their social lives, and the place where local cultures emerge. The conception of depth offers a way of capturing urban life in its richness and its reciprocities. The literature about high streets offers few detailed analyses of their spatial and psycho-social ordering and this thesis seeks to fill that gap. The approach is a hermeneutics of praxis, using ethnographic methods, in-depth interviews, and situating the information spatially using architectural drawing techniques. It offers a novel method of investigating and understanding the structures and processes which make up the high streets and which, in aggregate, make the whole city. Tottenham High Road is used here as a case study, a vehicle through which to interpret evidence about the existence and nature of depth, with its manifold structures. Understanding depth is vital to understanding high streets, so this thesis allows a deeper and richer interpretation of high streets than has previously been possible.

There is a problem in planning orthodoxy around high streets, typified in Tottenham: the richness of depth is flattened and codified, in order to frame swathes of city as sites from which to reap economic reward. In fact, depth contains all of human life, and understanding it, therefore, is an ethical responsibility for planning. Depth has a number of characteristics, ordered by different processes and forces. Firstly, physical order, shaped by both economic and social forces. For example, the most public uses are found in the 'shallowest' parts of depth, and these are the most valuable sites because they command the greatest passing trade. Secondly, depth has a social order, through playing out of place ballet by people as they live their lives. The social order operates interdependently and reciprocally with the physical order of depth. Commitment between people and places (citizenship) results in special place cultures, which are hosted in depth. Depth has variation in the scope of decorum from the outer edge of the block to the centre: more things are possible inside the block than at its edge.

The insights about depth in this thesis are relevant to many areas of life: to planning, to politics and to existing theory, because depth provides an account for the ethical order in which other areas of human life take place. With an understanding of depth it is possible to evaluate planning proposals, efforts at ensuring political participation, to shed light on existing theories such as Cosmopolitanism, and to add a valuable layer of information about the real structures of London to the existing literature.

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Introduction

*A city street that is busy and wide is ground by a thousand wheels,
And a burden of traffic on its breast is all it ever feels:
It is dully conscious of weight and speed and of work that never ends,
But it cannot be human like Main Street, and recognise its friends.*

(Kilmer 1917, 14)

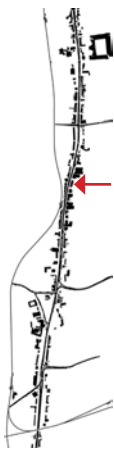


Figure 0.1 Tottenham High Road, Bruce Grove (photograph by Jane Clossick).

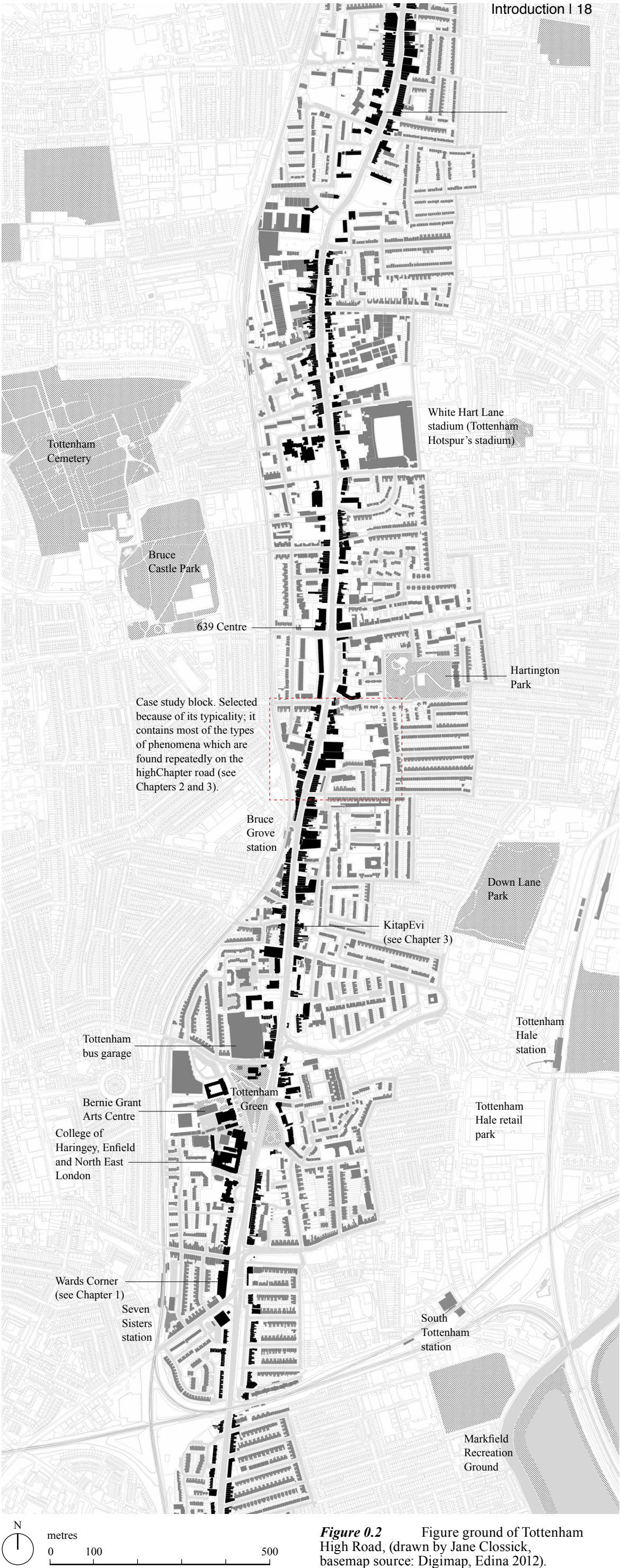


Figure 0.2 Figure ground of Tottenham High Road, (drawn by Jane Clossick, basemap source: Digimap, Edina 2012).

This dissertation, entitled ‘The Depth Structure of a London High Street: A Study in Urban Order’, examines how architecture hosts the social and economic structure of high streets, through a study of Tottenham High Road (Figure 0.1). It argues that analysing the spatial organisation of Tottenham High Road is significant for understanding how the social and economic order has come into being, how it is maintained over time and how it contains and makes the social, economic and cultural life of Tottenham.

‘High streets’ are arterial roads with the blocks on either side filled with mixed, mostly non-residential uses (Chiaradia et al. 2009; Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007; Gort Scott and UCL 2010; Carmona 2014). (An arterial road is a very well connected road that is the main route between different places along its length. All high streets are on arterial roads, but not all arterial roads are high streets.) The best literature on high streets employs this kind of definition, acknowledging their variety, their linearity, and the wide range of uses in their vicinity, including residential. In London, there are ‘connected high streets’, running outwards from central London, linked by ‘concentric high streets’. Some high streets are ‘detached high streets’, which are not linked to the network of non-residential uses, and sometimes high streets are clustered around designated town centres¹ (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 57, see Figure 0.33 on page 74).

The research was inductive, therefore the hypotheses that came to guide it gradually emerged through processes of observation and engagement with Tottenham High Road: the object of study, considered as a ‘unit of analysis’ (Rossman and Rallis 2003). The key claims of the work include:

- Urban architectural organisation of Tottenham High Road structures the kind of social interactions people can have with one another there.
- Public life has more nuances than a simple public/private binary, and the term ‘publicness’ has been coined to explore this.
- The buildings and blocks around Tottenham High Road have a predictable and repeating pattern of varying levels of publicness, and this pattern is typical of the urban order of high streets.
- The pattern of varying levels of publicness, and the thresholds between them, shapes the civic, social and economic lives of people who use Tottenham High Road, as well as being shaped by those lives.
- The structure of differing levels of publicness and the relationship of this publicness to

¹ Town centres are small areas designated in planning which do not encompass much of the non-residential use which clusters along high streets. As a result of town centre designation, there is very little legislation dealing specifically with high streets, see Figure 0.38.

the street is what allows very different cultures to co-exist in close proximity, and is therefore fundamental to super-diversity in multicultural cities.

- The architectural order is enduring, and has continued to exist over a long time.
- Disruptions to the predictable social and economic order of streets have adverse consequences on the social and economic lives of citizens.
- Understanding the architectural order around high streets offers insights into understanding civic life.

This introduction has three parts: firstly, a rapid outline of the term ‘depth’, upon which I rely heavily. Secondly, the methodology of the investigation. And thirdly, a detailed description of how present-day Tottenham is placed historically in the urban margins, where I introduce key literature and point to some gaps in the knowledge which this thesis seeks to fill. Further discussion of existing literature, drawn from a variety of academic disciplines (reflecting the complexity of urban research), is embedded in each chapter.

The thesis then has four substantive chapters, followed by conclusions and their implications. Chapter 1 sets up the problem of the flattening effects of planning and regeneration conventions. I discuss the Seven Sisters Regeneration and compare measurement of different kinds of high street value. Chapters 2 and 3 describe how depth as both concept and an approach offers an alternative view of urban change. Describing and analysing Tottenham High Road, they offer an understanding of the structures of place missing from planning orthodoxy. Chapter 2 concerns the physical depth structures and Chapter 3 introduces the human structures of depth: psychological, social and cultural. Chapter 4 examines how depth facilitates a mix of cultures: more mixing at the public front, more cultural specificity and less mixing in the depths of the business/block. Culture plays out in different ways through language, goods for sale, degrees of intermingling and types of political engagement.

The idea of ‘depth’

... a city ought to grant - a depth that accommodates with dignity the diversity of its people and their histories (Carl 2012, 1).

‘Depth’ is a concept that is developed in the work as my key conceptual analytic. Depth is the many structures of civic qualities—both physical and non-physical—which constitute the high street and everything that underlies or supports it. Tottenham High Road is the seam that binds the depth on either side, and the depth is the urban fabric of alleyways, sheds, signs, post boxes, the interior of blocks and rows of residential streets. It is also the non-physical aspects of the urban: temporality, history, civic institutions and institutionalised order, as well as people. Depth has a deep, three dimensional, philosophical aspect that is captured by the term ‘urban order’ and describes settings for human praxis: which is action and reflection upon action. Depth is the structure of relationships that are essential to the meaningfulness and value of a place, and

depth supports, contains and re-makes civic life. For this research, I began my exploration by examining the depth to the distance of one block either side of Tottenham High Road, an extent I determined following the high street depth-drawings of Fiona Scott (see Figure 0.36 and Figure 0.37).

Depth is anticipated in the work of other authors. The philosopher Gadamer's (1975a) description of the nature of a 'field of play' (*Speilraum*), helps to illuminate the idea. Once a person is within the field of play, all their actions take place within the game. They may have personal aims such as winning (or cheating), but all actions serve the game, and the only way to escape is by leaving the field altogether. The game does not control the actions of its participants, but offers a set of structured possibilities (rules, place, objects) within which choices can be made (Gadamer 1975a). Freedom is potentially alienation unless the range of possible choices is clearly structured, so depth is the *Speilraum* in which people interpret its range of possibilities, and then carry out actions within its limits.

Depth also appears in the work of authors concerned with urban and architectural understanding. Carl (2014) defines depth as the capacity of the city to accommodate a wide variety of settings, each with its own character and direction. It is the way a block structures the 'fruitful coexistence of formal and informal life' (Carl 2012, 1). Schonfield (1997), wrote of the 'richness of cities' and the work of Geertz (1973) relies on 'thick description', in order to achieve situational understanding in ethnography. Vesely (2004, ch. 2) explains that architecture and topography link natural conditions (gravity, movement of the sun) to the range of human possibilities, through a stratified continuity between 'embodiment' and 'articulation'. To do ordinary, everyday things, people require a deep-seated grasp of the 'topology' (understanding of spatial relations), oriented to the basic properties of the world. Vesely calls this 'communicative space', where a continuity of references is shared by all people (corporeal beings-in-the-world—after Merleau-Ponty 2002 [1945]). Urban topography and architecture are therefore the horizons for human praxis. Vesely cites the example of a French café, for which a pre-understanding is required in order to grasp its essence in terms of its character, identity and meaning.

The identity of the French café ... is formed in a long process during which the invisible aspects of culture and the way of life are embodied in the café's visual fabric, as if they were a language conveyed in written text. The visible "text" of the café reveals certain common, deep characteristics, such as its location, its relation to the life of the street, its transparency of enclosure, a certain degree of theatricality (the need both to see the life of the outside world and to be seen in it, as if the café-goer were an actor), an ambiguity of inside and outside expressed not only in the transparency of enclosure but also in the café's typical furniture, and so on. (Vesely 2004, 78–79).

Depth structures choices as a *Speilraum* does, and allows inhabitants to make sense of the 'natural conditions' (Vesely 2004)—to be 'free', within a given range of possibilities. The range of choices include ethical ones, and therefore it is within depth that we find the ethical

character of the whole urban culture. Depth is where information for ethical interpretation, across a spectrum from articulation to embodiment, is situated. It is the manner in which a 'city gives a definite direction to nature' (Heidegger 1967, H.71). The hierarchy of involvements, from embodied to articulated, gives individuals sufficient consciousness of the ethical conditions of the urban culture to make decisions about their actions, so depth and ethics are profoundly interrelated. This is significant because it means that in constructing an account of depth, this thesis is also constructing an account of the ethical character of the urban order.

Research questions

Now, I turn to a description first of my research questions, then of my methodology, and finally to some reflections on the ethical and, ultimately, philosophical questions raised by the work I have undertaken.

- What is depth? What is a high street—architecturally, socially, economically and politically? What are typical architectural configurations of the high street? What order characterises the typical configurations of architecturally constituted high street space? Is this ordering predictable? How is the order made? And how is it remade? How does architectural order help citizens make sense of their social lives?
- How to go about making depth evident? What kind of knowledge (or modes of learning, for McFarlane 2011) are needed to expose depth?
- What are the implications of making depth evident? Could a better understanding of depth help to empower local residents and businesses in debates with councils and developers, whose policies may eliminate depth?

What is depth? I have sought to answer the first set of questions in Chapters 2 and 3. What are the implications of making depth evident? I have addressed this question in part in Chapter 1 (in which I describe the problems of *not* making depth evident) and in Chapter 4. Finally, how to go about making depth evident? I have answered this question throughout the thesis in my use of architectural means of conducting research, discussed in the next part of the introduction.

This project evolved between 2010-2016, as depth slowly came into focus as an answer to the question of how we collectively organise social life, and communicate its priorities. I have captured the project's evolution in the chart in Figure 0.3. It was an inductive, organic research praxis and only in retrospect did interrelationships between research/analysis become apparent. The following paragraphs are intended to show something of what it was like to be there. The methods I describe below, shown in Figure 0.3, are all about the concreteness of my research practice, through architecture. Without these methods, depth would not have been evident, which is significant because it implies a critique of any claim to understand the city, or human action, which does not begin with urban praxis.

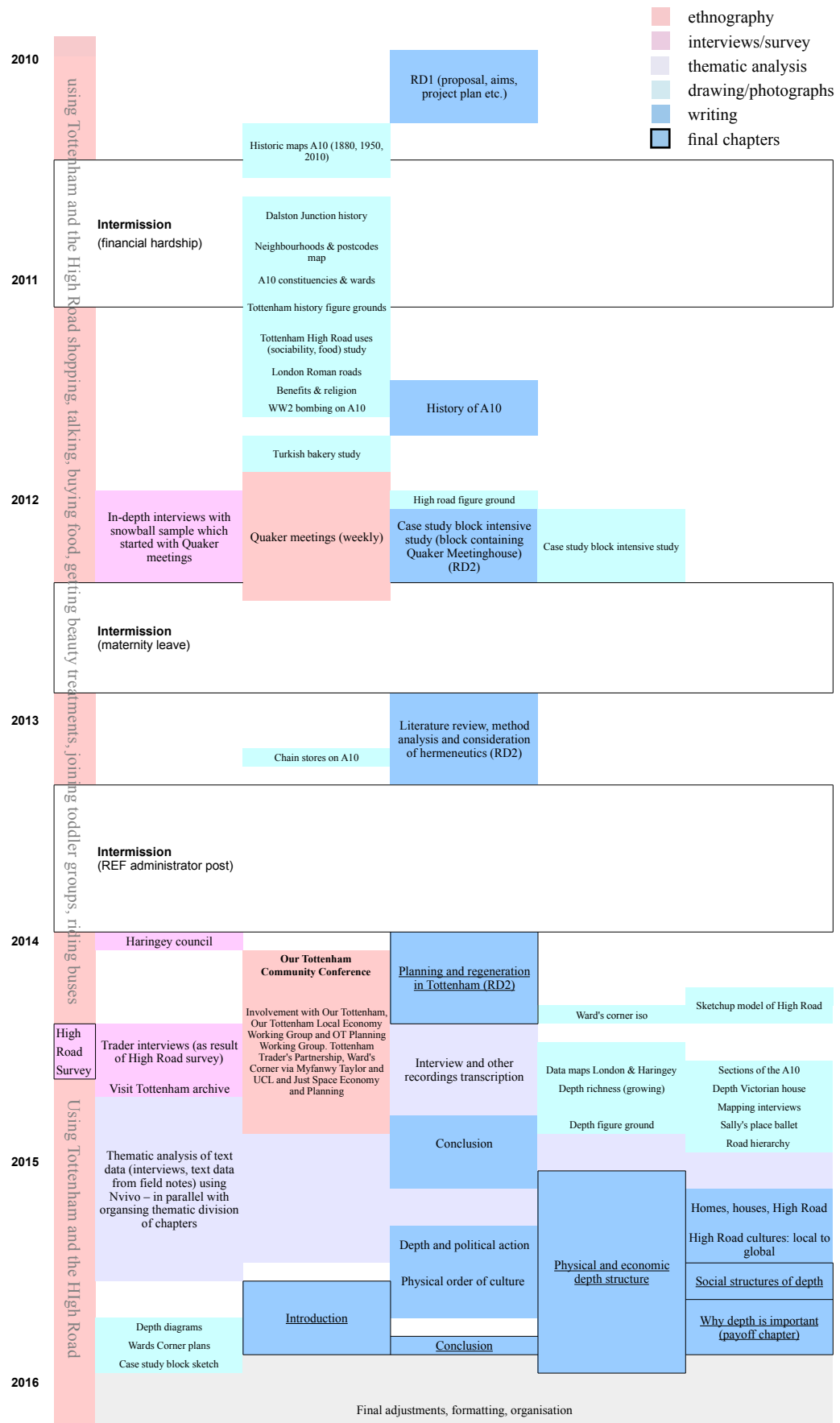


Figure 0.3 Chart showing the course of researching this PhD thesis (drawn by Jane Clossick).

0.1 Methodology

I approached this project from a philosophical background of social constructionism (see Weinberg 2014 and Lock 2010), and from a methodological perspective of phenomenological hermeneutics (Gadamer 2013 [1975b], Barrie 2010 and Regan 2012). Phenomenological research is a process of dialogue and reflection (Rossman and Rallis 2003, 97) and language is the primary means through which dialogue and meaning are constructed. I take language to include the architectural 'text' that we interpret when we move around the city; mostly in peripheral vision, relying on sounds, smells, cultural conventions and so on. In a novel methodology, I treat Tottenham High Road as a 'text' to interpret, like the French cafe (Vesely 2004).

To make explicit the meaning embodied in architectural and urban order was a process of asking questions in lots of different ways and in questioning, opening up possibilities of meaning. Following in the footsteps of Gadamer's phenomenological hermeneutics, I have sought 'real understanding' (2013 [1975b], 382) through a process of hermeneutic interpretation, which requires 'the priority of the question' (Gadamer 2013 [1975b], 371).

...the dialectic of question and answer ... makes understanding appear to be a reciprocal relationship of the same kind as conversation. It is true that text [architecture in this case] does not speak to us in the same way as does a Thou (?). We who are attempting to understand must ourselves make it speak ... this kind of understanding, "making text speak," is not an arbitrary procedure that we undertake on our own initiative but that, as a question, it is related to the answer that is expected in the text. Anticipating an answer itself presupposes that the questioner is part of the tradition and regards himself as addressed by it (Gadamer 2013 [1975], 385).

To open up possibilities of meaning, I have used a mixture of methods to gather the rich data used to explore the depth of Tottenham High Road as a 'text': structured and unstructured interviews, ethnographic participant observation and action research. I have also used drawings to 'make the text speak' (Gadamer 2013 [1975], 385). Using the interpretive and communicative process of drawing, I have undertaken a hermeneutics (interpretation) of praxis. Gadamer takes as a given the difficulty of examining phenomena like the high street that have a number of interpretive layers. Following Gadamer, I did this by looking at Tottenham High Road through drawings to seek answers to questions about how to collectively organise social life. In addition to the formalised modes of data collection, I have lived amongst, used, negotiated and 'learned' Tottenham High Road (McFarlane 2011), and therefore embody, through my own praxis, its hidden knowledge (the tacit dimension, which I will come to address).

In making marks on a page to communicate both my formalised, articulated knowledge and tacit embodied information (Polanyi 1958 and 1966), I go through a process of interpretation: what is relevant, what can be excluded? Which parts are most meaningful? What should I focus on to explore? In making a drawing I find the answers to these questions and make hidden knowledge explicit. The analytic process of drawing Tottenham High Road established both the nature of the layers of its architectural, social and economic depth, and to navigate between

them; to understand and express how they communicate their meanings and knowledge to their users. As Steadman (2013, 36) describes, the city is not a set of objects but a theatre of experiences—of praxis past and present, but buildings can:

... embody 'knowledge', or possess properties of which their makers and another are not aware ... Certain artefacts like cities are constructed collectively through the decisions and actions of many parties, and may come as a result to acquire unknown and unanticipated properties ... It follows that in order to retrieve this hidden knowledge and structure, artefacts must be subjected to analysis and experiment (Steadman 2013, 36).

My task was to capture that knowledge. To do so, I employed creativity and my own interpreted experiences, both direct experiences of Tottenham High Road, and the experience of making interpretation through drawings, photographs and conversations—a hermeneutic circle of interpretation (Gadamer 1975c). Translation of thought into different formats always requires re-interpretation, and the process of doing this (moving between writing, reading, talking and drawing) was a source of new insights.

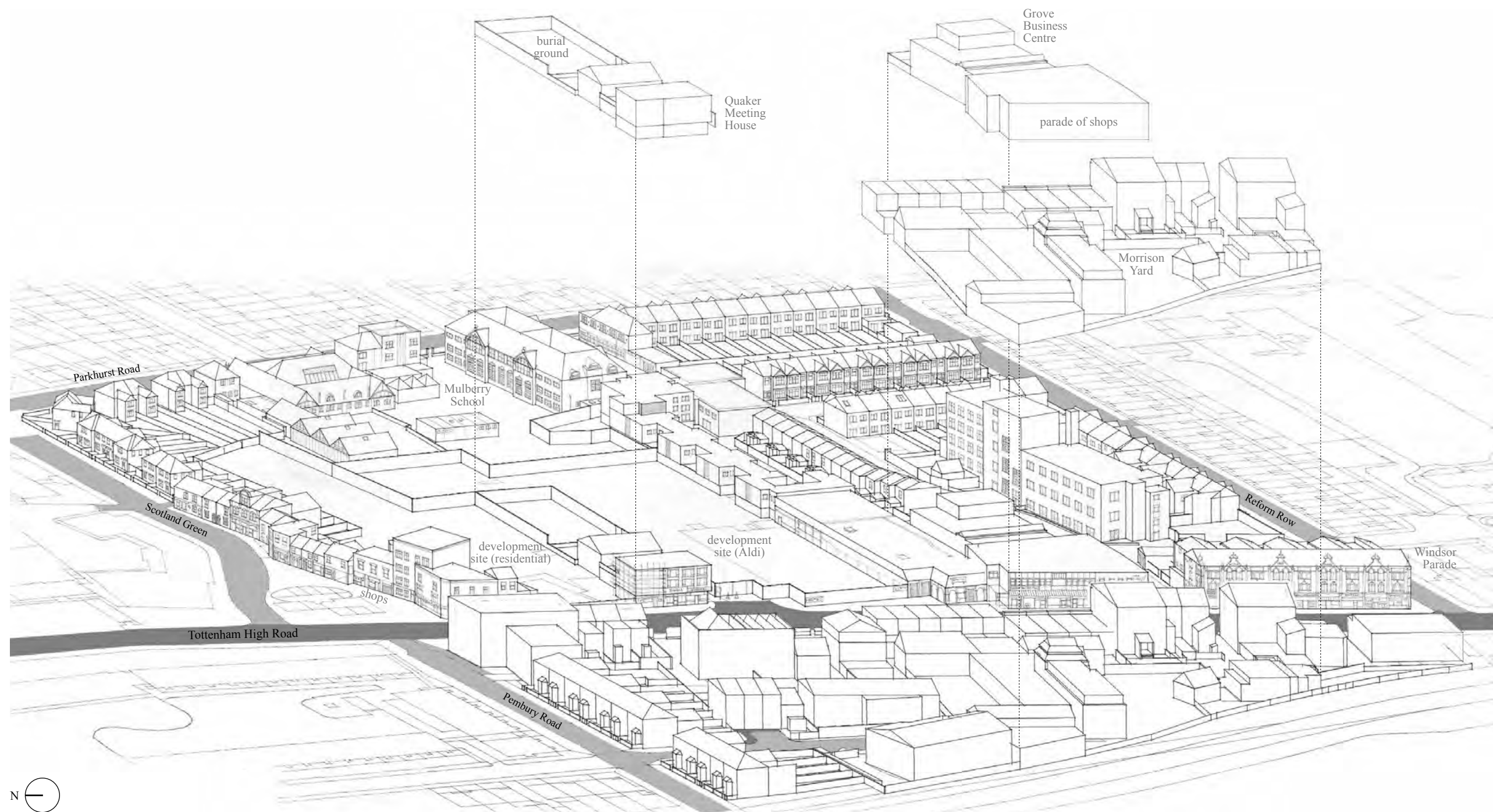
Case study block, drawings and photographs

There is also another sense in which seeing comes before words. It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words, but words can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it. The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled (Berger 2008, 7)

Many of the insights in the thesis arose while drawing and exploring a single block on Tottenham High Road shown in Figure 0.4 to Figure 0.13. The case study block is 100 metres north of Bruce Grove Station and is marked on Tottenham High Road in Figure 0.2. It contains a range of shops, businesses, housing, and civic institutions including religious, educational, legal and health uses. Like Tottenham itself, there is nothing remarkable about this particular block, but it contains typical components and is representative of London high streets in general. A case study (see Eisenhardt 1989 and Yin 2014) is descriptive, holistic, heuristic, inductive and rich. I drew the block, photographed it and used myself as the subject who experienced it, testing the emotional, physical and experiential connotations of going into its different parts and speaking to its people. The following figures show images and analysis of the case study block.



Figure 0.4 Case study block
(drawn by Jane Clossick).



I studied the case study block between 2012 and 2015, during which time two major developments took place: a development of more than 40 dwellings and the re-building of the Aldi supermarket which was destroyed in the 2011 riots. The form of the block after these developments can be seen in Chapter 2, Figure 2.32.

Figure 0.5 Case study block (drawn by Jane Clossick).



Figure 0.6

Content of case study block - residential (drawn by Jane Clossick).



1. 1950s council houses on Scotland Green



2. 1930s terrace on Albion Road



3. Victorian terrace on Reform Row

Figure 0.7 Examples of houses in the case study block (photographs by Jane Clossick).



4. 1909 flats above shops (Windsor Parade)



5. Pub converted to flats & shop in 2012/13



6. 2010s purpose-built flats on Scotland Green



7. Converted Victorian houses, Dowsett Road



8. 1990s flats above hardware store on High Road



9. Rear entrance to hardware store flats Morrison Yard

Figure 0.8 Examples of flats in the case study block (photographs by Jane Clossick).





1. View of multi-business block in former Tottenham Brewery, Morrison Yard



2. Shops of High Road from Scotland Green



3. Shops on High Road with business centre above and behind

Figure 0.10 Examples of businesses in the case study block (photographs by Jane Clossick).



Figure 0.11 Elevation of the shops along the east side of the High Road in the case study block area (photographs by Jane Clossick).

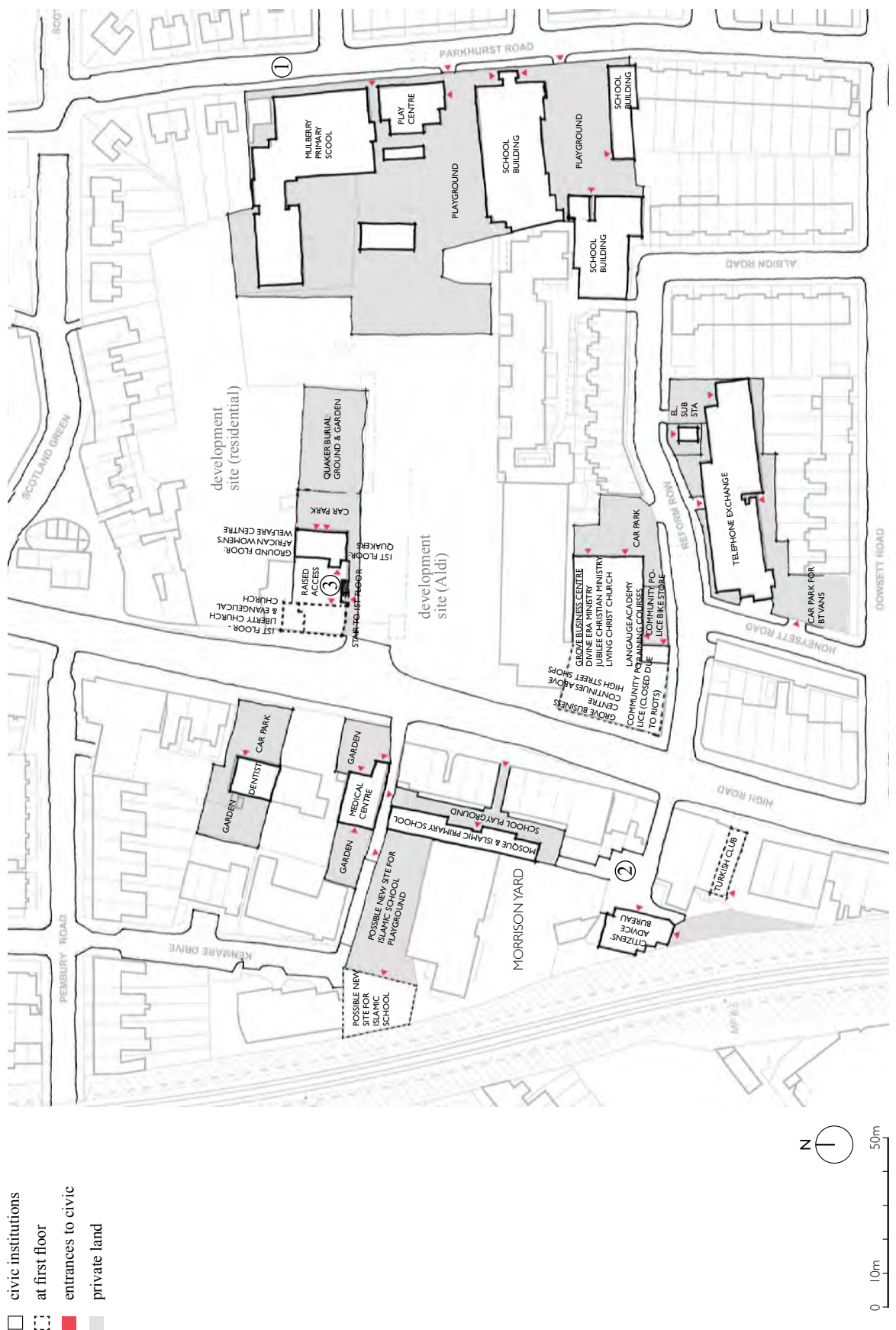


Figure 0.12

Content of case study block - civic (drawn by Jane Clossick).



1. Mulberry School on Parkhurst Road



2. Assunah Mosque and masjid inside block, accessed from High Road



3. Quaker Meeting House above businesses on High Road, see Chap. 3, Figure 3.2 for

Figure 0.13 Examples of civic buildings in the case study block (photographs by Jane Clossick).

Drawings and photographs such as those in Figure 0.4 to Figure 0.13 have formed an integral part of the research process: both in their taking/making and in looking closely at them. Spoken/written language is sequential, appropriate for capturing a narrative through time. Drawings too are a language that can communicate spatial relationships, both static and changing because they are read as a whole. Making an architectural drawing first requires the collection of many different types information: spatial, social and textural. I used a range of methods of collecting research data including interviews, observation and participation. I then situated this data in the spatial structure of the high street using the representational conventions of the professional discipline of architecture: plans, section and axonometrics, supplemented by views, diagrams and photographs. As Steiner and Sternberg point out:

Architects can exploit their practical and imaginative spatial sense in order to develop a more nuanced and detailed understanding of the constitutive cultural role of architecture in its embodying dimensions, which philosophers have indicated only in the most schematic, in fundamental and evocative, terms (Steiner and Sternberg 2015, 2).

In a way that is related to but different from the tradition of narrative research (Sandelowski 1991, Clandinin and Connelly 2000) drawings can contain and communicate non-spatial information about social and economic relationships, and give these experiences a location or place (Banks 2001, Pallasmaa 2009). I chose architectural drawings as both the container for the different types of data and as my primary mode of interpretation. Making an architectural drawing is always a process of interpretation: there is no single truth represented in an architectural drawing, because the only full version of the truth is found by living in the architectural and urban configurations. The truth found there is always a dialogue between individual pre-occupations and shared habits, customs and conventions: such as the tacit agreement to negotiate one's place on a pavement, amongst other pedestrians.

Drawings helped me to extract meaning from words spoken in interviews. People's narratives tended to concentrate on social events, with places/locations mentioned as an afterthought or when prompted. For eight of the interview participants, I mapped places mentioned during the interview (see Appendix 3) alongside notes about the content of the conversation (Duxbury, Garrett-Petts and MacLennan 2015, Longley and Duxbury 2016). Mapping revealed that conversations about things close to home tended to be very concrete with mention of specific locations, parks, shop names, street names and addresses. When people first move to a place, they are very attentive to the context, but settlement typically establishes a routine, for which the context becomes a background for possible choices. Urban depth is a topography for such routines, moving in cycles that are mostly daily, weekly or monthly (Chapter 3) a topography that Lefebvre (2004) tried to capture in *Rhythmanalysis*. The architectural articulation of the urban topography provides the conditions for these routines of civic praxis (and therefore also

for meaningful deviations or violations), so an approach through architecture more profoundly discloses the phenomenon than, for example, demographic mappings or accounts which suppress the embodying conditions (e.g. Habermas 1991) or interpretations based on the foreground material (Benjamin 2002, Baudrillard 2005). The example of the interview mappings illustrates why the architectural mode of encounter with the field, which draws upon an architecturally constituted understanding of the organisation, making and occupation of lived space, reveals a richness not captured using other methods.

Tottenham High Road as an ethnographic setting

Ethnography is a well-established tradition within the social sciences, in which the researcher observes society from the point of view of the subject of the study (Geertz 1973). Although this study is not an ethnography (a representation of the culture of a group) I have used ethnographic techniques, in particular participatory ethnography, to gather ‘thick’ (Geertz 1973) descriptive data.

From 2010 - 2016 I used Tottenham High Road for shopping (food, clothing, electronics and so on). On Tottenham High Road I have walked, relaxed, eaten various types of cuisine, drunk in the pubs with the people I got to know over the project. I had pedicures, manicures, leg and eyebrow waxing—these things are particularly revealing because they take time, and one chats with the person (always a woman) doing the procedure. In 2012 I had my son, Tommy, and while this naturally interrupted my work, it also gave me access to toddler groups, reading sessions at the library, various parks in Tottenham to play—a small child is a great ice-breaker.

I used Tottenham as I use my own local high streets and identified what was similar and different about them (Hall 2013, ch. 1). Moving some of my everyday life to Tottenham meant becoming mindful of what I was doing when I carried out ordinary activities closer to home. In a new place one is more aware of how and where one’s body is moving, what one is saying, to whom, in what tone of voice and using what kind of language. My life in London underpins the things I did on Tottenham High Road: a lifetime of learning how to behave, where is off limits and so on.

I did not keep formal field notes while using Tottenham High Road in these ways. Instead, I noted down impressions and took photographs. Familiarity with the High Road allowed me to make decisions about what to draw, who to speak to and what to analyse and think about in more detail. Much of what I learned during the process of using and being on Tottenham High Road I was not explicitly aware of at the time (tacit knowledge), but it came out later in written work and drawing.



Figure 0.14 Conversation in the kitchen of the Quaker Meetinghouse (photograph by Jane Clossick, taken with kind permission of those shown).

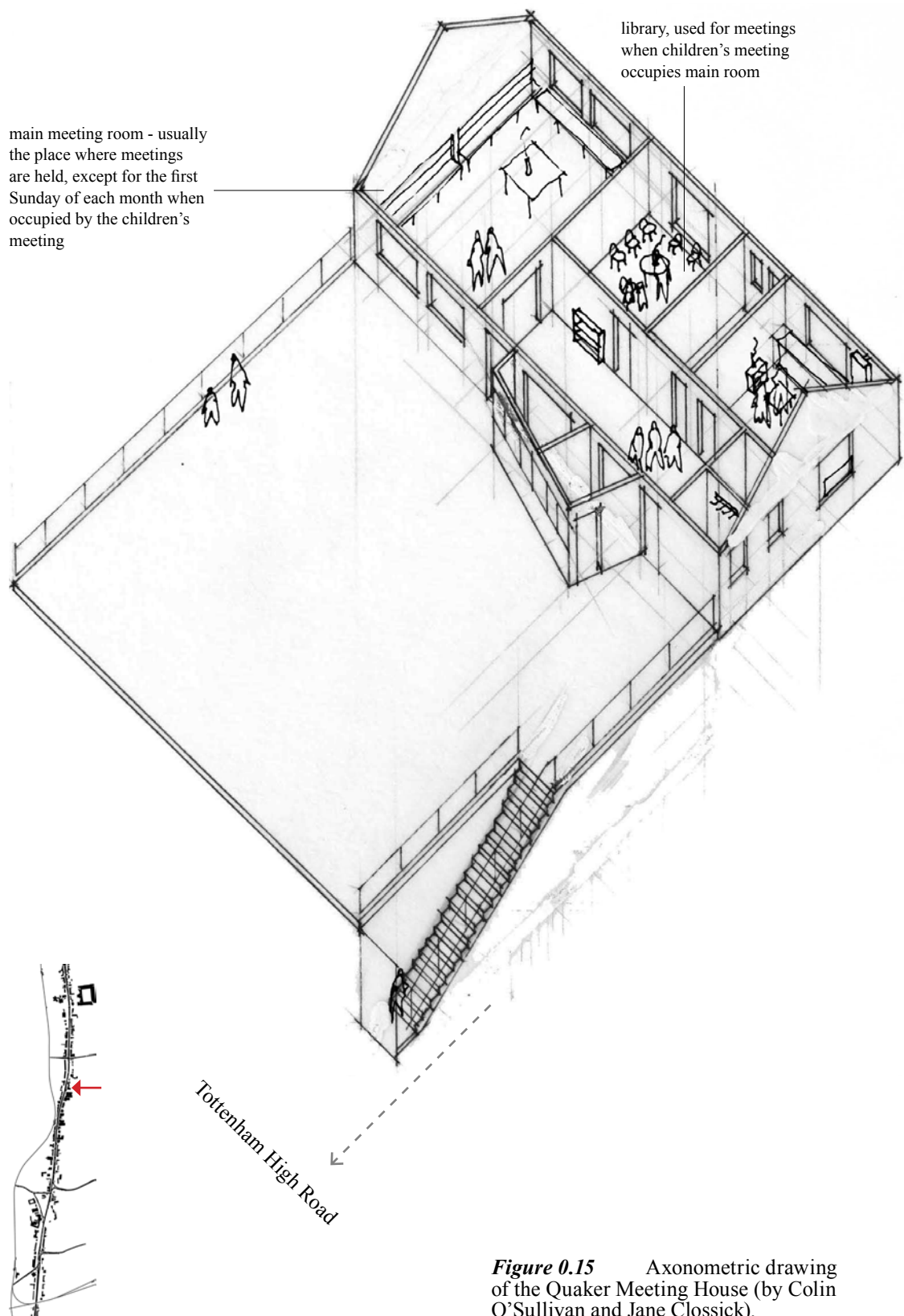


Figure 0.15 Axonometric drawing of the Quaker Meeting House (by Colin O'Sullivan and Jane Clossick).

Participation in civic activities

For seven months 2011-2012, I attended Quaker meetings every few weeks. I found the Meeting House while scouting for the case study block on Tottenham High Road. I recorded notes about the conversations I had with the Quakers in a field notebook, as well as photographing and drawing the Meeting House (Figure 0.14 and Figure 0.15). Attending the Quaker meetings was a deeper integration of myself into the experience of using and being near Tottenham High Road. After the meetings, we would sit and drink tea and chat in the kitchen and from attending the Quaker meetings I gathered lots of interview contacts.

During early 2013 Our Tottenham (OT), a coalition of Tottenham Community groups formed in 2012, published their *Community Charter* (2013) and their first conference was held in February 2014 (Figure 0.16). I worked with OT throughout 2014 playing an active role in the OT Local Economy Working Group (LEWG) and attending steering group meetings. OT was working with researchers from UCL, and with Just Space Economy and Planning (JSEP), a group of academics and community activists who meet regularly to try and influence policy-making which affects London's local economies. I met fellow PhD student Myfanwy Taylor, a resident of Tottenham and keen member of the Wards Corner Community Coalition (WCC, see Chapter 1). As part of LEWG, I worked with Taylor to gather information useful for the WCC *Community Plan* campaign (an alternative planning application submitted by WCC for the Seven Sisters Regeneration project, see Chapter 1). We interviewed Wards Corner traders and consulted them about the *Community Plan*. Taylor's work is steered by the disciplinary discourse of participatory geography (e.g. Pain 2004) and overlaps closely with my own.

Collaborating at the planning stage with other members of LEWG, in 2014 I conducted a survey of Tottenham High Road (Appendix 2), and shared the data with OT. Through LEWG I attended Tottenham Traders Partnership (TTP) meetings, interviewed TTP Chair Moaz Nanjuwany and attended WCC publicity events. As I will come to at the end of this chapter, the ethical implications of this kind of engagement gave me cause for reflection.



Figure 0.16 February 2014 Our Tottenham Community Conference. Jane third from left, front row, waving (photograph by Pam Isherwood, source: <http://ourtottenham.org.uk/conferences/1st-february-2014/>)

During this intense period of ‘participant-observation’ (see Jorgensen 1989) I made no secret of who I was, or the topic of my research. I recorded with permission OT, TTP and LEWG meetings for transcription and analysis. I met no resistance to my presence as Our Tottenham needed feet on the ground, because there is no funding. With the exception of a few leading lights, quite a lot of the work which has been undertaken by and for OT is done by students and researchers. The second conference in October 2014, however, was rather over-attended by academics (perhaps two thirds of the people there were students or researchers) and there has been a certain understandable jadedness about academic participation amongst the community organisers. The jadedness arises because OT organisers fear that academic and student participation by mostly white, middle class people who are culturally dominant and privileged (Kimmel 2013) discourages local people from marginalised groups taking part. OT is intended to be a grassroots, locally situated organisation. There is also a fear that students in particular are parasitic: they will take what they need from Tottenham, and will not give anything in return; also that they are not reliable, because as soon as their course or assignment ends, they will lose interest and stop participating. One of the reasons for the existence of JSEP is to try and prevent the problem of students disappearing, by forming longer term partnerships between academics and community groups; allowing community groups to set briefs for what is needed and academics to martial their students to achieve these tasks, rather than students involving themselves directly with community groups like OT.

Participant observation is never detached; the effects of my own presence could never be erased. Collaborative participation was a tentative process, which changed according to different situations. Relationships between myself, the Quakers and the various people involved in OT unfolded and built up over time and I developed real care and commitment. As such, here can never be a ‘natural’, or neutral, setting (Angrosino and Mays de Perez 2003, 107). The topic of my research, however, was Tottenham High Road. I was not studying the workings of Our Tottenham or the Quakers. Rather, they were the vehicle through which to understand how such organisations are nestled within and help to support and articulate the physical and socio-physical structures of depth.

Interviews

I conducted interviews in a number of ways. First, by informally by chatting while walking around Tottenham, where I presented myself as a fellow user of Tottenham High Road. Second, my High Road Survey 2014 (see Appendix 2 for details and Figure 0.17 for an introductory picture) offered opportunities for unstructured, chatty interviews. The researchers wrote down notes of the conversations on the reverse of the forms we were filling in. Here, it was clear that we were not normal Tottenham High Road users, but people collecting information.

Finally, I also conducted a more structured phenomenological enquiry into the lived experience of the high road through eighteen in-depth interviews. They happened in three tranches, with interviewees from different sources (see Appendix 1 for descriptions of interviewees). The first, during 2012, were Quakers. The second, also during 2012, were people introduced to me by the Quakers. The third group were business owners I met during the survey. Working with Taylor as a co-researcher, I also conducted three interviews with Wards Corner traders and three interviews with contacts I made: two with members of the council I contacted via email and one with the community architect from the WCC who I also contacted after seeing a poster in Wards Corner.

The in-depth interviews lasted thirty minutes to one hour. For the majority of the interviews I used a guide of four topics, with subtopics and questions (Bryman 2012, 468-500). I asked open-ended questions and prompted for further explanation from interviewees. The topics were: personal background in Tottenham, High Road experiences, High Road description and High Road opinions. My objective was invite latent themes and topics to emerge in conversation. Interestingly, the interview material which offered me the most insights about the graduated publicness of depth (see Chapters 2 and 3) was recorded during conversations about Seven Sisters market, rather than in conversations about Tottenham High Road, when people mostly told me about their shopping habits. I recorded interviews using an unobtrusive Dictaphone. Because I was not conducting an analysis of the conversation, rather I was interested in the themes and topics, I did not transcribe every murmur and pause although I tried to keep the flavour of the conversational style in transcription. My interviewing skills improved over the two years: I became much better at making encouraging noises, while staying quiet and receptive.

Concerning the question of the bias or partiality of the sample, the group of individuals interviewed was not at all representative of the population of Tottenham as a whole. I did not conduct any long interviews with recent immigrants for example (although I chatted with many recent immigrants both during the survey and in general use of Tottenham High Road). Nonetheless I achieved what I deemed a sufficient level of thematic saturation (Guest, MacQueen and Namey 2012, 46), for understanding the phenomenon of depth in an intensive way.

An interview is always a negotiated text, a 'site where power, gender, race and class intersect' (Fontana and Frey 2003, 48). It is not neutral: two people create the situation of the interview together. I did not consider the text in terms of its social situatedness and have assumed a level of neutrality between myself and my interview subjects, but there may have been things they did not discuss because of who they perceived me to be. Of course, I cannot know and hence for a lot of the insights from interview material, I triangulated what was said through interpretation of my own experiences. In the case of casual conversations on the High Road, the creation of the situation was as significant a source of information and interpretation as the

content of the conversation itself. This perhaps explains why conversations in Wards Corner were more useful to me than conversations held in people's houses.

Transcription, thematic analysis, and writing

I thematically analysed transcripts and field notes using the computer program Nvivo (Guest, MacQueen and Namey 2012, 235-238). Data I used to thematically analyse were from a number of sources: in-depth interviews, OT and LEWG meetings and my own field and meeting notes. First, I attached around 200 'off the top of my head' codes to chunks of the data. I worked intuitively, informed by my deep engagement with Tottenham High Road, to access my embodied knowledge. In the case study block, I identified typical components of the high road (residential, business and civic) and so allocated the initial codes to practical themes: 'roads/movement', 'living in Tottenham', 'shops and businesses' and 'civic institutions'. I connected codes with ongoing analysis and comments (memos). The subsequent analysis was closely linked to writing. I re-analysed initial codes according to a thesis-chapter-based structure. I re-coded at a finer grain, consolidating, deleting and creating codes. I gradually moved from semantic codes towards thematic/conceptual codes, grouping the semantic ideas into theoretical groups. I rewrote or consolidated memos, and started to pull out thematically appropriate quotations. As I placed each piece of data into its theoretical theme/chapter section, I added further thoughts and analysis to an associated memo, between three and five of these for each chapter. I refined both the codes and the chapter sections, which now worked in tandem. So, I then had a structure with three levels: the top level, which was the chapter name (generated both from thematic analysis of interview data and from my own observations and experience on this high road). The middle level, which was theoretical major sub-themes within each chapter. And finally, the bottom level, which was the organisation of the interview data around sub-themes related to the main theme, which I then used as an aid to write the chapters. The analytical process as can be seen in the chart in Figure 0.3 was closely integrated with interpretation through drawings.

There were several further structural iterations. When analysis of raw data was complete, I began a process of organising, ordering, writing and rewriting the final text. There was no clear point at which 'analysis' ended and 'write-up' began, both were part of the same discourse. As I began drafting the final text, I had a clear idea of what the conclusions would be, so I began by writing down everything I then knew about depth. This helped to clearly structure the thesis to explain why I knew what I knew, and present the necessary evidence. The organisation of the text into a sequence to articulate depth was a key part of figuring out what the structures of depth are: this was a process of information-exclusion or inclusion, and interpretation, in precisely the same manner as selecting what should be added to a drawing.

The methods I have used seek to account for the reality of urban depth in two strategic ways: by being there, talking to people, doing things, and thereafter in a range of other activities

including interviews, participation, drawings, transcripts and Nvivo analysis. It is in synthesising all this as and through depth that the methodology is faced with fundamental critical challenges: why these methods? This is where phenomenological hermeneutics comes into its own: the way that one can know the world is a mode of situatedness, and people are thus claimed by the environments and their institutional or cultural contexts in which they make judgements. The architecture of these environments is essential in ‘articulating the conditions of our existence, and in how we come to represent and realise our cultural possibilities’ (Steiner and Sternberg 2015, 2). Drawing has become a method of encounter, interpretation, analysis as well as a way of communicating my findings. I explicitly used the discipline of architecture as a mode of practice, engagement and analysis in the urban environment, and as such this thesis significantly contributes to the methodological analysis of the role of architecture and urban order as a rich overlay of spatial and social formations.

Ethics

Researcher positionality and bias was an inherent and unavoidable aspect of my methodology. Although I cannot change who I am, through critical enquiry I sought the perspectives of as wide a range of people as possible, through multiple modes of participation. I do not claim to write from a perspective of neutrality, and acknowledge that the observer is always biased by who they are and by societal power structures. This work was not intended to be a ‘critical ethnography’ (Thomas 1993) I did not take a radical perspective to explicitly explore roles of power or oppression, although I have sought to empower the less privileged through my narrative. Foucault described power as operating in the ‘micro-levels’ of everyday life, inherent in social relationships embedded in a network of institutions and practices (Foucault in Mills 2003) and in participating in OT I reproduced power structures and my own white, middle class privilege. The knowledge I have produced is therefore not neutral, it is my interpretation, influenced by who I am and my own experiences. However, the urban depth of Tottenham High Road was the context I shared with the people from whom I took and interpreted data and it is this shared context, in which English always served as the basis for communication, and London was the general horizon of involvement (not least because the southern terminus of the A10 is St. Paul’s), that means the knowledge I have produced is transferrable, and applicable to others, not just me.

There was also an inevitable bias involved with which of the organisations I participated more deeply in, and which were more difficult for me to access. I give an account of this in Chapter 4, section 4.3. One of my key findings is that the location of an institution in depth biases who can participate in various civic activities, and it was in observing and reflecting on the biases I encountered which revealed this to me. Such biases usually which favoured me positively, in that my white, middle-class wealth and education gave me easy access to

institutions such as the Tottenham Traders Partnership. But at the same time, I did not have easy access to other institutions/situations on Tottenham High Road. I also consider issues of reproduction of power relations, and resistance to them, in Chapter 3.

The presence of the researcher changes that which is examined—a reflexive impact. In this work, my own participation has an impact on the objectivity of the findings. An unavoidable aspect of social research, I ameliorated this by taking an ‘action research’ position (McNiff 1996, Costello 2011). If the purely objective and removed researcher is a fiction, I behaved as much as possible as I would if I had been a resident of Tottenham, and both the Quakers and Our Tottenham were very important to me. I never lied however, and was always upfront about who I was and my purpose. Participation in the ethics and realities of planning and regeneration issues is very close to my heart. I teach these topics in Cass Cities and spend my free time engaged with local planning and regeneration issues in the Just Space Economy and Planning network. My presence was not just as an observer, but I actively took part and spent my time and energy in doing useful things for the Our Tottenham network and as such, I gave something back. I distributed information on planning and regeneration to every business on Tottenham High Road and provided Our Tottenham and the Tottenham Business Group with my dataset and analyses. As a consequence of my emotional involvement, the argument may acquire a polemical character, particularly with regard to what I deemed the injustices of the Wards Corner dispute. However, I tested my position against the counter-arguments and in this have achieved what could be termed local objectivity, since the issues are subject to particular judgements and decisions by particular people at the time, there is no absolute objectivity or truth (Gadamer 1977).

The final ethical issue is that of consent: I obtained informed consent from all my interviewees. The consent form clarified the intention of my work and gave my full contact details for withdrawal from the study. When I had finished writing I returned to the interviewees to ask if they would be willing to be identified and those who were I have shown with brief biographies in Appendix 1. I gave each person a copy of the thesis, with the section where they featured marked, so they could read it and comment. All were happy with what I had written. Those who were not willing to be identified, or who I could not contact, have been anonymised.

Throughout the research I undertook in Tottenham I acted as a mixture of architect, concerned citizen, guest, and researcher. I fluidly shifted between modalities as the occasion arose, and this was achieved through the long and involved process of learning Tottenham, by calculated ethnographic participation, as well as ordinary, human participation. Learning is fundamental to ‘assemblage’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, DeLanda 1997), in which ‘space’ is composed not of separate parts, but of interactions between parts, as a process of phenomena

moving subtly between tacit and explicit understanding (McFarlane 2011, 175–176). According to McFarlane (2011, 3), such learning of a city is a dynamic, emplaced, embodied process.

If knowledge is the sense that people make of information, that ‘sense’ is a practice that is distributed through relations between people, objects and environment, and is not simply the property of individuals or groups alone (McFarlane 2011: 3).

A key theme throughout the work is that of order in urbanity and the relationship between order, process, and time: over time we establish deeper relationships (social, economic and cultural relationships with places), and these relationships have ethical dimensions in terms of our capacity to care and to feel we are custodians of what we share. The presence of depth makes streets meaningful and civic, indeed the civic character of the street is the result, not the cause, of the depth, so understanding what makes it measurable, intelligible, coherent, prioritised and as a structure of claims upon freedom (therefore giving freedom meaning and orientation) is clearly worthwhile. The capturing of this approximate truth of depth, and the methods I have used to do it, are the main contributions to knowledge of this thesis.

0.2 Tottenham

This third part of the introductory chapter describes the place where the research for this thesis was carried out: Tottenham High Road, shown in Figure 0.17. In the first part of the chapter, I introduced the concept of depth, which I rely heavily upon throughout the thesis. Depth is a deliberately wide net, with which I set out to capture a fuller picture of Tottenham High Road’s true value. In brief, the physical depth of the blocks lining a high street typically accommodates the social, political and economic life of a locality. Urban depth provides the conditions for the possibility of established human processes, and is prior to the processes identified by other theories. I explore the example of Cosmopolitanism in Chapter 4.

Here, I set out the case for why it is important to understand high street depth in a place like Tottenham. Tottenham is on the urban and social margins of London, where poverty rubs shoulders with wealth. Its marginality is a result of its social and spatial history, and has consequences for its contemporary economic, social and spatial construction. It is poor but gentrifying (Glass 1964, Zukin 1987), with a long history of immigration, which has resulted in a multitude of cultures represented by the businesses and civic activities on Tottenham High Road. It is like many locations in London whose high streets are loci for marginal economies, that serve the most vulnerable and least powerful members of society.

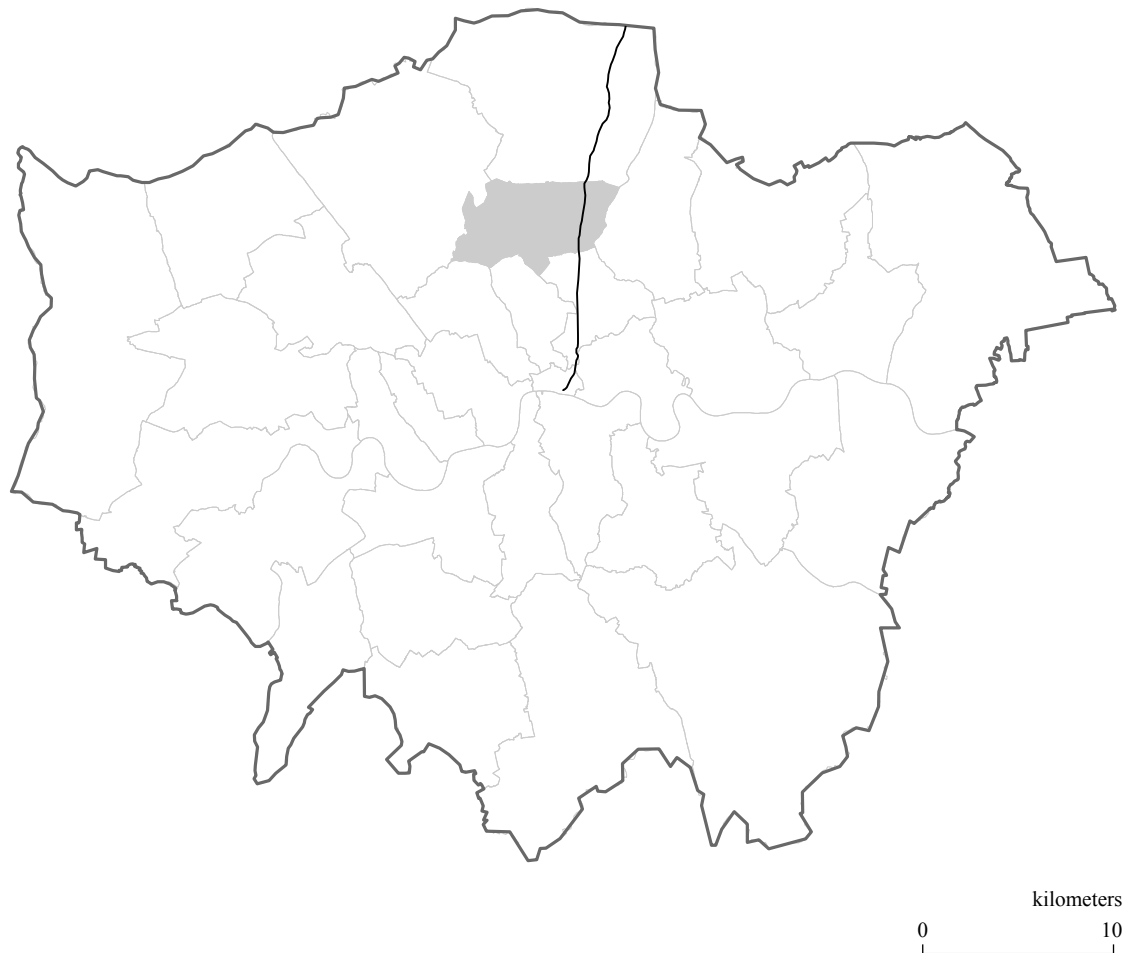


Figure 0.17 A10 (black) in borough of Haringey (grey) in outline of all London boroughs (drawn by Jane Clossick, basemap source: courtesy of Alex Marsh at the GLA 2015).

Using Tottenham, this section also explores what existing authors have said about high streets: that their adaptability allows them to transform to support local people, especially the poor, young, old and minorities. London's urban form has grown around arterial high streets (Figure 0.18 - Figure 0.20) but we lack a satisfactory understanding of their urban structure, how they support city life, and how they allow people to rub along in close proximity to one another with relatively little conflict. London is gentrifying rapidly—and as the city develops so too do high streets—but without an account of their existing architectural, urban, social and economic structure (depth), it is impossible to judge the value of change.

In addition to offering a theory about how different cultures exist relatively peacefully in close proximity in Tottenham, this thesis also describes physical depth structures (Chapter 2); psychological and social depth (Chapter 3); and how all the visible and invisible elements of depth come together, are made and remade, through architecture. As a consequence of this description, I offer a way of valuing high streets adding to Hall's (2012, 126) 'duration, diversity and give'—rather than the conventional measures of 'vitality' and 'viability' (DoE 1996; URBED 2002; Ravenscroft 2000)—and this gives rise to a set of concrete recommendations in the conclusion for how urban depth can be fostered and nurtured in proposed development.

History of Tottenham and the High Road

High streets came to exist in suburban London during the nineteenth century as a result of the transport revolution. 5400 places in the UK are named 'High Street' (BIS 2011) and the majority are combined products of early vernacular development and subsequent direct and indirect ideological and political forces. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, local suburban high streets became the focus for trade and other civic uses simply because they were the most well-used routes, and therefore the most obvious sites for traders to set up. In the second half of the twentieth century, they were subjected to policies and alterations prompted by modernist planning ideologies. High streets continue to change rapidly thanks to e-commerce, and the sharp rise of land values and associated pressure on land in London. In many important respects, however, their early form remains intact.

The maps in Figure 0.27 - Figure 0.29 show how today's high streets are the continuation of a pre-urban form, when they were the main routes between local centres (Griffiths et al. 2008, 4). The maps and drawings in Figure 0.18 - Figure 0.26 chart the growth of London, and Tottenham. They show how high streets have grown around arterial routes and transport links.

Industrialisation and mass transit in the form of tubes and trains changed surrounding towns into London suburbs, and main routes became high streets, this is the vernacular form of high streets today. By the 1930s London had expanded rapidly as fast transport allowed people to live in the suburbs, but commute to the centre for work, so Tottenham was urbanised and absorbed into London as a result of mechanisation of transport.

Here follows a graphic analysis of London's spatial evolution, showing how fundamental high streets have been to structuring its growth.

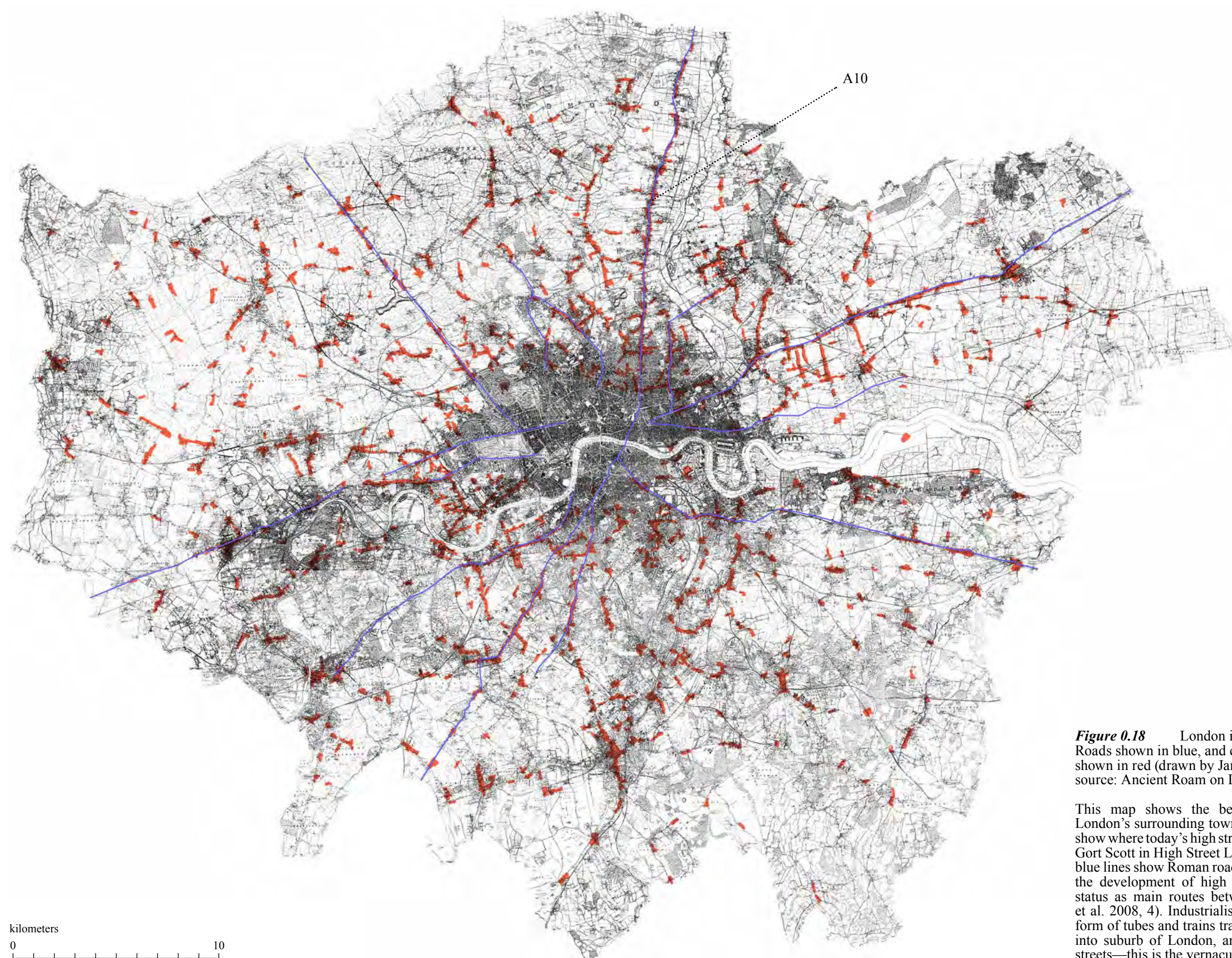


Figure 0.18 London in the 1880s, with Roman Roads shown in blue, and contemporary high streets shown in red (drawn by Jane Clossick, basemap source: Ancient Roam on Digimap, Edina 2014).

This map shows the beginning of urbanisation of London's surrounding towns and villages. The red lines show where today's high streets (as identified by UCL and Gort Scott in *High Street London* 2010) are located. The blue lines show Roman roads to London. The map shows the development of high streets from their pre-urban status as main routes between local centres (Griffiths et al. 2008, 4). Industrialisation and mass transit in the form of tubes and trains transformed surrounding towns into suburb of London, and main routes became high streets—this is the vernacular formation of high streets.



Figure 0.19 London in the 1930s, with train lines (red) and tube lines (light blue). Mass transit allowed rapid urbanisation of London's environs (drawn by Jane Clossick, basemap source: Ancient Roam on Digimap, Edina 2014).

The red lines show train lines from the 1850s onwards, the blue lines show the tube network. London expanded rapidly once fast transport allowed people to live in the suburbs, but commute to the centre for work. Tottenham was urbanised and absorbed into London as a result of the mechanisation of transport.

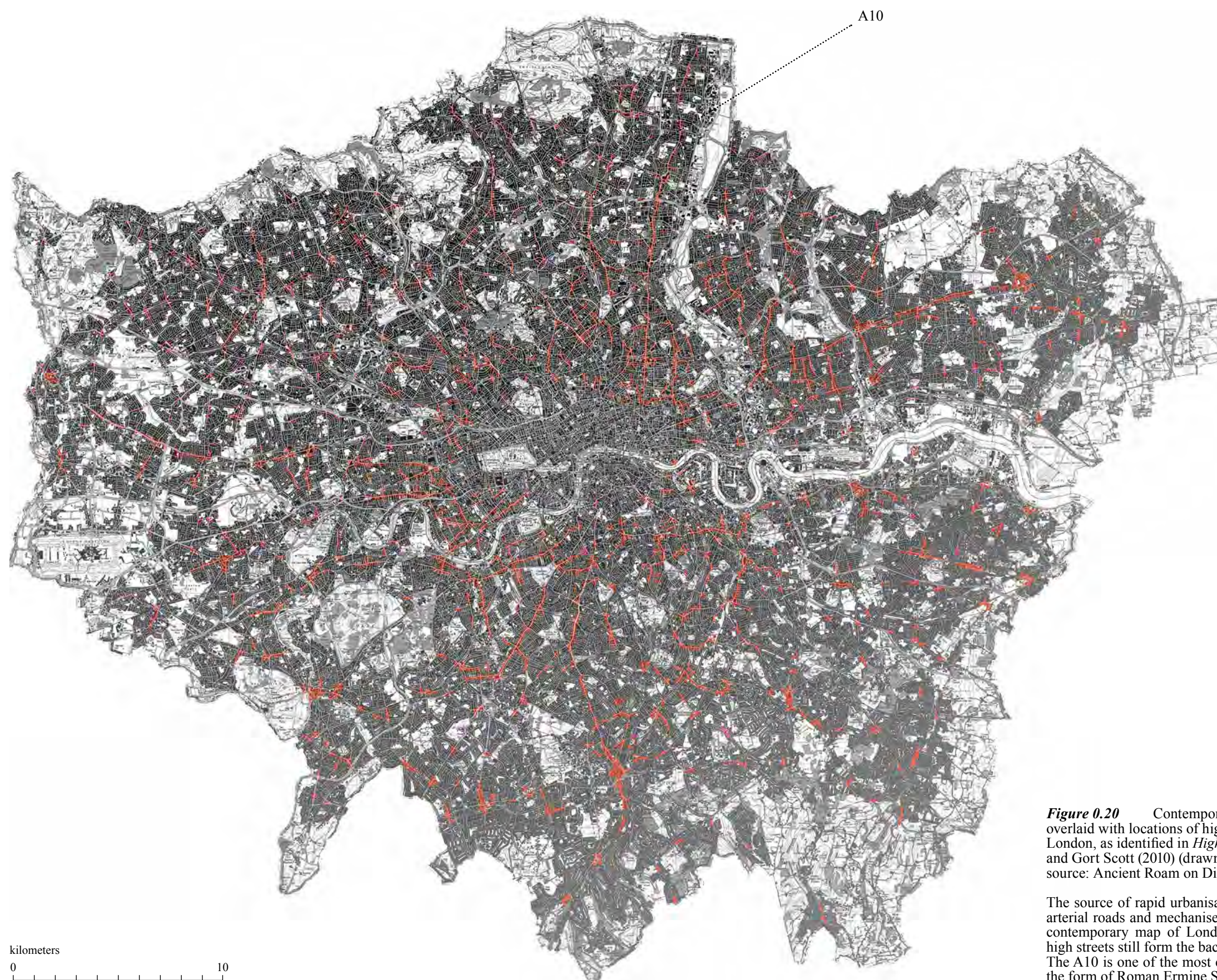


Figure 0.20 Contemporary map of London boroughs, overlaid with locations of high streets outside central London, as identified in *High Street London* by UCL and Gort Scott (2010) (drawn by Jane Clossick basemap source: Ancient Roam on Digimap, Edina 2014).

The source of rapid urbanisation has been transport links: both arterial roads and mechanised transport (tubes and trains). This contemporary map of London shows that arterial routes, and high streets still form the backbone of London's urban structure. The A10 is one of the most connected high streets, maintaining the form of Roman Ermine Street into the twenty-first century.

The High Road is a kebab skewer transfixing Tottenham, which gathers along its length more-or-less tasty urban surprises: interludes of green and elegance, the edifying gothic of a Victorian school, the shells of interwar pleasure palaces, handsome Georgian houses and bits of terrace, with broader more easeful proportions than they would have in central London – fragments of a time when Tottenham was a prosperous recreational retreat from the capital (Moore 2015, 4-5).

Tottenham in London's borough of Haringey runs between Seven Sisters in the south and Edmonton to the north, connected by Tottenham High Road, a two and half mile stretch of the A10. The A10 began life as Roman Ermine Street from London to Lincoln, shown in the map in Figure 0.21, and gradually became part of London in the nineteenth century, as analysed in maps Figure 0.18 to Figure 0.20. The boundaries of Local Authorities and Electoral Wards that the A10 and A1010 pass through are shown in Figure 0.22. The population of Tottenham is estimated at approximately 118,000 people (Levett and Lipton 2012, 45).

At the south of Tottenham High Road are the wards of South Tottenham, St Ann's, West Green and Seven Sisters as well as Seven Sisters station and South Tottenham station. Central Tottenham includes Bruce Grove and Tottenham Green. At the north end of the High Road are White Hart Lane stadium, Lordship Lane, and the wards of Little Russia and Northumberland Park, the most deprived ward in the borough. To the east of Tottenham High Road lies Tottenham Hale station and retail park. To the west are Tottenham Marshes and Bruce Castle, Broadwater Farm housing estate, the Tower Gardens Estate and Lordship Recreation Ground. There is a figure ground map of Tottenham with key landmarks in Figure 0.2. There are two London Underground lines in Tottenham: the Piccadilly line (opened in 1932) stops at Turnpike Lane and the Victoria line (1968) has two stations at Seven Sisters and Tottenham Hale. London Overground serves stations at Seven Sisters, Bruce Grove and White Hart Lane with a line running parallel to Tottenham High Road. The National Rail serves Tottenham Hale and Northumberland Park with connections to Cambridge.



Figure 0.21 (Originally) Roman roads connecting London with the rest of the UK, mapped onto contemporary map of major London streets (drawn by Jane Clossick based on source: Google Maps 2011).

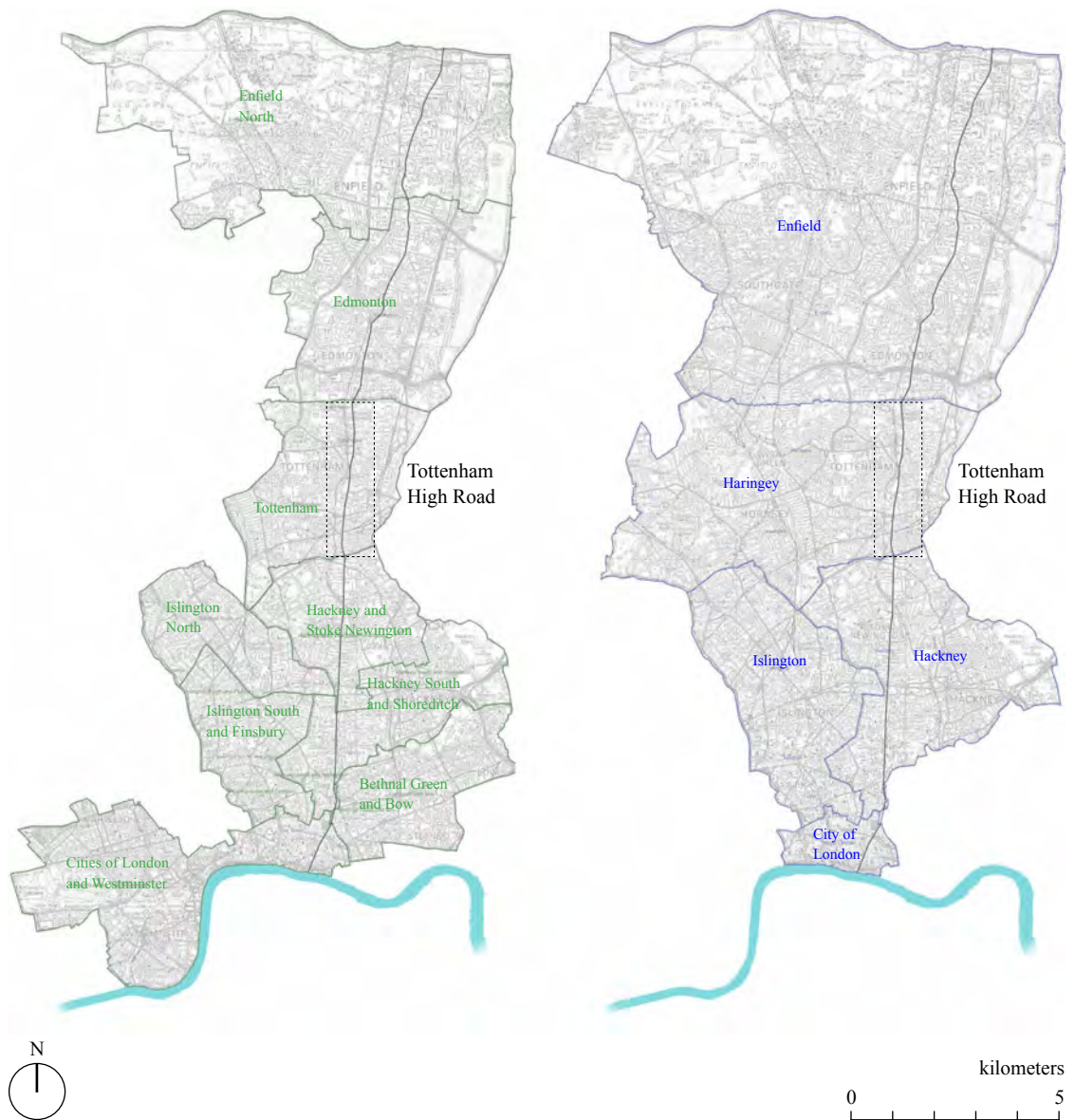


Figure 0.22 Constituencies (left) and local authorities (right) which the A10 and A1010 run through (drawn by Jane Clossick, basemap source: Digimap, Edina 2011).

In the Tudor period, Tottenham was a leisure destination outside London: Henry VIII is known to have hunted in Tottenham woods (Protz 2010, 20) and Bruce Castle was built by his 'Groom of the Stool' (Moore 2015, 4-5). The historical centre of Tottenham is the Green, where Tottenham High Cross was erected in 1609, and major civic buildings of Tottenham are located. It remained a semi-rural and upper/middle class area until the Great Eastern Railway opened the Enfield and Walthamstow branch lines in the late nineteenth century, with cheap 'workmen's fares' which stimulated development into a working and lower middle class London suburb. Thousands of generic terraces were built around the existing village and in the surrounding country estates.

The maps in Figure 0.23 - Figure 0.26 show how Tottenham High Road is the continuation of pre-urban form when it, like most high streets, was the main route between local centres (Griffiths et al. 2008, 4). The maps and drawings in Figure 0.18 - Figure 0.20 chart the growth of London, and show how high streets have evolved around arterial routes and transport links. Tottenham High Road became the focus for trade and other civic uses, as the most obvious site for traders to set up to serve the local population, and in many important respects its early form as a locus of civic and economic life remains intact.

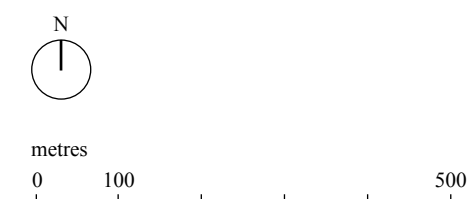


Figure 0.23 Tottenham 1870 (source: Ancient Roam on Digimap, Edina 2010).

Map of Tottenham in 1870, before the railway, when the village centred on the High Cross at Tottenham Green. It was sparsely populated, with several grand houses as well as labourers' cottages; there was no industry and the area was surrounded by fields.



metres

0 100 500

Figure 0.24 Tottenham 1896 (source: Ancient Room on Digimap, Edina 2010).

Map of Tottenham just 26 years later, in 1896, after the railway had been built. Rapid urbanisation occurred when landowners leased their land to speculative builders, who built roads lined with terraced houses. Road layouts were not centrally planned, but rather emerged as a response to constraints of the sites available (which included existing property boundaries). These were middle-class suburbs, for those who could afford the train fare, and were advertised as suitable for those wanted to escape the noise and dirt of central London (TFL 2013).



Figure 0.25 Tottenham 1936 (source: Ancient Room on Digimap, Edina 2010).

By 1936 Tottenham was completely urbanised, and home to many industries that had decentralised from central London during the second wave of the industrial revolution. Large-scale industries in Tottenham persisted, particularly around Tottenham Hale, until the 1970s when some manufacturing was relocated overseas. The industrial estates and housing estates in Tottenham were the result of a modernist approach to city planning, in which main traffic routes (the High Road) were separated from other uses, an idea supported by the British Road Traffic Acts of the 1930s and the Traffic in Towns report (Buchanan 1964), produced for the Ministry of Transport. Nonetheless, the forces that had lined high streets with a range of civic uses did not simply cease to exist, and the High Road persisted.



metres

0 100 500

Figure 0.26 Tottenham 1950 (source: Ancient Roam on Digimap, Edina 2010).

Tottenham did not change a great deal between 1936 and 1950, the urban form was cemented by infrastructures of road, rail and land divisions.

From the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, the UK was a manufacturing economy. Suburbs of London like Tottenham (as well as Deptford and Brixton) were swallowed into the ‘inner city’, thanks to progressive waves of decentralisation of industry away from the city centre to cheaper sites, and the concurrent suburbanisation of the bourgeoisie (Fishman 1989) (Figure 0.27 - Figure 0.29 to see this mapped). Situated at the margins of the city with plenty of land, access to water from the River Lea and good road transport links north and south, Tottenham flourished in the twentieth century as an industrial district. In the 1960s and early 1970s Tottenham employers included many household names: duplicator manufacturer Gestetner (3,000 employees), Basildon Bond, (900 employees) and Harris Lebus international furniture brand (6,000 employees). Other large manufacturers included bakers, bottlers and a company that became Trebor Bassett (700 employees) (Levett and Lipton 2012, 44). Ron, an elderly man I interviewed, described the surplus of jobs: he could walk out of one job in the morning and have a new one by the afternoon. Today, the architectural remains of this industrial period of Tottenham’s history can be seen around Tottenham Hale and clustered in the depth of Tottenham High Road.

Because of this flourishing manufacturing, newcomers to London found work with ease, even if in low paid, hard labour. There was active recruitment of black workers in their home countries (Millington 2011, 81) and a wave of immigration came to Tottenham. Although work was plentiful, it was almost impossible for new immigrants to rent rooms because of prevalent racist discrimination, and immigrants were not automatically housed by local authorities. One elderly interviewee born in Guyana described himself as ‘the first black man in Tottenham’ when he arrived in the 1950s, and recalled a time when he was beaten very severely on Tottenham High Road for being black. He worked as a bus conductor, because black men could not be drivers, and his white colleagues would vacate the staff room if he entered it. Because of this racism and difficulty in renting property, sometimes immigrants would club together and buy property to rent to other immigrants, and estate agents encouraged them to move to ‘black areas’ like Tottenham (Millington 2011, 81). Tottenham in 2017 is home to one of the largest of London’s concentrations of people of African and Caribbean origin, as shown in maps in Chapter 4, as well as people from all over the world (image, languages on Tottenham High Road). For more in diversity and cultural mixing on Tottenham High Road, see Chapter 4.

Figure 0.27 Map of the depth of the A10 in the 1880s (drawn by Jane Clossick, basemap source: Digimap, Edina 2010).

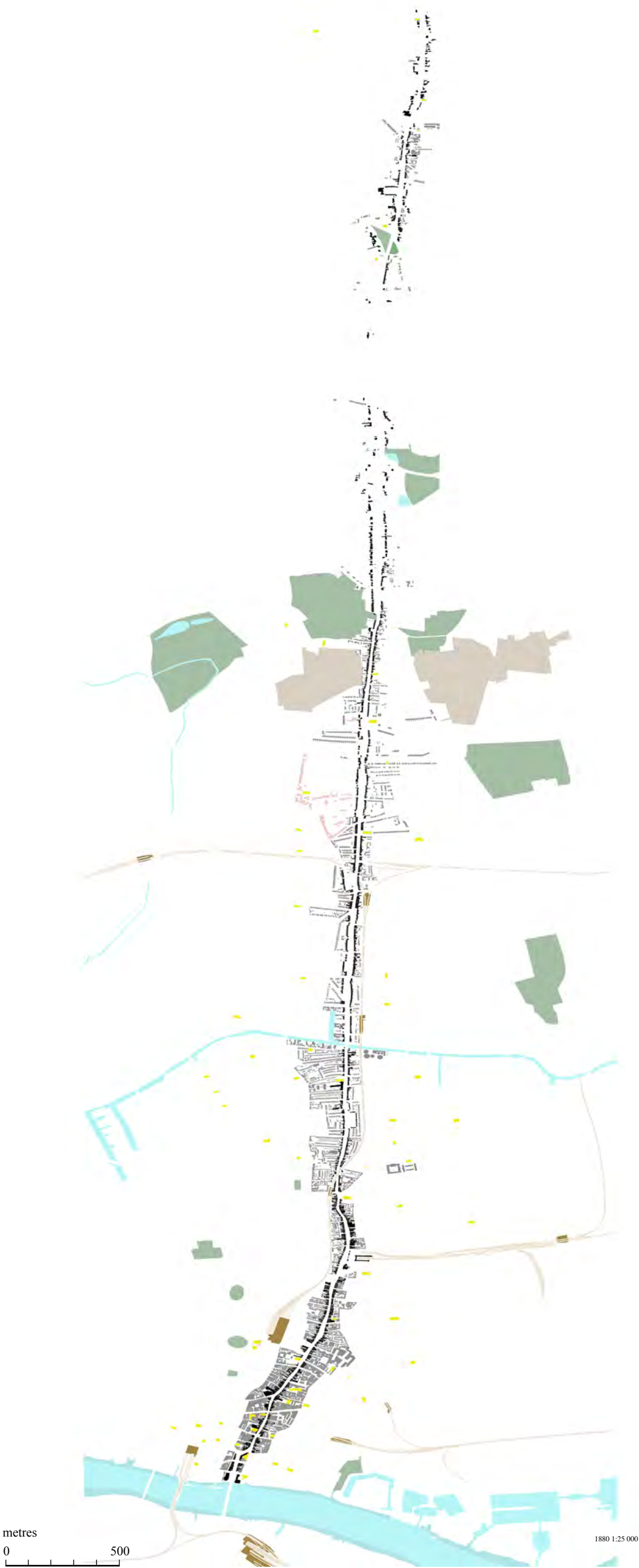


Figure 0.28 Map of the depth of the A10 in the 1950s (drawn by Jane Clossick, basemap source: Digimap, Edina 2010).



metres
0 500

1950 1:25 000

Figure 0.29 Map of the depth of the A10 in the 2010s (drawn by Jane Clossick, basemap source: Digimap, Edina 2010).



metres
0 500

Tottenham is a very diverse place with many different cultures and social/economic groups rubbing shoulders. Convivial engagement between disparate social groups takes place on Tottenham High Road. This is a special kind of conviviality, and high streets are different to public spaces like residential neighbourhoods, or parks (Dines et al. 2006; S. Hall 2012; Wessendorf 2015). Tottenham High Road, despite Tottenham's many social problems, is a mostly peaceful place despite the rare violence seen during the riots. There is a gap in the literature here: the spatial structures and architectural arrangements, which accommodate conviviality, are only sketchily reported (e.g. by Hall 2013 and Carmona 2014), and are not thoroughly described in the literature on Cosmopolitanism (e.g. Wessendorf 2015). In this thesis, I demonstrate that depth accommodates the cross-cultural convivial interactions described by Cosmopolitan theorists (see Chapter 4), and I focus particularly on the way that the architecture of Tottenham High Road allows different marginalised groups to coexist peacefully. This work adds a useful layer to the discourse around Cosmopolitan theory, particularly that of Wessendorf, and understanding the physical layout and functioning of the 'super-diverse' city.

From the 1970s – 2000s Tottenham experienced severe structural economic decline, and poverty increased (Moore 2015, 2). The first wave of decentralisation of industry in the early to mid-twentieth century had created industrial city-peripheries like Tottenham. In the second wave of industrial decentralisation in the 1970s, containerisation at ports allowed much large-scale manufacturing to move overseas. At the same time as its economy was becoming less vibrant, Tottenham itself was marginalised from the borough of Haringey in terms of governance. The 1963 Local Government Act moved the municipal centre of Tottenham from the local town hall to Wood Green in 1965, and local governance was no longer spatially located to see and respond appropriately to the economic changes (Levett and Lipton 2012, Appendix 3). Wood Green Shopping City opened in the 1970s and the 'big brands' (Marks and Spencer was mentioned by a number of interviewees) gradually left Tottenham High Road (Moore 2015, 3). This loss occurred alongside deindustrialisation, as the local population became poorer, and seemed to my interviewees a tangible symbol of Tottenham's reduced circumstances.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the physical form of Tottenham High Road had begun to alter as a result of both economic forces and modernist planning. In industrial areas like the Peacock Estate, industry was zoned separately to other uses, and Tottenham High Road was classified as an arterial road (Desyllas 2006) with measures taken to widen it, and increase its speed limit. At around the same time, the Broad Lane bypass at Tottenham Hale was built. The rise of modernist city planning coincided with the global rise of multinational companies and supermarkets, who required and would pay high rents for large floor areas unavailable in town centres, making out-of-town developments more profitable for developers. By the late 1970s, 40% of new retail floor space was being built outside town centres, and Tottenham Hale Retail Park was constructed in the early 1990s (Figure 0.30).



Figure 0.30 Tottenham High Road and Tottenham Hale (drawn by Jane Clossick).

This drawing shows all non-residential buildings. It is clear to see the two types of location of economic and civic life. The first is clustered along the high road, the second is outlying (e.g. Tottenham Hale retail park) and exists as a result of modernist city-building.

At Tottenham Hale Retail Park, 24 multi-national chain stores occupy grey sheds, half a mile east of Tottenham High Road. The drawing in Figure 0.30 shows how physically removed from Tottenham town centre Tottenham Hale is. There are 550 parking spaces, and although the development is adjacent to Tottenham Hale tube station (Victoria line), it is most easily accessed from the four-lane Broad Lane bypass. Places like Tottenham High Road were felt to be part of an outdated urban order.

While Tottenham flourished as an industrial centre, housing estates like Broadwater Farm (1967) were built to house the workforce, again as part of a modernist conception of zoned city spaces. Most of the population in the UK at the time were housed by local authorities, with only a third in owner occupation. Housing estates were constructed adjacent to Tottenham High Road, but facing away from the street which was now ideologically designated as a through-route, rather than a place in itself. An example of this type of housing is shown in Figure 0.31, a photograph taken south of Seven Sisters showing a 1980s housing estate.

As estates like Broadwater Farm became fully occupied in the 1970s however, the economy was rapidly restructuring, and many unskilled labouring jobs were disappearing. Significantly for Tottenham, a key consequence of the reorganisation of labour was marginalisation of black and immigrant workers (Millington 2011, 84). The urban design of brutalist estates did not allow for the easy formation of neighbourly relationships (see Chapter 2), and Haringey used Broadwater Farm and similar estates to house primarily ‘undesirable’ residents: single parents, dysfunctional families and immigrant/black families. As unemployment rose and many large employers left, a locus of poverty and disenfranchisement was created in Tottenham at the same time as parts of Tottenham High Road, a key source of local services and social support, were being dismantled. Gaps appeared in previously unbroken lines of high street businesses (blocks fronted by shops with businesses in the interior) leaving high streets less overlooked—and consequently less safe (Jacobs 1993 [1961]). The increase in poverty in Tottenham equated to an increase in crime and gang activity amongst a disenfranchised youth population, and the problem of gang activity persists—Tottenham is famed for it.



Figure 0.31 Housing on the A10, where once there were shops, south of Seven Sisters station (photograph by Jane Clossick).

What happened in Tottenham during the twentieth century, at the margins of the ‘inner city,’ epitomises the organic crisis of the whole UK system (Solomos et al. 1982, 11), and the story was repeated elsewhere in London, in Peckham, Brixton and so on. London radically restructured, almost turning ‘inside out’ since the mid-1980s (Castells 1991; Fainstein and Harloe 2003, Sassen 2001, 2006). The old urban core, consisting of industry and workforce has been replaced by a centre of power, decision-making and consumption, a centrifugal process that pulled new and established immigrant groups to poor, peripheral locations like Tottenham. The value of a locality is ascribed according to its distance and relationship through transport links from ‘sites of accumulated economic, symbolic and cultural capital’ (Bordieu 1999). Peripheral places like Tottenham have developed an economic relationship with the centre in which they house devalued activities, essential for the city (Sassen 2006, 199) and are the home for people with devalued jobs, which are also essential for the city. At the same time, Tottenham is well connected to the centre with efficient transport links, so as the ‘centre’ expands, Tottenham is ripe for the processes of gentrification.

Starting in the west/centre of London in the 1970s, gentrification (Glass 1964, Zukin 1987) has gradually spread outwards towards Tottenham. Gentrification is a process where working class or minority neighbourhoods start to be occupied by high income, middle class and culturally dominant groups. Deteriorated housing stock is renovated, and all housing undergoes an increase in value. This process produces a ‘rent gap’, in which it is more profitable for landlords to sell than to continue renting, so gentrification usually also involves a transition of tenure from renting to owning (Hamnett 1984, 284 in Carter 1995, 294).

The invisible hand of the market moving inexorably but gently (it waits until the leases expire) to gentrify an area. The squatters beget artists, who beget the public-sector middle-class, who beget banker families, who just stay put in their stucco-fronted Georgian houses, endlessly decorating and redecorating. A doleful bugle sounds for the demise of the family-run cobbler, soon drowned out by buzz over the gelato parlour that’s replaced it (Chakraborty and Robinson-Tillett 2014).

Affluent, mostly white, middle classes have rediscovered the city centre (Millington 2011, 107) which has become a ‘site of privilege premised on the ‘make-believe of the joy of living’, and the ideology of consumption as happiness (Lefebvre 1981, in Millington 2011, 81). Old ‘ghetto’ areas are almost uniformly gentrified (Waldinger 1987, 3) and as Butler and Hamnett (2009, 52) point out, housing estates are now the only exception in fully gentrified inner London. Tottenham is a long way from being completely gentrified, but the stock of Victorian houses, particularly around Bruce Grove and Seven Sisters, are gradually being re-occupied by the middle classes seeking an affordable location to buy a property. Central city living is increasingly impossible for poor, immigrant and minority groups (Millington 2011, 193), and at the same time the ‘centre’ is expanding to include Tottenham.

London is now a 'dual city' (Sassen 2001, Fainstein and Harloe 2003), with distinctive strata of socioeconomic groups, in which both professional high paid jobs and low paid service jobs have grown, with great disparity between the two. The dual global city has a distinct spatiality: there are parallel economies which are manifested spatially in city zones (Millington 2011, 108-109). Marcuse (1989, 2003 & Marcuse and Van Kempen 2000) has described arrangement of the dual city as zones of class, race, ethnicity and lifestyle, all variables one could call culture. Residential Tottenham is a mixture of three of Marcuse's four 'zones'. In some of the Victorian streets it is the 'gentrified city': professionals, managers and academics. Mixed amongst these it is the 'tenement city': houses of multiple occupation in un-gentrified areas. Finally, towards the north of Tottenham High Road it is 'abandoned city': socially excluded people in housing estates, such as Broadwater Farm. 60% of the Haringey's social housing is in Tottenham, 40% of that in the poorest ward, Northumberland Park (Levett and Lipton 2012, 45).

Tottenham at the start of the 2010s was a mixture of ethnicities and nationalities, both old and new immigrant groups, as well as the native population. What was most distinctive about Tottenham when I began writing this thesis was its poverty. 41% of children lived in poverty (UK average of 20.9%) (Levett and Lipton 2012, 45). 22.3% of the population aged 16-64 were claiming unemployment benefit (compared to 12.4% in London as a whole), and in Northumberland Park ward the rate was 31.5%, the highest in London (Levett and Lipton 2012, 45). Rates of temporary accommodation in Haringey were the highest in London, 35 per 1,000 residents in 2012, compared to a London average of 12, and a UK-wide average of 2 (Levett and Lipton 2012, 26). A quarter of all households were overcrowded (Levett and Lipton 2012, 45).

Riots in Tottenham

To better understand the political and economic situation of Tottenham High Road, the riots must be explored. The riots of the early 1980s, Brixton in 1981 and Broadwater Farm in 1985, can be understood as a direct result of deindustrialisation. Concentrations of unskilled workers were left behind in places like Tottenham when large scale industry gradually relocated overseas, so social distress and poverty increased. Racial tension mounted, and the poor blamed one another along sectarian lines. Police intervention was concentrated on areas of high crime, which often correlated with places where people were poor and black. In the 1980s amongst police there was institutionalised racism, chronic aggression became commonplace, and 'stop and search' law allowed searching 'on suspicion' with no evidence of crimes having been committed (Unsworth 1981, 71).

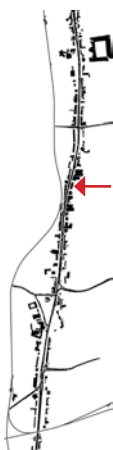


Figure 0.32 Tottenham during the riots (source: Gallagher, I. and S. Farrell. 2011. "Did rock-throwing teenage girl's 'beating' by police spark London riots? Pictures that show how Tottenham turned into a war zone." *Mail Online* 7/8/2011).

In 1985 the Broadwater Farm riot began in the estate (Marcuse's 'abandoned city') and spread to the surrounding Victorian Streets (Marcuse's 'tenement city'), in response to the death of black woman Cynthia Jarrett while police officers were raiding her home. Broadwater Farm has 1,000 homes, including two 18 storey tower blocks. The dominant view at the time was that behaviour patterns and culture, focussed on the estate itself as architecture, were to blame for the upheavals, rather than economic restructuring of labour markets (Millington 2011, 87). Modern architecture was blamed for the riots, and £30m+ was subsequently spent on removing walkways adding 'postmodern porches' and paint (Moore 2015, 1). In this thesis, I argue that the urban depth which hosts human cultures is far more rich and complex than such a focus on visual amenity might suggest.

In 2011, riots in Tottenham happened again, this time triggered by 100 Tottenham residents marching in protest at the death of another black person, Mark Duggan, who was shot by police on Operation Trident (BBC 2015). Rioting took place all across London over the next 24 hours (see Figure 0.32). There was fire and destruction along Tottenham High Road, including the burning of Carpetwright, the destruction of 26 flats above it, and looting and damage of Aldi (Moore 2015, 2). According to Till (2013), there are two kinds of riots: those in poor areas confined by the boundaries of those places (like the 1985 riots) and those in luxurious city centres, places from where the rioters are usually excluded. But London 2011 does not fit either of these patterns, instead riots occurred first in Tottenham and then spread all over London and to other UK cities, erupting simultaneously and seemingly unpredictably as word spread on social media. Till suggests that riots took place in the remaining truly public parts of London: the high streets. High streets are arteries through areas, like Tottenham, where there is a patchwork of rich and poor. These are the places where the social inequality of the dual is spatially expressed, and poverty nestles against wealth (Till 2013, 74).

In both 1985 and 2011, riots in Tottenham were an intensification of the underlying socio-political situation, although politicians quickly claimed they were simple criminality (see Beckford et al. 2011). Much as the 1985 riots were blamed on architecture, the 2011 riots were portrayed as having social and cultural roots, and linked to specific locations (Solomos et al. 1982, 19). In fact, after the 2008 financial crash, there was mass youth unemployment and young black people were disproportionately affected (Millington 2011, 85).

London is a city of enormous disparities in wealth, opportunity and class. It's a city where the gap between its financial elite and the communities facing difficult social and economic circumstances is accelerating at speed. Yet due to London's strangely unplanned nature, these divergent communities often occupy the very same areas. London's double lives exist in parallel universes co-existing spatially yet decoupled socially and economically (Jacob 2011).

Haringey is a socio-economically divided borough. Four of Haringey's 19 wards are in London's richest 10% (in the west of the borough), and five are in the poorest 10% (in the east, around Tottenham) (Levett and Lipton 2012, 44). Despite the UK as a whole experiencing unbroken post-industrial economic growth from 1993 to 2007, Tottenham fell on several economic and social indicators (Levett and Lipton 2012, 21). In 2012 it was in the 2% worst performing areas in the UK on health, skills, education and income (Levett and Lipton 2012, 45). In Tottenham, the 2011 riots were an expression of an increasing gap between rich and poor, becoming evident in some expensive consumption on Tottenham High Road, in what was until very recently a humdrum, cheap place 'spaces where previously benign normality had been distorted by the fatal intersection of the scarcity of means and abundance of desire' (Till 2013, 3).

Tottenham High Road Today

Having set the historical and contemporary scene for Tottenham, I now turn to an outline of the conditions of Tottenham High Road, and relate it to the existing literature on London high streets. The whole thesis is a detailed description of Tottenham High Road, with the following section being a brief introduction to the main issues pertaining to it, to set a context for the rest of the exploration.

At present, Tottenham High Road is a nexus for everyday life, serving a marginal, rapidly gentrifying economy, and is a site of shopping, day to day socialising and local trades. It is a 'continuous' and 'connected' high street (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 57, see Figure 0.33) filled with independent small and medium enterprises (SMEs) both on the frontage and in the depth, which is filled with mixed, mostly non-residential uses (Chiaradia et al. 2009; Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007; Gort Scott and UCL 2010; Carmona 2014). A figure-ground map of Tottenham High Road is shown in Figure 0.2. A mixture of converted Victorian villas, purpose-built early twentieth century shops and later ad hoc additions, it is typical of a London high street on the urban margins, and a rich candidate for research.

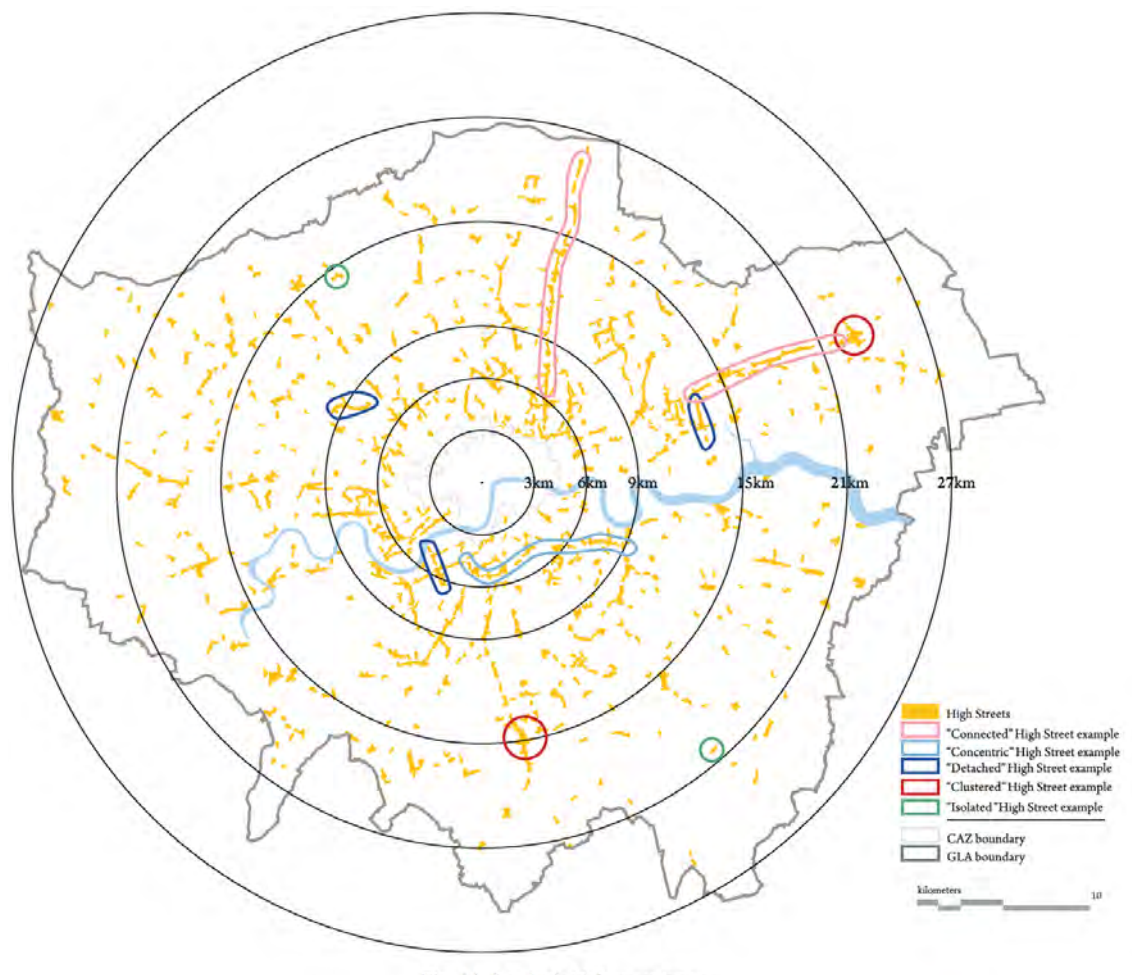


Figure 0.33 London's high street types (source: Gort-Scott (F. Scott) and University College London (UCL). 2010. *High Street London*. London: Design for London (Unpublished). With kind permission of Fiona Scott and Matthew Carmona).

Tottenham High Road, like high streets in general, is highly adaptable architecturally, economically and socially, and has remained relatively stable in form and use through turbulent times. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it continued to exist through social, economic and policy shifts, despite high streets being off the policy agenda (Griffiths et al. 2008). London high streets have ‘adaptive resilience’ (Wrigley et al. 2009, 2341) and this should also mean they can endure the decline of more traditional forms of retail (for more on adaptive resilience see Chapter 2 and for social resilience and change, see Chapter 3). The adaptability of Tottenham High Road is typical of high streets, and this has been identified by several authors as one of their key qualities.

Existing literature on high streets offers information about the qualities of Tottenham High Road which allow adaptability. Firstly, the street is composed of small-scale buildings which are easy to maintain, easy to alter and are therefore resistant to obsolescence (March et al. 2012; Vaughan and Griffiths 2013; Douglas 2006; Barras and Clark 1996). Secondly, in Tottenham, as on many high streets, relations between occupier, tenant and landlord of the small plots are unclear (Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 97; Portas 2011, 33; BIS 2011, 56) and such fragmentation of ownership functions as a protective mechanism. Thirdly, ‘change of use’ within the planning use classes allows almost any shop on Tottenham High Road to be converted to the A1 category (A1 covers virtually all shop uses: shops, retail warehouses, hairdressers, undertakers, travel and ticket agencies, post offices, pet shops, sandwich bars, showrooms, domestic hire shops, dry cleaners and internet cafés). Figure 0.34 shows the permitted changes amongst planning ‘use classes’ (planningportal.gov.uk 2016). Easy change of use within retail, but not to other uses, means the high street retains its retail frontage. Finally, behind the retail frontage of Tottenham High Road are transient and temporary units like those in Morrison Yard (see Chapter 2) which can be simply adapted, or replaced (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 66) and contribute to high street adaptability because businesses can extend backwards or sublet to other businesses. On the whole, due to the inherent adaptability of high street architecture, uses on high streets have changed, but the proportion of space occupied by different uses has remained relatively stable (Vaughan and Griffiths 2013, 16–17). There is a gap in the literature, however, concerning the precise architectural expression of this adaptability. In this thesis, I add to the literature on adaptability in Chapter 2, in which I carefully describe the physical and economic shape of Tottenham High Road and how the architecture hosts changes of use, occupation and culture over time.

Tottenham High Road is, like all London high streets, part of a significant piece of London’s economy. Outside the Central Activity Zone, 55% of London’s workplaces are on or within 200m of high streets (in the block depth) (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 111). In Tottenham, there are 1,800 businesses (Carmona 2014, 57) roughly 600 on Tottenham High Road (see

Planning class	Description/example uses	Permitted changes (without approval)
A1 Shops	General retail, hairdressers, travel agents, post offices, dry cleaners, sandwich bars, supermarkets, discount stores, charity shops	Within A1
A2 Financial and professional services	Banks, building societies, estate agents, betting shops, pawnbrokers, payday loan shops	Within A2 or to A1
A3 Restaurants and cafés	Units selling food and drink for consumption on the premises	Within A3 or to A1 or A2
A4 Drinking establishments	Pubs and wine bars, not including nightclubs	Within A4 or to A1, A2 or A3
A5 Hot food takeaways	Units selling hot food for consumption off the premises	Within A5 or to A1, A2 or A3

One can only modify use without permission up this hierarchy, from a use which is more smelly, noisy, and potentially socially troublesome to one which is less so. To go the other way requires permission. Once permission is granted, however, then another business of the same type can freely move in to the premises (it is also likely that the fit-out is suitable for a business of the same type, so opening a new business is cheaper). So, (for example) restaurants tend to remain restaurants, even if they change owners and names.

Figure 0.34 Planning use classes and permitted changes which are relevant to the variety and variation of shops and businesses on high streets (source: planningportal.gov.uk, based on the Town and Country Planning (Use Classes) order 1987).

Appendix 2). UK high streets are the home of 95,000 small businesses (Grimsey 2013, 2–3, 9) so SMEs are vital to the UK's economy. Yet, headlines such as 'Death of the High Street' (Channel 4 2013, 4) and 'Fighting the Decline of the High Street' (Ward 2013) illustrate the prevailing notion that the institution of the 'Great British High Street' (DCLG 2015) is slowly dying, and that regeneration measures should be taken to save it.

There is some evidence of high street decline but concerns town centres, rather than high streets, and is therefore not wholly applicable to Tottenham High Road. Evidence also focuses on economic value, and on retail floor space—rather than other kinds of value which may be harder to measure. In 2013 3,400 units in London (or 7.1%) stood vacant, a figure which increased by 5.4% between 2010 and 2013 (London Assembly Economy Committee 2013, 10), but this trend is levelling as the availability of employment land decreases with house-building. Although this could be explained as a downward trend and as such, decline, there are reasons why they do not warrant the extreme reportage of the headlines above. Firstly, the fabric of Tottenham High Road contains a host of uses that are not accounted for by retail floor space, and secondly, lower economic value does not equate to lower social and cultural value. Finally, London is a unique case where the economy of high street locations is unusually robust (Carmona 2014).

Both the robustness and adaptability of Tottenham High Road are linked to the mix of uses and accommodation it contains. Many businesses exist proximate to, but not on, the main road, adding extra people, jobs and movement. Based on surveys of London high streets, only one quarter to one third of people visit high streets like Tottenham High Road to shop, and two thirds for other reasons (Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 57; Carmona 2014, 58). The diversity of high street uses is shown in the chart in Figure 0.35, the primary reasons for visiting high streets (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 80; Carmona 2014, 58). Multiple uses on and near Tottenham High Road are linked and co-dependent, and the mixed-use nature of high streets is a characteristic commonly noted in the literature. Behind façades, small units containing manufacturing, light industrial and office space take advantage of proximity to the major route. In turn they generate more movement of people and vehicles (Vaughan and Griffiths 2013, 17; Mayor of London 2009, 28–30) (see study of Morrison Yard in Chapter 2). The vitality of Tottenham High Road depends on it being a centre on a well-connected network—with many circular routes and a range of types of buildings able to host a range of types of use. Direction of movement away from Tottenham High Road via the Broad Lane bypass has disrupted the traditional concentration of non-residential uses which is the 'spatial signature' of town centres (Vaughan et al. 2010).

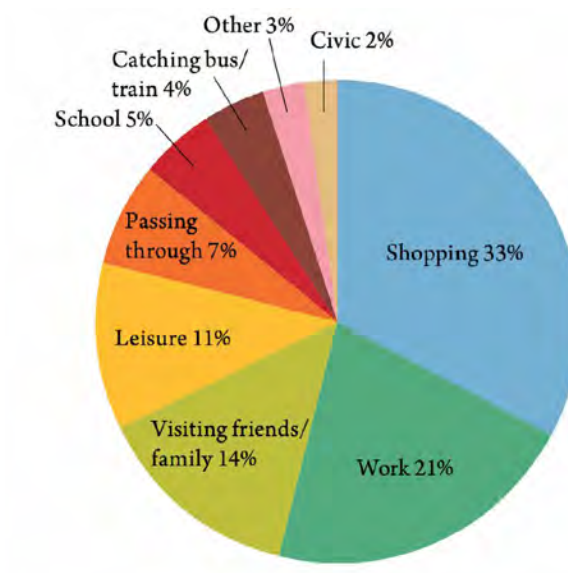
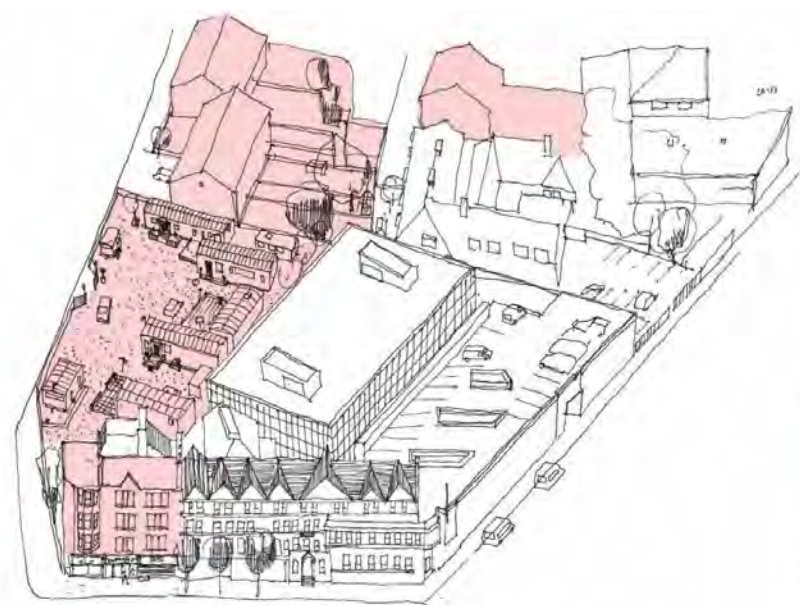
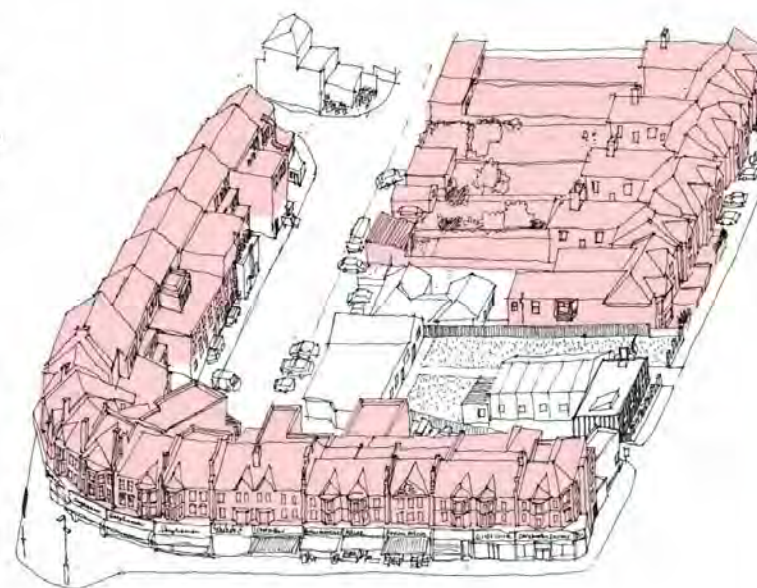


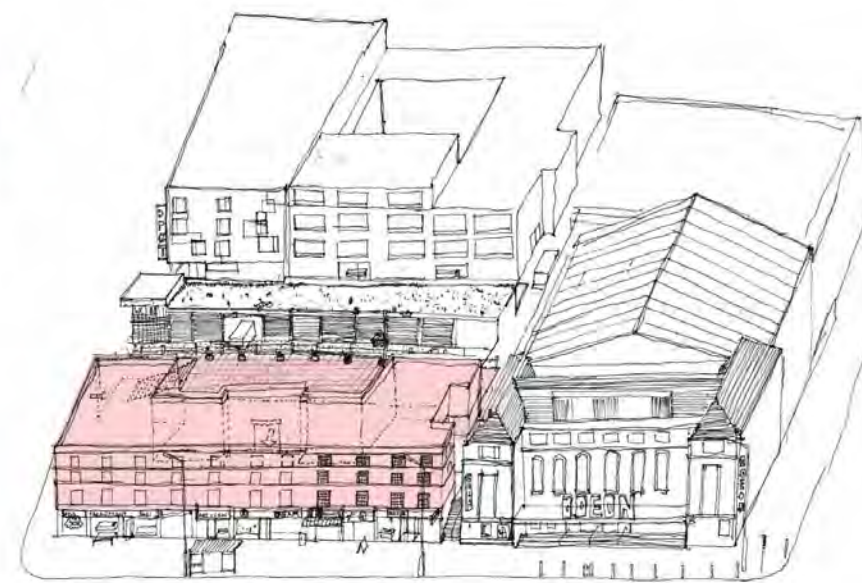
Figure 0.35 Primary reasons for visiting high streets (source: *High Street London*, UCL and Gort Scott 2010, 80; 'London's local high streets: The problems, potential and complexities of mixed street corridors', Carmona 2014, 58).

**SK01 Peckham Police and Caravans**

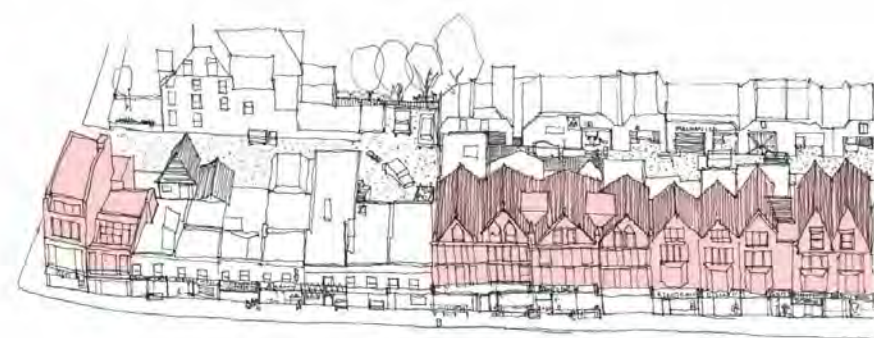
Uses: Police station, travellers' community (caravans, terraces, community buildings), nursery school, semi-detached houses to rear, shops and café.

**SK02 Wembley back yard and Hindu centre**

Uses: Sivayogam Hindu Cultural Centre (at centre of block - decorated small shed), South Indian and Sri-Lankan restaurants, shops and services, European and Asian grocers, jewellers, textiles, bank, estate agents, Tamil and Hindi film rental and purchase, houses and gardens.

**SK03 Streatham Odeon and PCT**

Retail at ground floor (bed showroom, opticians, bakers and restaurant), Odeon cinema, large Primary Care Trust building to rear, public WC, garages with green roof, residential mansion block entered from raised podium.

**SK04 Streatham long terrace and mews**

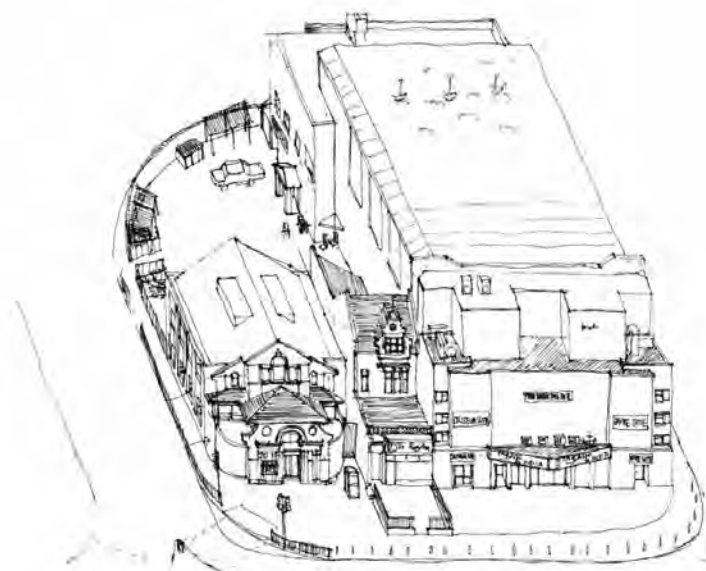
Uses: Residential and storage above shops, mews of predominantly automotive uses, cash and carry, assortment of uses to rear of shops including residential and storage in ad-hoc extensions.

**SK04 Ealing Sainsbury's**

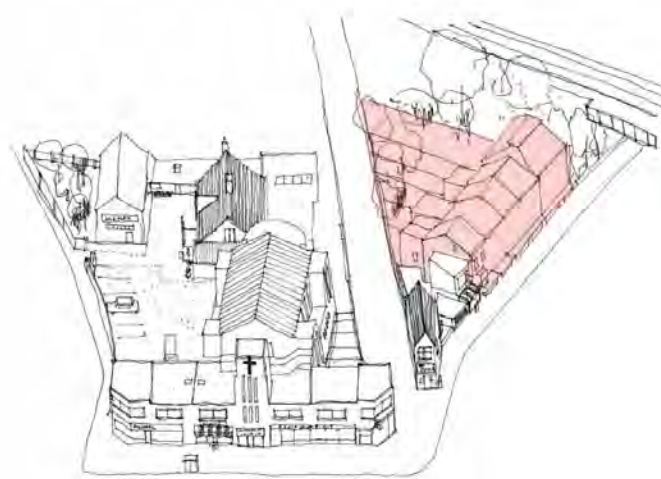
Uses: Sainsbury's with car park on roof, pedestrian link from road, with market stalls, library (part of supermarket development), health facilities, social housing, terraced shops on street front (café, video rental, pound shop, Peacock's clothing), job centre, office building.

Figure 0.36 Drawings of blocks from case study high streets, by Fiona Scott (source: *High Street London*, Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 67).

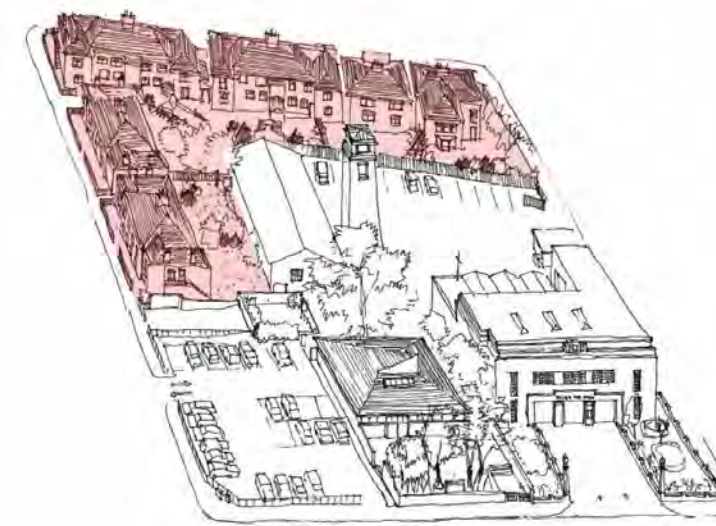
Residential buildings marked in red.



SK06 Redbridge banqueting hall
Uses: Banqueting suites, Indian restaurant, Indian vegetarian restaurant, Christian Community Centre.



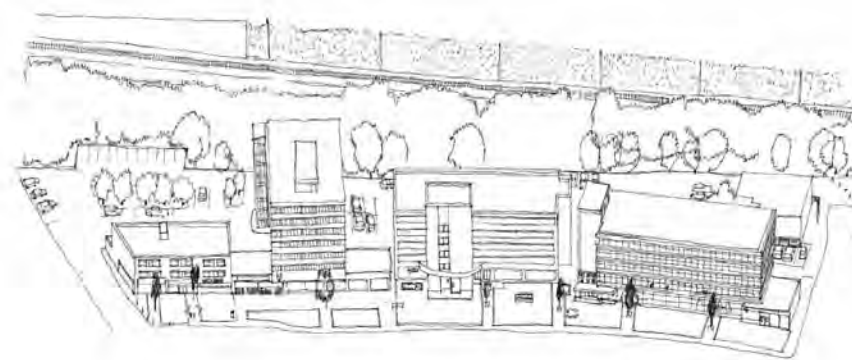
SK07 Tottenham two churches
Uses: Church, chapel to rear with garden and car park, shops to front (pharmacy, funeral director, Crazy Cut salon, optician and funeral parlour), nursery school, news agents to tip of wedge-shaped block, public footpath, terraced houses.



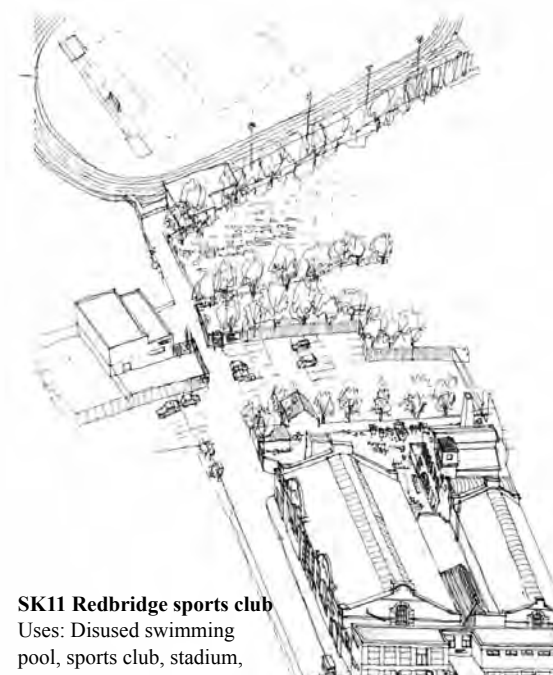
SK08 Ealing fire station and church
Uses: International Spiritualist church, fire station, social housing, car park.



SK09 Tottenham studios and school
Uses: studio/workshop building (creatives, solicitor's, fitness, faith), primary school and playground, church, terraced houses with one business (legal advice) to corner, car park, closed public WCs.



SK10 Wembly offices
Uses: Ground floor shops and services (café, greengrocer, restaurant, barber, dry cleaner), nursery school in office building, office buildings (recruitment, accountant, industrial).



SK11 Redbridge sports club
Uses: Disused swimming pool, sports club, stadium, cemetery, car park.

Figure 0.37 Drawings of blocks from case study high streets, by Fiona Scott (source: *High Street London*, Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 67).

Residential buildings marked in red.

Drawings by Fiona Scott (2010) in Figure 0.36 and Figure 0.37 of a series of London high streets make this mix of uses proximate to high streets very clear, offering the closest thing to an exploration of the spatial structures of depth in existing literature. Particularly interesting about these drawings (drawn in 2009) is the fact that there are several video rental shops. Since 2009, video rental shops have all but disappeared in London, because of online video streaming. This indicates the speed at which the content of the shops on high streets can change in response to rapid social and economic changes. Scott's drawings are luscious with detail, but there is a gap in the literature as there exists no careful analysis of the architectural order of a London high street. The existing literature offers an excellent account of the importance and persistence of mixed non-residential uses, and this thesis adds ethnographic detail analysis to this type of architectural encounter with the field.

The future of Tottenham High Road

Residential development and the strip-out of accommodation for business, industry, shops and civic uses may cause mixed-use high streets like Tottenham High Road to significantly change their character. London has a shortage of residential accommodation in 2017, and the capacity of Tottenham High Road to support its poor and marginalised local population may be inadvertently damaged in trying to combat the housing crisis.

The only parts of Tottenham High Road protected from residential development through specific planning designation are the 'Town Centres' at Bruce Grove and Seven Sisters. High streets in general have no specific designation in planning, an absence highlighted by various authors (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 88; Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 7). In the drawing in Figure 0.38, red lines show town centres, and grey fill shows blocks adjacent to the High Road in Tottenham which contain non-residential uses, highlighting how little correlation there is between town centres and high streets. In the London Plan (Mayor of London 2011) only 23% of high streets fall into designated town centres, effectively marginalising the remaining 77%.

As of 2015, new legislation made it even easier for mixed-use high streets and high street depth to fill with new residential development. Change of use permission is no longer required to switch between B1 use (business under 235 sq. m) and residential, and these new 'permitted development rights' are accelerating the replacement of civic and economic accommodation with housing. Now, there are huge pressures on local authorities to grant permission for the conversion of office, retail and industrial land to residential (Griffiths et al. 2008, 14) and great profit available to freeholders in Tottenham. In a similar scenario in the late 1980s, land values in east central London, particularly around Shoreditch, rose and gave freeholders an incentive to redevelop long-standing industrial premises into residential. The Town and Country Planning Act (1987) designated light-industrial and office space as the same planning class, so use could be switched without planning permission (Renaissi Ltd. 2003, 10–11). The consequence of this for Shoreditch has been the almost complete loss of low value, marginal businesses.

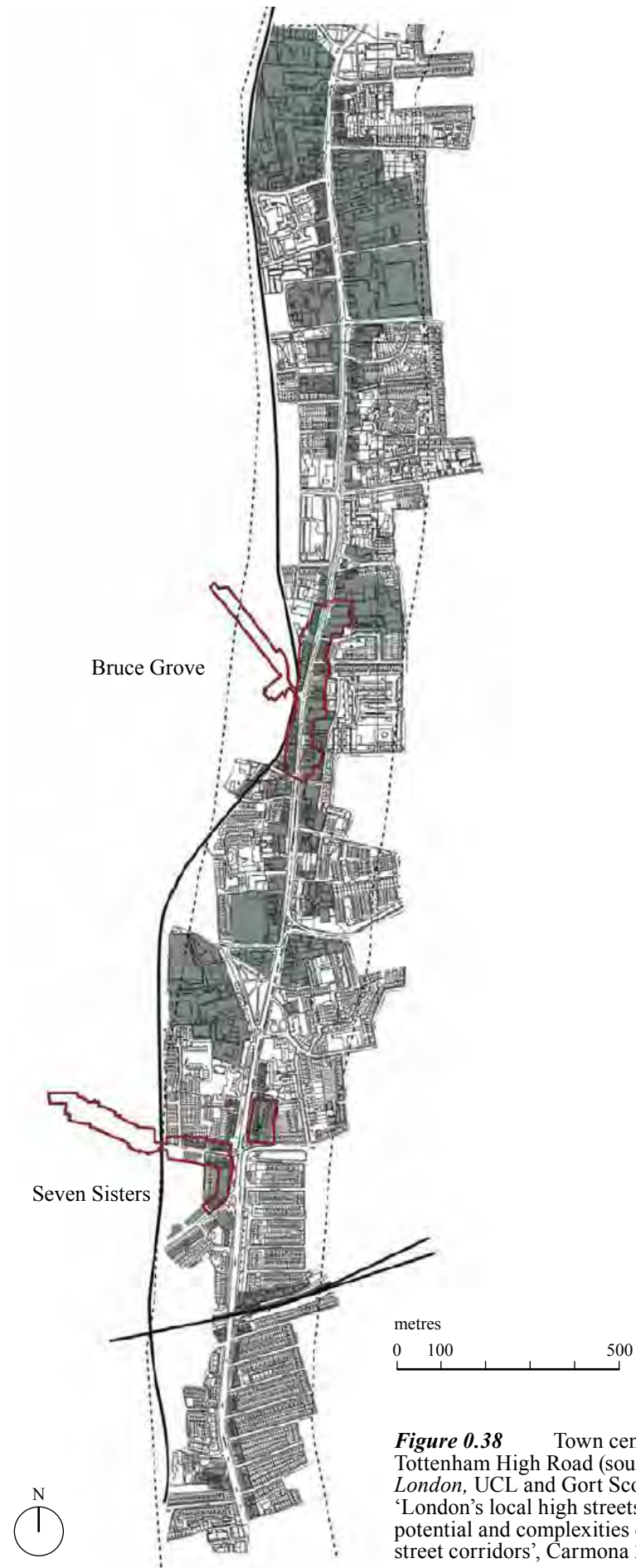


Figure 0.38 Town centres on Tottenham High Road (source: *High Street London*, UCL and Gort Scott 2010, 61; 'London's local high streets: The problems, potential and complexities of mixed street corridors', Carmona 2014, 46).

In Tottenham, there are two high profile regeneration schemes taking place through partnership between private and public bodies (explored in Chapter 2): Seven Sisters Regeneration of Wards Corner at the south of the High Road and the High Road West Regeneration around White Hart Lane at the north. Even where some employment is re-provided in the proposed schemes, existing traders are unlikely to be able to return. All businesses that liquidated as a result of relocation for the 2012 London Olympics, for example, had fewer than 50 employees and a turnover of less than £500k (Raco and Tunney 2010, 2079–2082). Small businesses are particularly vulnerable in the face of regeneration, and often cannot afford to occupy re-provided units, either because of fit-out costs or because the rent is too expensive. Regeneration in Tottenham may be ‘state-led gentrification’ (Watt 2013), because it disproportionately affects lower value businesses, serving the marginal and immigrant economy (see Chapter 1).

So, how to value what is already there? Throughout policy from the first *Town Centre First* guidance notes to the local authorities have been required to prepare ‘health checks’ for their town centres. The relevant measures are vitality—the general liveliness of a place measured by footfall, and viability—the economic performance in terms of profit, turnover, and investment potential. These measures are also often used in academic and other literature relating to town centres and high streets (DoE 1996; URBED 2002; Ravenscroft 2000). The ‘health check’ method is problematic and neglects some of the less measurable aspects of value. Vitality and viability are linked (Chiaradia et al. 2009, 016:017; Griffiths et al. 2008, 5), and increased vitality (footfall) correlates with viability (DoE, URBED, and Comedia 1994; Ravenscroft 2000, 2534), but the mechanism of this correlation is not understood. There is a gap in knowledge around understanding the social function of high streets, and the relationship between social and economic performance (BIS 2011, iv). Measuring in this way renders smaller centres invisible to policy makers and investors, and can contribute to their economic decline (Griffiths et al. 2008, 11) and ‘snapshot’ ranking also ignores the complexity of social and economic factors which sustain viability over time (Vaughan and Griffiths 2013, 17–19). It is clear that valuing Tottenham High Road through a health check type analysis is only one way of measuring its value, which may overlook other important aspects of value.

Aside from the insufficiency of the health check model for accurate measurement of economic performance, its narrow metrics simply ignore many vital components of the high street’s value. For example, ethnic and cultural diversity and adaptation are invisible in purely quantitative measuring (Hall 2013b). High street places are often centres of community for the ethnic minorities they serve (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 80) this very real symptom of a healthy high street is nowhere to be found among the retail-focused criteria of vitality and viability. In response, Hall (2012, 126) suggests street measures of ‘duration, diversity and give’—rather than vitality and viability. This better describes the broad and plural values of the high street,

but also indicates the difficulty with trying to establish any policy-friendly measure of the same. The literature, but for a few notable exceptions such as Hall's work, lacks accounts of methods of measuring high street value qualitatively and spatially. I am contributing to this with the novel methods I have employed in my research, described in the first part of this introduction.

To illustrate the difficulty in measuring all kinds of values, take as an example Peckham town centre, where there are 2,100 businesses and 13,400 employees (established with no outside investment) while Stratford Westfield has 300 businesses and 8,500 permanent jobs (with large amounts of outside investment) (Hall et al. 2014; Adaptable Suburbs and Vaughan 2014). Determining the relative value of these two scenarios is very difficult without additional rich contextual information, for example how many of these jobs are held by people who have a meaningful decision-making stake, and rights, in the business they work for.

There is an absence of good evidence: even only on the economic health of high streets, there are no established key performance indicators (Grimsey 2013, 13) or methods for assessing the impacts of different type of developments in and out of town—no control cases, before-and-after assessments or longitudinal studies (BIS 2011, 10), so conflicting hypotheses can emerge about what to do with them. In an example of such a conflict, there is a prevalent idea that the entry of small supermarkets damages the fragile diversity of high streets (NEF 2004; FoE 2004), but there is also evidence that (small) supermarkets and other chain stores may help maintain the range of independent shops in the vicinity by increasing footfall (Powe and Hart 2009; Thomas and Bromley 2003). In the *Tottenham Area Action Plan – Preferred Option Consultation* document, the problem identified with Tottenham High Road is not vacancy, but a perceived 'poor quality' range and type of shops. The document proposes a 'reduction' of shopping areas. There is a clear bias against the shops serving the marginal economy:

There is a need to improve the retail offer across the whole of the Tottenham area, ensuring the offer in each location complements and does not compete with each other. Shopping streets could be reduced in size and replaced with stronger centres to help attract visitors, and concentrate activity to areas that make provision for people to congregate. This would allow well-known multiples who provide good value and employment to be located in Tottenham, together with a mix of smaller units allowing family businesses to continue (Haringey 2015, 21).

It is worrying to read that the space for businesses on Tottenham High Road may be reduced. Its mixed-uses are of particular importance to the local population many of whom are, as we have seen, often poor and marginalised, despite ongoing gentrification. The diversity of uses clustered around Tottenham High Road is reflected in the diversity of users found there, which in turn reflects the diversity of the local population (Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 50–55). The majority of visitors to Tottenham High Road (57%) live less than half a mile away, with only 9% living more than five miles away (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 80) and a survey of businesses found that retail customers predominantly arrive from the 'local' and 'surrounding'

areas, and to a lesser extent from the 'region' (Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 63–64) so Tottenham High Road is particularly vital to local social and economic life. Its accessibility by foot encourages uses catering to those without a car, so the local, mostly poor and deprived, population are those who are relying most heavily on high street services. This was particularly evident in Seven Sisters Market, where traders were caring for one another's children, providing informal translation services, and giving company to the lonely (see Chapter 3).

Conclusion

During the decades since the economic restructuring of the post-industrial era, an ordinary life has emerged in Tottenham, typical of the urban margins. As immigration increased throughout the latter half of the twentieth century retailers of ethnic speciality goods appeared and Tottenham High Road is now dense with retailers from all over the world. Poor people and immigrants rely on Tottenham High Road to provide goods, services and a foothold into local social and economic life which is both culturally specific, but also super diverse, communal and convivial. The Tottenham High Road I describe in this thesis is a very different kind of high street than the one sought in much planning policy and in planning policy discussions. This is a high street of mutual support and a deep multicultural diversity in which conflicts are mostly avoided, alliances made and children cared for. This stuff is really valuable for the communities concerned. The existing literature only goes a little way towards explaining how an intricate web of spatial, social, economic and historical forces work together in architectural settings, and my work moves us some way forward towards filling that gap.

The objective of this thesis is one of practical as well as theoretical use. These insights will equip those who make places in cities (architects and designers) with an understanding of the physical and social structures that human beings make for themselves. Knowledge of how different topographies support (or fail to support) civic life gives vital context to ethical judgements. Without such knowledge, there is no accurate way to judge the impact of proposals for alternative ways of organising the city. This thesis offers a way of understanding and valuing what already exists on Tottenham High Road, so it can be clearly compared with what is being proposed in regeneration schemes. There is amongst planning professionals a temptation to engineer social justice, but such design measures are often self-defeating. Since any notion of 'good' is ultimately ethical, it is hoped that depth might become a vehicle by which residents and business owners in Tottenham might resist such social engineering.

Chapter 1

Planning and Regeneration in Tottenham

The High Street at first seemed pretty much unchanged. The buildings offered a pleasantly higgledy-piggledy mix of styles, sizes and materials, yet formed a comfortable and coherent whole in that way that British towns seemed to do effortlessly for centuries and now often can hardly do at all.

(Bryson 2015, ch. 8)

This first chapter discusses some key issues in Tottenham to frame the problem of lack of understanding of the phenomenon of depth across planning orthodoxy, and to demonstrate why the description of the structures of depth in the subsequent chapters of the thesis are important.

Firstly, I argue that policy documents lack a demonstrable understanding of the real nature of urban order. To gloss over this deficit, they appeal to the tacit knowledge of the reader through symbols representing the depth of the city, such as sketchy hand-drawings and aerial photographs. I go on to describe a Tottenham planning project—Wards Corner in Seven Sisters—which is presently underway and is being challenged by local people. This project has the potential to destroy the rich urban intricacies which have built up over decades, and may replace them with a mono-thematic development. Finally, I discuss the way in which elements of both policy documents and the Wards Corner proposals reflect an epistemological confusion that dominates the discipline and practice of architecture and urban design. This confusion is between what people in general know to be important to humanity (such as relationships, mutual support, interest, variety, negotiation), and what makes an appearance in policy documents and planning literature in their use of conceptualisations that seek to capture, but in fact obscure, the embodied experience of depth. An example of conceptualisation is shown in Figure 1.1, the ‘South Tottenham Key Issues and Challenges Map’ from *A Plan for Tottenham* (Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012, 12). This captures the dichotomy between the language of economic growth represented by the coloured lines (that bear no relation to the realities of the city beneath), overlaid on an aerial photograph, which represents (implicitly) all of the real qualities of a city and hence (by inference) contains the lives of the people of Tottenham.

There is a problematic relationship between the state’s desire to promote an ethical urban order (the good life) and the means (and justifications) it has for doing so, which rely on economic measures of value. If the price of land and the potential for development to add value governs planning, existing diversity will be replaced with more or less zoned areas of shopping, leisure and offices, within a sea of predominantly expensive housing. If an ethical urban order is what we seek, then collective life should be retained and its hierarchies should not be flattened into a landscape of consumption and profit-making.

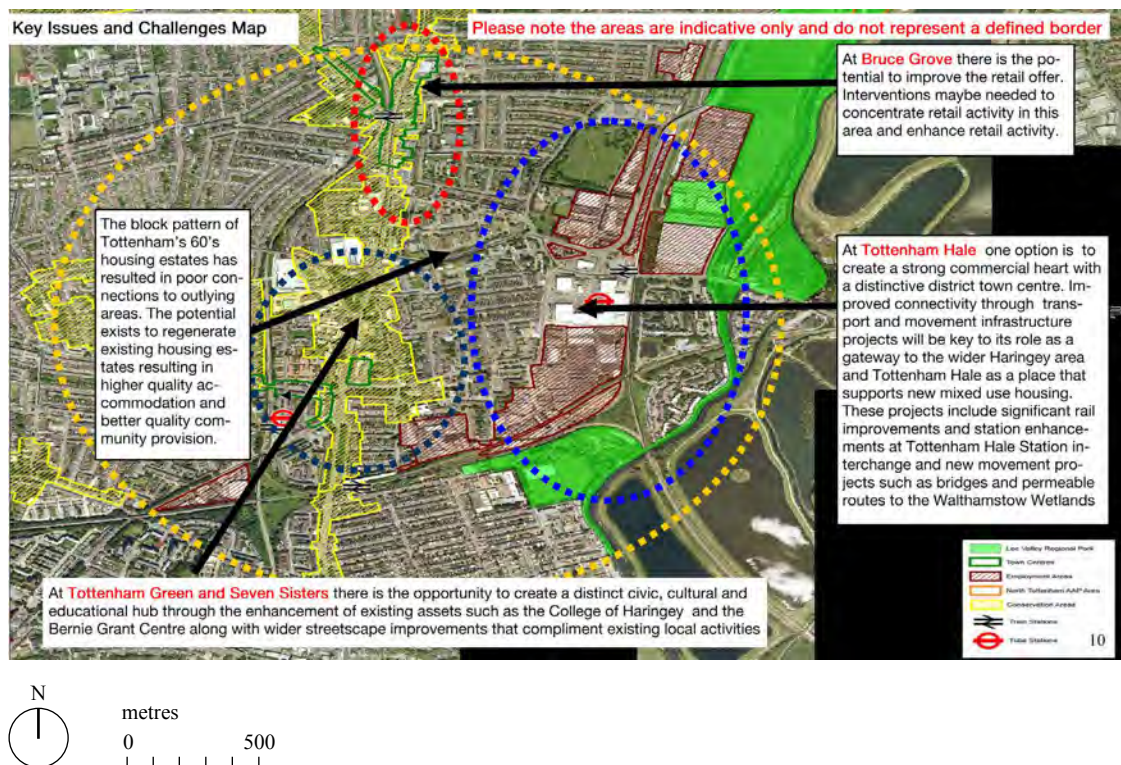


Figure 1.1 'South Tottenham Key Issues and Challenges Map' (source: *A Plan for Tottenham*, Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012, 11).

1.1 Tottenham's planning policies and arising issues

In this section, I outline the policies which are relevant for Tottenham. In the majority of the UK, planning policy operates at two levels: national and local, although in London there is a third level of policy, the *London Plan*. At national level, the *National Policy Planning Framework* (DCLG 2012) guides local policy-making, with targets such as the amount of land that should be identified for building new homes, and provision of different sorts of infrastructure. The majority of its content is focused on economic growth as the key objective for planning policy. Other desirable outcomes are implied, but no concrete means are proposed of achieving them. For example, Chapter 2 'Ensuring the Vitality of Town Centres' stipulates that local authorities should:

... recognise town centres as the heart of their communities and pursue policies to support their viability and vitality...define a network and hierarchy of centres that is resilient to anticipated future economic changes...retain and enhance existing markets and, where appropriate, re-introduce or create new ones, ensuring that markets remain attractive and competitive. (DCLG 2012, 7).

To these ends, the document stipulates numerical and planning category targets, but the way to understand town centres as the civic and economic heart of their communities remains illusive. Such omission, as I will demonstrate, leads to problems in planning that will remain insurmountable until we establish an apparatus sufficient to the task of accurately accounting for depth.

London is the only region of the UK for which there is dedicated policy: the *London Plan* (Mayor of London 2011 and 2015) is the strategic plan for the capital until 2031. The *London Plan* is an extremely long and complex document (running to 337 pages excluding annexes). To characterise it briefly, like the *National Policy Planning Framework*, it is focussed on economic growth. In particular, intensification (in terms of density and mixing of uses) of existing and proposed town centres, transport and provision of social and other infrastructures to support growing populations (both of people and businesses). It is also concerned with the statutory listing and intensification of Strategic Industrial Land (SIL). It predicts a rise in population in London by 1.25 million people by 2031 and originally sought provision of 33,400 new homes across the capital per year. In the 2014 update this figure increased to 42,000 (Mayor of London 2015, 109). In Tottenham, 10,000 new homes are proposed by 2031 and Tottenham Hale is listed as an area for intensification (Urban Strategies and Haringey Council 2014, 3).

Since the *National Policy Planning Framework* and the *London Plan* are both planning documents, they are concerned with control of development, rather than statutorily guiding what will be built. This is a problematic contradiction in all planning documents. They purport to shape places—but there are limits to their capacity to do so, because building is not carried out by the state, but usually by private developers. The *London Plan* proposes intensification

for town centres, but if developers do not consider potential developments to be economically viable, they will not happen. Assuming, however, that market forces are strong enough to make almost any kind of development viable, which is the case in London, then planning documents potentially play a very important role. Planning regulation can shape development provided that it is well thought-out and adhered to. There are many examples of the way in which planning rules have shaped London, such as the impact of use classes discussed in the Introduction, and I propose some ideas for planning policy in the Conclusion.

Borough-level local planning documents in London must adhere to the direction and strategy of the *London Plan*, particularly the figures for housing growth. *Haringey's Local Plan Strategic Policies 2013-2026* (Haringey Council 2013a), outlines the strategies for the borough and is again centred on growth of the economy and housing. For Tottenham, there is a staggering array of planning and planning-like publications in addition to the national, regional and local documents. For a few examples: the *Transforming Tottenham Hale: Urban Centre Masterplan SPD* (Haringey Council 2006), *A Plan For Tottenham* (Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012), *High Road West: Creating a Plan for Change* (Haringey Council 2013b) and the *Tottenham Strategic Regeneration Framework* (Urban Strategies and Haringey Council 2014).

A number of documents are currently being produced, or have just been published in 2016 (following consultations in early 2014 and a second round of consultation at the start of 2015) for the new *Local Plan*. Those relevant to Tottenham are the *Sites Allocation Development Plan Document* (DPD) (Haringey Council 2014), which is a catalogue of sites for potential development and the *Tottenham Area Action Plans* (Haringey Council 2014), which are statutory spatial strategy documents for particular parts of Tottenham (these will be material considerations when accepting or rejecting planning applications, in addition to the other statutory policies). Finally, the *Tottenham High Road West Masterplan Framework* (Arup 2014) was agreed in late 2014, based on the consultation document *High Road West: Creating a Plan for Change* (Haringey Council 2013b)—a spatial strategy for the area around the new stadium for Tottenham Hotspur Football Club (often known simply as White Hart Lane), for which the club gained planning permission in February 2012.¹ There has been a considerable degree of anger and resistance amongst local people to the proposed regeneration schemes, and this serves to highlight the many problems in Tottenham (and with the planning-policy making process in general). As an example, anger is focussed on the loss of places places that support vulnerable local people, have come into being over a long time, and will be damaged by physical redevelopment. One of these cases is Wards Corner, discussed in the following section of this chapter.

¹ For further details about the new White Hart Lane stadium, see the Haringey Council website Planning Application HGY/2010/1000 (Haringey Council Planning Services 2012).

Without exception, the documents mentioned above are dense and steeped in complex planning jargon. It would not be fruitful to examine each in its entirety because themes remain constant between them. What is most significant for the purposes of this argument is that they speak a dual language, as initially shown in Figure 1.1, the ‘South Tottenham Key Issues and Challenges Map’ (Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012, 11). On one reading, a language of economic growth (of businesses, housing, high street, industry) is characterised by large-scale diagrams, numerical targets and specific terminology such as *transport hub*, *vitality* and *viability*. On another, a second language appeals to the reader’s implicit understanding of human society and sources of happiness and cooperation, such as *social infrastructure*, *community facility* and *well-being*. A single example *A Plan for Tottenham* (Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012) exposes the nature of the problem—namely that available planning documents do not engage with the concrete social and physical depth of Tottenham.

A Plan for Tottenham

In 2012, a year after the Tottenham riots *A Plan for Tottenham* (Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012) was published (see Introduction, section 0.1), setting out a vision for Tottenham to 2025. This document is composed of glamorous images and text, and contains only two actual plans, the existing plan of Tottenham and the 2025 vision. *A Plan for Tottenham* is not a statutory document, but more of a marketing exercise undertaken by Haringey Council to lay the groundwork for planning documents to come, which are at the time of writing (in 2015-16) being consulted upon and adopted.

Figure 1.2 shows the ‘Existing Map of Tottenham’ (Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012, 5–6) and picks out ‘opportunity areas’ (red), ‘key sites’ (purple), ‘cultural assets’ (green), ‘key employment areas’ (grey) and ‘infrastructure and public realm improvements’ (blue), in the context of a simplified road map of Tottenham with the routes of railway and tube lines marked. With its facile use of colour-coded signs, it is intended to present Tottenham as ripe for development. The actual qualities and conflicts of the area are reduced to operational targets, implying not only that these are the right targets but also the competence and efficiency by which they might be executed.

Boxes show the time it takes to reach various London destinations on public transport: Liverpool Street (20 minutes from Seven Sisters, 23 minutes from Bruce Grove), Stratford and Stansted Airport (10 and 30 minutes respectively from Tottenham Hale) and Kings Cross (10 minutes from Seven Sisters). To actual residents the travel times listed on the map are fairly meaningless, they are used by estate agents to sell properties (and here, for the council to sell Tottenham). This use of travel times confirms in the mind of the viewer that Tottenham is a central part of London. They are relevant to those who want to commute, which is only a certain (probably affluent) sector of the population.

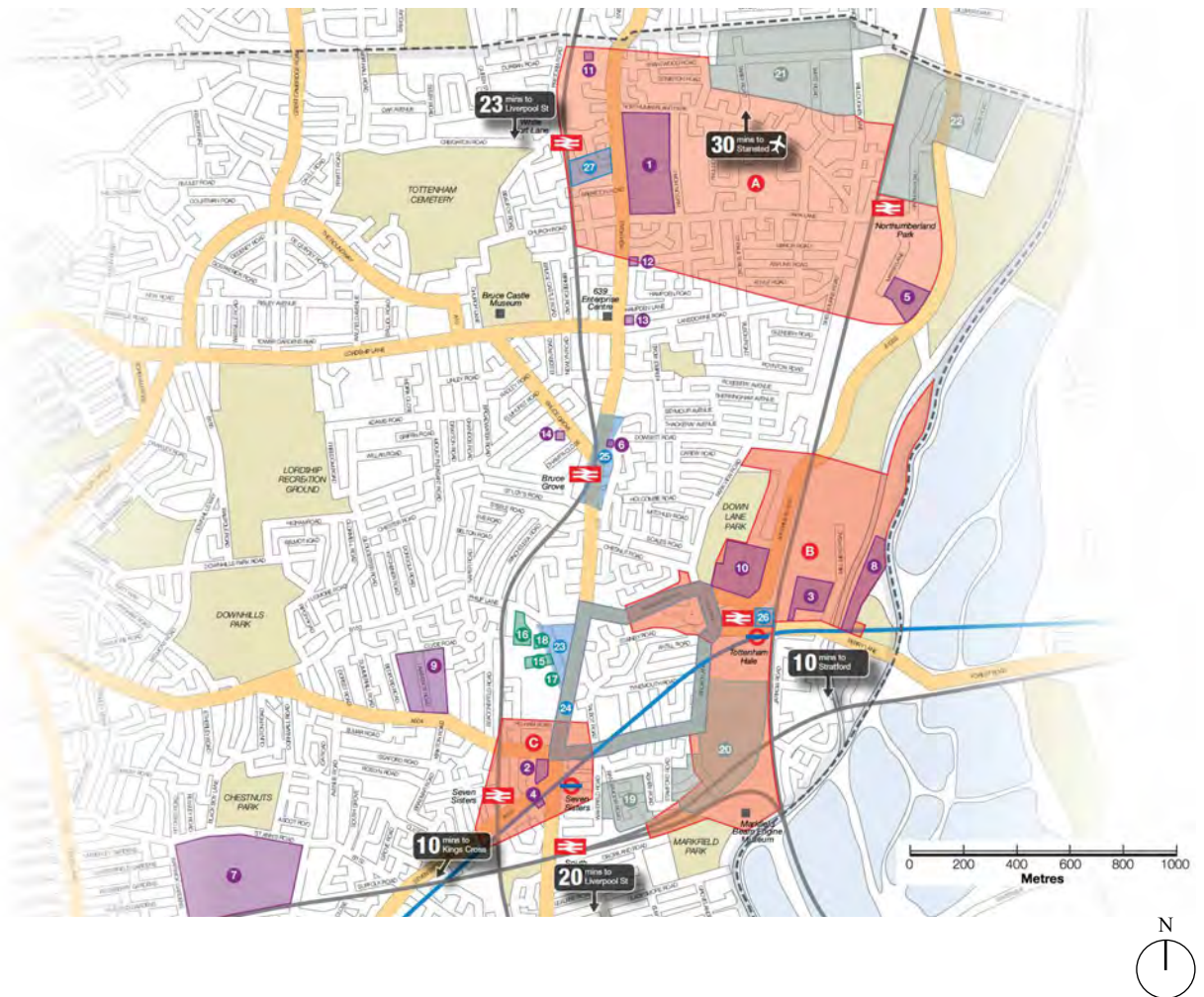


Figure 1.2 Existing Map of Tottenham
(source: *A Plan for Tottenham*, Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012, 5–6).

Tottenham High Road as a place with physical depth is absent, featuring only as a yellow line indicating that it is a major route from one place to another, rather than a place in itself. The blocks adjacent to the High Road are absent, the city is made of nothing but roads. High streets in London contain 42.9% of workplaces (Carmona 2014, 31) yet in *A Plan for Tottenham* the High Road not only has no buildings, but it also does not feature as a 'key employment area'. This map is nothing close to a true representation of Tottenham High Road.

We now turn to the representation of the imagined future of Tottenham. Figure 1.3, shows the 'Image of Tottenham... through to 2025' (Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012, 53–54). This image, because it is hand drawn in different line weights, invites the viewer to fill in the roughly sketched details with their own imagination and implicit knowledge of what it is like to occupy this place. It is a perspective, rather than a plan view and does not show every road in Tottenham—rather it vaguely indicates their presence, while particular areas are shown in three dimensions with rough sketches of buildings, grass and water. A type of embodied or tacit knowledge is therefore assumed. Tacit knowledge is very rich and profound and therefore a complex phenomenon to bring to knowledge, which is what this thesis attempts to do (see Introduction section 0.5). The drawing also shows the High Road, marked in a darker line with the front block on either side indicatively sketched as a façade only, with no depth behind. Of equal weight to the High Road is Tottenham Hale retail park and residential scheme Hale Village: a development of 870 new dwellings on a former industrial site (Hale Village, 2012). (The name Hale Village even eradicates the name Tottenham altogether, perhaps as a result of the name becoming a toxic brand in the wake of the riots.) These appear to be a bridge between Tottenham and the Olympic Park, O2 Arena (formerly the Millennium Dome), Canary Wharf and Stratford, all of which appear to be roughly in the same location. Again, a tacit kind of knowing is evoked in the visual connection between Tottenham and other major developments; presumably the imagined viewer is already familiar with Stratford Westfield and the Olympic Park and can therefore inhabit the imagined scenes of Tottenham with what they have been likely been chosen to represent (success, money and large-scale iconic development which has city-wide significance).

The future map of Tottenham is also oriented facing south, implying that Tottenham is directly linked to central London to the south and the Olympic Park to the east. Tottenham appears as a series of islands, connected by two major roads—the High Road and Northumberland Park. Furthermore, it is centred around the relocated White Hart Lane station, and its relationship with the rebuilt stadium. This focus is at odds with the way that many people experience Tottenham at the moment, arriving at Seven Sisters tube station adjacent to Wards Corner or Bruce Grove Station, or from Tottenham Hale tube, train and bus station.

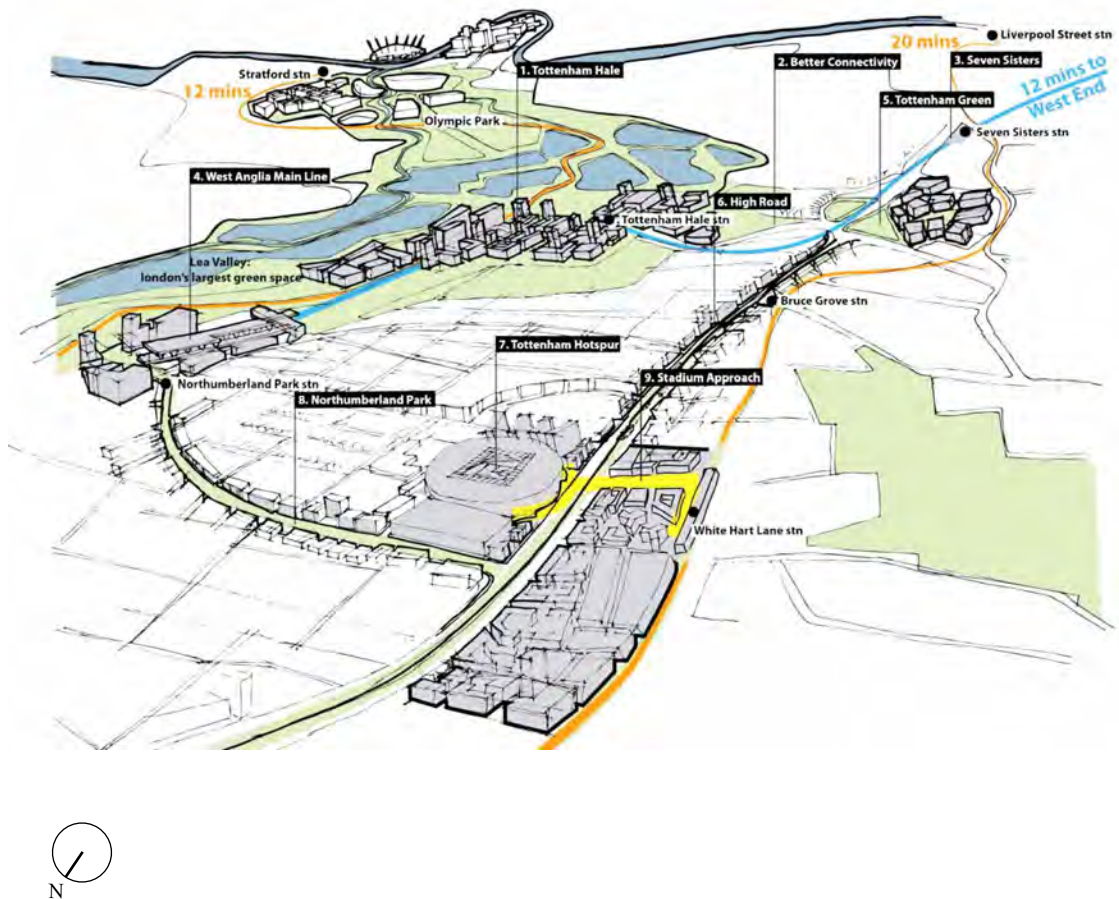


Figure 1.3 Image of Tottenham... through to 2025 (source: *A Plan for Tottenham*, Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012, 53–54).

The perspective and scale of this drawing are also confusing, because the O2 and Stratford appear to the same distance from White Hart Lane as Seven Sisters station, perhaps even a little closer. In reality, Seven Sisters is one and a half miles away, whereas the dome at the O2 is seventeen miles away and Stratford is 11 miles away (distance along roads). Drawn to the correct scale, the O2 would be invisible from this vantage point. The message which the drawing attempts to convey is that Tottenham is a village, which stretches across the Thames to encompass the O2 dome and Stratford.

At the time of *A Plan for Tottenham's* publication (1st August 2012) the London Olympics were in full swing. The city was gripped with Olympic fever as 'Team GB' notched up their 65 medals (BBC Sport 2014). As a consequence, the Olympic Park features on the map as a symbol of British global success—both in hosting (the Olympic opening ceremony depicted Britain leading industrialisation in the nineteenth century, shown in Figure 1.4 (Wikipedia 2012) and in the winning of sports events, which symbolise global competition). The section of the 239 minute ceremony shown in Figure 1.4 was called 'Pandemonium' and was a spectacular scene in which a green and pleasant land, full of cricket-players and sheep, was pierced with huge, smoking chimneys rising from the bowels of the earth. (In reality, it is highly unlikely that by 2025 the Olympic Park will be recognisable in its current form, or relevant to planning policy. The utilisation of current news events to lend import to development proposals also serves to demonstrate the nature of this document as a form of propaganda.)

The development around White Hart Lane station and the new stadium is presented as if it were a traditional metropolitan block. Though at the time of publication there was no masterplan in place for the White Hart Lane area. In addition, the blocks behind the façade in the sketch appear to be large sheds, of the kind which can house industrial uses. In fact, the developments proposed will likely be almost wholly residential and retail, rather than a mixture of civic and economic uses. So the map suggests the economic virtues of the *Plan for Tottenham* and the more traditional virtues for which I am arguing are not in conflict, whereas in fact, they are.

The O2 complex, Canary Wharf, Stratford Westfield, the Olympic Park, the Tottenham Hotspur's stadium regeneration and Hale Village all have something very particular in common. All are large scale, mono-thematic, privatised, planning-projects. They lack the depth and hierarchy of urban order which has historically characterised London (see Introduction and Chapter 2). In this map, the city in between these projects disappears almost entirely, and as in the first map, it is reduced solely to roads. A hierarchy of two levels is represented—place and in-between.



Figure 1.4 2012 Olympic Opening ceremony on July 27th 2012 (source: Wikipedia 2012).

A lot of knowledge is assumed of the reader to interpret the drawings in *A Plan for Tottenham*. Much of it is contingent (such as knowledge of the recent Olympic games). Any map can only paint a heavily edited picture of reality, it cannot possibly contain everything in the real city. These maps omit much that is valuable about Tottenham—the clearly structured urban order, and the rich and varied topography which provides people with the framework in which to navigate their every-day lives.

One of the valuable parts of Tottenham High Road, to local people, which does not appear in *A Plan for Tottenham* is Seven Sisters Indoor Market, also known as Wards Corner. In the next part of this chapter I describe the market in detail, as a stark contrast to the material from the planning documents, to illustrate the omissions.

1.2 Wards Corner

Seven Sisters Indoor Market at Wards Corner is a riot of sound, colour and smells, and is shown in an aerial view in Figure 1.5 (Google Maps 2015). In a former life, part of the site was a department store called Wards Furnishing Stores, shown in Figure 1.6 (Haringey Archive Service, 1976). The store was established in 1901, and closed in 1972. According to the *Tottenham Weekly Herald* (April 14th 1972) Haringey Council had ‘redevelopment plans’ for the area—although nothing materialised until 2007 when the council signed a Development Agreement with the property developer Grainger (WCC 2014). In the 35 years between, a lively market had opened on the ground floor of the building and all the shops on the site were occupied, predominantly with Latin-American (Colombian) traders. The site also contains dwellings to the rear of the market and is adjacent to the entrance to Seven Sisters tube station.

The last seven years have been contentious for the market, which is the part of Tottenham High Road most notably absent from *A Plan for Tottenham*. Its absence is notable because it is a local landmark, one of only two places in London which have a concentration of Latin American traders and products (the other one is the Elephant and Castle shopping centre, which is also undergoing a process of redevelopment).

The Wards Corner building is owned by TfL because it sits directly above the tube station, and was leased from them for an extended period by a husband and wife team (in circa early 1980s), who set up the lower storey of part of the building as a market.² (Ownership on the rest of the site is varied. Some traders own the freehold on their shop buildings. Haringey Council owns some houses and the developer Grainger owns some of the buildings and the car park.) This enterprising move, which included fitting out the space with very basic stalls, set the scene for traders to mould the place gradually around their needs and businesses.

2 Interview with Henry Paz, the manager of the indoor market, March 2014.



Figure 1.5 Aerial view of the junction of Seven Sisters Road and Tottenham High Road, with Wards Corner shown in colour (source: Google Maps).



Figure 1.6 Wards Store 30th Jan 1976, closed and boarded up since 1972 (source: Haringey Archive Service, Bruce Castle Museum).

In the years between the department store vacating the property and the Grainger development proposals, through a combination of individual enterprise and integration of the changing cultural and immigrant scene in and around Tottenham, a thriving, culturally specific market has emerged, which was not ‘designed’ by any agency—its order emerged collectively as a result of the choices of individual traders. Figure 1.7 and Figure 1.8 are drawings of the layout of the market that show the intricate organisation, with units arranged around internal ‘streets’. The photographs in Figure 1.10 to Figure 1.13 show the character of the market and the multiple settings it provides. The plaster decorations which can be seen on the ceiling are remnants of the old department store. The double-height space has been occupied with self-built structures above the stalls for storage and, in some cases, additional parts of the businesses are operated from this homemade upper level. In one of the beauty salons at the back of the market for example, the ‘treatment room’ is up a timber stair less than 50cm wide. The ceiling of the room presses my head (I am 176cm tall), so I have to duck, though the beautician is only about 150cm tall, so she can work comfortably.

In the traditional Victorian high street the depth of the buildings usually contain a depth which comprises shops, store rooms behind and places for deliveries to the rear (this is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, sections 2.2 and 2.3). Here in Wards Corner the depth for storage and sometimes business activities is above the ground floor level. Space is extremely limited but the traders have been very enterprising and creative. The scene was set with the right ingredients, and the market emerged in response to a set of needs, in a particular local place with its own unique topography. In the absence of property-price driven redevelopment, human life started to fill the gaps left by the departure of Wards Stores.

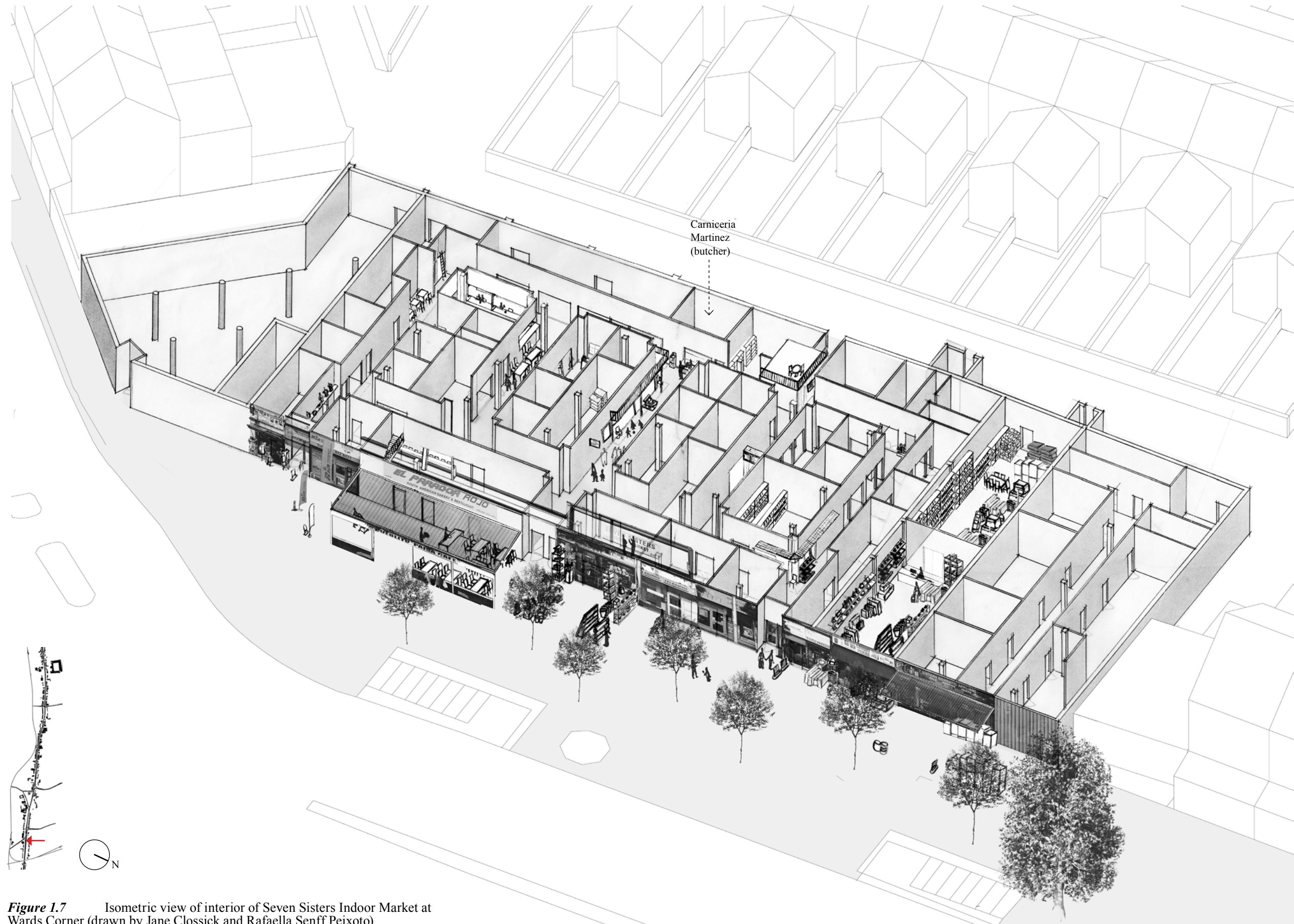


Figure 1.7 Isometric view of interior of Seven Sisters Indoor Market at Wards Corner (drawn by Jane Clossick and Rafaella Senff Peixoto).

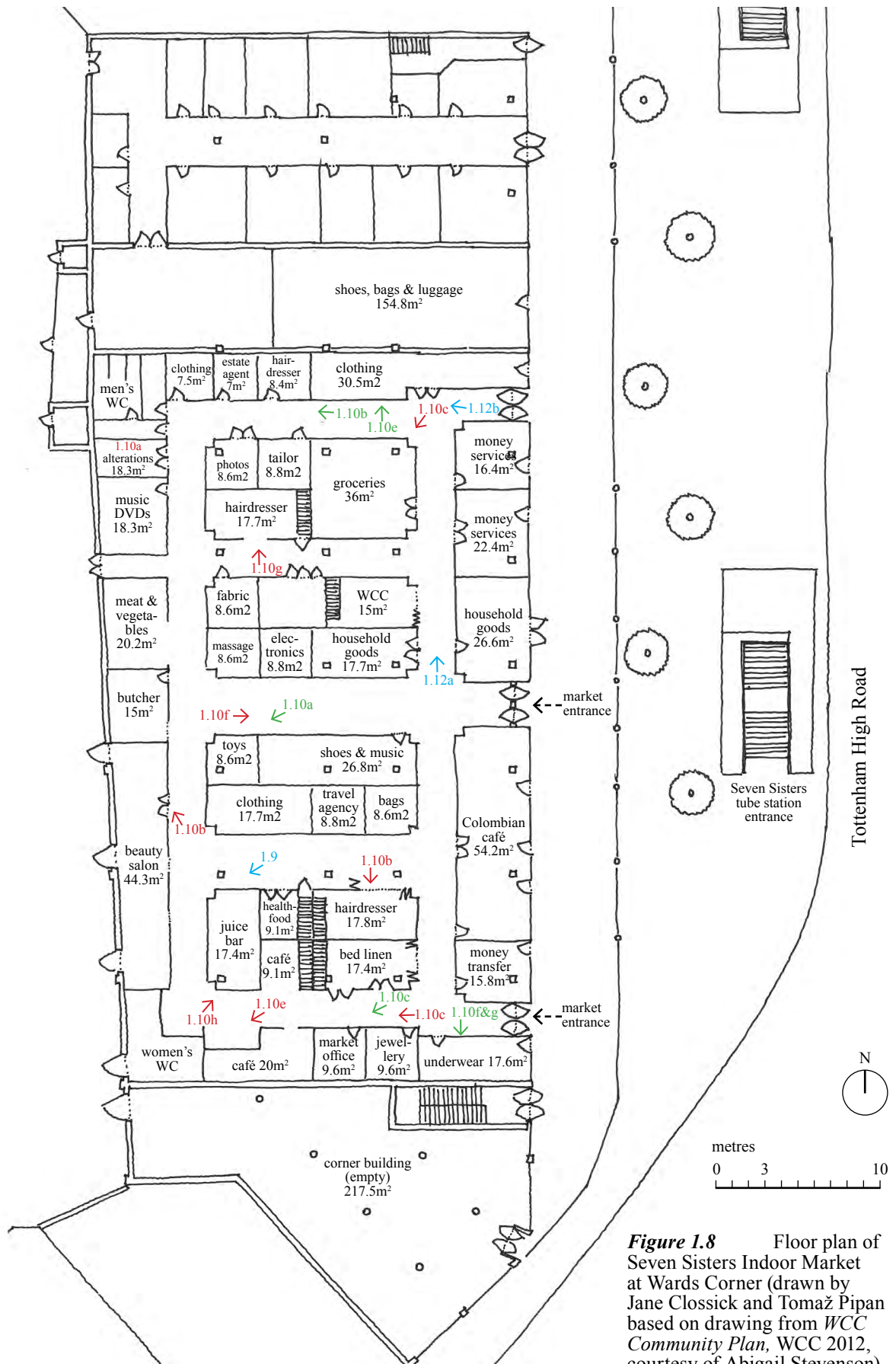


Figure 1.8 Floor plan of Seven Sisters Indoor Market at Wards Corner (drawn by Jane Clossick and Tomaž Pipan based on drawing from WCC Community Plan, WCC 2012, courtesy of Abigail Stevenson).

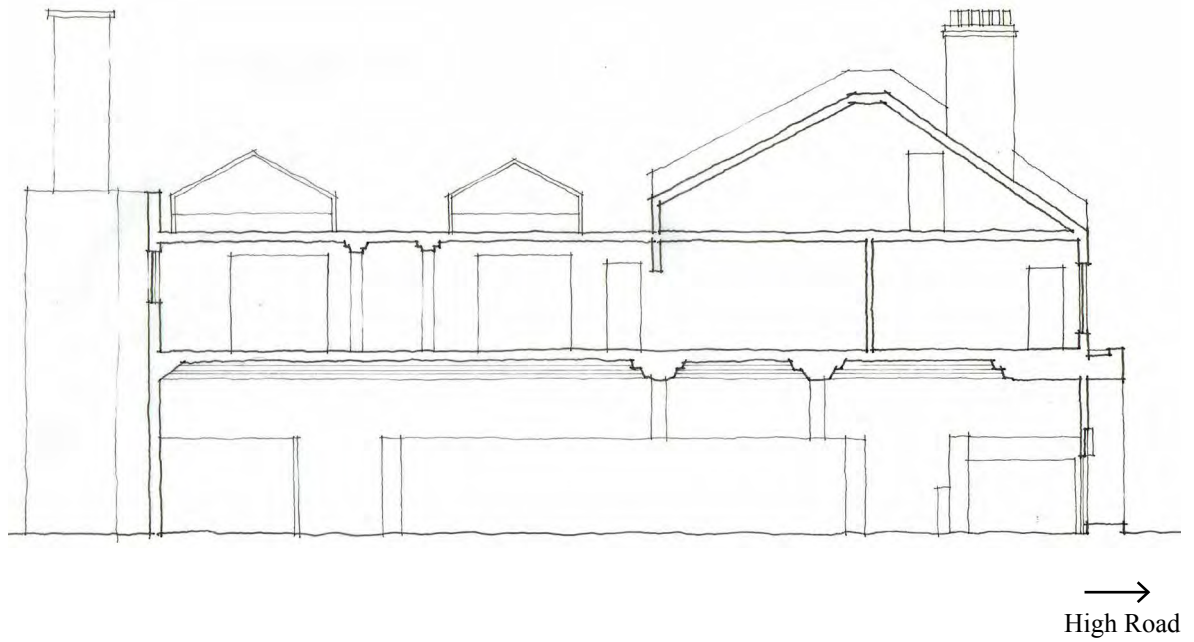


Figure 1.9 Section view of Seven Sisters Indoor Market at Wards Corner (drawn by Jane Clossick based on drawing from *WCC Community Plan*, WCC 2012, courtesy of Abigail Stevenson).



Figure 1.10 Juice bar in Wards Corner (photograph by Jane Clossick).



a



b



c



c



d



e



f



g



h

Figure 1.11 Places to sit down in Wards Corner (photographs by Jane Clossick). These are differentiated between private seats which belong to a particular person (top row) and publicly available seats either in cafés, waiting areas or the market corridor (bottom two rows).



a - gumballs and toys



b - hair dressing



c - financial services



d - specialist food products



e - clothing



f - currency exchange



g - photography



h - underwear

Figure 1.12 Goods available in Wards Corner (photographs by Jane Clossick). In Wards Corner one can buy almost everything needed for everyday life. Goods and services come from all over the world, predominantly Latin America, specifically Colombia.



a



b

Figure 1.13 Interior views of Wards Corner (photographs by Jane Clossick).

The market is sometimes a site of conflict. Some of the non-Spanish speaking traders find the mono-cultural nature of the market exclusive, and are suspicious about unfair dealings. An Iranian trader called Mohsen, for example, expressed irritation at children running unchecked, and casual congregations putting off his non-Spanish speaking customers.

Mohsen (owner of a discount household goods store): It's important to decide if you want this to be a market or a social club. For example if we want to improve what we have got you have to put some management policies and management control, who's doing what in here, who's gambling, which shop belongs to which person. I think it's important to control drinking. Also important to make sure what is available in the market is well balanced. It should be for things that serve the whole area. (This comment was recorded on the Stickyworld consultation page,³ and I was present during the conversation when it was recorded.)

The lease on the building has now lapsed (in 2016), and the owners have been unable to renew it due to ongoing uncertainty about the future of the site. According to the market manager, Henry Paz, this has resulted in ongoing, progressive dereliction. The rent paid by the traders is quite low, so the former leaseholders simply cannot afford to pay large sums of money upfront for renovations (there are constant leaks, the wiring is elderly and the infrastructure of the stalls is, in places, very rickety) when it is possible that their business will be destroyed soon and the market will be removed from the building. Similarly, the stallholders have no incentive to upgrade their stalls when their investment might well be wasted.

The council has supported Grainger's plans for Seven Sisters because we are confident they offer the very best chance of delivering the lasting regeneration that this area so desperately needs. (Council leader Claire Kober quoted in Haringey Independent 2012)

In response to the appointment of Grainger, and their development plans (including knocking down the market) Wards Corner Community Coalition (WCC) was formed. The history of the disagreements is as follows:

2004: Haringey Council and the Bridge (South Tottenham) New Deal for Communities (a local quango which 'led regeneration'⁴ in Tottenham until 2010) appointed Grainger as their chosen partner in a public-private partnership to redevelop Wards Corner.

2007: Haringey Council signed a Development Agreement with Grainger, and in response, local traders, residents and civic organisation formed the WCC in opposition to the demolition of the market and adjacent homes and businesses.

³ Stickyworld builds and hosts a web-based participation project where users enter 'rooms' and click and stick comments or additional content directly onto the objects (multimedia slides) in the 'room' (Stickyworld 2016). The Creative Citizens project at the Open University worked with the Wards Corner Community to use the Stickyworld platform to prompt a conversation about their proposals. Architect Abigail Stevenson developed designs which were rendered as 360 panoramas and then linked together to form a virtual tour of the new spaces which people have commented on (Creative Citizens 2014).

⁴ Such regeneration quangos were dissolved in 2010 when Labour lost power, and the Bridge NDC is now a charity (Bridge Renewal Trust 2015).

2008: In November Grainger were granted planning permission to demolish Wards Corner and build 197 flats and retail space (to be marketed to national and international chain stores). Following intervention by the Mayor of London, the proposal was revised to include a small, re-provided market.⁵

2009-2010: WCC took the case to a Judicial Review. The claim was initially rejected but following WCC's appeal, the High Court quashed Grainger's planning permission because Haringey Council had failed to follow S71 of the Race Relations Act (which calls for an assessment of the impact on race equality).

2011: Grainger resubmitted their unchanged proposal in July and Haringey Council refused permission on the grounds of impact on the conservation area and loss of heritage assets. Grainger appealed the decision and the Planning Inspectorate Inquiry was scheduled for October 2012.

2012: Grainger submitted a new planning application in May with minor changes from the previous scheme—196 new homes, a new market hall and 2,619 square metres of retail space. This was granted permission by Haringey Council by a very small majority (5 to 4) in July 2012.

2012: WCC submitted a Community Plan in July for an alternative scheme for the site which retained and refurbished the original department store, keeping Pueblito Paisa café on the ground floor at the front, and adding a Latin American community centre in the first floor, which has been empty since 1972. Haringey Council requested further information so the plan was withdrawn while this was prepared.

2012: In July WCC also attempted a second legal challenge to Grainger's new application on the grounds that the council had shown 'disregard for their own policy documents' but the request for Judicial Review was rejected by the High Court.

2012: Having submitted the second application, Grainger attempted to postpone the October appeal against their first application until after the time allowed for any legal challenge to the second application had elapsed. The Planning Inspectorate denied this, so Grainger dropped the case and the appeal was cancelled. The second application was granted permission in July.

2013: In October, a re-worked version of the Community Plan was submitted by WCC to Haringey Council.

2014: In April, WCC's new community plan was granted planning permission by Haringey Council. In October, the WCC hosted an event at the market as part of Our Tottenham's Empowerment Week to publicise the community plan and encourage people to donate money to make it a reality (see Chapter 4 for photographs and a discussion of this event).

The WCC's objections to the Grainger redevelopment primarily concern the displacement of existing businesses and residents, and also the destruction of the old Wards Corner building. In what is currently the location of the market, six units are planned with the objective of attracting major chain stores, there are 14 in total. An image of what is proposed from *A Plan for*

⁵ 'I am appealing to Haringey Council to stop the proposed demolition of the celebrated Pueblito Paisa market in Seven Sisters. This much loved market is vitally important to the Latin American community and home to many local traders. I was impressed by the magnificent range of products and services on offer when I visited the market earlier this year. The proposed re-development would pull down the market and only offer space to a handful of people, which is unacceptable. I want the Council to urgently review this proposal and put the livelihood of the traders and the thousands of locals who rely on this market at the core of their decision'. Boris Johnson, quoted in 'Supporting the locals, Boris butts in on Haringey Council planning row' (BBC London 2008).

Tottenham is shown in Figure 1.14, ‘Seven Sisters Regeneration Project’ (Tottenham Task Force and Haringey Council 2012, 25). It includes symbols of ecology (greenery and roof gardens) and local success is indicated by chain stores with amusingly altered brand names. Note particularly ‘Pasta Express’. According to Anne Lippitt, former head of Regeneration in Tottenham (whom I spoke with in 2012), Pizza Express is the chain which shows an area has ‘arrived’ in terms of regeneration (gentrification). The footprints of the new retail stores are large and are likely to require major fit-outs, costing £100k or more, which none of the present-day traders could afford. Nor is it likely that a larger independent businesses, who perhaps could afford the fit-out (such as an MOT garage, for example), would be welcomed here by Grainger.

In the planning application, Grainger have indicated a location for re-providing the market in the existing empty corner building, with 50 market units of roughly the same dimensions as the present-day units. In the plan for the scheme shown in Figure 1.15, the proposed general arrangement plan for the ground floor, from Grainger’s planning application (Grainger, 2012) a market space is shown indicatively, drawn in the space earmarked for four retail units.

The problems that I observe with Grainger’s proposal are spatial, social, financial and related to customer loyalty. Firstly regarding spatial issues. The market proposed by Grainger is likely to be designed in a way which prevents spatial change and negotiation, preventing the freedom of occupation that the present market allows, whereby traders are able to expand into the vertical and lateral depth (the nature of vertical and lateral depth is discussed in Chapter 2). Additional spatial problems with the Grainger proposal include a lack of yard space to the rear of the market. It replaces the car park to the rear of the existing market with a service route, where it is likely that parking and storage will be impossible because larger shops will require deliveries by lorry. For traders like Daniel Martinez (the butcher who runs Carniceria Martinez, see below), or for people like Sharon Shades and her mobile catering van in Morrison Yard (see Chapter 2, section 2.1) this issue would render the re-provided market space less usable. The spatial constraints in the physical depth proposed by Grainger are likely to limit the kind of businesses which can exist there—perhaps making it more like the 639 Centre,⁶ which houses businesses that require only office space and very small-scale manufacturers whose processes are clean and quiet. I explore the physical structure of depth, and its appropriateness for different kinds of civic activity in Chapter 2.

⁶ The 639 Enterprise Centre building contains affordable rented offices, meeting rooms, a café and ‘Tottenham’s Living Room’ (a meeting room hired free to charities and third sector organisations). It is intended for start-up businesses for local people, and is run by the London Youth Support Trust (LYST), who provide business mentoring and run four Enterprise Centres across London. It is housed in the refurbished former Haringey Council offices in Tottenham, which were burnt out during the 2011 riots. It was completed in 2013 (LYST 2013).



Figure 1.14 Seven Sisters Regeneration Project (source: *A Plan for Tottenham*, Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012, 25).

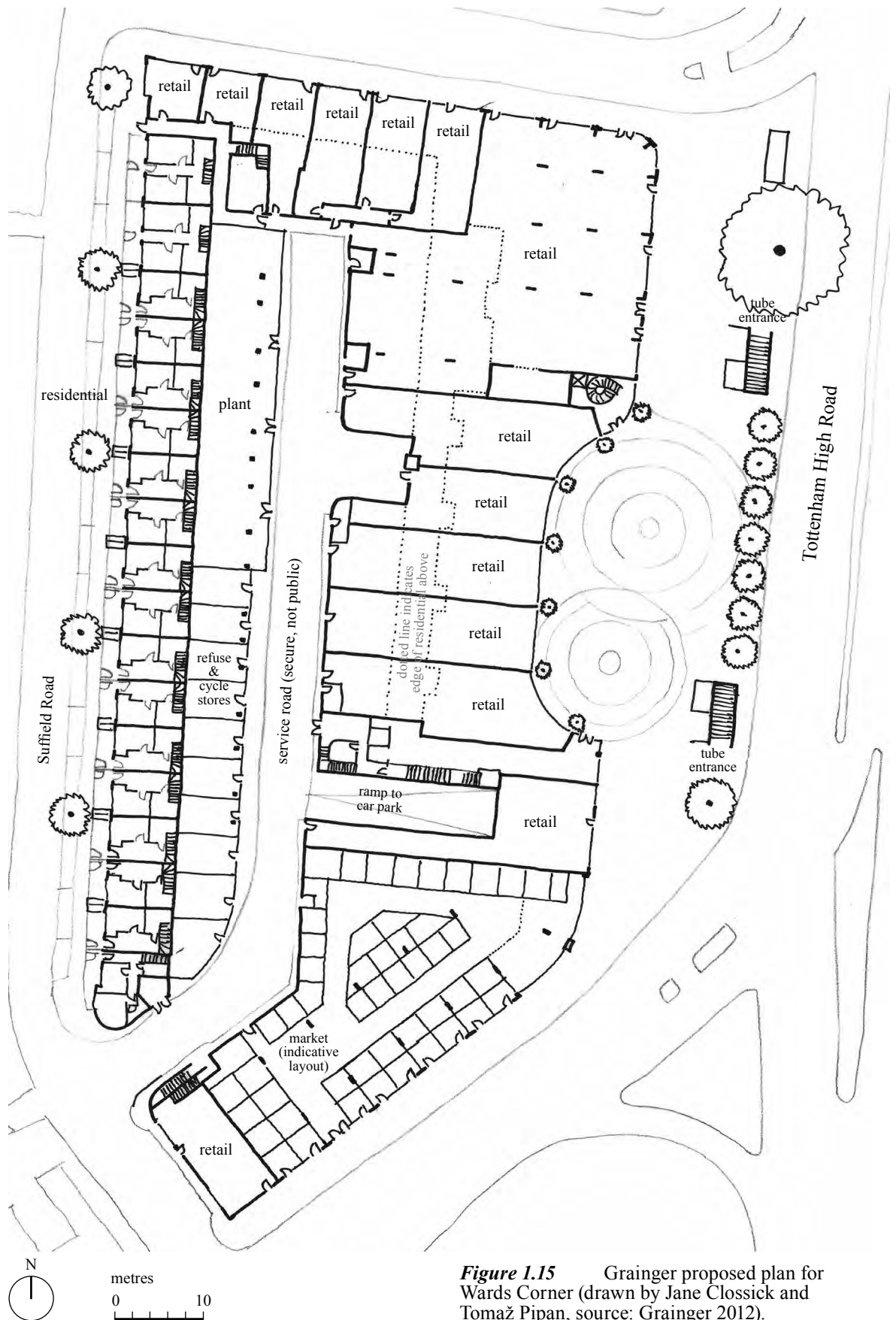
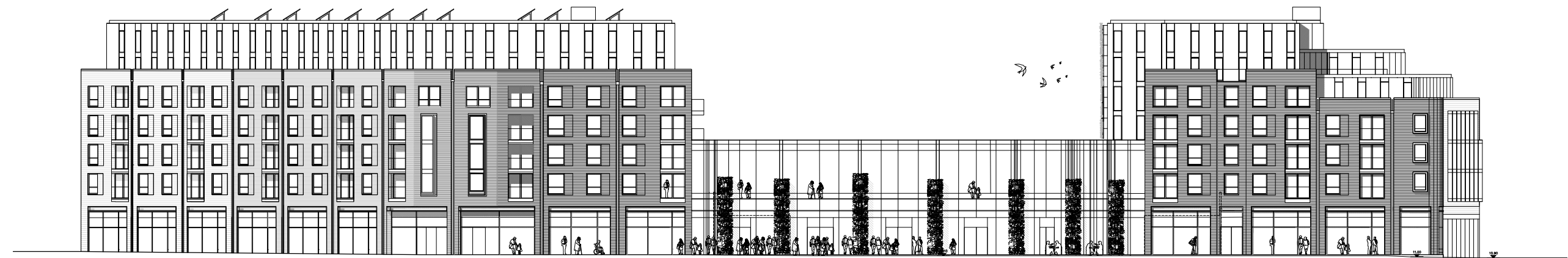


Figure 1.15 Grainger proposed plan for Wards Corner (drawn by Jane Clossick and Tomaž Pipan, source: Grainger 2012).



High Road elevation



Suffield Road elevation

Figure 1.16 Grainger proposed elevations for Wards Corner (source: PTEa Architects and Grainger 2012, from Haringey Council Planning Portal application reference HGY/2012/0915).

The potential problems for existing traders are also financial and social. In order to be relocated into the new market, they will have to sustain their businesses without premises for several years while the scheme is constructed. This is not viable for a number of reasons. Firstly, relocating a business and its stock and equipment is very expensive. Doing so twice is even more so, and most of the traders run their businesses within very tight financial margins, as this from Daniel Martinez, below, shows.

Daniel (owner of a butcher's shop at the rear of Seven Sisters Market, called Carniceria Martinez): It was really cheap for me back then, it was like I started with two grand [£2000], but we had, literally, just two grand and we started and then well, we needed to buy the meat, so it was something really cheap, well we ain't got huge amount of money, buy something which can literally just provide your food for your family and your rent and things like that.

Secondly, it is difficult when relocating to retain social networks of customers, who expect to find a business in a particular place, connected to other local businesses (see Chapter 3 for descriptions of the relationships between social networks, culture and depth). The WCC hopes that their *Community Plan* (Stevenson and WCC 2012) will solve such problems through phased re-development of the existing building.

Another problem highlighted by the WCC is loss of affordable housing (WCC 2010). In addition to the displacement of the traders, the tenants and owners of some of the 40 existing properties on the site will be displaced. At the moment these properties are socially rented and owned by Haringey Council. The Grainger proposal contains 196 dwellings for private sale, with no affordable or social rented units. It may be that building any affordable housing would render the scheme unviable—the usual profit target for developers is 21% (Chakraborty and Robinson-Tillett 2014). The WCC argues that displaced residents will be replaced by purchasers whose priority is to be close to Seven Sisters tube station, and who have no commitment to Tottenham.

If the Grainger plan goes ahead, some or all of the planned flats are likely to be purchased by overseas or local investors, for whom buy-to-let property can be very lucrative. In London 61% of all new homes built in 2013 were sold as investments. Many such sales are to overseas buyers (Chakraborty and Robinson-Tillett 2014), from Singapore in particular—4% of commercial property investments are Singaporean (Grant and Allen 2014). One reason for the predominance of Singaporean investors in the London housing market is the Singaporean government's controls on their domestic housing market. Loans are limited, stamp-duty has risen and there are high taxes on those who sell too soon after they have bought, and on foreign investors. As a result, small-scale investors unable to speculate in property at home look to London, where there are no limits on who can buy and rent out a flat. This is very different to cities like Copenhagen, where residency is required to rent a flat. The potential for property speculation impacts on the designs of new developments, because developers respond to the requirements of investors (who

prefer one and two bedroom flats) rather than the needs of local families (either in the market or socially rented tenures) (Chakraborty and Robinson-Tillett 2014). This leads to a peculiar conflict, wherein high rise housing estates are seen as desirable for the private market, and undesirable when filled with social tenants.

As a result of the Grainger development, a centre for Latin American culture (and to a lesser extent other immigrant cultures) will be lost from London. Many of the Wards Corner traders and customers do not speak much English, and the market is the centre of their existence. The nature of the society in the market is mutually self-supporting—some of the traders are legal experts who have escaped from the strife in Colombia, who help others navigate the complexities of the British legal, tax and education systems. There has been a stark lack of engagement with this aspect of the market by Haringey Council and Grainger. Clair Kober, the council leader, has said ‘the plans include new homes, jobs, environmental improvements, a broader mix of shops and a revamped market where existing stall holders will be supported to help their businesses thrive’ (Haringey Independent 2012). But the traders already support one another, and what they really require is low rents and reduction of business rates for business start-ups, legal and tax advice and documents translated into Spanish.

The *WCC Community Plan* (Stevenson and WCC 2012) uses much the same planning jargon, visual and written language as *A Plan for Tottenham* (Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012). It contains external views of Wards Corner showing empty shop units, waiting to be filled. Figure 1.17 is an image from the online consultation page set up by the WCC to collect comments on the *Community Plan* (Creative Citizens 2014, see footnote 3). The ‘Stickyworld’ website enabled people to stick notes onto three dimensional models of the proposals (the *Community Plan* was granted planning permission April 2014). It is my feeling that this use of visual language represents an attempt by the WCC to appear credible on a par with Grainger and the council, by subscribing to the same set of signifiers. The *Community Plan* (Stevenson and WCC 2012) contains only vacuous representations of what the WCC is really seeking, which is preservation of something of the richness, variety, interdependence and long-established cultural specificity of the existing market. It is interesting, however, that the absence of people and activities in Figure 1.17 (Creative Citizens 2014) somehow captures the depth and potential for richness better than the shorthand in the image from Grainger, furnished with shops and a cross-section of happy consumers, as a shorthand for successful regeneration. Unlabelled and unbranded, the empty shops could become anything.



Figure 1.17 External view of WCC Community Plan proposal for Wards Corner (source: Creative Citizens 2014).

Urban renewal and market forces

I have encountered a spectrum of reactions to Haringey's regeneration proposals, relating to contentious schemes at Wards Corner and the Tottenham Hotspur's Stadium, ranging from rage to apathy and complete ignorance. Chris from the Jerk Centre Jamaican café and takeaway, sited opposite the stadium, is a good example of apathy in the face of the towering strength of institutions like Tottenham Hotspur FC:

Chris (owner of Caribbean takeaway and café): When they go to court for Compulsory Purchase [of the row of shops where Chris's café is situated], they just going to offer less money than Spurs offer, so are you really going to play that game? Have you got money to be fighting with a football club for years and years, you got money to be paying solicitors? Let's face it, football club's got money, that's what football clubs are there for, it ain't about the sport, it's about how much money they can make, so if you got money to waste in court fighting them, then they'll say, well we was here first and we've been here for how many years, so we're not moving ... Spurs have got the money to say look judge, here take this ten grand, sign the paper and lets get out of here. I'm sorry but people need to be realistic. They are going to go in there and say we are going to create 600 jobs in the community, and which judge is going to say—with the fact that the country at the moment is trying to get employment down—and someone's going come and say we're going to provide better service in the community? Because White Hart Lane Station is going to be developed, Ferry Lane Station is going to be developed, ferry more people in and out. So with all of those improvements, which judge is going to say no? Seriously, the only thing the judge might say is that, alright well Spurs, alright, they've been there for a long, put another zero beyond that number. They are not going to say no.

The apathy in the above quotation demonstrates the belief on the part of Chris that money talks, that money can dominate other considerations and the belief in a type of corruption. Because money is so powerful, I have identified a confusion between an ethical urban order—one that offers a rich and varied life to local people—and economic competitiveness and profit. Both have value, but they are values of very different kinds. It raises the question of what the economy (and the city) is *for* (I explore this topic in more depth later in this chapter and in Chapters 2 and 3). There is also no reference to these various different kinds of value in the Grainger proposal. This confusion abounds in planning orthodoxy, and is neatly summed up in the introduction to the Urban Task Force report, which promotes a design-led approach to place:

...urban neighbourhoods should be vital, safe and beautiful places to live. This is not just a matter of aesthetics, but of economics. As cities compete with each other to host increasingly footloose international companies, their credentials as attractive, vibrant homes are major selling points... Well-designed and maintained public spaces should be at the heart of any community. They are the foundation for public interaction and social integration, and provide the sense of place essential to engender civic pride. (Urban Task Force 1999, 5)

When urban renewal is surrendered to market forces, the natural consequence is design for financial return. There are, however, also other sorts of goods which can be pursued through the way the city is designed. For example, a city can be designed to offer opportunities for social interaction, for the poor and vulnerable to have places to go or for people with little means to start a business. 'Design' in this sense means both spatial design and architecture, but also the

legal framework of, for example, tenure types. This means that how we design the city is an ethical project. It shows what we as a collective of people who inhabit the city consider to be important and valuable.

The Grainger scheme is designed almost entirely for financial return. On the ground floors the large footprints and expensive fit-outs of the shop units will ensure they are occupied by multi-national chain stores. At the same time, the Grainger scheme removes qualities of the spatial order which at present makes Seven Sisters market very workable for traders with little means, such as car parking, and cheap adaptability of space. On the upper floors, the scheme provides dwellings which are likely to be purchased by investors, who have no personal commitment to the place where they purchase. They will rent the flats on short-hold tenancy agreements, which are subject to termination or rent hikes at very short notice. Without security of tenure, and while the landlord holds the power, there is little incentive to invest in a place. Wards Corner traders are at present prevented from commitment to the fabric of the market by uncertainty, and the same is likely to be true of the people who rent the flats.

The new topography, therefore, is inimical to certain types of goods, like mutual commitment through social and spatial networks, or growing small businesses for poor people. These goods are those which tend to emerge organically when human beings live in a rich, hierarchical, urban and social order, of the kind that I have called *depth*.

The situation in Wards Corner, where a private developer partnered with a local authority and has been fought by local people is one which is repeated all over London and the UK (at Elephant and Castle and along the Old Kent Road, to cite contemporary 2016 examples), so it is extremely important to understand both the reasons for this type of city-making, and its consequences.

In the next section, I continue to discuss the question of the urban order as an *ethical order*. The two previous parts of this chapter have shown that there is a split between planning orthodoxy (that seeks 'regeneration' via private development) and the other kinds of goods that are of value to human beings. In the next section, I discuss how the state does in fact seek to promote non-monetary goods in the city (mutual commitment between people and places, for example) but that there is simply a lack of understanding about how these desirable goods are situated in the urban topography. It is depth which hosts culture, super-diversity (see Chapter 4), political action and is where people develop relationships and networks of communication and support (see Chapter 3). Without an understanding of urban order, efforts to achieve the sorts of goods listed above can be inappropriate, or even self defeating, and it is to this that we now turn.

1.3 The state, developers and ethical urban order

The two large-scale city-making and city-shaping forces we have in the UK are developers (both private and in partnership with the state) and planning policy, which seeks to form and shape architecture. The objectives of the two forces are aligned in some respects but opposed in others. Grainger seeks profit for the success of its business, Haringey Council does so for the success of Tottenham. Haringey Council wishes to bring investment to Tottenham and in this respect is competing with other councils in London. In turn, London is competing with other cities, and there is pressure to grow and prosper. The council does not have the budget for large, expensive building projects, so it must entice private development companies to make the buildings.

At the same time, the state's job (Haringey Council being the local incarnation of the state) is to tend to the human beings who make it up, and to that end it theoretically desires a sound and ethical urban order. There is no agreement, however, about what is actually important in cities, or indeed what cities really are (or ought to be), what a sound ethical urban order looks like or how to place a value on it. Thus, measures are implemented to 'save' the high street, as I outlined at the end of the Introduction, without much knowledge of what is really there in the first place.

Because the state relies on developers' money to get the city built, Haringey Council has been obliged to assist in the reframing of the civic life of Tottenham into land-parcels which can be used for the function of money-making. This process is an incarnation of Heidegger's 'enframing' (*Ge-stell*, Heidegger and Krell 1993 [1977]) in which a place is enframed as *standing reserve*. This means enframing the lived city using a mode of understanding which relates to modern technology, but which is itself not technological. It is to this end that the operational codes on maps are deployed. Land becomes a commodity which can be reaped by technological (or economic) means. Figure 1.18, 'Tottenham Area Action Plan key diagram' (Haringey 2015c, 10) shows the flattening of Tottenham and its enframing as standing reserve.

At the moment, the best way for a developer to make money in London is by building housing. The relationship between the development companies (and other powerful bodies who may carry out development e.g. Tottenham Hotspur FC) and the council is very problematic. The vested interest of the council in getting development to happen at all means that it is also in their interest to facilitate the developer in making the maximum profit (high-end retail for rent and housing). They must therefore enframe their part of the city as standing reserve, as has been done in *A Plan for Tottenham* (Tottenham Task Force and Haringey Council 2012).

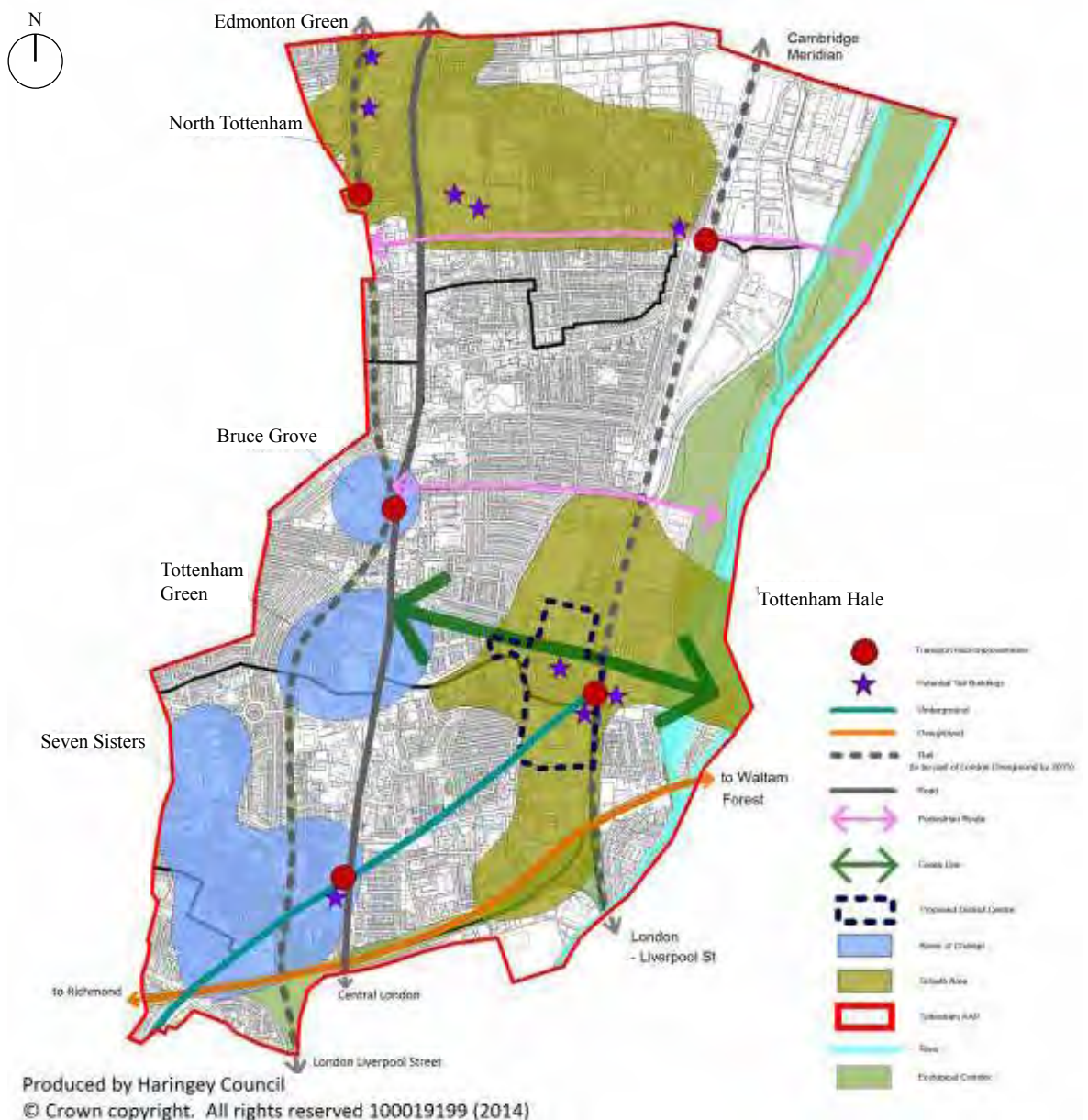


Figure 1.18 Tottenham Area Action Plan key diagram which shows the use of diagrammatic elements to frame the land, life and rich depth of Tottenham as standing reserve (source: *Tottenham Area Action Plan Preferred Option Consultation*, Haringey 2015c, 10).

State promoted ethical urban order

The enframing of Tottenham into a landscape composed solely of land available for development feels to some of the members of the WCC and Our Tottenham like a conspiracy in which Haringey Council is complicit (see the Introduction and Chapter 4 for further discussion about Our Tottenham). In my understanding, this is not the case, as individuals in Haringey Council are not set to personally profit from development (except perhaps in terms of promotion and prestige if they do their job well). The state wants to pursue ethically coherent renewal, a constant process of repetition, empowerment, adaptation, understanding, in which the quality of civic life is both the receptacle and the outcome of the effort. The state (Haringey Council) want Tottenham to be an economically and culturally vibrant place to be, and broadly see the engagement of developers like Grainger as the way to achieve these goals. In this thesis, I argue that Tottenham is already an economically and culturally vibrant place to be, in a more profound way than is acknowledged in *A Plan for Tottenham* (Tottenham Task Force and Haringey Council 2012).

As I explained at the end of the previous section, the ethics of making good city have become confused with a city that is economically productive. There are, therefore, two factors which prevent the state from successfully pursuing ethically coherent renewal, and instead render their efforts deeply *unethical*. Firstly, the true nature of civic life, and how it is supported by the urban order in London, has not yet been articulated (a gap to which this thesis seeks to contribute). Secondly, appropriate measures of value for the richness of urban depth have not yet been found. I hope that by describing the mechanisms whereby the richness of human life is accommodated in the topography of the high road, I offer a way to find value that which is not measured purely in financial terms, to allow the state to pursue ethically coherent renewal with the right information and tools to measure it.

The state *desires* an ethical urban order—at least to some extent. This is indicated by the presence of planning policy, which seeks to guide built development to support civic life within available resources. The philosophical basis of the state's pursuit of an ethical urban order is not clearly defined. Rather, the place-specific designation of *Haringey Council* implies that their remit is to tend to the place (see Introduction for a discussion of how the names of departments and subcommittees within the council indicate the layered richness and complexity of the place).

On an individual level, policy-makers also have a personal understanding of the value of a sociable, committed, productive life with plenty of fair-minded interaction with other people, because they are people themselves, who seek these kinds of goods for their own lives. The policy-makers and representatives of the state to whom I have spoken in the course of researching this thesis are all seeking to improve the world.

The individual knowledge held by council and committee members about what makes a good life in the city is backed up by empirical studies which correlate the goods of a sociable, committed, productive life with particular kinds of architecture and city-making (usually supported by an association with economic success) (see for example Watson, Studdert, and Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2006; Meeks et al. 2014; Holland and Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2007). This does not mean however that planning documents and policy that originate in Haringey Council succeed in making the better ethical choice in city-making, as I have discussed in the first two sections of this chapter. The better ethical direction is often not taken because neither developers nor the council (or many architects) know how to build the kind of city, with rich depth, that can foster the goods listed above.

In the present climate in London, places with a rich civic depth tend to be desirable places to live—with busy high streets and deep blocks behind them, full of the sorts of goods accommodated by that topography (independent businesses, strong structures for mutual support and thriving social networks, all of which I explore and describe in Chapters 2 and 3). Rich depth tends to be associated with a particular kind of vernacular urban form (see Chapter 2, section 2.1). This is an urban order which accommodates a rich civic life, and is at the same time economically valuable. Because people want to live the kind of life accommodated by vernacular urban form and architecture, their presence is a *symptom* of rich depth, so it pushes up local house prices (I suspect this is at the root of many people's desire to live in a Victorian house, because a Victorian house is on a Victorian street, which has certain positive qualities which I discuss in Chapter 2). A Dutch study has found that neo-traditional houses sell for 15% more than fully non-traditional houses (Buitelaar and Schilder 2016). It is possible that old traditional houses sell for yet more (Southwood 2016) and a quick search of Rightmove.co.uk for N17 (Tottenham) shows that of 23 3-bedroomed houses for sale, the cheapest four are non-traditional (Rightmove 2016).

So, if the state successfully implements policies (or more likely, engages in benign neglect) which result in rich, thriving depth, they have at the same time raised the potential future value of housing developments. Urban renewal, however, has become synonymous with 'regeneration' (Grainger style). Nineteenth century developments of housing were equally industrial in scale, repetitiveness and economy of means and have required fit-outs of kitchens, plumbing, electricity and insulation. Yet their design took account of the structure of urban blocks: front, and back, the street, and their edifices were adaptable within a fairly strict structure. In contrast, the few criteria for efficient contemporary (modernist in approach) planning do not provide space for growth or adaptability in history. Fit-out is reduced to interior furnishings, and land-use is maximised.

In order to reap the economic value it can command, rich depth must be enframed (*gestell*) as standing reserve. Yet enframing rich depth as standing reserve is inimical to its most fundamental qualities, which are described in the following chapters of this thesis. In fact, enframing it in this way and developing land in line with efficient modernist planning destroys rich depth.

Haringey Council cannot reap the development value of its land without enframing its rich and complex physical depth as standing reserve (Figure 1.18) because the value of relationships between members of society, structured by the urban order, is not measurable in financial terms—it belongs in a completely different epistemological framework. The measurable parts of the city, which can be categorised and counted are articulated clearly in *A plan for Tottenham* (Tottenham Task Force and Haringey Council 2012) as standing reserve (number of flats, percentage of profit, square metres of retail floorspace). The immeasurable parts of the city (friendship networks, mutual support, commitment, satisfaction) are merely indicated tacitly in the manner I described above. These immeasurable qualities are just as real as the measurable ones. McFarlane (2011 ch. 2) describes these as qualities of ‘tactical learning’, the emplaced and learnt development of everyday practicalities by local people, which often characterise deprived places. For an understanding that these vital components of city life also exist (in addition to the parts which can be counted) relies on an implicit understanding of what it means to be human in a city, to fill in the gaps left on the maps and in text. To have ‘learnt’ the city (McFarlane 2011).

On the left hand side of Figure 1.19 is a diagram of Tottenham’s proposed ‘character areas’, taken from the *Tottenham Area Action Plans Reg 18 Consultation Document* (Haringey Council 2014c, 5). The grey line to the left is the high street, with a ‘retail’ cluster around Bruce Grove station (presently the site of shops for the more affluent members of Tottenham society), a ‘sports and leisure’ cluster around the new Tottenham Hotspur’s stadium development at White Hart Lane and a ‘culture and education’ cluster around Tottenham Green, which refers to College of Haringey and North East London (CHENEL), the Bernie Grant Centre and Tottenham Town Hall (which has been developed into small business units). Curiously, business and exchange is separated from knowledge, and knowledge is separated from education. On the right of Figure 1.19 is a version drawn by me, which colours the figure-ground according to the same categories and colours, showing the richness and complexity of Tottenham, invisible in the first diagram. The ‘character areas’ diagram from Haringey Council does successfully identify the areas of intensity in Tottenham, which are the same in both drawings. What is different is the mix: in my figure-ground mapping there is no dominant colour in any of the most intense areas. What is not visible in either of the diagrams are the non-physical networks of depth which I discuss in Chapter 3, these are parts of the city which are vital, fundamental, but cannot be framed easily as standing reserve.

In the absence of knowledge of the richness of physical, social and ontological depth, Haringey Council seeks to promote a more ethical urban order—one which supports and promotes social interaction, friendship, social networks, mutual support and places for a range of cultural activities. Haringey Council is attempting to do this through two rather inadequate means: ‘place-making’, and the preservation of heritage. The WCC *Community Plan* (Stevenson and WCC 2012) also falls prey to the misguided appeal of aesthetic heritage as a way to maintain the richness of civic life. It is to discussions of both place-making and heritage, and why they fail to take city-making in Haringey in a more ethically sound direction, to which we now turn.

Place-making

Patricia Percy runs the Tottenham Business Group (TBG), a campaign organisation formed to try to save the high street shops and businesses due to be demolished during the regeneration of the Tottenham Hotspur FC’s stadium and White Hart Lane station. The story of the High Road West campaign is one, according to Percy, of ‘dirty tricks’.⁷ TBG requested a meeting with Councillor Alan Strickland, Member for Regeneration and Housing in Haringey Council, to discuss why the shops were shown as demolished in all of the options presented at the public consultation. At the meeting, Cllr. Strickland showed Patricia a rejected plan where the shops were retained, but said that this was unsuitable because ‘place-making’ was part of the regeneration.

Leaving aside the merits of retaining the row of shops, the types of knowledge Strickland and Percy each brought to this conversation were very different, and so their interpretations were at odds with one another. For Strickland as a Councillor, the shops are likely identified as an aesthetic and economic quality of the street (as described by the Urban Task Force 1999, 5). For Percy, a business owner herself, the shops represent both the people who run and work in them (with whom she has personal relationships) and the people who shop in them. It was obvious to Percy that by ‘place-making’, Strickland really meant replacing people and things with new, more desirable ones. Percy’s understanding of this place as composed of people and relationships, is the essence of what most people mean when they talk about place. Strickland ostensibly has a similar concern, but has adopted a concept of ‘place’ that can be delivered as a package, with a refined structure of returns on investment in a now-standard spatial diagram of occupants and consumers, in fact a system to produce commercial activity. Although according to Percy, Strickland is deeply opposed to the word ‘gentrification’, this is exactly how she interpreted his use of the term ‘place-making’. Place arises from the whole urban culture—it is a richly differentiated urban structure, contained within physical depth, which supports ontological depth. It is immediately apparent that ‘place’ understood in this way cannot easily

7 From field note of author’s interview with Patricia Percy, April 2014.

co-exist with gentrifying development: which is a big problem if you need a 'sense of place' to attract gentrifying development.

Our plan is to redefine Tottenham into a series of distinct, yet complementary, places that draw on their own strengths and competitive advantages. Places like Northumberland Park, Tottenham Green, Seven Sisters and Tottenham Hale will become destinations in their own right with much more focused retail and leisure offers. (Tottenham Taskforce and Haringey Council 2012, 6)

It is apparent from the literature about high streets (see the Introduction for a review of this literature) that some authors and journalists fear 'clone towns' springing up (NEF 2004, 10) and this fear is a result of the growth of major chain stores in town centres and high streets through private developments of the type that Grainger are proposing. Furthermore, the 'sense of place' so sought-after is made less achievable by development which offers only large footprint units for occupation by major retailers or large businesses. The process of redevelopment via enframing the city as standing reserve suppresses civic life because it caters only for middle class consumers. Thus, again the problem is highlighted that trying to make a place through economic or aesthetic means makes the desired outcome appear much more simple to achieve than it really is. (Either this, or it is outrightly cynical. The council wants to replace the troublesome migrants and workers with peaceful middle class consumers, who pay more tax.)

... the physical character of a place can help reinforce a sense of meaning and civility – through the layout of buildings and streets, the natural and man-made landscape, the density of development and the mix of land uses. In some cases, the character is well preserved and clear. In others, it is undefined or compromised by unsympathetic development... It is proposed that characterization studies should be undertaken in order to help ensure the place evolves to meet the economic and social needs of the community and enhances its relationship with the natural and built landscape. (Policy 7.1 Mayor of London 2011, 214–215)

Place, defined in the manner of Strickland, is a concept which flattens the hierarchical structure of depth. Until the 1970s, *space* had become the vehicle of all instrumental conceptions of organising people, and the reaction against this (Mumford, Jacobs, Rowe, Rossi, etc.) has gravitated around *place*—meaning all the concrete goods of involvement. The use of *place* rather than *space* in planning literature indicates that this message has been received—but often *place* is simply substituted in sentences that previously would have been build around *space*. It is a canny subterfuge, which is obscured by the imprecision in planning-discourse regarding the concrete structure of urban spatiality.

Place is particularly sought-after in Tottenham. It makes an appearance in the *Tottenham Area Action Plans: Reg 18 Consultation Document* (AAP) (Haringey Council 2014c), as the diagram shown in Figure 1.19—also shown to me by a member of the planning team in a casual conversation when I enquired about the long term goals of the Tottenham Regeneration team. However, as with the use of symbols and colours on the maps in *A Plan for Tottenham* (Tottenham Task Force and Haringey Council 2012), place is not something which can be formatted rapidly

by drawing colourful circles on a map. Yet the people who draw the maps, and the people who read them in the AAP may well be fooled into thinking that by labelling places—such as the place for retail, the place for business and exchange, and the ‘knowledge hub’ on the diagram in Figure 1.19—then places have been created. Conceptualising place in this manner is self-defeating, if the objective is to create places. Conceptualisation of place removes the need for discourse about what place is, or might be, beyond the colours and labels. My examination of rich depth in this thesis, however, provides a clear counterpoint. It describes in detail the particular place of Tottenham High Road, and in doing so demonstrates how important it is to properly understand the urban order.



This may be the first time a city, village or town, has residential areas identified as 'core'. It appears to be an effort to create a 'town' out of what is really several urban centres and the depth of the High Road.

Figure 1.19 Left: Tottenham's proposed 'character areas' (source: *Tottenham Area Action Plans Reg 18 Consultation Document*, Haringey Council 2014c, 5). Right: Map of Tottenham coloured with the same 'character' colours onto the figure ground (source: information collected by Cass Cities students 2014/15 and in High Road audit by Jane Clossick, Rafealla Senff Peixoto, Jéssica Franco Böhmer, Elaine de Araújo Teixeira and Simone Mesquita Álvares in 2014, see Appendix 2).

Heritage and history—deceptive ciphers for depth

A similarly self-defeating concept employed in planning literature about Tottenham, and in many other places, is heritage. Much like place-making, heritage is used as a symbol to represent a rich civic life. However, as I described, although often a rich civic life is found in places with old buildings, it is not the age of the buildings per se, but rather it is the kind of urban order which tends to be created by these buildings that produces civic richness. Owing to the desire to preserve the depth and richness of the existing market at Wards Corner, the issue of the loss of the actual market building, and the heritage and history that it represents, is one of the major concerns of people I encountered in Tottenham, and in comments on the Stickyworld consultation website.

Conversations about heritage occur frequently at WCC and Our Tottenham meetings, and in the campaign of the Tottenham Business Group to save High Road West. Many of the comments on the Stickyworld (Creative Citizens 2014) website demonstrate how the supposedly naive public is at times more profoundly aware of urban structure than professionals, as in the extracts below written about Wards Corner:

Renovation is good – don't want to be like a clone town. Otherwise we will be like any other place. We need to invest in our heritage. (Eye Practice Seven Sisters, Creative Citizens 2014b)

The community plan is part of the heritage of the area, its a connection with the past, its human scale, and all this is in contrast to Grainger's off the peg, 1990s, overdevelopment. (Clive Carter, Creative Citizens 2014b)

I would like a combination of old architecture and the market. Back in my native home there is a lot of old colonial Spanish architecture with markets combined. I believe that this place has the perfect opportunity to resemble something quite the same. Yet this time, it would be old English heritage architecture with Latin/African produce market stalls. This destination would be truly multi-cultural and a great example of the 'real' London. (Vicky Alvarez, Creative Citizens 2014b)

In the absence of any real preservation, the Grainger scheme incorporates a 'Concept Memory Box' (Grainger 2012b), (Figure 1.20) in which information about the history of the local area will be on permanent display adjacent to the entrance to Seven Sisters station.

According to the *Seven Sisters Regeneration* website (Grainger 2014b), the Concept Memory Box fulfills the 2004 Planning Brief which asks to 'reflect, and retain, the architectural features of the store, if at all possible'.

The topic of heritage also frequently appears in policy literature—for example, the following extract from the *National Policy Planning Framework*:

... the desirability of sustaining and enhancing the significance of heritage assets and putting them to viable uses consistent with their conservation; the wider social, cultural, economic and environmental benefits that conservation of the historic environment can bring; the desirability of new development making a positive contribution to local character and distinctiveness; and opportunities to draw on the contribution made by the historic environment to the character of a place. (DCLG 2012, 30)

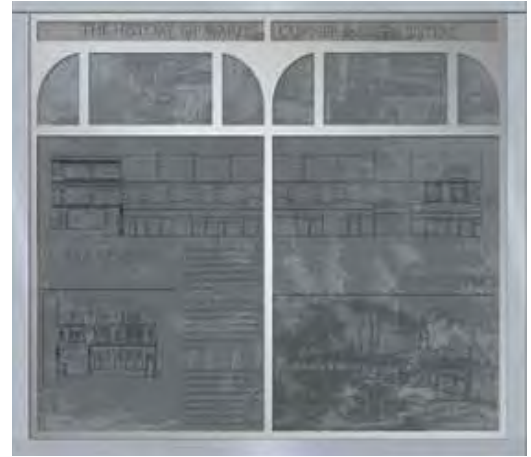


Figure 1.20 'The Concept Memory Box'
(source: Seven Sisters Regeneration Website,
Haringey Council 2014b and Grainger 2012b)

In Alan Strickland's interactions with Patricia Percy, in the WCC *Community Plan*, in the *National Planning Policy Framework*, and in the comments on the Stickyworld consultation website, 'place-making', 'heritage' and 'history' serve as motifs representing the rich depth that may be lost in any proposed new development. In these concepts there exists the same appeal to the tacit knowledge of the viewer about places, spaces and what it is like to be embodied in a city as in the images in *A Plan for Tottenham*. Unfortunately, the idea of history being preserved physically in a building (by retaining the façade, for example) is literally a shallow one. Behind a Victorian shop front façade one expects to find the richly differentiated depth of urban culture, but preserving the façade will not bring into being all the intricacies associated with this long-established urban order. Heritage is all aspects of urban culture, not just some scraps of the historic built environment.

Policy makers, architects and architectural educators use a series of conceptual generalisations such as 'place-making' and 'heritage', which indicate the presence of the richness which is contained in the physical depth of buildings and blocks in the city. Such terms appear in policy and academic literature that strives to counteract the flattening and enframing of the topography of the city to a standing reserve—but are in turn accepted without question into the discourses of city-making and city-understanding. Figure 1.21 is an example in Spitalfields called Lilian Knowles house (Wainwright 2014). façadism like this is a misplaced effort to preserve history, and retain the richness of depth. In reality examples like this serve only to mask the true nature of the problem of the structure and content of depth, which I explore in Chapters 2 and 3.



Figure 1.21 Lilian Knowles House
(source: *The Guardian* 'Some front:
the bad developments making a joke of
historic buildings', Wainright 2014).

Conclusion

The evidence addressed in this chapter reveals a tendency towards deceptive conceptualisations that flatten city topographies. These are subtly leveraged to justify developer-led regeneration of a kind which lacks sufficient depth for ethical reflection, and does not engender commitment to place.

The planning policy documents for the redevelopment of Tottenham High Road fail to reflect the depth and richness of the area. Even the *WCC Community Plan* (Stevenson and WCC 2012) is insufficient to the task. The complex urban order which sustains the metabolism of the High Road is hidden in the simplified language of the top-down plan. What is absent from the plans of Tottenham in *A Plan for Tottenham* (Tottenham Task Force and Haringey Council 2012), is Tottenham itself.

Grainger's images show symptoms of the existence of urban depth, such as people chatting on the street. So, with only this evidence to go on, pitted against pictures of the present situation (where people chat on the street, though the street looks messier), it is difficult to argue that the future proposed by Grainger is worse than what exists at present. This is because the physical (and ontological) depth I discuss in this thesis will never be explicitly apparent on a digital image of the High Road, because by its very nature it exists behind the façades. Tottenham High Road is a spatially differentiated structure of publics, intimately entwined with people's ethnicities, networks and socio-economic positions. Such differentiation is found in and accommodated by the depth of the High Road (see Chapters 2 and 3).

The conceptual simplifications I have discussed are disempowering because they render this complex, rich structure (and all the people within it) invisible. Concepts claiming to mediate between the local and the global such as 'Coste Café', voting power or consumer power—hide the real relationship between the multiple publics of depth and the global scale forces. Civic culture emerges as a result of the free competition between different organisations. Where the 'organisations' are individuals, and the social structures of depth are contained within the high street and its environs, civic culture is constant negotiation of potential conflict. Where the organisations are multinational corporations, who have the power to remove the differentiated structure of depth, and take control of space so negotiation is no longer possible, those without access to those power structures are disempowered. Development should support diversity already extant in depth, not suppress it.

The forthcoming chapters represent an effort to remediate the lack of tools we have at our disposal to describe and value the social and physical structures of depth. Conceptual simplifications hide the relationship between people and the physical conditions they occupy and embody—the common-to-all—where the real potential for empowerment lies.

Chapter 2

Physical and Economic Structures of Depth

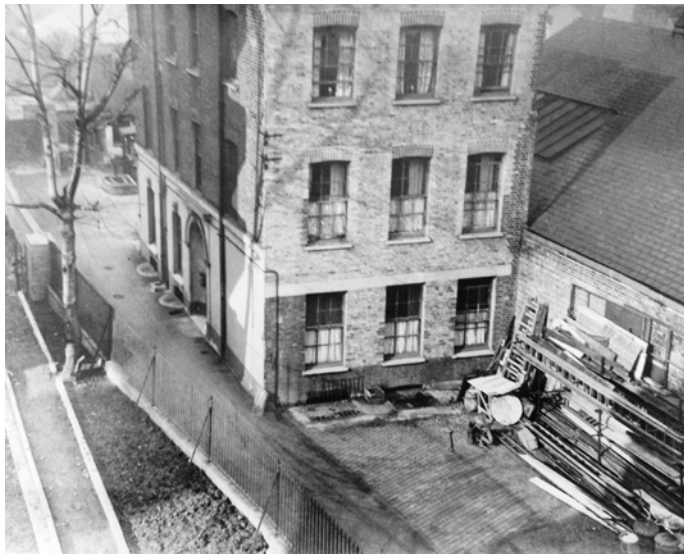


Figure 2.1 Nos. 1-17 High Road 1949, showing depth behind the building (source: Haringey Archive Service, Bruce Castle Museum, accessed in 2014).

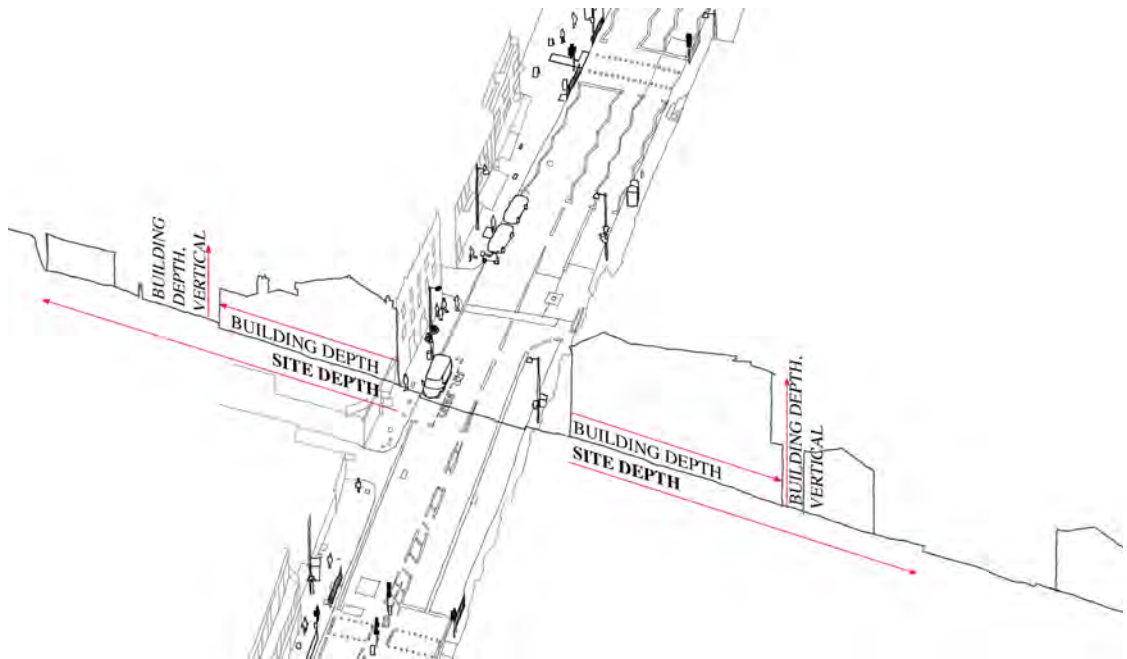


Figure 2.2 Physical depth of Tottenham High Road diagram (drawn by Jane Clossick).

In everyday language, ‘high street’ means ‘shopping street’. Shops and businesses form the most obvious components of the high street, and in most policy and think-tank literature (see for example NEF 2004; APPSG 2006; DfBIS 2011) its physical qualities are rarely described—a shop is treated as the same thing as the building that contains it. The amalgamation of a building with its use gives the mistaken impression that high streets are solely shopping streets—but of equal importance to building a true account is what lies *behind* the shops, into the depth of the block. This depth-structure has historically been the source of high street vitality, as shown in Figure 2.1. Its components are analysed in this chapter: building depth (lateral and vertical) and site depth. These are drawn in the diagram Figure 2.2.

Previous attempts at taxonomising the high street have described it in various ways: composed of leisure, shopping, cultural, business, office, employment, public/private services, residential, and mixed uses; as a place which is high density, sustainable, and public-realm focussed; a place for community and services for locals, workforce and visitors (DfBIS 2011, 4–7). What has been absent, with the exception of proponents of Space Syntax methods (examples include Adaptable Suburbs and Vaughan 2014; Vaughan and Griffiths 2013; Dhanani et al. 2012; Vaughan, Haklay, et al. 2010; C. Jones et al. 2009; C. Jones et al. 2008; Griffiths et al. 2008) is much discussion of the details of its physical form. There is a predictable order to the organisation of economic activities in the depth of the blocks which some authors have begun to describe, such as Carmona and Jones et al in the quotations below.

Two-storey, brick terraced housing predominates in the hinterland of the street, punctuated by some industrial premises. The housing is configured in a grid of long narrow blocks. Vehicular permeability to the high street is blocked on three of the residential streets leading off Walsgrave Road. (P. Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 18)

... a single building in South Redbridge High Road classed as ‘industrial’ on the Cities Revealed database actually housed three car mechanics, a car and van hire business, a large gym, a sports centre, language and A-level tuition, and – an industrial use – manufacturing of machine parts. (Carmona 2014, 49)

Detailed description of the physical and social urban order of high streets, however, is absent from the existing literature. Some intriguing drawings exist (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 67–69; Scott in Carmona 2014, 30 & 50 [see Introduction]; S. Hall 2010, 13; S. Hall 2009b, 83) but these do not go into much analytical depth about precisely what is contained inside the blocks and how it is organised.

This chapter concentrates on the physical structure of depth, and how it is shaped by economic forces. It is roughly divided into three scales of involvement. Section 2.1 addresses the scale of the city. Section 2.2 the building, and section 2.3 addresses the high street urban block. Because what I am describing is all happening simultaneously, it has not been possible to make a clear division between scales into the sections of this chapter. In addition, pieces of the argument

from one scale are required to enable understanding at another scale, hence why I did not use the more obvious descent through the scales of involvement.

The research underpinning the insights in this chapter comes from a range of sources. Interviews and transcripts of meetings attended throughout my period of fieldwork, which I analysed thematically to reveal the way people intuitively understand the urban order of the high street (see section 0.5 of the Introduction). Also very important were drawings of the depth of the high street (by myself and others), particularly my drawings of Morrison Yard in the case study block, shown in Figure 2.3. The triangular former site of the Tottenham Brewery houses businesses and civic activities in the buildings in and around the yard, and the yard also provides access to a block of flats on the high road and a delivery area/car park. In this internal part of the block are eight businesses, a primary school, an Islamic school/centre and mosque and a Citizens Advice Bureau. The yard is accessed from an entrance at one corner, which is also the entrance to the Islamic centre and to the flats above the shops. It is flanked to the rear by the train line.

The relationship between the front of the block, the rear of the block and the city surrounding the high street is played out by way of what happens in between them, it is played out through their shared and disparate histories, references, decorum, physical, social and economic structures. This is complex, but it is not confusing or chaotic. Rather, it is an elegantly structured physical and cultural setting. It allows for involvement in public life (and participation, ultimately, in what is universal), by its use of a subtle but common language of settings, horizons and topics. Revealed here is the richness, complexity and depth of the high street. To flatten into a mixture of traffic, façade and function is to do it a grave disservice.

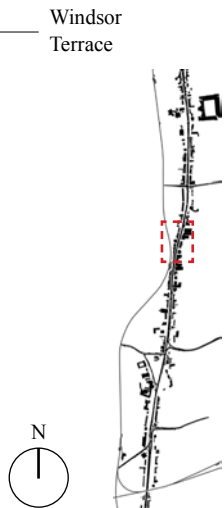
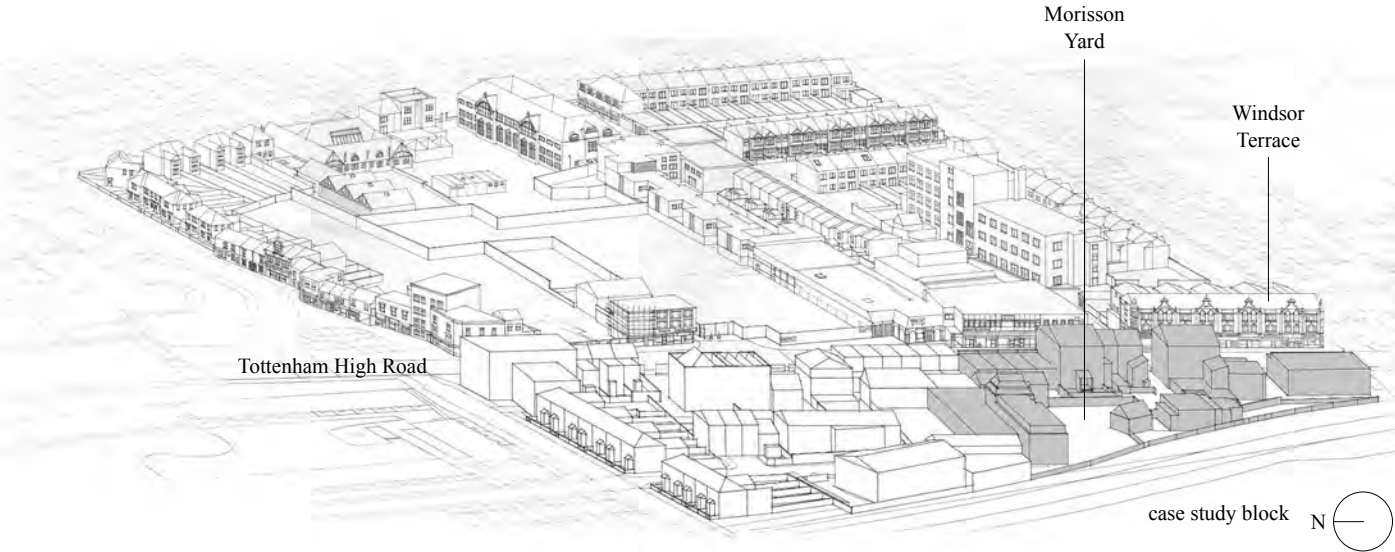


Figure 2.3 Morrison Yard, photographs and drawing by Jane Clossick (aerial photo source: Bing Maps 2015).

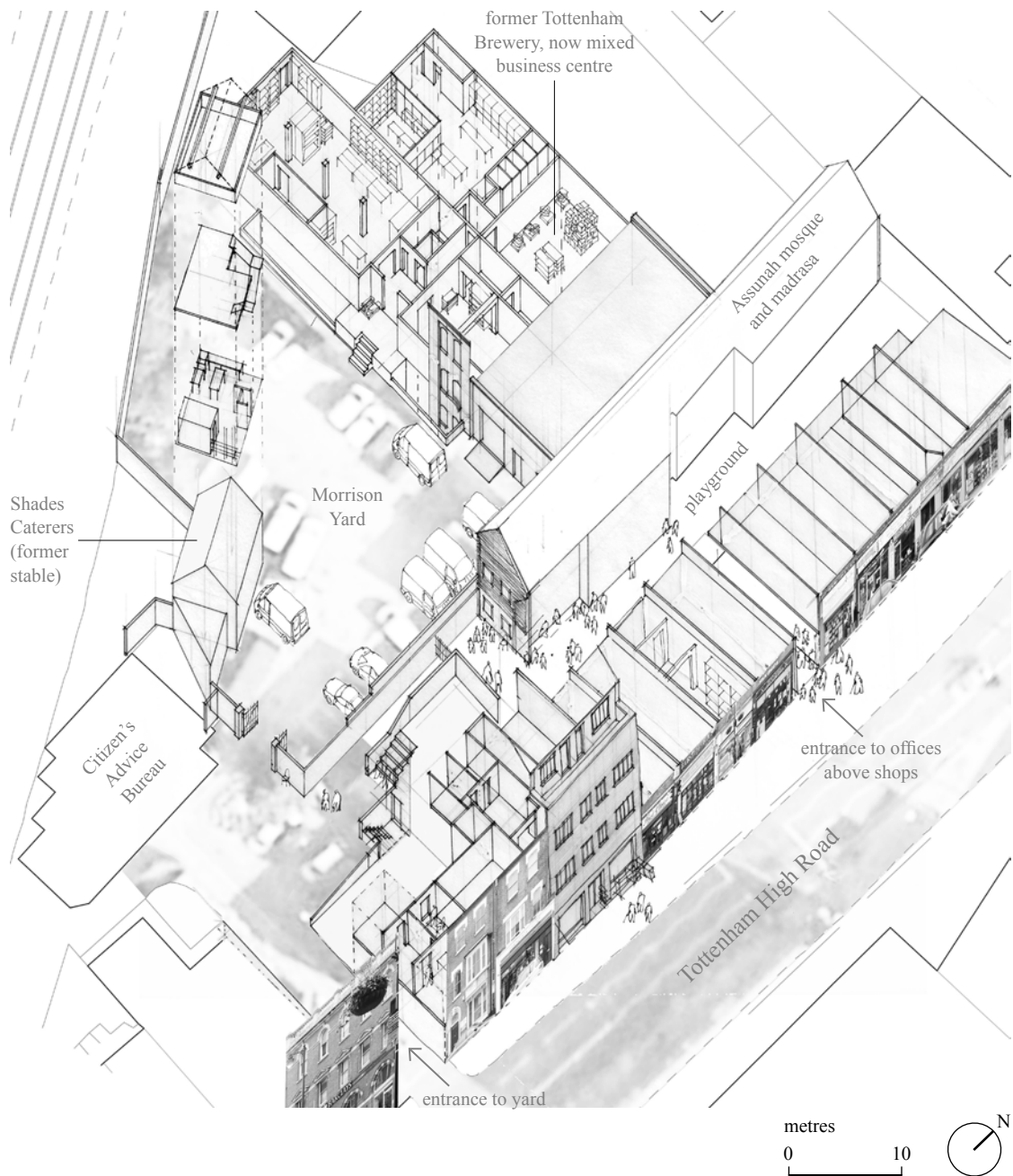


Figure 2.4 Morrison Yard, drawn by Jane Clossick and Colin O'Sullivan.

2.1 Network of centres: a network of high streets

The first part of this section tackles existing literature about high streets in order to expose how they are the backbone of the urban order of London at the scale of the city, and why there are different kinds of roads around the High Road in Tottenham. The second part of this section outlines the two different kinds of road, and the different types of sites (and *site depth*) that are associated with them. Describing the two kinds of road sets the scene for understanding the various arrangements of *building depth* that I have observed around the High Road, which I discuss in the second section of the chapter.

London is a network of hundreds of centres at different scales and each is an ‘unplanned central place’ (Chiaradia et al. 2009, 16:1; Griffiths et al. 2008, 5) containing a range of commercial and communal activities. Non-residential uses tend to be clustered along main arterial routes and streets that are the most direct route between centres tend to be high streets of one kind or another (Vaughan, Jones, et al. 2010, 77–91; Griffiths et al. 2008, 24–26). Figure 2.5 is a mapping of London’s office and retail buildings (Carmona 2014, 32), and the routes of major roads are visible, which shows the clustering of non-residential occupation around arterial roads. Figure 2.6 is a more detailed mapping of all the non-residential uses in the Lea Valley (Cass Cities 2014) and shows their concentration both along high streets and in industrial estates.

Tottenham High Road is on a prominent stretch of *connected high street* (Carmona 2014, 23), which means there are regular pockets of non-residential intensity along an arterial route. Tottenham is one of these pockets of intensity on the A10. It is the combination of transport artery and non-residential intensity which makes a high street.

There are many interconnected pieces of London, which fulfil different convenient, everyday roles, carried out locally. An important centre adjacent to Tottenham is Wood Green, both physically and psychologically. In interviews with participants about Tottenham, Wood Green was mentioned repeatedly by different interviewees as the main place they would go for leisure and comparison shopping (i.e. for large or expensive goods that one buys specially, like laptops, as opposed to convenience shopping, for things that one buys frequently, like milk). The two centres work in tandem to serve the needs of local people, as demonstrated by the quotation from Sally, a Tottenham resident in her mid-forties with three teenage children:

Jane: What would you like to see on the High Road?

Sally: I would like a variety of independent shops, retail shops, which offer you choice. Because I feel that we don’t have enough choice here, so, choice across the things that you can buy you know, whether it’s clothes, shoes, books. And coffee shops as well, restaurants as well, so just choice in all those kind of areas. I go into Wood Green at night, I use Wood Green to eat, or watch films with friends ... I use Peacocks on the High Road, which is going to go bust soon, yeah. There’s a couple of pound shops that I use for little bits and pieces. For small shops, I definitely go on the High Road, like a shop for the evening meal, and I walk down there, and I use Asda down on the High Road ... I would probably go to Wood Green, mostly, for clothes shopping.

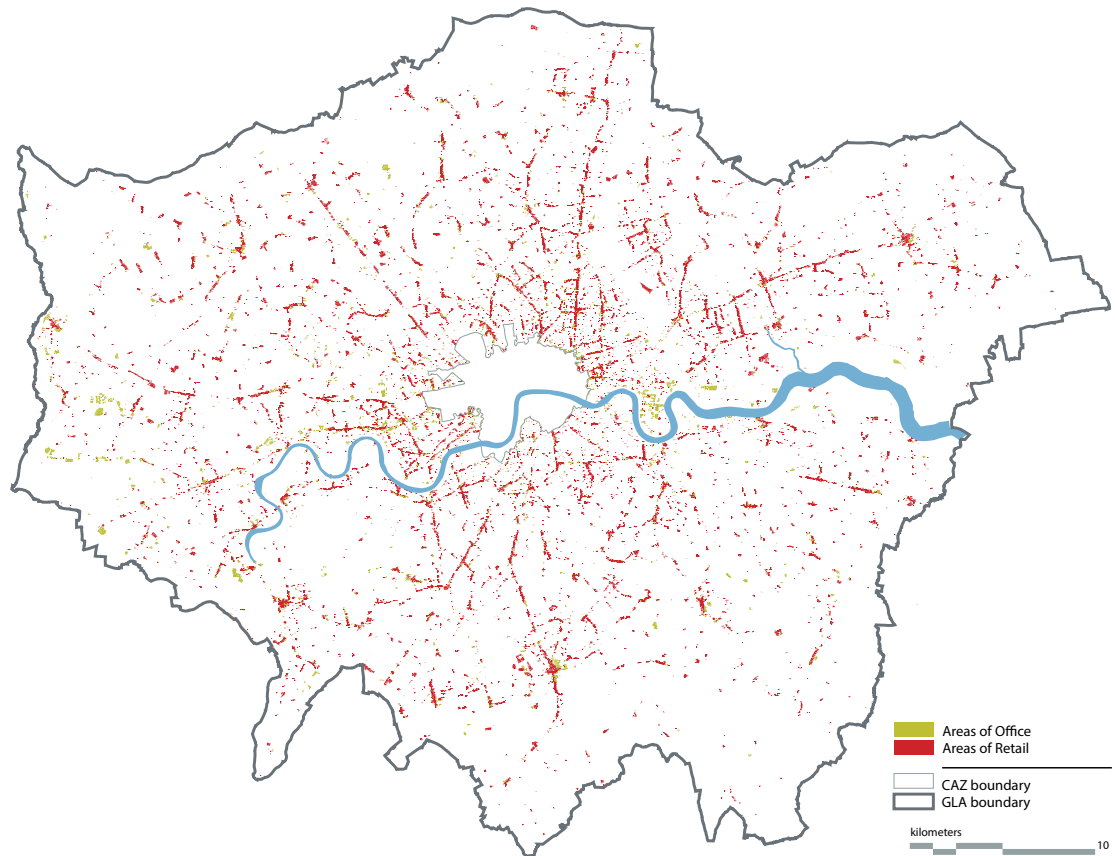
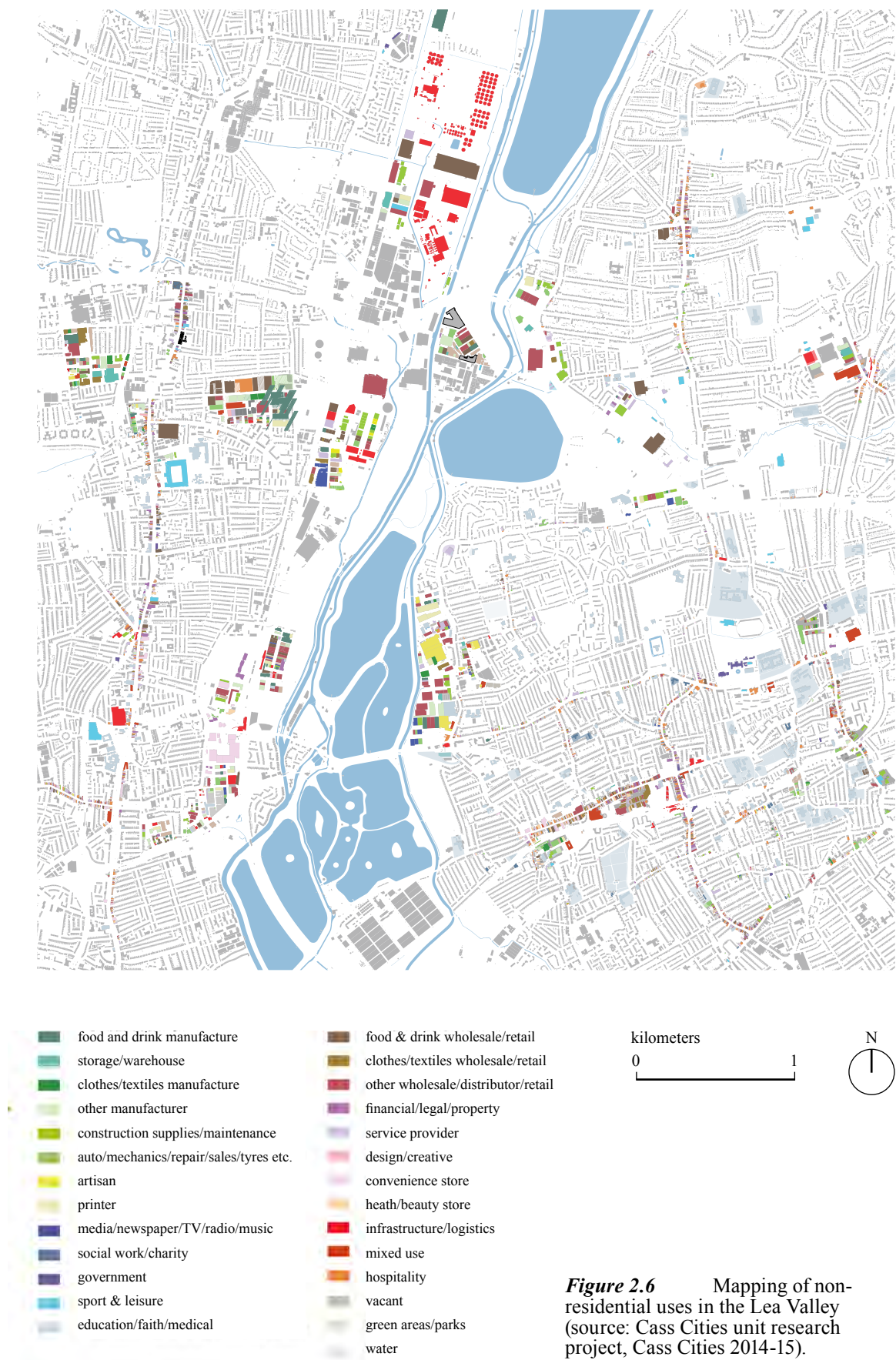


Figure 2.5 Office and retail, shows correlation with high road locations in London (source: *High Street London*, Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 41).



Simultaneous inter-place reliance and competition are the inevitable consequences of London's huge and interconnected character: no one centre in the network is independent of any other. Different areas appear to have different specialisms according to the local population (P. Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 31). Tottenham is part of the network, and has a particular selection of convenience and ethnic shops, but it also has a lot of non-residential uses that are not shops—businesses, charities, civic uses and manufacturing, for example.

For traders in Tottenham, competing directly with Wood Green in terms of comparison shopping is not feasible, it is too close and benefits from the multiplier effect of many desirable shops, cinemas and other attractors. Anne Lippit was the Project Director for Regeneration in Tottenham at Haringey Council 2011-2013, and she commented on the nature of Wood Green as a comparative shopping area:

Anne: It's interesting actually, because people, Wood Green is quite [a] long [high street] as well, but it's sort of manageable. And, but that, I suppose, going back a long while now, and I don't know all the details, but that has developed as the main shopping centre for Haringey. And that internal mall was developed, I can't remember now, a good few years ago, and you know, all the shops gravitated there, it's looking very tired now actually to be honest. So, your H&Ms, and your HMVs and your WH Smiths, are all there. But having said all that, because I used to live in Ally Pally [Alexandra Palace] area a few years ago, the good few years ago, and I remember the Wood Green offer, then, even being a higher offer than it is now. The people still flock there, because it is the comparative shopping area.

The nature of the centres depends on the typical means of transport for inhabitants. Car-dependent centres are often larger than those dependent on pedestrians, and tend to be found on wider reaching urban routes (Vaughan, Jones, et al. 2010, 77–91). Different stretches of high street on the A10 are car-dependent *and* reliant on pedestrians. Asda at Edmonton Green, for example, relies on people coming from a wide catchment in their cars, while other centres like Bruce Grove are characterised by pedestrian access: greater street connectivity also leads to more walking, and people generally choose to walk past non-residential uses. An example of a pedestrian-dependent type of centre on the A10 is closer to central London, in Shoreditch, where there is much interconnectivity of streets and the area is very alive and active.

High streets are a *strip* of centrality, in which non-residential land uses spread outwards from the high street into the depth of the adjacent blocks and beyond—and these active centres (see footnote 2 for an explanation of active centres) are clearly separate from their residential hinterlands (Vaughan, C. Jones, et al. 2010, 79). Town centre boundaries (shown in Figure 2.7) are designated in planning policy, which suggests that centres are clearly defined nodes on a transport network. High streets, however, are both a *link* and a *place*, with 'place functions' occurring in buildings, forecourts and on the pavement (P. Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 12). This is clearly shown in the Lea Valley, in Figure 2.6. We can say that the street is *made by* the depth.

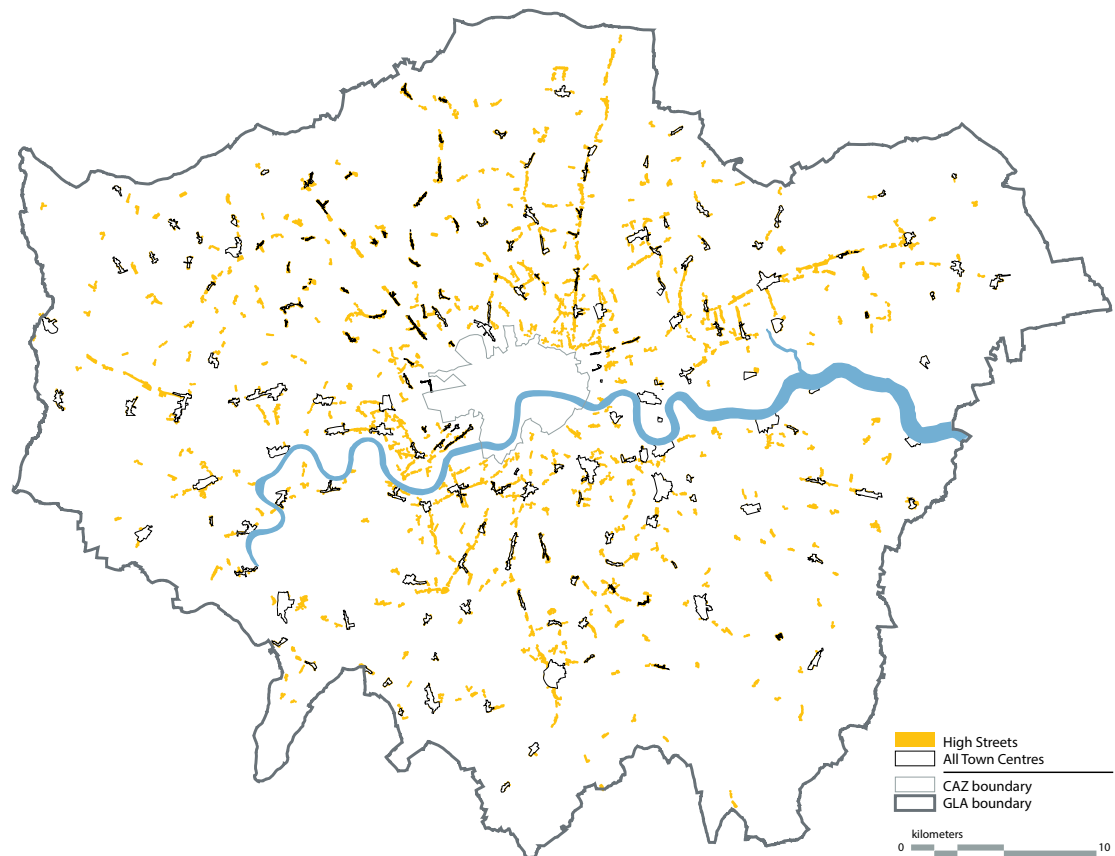


Figure 2.7 Town Centre boundaries mapped onto London high streets (source: *High Street London*, Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 91).

Two kinds of street, two kinds of site depth

There are (roughly divided) two different kinds of streets in Tottenham, which have two kinds of *site depth*. The two types are shown in Figure 2.8, a colour coding of the different sorts of road in red and blue. Firstly, there is what I will define as a *vernacular street* (shown in red for the High Road, and pink for side streets). The vernacular street is in part defined historically (see this thesis Introduction, section 0.2) but it also has a group of characteristics that contribute to the structure of urban depth. In Tottenham, the vernacular streets are the High Road, side roads off the High Road and residential roads in the hinterlands between major routes. Most of these roads were laid out in the nineteenth century, as development grew outwards from the arterial central route, which had existed since Roman times.

The second type of street is associated with the modernist street pattern of estates, which (in contrast to the vernacular streets), dates from the mid-twentieth century (shown in Figure 2.8 in blue). Modernist roads are characterised by their lack of connectedness for cars. They are frequently difficult to navigate and have pedestrian cut-throughs blocked off owing to design principles such as *Secured by Design*.¹ They are often cul-de-sacs connected to existing vernacular roads, accessed from side roads rather than from the main road. Characteristic of this type are internal roads of council estates, with few access points to surrounding streets.

Sites on these two types of road tend to be quite different. Sites on vernacular roads are mostly small and have four sides. The roads are not always perpendicular, so the sites are moulded around the topography. The dimensions of these sites have developed gradually over hundreds of years as a result of negotiation, land ownership agreements and topographic and historical circumstance. An example of the different types of streets is neatly captured by Hanson (2000, 98) in her detailed description of Somers Town in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Hanson calls the two types ‘streets’ (vernacular streets) and ‘estates’ (modernist streets).

‘Streets’ are interconnected, so there are lots of choices of routes through the city. They are lined with terraced houses, which form rings or parallel lines, facing the streets, with private faces and gardens to the rear. On Tottenham High Road, terraced houses are mostly divided into flats, or are shop/house conversions, each occupying its own site with clear boundaries. This vernacular structure is very adaptable, containing a mix of different uses and a house, or even a block could be replaced without disturbing the whole. As Hanson describes:

It is a density-maximising morphology, the urban surface grows either by expansion at the urban edge to form new rings, or by intensifying the density of buildings in the backlands of existing blocks. The plan is first laid out and then filled in ... The density of development increases over time... (Hanson 2000, 98)

¹ *Secured by Design* (SBD) is a group of national police projects which advocates ‘designing out crime’. When new or existing developments or security products meet ‘Police Preferred Specification’, they are granted SBD approval (ACPO Crime Prevention Initiatives Limited 2015), which improves their value.



Figure 2.8 Diagram showing different kinds of roads around Tottenham High Road (drawn by Jane Clossick).

Red represents the vernacular road pattern, laid out in the nineteenth century, and the blue shows modernist street pattern infills. This is a type of filling-in of the depth structure, and it adds to the richness to some extent.

The qualities described of the vernacular street Hanson describes are turned inside out in the modernist 'estate' type of street. Routes and entrances to buildings, although visually accessible, are physically difficult to access. Where on the vernacular street there are doors, in the estate there may be windows—the individual doors to flats are often internal, so dwellings are inward-facing (Hanson 2000, 99). Sites tend to be much larger. They often feature space 'left over' after planning, with odd little triangles of land which separate the new planned streets and sites from the vernacular layout. These are the sites of multi-dwelling estates, where many stacked flats or terraced townhouses are built together with shared overall site boundaries. In such situations housing and new roads have usually been constructed simultaneously, where a single bureaucracy such as a local authority or developer has acquired a chunk of land and developed it as housing.

Vernacular and modernist street patterns have different types of site depth. In the vernacular order, site depth is available for piecemeal development. It is both physically and bureaucratically accessible—people can negotiate over it, use it for their own purposes, build sheds on it, rent it out to other people, and so on—until some level of richness emerges. Importantly, it has a clear structure between the front and the back, (explored both in the following parts of this chapter and in Chapter 3). By contrast, the modernist housing estate lacks such a structure, which causes problems for residents as described Chapter 3, section 3.4.

I have described the vernacular and modernist street patterns because they are the origin of the different types of site depth I have observed in Tottenham. They emerged both as a result of bombing during the Second World War, and as a result of an ideological change in the approach to building cities, which was to separate car and pedestrian (discussed in the Introduction). An example of the impact of bomb damage is shown in Figure 2.9, which shows destruction around Shoreditch, and the changes in building layout and types today.

Understanding the difference between the types of streets sets the scene for a discussion of the order of urban depth inside buildings and blocks, and in the next two sections of this chapter, I identify and unpack the layered structure first at the scale of the building, then of the site, demonstrating that there is a hierarchical stratification (both of importance and of decorum) from front to back and from ground to upper floors. These are the characteristic physical structures of depth—a highly complex three dimensional web of reciprocal influences which can never be mapped (reduced to one consistent representation), only examined through fragments. The physical ordering of depth hosts the richness of civic life and urban order is given its shape by the activities and movements of local people through its structure.

2.2 Building depth

Depth structure is manifested in the internal depth inside buildings. Here, building depth is distinguished from site depth (section 2.3) for analytical purposes, although of course actually they are part of the same overall order.

The internal hierarchy of building depth operates laterally and vertically. It is present both in buildings immediately adjacent to Tottenham High Road and in the buildings internal to the block. The hierarchy is contained in a physical structure which includes firm divisions inside the buildings, either designed-in and/or negotiated and changed over time. It also includes looser divisions such as several businesses occupying the same unit. Figure 2.10 shows a typical example of how building depth adapts over time on high streets. This building was originally a house with a front garden. A shop front was built to the front, and the upstairs converted to a flat. The garden has also been subdivided, and a workshop with rear access built and rented out or sold separately.

Lateral building depth

At the front of the lateral structure is the place closest to the high street. These plots—the shop fronts—are the most valuable to those who want face-to-face interaction with the public: they often include a forecourt occupied by stalls and displays spilling out onto the pavement (P. Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 78). Figure 2.11 and Figure 2.12 show goods spilling out onto the street from shop fronts on Tottenham High Road.

Street-front sites also provide visual links via signage to the activities and premises inside the buildings or in the depth of the block. Signs on the high street indicate the presence of businesses, churches and so on, with names and phone numbers, although these sometimes lag behind changes in usage. Nevertheless, even in cases where the signs are wrong, signage indicates the presence of the depth structure. Examples of signs are shown in Figure 2.13, which are all signs photographed on the case study block. These signs indicate the presence of churches and community groups inside the block, which do not have street frontage.

Daniel Martinez has a butcher's shop at the back of Seven Sisters Market, and he had a clear understanding of why the plots at the front of the market, facing the street, are the most desirable:

Daniel: You see people walk past, and they're like... I'll tell them, now listen, come, and then after I'm like, why didn't you come? And they say, all I see is the café but I didn't know there was a market inside, I couldn't find the entrance. People always tell me the same thing, especially people like friends and things, I tell them come over, and they say where, where? I've driven past there and I can't see it, people drive past and they don't see it, you need big signs. Flags is really good, like something that attracts some attention.

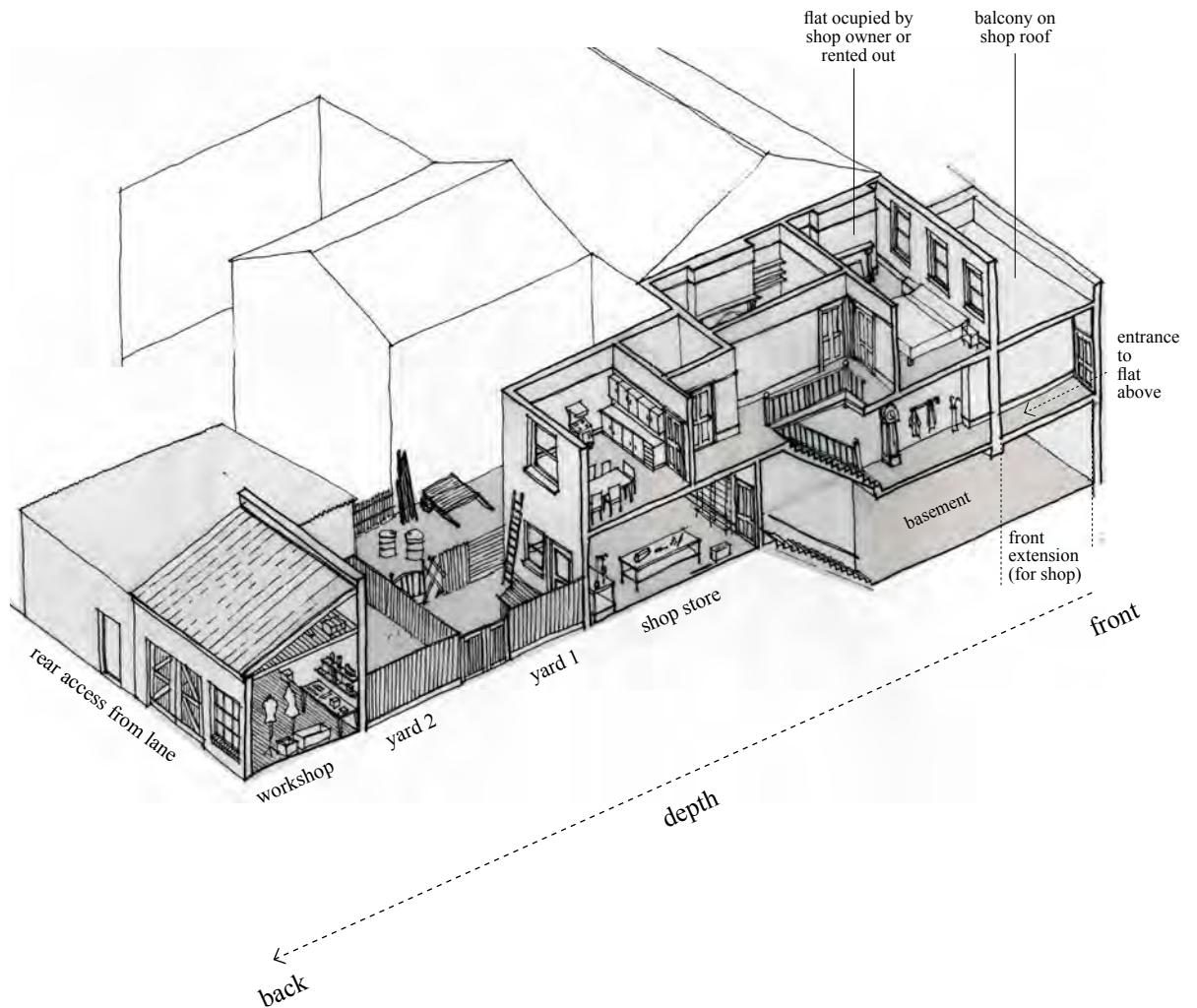


Figure 2.10 House converted to shop, with flat above shop and workshop to rear, accessed from alleyway. An amalgamation of several examples to create a typical example (drawn by Jane Clossick and Colin O'Sullivan).



Figure 2.11 469 High Road
(photograph by Jane Clossick).



Figure 2.12 479-481 High Road
(photograph by Jane Clossick).

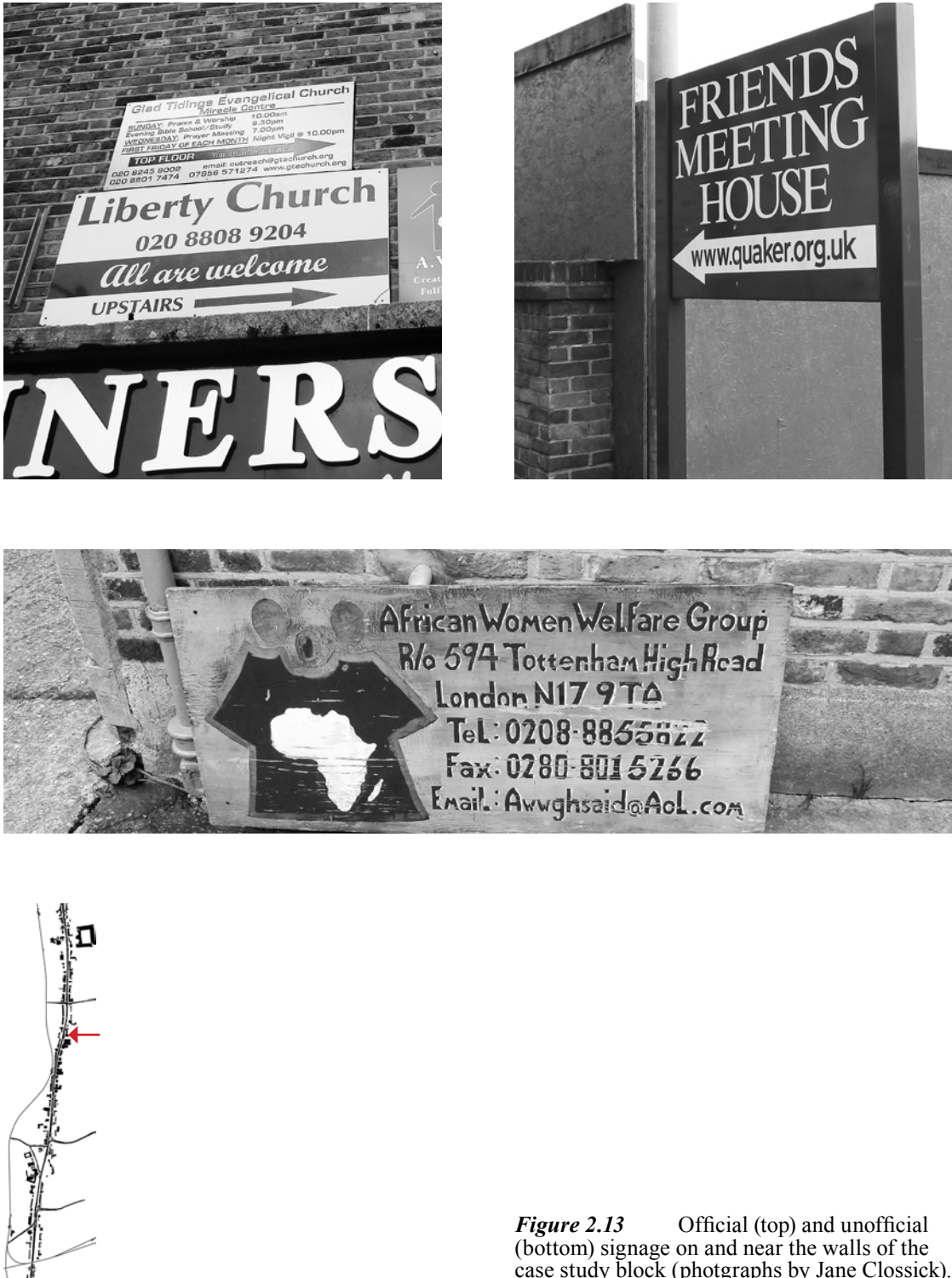


Figure 2.13 Official (top) and unofficial (bottom) signage on and near the walls of the case study block (photographs by Jane Clossick).

Figure 2.14 is a plan of a shop plan by Suzi Hall, in which the gradation of publicness from front to back is clear. It shows what Hall et al. (2014) call ‘mutualisms’, in which the shop has been subdivided into multiple businesses, and then even within the businesses subletting to smaller businesses is occurring (this capacity is vital for economic and social sustainability). At the front are the businesses which most require a public face, such as the fruit stall and mobile phone repair shop. At the back are the businesses which require some privacy for customers, the hair and nail salons (S. Hall et al. 2014).

The experience of another interviewee also suggested that lateral and vertical depth are a structure of gradated publicness, from the front where people enter without hesitation, to the back where the more private activities occur. When I spoke to her, Megan Beck was running an art project situated in a shop on Broad Lane. Occupying a shop-like space, but not herself running a shop, meant that people’s interactions with her made explicit the patterns of thought and behaviour associated with shop fronts. Her experience demonstrates how people interpret what can be done in particular spots in the depth structure. So at the very front, the most public part, they can just walk right in and ask for a job.

Jane: Did you get people peering in but not coming in?

Megan: Peering in, hmm, well they generally came in. It was quite funny, people are quite inquisitive even if they just had said, what is this about? OK, alright. And went off again. And some people, loads of people, asked me for a job ... I mean if I had work for people I could have employed 20 people! ... Loads of people asking for work, and so I had quite a lot of photographers, people came in saying they were photographers, did I need any photographer? Loads of builders they would come in and say do you need some work done or next time. Young people saying, a couple of young people who been at the college and were now unemployed came in saying, I’ll do anything, I just need a job.

Daniel Martinez also articulated the gradation of publicness very clearly:

Daniel: The more important bit is like the front ... Because if you’ve got something in the front that is really attractive, people will want to go in. *But ... you still see people coming in, the usuals, people who know.* But you don’t get nobody who walks past and says, oh? What’s going on in there? What’s that? ... Everyone wants to be on the outside, I’m sure everyone has said, I wanna be on the outside ... But I’m saying if it’s open to the outside obviously we get more customers.

Here [at the back] we get a lot of customers which is mainly Colombians, but when you’re out to the street you get your English, your Nigerian, all them customers as well. But as soon as you get something nice and open you get customers coming in then the business should grow, so I don’t really mind, I would prefer being to the front but I don’t mind being inside. Because inside is kind of, like I say, to the front is more to the public and here inside is more like family.

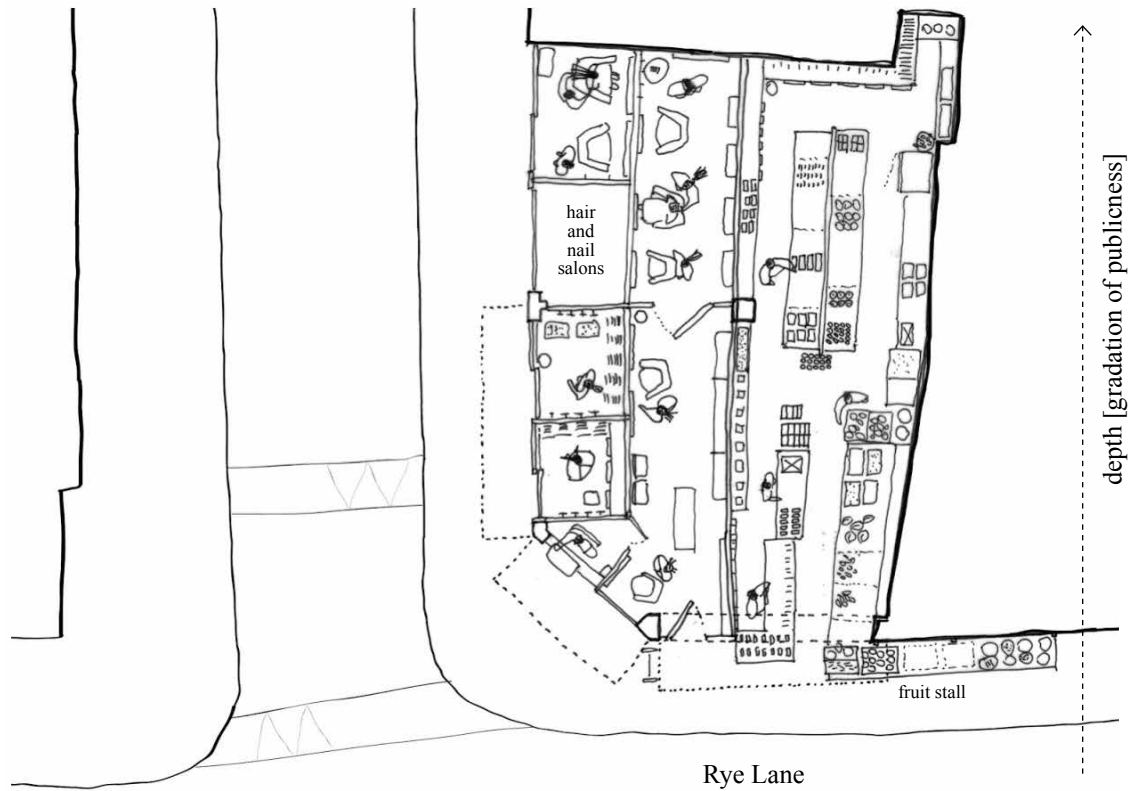


Figure 2.14 Shop plan from Rye Lane, Peckham, showing gradation of publicness in author's annotations (drawing source: *Ordinary Streets*, Hall et al. 2014).

Because shop fronts line the edges of high streets, the building line is usually fairly solid, and the street is enclosed. An example of this is shown in Figure 2.15, a photograph of occupation of street frontage with goods displayed on the pavement, to show what is available inside the shop, as well as a continuous and enclosed street frontage. Policy (and other) literature often frames high streets as a strip, surrounded by frontages (rather than surrounded by blocks, and their physical depth) with infrastructure occupying the space between frontage and highway—things like market stalls, postboxes, bins and other street furniture (P. Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 34). This enclosure of the street is seen by some as a cause for ‘vitality’. Still, this is misleading, not least because *enclosure* is a very vague term (used e.g. by P. Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 35). There is no clear, direct causal connection between a street frontage being continuous and there being a lot of activity, trade and human life on the street. More accurately, the presence of this sort of street frontage indicates that depth is accessible, either through buildings (as building depth) or external access routes (as site depth). Where buildings are isolated, as when large supermarkets take up a whole block, the break in continuity means the site depth is filled up and therefore inaccessible. Viewed in this way, lively and varied civic life on the street is linked to the presence of rich, well-developed high street depth—of which solid enclosure is a symptom, not a cause. This rich variation is not necessarily happy and harmonious, like the Grainger images (see Chapter 1), because as we shall see in Chapter 3, depth also accommodates difference.

Vertical building depth

As well as lateral depth, there is a vertical depth structure inside buildings. This may be a hierarchy of activities within one business, depending on space and other needs, or different businesses or civic activities stacked on top of one another. To illustrate, consider the Shades Caterers’ premises in Morrison Yard (Figure 2.23). The ground floor contains the kitchen and preparation area, with easy access to the van and trailer parked outside the door. Upstairs is a mezzanine office, and storage for items used less frequently than the cooking equipment. This logical storage system is similar to that which might be found in any home or organisation, with the most frequently used items in the most accessible locations, or closest to the place where they will next be used. That this sort of vertical depth is useful is demonstrated by the way that many of the traders in Seven Sisters Market have created vertical depth for themselves by installing a makeshift mezzanine floor inside their shop units, because the shop units have generous floor to ceiling dimensions. The architect who worked on the *Wards Corner Community Plan* (see Chapter 1), Abigail Stevenson, pointed this out to me:

Abi: And there’s an upstairs.

Jane: Yes, I’ve been up there. I had my legs waxed up there: above Oasis.

Abi: Oh, no I mean above above ... there’s the mezzanine ... [but] I think the stairs got taken out. And there used to be light wells as well.

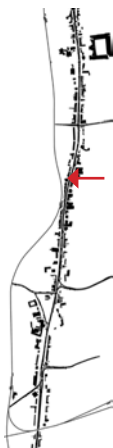


Figure 2.15 Enclosed street edge, with goods on display (photograph by Jane Clossick).

Another kind of vertical depth relies upon the division of a building into separate floors, occupied by separate businesses. The vertical structure also often contains flats above shops. In the former brewery building in Morrison Yard, the bottom two floors (basement and ground) are occupied by Flourish Bakery, a fast-growing business which now employs 35 people and supplies bread and pastry to over a hundred delis, restaurants and shops (Scott 2014, 52). Above the bakery are a recording studio, storage and so on, as shown Figure 2.16, an exploded axonometric drawing of the former Tottenham Brewery. The grain of vertical depth is very fine, and difficult to capture in land-use surveys, falling ‘under the radar’ in spatial and economic planning (Carmona 2014, 49).

Vertical depth, like lateral depth, also operates hierarchically, according to a balance of business needs and cost of space, where the units on the ground floor are likely to be occupied by businesses which need immediate access to the outside for deliveries or distribution.

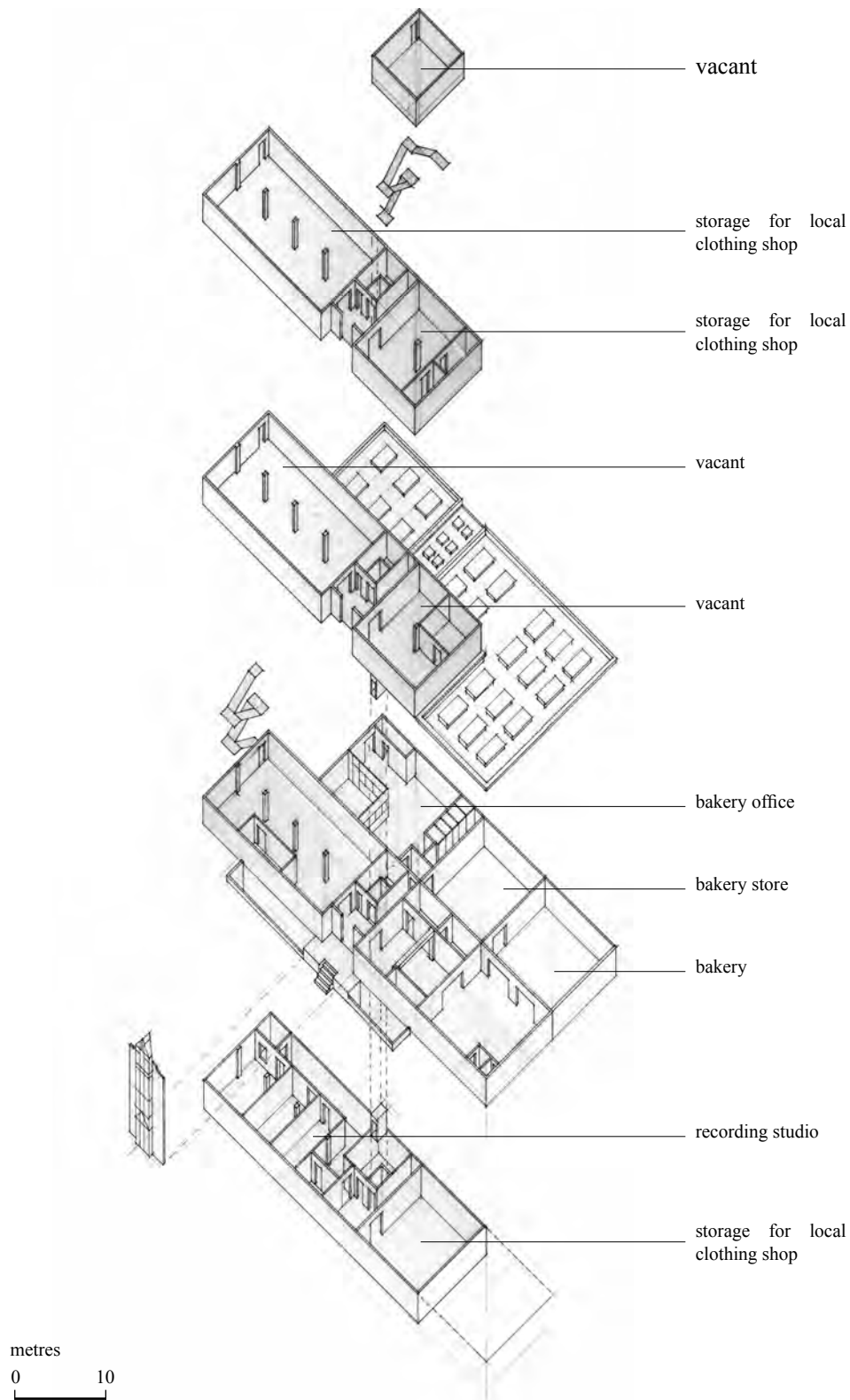
These sorts of considerations show how physical depth (both lateral and vertical) accommodates different types of activity. The use of depth as an enabling mechanism is very deeply ingrained, to such an extent that people’s behaviour can sometimes adopt a depth-like structure whose link to the physical environment is more tenuous. We can see an example of this when, in interviews exploring the likely consequences of redeveloping Seven Sisters Market, the topic turned to the personal implications for Henry Paz, the market manager. This conversation was between Henry, me and a fellow researcher from the Geography department at UCL, Myfanwy Taylor:

Henry: You know the new shop, the Selective Goods and, how do you call it, the furniture shop with the pavement? The door next to there 249A ... It’s a flat [above the shops] ... I pay a reduced rent ... because that was the caretaker’s home.

Myfanwy: So you’re also worried for your own home. Do you have family, are people living with you?

Henry: Just me. But I’ve got a couple of friends there.

The flat is spatially and legally linked to the market: they are next to each other, and owned by the same people. But it also facilitates a further depth-like link in the person of Henry, whose physical adjacency allows him to be a link between the more public and the more private aspects of the market’s life. He lives there, has personal relationships with all the traders, and knows everything that goes on. When people have a problem they go to him; he is the conduit between the traders and the owners, including (but not solely) because he translates from English to Spanish.



Vertical separation between businesses of the old brewery building, now rebuilt, in Morrison Yard, Flourish bakery operates in the bottom two floors, and the type of building (without vertical separation into mixed use between housing and businesses) has allowed the bakery to expand as its needs have changed.

Figure 2.16 Exploded axonometric of Tottenham Brewery (drawn by Jane Clossick and Colin O'Sullivan).

Henry thus plays a vital role. Of course, it need not be Henry that plays it. The point about physical depth is that it allows the spontaneous generation of what is needed for people to function, interact and negotiate their communal lives, no matter who the particular occupants of the space are. Henry's role is an instance of the same sort of mechanism. It is as though he is a connection between the external space of the legal owners and the city, and the internal space of the traders' relationships and interactions. The depth here is ontological, rather than physical, but the functional pattern is the same. This reinforces my main point in this chapter: we naturally think of roles like Henry's in depth-like terms, because we are so used to the success of physical depth in ordering the physical and economic structures of the high street.

Hierarchy of lateral and vertical depth

Where different activities sit in the vertical and lateral hierarchy inside buildings is determined largely economically, by market value. This in turn follows the hierarchy of uses, or of decorum. For example, where businesses are accessed on foot, street frontage has the highest value. (Carmona 2014, 47). The relative value of the different locations depends on how important these qualities are to the occupiers' business activities. Henry Paz has an intuitive understanding of which type of business would most appropriately be situated in different parts of the Wards Corner building:

Henry: I mean the main thing for me, my opinion obviously, this area [downstairs] should be more like businesses, you know. Upstairs [it should be] probably services because you know, trade takes place here, it's more accessible. Whereas upstairs, you know, for services.

Jane: You've had a lot of enquiries about the first floor but you can't do anything about it?

Henry: No we can't, we can't even allow people up there because it's not safe.

Myfanwy: Can you give us examples of what people wanted to do up there?

Henry: I think some people are talking about a snooker club, a music hall.

By associating the ground floor with traders' businesses and the upstairs with services, Henry demonstrates an intuitive understanding of the vertical depth structure—that the upper floors of Seven Sisters market should be for services, because traders' businesses need ground floor space so the goods are visible and physically accessible to passing trade.

The traders on Tottenham High Road balance different values and uses within the depth (vertical and lateral) that is available both within their premises and in adjacent places (such as car parks). These possibilities must also be balanced with the advantages of being in a particular location. For example, Daniel Martinez had mixed feelings about the location of his butcher's shop at the back of the market, because he had a very loyal and embedded customer base, but hardly any room to run his business.

Daniel: Yeah we can be very, very busy. If we had space, I reckon if we were like on the outside [of the market, with street frontage, see Chapter 1, section 1.2 for a drawing], I think it would be a very, very big business ... like it's a limited space you cant really [do anything] ... the whole space is taken by the cold room, isn't it, yeah ... I reckon if we were like on the main street outside ... I reckon it would be like top range, cause I see really big potential, but the space doesn't help. You could employ a lot of people if we had a big [place] because then we have more customers ... But right now its really hard for us to attract people, only [from] here [in the market] isn't it, because literally that's our customers, people who know about this place and literally come to this place. But nobody else, we don't really get new customers.

One particularly interesting shop type that combines a shop and flats in a hierarchy of lateral and vertical depth is Windsor Parade at 538-554 High Road, shown in Figure 2.17 and Figure 2.18. On Scotland Green nearby cottages have been converted to have shops on the ground floor. Windsor Parade, by contrast, is a purpose-built parade of shops of a type found on many London high streets. Built in 1907, this type of shop parade was a response to the mass conversion of housing along arterial routes into shops (as discussed in the Introduction). Such parades of shops were likely built by a single developer, and then leased or sold to shopkeepers, who would live above the shop they ran. The type remains adaptable. Although few people who work in shops now live above them, the flats are still rented out to tenants or used for storage: usually the flat is included as part of the lease on the shop below.

The shops in Windsor Parade are an estate agent, two cafés, an optician, a small grocer's shop, a butcher's shop and a hair salon. Since this study of the High Road began, both of the cafés have changed ownership and signage, and since 2008 (when the parade was refurbished) there have been several further changes. Yet it is still identifiable as a unified parade by its uniform details; the shared access route to the back; the small finials that adorn the columns between shop windows, and the extendable canopy that defines small areas of pavement occupation for each unit. It has remained much the same throughout its history, as shown in the pictures in Figure 2.18, from 1907, 1931 and 1947 (Haringey Archive Service, 2014), which demonstrates how strong and persistent the armature of high road shops is over time. The order of Windsor Parade also demonstrates a clear understanding of the structure and function of different parts of building depth—both lateral and vertical.



Figure 2.17 Windsor Parade elevation
(source: Google Streetview 2016).



Figure 2.18 Photographs of Windsor Parade.
From top: 1907, 1931, 1947 (source: Haringey Archive Service, Bruce Castle Museum, accessed in 2014).

As a result of the forces which structure building depth which I have described in this section, at the city scale shops tend to form linear patterns along the most well-connected streets—high streets. There are a few exceptions on Tottenham High Road to the tendency for shops to be situated directly on the High Road. And even the apparent exceptions reinforce the point. On Scotland Green there are six shops and two pubs on a road that is perpendicular to the High Road, but this little stretch is not clearly delineated as separate from the High Road. It has a pedestrianised, paved surface and the angle of the buildings means that the shop fronts are visible from the High Road. All visual clues encourage us to treat it as an extension of the High Road. The only businesses that lie beyond the visibility threshold are a Chinese takeaway and two pubs, businesses which don't especially rely on passing trade for their business. Indeed, the fact that pubs are often found in the depths of side roads, away from the high street, is a further instance of the depth structure I am analysing in this chapter: people refer to the pub they go to as their 'local' because they treat it as an intermediate place between the (wholly private) home and the (public) high street. So, there exist many pubs for which being on a high street would not be advantageous; many punters prefer to drink off the beaten track and will frequent the same place for years.

Physical adaptability

One of the characteristics of high street depth which becomes rich and varied over time is its adaptability. Different types of building are more or less effective at accommodating this adaptability within the structures of depth. Most high streets have a core stock of Victorian shops and houses converted to shops, and this is significant because the Victorian house lends itself particularly well to alteration.

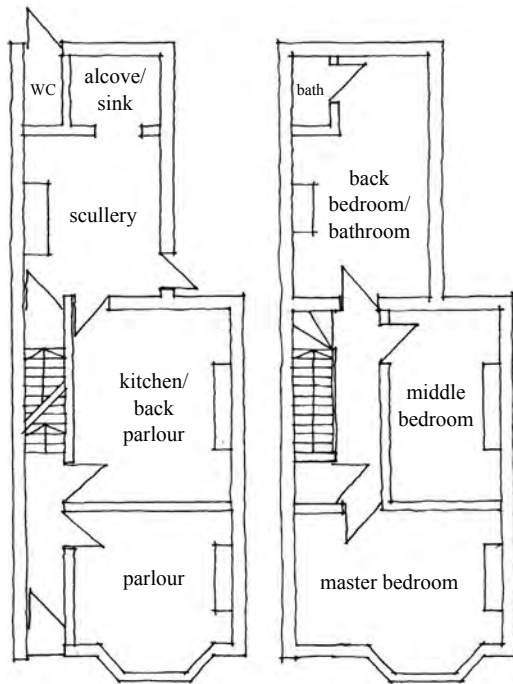
There are a number of reasons why nineteenth century Victorian villas have been suitable for conversion to other uses. They have a fairly predictable and consistent width and depth (although this varies from four metres to more than eight metres from area to area). Privacy requirements meant separate rooms and circulation, which lends itself well to internal separation. The prestige of dwelling on a major transport route meant that earlier villas were built with deep and generous front gardens. Later, when the land around the major routes began to urbanise, these gardens were built on with a shop unit (see the typical example in Figure 2.10). Servants used the scullery at the back and required an accessible rear entrance, and a long garden was almost always accessible to the street either around the side in a semi-detached property, or via a passageway between the houses in a terraced property. This rear access has also lent itself well to conversion, since shops operate well when deliveries can be made straight into the storage area at the back, and where there is a place to park. Such villas were built before electric lighting, and hence have deep floor to floor dimensions so as to allow light penetration. Finally, there is a hierarchy of rooms from front to back and from ground to upper floors.

Modern housing, by contrast, has a structure which is not easily converted for other uses. Although internally the space may be more flexible than in a Victorian house, the building as a whole is less adaptable. In this I am distinguishing between *flexibility* (where a space can be put to different uses) and *adaptability* (where a building can be changed to accommodate different uses). The ceiling heights are insufficient to allow space for display, storage and servicing (lighting tracts, ducts, cooling systems). As described in section 2.1, often the entrances to modern housing developments are not directly on the road, but rather hidden inside other sub-road networks; this is not good for conversion to commercial use, since shops need direct access to the street.

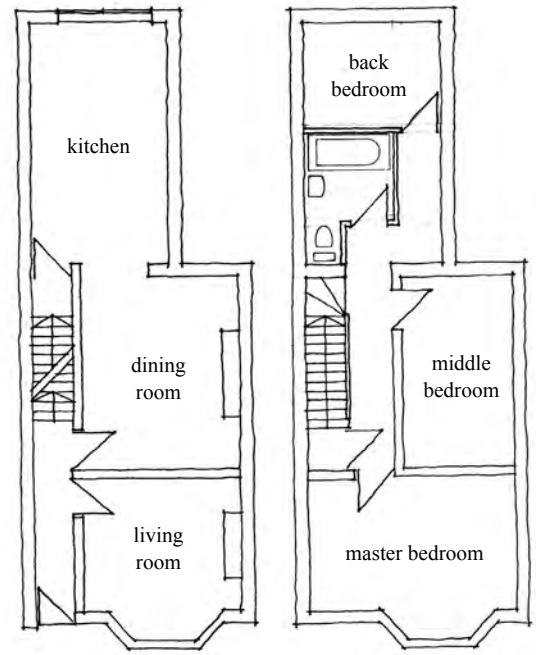
Victorian houses are also easier to alter because the materials are simple: they have timber floors, and are built of brick. It is easy for a layperson to knock holes in brick walls, whereas concrete slabs need professionals to change. A recent study undertaken in Melbourne found a correlation between vitality (footfall and density of mixed occupation), and adaptability. Typologies from 100 years ago are particularly suited to incremental adaptation. So, although the large floor plates of modern buildings are more flexible, they hinder change over time due to their low levels of mixed use (March et al. 2012, 551). Like an old car, pieces can be altered and replaced incrementally, whereas a modern building which is all one structural system (while more efficient to construct) is less adaptable.

Figure 2.19 shows various configurations of a Victorian house. The example on the top left has the parlour and kitchen knocked together, a new corridor to the kitchen and an extension accommodating the bathroom. The middle example shows the kitchen and scullery knocked together into a kitchen/dining room, with the bathroom installed in the third bedroom upstairs. The example on the right is a conversion of the house into two one-bedroomed flats like those on Dowsett Road in the case study block (see Introduction).

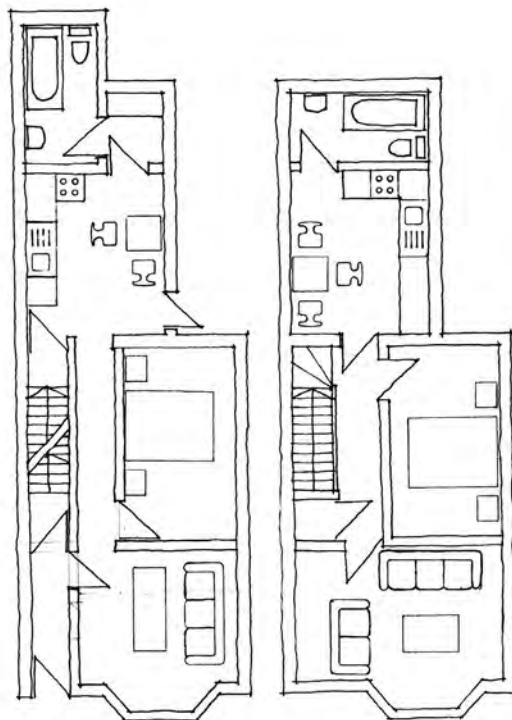
By contrast to Figure 2.19, the houses shown in Figure 2.20 are examples of other London house types from the 1930s (left) and the 1950s (right). They are relatively adaptable for residential accommodation: rooms can be knocked together to create bigger rooms, extensions can be built, and bathrooms can be moved. However, this adaptability does not extend to becoming shops as the Victorian/Georgian type does, because of the usual location of these houses (on side streets) and because of the lower ceiling heights, as well as the relatively shallow nature of the plans. In comparison to houses built pre-electricity, modern houses and flat blocks are not adaptable. They do not provide an armature which can change easily.



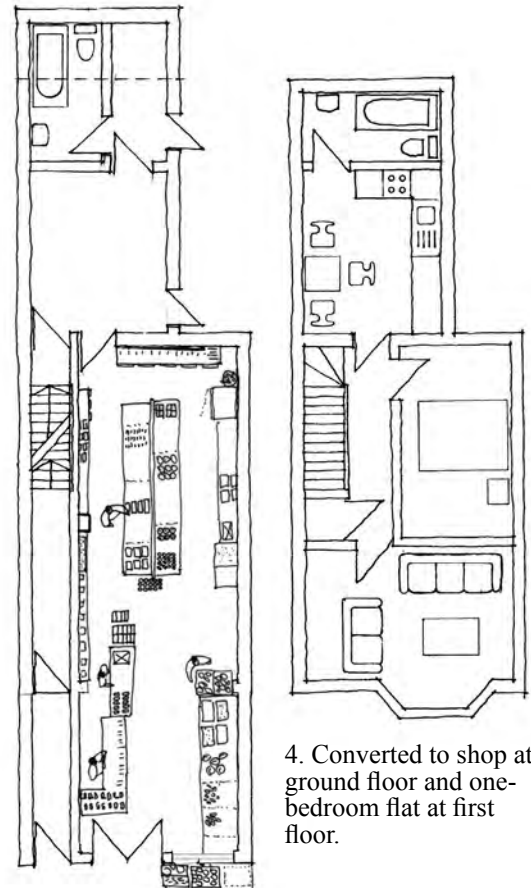
1. Original layout of Victorian terraced house.



2. Converted with internal bathroom & WC upstairs and kitchen/diner downstairs.



3. Converted to two one-bedroom flats.



4. Converted to shop at ground floor and one-bedroom flat at first floor.

Figure 2.19 Victorian house plans (drawn by Jane Clossick with shop interior fittings from drawing by Suzi Hall, base information for Victorian house and conversions from sources: 'Floor Plan of the 1900 House', About.com 2016 and Rightmove.com 2012).

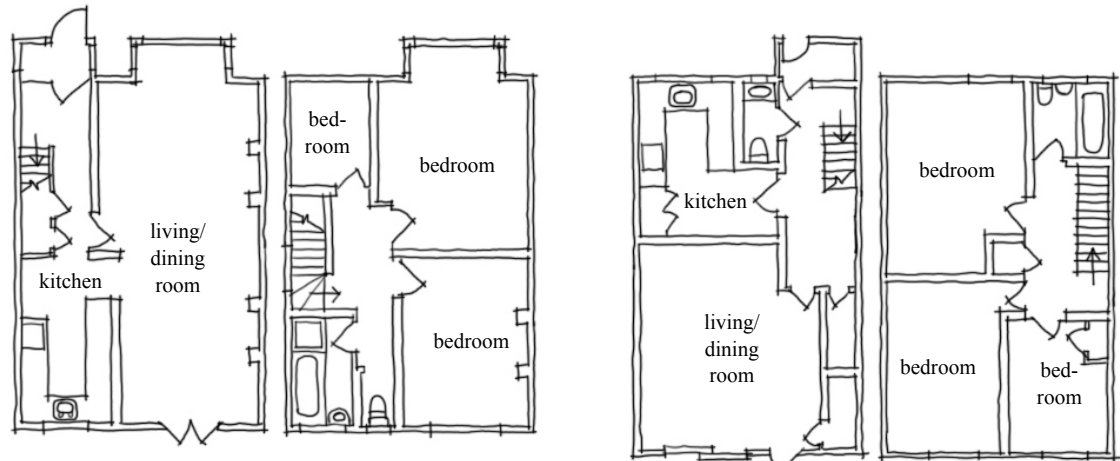


Figure 2.20 Other vernacular house types, 1930s converted (left) and 1950s original (right) (drawn by Jane Clossick, base information from Rightmove.com 2012).

The tolerance and inherent adaptability both internally and of the whole sites of Georgian and Victorian buildings on vernacular streets allow a huge range of high street places to come into being. The significance of this adaptability is that it is relevant for the richness of depth on the high street, and how this accommodates civic life. Most of the High Road in Tottenham was colonised in the nineteenth century, as London expanded as a result of industrialisation, and Tottenham High Road (like most arterial roads to the countryside, which later became high streets in London) were lined with Victorian villas built for the expanding middle class. The fabric is therefore capable of absorbing local change. In contrast, the physical arrangements of modernist planning projects tend to resist piecemeal change. Instead they need complete demolition and redevelopment (Hanson 2000, 99). In the modernist order the accessibility and potential for development of site depth is suppressed both by the morphology of the buildings and by the bureaucracy (usually a housing association or local authority) which controls the site. This is particularly apparent where available pieces of land, like scrubby bits of grassland or dead planters, remain empty and unoccupied, while similar sites in the vernacular street pattern are quickly put to use.

The building types found on Tottenham High Road and other London high streets offer both flexibility (the use of the space for different purposes) and adaptability (alteration of the shape of the spaces through changing of partitions, demolitions or extensions). Businesses can expand upwards or sideways, they can move about within adjacent premises as their needs change, and boundaries between neighbours can be re-negotiated. An image produced by the Ordinary Streets project at the LSE shows this type of incrementally changing occupation very effectively, in Figure 2.21 (S. Hall et al. 2014, redrawn by Jane Clossick). A business can be run from a tiny piece of space, nestled within another business (mutualism), such as a salon or nail bar which rents out its chairs by the hour; a market stall, or a small piece of land at the front of an existing shop that is adapted to become a mobile phone stall. The different businesses depicted would all be sited at different points in building depth: the market stall or mobile phone stall to the front (where they can benefit from passing trade and visibility), and the nail bar and hairdresser's chair inside (where there is more privacy and customers arrange appointments in advance).

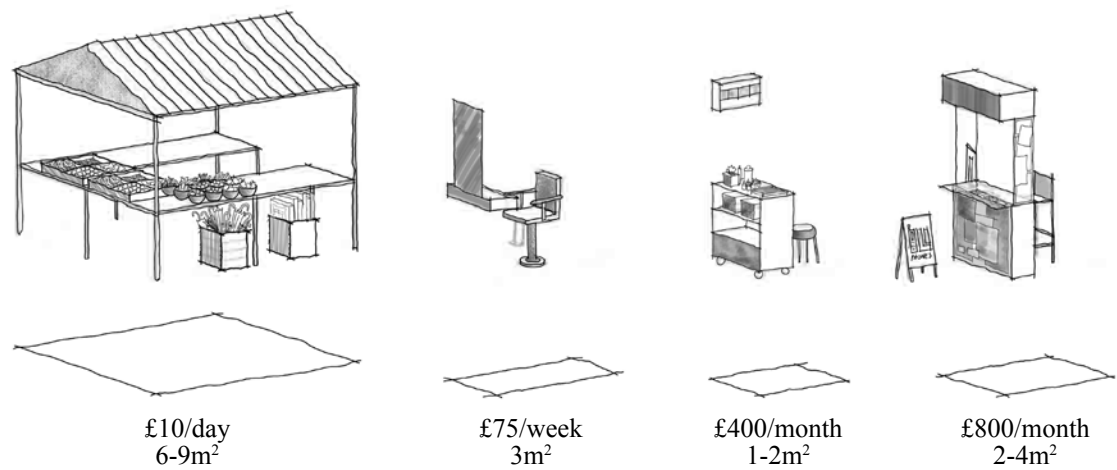


Figure 2.21 Incremental occupation and space requirements for different kinds of small businesses (source: Ordinary Streets project, Hall et al. 2014, redrawn by Jane Clossick for this thesis).

The adaptability of the deep high street shop type means that shops can be subdivided many times. This allows people without much capital to establish a tiny business which can grow, incrementally occupying more elaborate premises. In Seven Sisters Market it is this adaptability of small cheap units (which can be knocked together or subdivided) which means they easily and quickly change hands. This means as a whole that the market can respond very quickly to economic changes, and sustain itself. Unfortunately, it also means that while the market itself is strong, individual traders operate on narrow economic margins, making them vulnerable to the damage to their businesses which will occur as a result of relocation due to redevelopment at Seven Sisters (discussed in Chapter 1). The market is a firm armature which hosts adaptability of individual units.

The high street is structured similarly—a firm armature in which individual shops can change hands, and buildings are altered and changed over time. Businesses can respond very rapidly to economic, social or technological shifts; and although small shopkeepers are vulnerable, the adaptability of the architecture means that the street (or market) as a whole is preserved—as Henry Paz describes in the quotation below. The downside of this is that it depends on (and reinforces) the vulnerability of the shopkeepers. Admittedly, there are other factors which contribute to this: their political impotence, inexperience in legal practice, and the impossibility of forming more durable alliances in a context of rapidly shifting tenancies. Even if these factors were ameliorated, adaptability would always involve vulnerability to market forces. This is one reason why chain shops have an unfair advantage, since they (unlike independent traders) have support from their parent companies which can tide them over local difficulties. A crucial question is how to mitigate this competitive disadvantage, and the unpleasant precariousness for individual traders, while preserving adaptability as a vital mechanism for preserving the health of the high street ecosystem.

Henry the market manager understands the significance of adaptability in the context of a discussion about the WCC *Community Plan*, and whether the proposed market should have distinctive zones for different kinds of product:

Henry: For this place flexibility is important because it's kept the market vibrant and full of life. We start telling someone, no, I'm sorry, you can't have clothing there, we will stifle them, we are restricting, you know, so we're going to have that unit empty just because we can't find a trade to be along with this one here in front of it.

This brings us to another aspect to flexibility and adaptability, namely the resilience they allow. This resilience is the result of businesses being physically able to respond to changing social and economic conditions; or if they cannot adapt, the fact that others will emerge to take their place. Some local economic systems recover well from shock, others do not. This depends on their level of adaptive resilience, a notion which comes from complex systems theory

(Cilliers 1998 and Mitleton-Kelly 2003). The high street is an anticipatory and reactive system. It undergoes self-reorganisation which minimises the impact of economic shock by reconfiguring its internal structure—through adaptable depth. Its diversity and latent potential for greater diversity is protective (Wrigley and Dolega 2011, 2345–6). Some level of churn occurs on all healthy high streets and higher churn during the recent economic shock could be reflection of the above-described self-organising capacity (Wrigley and Dolega 2011, 2347). High streets which were most resilient were small, with a high proportion of services relative to retail, small independent shops which were easy to reconfigure (Wrigley and Dolega 2011, 2353).

The source of resilience is adaptable and rich depth. In the quotation below, in conversation with UCL PhD candidate Myfanwy Taylor, also researching Tottenham, Henry again describes how the market provides an armature which accommodates small, precarious businesses:

Henry: The situation here is that shops change hands very easily. As I say you might have the two main coffee shops here but then that hairdresser tomorrow can be a clothing shop.

Myfanwy: Do you think that that's a positive thing, that it's easy for people to start a business?

Henry: Yeah, it's a flexible thing. We don't put anything inconvenient when people want to start up, but then the problem is when people aren't far away from a cooking shop or a coffee shop ... it works because your level of investment is small. It give you an opportunity to, you know, try. Obviously the idea for starting up a business is for you to have some kind of a background of studying or knowledge about how to run a business. At least have some idea about accounting or marketing research, this kind of stuff, but you know obviously some of the people, a lot of the traders here, they don't have that kind of education and standard of studies, but they have the motivation and drive to do this.

In this section I have analysed building depth. Building depth has a clearly articulated structure on Tottenham High Road. The occupation of the structure of physical depth at the scale of the building is organised in terms of economic value, with the most valuable space being at the front of the block at street level. This hierarchy of economic value corresponds to a hierarchy of publicness, moving up and away into the depth away from the high street. The adaptability of building depth on the vernacular high street, like Tottenham High Road, both in terms of how easily business space can change hands, and how easily it can be physically changed or subdivided, means that this type of high street is very resilient to economic and cultural change.

2.3 Site depth

The third scale at which depth structures exist is the scale of the site. Businesses need a range of kinds of places with different attributes, depending on their particular needs—like proximity to custom, cheapness, civic presence, an office, yard or workshop. It is advantageous for shops to have a position where they can maximise passing trade, so they tend to be on the high street. Other businesses or civic uses need places proximate to the high street, but not necessarily street frontage. There are commonalities between types of businesses and their needs which mean that certain kinds of business are often located in similar spots in the depth of blocks.

A site adjacent to the High Road, Morrison Yard (discussed previously, shown in Figure 2.16 and in Figure 2.22), in the case study block, has a block of flats and non-shop businesses situated above shops on the group floor. The old brewery building is separated into floors which divide businesses. The yard contains different business uses which relate to one another in space internally and externally, including buildings and yards or car parks.

The expression of the depth structure is typified in Morrison Yard by Shades Catering, which occupies the former stable block of the Tottenham Brewery. Shades is shown in Figure 2.23. Shades does not require a high street location since most of their work comes from existing clients such as Haringey Council. Passing trade is not needed, because they do not sell their wares (or provide their service) from their premises. But they have a van and takeaway trailer that they take out several times a week to different markets around London, which they park outside in the yard. (They temporarily occupy a high street when the chances of obtaining passing trade are maximized.) Although the business premises themselves are not located directly on the High Road, they are geographically very close to it, just behind the façade of shops.

Parking is also very important for the traders in Seven Sisters Market, as Daniel Martinez describes in the quotation below, and this is one of the primary problems with the scheme proposed by Grainger and explored in Chapter 1—there is no easily accessible parking.

Daniel: Another thing that is really important to the [Seven Sisters] Market is a car park ... so that is something we really, really need ... you see the new plan, when they come—now you've reminded me—they came in saying we weren't going to have a car park, but a lot of people here have vehicles, obviously you need a vehicle. I need a vehicle to come to work, because I live too far.

Jane: Where do you park now?

Daniel: I park outside, we got a parking space, but according to Grainger's that was going to finish, that's going to go. Apparently there was going to be a car park, for the residents of the apartments. We need for the customers, we need for the traders as well. Something that's really, really important.

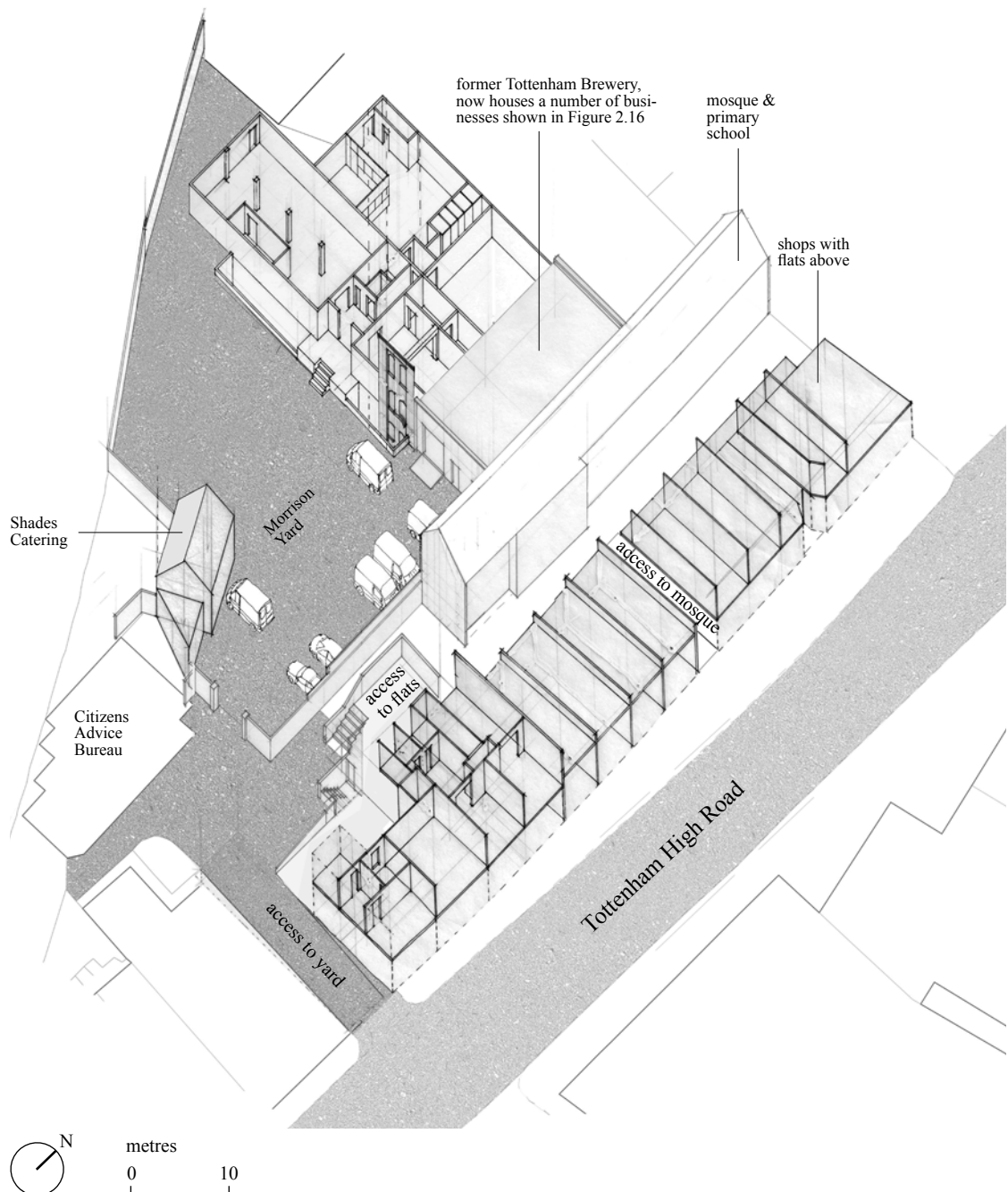


Figure 2.22 Axonometric of Morrison Yard showing site depth (drawing by Jane Clossick and Colin O'Sullivan).



Figure 2.23 Shades Catering in Morrison Yard (drawings and photographs by Jane Clossick and Colin O'Sullivan).

There is a clear hierarchical organisation for different kinds of uses inside the blocks adjacent to the High Road. Figure 2.24 shows entrances to businesses, civic uses and homes mapped on the case study block in different colours. Businesses (particularly shops) tend to front the High Road, civic and residential uses are inside the block or accessed from side streets.

The physical link to the High Road via Morrison Yard, therefore, serves several functions. Firstly, it enables easy access to road transport (e.g. for Flourish Bakery, whose fleet of vans can easily drive out and access major routes), and also to public transport (e.g. for Quo Vadis recording studios, many of whose clients arrive on the bus, train or tube). Secondly, it also means that vehicles can be parked (for deliveries or distribution). Thirdly, the accessibility of depth simply means that buildings can be built inside the yard (because there is a route for vehicles and building materials) and the site depth is adaptable as temporary structures can be built and demolished. This chimes with a major finding of Space Syntax researchers looking at urban patterns of land use, that non-residential uses usually correspond with most spatially accessible streets (Vaughan and Griffiths 2013, 6).

Site depth must be accessible from the high street or a side road in order to develop rich and varied content. The drawing that led to this insight is Figure 2.25, a reversed figure-ground of site depth on Tottenham High Road. All open space in the blocks adjacent to Tottenham High Road is coloured. Black (commercial) and pink (civic) represent site depth that is already well-developed and the apparent voids (yards) are in use, addressed-by or related-to buildings. Grey represents sites which are connected to the High Road but were not, at the time of drawing in 2014, yet developed. Developments which have been built or proposed since then are marked with a red dot (I return to the topic of filling up site depth later in this chapter). The examples of site depth on the right of Figure 2.25 show the difference between open sites with no fence or perimeter buildings (top) and sites which have a clear perimeter and vehicular access to a road (middle, bottom). It was the process of colour-filling these spaces on the large map which alerted me to the fact that they all have a vehicular connection to the High Road or one of its side streets. Where the sites are connected but not developed, they are blocked-up bureaucratically (i.e. they are residential estate sites, or civic sites such as schools or parks). The network of small connected sites such as Morrison Yard is part of a hierarchy of spatial networks, nested within each other.

In a study of Borehamwood, Vaughan (2006, 83) found that productive activities in courtyards and backstreets resulted in an interdependence of activities, and generated movement of people and vehicles. This intensity often fell outside the designated town centre boundary. The non-residential intensity is shown at a London-wide scale in Figure 2.7, in a mapping of designated Town Centre boundaries and high streets as identified in *High Street London* (Gort Scott and UCL 2010,91). It is clear that there are many more high streets than there are town centres, yet these high streets have no special planning designation at all.





Figure 2.25 Open space in site depth on Tottenham High Road (drawn by Jane Clossick).

The networks of movement in Borehamwood operate at different scales simultaneously and have shifted importance from one scale to another over time (Vaughan 2006, 82). In two detailed case studies, all non-residential uses were mapped within 800m of the boundary of the town centre. 42-49% of streets were purely residential, but all 'segments' with shopping also contained other uses (Vaughan 2006, 84). Of 'segments' with more than four shops, 22% had industrial activity, 66% had financial activities and 70% had offices (Vaughan 2006, 85). A range of non-residential activity—not just shops—is important for both local and larger scale movement patterns (Vaughan, C. Jones, et al. 2010, 79). By 'movement patterns', Vaughan et al mean interactions of different kinds of people, doing different things. This is more like civic intensity than crowd. The depth of the blocks either side of Tottenham High Road contains mixed use activity which feeds both the street, and back into itself through a multiplier effect.

This 'hidden diversity' (hidden behind the crust of shops), such as that seen in Morrison Yard in the case study block, explains the importance of high streets to London's employment (Carmona 2014, 49). At local scale, the patterns of movement are more complex and deeper than simple movement up and down the high street. Crucially, none of these 'hidden' functions can be fulfilled without an external vehicular link between the space inside the block and the high street.

Site depth, adaptability and hierarchical ordering

The adaptive resilience inherent in building depth also applies at the scale of the site, and is demonstrated by looking at the case study block in Tottenham and how it has changed through history. Centres undergo these physical transformations gradually. Patterns of movement influence land uses—particularly 'live centre'² uses like office, administration or religious activities—which then make the centre an attractor in its own right (Vaughan, C. Jones, et al. 2010, 78), sparking further changes in patterns of movement. In the late nineteenth century the High Road jumped in a few short decades from being a through-route with a few large estates along it, to being a heavily developed industrial and residential area (see the Introduction). The High Road was the place to site shops, so most are purpose-built, with a few exceptions, such as the Georgian mansions and some converted Victorian cottages on Scotland Green, and a couple of grander Victorian houses on the western side of the High Road (one of which is a solicitor's office, the other is a shop). The few purpose-built houses on the High Road are converted to shops or civic uses, with businesses above and behind. The case study block has changed and adapted through time according to changing social and economic conditions.

² The 'live centre' is a centre of movement of people and vehicles on the urban grid where retail and other 'movement driven' (i.e. non-residential) activities cluster. This is Hanson and Hillier's (1984) theory of 'Centrality as a Process'. Vaughan et al (2010) extend the definition of a centre to include the wider 'active centre', which is the area of civic and economic activity around the live centre (in the depth structure).

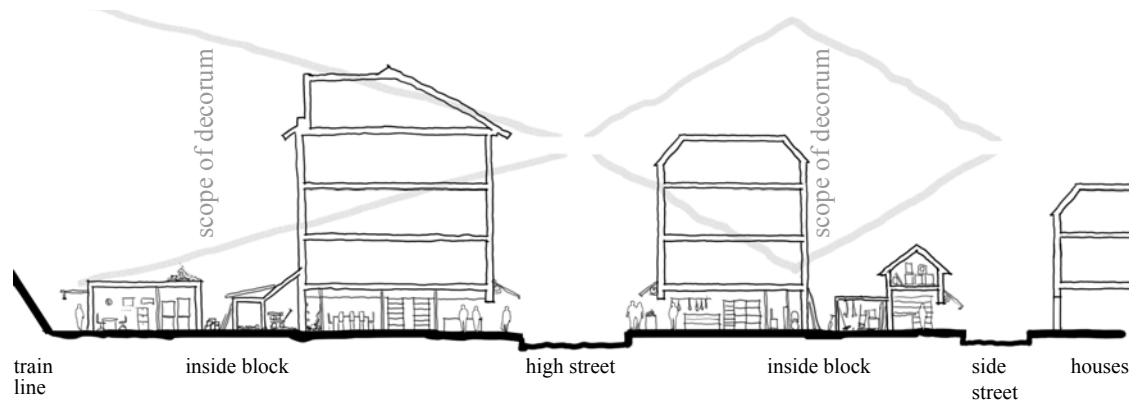


Figure 2.26 Diversity of decorum diagram (drawn by Jane Clossick, after Carl).

Adaptability itself has an ordered structure, which works vertically and horizontally in building depth, and works from the front to the inside of blocks adjacent to the high street. The interiors of blocks tend to be more adaptable and to contain a wider range of uses. Access points to the internal depth of the block tend to be more stable than the depth itself, which relates to the misconception about enclosure as being a cause for vitality, discussed above in section 2.2. In fact, enclosure with stable access points is the setting for internal block adaptability. There are stable high street fronts, with more temporary units behind which are adaptable in size, allowing small units to be transformed with no expensive refurbishment (Vaughan and Griffiths 2013, 3).

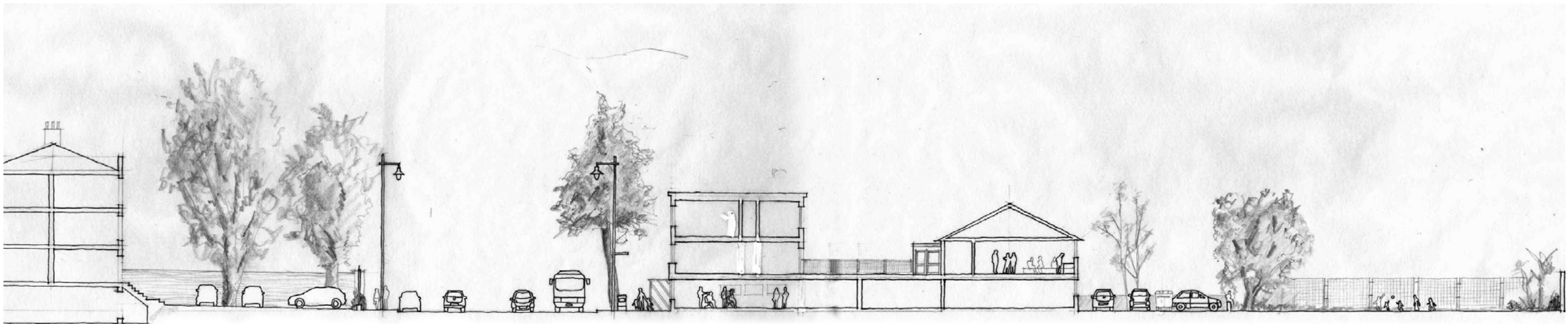
Block adaptability does have certain internal limits. It would seem logical that small purpose-built shops like those on Windsor Parade might be knocked through to create a larger footprint suitable for a Tesco Metro, or a Sainsbury's Local. In fact, the nature of the ownership makes this difficult. Each shop and flat above is owned by a freeholder, and the parts of the building are then leased or rented, so to knock through party walls between freeholds to create a new property at the ground floor which crosses several freehold boundaries is complex and expensive. This means larger units are almost always found in blocks constructed in more recent times—when the nature of high street business (and supermarket strategies) began to lean towards requiring medium sized high-street-fronted footprints.

These adaptations are layered in temporal terms, with a varying scope for decorum shown in Figure 2.26. This temporal layering is linked to the scope of decorum which is much greater inside the block, than it is on the street, as explored in Figure 2.27, a drawing of the scope of decorum in the case study block, using an annotated section. On the street, decorum is more limited, and the armature of the shop fronts change infrequently. Inside the block the scope of decorum is so deep that in this case study there is a Quaker burial ground, sited next to a car park inhabited with temporary storage sheds.

The block and high street endures for centuries, the front of the high street for 50-100 years, the block interior changes every 10-15 years, shop fit-outs every five years or so as owners change or update their property. These rhythms of adaptation are continuous with the familiar daily ebb and flow of business: slower and more extensive in their effects, but really an instance of the same way that physical space changes differentially within a depth structure as required by the human activities taking place within:

The rhythm within Nick's Caff was integral to its space...The Caff opened between six thirty and seven in the morning and closed approximately twelve hours later. It was open seven days a week, but closed on Sundays before lunch... The rhythm of the Caff across the day brought moments of intensity and relative quiet... delineated not only by the physical layout of the tables, but also by the fluctuating patterns of use throughout the day, ushering in the waves of different kinds of clientele at particular time intervals. (S. Hall 2009b, 125)

metres
0 10



Solicitor's office occupying Georgian mansion, front garden with mature trees used as car park, accessed from double gates onto High Road.

Forecourt and car park.

High Road with pavements to each side and four lanes of traffic (two bus lanes). Pavements inhabited with street furniture (street lamps, rubbish bins) and used by people to walk back and forth (no one really stops for a conversation).

GROUND FLOOR

Winner's salon, potential clients see activities inside through the window. Often just the staff sit in here, or friends and family drop in to socialise. Some elements very public, at the same time being quite private. People adjust their behaviour according to the topic of the setting (i.e. if a stranger walks in, the private conversations cease).

FIRST FLOOR

Liberty Evangelical Church (Congolese) and Samuels Accounting firm, accessed from side external staircase.

GROUND FLOOR (REAR)

African Women's Welfare Group (AWWG).

FIRST FLOOR (REAR)

Quaker Meeting House accessed from external staircase.

Car park

Quaker burial ground, now the Friends' Garden. Headstones removed and stacked against the south wall. Often used by the children of the AWWG for playing football and used one Sunday a month by the Children's Meeting of the Quakers. Also used extensively by local homeless people.



Front of solicitor's office



Signage on street links to block interior



Half-buried headstones in the Quaker burial ground



Figure 2.27 Section through the case study block, showing diversity of decorum from front to back (drawing and photographs by Jane Clossick).

The lack of physical flexibility of shop fronts allows plot-by-plot incremental change (S. Hall 2012, 123–124; Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 8; Griffiths et al. 2008, 9). Windsor Parade is an example. Ownership, and sometimes use, change over time, but the existence of a shop in one of these sections of the building remains constant. Often the type of shop or civic use remains constant over surprising amounts of time. Bakeries remain bakeries, even when they change hands.

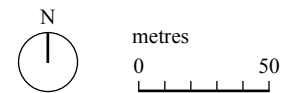
The point—that different parts of the block change at different rates, in terms of both site and building depth—is nicely demonstrated by exploring planning applications granted on Tottenham High Road since 1950. There are very few major developments. Instead, the majority are incremental changes—change of use, construction of single storey buildings in yards, erection of signs, changes of shop fronts. The annotated maps in Figure 2.28 - Figure 2.31 are the case study block in 1895, 1914, 1935 and 1955, and they show how the interior of the block changes at a different rate to the outside.

Several factors contribute towards this maintenance. The size of the shop accommodates a particular kind of small scale retail activity. Although they can be extended back or up, there is a maximum capacity which is appropriate for certain kinds of businesses, since the units tend to be 4.5-6m wide, with few over 12m wide, and with three or four floors of mixed residential and office space above (S. Hall 2012, 123–124). The planning system also has an effect, it grants permission for a particular building to have a specific use, which keeps shops where they are, because it is easier to situate a new business in a property which already has the use attached. Finally, where a unit has already been fitted out for a particular purpose, it becomes more appealing to future owners who are running a similar business, so is more likely to stay as the same kind of activity. These are all additional aspects of adaptive resilience.



Figure 2.28 Case study block in 1895

1. Housing built after construction of station.
2. Friends Meeting House, burial ground.
3. Site for Parkhurst Road.
4. Moselle stream water used by rubber mill.
5. Georgian houses, now converted to offices.
6. Stately home with curved drive became Windsor Parade.
7. Tottenham Brewery.
8. The bank remains, currently occupied by Barclays.
9. Tram lines at centre of High Road.

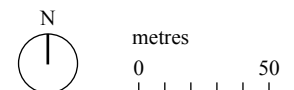


■ buildings still in existence in 2012



Figure 2.29 Case study block 1914

1. Bluecoats School before 19th c. Education Acts.
2. Parkhurst Road.
3. Moselle stream semi-culverted on school site.
4. Dowsett & Albion Roads laid out on former site of stately home & rubber mills.
5. Very small dwellings on Reform Row.
6. Liberal & Reform Club: social clubs for the working men.
7. Windsor Parade replaces curved drive and stately home, as suburban high street came into existence.



■ buildings still in existence in 2012

All maps drawn by Jane Clossick (basemap source: Digimap 2014).



Figure 2.30 Case study block 1935

1. Bluecoats School replaced by shops.
2. Public urinal.
3. Shops on the High Road, enclosing future mosque site.
4. Telephone exchange still on same site.
5. Filling up of sites is evident at rear of Windsor Terrace; and Morrison Yard.
6. Mass house-building & mixed use with shops to High Road constructed at this time.
7. Tram lines.

By 1935 Tottenham had its own metabolism, not reliant on central London for work & business.

■ buildings still in existence in 2012



Figure 2.31 Case study block 1955

1. Tram lines had gone from high road by 1955, replaced by trolley buses with overhead electric wires.
2. By 1955 the footprints of majority of buildings we see today were in place, (although buildings themselves may have been replaced) with the exception of infill residential development off Pembury Road (Kenmare Drive).
3. Height of the club movement, Tottenham had numerous social clubs.
4. The two pubs on Scotland Green remained unchanged for 100 years.

■ buildings still in existence in 2012

All maps drawn by Jane Clossick (basemap source: Digimap 2014).



Figure 2.32 Case study block 2014

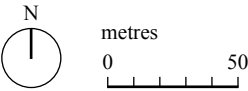
1. Development of flats behind the houses on Reform Row occupies the site of the former Milton Works.

2. Road layout has not changed for 100 years.

3. New developments are in-fill housing (eg. Kenmare Drive) adjacent to the Friends Meeting House.

Map shows the history of the buildings in the case study block. It is interesting to note that although the buildings themselves may change, site boundaries do not.

Residential infill marked with dots.



Filling in depth

In order to become rich and complex, the depth structure must be both physically and bureaucratically open, as I began to explore in Figure 2.25 looking at the open space in site depth along Tottenham High Road. The typical structures of depth I have described require certain conditions to develop. In particular, to make the depth of blocks available for development, good physical access is required. The bureaucratic constraints of ownership and planning must be in the right balance: they must allow for adaptability and negotiation, yet be complex enough to prevent a company simply sweeping away the vernacular order and replacing it with single-ownership, whole-block development.

Planning policy has allowed much of this depth to be filled in; all the sites in Figure 2.25 that were undeveloped at the time of drawing the map (2014) are in 2016 either built-on, or are the subject of planning applications. This is problematic partly because infill housing developments are sometimes exclusive and not affordable, but even more problematic because the high street places on which the least privileged in our society rely are being replaced with mono-cultural developments which do not offer opportunity for civic commitment. In addition, filling up the depth means no space is left for things to change in the future. Residential infill in the case study block is shown in Figure 2.32, the case study block in 2014, colour coded to show the age of all its different buildings, with dots marking out where residential infill is starting to fill in the site depth.

Consider the recent planning policy relaxation which allows offices to be turned into flats. In principle this is fine, so long as it is done in a way which allows for future adaptability. But in fact this isn't so. For one thing, planning laws are asymmetrical, it isn't nearly so easy to convert dwellings into workspace. And even relaxing those laws would be useless if the building-types mean it is impossible, or if residential accommodation is so valuable that proposed employment use is always outweighed by the option of residential use (as in London at present, see the Introduction, section 0.3).

This latter point is important, and explains one of the most serious threats to adaptable site depth. The astronomical values of residential land in London mean that it is becoming progressively more viable for large scale planning-projects to take place. It is also becoming much more lucrative for small individual landowners to fill in spare plots in depth that they own with micro-housing developments.

The depth of the high street has been described the 'hinterlands'—the site of development opportunities, under-utilised buildings and vacant land, but which requires public investment to realise (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 8). The council does not have funds

for the kind of infrastructural schemes which would open depth up for further *employment* uses, they can only work with developers, who want to build schemes which include housing—because its value is so high. The only choice the council has is to facilitate the development of the depth of Tottenham High Road as mixed use or residential therefore bureaucratically and physically filling in the depth, and removing existing richness, and potential for further richness.

Figure 2.33 is an example of how rich and complex depth has come into being next to the High Road near Seven Sisters. This richness, however, is adaptable, and the uses in the depth of the block are civic or economic. It filled in rapidly between when the armature was built in the late nineteenth century, until the 1930s, when the depth was saturated with buildings. Since then, the buildings have changed and adapted, but have remained in employment use. In contrast, the recent infill developments in the case study block are residential, precluding future change and adaptation back to employment use, should the economic need arise. Figure 2.34 shows the general structure of non-residential types around Tottenham High Road: there are clusters of non-residential immediately adjacent to the High Road and other major roads, and then more isolated pockets of civic (schools), industrial estates and retail parks. The city is not a mixed and jumbled scene, there is a clear physical order of depth.

Employment-classed land is much cheaper in London than residential-classed land. As well as spatial accessibility to the high street, this is a reason that such diversity of activities is found in high street depth and in industrial estates. Land which has residential permission granted on it immediately leaps in value, and as a result becomes a focus for development or is blighted by the prospect of development (as at Seven Sisters Market, Chapter 1). At present, Haringey is forming a new *Local Plan* with a Tottenham specific *Area Action Plan* (Haringey 2015) in which industrial areas and high street places are being densified with available plots in the depth being filled up with housing and ‘mixed use’, where planning policy demands it (although this means commercial and perhaps office with residential, no space for workshops or industry)—in a process driven by private consulting firms and developers, who inform the evidence base for regeneration frameworks (see Chapter 1 and Lima 2014, 3). There is no mechanism to protect employment land in ‘mixed use’ schemes from rising land values, and once residential permission has been granted the value rises immediately.

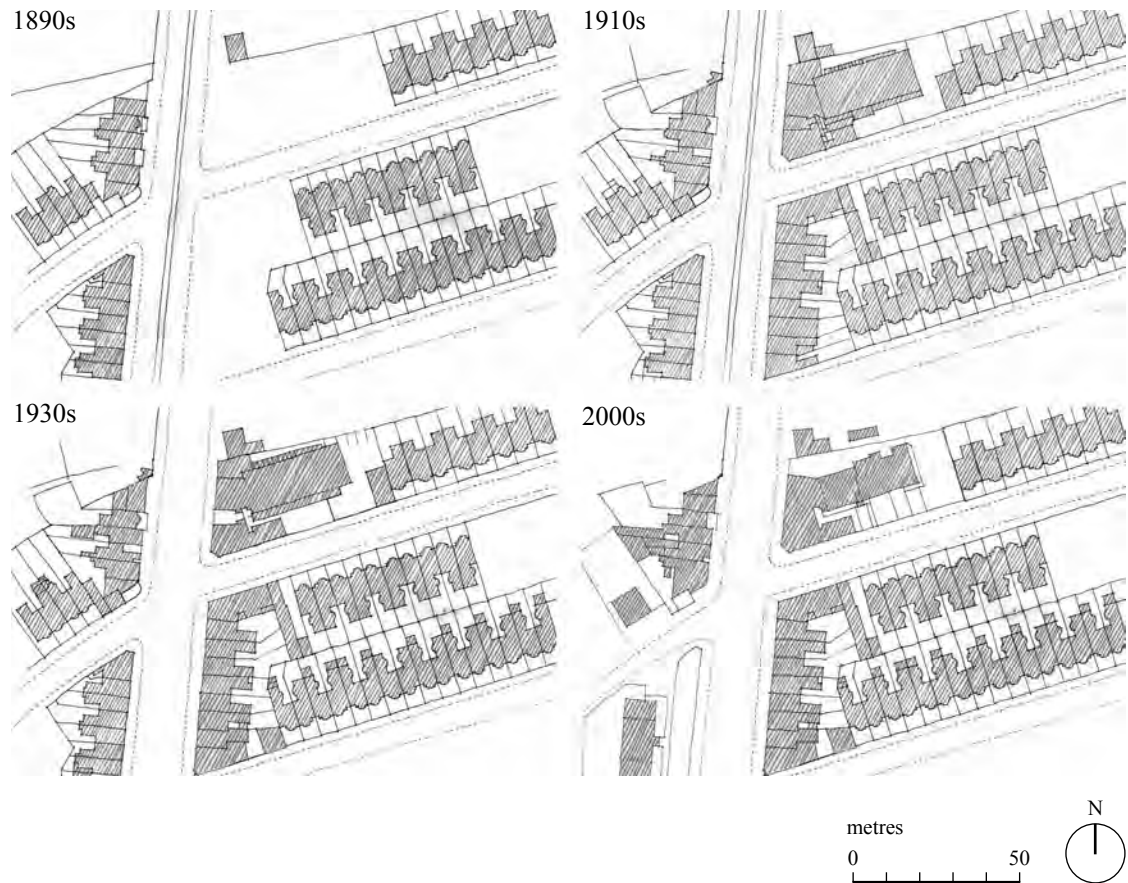


Figure 2.33 Depth complexity growing on Tottenham High Road (drawn by Jane Clossick, basemap source: Ancient Roam, Digimap 2015).

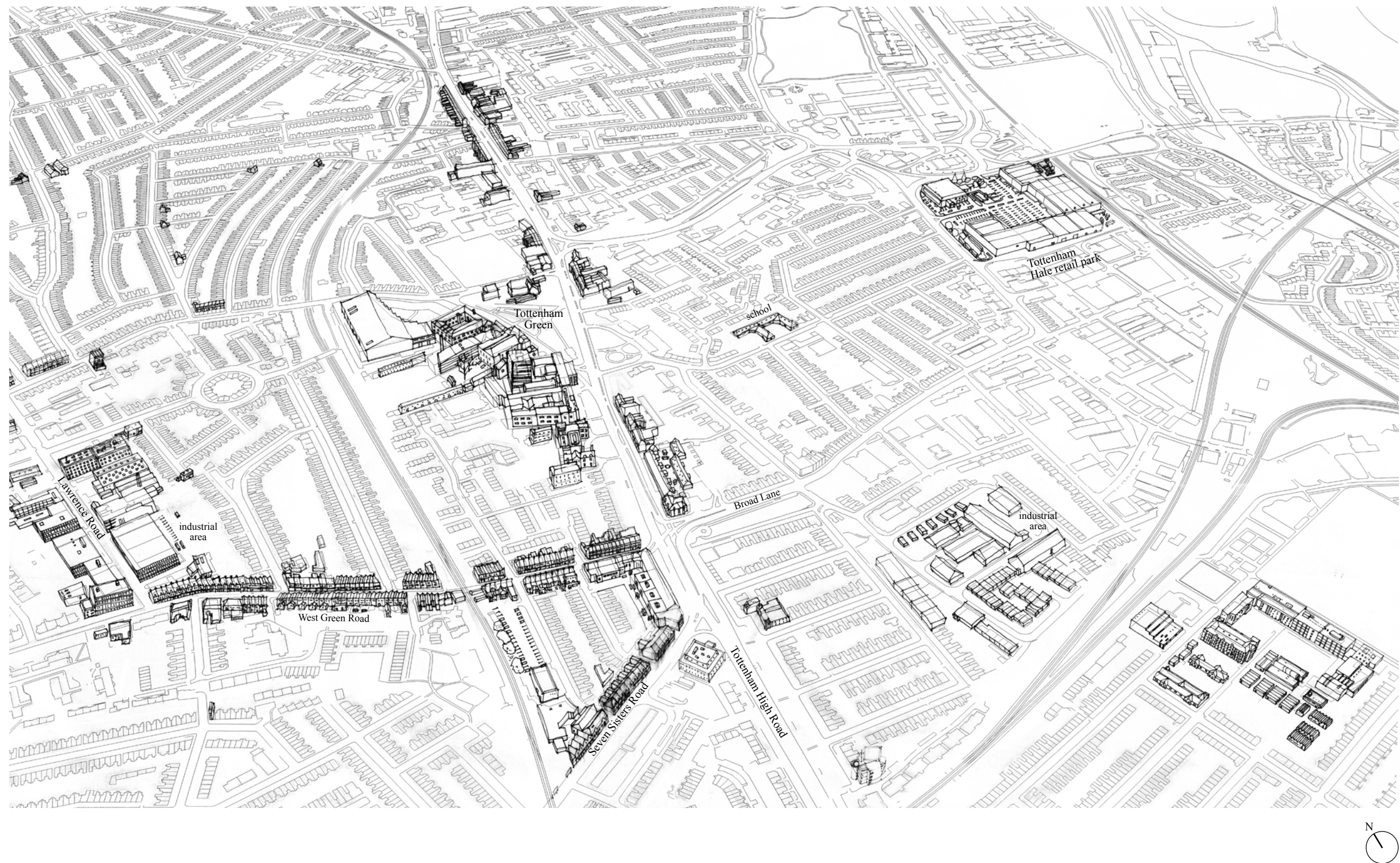


Figure 2.34 Non-residential uses around Tottenham High Road (drawn by Jane Clossick, basemap source: Digimap, 2014).

Mixed use is often proposed as a positive solution to integrating housing and employment. Yet, in addition to the problems of pushing up land values, industrial occupiers do not like it (especially divided vertically) because they need access, there are often too many restrictions (e.g. for 24 hour operation) and space can be badly designed and laid out. It is often impossible for high street shop owners to move into new schemes because shop units, which may not have running water, electricity, or windows, require extensive fit-out. They are suitable only for multinational companies who can afford the tens of thousands of pounds it costs to set them up. When no such company comes along, and the unit remains un-let, the freeholder then has a seemingly solid argument to be granted permission for conversion to residential. The industrial units or shops in mixed use are seen as loss leaders by developers (Roger Tym & Partners 2011, 21).

The filling in of depth is a serious issue for high streets, the consequences of which are impossible to predict. In Dalston, further south on the A10, much of what was rich depth has been replaced by in-fill residential development (although the high street itself is still very lively and active). Here, the 'thin crust' of shops can perhaps be maintained, but the richness of the vernacular depth structure will be prevented from re-forming, and thus the place as a whole will be less adaptable to social and economic changes in the future. In addition, there are consequences for the ethical nature of the urban order, in that there are now many fewer people who work in the high street depth of Dalston, and the space available is much more expensive than it was previously. Workspaces are being pushed out for expensive homes.

We do not know exactly what is contained in the depth of most high street blocks in London, nor do we know precisely how many of the industrial estates look, or what businesses are there—although of course it is easy to answer these questions by walking around, and looking, but in most cases this research is not done. This lack of knowledge is problematic, because the loss of such places to in-fill residential development is continuing apace, unquestioned, and we simply do not know what we are losing, we are blind to its presence and ignorant of its worth. The 'hidden' places (from the casual observer) in the depth of the high street support a range of manufacturing and other activities, services for businesses and residents and infrastructure for London to operate (Harris et al. 2012, 148). There are niche services (florists, lift repairers, taxis), artists, creative industries, businesses which need office/industrial, charities, education, community uses and faith uses—because faith groups cannot afford halls, so occupy cheaper industrial premises instead (CAG Consultants 2008, 9). The strategic infrastructure situated inside blocks is critical to the functioning of the economy at a wider scale. It includes waste utilities, transport, storage and distribution—activities which use a lot of land, but must be retained proximate to one another and are reliant on road infrastructure (Ferm and Jones 2014, 19). It is essential to have enough employment land and infrastructure for firms to have local

operations. Small firms are delicate and easily destroyed, but they are the ones flexible enough to use other people's byproducts, and to be adaptable to economic and cultural change.

How might we describe this vital activity and ensure that its claims are not drowned out by the powerful interests of larger businesses and residential developers? Standard use class surveys cannot capture this range. More fine grained methods are needed to reveal the mix of uses (Harris et al. 2012, 1), such as Gort Scott's *From Around Here* (Scott 2014) survey of the industrial land in Tottenham. The adaptability and constant churn of depth makes mapping subdivisions and uses very difficult (Scott 2013, 59), because the depth is laterally and vertically complex. Ordnance Survey maps are frequently incorrect, and even online satellite imagery is often out of date. The term 'mix of uses' itself tends to flatten the differences—in character, decorum, temporality, value to the locality, or to London—and when used by a developer it generally means little more than office or housing and the chain-store retail of the Grainger render in Chapter 1. I return to the question of how to gather this data, and articulate its importance to planning bodies, in the conclusion to this thesis.

Conclusion

Patricia Percy: Because this is a young business that could grow, and all the industrial land and the places that you could set up will be gone, and they'll all be owned by corporations. They'll all be expensive flats and things. (Patricia is the owner of a local chain of pharmacies and leader of the Tottenham Business Group, campaigning against the destruction of shops on the High Road near the White Hart Lane regeneration area).

This chapter is a description of the physical structures of depth. Many authors agree that the traditional high street is under threat, from the internet or from out of town shopping (NEF 2004; Oram, Conisbee, and Simms 2003; Yuill 2009) and recommend that town centres should be reorganised to include community hub activities like health, housing, education, arts, entertainment, business space, manufacturing and leisure (see for example Grimsey 2013; Portas 2011). This assumes that high streets in their present form are only *shopping* streets. However, Tottenham High Road is much more than this. In fact, the wide mix of land uses in the buildings and sites adjacent to the high street have been the source of its long term viability (Vaughan and Griffiths 2013, 2), an idea which promotes a view opposed to the hierarchical ranking of high streets based on statistical measures such as retail floor area (Vaughan and Griffiths 2013, 1). There is a general agreement in the literature that careful spatial design/planning is key to making viable physical links between city regeneration projects and high streets (Wrigley and Lambiri 2014, 8) but there is no existing description of what this structure looks like. This is the gap in knowledge which this chapter has filled.

The structure of building and site depth, and how it is connected to the movement network, is what accommodates this mix of uses. Tottenham High Road has a wide range of economic

and social activities clustered along it, with a residential hinterland beyond, as shown in Figure 2.34. The structure of the buildings and blocks either side of the High Road have predictable elements in terms of which kinds of businesses and other civic activities will be situated where. This sits within a longitudinal structure of the whole High Road, which is differentiated both along its length and with other centres at the scale of the neighbourhood (Bruce Grove), borough (Wood Green), city (London) and the world. This is the characteristic structure of depth, that it is networks within networks, forces within forces, gradations between the local and the global, and the private and the public. The depth structure is a rich three-dimensional and temporal web of reciprocal influences which cannot be mapped, only examined through fragments of situational horizons.

If depth becomes filled up with non-adaptable buildings (like residential development, or big-box superstores), we will lose this adaptability, which allows our high streets to change over time and accommodate many different uses. Converting marginal shops to homes will affect adaptability in the same way (London Assembly Economy Committee 2013, 35). Previously, complex patterns of ownership have protected some of these structures by making it uneconomic to engage in large-scale redevelopment. We now face a situation when residential land values in London are so high that it is worthwhile for developers to sweep away those constraints, often facilitated by local councils (who are under a range of pressures which make it wise for them to acquiesce).

In order to have adaptability, the depth of buildings and sites needs physical links to the high street. Carmona (2014, 44–45) notes that some London high streets have only a thin crust of mixed use, 20m deep, particularly on connected high streets, like parts of Tottenham, Streatham and Redbridge High Roads. Detached high streets tend to be deeper, up to 200m. The implication is that thinness of depth-development is a result of connectedness. However, I think the thinness in parts of Tottenham High Road is a result of inaccessible depth. Where depth is accessible both physically and bureaucratically (like in Morrison Yard) it has become rich and complex. Where depth is physically accessible but bureaucratically blocked (like the new Sainsbury's site adjacent to Tottenham Hotspur's stadium where there is single ownership) rich depth either cannot develop or has been destroyed. A shock-resistant economic order occurs when depth has the capacity to become more rich. This is not a naive view which sees high streets as some kind of relic, but one which recognises that their adaptability is their strength and social value.

The depth of Tottenham High Road is also a landscape with different kinds of capacity for ethical order. In places, it provides an economic and social support structure for the most poor and vulnerable people in London (immigrants, elderly, unemployed) such as the Colombians in Seven Sisters Market (Chapter 1). The urban order of businesses supports personal relationships,

which in turn support businesses, social and civic life, and individual human happiness (see Chapter 3). The next chapter examines the way people's lives are entwined with the high street, and expands on the blurred boundary between people's social and economic lives.

There may not be an H&M or a Marks and Spencer on every high street, however much local authorities want them. But this need not matter, and focussing on such things risks ignoring the real threats that I have described. If the capacity or potential for physically rich depth is destroyed through mono-developments or residential encroachment, vitality will be lost from the high street and it will cease to be the heart of civic life. Councils like Haringey need to understand the magnitude of the threat they are facing, and be aware that they are inadvertently complicit in that threat.

Chapter 3

Depth and Social Life

Making your way in the world today takes everything you've got

Taking a break from all your worries, sure would help a lot

Wouldn't you like to get away?

Sometimes you want to go

Where everybody knows your name, and they're always glad you came

You wanna be where you can see our troubles are all the same

You wanna be where everybody knows your name

(Hart Angelo and Portnoy 1981)

Ron (elderly resident, born in Tottenham, and now living on an estate near the High Road): If you spoke to probably someone from Poland, or Ethiopia or China they would probably say it's a nice place to live, I've got all my shops here, all my friends are here. The High Road suits their needs. There are clubs on the High Road come to think of it, but they are not English are they, there are all smoking dens and things like that. You won't get in, no, they're all behind cafes and things like that. But, yes, they can meet up, they are meeting up socially like we used to at the Royal and places like that. They can meet up in their little places.

There is a small block near Bruce Grove which has two shops on the ground floor facing the High Road—an African restaurant and an Afro hair salon, it is part of the case study area examined in the introduction to this thesis, and is east of Morrison Yard, discussed Chapter 2. Behind these, accessed from the rear, is the African Women's Welfare group. Above this a Quaker Meeting House, a Liberian Christian church and a solicitor's office. Deeper in the site is a car park, behind this a Quaker burial ground where Friends have been buried since the eighteenth century. This block is shown in Figure 3.1, and in an axonometric drawing in Figure 3.2. There is also sectional drawing of this block in Chapter 2 in Figure 2.27. The block typifies the characteristic economic structuring of depth, as discussed in the previous chapter. But it also shows that there's something more to depth: a psycho-social structure which also shapes our interactions with, and within, these places.

For me—an atheist—the Quaker Meeting House was the most accessible place in this block, despite its religious character and its position in the block's physical depth. I walked right in to the Meeting House on a Sunday morning, introduced myself to some other people who were just like me (white, English, middle class), and participated in a meeting. Later, when doing a survey of the High Road, I was aware that I found it distinctly uncomfortable to walk into Winners, the Afro hair salon, which was full of black women having unfamiliar things done to their hair, and I also received a frosty and suspicious reception from the owner. This alerted me to the fact that the depth structure is shaped by human relationships and culture, as well as the economic forces discussed in Chapter 2.

In this chapter I tackle the richest parts of depth structure and unpick the psycho-social processes that both shape it and are shaped by it. One might on the basis of the previous chapter expect the depth structure to make the salon more, and the Meeting House less, accessible. In fact the private/public gradient was the other way round, for me, given my experience and social and psychological characteristics (e.g. class, ethnicity). This may seed a worry that this disproves my hypotheses (see Introduction), demonstrated in Chapter 2 about economic depth and its physical manifestations, but in fact, as I show in this chapter, it clearly demonstrates that there is another co-equal dimension to depth interacting with the dimension I have explored previously. What this adds (beyond the economic resilience and adaptability already discussed) is the capacity for facilitating peaceful coexistence and mediating social, cultural and religious difference.

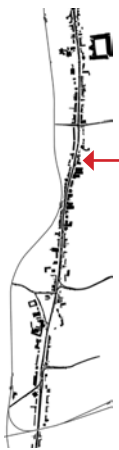


Figure 3.1 Block containing the Quaker Meeting House, with shops to ground floor front (photograph by Jane Clossick).

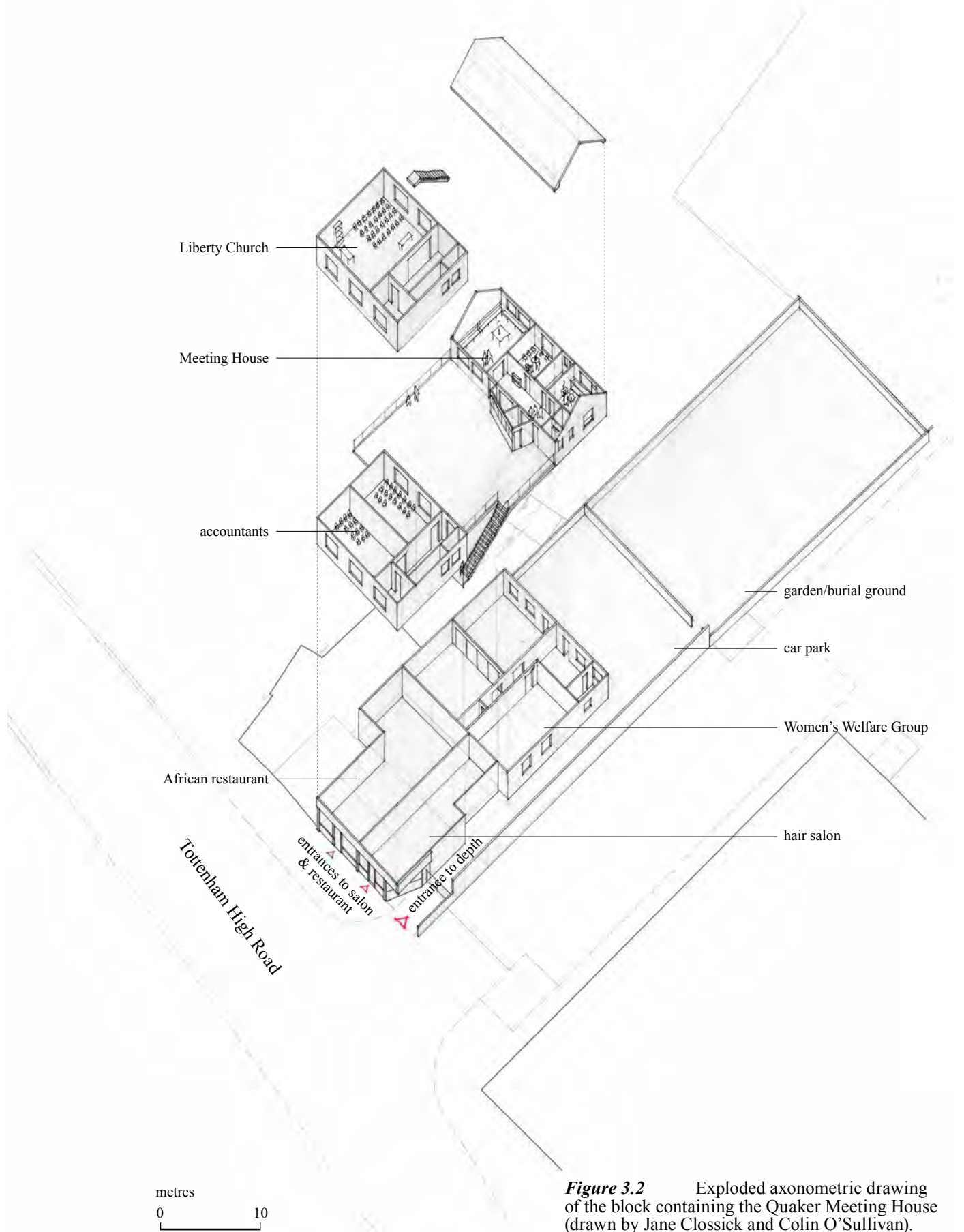


Figure 3.2 Exploded axonometric drawing of the block containing the Quaker Meeting House (drawn by Jane Clossick and Colin O'Sullivan).

There is something about the nature of high streets that engenders peaceful co-existence (Dines et al. 2006, 18) of a very diverse range of people. The depth structure is the reason this co-existence happens.

The primary source data for this chapter has been collected during the course of my interactions in Tottenham. It is shown here both as quotations and as drawings and mappings of the phenomena. The chapter has four main sections. First, I introduce two concepts that are central to understanding psycho-social depth: *place ballet* and *place culture*. Second, I describe the physical framework for the hosting of human relationships, the spectrum of tiny publics on Tottenham High Road. Third, I discuss the way that people make choose how they move through their lives in the city, and how this impacts the formation of loyalty and commitment. Finally, I use the insights from sections two and three to describe how the temporal and spatial structures of depth accommodate place ballet and place culture.

3.1 Place ballet and place culture

Depth allows things to happen at the same time but separated in space, or in the same place but separated in time. One of its key characteristics is that it permits simultaneity, and for that reason in writing a thesis about it (which is by its nature sequential) I had to devise thematic boundaries. The longest in this thesis, this chapter contains descriptions of the richest parts of the depth structure. The concepts of place ballet and place culture allow us to organise this rich, simultaneous and layered structure into something coherent. Psycho-social depth has two sides: the parts of it that move through time and space (the place ballet danced by people) and the parts embedded and expressed through the layers of architecture in the places (place culture). Understanding this distinction allows us to make sense of how psycho-social depth emerges through praxis in place, into a networked landscape of familiarity. This landscape is reinforced and made concrete because people tend to use places which appeal to their own identity and solidarities.¹ These processes are not discrete. They create and reinforce one another, in patterns which are illuminated by the two key concepts I deploy here.

Unfolding' describes well the holistic, organic quality of time-space routines. Large portions of a day can proceed with a minimum of planning ... the day can 'unfold' ... Time-space routines ... maintain a continuity in our lives, allowing us to do automatically in the present what we've done in the past ... In place ballet, individual routines meet regularly in time and space. The regularity is unintentional, arising slowly over time as the result of many repeated 'accidental' meetings. People who otherwise might not know each other become acquainted – even friends. At a minimum, there is recognition. (Seamon 1979, 56–57)

¹ Solidarities are social and cultural groups to which individuals experience a sense of belonging, often expressed through specific settings. Each person has multiple solidarities and Calhoun (2003, 15–16) lists several types: mutual interdependence or exchange; common culture, language, references or habits, culturally defined categories such as nations, ethnicities, class; networks, by which he means the way people are joined in direct or indirect relationships; public communication with those to whom one is not bound by private ties; national and local connections (as distinct from common culture) and solidarity imposed by external power e.g. through military conscription, forced eviction and so on.

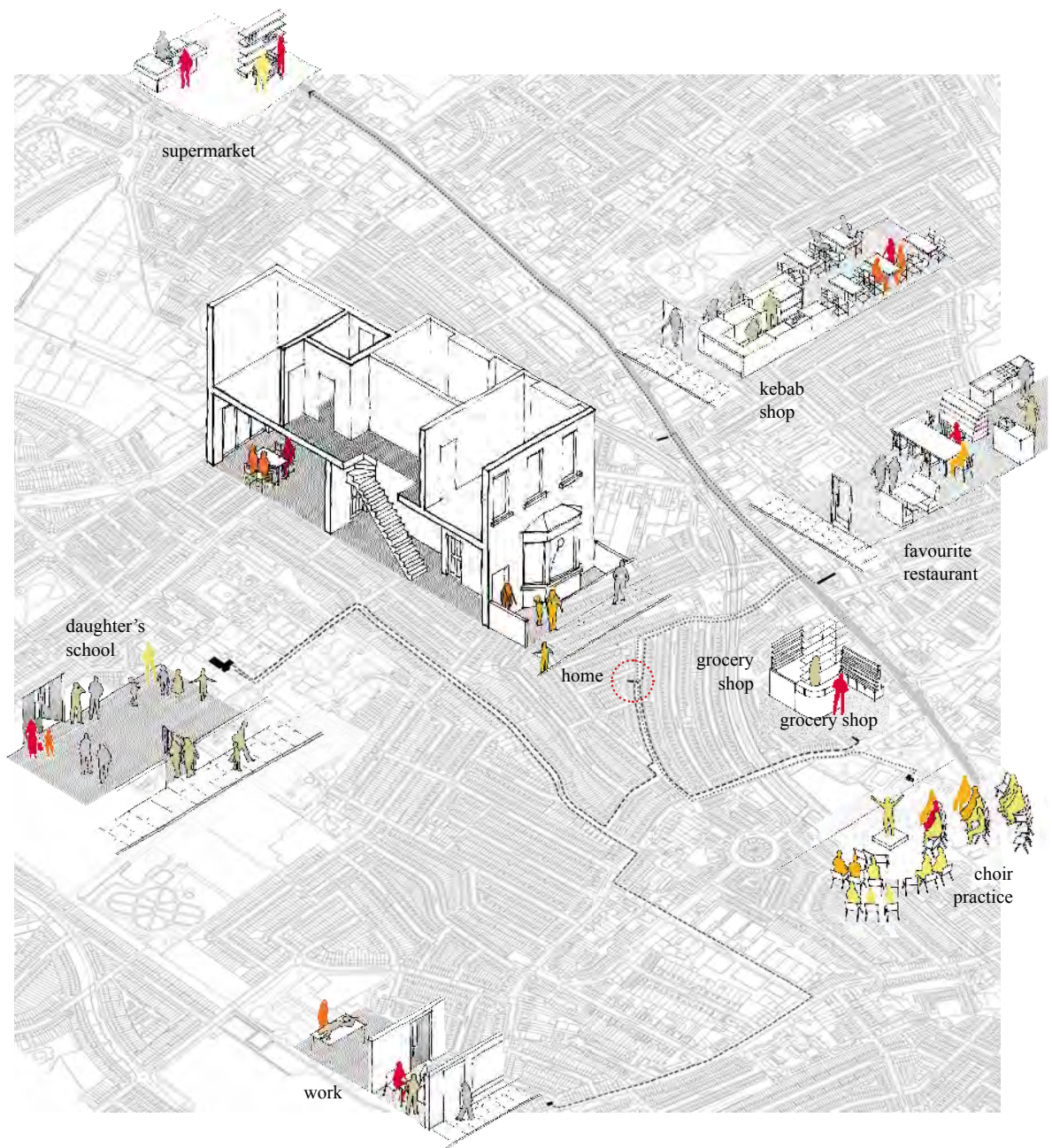
The first important concept to introduce is place ballet. The term ‘ballet’ was used by Jane Jacobs (1993 [1961], 50, 153) in the *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* to describe the dance of people she saw every morning from her home in Greenwich Village (see also Seamon 1979, 143, quoted above). Place ballet is a process of moving through regions, physically or symbolically bounded, which have a particular place in time (see Goffman 1959, ch. 3; Giddens 1985, 265–296). People move through space and time on their own trajectories, in a way which appears to be neatly choreographed.

There is, therefore, a spontaneous order which emerges in depth, composed of bureaucratic forces (like opening times), the landscape and desires of individual lives (visiting grandma), and—in which all else is nested—the most common-to-all rhythms of earth articulated by architecture (changing seasons, day and night). Thinking about place ballet, and why it happens as it does, is a way to understand the two-way interaction noted above: that is, how social life takes place in depth, and at the same time how the social landscapes generate the structures of depth.

Place culture is the architecturally or otherwise articulated embodiment of the cultures which are generated and reinforced through the activities of place ballet. In this, I follow Geertz’ (1973, 5–7) definition, summarised in the quotation below. Culture is not a system of social events, objects and behaviours. Rather it is the context in which these things can be described in detail, or with thickness; it is what allows us to interpret the significance of human action, rather than merely describing it. Place culture, like place ballet, is accommodated in depth structure.

The concept of culture I espouse. . . is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning. (Geertz 1973, 4–5)

High street places are the small, familiar micro-publics where both place ballet and place culture happen. They come in and out of use over the rhythm of the day, and constitute the *local* (Amin and Parkinson 2002, 2). The two forces of place ballet and place culture are concurrent, sometimes competing, since localness itself is also a form of solidarity. Sally is a mother of three and has been a Tottenham resident for twenty years. Moving between different places in her life in regular and familiar patterns she takes her daughter to school and goes to work at the same time on the same days each week. Figure 3.3 maps Sally’s place ballet. The city is made of up of millions of place ballets like Sally’s, all overlaid, interacting and entwined with depth. They are brought into one place in depth, in the reciprocities between who people are and where they are.



- Sally
 - Very close relationship, intimacy, love
 - Close, good friend, close neighbour, like/love
 - Colleague, neighbour, frequent acquaintance
 - Acquaintance
 - Unknown person, neutral/aversion
-
- Person with no outline: the relationship with this person continues across a range of places
 - Outlined person: for Sally, this person is attached to this particular time/place
-
- Daily journey
 - Occasional journey
 - Entrance is by invitation only
 - Entrance allowed if money is being spent

Figure 3.3 Sally's place ballet (drawn by Jane Clossick).

3.2 A spectrum of publics on the High Road

There is a dominant discourse about cities that they are divided into ‘public’ and ‘private’ realms. This study explores the degree to which there is an obligation to think in terms of gradations of public life, indeed it may well be that ‘private’ does not exist. Here, I adopt the distinction (first drawn by Park 1972) between the *crowd*, which is an aggregate of individuals and the *public* which has some sort of political content. A discussion of the spectrum of different kinds of public along the High Road in Tottenham reveals the gradation I describe.

Daniel (the owner of the butcher’s stall Carniceria Martinez, speaking about Wards Corner): And this place is like really important too... for Latin American people... this is the only place which really you can hear everyone speaking the same language, because we’re in England, everyone speaks English. Once you step out of these doors, everyone is speaking English, you don’t go around everyone saying “hello, hello”, because English don’t really use that culture. And here, as soon as you walk in here, everyone’s like “good morning, good morning”, because that’s the culture we’re used to. Because I’ve always thought that if they knock down this place, we might as well just go back home... I’ve been here all my life, but I started coming here, when we got the business, when we opened the butcher and we started coming here, started coming in, and now it’s like some part of us... You go to a Costa, have a coffee with a friend, you take your kid, he’s going to have to sit next to you, can’t be running around, can’t be doing anything. I don’t know no other place, you can’t go to Wood Green and do the same thing because your kids are going to get lost... I bring my kid here, and everyone knows her, my little girl, and my little boy, everyone knows them. And they wouldn’t let them walk off, wander off... they’d be like, “where are you going? Come back in”. It’s really family.

People define their neighbourhoods by their local shops. For example, Sally described herself in terms of her various activities and groups, her friends, the Greek bread she buys, Quaker meetings and the choir. She was unable to articulate the way that these social events are embedded in particular places, but that just demonstrated how implicit this understanding is, that it is difficult to articulate.

Sally: I’m a member of the choir, the New Tottenham singers choir and I’m a member of the local Quaker Meeting ... I go out probably once a week with my friends. There’s a great Greek restaurant called The Garden Room on the High Road, and it used to be called the Bookhouse. I go there a lot. I also go to, a bit further down, to Siraz, which is like a kebab place, and it’s a takeaway but in the back there’s a restaurant and they do kebabs and salads and it’s very simple but it’s very nice, and it stays open til 5am

Jane: And do you think that the feeling of being part of a community, if you had to pick out the key parts of the local area which allow that to happen, like say for example, your street, the bus stop, the school, how would you describe the places that it happens in?

Sally: Hmm (long pause) well, I was part of, there’s a resident’s group which meets down in the Grace Baptists’ Chapel, and there was a point when I did go to that, I don’t any more, that was a place where a lot of people would go, it’s just that I’m not part of it, I haven’t got the time, really ... bus stops, and Asda, I don’t think there’s anywhere where all of the people that I’m thinking of all meet up or go to, we’re just kind of around.

In this section I describe a fundamental part of high street depth: the rich network of small publics of Tottenham High Road, where people are hosted during their playing out of

place ballet, and where place culture is generated and articulated. These are the *small localities* described by S. Hall (2009, 83; after Simmel 1949) and range from mosques or schools to less obvious commercial-cum-social environments, like a mobile phone shop I visited, where a group of Somalian people chatted across the counter. A very significant place is Wards Corner, described very eloquently by Daniel Martinez in the quotation above, in which he clearly articulates his experiences of the very specific cultural milieu hosted there.

To members of the public, it is not the ownership of places or their appearance that makes them 'public', but their shared use for a diverse range of activities by a range of different people. If considered in this way, almost any place regardless of its ownership or appearance offers potential as public space. (Warpole and Knox 2007, 4)

Interactions of different kinds between people are what make a place public. In high street publics, people have the opportunity to encounter one another. Demos (2005, 41–55) has compiled a helpful catalogue of typical examples of small localities (youth pavilion, skatepark, Asda cafe and so on), where publicness is not determined by ownership, but is co-produced between owner and users by habitual praxis. Demos rather loosely defines publicness as the ability of the places to allow for different experiences by a variety of people. In Tottenham I have observed that this is a highly differentiated landscape: there is no clear distinction between the gradated levels of publicness, nor for whom a place is public. Oldenburg described *third places* as places between home and work, within walking distance, and in independent ownership so that personal relationships between proprietor and customers can develop over time (Oldenburg 1997). There is often no simple answer to the question of what is a *third place* and what is not. It is most helpful, therefore, to define the network of publics. Figure 3.4 to Figure 3.6 map the publics on Tottenham High Road according to three spectra: *Agon* is the degree to which they engender conversation between people. At the heart of the public, as distinct from the crowd, these conversations embrace a spectrum between conflict, negotiation, accommodation and collaboration. 2. *Metaphoric possibility* is the extent to which the architecture of the publics on Tottenham High Road communicate aspects of the whole of the civic culture, e.g. a church refers to the culture of religion. *Intensity of use* is how busy they are with how many different people.

So the Quaker Meeting House has a high level of metaphoric possibility, but very low intensity of use. There is something like an inverse relationship between intensity and *agon*, with a sweet spot in the middle, since without being fairly busy, there are not enough people to form an *agon* (public). However, if there are too many people in and out of a place (crowd), there is less chance for sustained contact between people. Therein lies the difference between crowd and public.

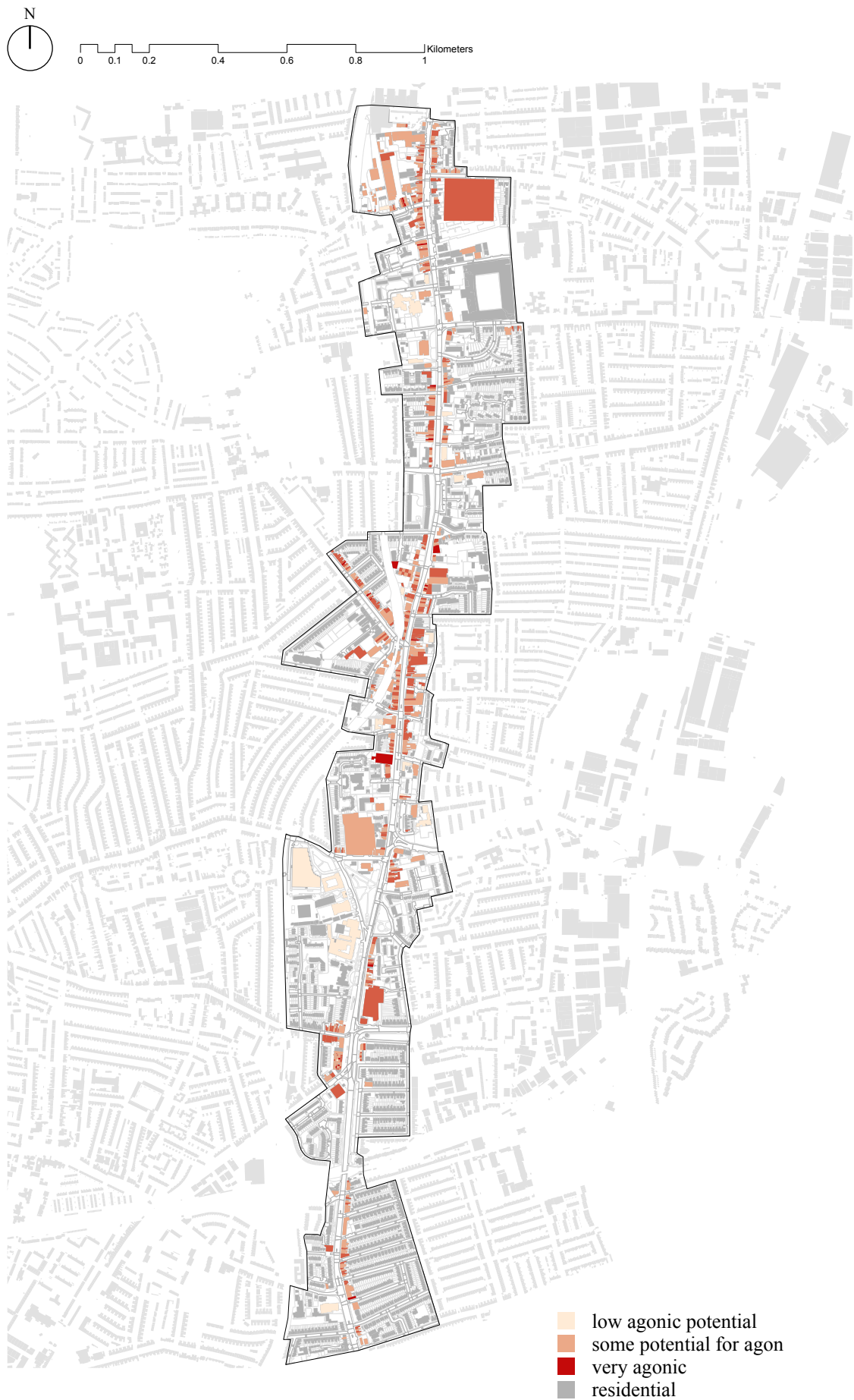


Figure 3.4 Agonic potential of pubs on Tottenham High Road (drawn by Jane Clossick).



Figure 3.5 Metaphoric possibility of pubs on Tottenham High Road (drawn by Jane Clossick).



Figure 3.6 Intensity of publics on Tottenham High Road (drawn by Jane Clossick).

The area around Tottenham Green, marked as 'Culture and Education' in the diagram of proposed 'character areas' by Haringey Council in Chapter 1, Figure 1.19, contains large buildings, without rich depth (the College of Haringey, Enfield and North East London, the Bernie Grant Arts Centre etc.). On the mappings, Tottenham Green is a place of low agonistic potential, although roads around the green are high intensity. The area around Bruce Grove, in contrast, (identified by Haringey Council as the character area of 'retail') while fairly low intensity, has much more potential for the formation of agon (public) and has greater metaphoric potential. The maps speak of the quality of the street in different places, and there is a clear correlation between small units (containing rich depth of civic and economic life) and the formation of publics.

There are other spectra significant for publics on the high road; between *free* and *paid-for*, *culturally specific* and *culturally neutral* and a *deliberate meeting place* to an *accidental meeting place*. Photographs Figure 3.7 to Figure 3.15 were taken during a survey of the High Road in 2014, and show examples of publics with different kinds of characteristics. Figure 3.7, for example, shows two Albanian men who work in a garage in Tottenham having lunch. While I was chatting to them a man from Ivory Coast who runs a pub up the road (who I had spoken to only an hour or so previously) came in and asked if he could borrow one of their cars while his was being repaired, and his request was graciously granted with much joshing—they clearly knew each other well. This is a free public for these men, based on sociability. It is a deliberate meeting place, they perform this habit daily. And it is very culturally specific, they were eating typical Albanian food, around a table at the proper time.



Figure 3.7 Two Albanian men eating lunch in the garage where they work.

All photographs taken by Jane Clossick, Rafealla Senff Peixoto, Jéssica Franco Böhmer, Elaine de Araújo Teixeira and Simone Mesquita Álvares.



Figure 3.8 Betting shops at 475 (top) and 377 (bottom) High Road.



Figure 3.9 Convenience stores at 737 (top) and 553 (bottom) High Road.

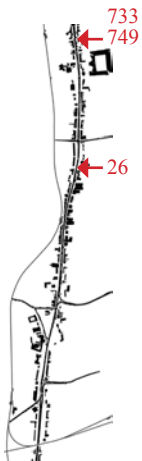


Figure 3.10 Cafes at 733 (top), 749 High Road (middle) and 26 Scotland Green (bottom).

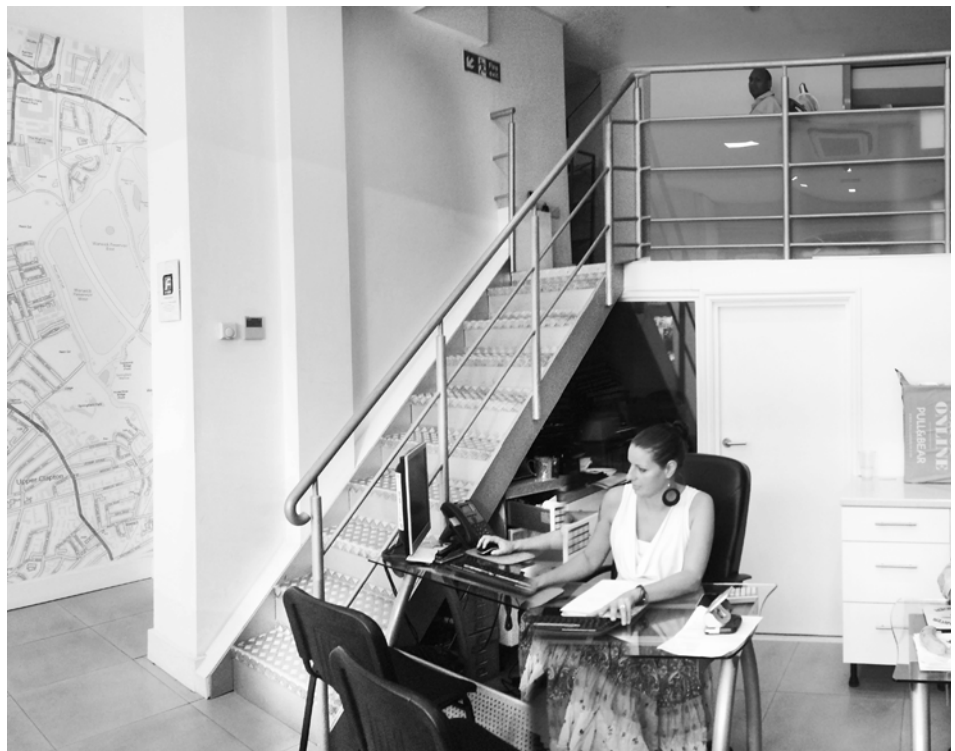
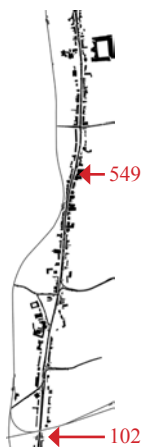


Figure 3.11 Offices at 549 (top) and 102 (bottom) High Road

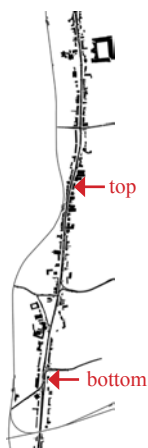


Figure 3.12 Specialist shops music (top) and mobile phones (bottom) on Tottenham High Road.

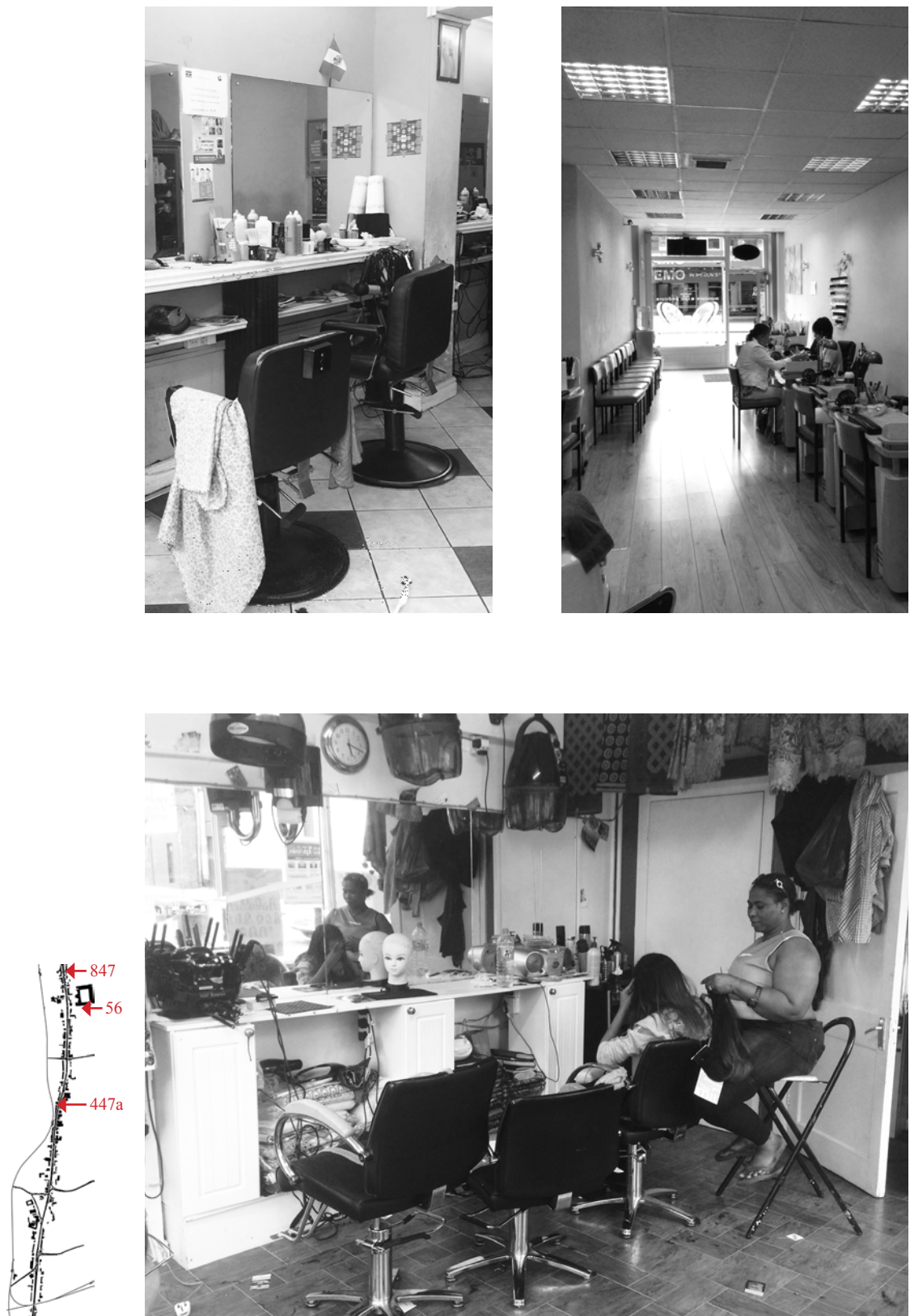


Figure 3.13 Salons at 847 (left) and 447a (right) High Road, and 56 Park Lane (bottom).

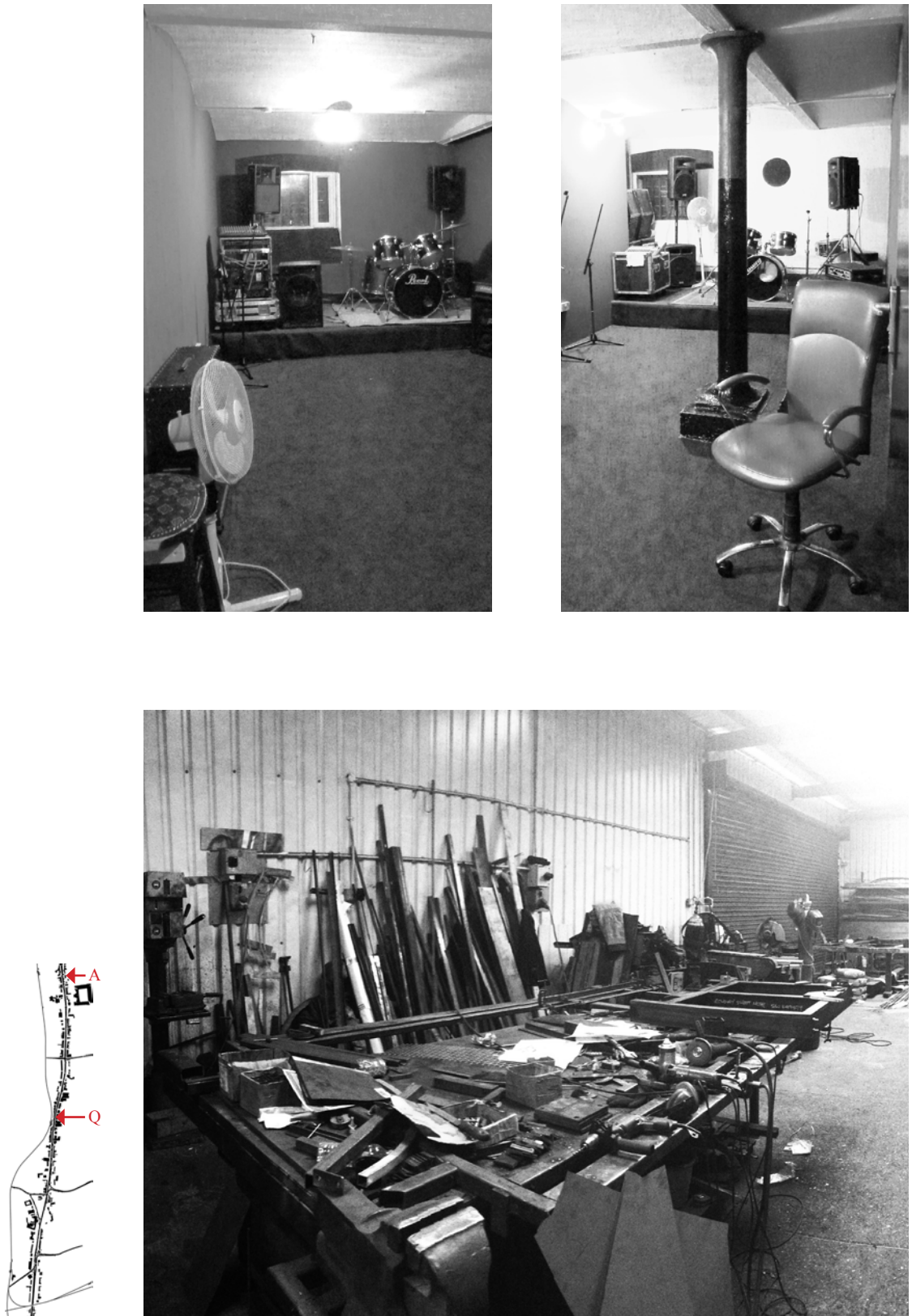


Figure 3.14 Specialist businesses: Quo Vadis recording studio in Morrison Yard (top) and Archway Sheet Metals workshop (bottom).



Figure 3.15 Weekly market in the grounds of a sports centre (top) and interior of Quaker Meeting House Library (bottom).

Crazy Cut

I spent a lot of time examining Crazy Cut, a typical example of a public on Tottenham High Road, (Figure 3.16). It is a beauty salon near Bruce Grove run by a second generation Turkish Cypriot called Oya Kurtuldu, a hairdresser. It also hosts a nail technician called Bee, and various other stylists and beauticians, each woman running her own independent business. The culture is familial, based on social networks in the UK and on cultural connections via Turkey and Cyprus.

Oya's life has been entwined with this shop for thirty years. She started her training as a hairdresser in 1985 in Crazy Cut, and in 1991 began working there as a qualified stylist. She stayed for five years before leaving for a salon in Seven Sisters where she worked for several years before trying to buy a salon herself. The deal fell through and she and two other stylists moved back to Crazy Cut in 2004. In 2010 Oya bought the salon from the woman she had previously worked for, who is also Turkish Cypriot. Oya is proud of her achievements, as she explained:

Oya: I am a working class person, I've always worked through thick and thin, I've struggled in the past, I've claimed benefits in the past as a single parent and, yeah I worked damn hard to get to where I am today, and I'm now a proud owner of a business and two houses. So I have secured my children's future, but I worked damn hard for it.

Bee is in her early 20s and had been a nail technician for two years, and started her business in Crazy Cut four months before our interview in July 2014. She is the daughter of Oya's best friend (from whom Oya bought the salon) and also from a Turkish-speaking Cypriot family. She has been supported in her own business by Oya through her mother. Her mother still runs a local beauty business and her father has run a clothes stall in Stratford for ten years, where Bee gets the majority of her clothes. Bee and Oya demonstrate that cultural links (via Turkey and Cyprus) persist over several generations, the salon being a physical expression of this culture.

Through Oya, Bee and the people who frequent it, Crazy Cut is embedded in a multitude of local networks. In addition to networks of friends and family I observed, Oya is involved with community activities. She makes an effort to shop locally at the Turkish supermarket, a few doors up from her salon, and was a member of her child's school PTA in Edmonton (although later she told me that she has withdrawn from the PTA, because parents were not given enough autonomy). While we were chatting she took a phone call from her cousin who runs a local small shop, and was going to the wholesaler to get sweets for the school summer fair.

Oya (on the phone to her cousin): Do me a favour get me about five different boxes, get me the chew ones, Haribo strawberries, no it's going to be used at the fair, no five boxes of them together. OK thanks cousin, I'll get them later.

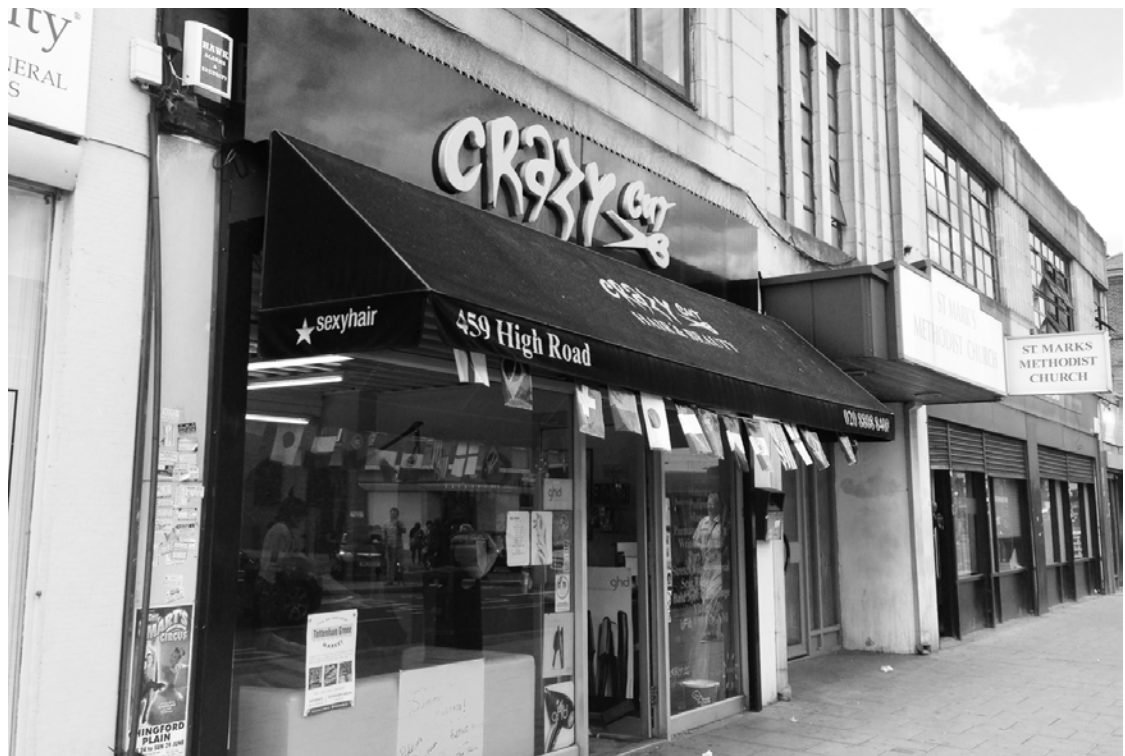


Figure 3.16 Crazy Cut, front façade and leaflets (photographs by Jane Clossick).



Figure 3.17 Crazy Cut, interior showing stairs up to treatment rooms and door through to staff kitchen and WC. The woman in the foreground is Oya's sister (photographs by Jane Clossick).

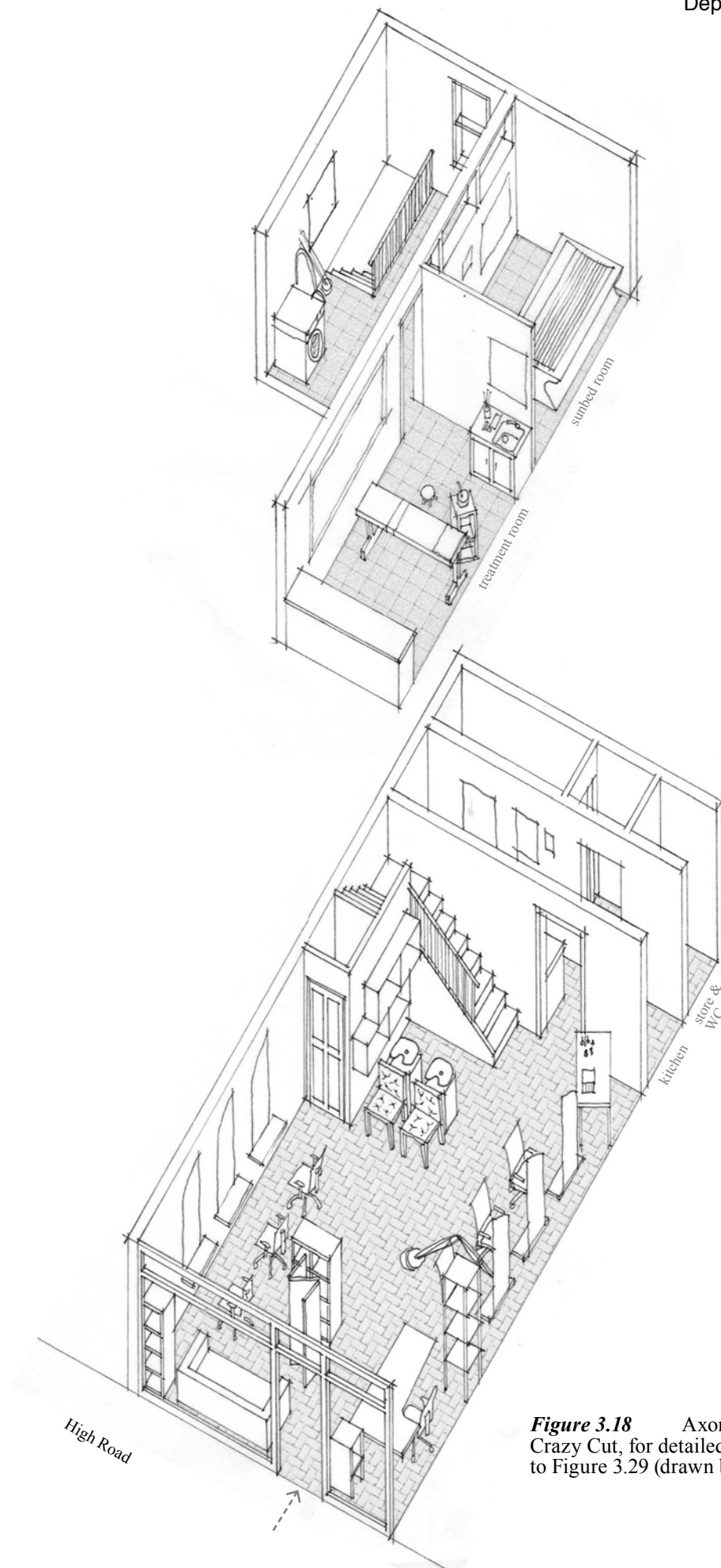


Figure 3.18 Axonometric drawing of Crazy Cut, for detailed photos see Figure 3.25 to Figure 3.29 (drawn by Jane Clossick).

Oya described to me an event she hosted to raise money for Great Ormond Street Hospital, to whom she was very grateful for caring for her daughter when she had a ruptured appendix. At Christmas she collected gifts for sick children in the hospital in a box in the salon. They raised £1600 at the charity event, and the Holy Trinity Church raised a further £3500. This quotation demonstrates Oya's embeddedness in the local community and place, through links with her family and locality.

Oya: We had my [other] cousin, bless her, she made muffins and iced them up, like lemon meringues muffins, carrot cake muffins, blueberry muffins. We had tombola, we had a chocolate fountain with strawberries and chocolate, we had face-painting, we had Minnie and Mickey come down, big mascots... We didn't have to hire them, it's my cousin's company and as it was a charity event and she was going to advertise her business free. She is a local business as well.

Exchange relationships take place in high street publics

Crazy Cut and the other publics on Tottenham High Road are the sites where goods, skills and knowledge are exchanged between local people. High street shops and markets are more public in these terms than open places like squares or parks, because they are settings with accepted exchange relationships, like queuing or paying for things (Demos 2005, 61). Suzi Hall (2012, 134) found that although the Walworth Road is deprived, its prosaic publics are convenient, and used regularly for exchange of gossip. Exchange may be of either legitimate things—like playing sports, or buying coffee, or of less legal goods—like drugs, stolen property, or even abuse (Warpole and Knox 2007, 7). Paul, a local policeman I interviewed who was brought up in Tottenham, described how particular betting shops on the High Road are associated with specific ethnicities, and also specific drugs:

Jane: You were saying earlier about betting shops, that there's a distinctive ethnic division between them. And how does that relate to the drug dealing that goes on, is there any relationship?

Paul: You've got [a betting shop] down here, which is older Jamaican guys, and everyone knows that's where you go to get your Class A drugs.

People need places for exchange of all kinds, and are keen to get involved if a new public appears on a high street. In Tottenham, Megan's art project (described in Chapter 2, section 2.2), situated in a shop, demonstrated the curiosity and enthusiasm people display for new potential places for exchange on a high street (in this case, Broad Lane, close to Tottenham High Road)—it was apparent to Megan that there is a shortage of places just to be, where money does not need to be spent, where one can find other people just to be with. As she explained:

Megan: So there was this idea that there was loads going on but nobody knows quite what's going on, but you kind of know that there are lots of groups operating in Tottenham and lots of people doing things, but how do you really find out about it or talk to them or share resources?

Insideness and outsideness

Derek: Round here, you've got all the Turks, Turkish people. Well they sort of like, they call them social clubs, but it's only like a glorified cafe. But, you wouldn't feel very welcome in there.

Derek owns a hardware store on Tottenham High Road, and described Turkish social clubs in comparison to the local working men's clubs he remembered from his youth. As Derek's words show, it is easy for someone to tell whether they're an insider or an outsider. Above, I mentioned the frosty reception I received in Winners, the Afro hair salon in the block with the Friends Meeting House. The first time I had my legs waxed in a mezzanine floor above a salon in Seven Sisters Market, I had to pluck up my courage to walk in and ask for the service: I'd never been there before, I didn't know the people or the rules, and certainly couldn't speak the language. Still, when I went back again it was much easier. And in contrast, in Crazy Cut, I felt more immediately welcome.

The photographs of Hazal Wedding Hire in Figure 3.19 show a shop which caters to a very culturally specific, local audience of (Turkish Cypriot) Muslims. This is not a place where I (a white, English atheist) would be likely to hire items for my wedding. The thrones on show in the showroom are a typical Turkish wedding tradition. I imagine, however, that in the pursuit of profit and custom, the owner of this shop would be likely to do their utmost to help me and serve my needs if I did want to hire furniture and catering equipment for my wedding. 'Let us make your dreams come true' is written on a sign on the front of the shop is a phrase in English, and many of the pictures on the website show a hybrid of wedding traditions. Below, Western traditions of napkin-folding are juxtaposed with Turkish dishes, soft drinks at the centre of the table as well as a bottle of wine. By contrast, the photos in Figure 3.20 show a restaurant serving Mexican food next to Wards Corner. Unlike the Hazal Wedding hire example, Mexican-ness is being used to tempt people in, as a selling point for everyone, including Latin American people. The stereotypes of the sombrero, the flag and the Spanish name demonstrate the Mexican-ness effectively; everyone else is welcomed in to share this culture, rather than being excluded. The addition of world flag bunting shows all are welcome here. In general, different nations' food has reached different levels of hybridity with the food and culture of the UK, and this is reflected in the décor and the target audience of the places different foods are sold. The classic example of a hybrid food is the Tikka Masala. I explore this issue in more detail in Chapter 4.



Figure 3.19 Hazal Wedding Decoration and Organisations (photograph (right) by Jane Clossick and (left) from source: Image Gallery, Hazal Catering website 2012).

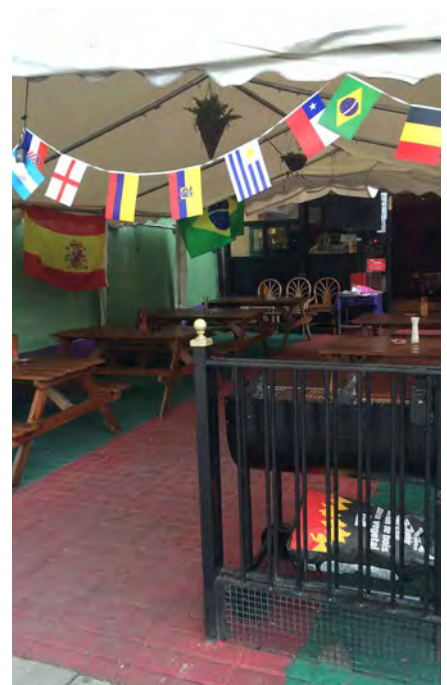
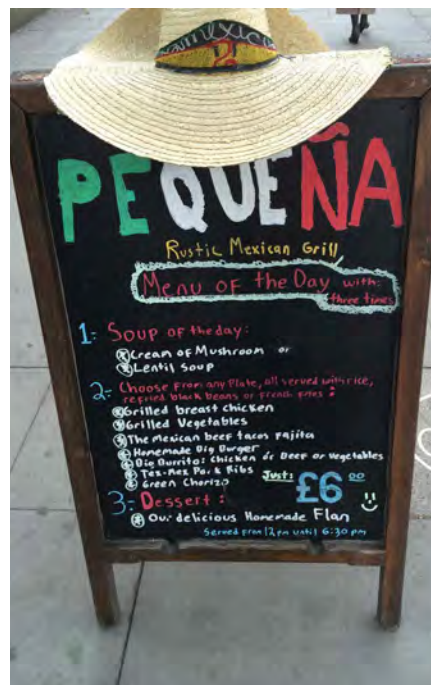


Figure 3.20 Pequeña restaurant, sign (left) and barbecue with outdoor seating (right) (photographs by Jane Clossick).

Relph (1976) provides a helpful phenomenological conceptual framework for understanding my experience of the rich and highly differentiated social landscape of the High Road. A person's lived identity is embedded in the place they live, and local places are 'significant centres of our immediate experiences of the world' (Relph 1976, 141). Experiences of local places fall on a spectrum between existential insideness (here, totally embedded in a place, community and region, safe, enclosed, at ease) and existential outsideness (there, strangeness, alienation, division, threat, exposure, stress). Place is made of physical setting, activities, situations, events and of people's experiences, meanings and intentions—both as individuals and as groups (Relph 1976). At the salon in Seven Sisters market I was experiencing a feeling of outsideness, yet with praxis—as I came to know and be known there—I felt more insideness.

The variation for people in existential insideness in particular places is brought to the fore when people have multiple identities. Paul occupied a difficult dual position, he was a Tottenham resident but also a police officer, a group traditionally mistrusted and often unwelcome in High Road places, as described below. This is a similar problem to the one that I have being a white, middle class woman—I am simply barred from some cultural milieus and consequently full engagement with some of the many publics on a high street.

Paul: I do know people here [in Tottenham], and you bump into them from time to time. You bump into them whilst you're working and you just have to deal with it as it comes, but most people understand. I drink around here, like I drink across the road, like some of the pubs people say are rougher pubs, everyone knows I'm a police officer when I'm out for a drink, they're out so we just avoid each other.

How a person experiences a high street place is co-created by the owner(s), those who frequent it, and their solidarities. As a result everyone is more or less at home in different places, at different times (of the day, or during their lives). According to Demos (2005, 63) people feel more uneasy or threatened where one activity or type of person dominates, but this means that there is also a group of insiders who feel completely at home.

Types of relationships between people and places

The links between people, which are the source of insideness, grow and change as a result of repeated exchanges in high street places. There is a range of personal involvements with which we are all familiar in our everyday lives, from the high intensity of close friendships, through friends, acquaintances and chance contacts, all the way to low intensity passive contacts who are only ever seen or heard but not interacted with (Gehl 2011, 17). Family, friends and existing solidarities are the starting point for local social networks. At the same time social networks are a product of localness in a way that can cross existing boundaries between solidarities. Joe and Nur are the parents of two school aged children, who live near Bruce Grove. Joe looks after the children and Nur works. He described to me the different ways one can 'know' other people in a local area:

Jane: Would you say you know a very broad cross section of the people around you?

Joe: I'm wondering what definition I'd use of 'know', I mean knowing who someone is, is one thing, knowing somebody as in, first name terms, and knowing something about their lifestyle [is something else]... In our very close network of friends, we have people from many different cultures. Lots of mixed race, mixed culture ... my feeling is that we know people from a fairly large line of socioeconomic circumstances. From people who are benefit-bound, to people with good jobs in good industries, and good organisations within those industries.

Nur: ... even though they may not be the people that we'd be calling up at the weekend, or that kind of very close friend ... we'd still see them, I'd still be thinking about them ... We're friendly, they may not be our close friends, and those sort of people who we know in a friendly way, more than just a hello, then walk away in the street, you'd always stand and have a chat, you'd always say "how are things last week?" or whatever. They're the people of Tottenham.

At low intensity, the links between people are *weak ties* (acquaintances, neighbours). At the high intensity end are *strong ties* (family, friends) who can be located outside the neighbourhood, sometimes far away (Henning and Lieberg 1996, 22)—relationships between parents and children, for example, will likely continue even if one of the parties moves overseas. *Weak ties* on the other hand, are usually linked to places. In order to form social relationships, people need to be both co-present and available to one another, by occupying the same regions of habitual practice in space and time (Giddens 1985, 270). Chance and semi-chance meetings are what make the space for conversation, and relationships can then develop when there is a place and a time for them. Relationships form simply through meeting one another repeatedly on common turf; they are constituted by a commitment to other people, and when they develop this way they are concretely attached to a place. In Nick's Caff, Hall (2009, 81), identified that people grew to belong over time, through a process of sharing the place, and being sociable with one another regularly. Habitual use of regions is a prerequisite for mutual commitment to come into being outside existing personal solidarities.

Social events can evolve spontaneously. Situations are allowed to develop. Visits and gatherings can be arranged on short notice, when the mood dictates. It is equally easy to "drop by" or "look in" or to agree on what is to take place tomorrow if the participants pass by one another's front doors often and, especially, meet often on the street or in connection with daily activities around the home, place of work, and so on. (Gehl 2011, 21)

The process of weak ties growing attached to place is familiar to me in my own life. I have lived in a particular flat for four years, and have an elderly neighbour called Fred who smokes outside the front door of his flat in an adjacent block at regular times each day, often coinciding with my leaving home to go out. Fred calls out in a friendly way and we chat to one another for up to twenty minutes at least three or four times a week. This is more contact time than I have with some of my close friends! Yet I have never been inside Fred's flat—neighbours can live together for years and never really get to know much about one another's private business. The repeated playing out of the mini-ritual may be a gateway to a deeper connection and a friendship

which extends into other spheres, but equally it may just become embedded in place, a strong tie or loyalty, but which is confined to a particular place in space and time. Sally, for example, experienced this development of social ties with people from her daughter's school:

Sally: I think it's important to go, to go to the school of the area that you live in, because then you can be part of that community.

Jane: And do you think them being at the school has enmeshed you in the community?

Sally: Yeah, I've met a lot of friends there, who are still friends now, from years back from when my first daughter went.

Place-based relationships are sustained by typical, gestural and articulated conversations which almost take on a life of their own (Henning and Lieberg 1996, 23). The process of exchange is not created from scratch. Instead, there are references to give interactions a direction. These range from highly articulated references like shared language, to deeply embedded references, like the physical world and its component parts (architecture) (Vesely 2004, 43–108). The fact of the conversation is less important than its content (Goffman 1967, 113), hence the recurrence of topics which are of no great import, like the weather or the activities of one's family and neighbours (or buttons, to anticipate an example I give below). People gradually establish contacts with other local people (this progression of experience correlates with Gehl 2011, 17). Fred's smoking is a prop (Demos 2005, 66) that helps him to have sociable, relaxed exchanges with other local people. Props are part of a language of local sociability (Buonfino and Mulgan 2009, 16–17) which is learned through praxis in place and relates to Sennet's *civility*, the capacity of different people to live civilly together (Sennet 2005, 1). As the following quotation from *Markets as Sites for Social Interaction* (Watson, Studdert, and Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2006) demonstrates, the regulars from the 'button lady's' stall recognise her as the vendor of buttons, rather than as one of the many other roles she must play in her life, and their conversation is structured wholly around that setting.

Button lady: I have a lot of regulars. I've got a lot of my ladies who are very regular on their ribbons and they do a lot of knitting... I mean they don't know me by name. They can pass me in the street and go, "Oh that's my button lady" or "That's my ribbon lady", you know, things like that. And that's really nice. They chat and say, "Have you got anything new in" or "Can you get so and so". (Lowestoft, trader) (Watson, Studdert, and Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2006, 17)

As weak ties become more firmly established in particular high street places, it results in the building up of a feeling of insideness, which is strongly linked to loyalty and to the development of a *place culture*. There is no clear division between the weak ties with other people, the feeling of insideness which comes of knowing and being part of the place culture of a high street place and the kinds of choices made by people in their place ballet. Place ballet is structured by forces which people do not deliberately control, which I have described

above, and also by the process of making choices, which I describe below. These processes can seem amorphous and difficult to grasp on the conceptual level. This is because they are largely embodied (rather than articulated) in depth, and the result is the hybrid place culture. I return to a very detailed discussion of the spatial mechanisms of depth structure which host the simultaneous interactions of culture in section 3.4, and in Chapter 4, I situate my understanding in the contemporary discourse of Cosmopolitanism.

3.3 Choices shape place ballet

Nur: So, you know, like if you go to a local park, it's almost impossible not to meet somebody that I know. Particularly Downhills Park, which is not our immediate local park, but because we go there—because there's a café there, a lot of the dog owners go there—so we go there. But it just so happens, probably because of the choir, that a lot of people I know happen to live around that area.

Nur goes to her local park partly because it is local, and partly because she is likely to bump into people she knows and is friendly with from other spheres, such as the choir. Places people choose in their place ballet are sometimes chosen with purpose, but the phenomenon is also a self-reinforcing structure of depth, which falls below the realm of conscious choice. In the section above, I described how people tend to be tied to existing solidarities through the sharing of high street publics. Similar people tend to engage in similar activities and timetables and repeatedly meet others like themselves. Knowledge-sharing of high street places also occurs through existing networks of interpersonal ties, which is another reason that people in the same network (ethnicity, culture, class) will tend to share publics too (Demos 2005, 64), and at the same time the network of ties is reinforced by the sharing of those publics. This process produces loyalty to specific high street publics, and those who are loyal to the place contribute to the shared place culture. These multiple mini-cultures are accommodated in depth, discussed in section 3.4.

Convenience

Loyalty networks take place across spatial networks of the spectrum of public places. People have the capacity to travel only a limited distance in their daily place ballet, so localness (or convenience) is a very significant. Where there is a choice of equally convenient places to go, loyalty may sway that choice. If I were to choose a place in Tottenham to have a beauty treatment again, I would choose Crazy Cut because the people are familiar. But usually, I go to the closest salon to my home in Bethnal Green. Businesses with a city-wide reach tend to offer something specific: either a service, like the recording studio in Morrison Yard, or a cultural speciality like Carniceria Martinez (Daniel Martinez's Latin American butcher's in Wards Corner). The clientele for the 63 grocery shops and newsagents on Tottenham High Road, on the

other hand, come from a small, local area and people do not travel far to go to buy a paper or a packet of cigarettes.

Convenience works in time as well as space. Sally talked about her favourite local restaurants and particularly mentioned opening and closing times being suitable for her. She couldn't go to the late opening place if it weren't open late, and it wouldn't be open late unless it had clientele like Sally to frequent it.

A business's reach into the wider city therefore varies greatly, depending on who the owner is, what they produce, what sort of service they provide, as well as where and when they provide it. For some activities convenience takes priority (buying a pint of milk), and for others identity/culture/preferences take priority (such as attending a choir meeting or social club).

Convenience is essentially a material constraint. Being existentially inside or outside a high street place is related to a range of material and social constraints. These include knowledge of what is available, where it is and how to access it, time (too much or too little, and when it's available), money, and social norms (what you can do where, or who you can be, where). This is catalogued neatly by Demos, in their typology of users of public places (Demos 2005, 22–41), below. These other constraints are mostly related to social factors, and are summed up by the notion of loyalty.

We also need to understand how other factors influence people's self-definition because it is the dynamic interaction of internal self-perception and external resources that determines how people see themselves and how good their experiences of the public life around them are. This interaction of internal and external worlds creates sharp patterns of inequality and disadvantage: while some people, such as Urban Safarians, Public Spirits and Bright Lights, are highly mobile and can move confidently and freely around their cities, others, like Home Birds and 'Hoodsters, remain strictly contained and constrained by where they live or work (Demos 2005, 39).

Loyalty

Derek: I am well known because of the shop, so if I go out, If I was to walk from here to Bruce Grove now, you can bet your life, there would be people saying hello to me ... And of course see you get the reputation through the church, I mean all the other people in the church and the other churches around here that now our church, go yeah he's all right, he will look after you. It goes around and around.

Derek (quoted above) was the owner and manager of H. Glickman hardware, and had worked in the shop since he was a boy. In 2014 he was over 60 and his life was inextricably linked with the people and places of the High Road. In a similar fashion, the culture of Crazy Cut is built not only of Oya and Bee, but of their friends, family and clients. Individuals engage with the wider culture of society through habit, in place ballet. Habits are concrete, spatial, repeated events. Without the existence of Crazy Cut this particular loyalty-network wouldn't have a place to be: the salon is the site of its expression. I found similar networks of loyalty, both to people and place, in Seven Sisters Market. The stratified nature of depth is what allows the

spectrum of strong and weak ties to be accommodated, and the force which keeps this order in place is loyalty.

Crazy Cut contains many examples of loyalty. Loyalty is mutual, between users and businesses, between businesses, or between people within an organisation. The salon is a focal point for the lives of Bee, Oya, their families and friends. It features in their daily place ballet, either when they visit for a treatment, or just drop in to say hello and eat their lunch. When I arrived for my appointment, Bee's mother (the former owner of the salon) was drinking tea and chatting. When I was leaving she and a friend were leaving too, and they told me they have all known each other for a really long time, and often meet in and around the salon.

Loyalty of individuals to the businesses they work for (and hence the people they work for) or to the businesses they own (and the people who work for them) seems to be the deepest expression of existential insideness. Oya's relationship with the salon has been in place for more than 30 years. She grew up in Enfield and now lives in Edmonton, where she has been for 24 years. Her father's family live in Tottenham and in her youth she would visit the area regularly. Oya is best friends with Bee's mother, and Bee sees Oya as something like an aunt—they are both deeply loyal to one another and to Crazy Cut.

Commitment to place is also demonstrated by the fact that business owners like Oya have often gathered experience working for someone else at the same business (or the same type of business) before they go on to own the business for themselves. This is particularly linked to cultural/family networks—people pass both businesses skills and knowledge to their children and relatives through the process of running a business together. For example, Chris (a man of Caribbean descent, in his early thirties, owner of the Jerk Centre Caribbean takeaway opposite White Hart Lane stadium) practiced his culinary skills before owning his own catering business:

Jane: Have you always run this business or did you do a different job before

Chris: I worked in another shop with my uncle.

Jane: The same kind of thing, Caribbean food?

Chris: Yes, I was a baker on West Green Road.

Staff who remain in place are not simply loyal, getting nothing in return, but are engaging in a process of exchange with the business and other people in it. Their loyalty is rewarded by the acquisition of skills and praxis. Bee got her business acumen from her dad, who runs a market stall in Stratford. Henry, the manager of Seven Sisters Market got a caretaker's job at the market because he was working as a courier, and a Colombian friend told him there was a job going for someone who could speak English and Spanish fluently. He had been in place for a few years when the market manager position came up. People move about within the one scene, linked by social and spatial networks, gradually working their way up, much in the same way that businesses themselves expand incrementally, and require progressively large premises to

accommodate them. During a joint interview, Myfanwy Taylor (a PhD student from UCL) asked him about running the new market in the Grainger scheme (discussed in Chapter 1) and his reply illustrated the site-specific skills he has acquired:

Myfanwy: Would you be interested in managing this kind of market in the future?

Henry: In principle, yeah obviously. I think, I know, I don't have the same kind of experience dealing with them [Grainger, the developer who is building the new market]. It wouldn't be very easy for anybody who comes to this place [to manage it] and obviously, I would be quite happy to pass that information on to who operates [the market in the future] in that sense, you know. It's not going to be easy for anyone to come and run a place for these traders, they know each other, they can't make [it work], like if they don't understand each other.

The ability of staff in shops to be loyal to customers—by remembering their names, offering them good deals, discounts or goods on tick—works in favour of the business, by bringing customers back. Loyalty between customers and staff, however, depends on staying around for long enough—and indeed being present often enough—for it to develop. This is an advantage for the small business which employs fewer staff, full time, rather than a large business which can pay a variety of staff to work there, or have more part-timers. This advantage seems to balance out some of the differences in price between small shops and supermarkets, as Derek from the hardware store explains:

Derek (owner of H. Glickman Hardware): I've got Mr Armitage at 92 that's been coming here since he was a boy, I've got several retired builders. One still lives in the area, one is 76 and still running a building company, and his men are told to come here before they go anywhere else... I've got quite a big contingent of West Indians, that came over, the older generation, whereas some of the newer generations have cottoned on to the fact that their grandparents think I am the best shop to be in. And I've got some of the ones that originally came out there in the early 60s, who are now in their 70s and 80s and can remember coming in here with their dads and all sorts of things. And it's the way you treat people, all down to the way you treat people. You talk to them properly, and treat them all right, they will look after you.

Loyalty and social support

The growth of loyalty in place means that high street publics are a source of mutual social and economic support for the most poor and vulnerable. P. Jones et al (2007, 50) found that older people were overrepresented in their study of high street users. Forrest and Kearns (2001, 2125–2143) argue that marginalised groups (particularly those without jobs, such as retired people, the disabled and those with young children) are more likely to be dependent on local social ties, and therefore tend to prefer places very proximate to where they live (for financial, transport and social reasons). This is supported by evidence from the USA, where a longitudinal study through the 70s, 80s and 90s found that marginal groups were reliant on the locality for both strong and weak ties (Guest and Wierzbicki 1999, 91–111).

In terms of social support, high streets are the site for the formation and maintenance of cultural and locality-based loyalty networks, beginning inside the family. People care for

one another's children, as described by Daniel, or work in units of family and friends. I have witnessed lots of shops where both children and parents are behind the counter, as well as people who said they were brothers/aunts/cousins of the proprietor.

Beyond the family, high street places are sites in which to make links to form loyalty networks, particularly important for immigrants. In the early days of Bengali/Pakistani immigration into London's East End, restaurants around Brick Lane were community and advice centres, as well as commercial establishments (Kershen and Vaughan 2013, 13–14). Places of worship are a particular site of community solidarity for religion but also for networks of self-support (Kershen and Vaughan 2013, 19) so the presence of churches is not necessarily correlated with presence of faith but to the need for culturally specific publics in which to seek mutual support.²

Economic support is entwined with social support. 99.9% of all private sector businesses in the UK are small and medium enterprises (SMEs), and account for 59.3% of employment (White 2013, 1). In general, town centres also tend to employ people from poorer areas, and are a source of jobs for the least well qualified (DfBIS 2011, 10). This is because running a high street business is a means for many different people to gain a local economic foothold, from first to third generation immigrants (Hall and Datta 2010, 73). In London, around 80,000 SMEs rely on bank loans, overdrafts and mortgages to get started, and an additional 15,000 on 'external peer-to-peer lending' (GLA Economics 2014b, 23), which is friends or family helping one another out. An example is the way Oya has helped Bee by giving her a site from which to run her nail bar. Mutually supportive relationships through sharing of space have been described by Hall (Paccoud and Hall 2014) on Rye Lane and Walworth Road. Some shops are subdivided, creating a bazaar-like place which engenders sociable ways of trading (Hall 2013b, 11), with sub-lets often linked by ethnicity or family.

The most vulnerable people rely most heavily both on the affordability of High Road places in Tottenham, and on the networks of solidarity they host. For less mobile people, like the poor, old, young and newcomers, these local places are very important, both as users and as owners (Hall 2011, 2573; Griffiths et al. 2008, 17). At the same time, informal economies reduce the costs of goods and services and therefore allow a pool of badly paid workers to be maintained (Sassen 2000, 85–87). Although this potentially means that less than minimum wage is being paid, it represents valuable mutual support both for the businesses and for the people. The value of this mutually supportive social interaction and the cultivation of longstanding relationships is not measured by the standard means of assessing high street value: vitality and viability or

² The perceived need for this support, and hence the clustering of specific immigrant groups, is linked to the HDI score of the immigrant's home country – the lower scoring HDI the more likely the immigrant is to seek out their own kind. I discuss this at length in the next chapter.

land value (Hall 2011, 2576). This is a particularly vital service provided by Wards Corner, as the butcher Daniel explained:

Daniel: You get people come here and live alone, they live like in a bedsit, alone by themselves. Imagine if they don't have a place like this, come on, it's like boring, boring life just being at home. If they don't have families, there are a lot of people that come here that don't have family trying to get a future for other people, so they really like trying to save up so they can't go and be living in a big space, home, so they have to live in a bedsit and then this is like their only place. People don't cook at home, it's a really important thing, because you get so many customers coming in daily and it's mainly like they are usual customers you know they won't cook at home because why would you cook at for yourself when you can just come here and you get big food for £6 and you get your whole day food for that and it's not something like McDonalds, unhealthy and things like that.

In addition to monetary value, there is a value to being a business owner, or being related to the business owner through loyalty. Such status means having a meaningful stake and decision-making capacity is fundamental to human dignity. Rockstone Bike Alley is a social enterprise which trains young black men to fix bikes, with the objective of keeping them 'off the streets' and out of gangs. David is a young man who works there:

David (talking about Rockstone Bike Alley): This is where we create the whole area of not everybody wants to be employees, we want to be owners as well, do you know what I mean? That's what they [the council] are trying to do, bring the businesses, big businesses [e.g. Sainsbury's], in to employ us. But we want to own some stuff as well, you know. We want to own something. So later on yeah, we can say: Look, we own this, the community own this.

Loyalties affect people's perception of the city

In section 3.2 I discussed the deeply embodied processes which lead people to become familiar with their localities, which is to say the contexts for choice-making guided by both loyalty and convenience. There is an additional layer of richness here, which is that people's loyalties affect their very perception of the city.

An example will help make this startling phenomenon clear. Some of my middle class interview participants complained that there were no coffee shops on the High Road. This is simply not true, there are 84 places that sell coffee on the High Road. My interviewees Joe and Nur complained that there are no butchers or bakers on the High Road, when in fact there are 14 shops which sell fresh baked goods, fresh vegetables, fish and/or meat—including a couple of dedicated butchers, which were mentioned to me by other (working class) interviewees. I have mapped places that sell coffee, and fresh food shops (butchers and bakers) in Figure 3.21. No one I spoke to explicitly talked about class. But class judgements were implied by the use of the word *nice* and to be a real coffee shop (rather than somewhere that merely serves coffee) a place has to be nice. Coffee shops are used by middle class people as a shorthand for their own, affluent, culture.

- cafes where coffee is available
- butchers/fishmongers/bakeries

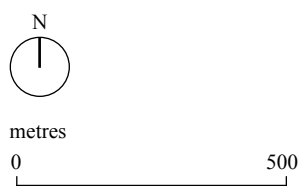


Figure 3.21 Coffee, meat, fish and bread on the High Road (drawn by Jane Clossick).

The link between affluence and coffee shops is backed up by a survey carried out by Allegra Strategies, who found that 58% of 2,000 people surveyed said they planned to visit coffee shops as part of their trip, and that coffee shops boost high street economies by 2-4% (Allegra 2014, 12) (although this is correlative, rather than causative).

The available coffee shops on Tottenham High Road (and here I mean 'shops which serve coffee') have Coca Cola or Fanta at 60p a can, instead of Fentiman's Original Curiosity Cola for £2.50. These plainly aren't the sorts of coffee shops associated with affluence, or used to signal class identity. There is one local independent cafe near Bruce Grove which does fulfill the criteria of niceness required by the middle class consumer, called Marmalade, which was mentioned to me separately by two different interviewees, but this was the only place that these interviewees considered. It is as though some of the people I interviewed are blind to what is really there, because it is not part of their (social) world. The long quotation below from Joe and Nur explores this issue well.

Nur: I tell you where we meet people, there aren't too many nice places to sit down and have a coffee around here, so the one place is Marmalade round the corner, which is right near the park, so quite often you'll find somebody, I'll either find Christine, or Helen or Simon, on separate occasions, and also their friend Helen, because they're quite religious, they're Christian. But we know people from their group, their connections, we're becoming friendly with them. So, we may well meet people in the one nice coffee shop. If there were more shops on the High Road I daresay we would [meet people there].

Joe: That raises an interesting point, that in some ways I feel the High Road excludes me ... All of the retail units, I'm not part of their demographic. I don't gamble, and that takes out four or five of the biggest retail units on the High Road. Fast food, particularly chicken shops and the real low-level low quality fast food, I'm not their customer. Pound shops and householdy-gifty ware, that doesn't represent me, I don't have any use for that kind of merchandise. Pubs, there's a couple of pubs there, I don't really do that, I tend to spend my time at home, rather than more traditional environment such as going out for a pint. So the High Road, it doesn't have any kind of a magnet for me. I can't tell you the last time I was in a shop on the High Road, it's certainly months. It's months at least, since I was in a shop on the High Road. Months and months.

Nur: There's nowhere for people really to go down the high street, so [after the riots] it was almost as if these other people were coming out who you could [be friends with] ... they would be the type of people who you would possibly strike up a friendship with in Stoke Newington, in a café. Somebody you may not know, but you're having a cup of coffee somewhere, and you might share a conversation with someone, you might get to know someone, become familiar with someone in the area that way. There's nothing like that on the High Road.

People I have interviewed were able to describe how they structure their lives with knowledge of which local people are closer to the weak tie end of the spectrum, which are stronger ties, and who needs to stay in which camp. They moderate their contacts carefully through place ballet. Ron, an elderly interviewee, described how he avoided a particular bus stop on the High Road at a certain time of the afternoon:

Ron: You know, it's like school kids isn't it, you've got the one bus stop there, every school in this area and the areas around stop at the one bus stop, so four o'clock to what, five o'clock at night, there are so many kids on the High Road trying to get the buses and so forth and the kids are kids nowadays, they are punching and kicking and screaming ... At six o'clock they've all gone home, it's not a problem, but that one hour you avoid that spot like the plague.

When people engage in deliberate place ballet, they make a choice to see the same people repeatedly by going to particular places at particular times—there are certain places where you will always bump into people you know even if no specific arrangements have been made. Ted is an elderly man, a friend of Ron and his description of bumping into people sounds like it might be an accidental meeting, but on days when he didn't fancy seeing anyone he might choose to go to a different place. It is also apparent, however, that insideness and outsideness affect perception very profoundly.

Ted: Because you've got friends all over the shop, you do bump into them but because you're down the High Road, that's where they would meet, there. You probably wouldn't meet one another in the park so much unless you made arrangements to be there, because you're probably doing different things, unless you're walking your dog. Where obviously seven o'clock in the morning there's quite a few [dog walkers], who chat to one another with dogs running about, but apart from that no, the High Road, because you're up and down it, you're likely to meet people out doing their bits and pieces. That's probably where you'd meet them and you can chat to them, catch up with the latest gossip that goes on.

Boundaries

The concept of *boundaries* is useful to understand the phenomena of insideness and outsideness. Places in Tottenham are divided by *symbolic* and *social* boundaries (Lamont and Molnár 2002, 161). Symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions to categorise people, things, places and time. Reinforcing symbolic boundaries through praxis turns them into social boundaries. The reinforcing of symbolic boundaries occurs in high street places as people are included or excluded, by themselves or others. Membership of a cultural group consists both of self identification and external identification (if the group is recognised by outsiders, then collective identity emerges) (Jenkins 1996, ch. 4) and is defined by characteristics of group members and differences from other groups (Lamont and Molnár 2002, 175). The performance of symbolic boundaries is *boundary-work*—what people do to define who they are (see Newman 1999; and Kefalas 2002). People are undertaking boundary-work when they ignore the convenience factor of a local coffee shop and walk all the way from their homes to Marmalade. The bounded psychological landscape about who things are perceived as being for, and who they belong to, is at least as important as the actual physical landscape.

Invisibility of high street places outside the social world of the observer also affects officers in the council, who apparently can't see what is really there, or assign it an appropriate level of civic value, because they are not part of local cultures. In 2012 Anne Lippitt, leader of the Tottenham Regeneration Team, suggested to me in an interview that the churches do not

‘activate’ the High Road; but she also said that she had never actually visited the High Road on a Sunday. She was suffering from existential outsidership from the places of worship on the High Road.

Jane: In terms of the regeneration objectives, what about other kinds of occupation, like churches?

Anne: I think there is a sort of toleration, if you like. There are some, the church on the green for example and there are a few others like that, they are really big in the community, and they really helped drive things forward. The former picture palace on the High Road is full of churches, which actually is okay, they have got to go somewhere, and actually it’s providing a need. They don’t do nothing [sic] for the High Road ... It’s [the former picture palace] a beautiful building and actually you don’t get a feel—I mean I have not been here on a Sunday, so I don’t really know what happens when it’s being used—but there is no vibrancy. It’s a beautiful building, in a way it doesn’t matter what the use is inside but somehow it needs to be brought alive.

Loyalty comes into being in depth structures. Convenience and loyalty shape how people move through their daily place ballet, and the execution of their place ballet generates place cultures which shape depth structure. Everything is connected to everything else, and it is all situated in depth. In the next section I describe how the depth structures of time and space accommodate place culture and place ballet, at a range of scales.

3.4 How depth accommodates social life and culture

Crazy Cut looked welcoming to me, with a bright orange sign and a large glass window. The salon is a single bay wide (4-5m), about 6m deep and painted bright orange with orange sofas, black timber and chrome fittings. In 2016 the style seems a little dated in central London fashion terms, but it stands out in Tottenham. It is organised very simply, with a large glass window to the front, and a waiting area with a sofa. To the rear are a small kitchen and toilet area, and a store room. There are about eight chairs set up in front of mirrors around the sides of the room, and a pedicure seat and nail bar towards the back, on the right hand side. Upstairs is a treatment room, where I went for leg-waxing, and a store room. The window to the street has a quality like Megan Beck’s ‘Living Archive’ project, mentioned in Chapter 2, and shown in Figure 3.22 (Beck 2015), where Megan talked about the way people just walked in to chat in her shop. Its position at the most accessible part of the depth structure meant her project was very successful at gathering opinions and voices. Crazy Cut relies on the same mechanism to gather passing trade.



Figure 3.22 The Make-Room Living Archive project by Megan Beck, exterior (Beck 2015).

In addition to the physical accessibility in Crazy Cut I recognised the familiar language of the European salon, and felt I would be welcomed as a customer. As Oya explained, she is a ‘European’ hairdresser, and does not cater to Afro hair, unlike most of the other salons on the High Road (like Winners).

Oya: You know I am the only European hairdressers down here apart from the one near Lidl or Aldi and she is open and closed when she can be bothered, so you know so I’m not really worried about her, she’s no competition to me. There are too many Afro-Caribbean hairdressers around here [for Oya to bother offering Afro hair services]. It wouldn’t be worth it and I don’t want it. We do have some black girls, ladies that do come in and have their hair done but their hair has been relaxed. But we try to avoid it, because the products are all different.

In Chapter 2, section 2.1, I discussed the networks of places in London uncovered using Space Syntax methods. These spatial structures are very important for the formation of the social networks I have described. The High Road is the backbone of people’s place-ballet. When the mappings of the interviews I conducted are overlaid it shows that people share particular geographic features which they use as their primary means of orientation, and the High Road is particularly significant. The individual interview mappings with detailed annotations can be found in the Appendices, and the overlaid version where all the maps have been drawn on top of one another is in Figure 3.23. It shows that the High Road is an extremely significant and central structuring element—the most common-to-all. It was also apparent that the movement of people in and out of Tottenham was primarily to the north and west. One can see why this is so: to the east are the reservoirs and the river Lee, major geographical barriers. There is convincing evidence from various authors (see for example Griffiths et al. 2008 and the work of Vaughan et al at Adaptable Suburbs at UCL; Gort Scott and UCL 2010; Carmona 2014) that arterial high roads are very significant as the sites for much of civic life. Put simply, if people cannot easily get to a place, it will never be part of their place ballet and will never be a stable site for the formation of social networks.

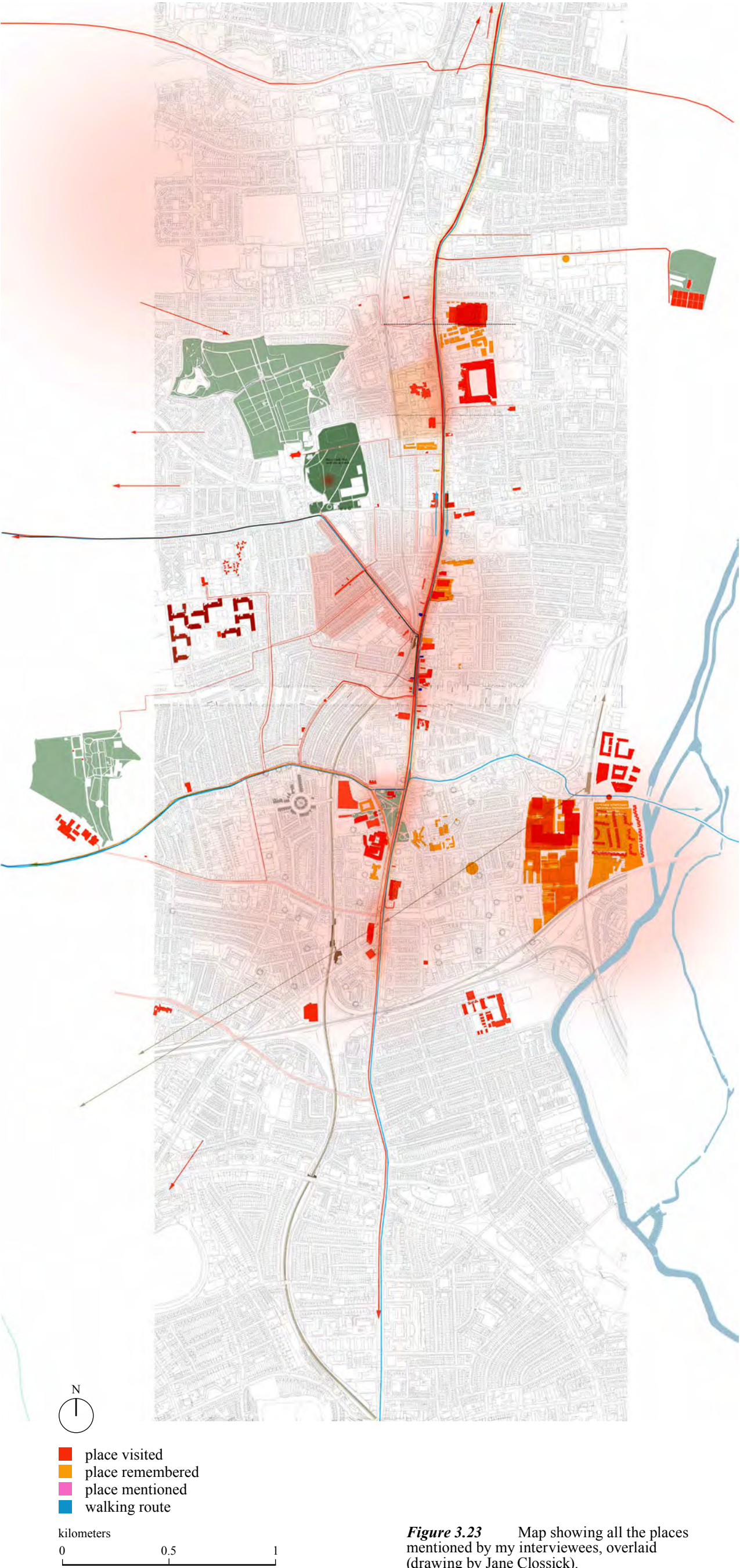


Figure 3.23 Map showing all the places mentioned by my interviewees, overlaid (drawing by Jane Clossick).

Building depth and gradation of publicness

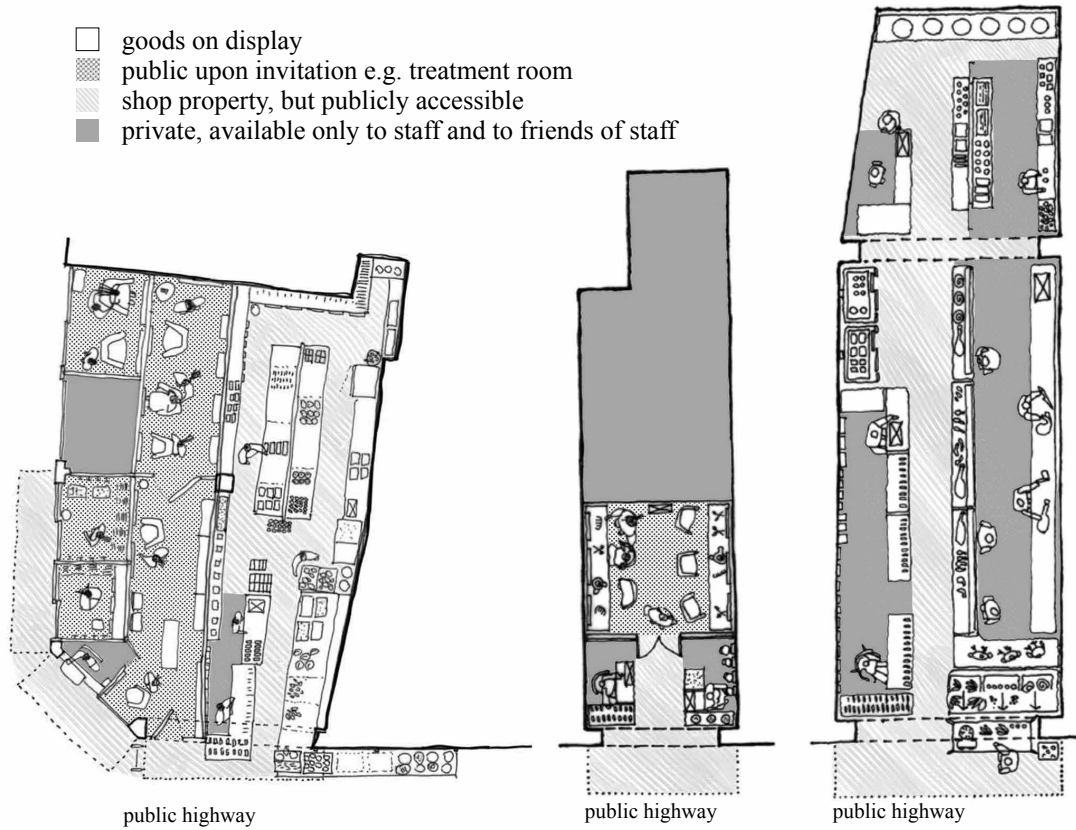
In this section, I describe the two characteristics of depth: the front to back gradation of publicness, and the process of simultaneous occupation of different parts of depth. I then relate this understanding of physical and time depth structures back to loyalty.

The organisation of physical places structures the kinds of interactions it is possible to have while engaging in an individual process of place ballet. Without a front door to meet at, for example, I would not know my neighbour Fred. The physical organisation of block depth adjacent to high streets is very important in facilitating or inhibiting social contacts.

If a place has a direct connection to the high street via a door, or a door and a window, then any member of the public is free to walk straight in off the street and participate in a social or economic exchange relationship. Mehta and Bosson (2010) examined 17 third places, out of 120 possible businesses on a main street (USA term for high street). Places agreed to be *third places* (which, remember, are public places which are not work, and not home, where people socialise) tended to be coffee shops, bars and restaurants but also convenience stores, books shops and thrift shops (Mehta and Bosson 2010, 789–790). On the whole, they were more permeable (more doors and windows), with more seating and shade/shelter than other main street places (Mehta and Bosson 2010, 799). The quotation below was from their study, and illustrates how important it is for a third place to be open to the street in order for people to feel able to walk right in:

I wish the façade was more interactive with the street. It's very alienating. It is like a black hole. They should soften the barrier between in and out, put more signs on the sidewalk welcoming you, inviting you in. Hang plants, pictures in windows, add color in windows (R 42.12). (Mehta and Bosson 2010, 799)

A characteristic structure of psycho-social depth, therefore, is a gradation of publicness from front to back within the building. Figure 3.24, however, shows that as in Crazy Cut, the gradation of publicness is not always absolutely clear from front to back. These are plans of shops in Peckham Rye (Hall and Palominos 2012) showing 'mutualisms' (see Chapter 2), that I have shaded according to level of publicness. Clearly the publicly accessible part is always directly connected to the public highway. Goods on display are always directly connected to publicly accessible areas. This clearly shows the economic ordering of depth, as discussed in Chapter 2, and also the typical cultural ordering of the gradation of publicness and the typicality of this gradation. This typicality allows people to participate in the culture of high streets because it is predictable. This order is contained within the typical shop unit of 4-5m wide, lined up along the high street.



Dotted is public upon invitation with agreement from the owner to perform a service. Grey is private, available only to staff and to friends of staff. White is goods on display. Striped is shop property, but publicly accessible.

Figure 3.24 Shops in Peckham Rye
 (source: Suzi Hall and Nicolas Palominos, Ordinary Streets Project, LSE Cities, 2012, edited by Jane Clossick).

This ordering is clear in Crazy Cut (shown in Figure 3.25 to Figure 3.29), where the street is the most common-to-all part of the depth, then the most public part of the salon is at the front, which is the waiting area with sofa and large window. This is slightly less common-to-all than the street: members of the public are welcome through the door, provided that they then conduct an exchange with Oya or one of her colleagues. The central area where nails are done and hair is dressed is accessible only to those who have engaged in this communication. The back and upstairs parts are the most private, and the least common-to-all. The kitchen is reserved for staff, and the upstairs for customers having waxing, tanning—services which involve removing clothes. There is an invisible system (culture) which dictates who is welcome in which part of the depth, and what they can do there. This is illustrated in the sequence of photographs in the following pages. I was invited into the kitchen by Oya when I was interviewing her, and that is where the toilet is too, which can be used by customers upon request. Other people who are more integrated into the culture of Crazy Cut have greater access to the more private sections of the depth of the shop. Bee's mother does not work at the salon, but walked right into the back kitchen and made herself a drink. This means that the more a person becomes integrated into the culture of Crazy Cut, the deeper into the depth they can go.

Depth mediates between the aspects of culture which are most and least common-to-all. It allows different cultures to coexist in close proximity and to form the hybrids that are place culture. Bee and Oya have known one another for a long time; they have developed personal language and gestures, and they both speak Turkish. When I went to the salon for treatments, I had only just met them, and didn't speak these languages. Yet I could participate in exchange and conversations with them, because there is an appropriate place in the salon where I can do this. If I walked straight up to the treatment room and had a shower without permission, I would be violating the decorum, which is given a shape by the structure of depth.



↑
front door and
picture window
to High Road

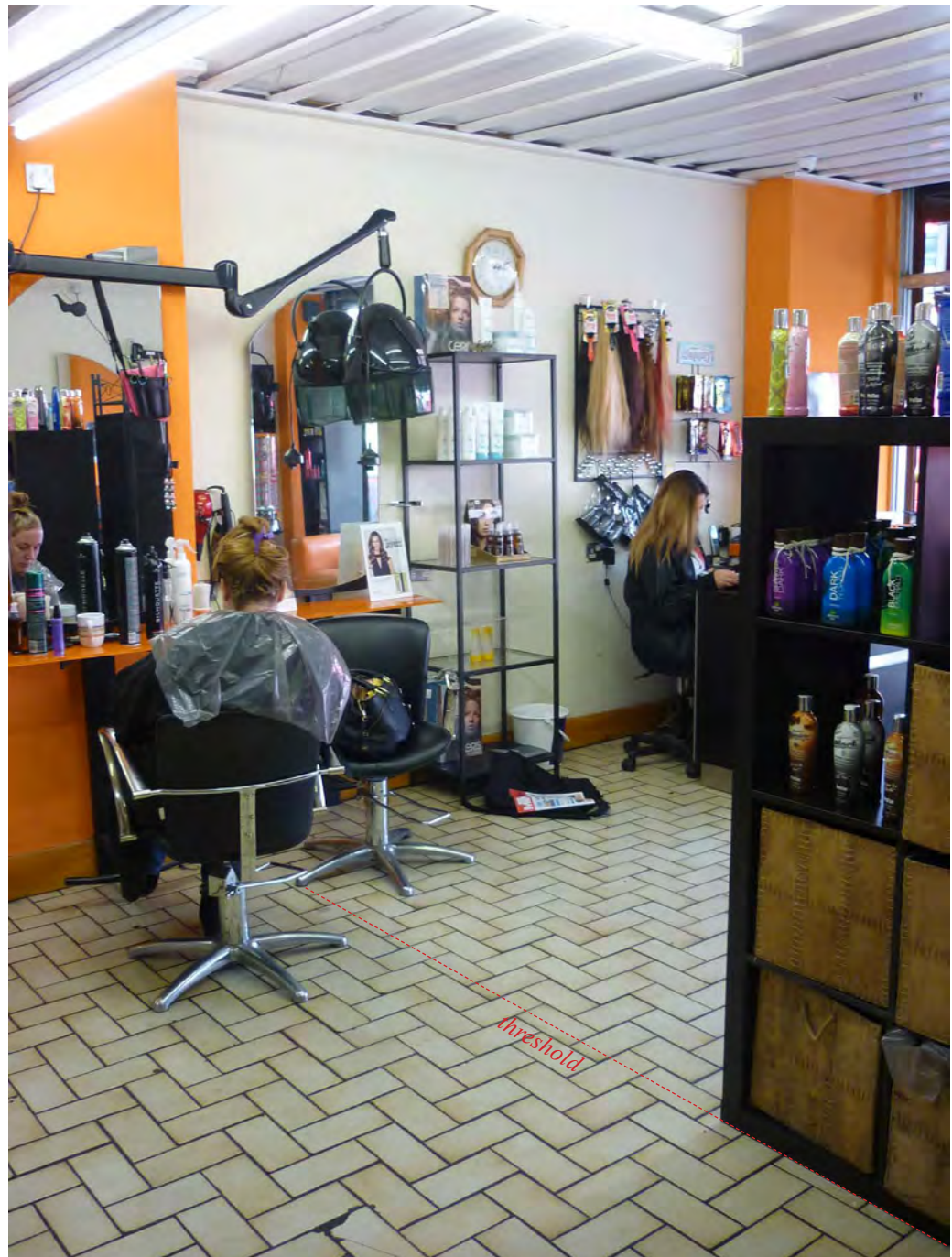
↓
behind me, adjacent to
the door, is the reception
desk, where a staff
member always sits

↑
waiting sofa, for
clients waiting for
salon services

High Road

----->
gradation of publicness

Figure 3.25 Front of Crazy Cut
(photograph by Jane Clossick).



client having
hair dyed

Oya's sister can be
seen sitting at the
reception desk

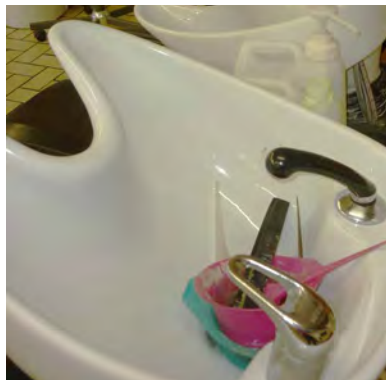
barrier of shelves
marking a change in
level of publicness



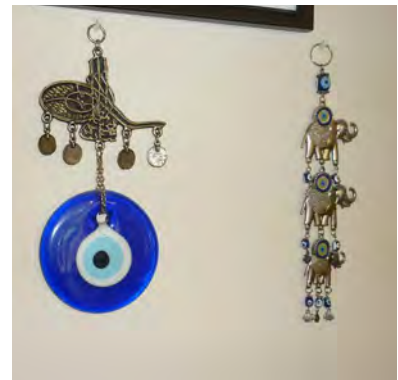
gradation of publicness

High Road

Figure 3.26 Middle part of Crazy Cut
(photograph by Jane Clossick).



dye bowls waiting to be washed in sink



Turkish blue eyes: for protection and good luck



sinks for washing clients hair are a barrier marking change in level of publicness

gradation of publicness

door through to kitchen and WC (WC accessible to clients and visitors)

Figure 3.27 Back of Crazy Cut (photographs by Jane Clossick).

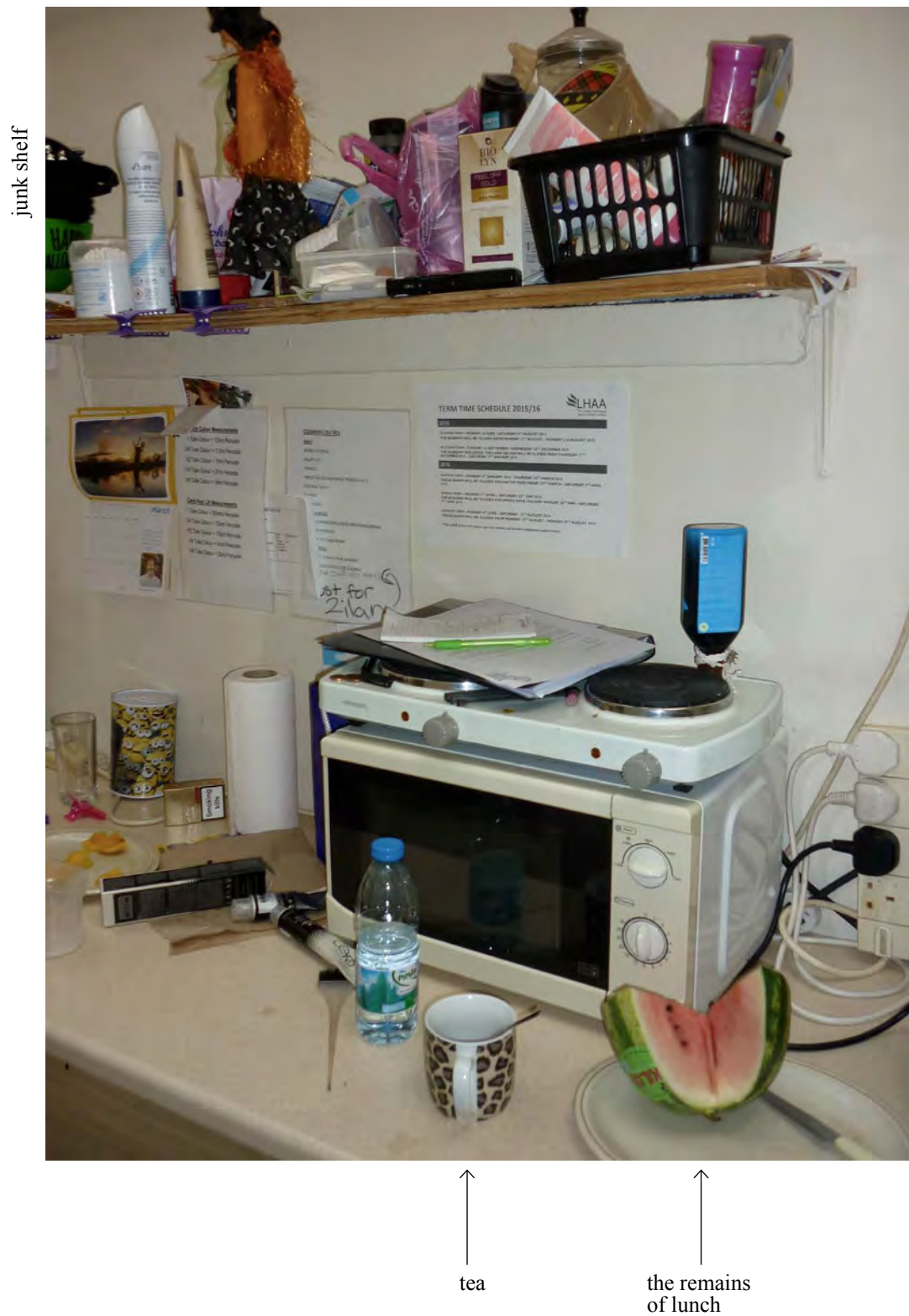


Figure 3.28 Crazy Cut kitchen
(photograph by Jane Clossick).



children's timber stool in
treatment room belonged to
Oya's daughter



sink in corner of
treatment room



treatment
room



↑
stairs from
ground floor

↑
tanning
booth

↑
doors to treatment
room (right) and
sunbed room (left)

↑
scales

↑
washing
machine

Figure 3.29 Crazy Cut upstairs
(photographs by Jane Clossick).

The same front to back gradation of publicness and common-to-all-ness can be seen in dwellings. The internal depth of both dwellings and high street places mediates between what is most common-to-all (a conversation with a neighbour on the front step in the common language of the nation), and what is least common-to-all (using the toilet—which one almost always does alone. Or conversing in a foreign language). This is common-to-all in the sense of a banal, frequent occurrence. But it is also so in a philosophical sense, referring to the cosmic/natural conditions, on which particular situations, customs and institutional order, depend.

The role of what is common-to-all (in both these senses) can be illustrated by drawing an analogy with language (an interesting analogy in the context of a discussion about Tottenham, where several languages prevail). Most of what can be said is anticipated in the language/culture: what is explicitly said in a situation is particular, but communication and understanding depends on implicit elements that are signalled by the fact that most exchanges involve very typical elements and structures. This typicality allows us to understand drama or a movie, for example: in an unfamiliar setting, it gives us a way into understanding how we ought to react to what is being depicted.

Estate agents photographs, shown in Figure 3.30, are an excellent example of this type of setting. Although they are exaggerated stereotypes for the market, most people's homes are roughly divided along these same lines. The photographs always show the same stereotypical arrangements: the kitchen, living room, bedroom, bathroom. More articulated choices within these settings would include what a person does, and when. People's behaviour is inextricably linked to the wider urban culture via architecture (also related to things like the choice of furniture available in shops). As well as linking to the whole urban culture, settings inside dwellings link between the most basic condition of earth, such as the movement of the sun, through the presence of, for example, a tree deliberately planted to give afternoon shade in a south facing garden.

The typical depth of buildings (of domestic architecture, in the present discussion) has exactly the same enabling effect, it enables people to understand what they are supposed to do, where. In a home, the hall and the kitchen are the most public parts of the internal depth and the bedrooms are the most private. The WC is less private than the bedrooms, because guests sometimes need to use it (although it is private in the sense that people almost always use the toilet alone). Depth, therefore, accommodates the culture of the inhabitants—some of which is common to most people, some of which is specific to the family or individual.



Figure 3.30 Estate agents' photographs of typical domestic settings (source: Rightmove 2012).

In a salon local to where I live, the pedicures are carried out on the same sofa which is used as a waiting sofa. Nearly all salons have this sofa, near the front door, where clients wait to be seen. The juxtaposition of the private activity of pedicure and the more public activity of waiting is uncomfortable. And the fact that it is uncomfortable reveals the expected cultural ordering of space in salons, which this particular salon is transgressing. S. Hall has described a similar gradation of publicness, between the most and the least common-to-all:

In one Halal convenience shop, for example, the space was divided into two areas. The first, closest to the street, had a range of food products, including the meat counter, while the second space, further from the street, stocked food more oriented to North African and Muslim customers. In the second space there were pictures of Mecca and a small prayer area (Hall and Datta 2010, 79).

Mediation between what is most and least common-to-all works from front to back and also in the variation in privateness invested to different extents in objects and places inside the home. In a studio apartment, for example, a visitor would not invite themselves to sit on the bed without permission, for example (Marcus 2006). Similarly, we are all acutely aware of which parts of a shop are for us to walk in, and which are not (customers are not welcome behind the counter). This is an unspoken code which shows there is a shared culture, carefully orchestrated both by the person in charge, and also by visitors/customers, but largely by the architecture. In a home, the front to back gradation of publicness may not be clear cut—the kitchen may be at the back. In a high street place at the front of block depth, the clarity of the internal depth (of who is allowed where) is more important, because the proprietor of the place may be dealing with lots of people all at once, so they must be able to organise themselves without direction.

The rich structures which mediate between what is most and least common-to-all require deep cultural knowledge to be interpreted. Depth contains all the embodied and articulated information for this interpretation to take place instantaneously. The living room in a one-bedroom Tottenham flat inhabited by someone who earns the minimum wage will be very different to the living room in a five bedroom Victorian house occupied by a middle class family. Nevertheless, it is likely that the cultural similarities are enough to find the sofa and watch television in both places. This means that the gradated front to back structure I have described above is not found in precisely this organisation in every high street place, but it is a characteristic structure—and to recognise it helps us to understand one of the ways that different cultures co-exist so peacefully in Tottenham. As Gadamer (1975) argues, praxis is learned through praxis: there is no recipe. And architecture offers the horizons for praxis.

Building depth and simultaneity

The culture of Crazy Cut is Bee's mum drinking tea in the kitchen *and* me having my nails done by Bee as they talk *and* Oya talking on the phone to her cousin *and* a total newcomer walking in off the street to find out the price of a haircut. It is also the potential for Oya to open the shop and serve strangers all morning, yet to have a couple of friends around after the doors have closed for a coffee and a chat, or to host a special party event for Halloween. The gradation of publicness and simultaneity in Crazy Cut are shown in photographs in Figure 3.31 and Figure 3.32. When I visited, I was guided through a sequence of publicness, structured not only in space but also through time, with appropriate actions at appropriate times. I would not visit the salon at 2am, because it would be closed. I also would see the reception desk first, then go upstairs for my wax—not the other way around. In this manner, physical and time depth structures are linked. So, another characteristic structure of depth is that it accommodates simultaneous occupation of different parts of space at the same time, or of the same part of space at different times. This is the way that depth mediates between what is most and least common-to-all, because it means both things can be happening simultaneously, or sequentially in the same place.

The same principle of simultaneity applies very clearly to the way we live in our homes. According to Heidegger (1971; Harman 2013, 65), a house is divided into rooms according to whether different areas are sunny or shady at different times of day. Rooms are occupied cyclically through the day, corresponding to cycles of day and night (Giddens 1985, 272). Dwelling and high street places are oriented both to earth and to time; they are used cyclically and habitually, both internally and as part of a wider network of movement around the neighbourhood and city. Crazy Cut it is oriented towards the street, and features as part of the time-structured place-ballet of Bee's mum. Different high street places have times when they are most vibrant (P. Jones, Roberts, and Morris 2007, 110), or they are filled with particular groups of people at specific times (which helps people like Ron avoid the school children). In Nick's Caff, Hall noted that the position of the caff in the depth of the block was at the front, directly in the high street. Its position in time was similarly accessible, with long opening hours (S. Hall 2009, 81). As well as openness to the street, the *most* public places have the longest opening hours (Demos 2005, 60) because this invites occupation of the same space by different groups, separated by time.

Malls, or Grainger-type schemes inhibit these detailed involvements and rely upon a trust in institutions, but the flattening of experience to the generalisation of 'consumer' releases the strength and significance of claims which people have upon one another via the place. This reduces the potential for disorder and fear for the shopper, but also reduces the spectrum of concern that I have documented in Crazy Cut.



Figure 3.31 Crazy Cut simultaneity and gradation of publicness (photograph by Jane Clossick).

The links between depth and loyalty

Ron: Dewhurst's has been there many many years. Only [butcher's] we've still got, he's managed to stay there. We get our meat there because obviously we know it, and we trust it, it's fresh, it's nice in there, it's better than the supermarket stuff. Reasonably priced. There's a few other butchers shops there now but they are mainly for the ethnic minorities, halal and all the rest of it, whatever that is, well I know what it is but... At least Dewhurst is one of the old-fashioned ones, you can go in there as a favourite customer and they talk to you, they know your name and everything, which is nice.

Ron's quote, above, characterises the loyalty which has built up over time between him and a butcher's shop on the High Road. Depth hosts the formation of ties between people and the development of social networks and mutual loyalty, through enactment of place ballet. The capacity to support loyalty can also be disrupted by the order of depth.

Social interaction and personal service offer 'leisure opportunities' during shopping, and people find this valuable (Wrigley and Lambiri 2014, 8). There is not much existing evidence about how this interaction works (Wrigley and Lambiri 2014, 8). This research, however, demonstrates that it is a question of the different capacities of high street publics to support loyalty.

An excellent example of the way the capacity to support loyalty can be disrupted is in modernist housing estates, such as where I live, which were designed and built based on principles of residential zoning as separate from civic and other uses (Figure 3.33).³ The modernist estate I live in does not offer many opportunities for meeting other people, unless one happens to be leaving the front door at the same time as a neighbour, or (like Fred), one stands for long periods waiting for other people to arrive. A dwelling is not just where someone eats and sleeps, but is the centre of the life-world around which all other experiences are oriented. People centre themselves in their dwellings through choosing and organising the spaces and things inside them (Casey 1997, 293).

Using Space Syntax methods in the estates in Somer's Town, Hanson (2000) measured the mean depth from the edge of the external shared areas to the ground floor entrances and compared this with the same measurement for the vernacular street grid. She found what she described as a 'not quite no-neighbours model' (Hanson 2000, 111). She compared this to the 'all neighbours model' of the vernacular street grid with front doors on the street. Inhabitants cannot become familiar to one another when the relationship between a person and their front door is broken. Everyone is a stranger to everyone else, while actual strangers do not enter the estate because it is cut off from being a route to anywhere else (Hanson 2000, 111; for more on Space Syntax methods and theory, see Hillier and Hanson 1984). The difference between the two types described by Hanson is shown in Figure 3.34, a drawing of the flats and houses on a side street adjacent to Tottenham High Road.

³ This is related to section discussing the different kinds of site depth in Chapter 2, section 2.1.



area within red dotted line is
drawn on the following page



Figure 3.33 Housing estate adjacent to the case study block, showing the mono-thematic nature of the site, and disruption of the characteristics of depth (source: Bing Maps 2015).

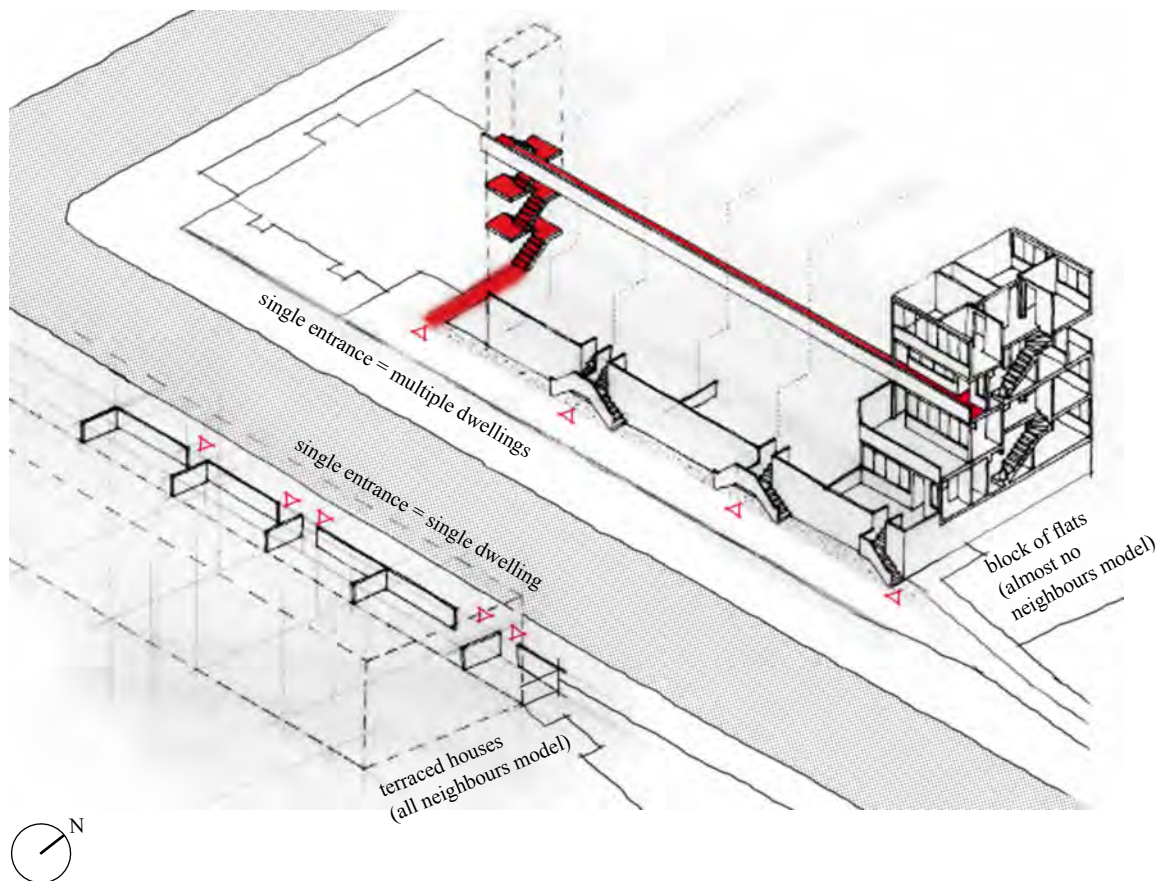


Figure 3.34 Different types of dwelling on a vernacular street from the estate on previous page (red dotted box), with different entrance configurations (drawing by Jane Clossick and Colin O'Sullivan).

If there is no place to regularly see neighbours, relationships will not form. Those with choice (money) and a desire for social contact with neighbours usually choose the all-neighbours model of a house, on a street, because people tend intuitively to understand the structure and social potential of depth. This is demonstrated by the significantly higher cost of houses on Victorian residential streets, as compared with flats which have the same, or larger floor area and number of bedrooms. Ron understood this problem very clearly, and he explained it in our interview:

Ron: A lot of people in those houses around the Spurs football club ... People were born and bred in those houses, and they had compulsory orders and they all got pulled down. If you go along there now you'll see it's flats...

Jane: What you think it does to a place when that happens?

Ron: Well, you see, it's totally dead now. Everybody knew their neighbours along there, you know? Everybody knew one another. When you live in a flat... you know that once you shut your door, you don't see anybody. In a house, you can talk to your neighbour over the wall or something like that.

The type of estate discussed by Hanson, and Ron in the quotation above, is shown in Figure 3.33 and Figure 3.34 as a bird's eye view photograph, and an analytical drawing. The drawing shows the entrances to Victorian terraced houses, on the south side, and entrances to a modernist estate of flats, opposite. Each house has its own front door, while the flats on the upper floors of the estate all share a single entrance, which is quite far removed from their location.

On a high street, every shop conforms to the 'all neighbours model', whereas other businesses (which do not survive on passing trade) in the depth of the block are more likely to be the 'almost no-neighbours model'. In addition, on the High Road in Tottenham, independent shops are more likely to host the formation of a bond between customer and proprietor than larger chains, because they tend to exhibit the characteristics of depth, both of front-to-back gradation and simultaneity. In contrast, multinationals (large stores like Tesco, or Grainger-type mall schemes) tend to disrupt these characteristic structures: beeping of checkouts does not encourage conversation, checkouts in supermarkets are oriented as a through passage, and speed is privileged above all else.

Independent owners have the space and motivation to develop more bespoke methods for sustaining loyalty. There is a choice between two styles of involvement for the customers, either the type in which claims are mutually made upon one another by shopkeeper and customer, or the type where the only requirement is money changing hands. Oya, for example, instituted a loyalty card system, where people could accumulate points on a card and redeem them against treatments. Nevertheless, in essence the ways she has attempted to secure loyalty don't seem to be more effective than simply being who she is, and being located where she is, as she explained to me:

Oya: I remember one Saturday I had done £285 worth of free hair [because of the loyalty scheme] and I thought, no this has to stop, it really has to stop, because they would be coming in and having it done anyway ... I had Christmas postcards done for all my clients with a 10% or 15% discount off their next service and thanked them for their custom throughout the year, and customers liked that. I gave that to them, and I think they actually preferred that to the loyalty card.

Retaining customers is a case of the personal connections forged over a period of time through conversation, local cultural and social networks in and around the salon, and by sending out things like Christmas cards, which mimic a real personal relationship. Multinational chains could take advantage of this potential for customer loyalty merely by having the same people on the same checkouts, but instead they compete in economic terms, offering lower prices in place of personal relationships. In this respect, customers are not quite the same thing as consumers.

Oya's loyalty cards are an example of an attempt to secure loyalty through bureaucratic means. A residential equivalent is the co-operative run estate where Ted lives. Members of the co-operative form relationships through a process of elections. Ted and Ron described habitual acts of social support—like borrowing sugar—which cement relationships and could easily be extended to childcare, helping elderly people and finding work for one another, which they attributed to the presence of the co-operative. The success of non-depth-based (or bureaucratic) ways to bridge gaps between solidarity groups (such as Oya's loyalty card scheme, or Ted and Ron's co-operative) relies on a lot of hard work from people, and exclusion of newcomers remains a possibility, because they rely on pre-existing social networks. Multinational chains fail to secure loyalty beyond cheapness and convenience because they have a higher turnover of staff who are not personally invested in the success of the business. This is similar to a residential area with a high turnover of residents.

The formation of loyalty also requires the owners of high street places to be autonomous, present and to have their own networks of solidarity and loyalties situated locally. By contrast the Costa Coffee barista is subject to the rules of a corporation—they cannot admit their brother into the kitchen for a cup of tea, give away free biscuits to friends, or give their dad a job. The coffee-shop owning equivalent of Oya, on the other hand, could do any of these things. So, the ability to build and sustain loyalty relationships in high street places also depends on who is in control of the place, who can negotiate, and what their negotiating powers are.

If absolutely everyone can freely come into a place (in the way they can into Costa Coffee) then it is usually the home of the dominant culture: often a middle class culture in the case of Costa, since (as discussed earlier) consuming coffee in this way is a signifier of a middle class lifestyle. According to Oldenburg, third places must be within walking distance and cannot be owned by corporates (Oldenburg 1997, 10). Where a public place prioritises one need over another (is monocultural), then people who are not motivated by that need, or who are excluded by that monoculture, will stay away. These patterns often track possession of money, and there

is a kind of insideness which results from having money to spend. Still, there are other kinds of insideness too, which don't correspond with wealth. The kind of insideness which results from being a member in a network of mutual loyalty, developed in and hosted by depth, is also very important, although impossible to measure in monetary value. Demos (2005, 52) suggests public places should be broadened to accommodate the needs of more different identity groups, but the city is not about providing a monocultural landscape into which everyone fits, it is about averting or accommodating potential conflict and facilitating coexistence between multiple different identity groups, solidarities and cultures. Depth is where all this is accommodated.

Accessibility and cultural specificity

Permeability and visibility work for social activities in the same way as they do for businesses—people have to be able to get to a place in both space and time, to use it. They also have to know something is there, either through physical and visual access from a busy street or through word of mouth or via social networks, as research by Demos (2005) summarised in this quotation, shows:

Places cannot become public unless people know them ... In getting people to come to a particular place, word of mouth is king and the messenger generally has to be someone who is known and trusted by the potential user. Repeatedly when we asked an individual why they had come to a particular place, they replied that a friend or family member had either brought them the first time, or had suggested they might like it (Demos 2005, 60).

Shades Caterers mainly rely on word of mouth and established customers for business. They can take advantage of proximity to the High Road for transport but do not need to pay a premium for high street frontage (see Chapter 2, sections 2.1 and 2.2 for more on this). For a cultural organisation like the Congolese Liberty Church, the users come from a small community who all know one another. Neither needs a public face, because they do not seek to be available to everyone.⁴

Different kinds of high street publics are situated in different parts of block depth, depending on how common-to-all they are, or desire to be.

Behind Crazy Cut are a nursery, church and chapel, accessed from the High Road. The block which contains Crazy Cut is shown in Figure 3.35 and Figure 3.36. This is an economic ordering of the site; the church does not require an extensive high street frontage and has put its available land to the best economic use by having shops in the shallowest part of its site depth.

⁴ There are many business units occupied by Christian-based church organisations in the case study block, particularly in the Grove Business Centre, which houses The Divine Era Ministry, the Jubilee Christian Ministry and the Living Christ Church. These are all invisible from the outside. The rise of these places of worship in Tottenham is linked to the high level of immigration, and this is happening at the same time as the gradual decline in participation in Anglican churches, many of which occupy prominent positions on high streets, and are being re-purposed as flats, clubs and halls.



Depth to front which contains a church (accessed from front door adjacent to Crazy Cut), chapel and nursery school. There are a range of uses in the depth of the site and the deepest part, next to the train line, has been filled in with a small estate of flats, accessed from the side street. As we saw in building depth, the city is not clearly stratified into public and private, it actually consists of varying degrees of public life, of people moving through their place ballets in a complex dance around and with one another, and with the objects and places in their homes and lifeworlds (Seamon 1979, 57).

Figure 3.35 Block containing Crazy Cut (source: Bing Maps 2015)

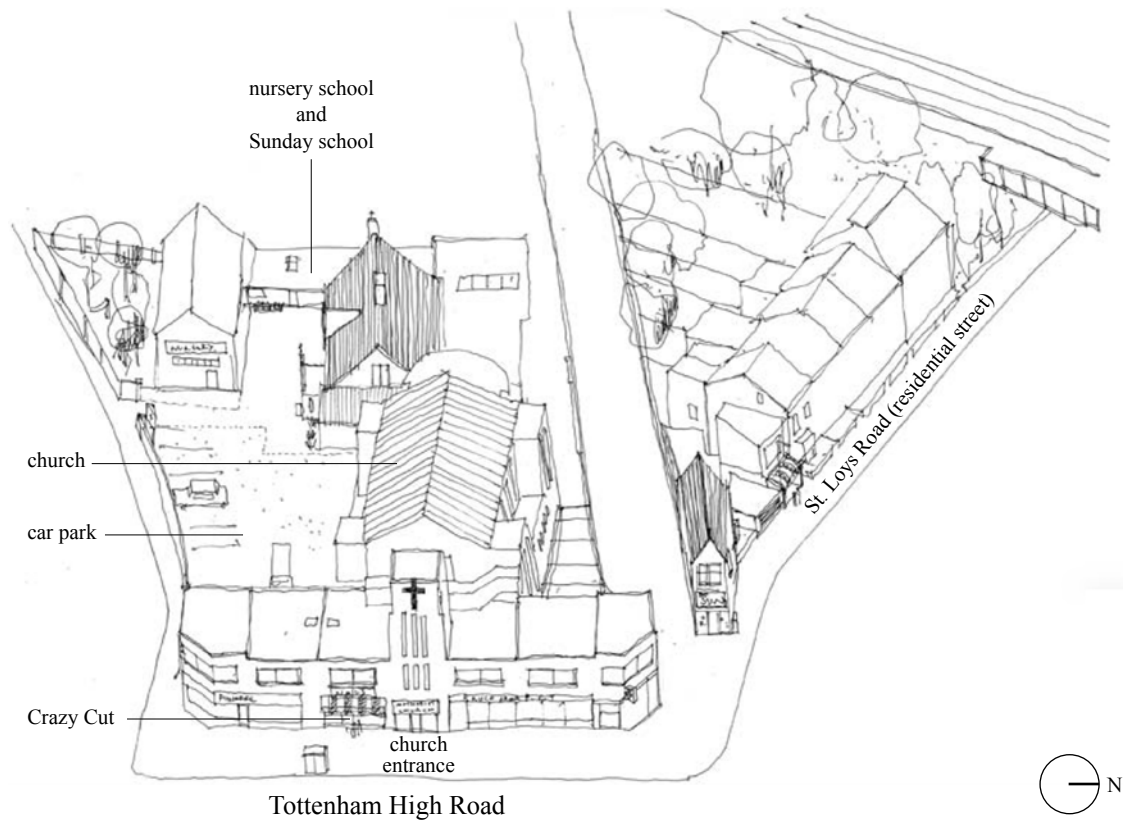


Figure 3.36 Drawing by Fiona Scott showing site depth behind the shop front which contains Crazy Cut (source: *High Street London*, UCL and Gort Scott, 2010).

It is also a cultural ordering—the church and nursery are public uses, but not in the same way as a shop.

The front part of both site and building depth next to the high street are the most common-to-all, they accommodate the broadest range of cultures. Places which are open to the street with long opening hours, therefore, are the most accessible to the greatest range of passers by, and tend to house uses which seek people from a wide range of different groups as customers—or which serve a large community where there are too many people to belong to a single social network (like the long-established Turkish Cypriot or Afro-Caribbean communities in Tottenham). Cultural identities are revealed through display and arrangement. Shop fronts and signage allow identity differences to be expressed within an ordered structure (S. Hall and Datta 2010, 74; S. Hall 2010, 58) as explored in Chapter 2. Figure 3.37 shows a range of places and connections on the Walworth Road (S. Hall and Datta 2010, 74). These shop signs are hybrids of different places, cultures and products, and the position in the physical structure of depth (at the front) is an additional indication that the proprietors are aiming at a broad range of local solidarities

Places which need everyone to know they are there may touch the street with a forecourt, between general and particular public life, like the church behind Crazy Cut. The kind of high street publics which require this quality of permeability are cafés, shops, market places, libraries and clinics (Hall 2012, 124). Different types of publics need to cross cultural and solidarity boundaries to a greater or lesser extent, depending whether they rely on loyalty or convenience for their custom.

David, who works at Rockstone Bike Alley, explained how knowledge of the social enterprise is spread through social networks:

David: Well, right now me and a group of other youths, we've been proactive, we've been bringing in more kids from the area. So it's like, they've got mates, he's got mates who's got mates. If they see me being involved, it's easier to come through and be part of it or even if some of my mates have kids, they want to bring their kids biking. They trust, it's the trust with the community. So, if you grew up with someone, you can easily trust them, that they're looking after your young ones, or whatever it is.

Opening hours are another aspect of visibility/accessibility. Longer opening hours are often associated with serving a larger, less culturally specific community. An analogous example in a public building is a hospital. Accident and Emergency is open 24 hours, and is also situated at the front of the building, usually with a large glass window and a big, obvious red sign to make it extremely easy to find. Outpatients departments are usually in the depth of the building or site, and are usually much more difficult to find, because people are given a specific appointment to come and visit with instructions in the NHS appointment letter about how to find the relevant room.



Figure 3.37 Multicultural signs at the front of block depth, on Walworth Road (source: 'The Translocal Street: Shop signs and local multi-culture along the Walworth Road, south London' Hall and Datta 2010, 74).

On the high street, the rhythm of changing opening hours makes a big difference to the accessibility of different high street places. On Sunday mornings, Tottenham changes dramatically, as doors to churches that face the street are thrown open, while some of the shops that usually form the high street backdrop are firmly shuttered. The churches that cannot be seen (which reside behind the façade in the deeper parts of block) can be heard. The Liberty Church congregation sings for long periods, and their singing can be heard from the other side of the street. It is a dramatic reversal from Monday to Saturday, when churches are all but invisible, and a powerful demonstration of the flexibility afforded by depth.

Where multiple sites are owned in a variety of different locations by a single cohesive solidarity group, then it makes sense to site economic activities which have a wider appeal on the most spatially accessible streets, and cultural activities which only have in-group appeal in the depth of blocks. Vaughan examined the network integration of streets in Jewish and Irish areas in nineteenth century UK cities to find out if there were really segregated ghettos, as were perceived. She found that actually the Jewish areas contained some of the most well-connected streets in the city, allowing traders access to the non-Jewish market (Vaughan and Penn 2001, 24). The spatial structure of East End streets allowed partial mixing of immigrants with established communities—integrated with the spatial network of streets at a larger (city) scale, although locally segregated (Kershen and Vaughan 2013, 19). As the communities grew in economic strength, more visible sites for synagogues were possible (Kershen and Vaughan 2013, 18), and at the same time, as the communities grew larger, word of mouth was no-longer sufficient to pass on the knowledge about the location of local places of worship.

Proprietors and users of the spectrum of publics in Tottenham have an intuitive understanding of which places are the most accessible and which are most visible, and also what kind of place within the depth of the block is suitable for conducting what kind of exchange relationship. Different activities are also clearly best sited in different parts of depth. This exchange, recorded by me at an Our Tottenham meeting, between Ricardo, who co-runs Rockstone Bike Alley, and Gerry, a local resident, demonstrates this intuitive understanding of depth.:

Gerry: ... I had thought you guys [Rockstone Bike Alley] aren't too visible. I've just moved here and I thought, where's the bike shop? And it's things like, an ideal place would be that public loo down the road. Right there, on a bike, I'd like to see a small business that would encompass perhaps let's say a workshop close there, highly visible ...

Ricardo: a commercial retail shop front on one of the main business areas and again the Wards Corner area is attractive because of where it is, if you're coming from Stamford Hill or Seven Sisters Road, it is quite visible. So if we [Rockstone Bike Alley] had like a commercial shop front there, where we could buy and sell bikes, bike accessories and all that kind of thing, that would be great. Another spot that is attractive again is The Arches over in White Hart Lane ... Welding, building your own frames, spray painting. That kind of thing, The Arches is perfect for that.

Change over time

Place-culture is comprised of hybrids of individual cultures, accommodated by depth, and changes over time with immigration, population ageing, and technological, economic and social shifts. It is this change of culture which demonstrates that place-culture exists at all. There are two important aspects to culture changing over time. First, it changes at different rates in different parts of depth. This temporal order is explored in Chapter 2. Second, it is the adaptability of the vernacular high street structure of depth which allows these changing cultures to be accommodated, just as it allows accommodation of economic changes. The cultural history of change (of uses, of people) is important, but it must also be stressed how much remains the same.

Change of place-culture was particularly apparent in my discussions with older interviewees. Ted, Ron and Derek, all men in their 70s, all described a working men's club culture in Tottenham, and lamented its passing. The disappearance of High Road public houses which belong to one cultural group, and the emergence of those which belong to another is indicative of the changing place culture over time. Several people also mourned the loss of Marks & Spencer from the High Road, as though it represented a lost Englishness. As the place-culture gradually changes, some people may feel less insideness in their local places. In my interviews, this was often correlated with the idea that the locality had 'declined' due to immigration, and this links to the way in which loyalties and insideness shape people's perception of the city, discussed in section 3.3, where it was apparent that middle class interviewees couldn't recognise coffee shops on the High Road. This is not clear cut however, and the extent to which people feel excluded by changing local cultures depends on stage of life. Older people often feel nostalgic for a time when there was more local cohesion, but this might be related to the fact that they have less access to mixed social spaces, like schools (Wessendorf 2010, 30).

Depth accommodates these cultural changes through the front-to-back gradation of publicness, and the different rate of change from the outside to the inside of the block which I have described in this and the preceding chapter.

Conclusion

Nur: These people that I'm talking about who are nice, who live in the area, but have no real means of getting together, otherwise, apart from your own immediate links, or this Marmalade [café]. Because otherwise, you know people are going to go to the leisure centre for their classes or whatever, you're not really going to be talking to people very much. Or they might walk through the museum but there's no café there that's open to the public regularly, there's no other sorts of things that bring the community together. Everything is all very separate.

Depth accommodates culture. Its characteristic structures are a gradation of publicness from front to back (both within the building and across the site), and the capacity to host

simultaneous or sequential occupation. Depth is also the place where differences between cultural groups are negotiated, because it mediates between what is most and least common-to-all. This is common-to-all both in the banal sense, of 'common ground', and in the more profound sense: the common ground of difference. The neighbour is the near-dweller, where 'dwelling is the manner in which mortals are on earth' (Heidegger 1971). The act of living near one another entails common ground—we tread the same streets, have the same weather, both trip over the same broken paving slab. It is depth which accommodate neighbourliness, localness and the formation of hybrid cultures in high street places. This occurs through three mechanisms.

First, depth accommodates the increasing loyalty of people to a place. It allows for different levels of loyalty while still enabling people to conduct exchange relationships. Some people are admitted into its more private areas, some are not. I do not have an immediate insideness in Winners salon (which I mentioned at the start of this chapter) because I have the wrong kind of accent, hair and skin colour. Yet when I asked the salon owner if she does European hair, her frosty reception turned into that of a saleswoman, as she got out some photographs of purple extensions she had applied to a young white woman's hair—with persistence I could build up ties of conviviality and cross the social boundaries that separate us, and perhaps become friends.

Second, depth enables the crossing of boundaries between different solidarities. It allows the articulated cultural differences between people to be together because some parts of depth are common, and some are not. Different cultural, social and loyalty networks can simultaneously occupy adjacent parts of depth, or sequentially occupy the same part. This means that although there are symbolic boundaries between groups, depth is the site for potential crossing of those boundaries. The high street is therefore simultaneously a landscape of sites of boundary-crossing and of reinforcement of existing solidarities, in a complex, reciprocal dance. This changes over time, according to who is living locally, where they are going and where they have come from.

Third, mutual loyalty and commitment to one another, based in a place, are the mechanisms by which shared and hybrid cultures develop, with each high street place having a unique culture. Local people become products of the hybrid local cultures embedded in high street places. Being part of the culture(s) of high street places provides support for people who live amongst them—both for existing solidarity networks, and for solidarity networks which emerge through locality. The relative importance of this mutual support available from rich depth depends on people's material and social circumstances. Where a person can pay for the services that neighbours would otherwise provide then the suppressed depth of an estate or regenerated high street has less impact than it would for someone who is poor or alone.

Local, High Road places like Crazy Cut have their own culture (or context in which human actions can be interpreted), which is built up between people with the force of loyalty,

which structures how people move through place ballet. It is possible to read culture more and more effectively, and gradually contribute to it, through repeated occupation of high street places, getting to know people there and developing relationships. Through this process, the culture of high road places comes into being and changes over time.

The culture of each High Road place adds to the local culture of Tottenham, which also has its own physical character—both similar and different to the rest of London. Through the web of high streets (Chapter 2, section 2.1), the different place-cultures make the culture of London, which is both the centre and part of the cultures of other parts of the UK. There are many betting shops, but only one British Museum. Cultures are nested within cultures, each embedded in the city at a different scale, and relying on adjacent physical/cultural structures for its existence, all the way down to the playing out of a conversation between Fred and I at our shared front door. This is the way in which depth mediates between the macro and the micro scales of involvement.

A final and important conclusion from this chapter is that different publics on the High Road have different capacities to sustain the crossing of boundaries between different solidarity groups depending on how they are organised and the shape of their topography. Disruption of the street and block pattern in residential areas and on high streets mean depth can never become richer through a process of formation of loyalties, which in turn shape depth—instead, it will remain monothematic. The same is true of high streets, where disruption results from both wholesale redevelopment of the block depth into single ownership and/or poorly stratified blocks.

More perniciously, disruption of depth structures results from piecemeal filling-in with residential development as a consequence of rising land values as I described at the end of Chapter 2. Disruption of the potential richness of depth can also come about as a result of bureaucratic measures, such as planning restrictions. Where depth structures do not accommodate the formation of loyalties, then other means must be brought into play to get a high street public operating. A youth group at a church needs funding and commitment to keep it going, whereas a corner where young people hang out and pick each other up needs no funding, because it is enough of an attraction in itself, and it is directly accessible from the high street. Such measures, while potentially useful, are best understood in the context of the characteristics of depth. In the following chapter, I outline three potential outcomes from the insights in this and the previous chapter, which are some of the reasons why understanding depth as a context for human action is so important.

Chapter 4

Why Depth Matters

What we need is a great big melting pot

Big enough enough enough to take

The world and all it's got

And keep it stirring for a hundred years or more

And turn out coffee coloured people by the score

(Blue Mink 1969)

This chapter takes the insights about depth and gives examples of the theoretical and practical payoffs. It is not a comprehensive catalogue of all the possible applications of an understanding of depth, but it contains examples of the way in which depth as a context of human action is very useful for adding richness to existing theories, or for rethinking the nature of practical problems. In particular, the chapter focusses on implications of the correspondence of physical depth to degrees of intermingling of cultures. There is more cultural mixing to the front-most parts of depth, and more cultural specificity and less mixing to the back, as I explained in Chapter 3.

In the first section I discuss the implications of local scale depth structure for understanding the relationship between local scale, city scale and global scale, a series of leaps which are extremely difficult for architecture students and policy-makers alike. The context provided by depth gives shape to how people's lives are played out, and how this global interaction is accommodated and rooted at the local scale.

London is a major global city, located between the USA and Europe, at the centre networks of road, rail and air transport (Vaughan and Griffiths 2013, 1).¹ It is a global centre for imports and exports from the major ports and is the financial and trade centre of Europe. 92% of the business units in London belong to UK firms, the rest are in foreign or joint UK and foreign ownership, most of which are in the European Economic Area (GLA Economics 2014b, 11). Of course, that 8% includes major international companies such as HSBC. The UK was the 8th largest exporter globally in 2007 (Coe and Jones 2011, 5). 13% of these exports come from London, and 45% of London firms are exporting goods (Theseira 2014, 14). In a globalised economy, people as well as goods flow around the world. In the second section, I show that an understanding of depth adds to ideas about how cosmopolitanism takes place in super-diverse cities. These are cities, like London, which are diverse in terms of national origins, migration histories, religions, educational backgrounds, legal statuses and socio-economic backgrounds. In short they are characterised by a 'diversification of diversity' (Hollinger 1995 in Wessendorf 2010, 7). Life in a super-diverse city inevitably involves conflict between groups with different ideas about how people should live. The structure of publics on and around Tottenham High Road are some of the places where people negotiate these conflicts, and high streets in general are sites where negotiation takes place. This rich landscape of potential conflict, resolution and living together happens both on an individual level, and in the development of hybrid cultures. The effects of these negotiations in turn shape High Road places and the area as a whole.

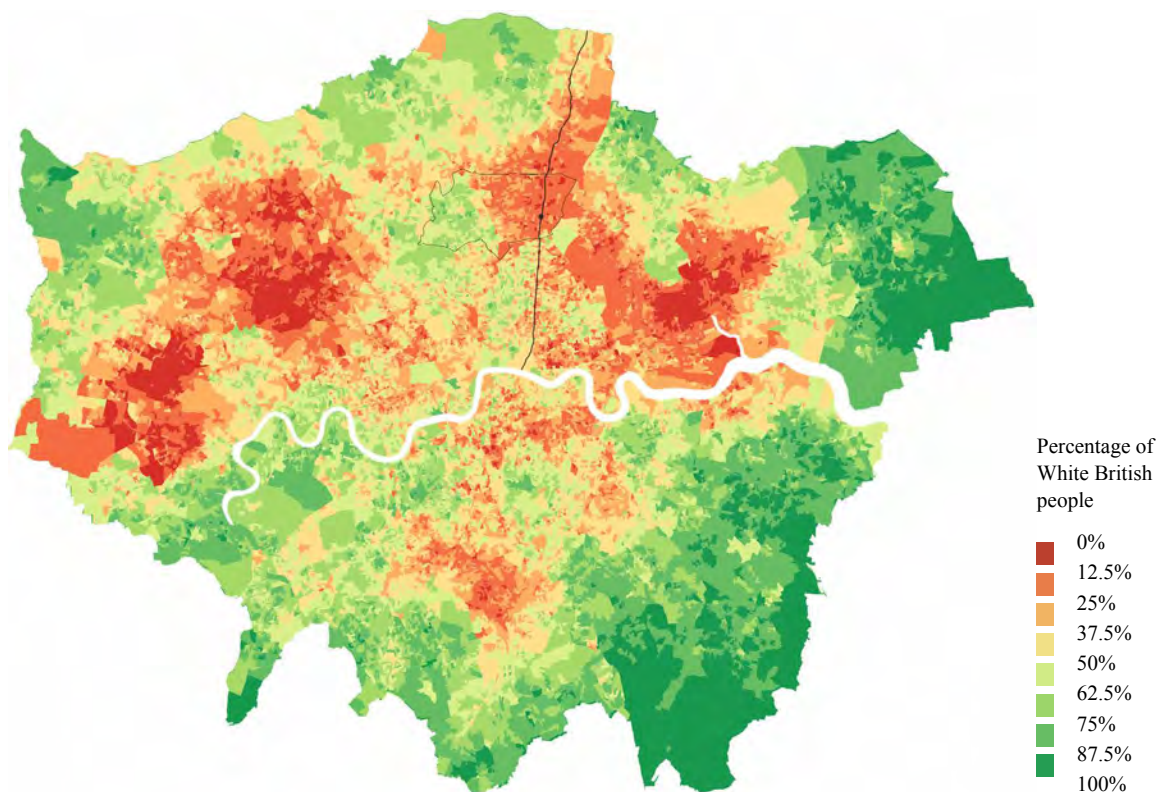
¹ London (like New York) is home to a vibrant manufacturing sector for niche urban markets (Curran 2010, 1428). It was once, of course, much more dominated by general manufacturing, but the manufacturing decentralised to peripheral parts of the city (like Tottenham) in the early to mid-twentieth century is now vanishing from London altogether, as it has gradually moved to places where labour is cheaper. (For a detailed discussion of spatial implications of manufacturing in London see Ferm and Jones 2014.)

Negotiation and living with conflict between disparate groups takes place in depth, in the physical, economic and psycho-social dimensions explored in the preceding two chapters. This has important consequences for politics, since politics is essentially exactly that: negotiation and living with conflict. In the third section, I think about the physical places occupied by a local political group, Our Tottenham, and how understanding depth as a context has the potential to widen and deepen political participation.

4.1 Mediation between scales of involvement

In section 2.1 I described Space Syntax ideas about network centrality. This is a very useful tool of analysis. London is a network of centres whose primary social and economic activity takes place on streets. The best-connected streets are those which have the most diverse and concentrated range of non-residential activities on them. Here I use the discussion in Chapter 3 to make clear how large scale physical and psycho-social depth works in London. Space Syntax make a persuasive and evidence-based argument that physical centrality on the network is what dictates the potential for the development of non-residential uses. In addition, the force of loyalty, situated in depth, plays a significant role in who is where, on both a city and local scale. Understanding things in terms of psycho-social depth adds a layer of richness to the ideas of Space Syntax, and explains in detail how individual and uncoordinated actions can generate spontaneous order.

At the city scale, specific cultural groups are associated with particular parts of London (S. Hall 2013b, 4–5). This is a complex landscape of temporary and permanent occupation (Peach 2001, 13), responding to economic and cultural factors (Vaughan and Arbaci 2011, 3) and also responding to the physical shape of the city. The concentrations of people are shown in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2, in two maps of London; one showing percentage of population which is white and British and one showing levels of deprivation (Datashine 2015). As well as showing spatial concentrations of non-white and non-British populations, they show a correlation between ethnic diversity and deprivation. In a more specific example of this type of area clustering, black



correlation between high levels of non-White British population and deprivation

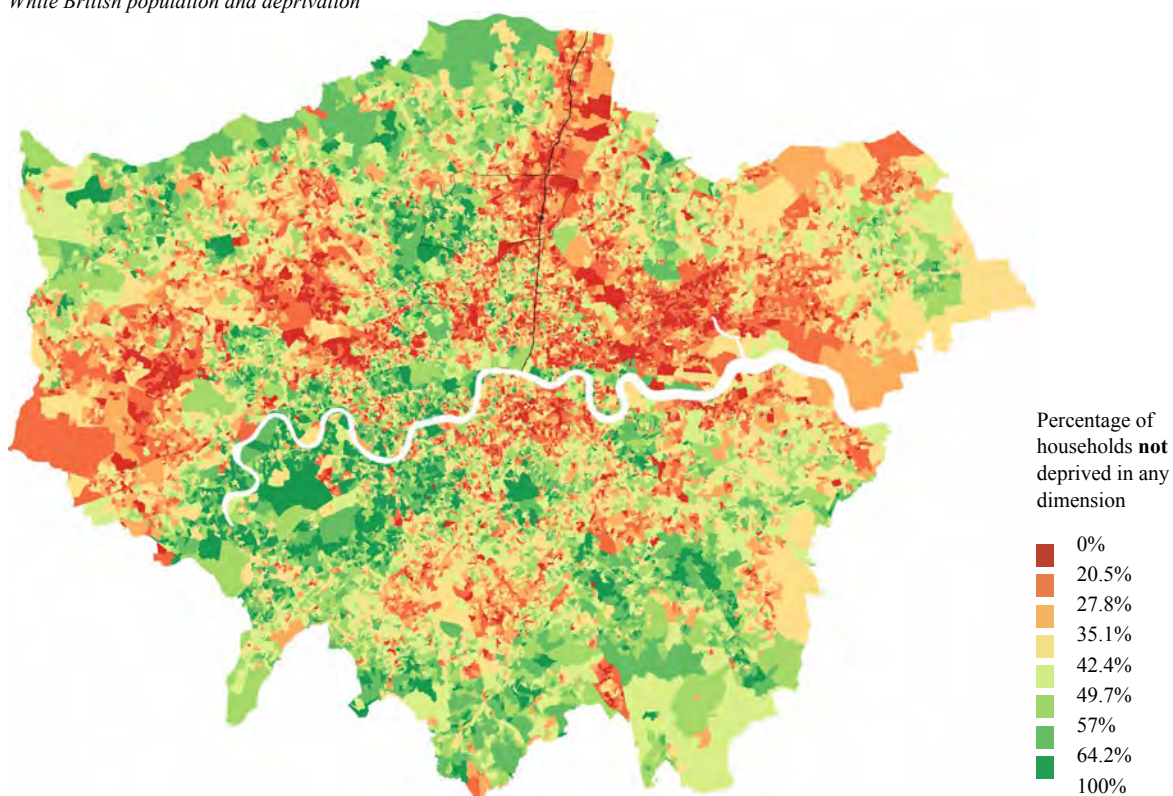


Figure 4.1 Map showing percentage of population who are white and British. Green are areas most populated by white British people (top).

Figure 4.2 Map showing percentage of households not deprived in any dimension: green are least deprived areas, red most deprived (bottom) (source: Datashine Census, UCL 2015).

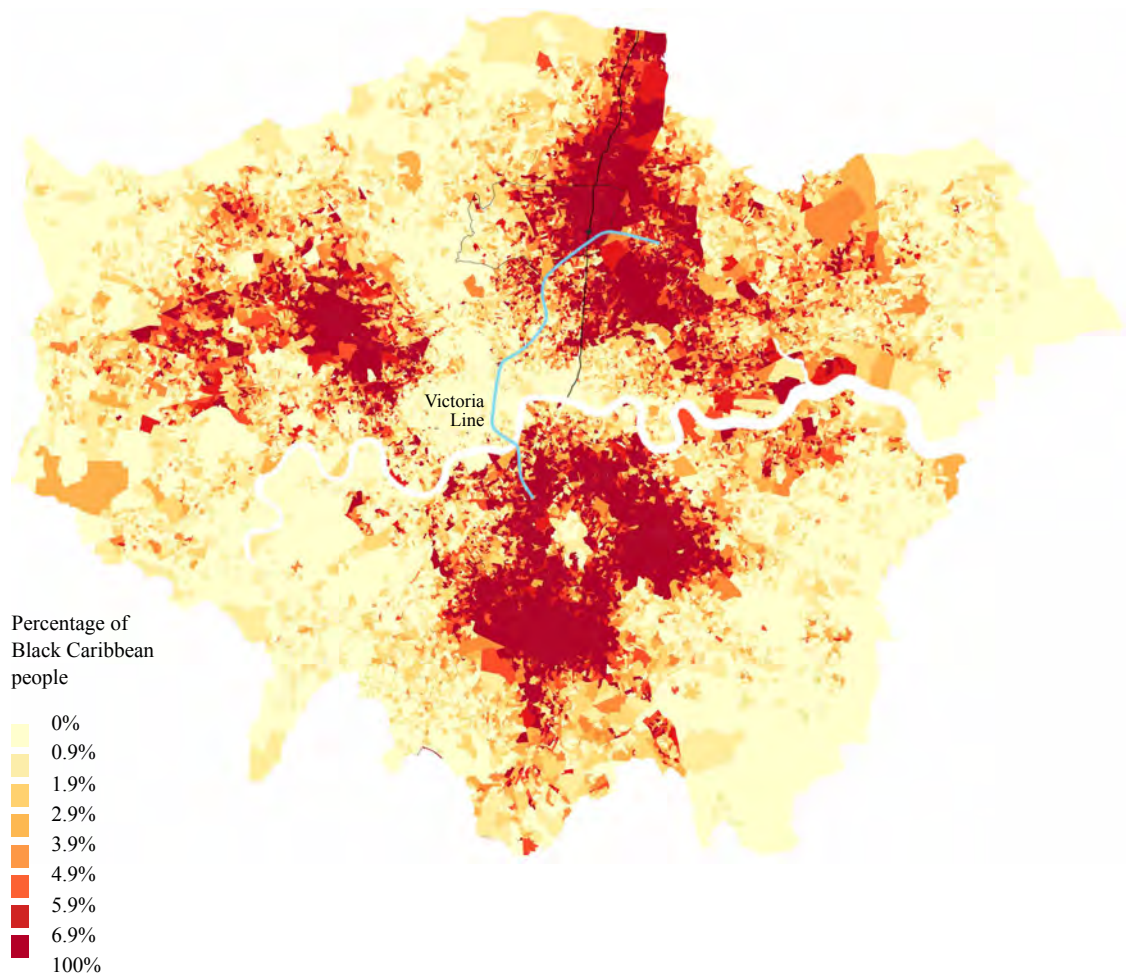


Figure 4.3 Map showing concentrations of black Caribbean populations in north and south London connected by the Victoria Line (source: Datashine Census, UCL 2015).

populations are found around Tottenham and also in Brixton, on each end of the Victoria Line, these clusters are shown in Figure 4.3. Tottenham and Brixton are connected by convenient transport, even though in distance terms the two areas are quite far apart.

People travel a long way in their place ballet because of their loyalty to their families. 10-25% of businesses in Jones et al's (2007, 64) survey said their customers did not reflect the ethnicity and religion in the local area, suggesting that they travel from elsewhere. Daniel Martinez from Carniceria Martinez in Seven Sisters Market explained that this is certainly the case for his business:

Daniel: You get customers from all over London. You get customers from Scotland! When they come visit they say, 'oh, I have to take this' and they have to go back ... We have two customers from Scotland, every time they are in London they say they have to come past and get some meat from here and then take it ... we have a lady, a really, really good customer, she comes twice a week she comes all the way from Fulham, so we get a lot of people from... people from Elephant and everything.

City-scale loyalties are played out in the choices immigrants make about where to settle. Existing populations of a particular group mean newcomers can find support to live more easily and cheaply (S. Hall 2013b, 8), as is demonstrated by a correlation between the Human Development Indices (HDI) score of the immigrant's home country and where they settle (HDI measures education, health and wealth in four quartiles—low, medium, high and very high). Inner cities tend to be populated with immigrants from low scoring countries, while high scoring countries are more spread across the UK (see Paccoud 2013). Figure 4.4 clearly shows the clustering of immigrants from Somalia and Turkey in London and its Extended Metropolitan Region (EMA) (Paccoud 2013, 14). In London 37% of immigrants are from countries with a very high HDI score, 16% from high, 23% medium and 24% low. This is the same as the UK in general, but different from places such as Birmingham, with 37% from low scoring countries and only 24% from very high (Paccoud 2013, 3). Central London has many immigrant groups at medium concentration while the outskirts have fewer groups at more extreme concentration (Paccoud 2013, 18).

London, like all major UK cities has a broad range of people, from many different countries. The larger the city, the more likely it is to contain populations from more of the world regions. This is shown in Figure 4.5 (Paccoud 2013, 7) which shows the level of urbanisation of UK local authorities, overlaid with how many of the fourteen world regions have an above average share of population (location quotient). The larger circles mean high numbers of world regions with a significant presence.

Somalia (67,621 people)



Turkey (67,191 people)



Percentage of each population in MSOA

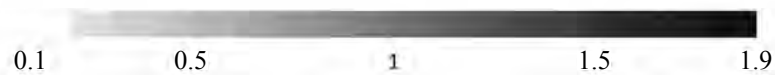


Figure 4.4 A comparison of the distribution of residents born in Somalia and Turkey within London's Extended Metropolitan Region (source: 'Country of birth in the 2011 Census: a view of migration in London and English local authorities', Paccoud 2013, 14).

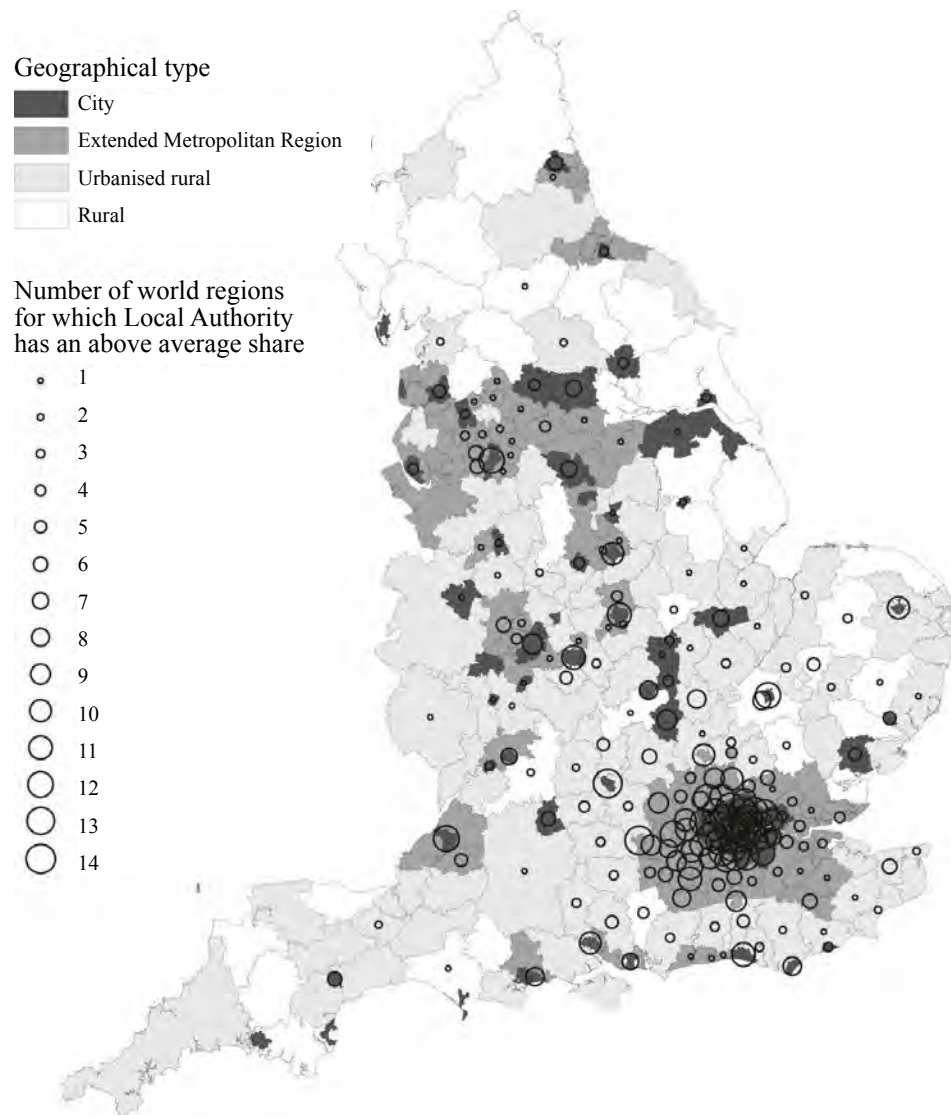


Figure 4.5 Urbanisation of UK local authorities overlaid with how many of fourteen world regions have above average share of population (source: 'Country of birth in the 2011 Census: a view of migration in London and English local authorities', Paccoud 2013, 8).

The correlation between low-scoring HDI countries and higher levels of clustering may be related to people's willingness to trust the institutions of government to care for them. Where such trust is low, people want to be close to the non-state institutions associated with their immigrant community, they say things like: 'Everything is here, our culture, our shops, mosque' (Vaughan and Arbaci 2011, 8).

The area-specific concentration of immigrants in different parts of London offers a wider context for understanding Tottenham. At the local scale, the same loyalty-clustering mechanism applies, both to people and businesses. Figure 4.4 (Paccoud 2013, 14) shows that there is a clustering of people born in Turkey around Tottenham High Road. Figure 4.6 picks out the expressions of Turkish culture in the case study block. Photographs in Figure 4.7 show an advertisement for driving lessons in Turkish, and a Turkish Cypriot flag displayed in the window of a house. Turkish culture characterises a lot of Tottenham High Road. The A10 as a whole, however, is culturally differentiated along its length with various demographics, local authorities and typologies in different parts: it has 'pulses of centrality' (Hall 2012, 125). At Bruce Grove, for example, the population living in the Victorian residential streets tends to be a more well-established middle class. The population around Seven Sisters is a new middle class, who seek proximity to the Victoria Line. In the housing estates up towards White Hart Lane lives a poorer population. The differentiation along the High Road is reinforced by networks of loyalty and convenience which grow over time in depth.

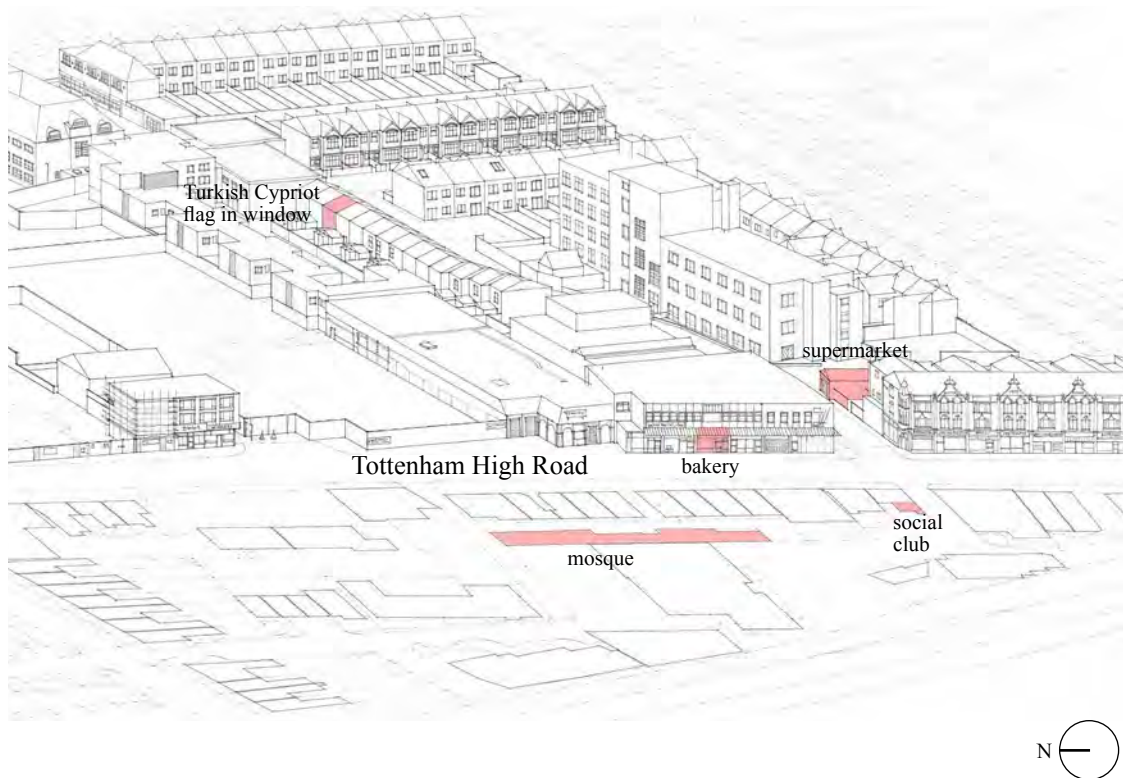


Figure 4.6 High road places with affiliation to Turkey and Cyprus in case study block (drawing by Jane Clossick and Colin O'Sullivan).



Figure 4.7 (Left) Turkish language advertisement for driving lessons on Tottenham High Road, (right) Turkish Cypriot flag hanging in house window (photographs by Jane Clossick).

As a result of differentiation, local cultural and socio-economic profiles are reflected in the mix of businesses. Tottenham is dominated by independent, marginal businesses (85%). There are 24 hairdressers and barbers, 27 fast food outlets and 22 small grocers and supermarkets. There was an increase in independent retail (55-75%) between 1971 and 2010 (Carmona 2014, 52) which correlates with the increase in diversity of local population.

Businesses benefit from proximity to main routes and to similar or complementary businesses, competing with one another and relying on one another's presence. Chris, the owner of the Jerk Centre Caribbean takeaway, first mentioned in Chapter 3, talked about how people on their way home from work might pop off the train and come and pick up some food for dinner; but he also noted that the position of his shop meant they passed several other food venues along the way. There are place-specific networks of customers, suppliers, employees and other businesses which are not easy to reproduce, and take a long time to build up (Ferm and Jones 2014, 24; Cox and Mair 1988, 309; Evans and Smith 2006). The solicitors upstairs at Jaya's optician, for example, offered legal work for him for free, and he reported they would always have his business in the future. Jaya is Malaysian, and has lived in Tottenham for a couple of decades.

Jaya: All the big companies, even Barclays, is moving out there in September, so basically ... Barclays want us to go and bank at their nearest branch which is Edmonton, I don't want that. I moved to TSB.

Jane: Yeah, well it's inconvenient isn't it.

Jaya: TSB might move in the future then again that how it goes, it's not serving the community in this area.

Jane: The proximity is important to you for things like banking?

Jaya: It is, I'm carrying cash so basically...

Jane: Of course yeah, you don't want to get on the bus.

Jaya: Yeah, I mean not only that, by the time I take a bus I have to close the shop. So basically you don't have that kind of local amenities in this area, all the big convenience things is moving away from here.

For both local and city-scale loyalties to be sustained, businesses (or any non-residential use) must be fixed in a particular location in the structures of depth for a sufficient length of time. The Colombian butcher's shop at the back of Seven Sisters market has customers from all over London, and they expect to find him where he is, as described in the quotation below. The Brazilian students I worked with during the summer of 2014 undertaking the survey of the High Road were similarly excited to find Haviana flips-flops at Brazilian prices and particular Brazilian foods in and around Seven Sisters market. These are relationships that connect all the way across the globe, linking identities across the world with particular places in London (for an in-depth examination of the relationship between shop signs, contents and identity, see S. Hall and Datta 2010).

Daniel: You can't be moved somewhere else cause your customers are not going to always follow, you know, your customers are like, they normally come here, they carry on coming to the same place, they don't want to go somewhere [else]. You get other businesses that want to start somewhere else and they have to close because everyone wants to be here [in Seven Sisters Market], so you get other businesses, say you get a restaurant up the road, its not going to have as much customers as we have here. You know like Juanita has one down the road, and she knows it, nobody goes and visits there, and its a big open space and everyone can fit there, but this is like a family so everyone wants to come here and eat. Look how small her place is! [Juanita's stall in the market is tiny].

Types of accommodation appropriate for immigrant living and working

Availability of appropriate types of accommodation for living and running businesses is also important for where people end up settling. Victorian villas are particularly good at accommodating rapid change of population (which is not to say living conditions are necessarily good). I suspect the concentration of immigrants in Victorian houses is partly because they are very adaptable (see Chapter 2, section 2.2), and partly because of the social qualities of depth of the vernacular street I described in Chapter 3, section 3.4.

In addition, Victorian villas are often lived in by lots of people, as Houses of Multiple Occupation (HMOs). London has 7% of its housing stock in multiple occupation (GLA Economics 2014a, 112), mostly outside the centre (where rents are too expensive). HMOs form a significant proportion of the housing stock in Haringey (29%) (DCLG 2014), particularly around Tottenham, in large Victorian houses originally built for the industrial middle classes.² There were a total of 10,630 dwellings in Haringey in 2013 and an estimated 3,077 HMOs in Haringey in 2011 (DCLG 2013).

People who were born outside of the UK are more likely to occupy social or private rented accommodation than to be an owner-occupier. This is shown in the chart in Figure 4.8 (GLA Economics 2014a, 25). Only 10% of adults in the private rented sector were born in London, compared to 26% in owner occupied and 34% in social housing, so overcrowding is correlated both with areas of poverty and also with high immigration. The most overcrowded parts of London correlate with places with the most deprivation, and the most immigrants, as shown in Figure 4.9, a mapping of overcrowding in London Boroughs (GLA Economics 2014, 99). These are areas either of un-gentrified Victorian villas, or of high concentration of social housing.

The type of properties available is also a significant factor dictating whether it is easy or difficult for new immigrants to open businesses. For immigrants opening businesses, the type of site and building must be able to accommodate the richness of depth, both for culture and rapid change over time. This topic is discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2.

² This information was given to me by Anne Lippit from Haringey Council in our interview in 2012 and has been repeated to me by several other interviewees.

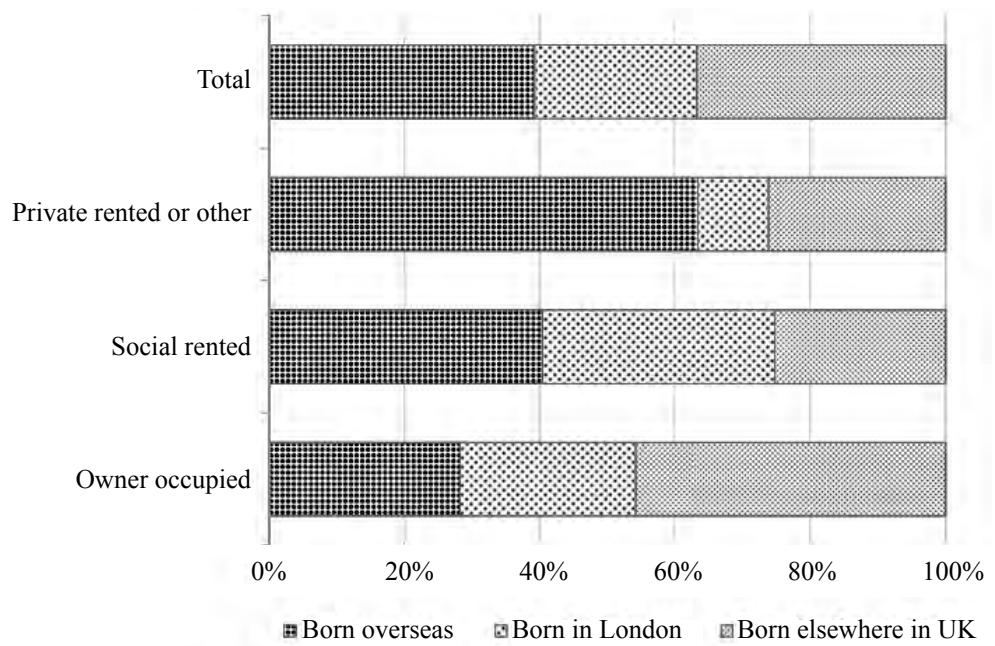


Figure 4.8 Place of birth by current tenure, adults in London, 2009-10 (source: *Housing in London*, GLA Economics 2014a, 25).

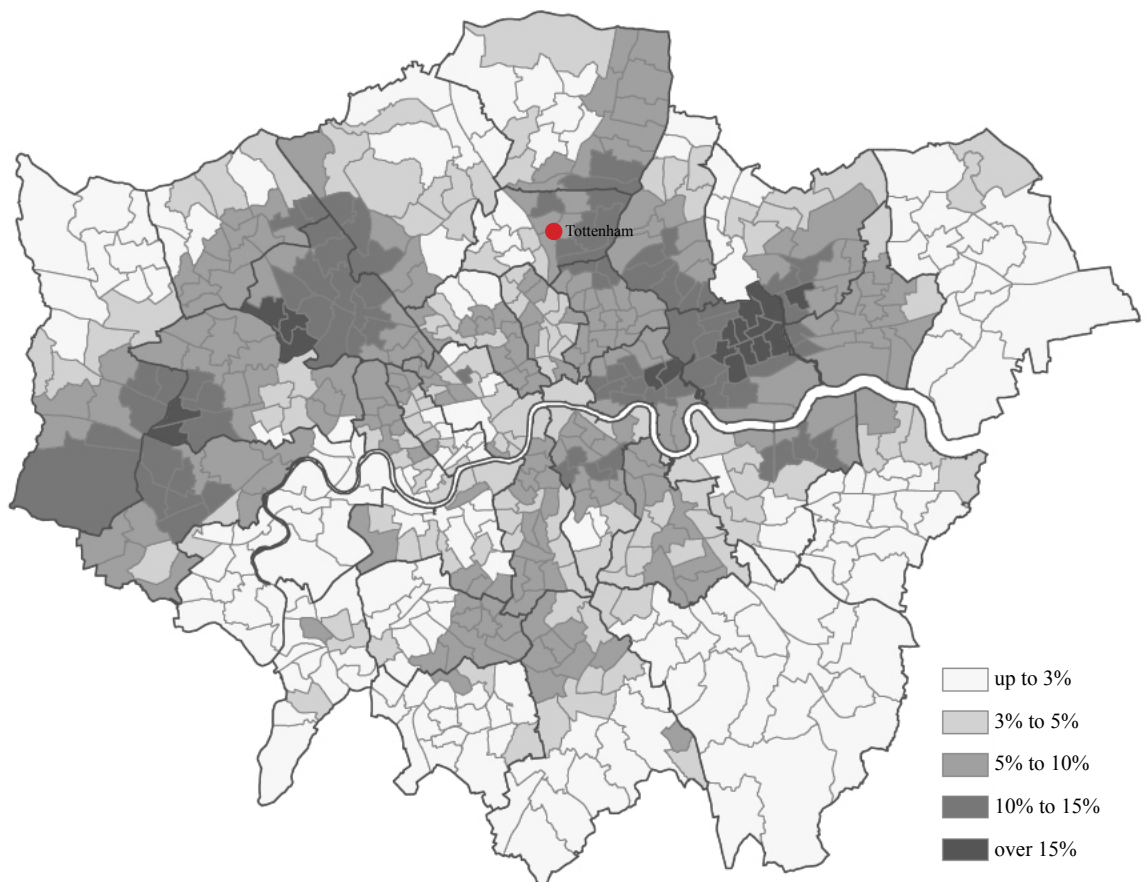


Figure 4.9 Mapping of levels of overcrowding in London Boroughs (source: *Housing in London*, GLA Economics 2014a, 99).

Local shops and populations are, as this section has shown, manifestations of globalisation. I now turn to a more explicit discussion of this topic, and further examination of Tottenham's particular array of people and businesses, and how these link with the wider world.

Local manifestations of globalisation

Let's return to Crazy Cut, the salon I described in Chapter 3. The networks of which Crazy Cut is part extend beyond the confines of Tottenham, and are built of interpersonal connections bound to particular locations. Globalisation occurs through processes which are place-bound (Sassen 2000, 81) and resources are place bound, as well as people. The wholesalers which Oya uses are relatively local—in Enfield—and connected to her shop via the A10. Via the salon and Oya, multinationals GHD and L'Oreal have become part of the local culture. She communicates with GHD by phone and post, and they send her equipment to use (hairdryers, straighteners) in exchange for her exclusively stocking their products. While I was there, she was parcelling up a broken hairdryer in a prepaid padded envelope to return to the GHD head office to be replaced. She has a representative from L'Oreal who comes to visit her in the salon, to whom she was speaking on the phone when I was waiting for her, discussing a time when they would meet. For a fund-raising event, for example, Oya contacted the GHD area manager and he gave her a hair straightener for a raffle. She became a node of connectedness between multiple scales of economic and social involvement, as she describes:

Oya: The Garden Caff gave me a Tottenham Breakfast for a whole week, every day for a whole week, Enjoy Caff gave me nothing. I've stopped my custom there now anyway, cause I'm not happy... Atesh Restaurant [gave me] an Atesh Special for two people, the chicken shop I had to fight with him, he's the tightest person I have ever seen and in the end he gave me a family £10 bucket meal... And then when somebody went to pick it up he wouldn't give it. So I went in there, and I gave him what for. The supermarket gave me stuff and I made a hamper out of it. The fruit stall gave me the most amazing fruit basket ever, and I am telling you they put the most expensive fruit on there, and it was so inviting that I wanted to take it home, and the Post Office gave me a £150 teddy bear, and my sister won that actually.

So, the globalised economy may appear to be a system of flows, but it has concrete local implications. Sassen (2000, 80) has identified a new geography of centres and margins, and Tottenham is on the margins of one of the world's biggest cities. Streets are the local expression of global forces (S. Hall 2012, 134). Oya and Bee, for example, are British by birth, yet they remain part of Turkish Cypriot family networks—the result of a wave of immigration in the mid-'70s following the dispute between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus.

There are also a number of multi-national chains on Tottenham High Road, shown in Figure 4.10, a drawing of all the chain stores on the A10. There are surprisingly few, considering this is a major arterial route. However, although there are not many chain stores, branding from global-scale companies can be seen all along the high road, shown in the photographs of branded shops in Figure 4.11.

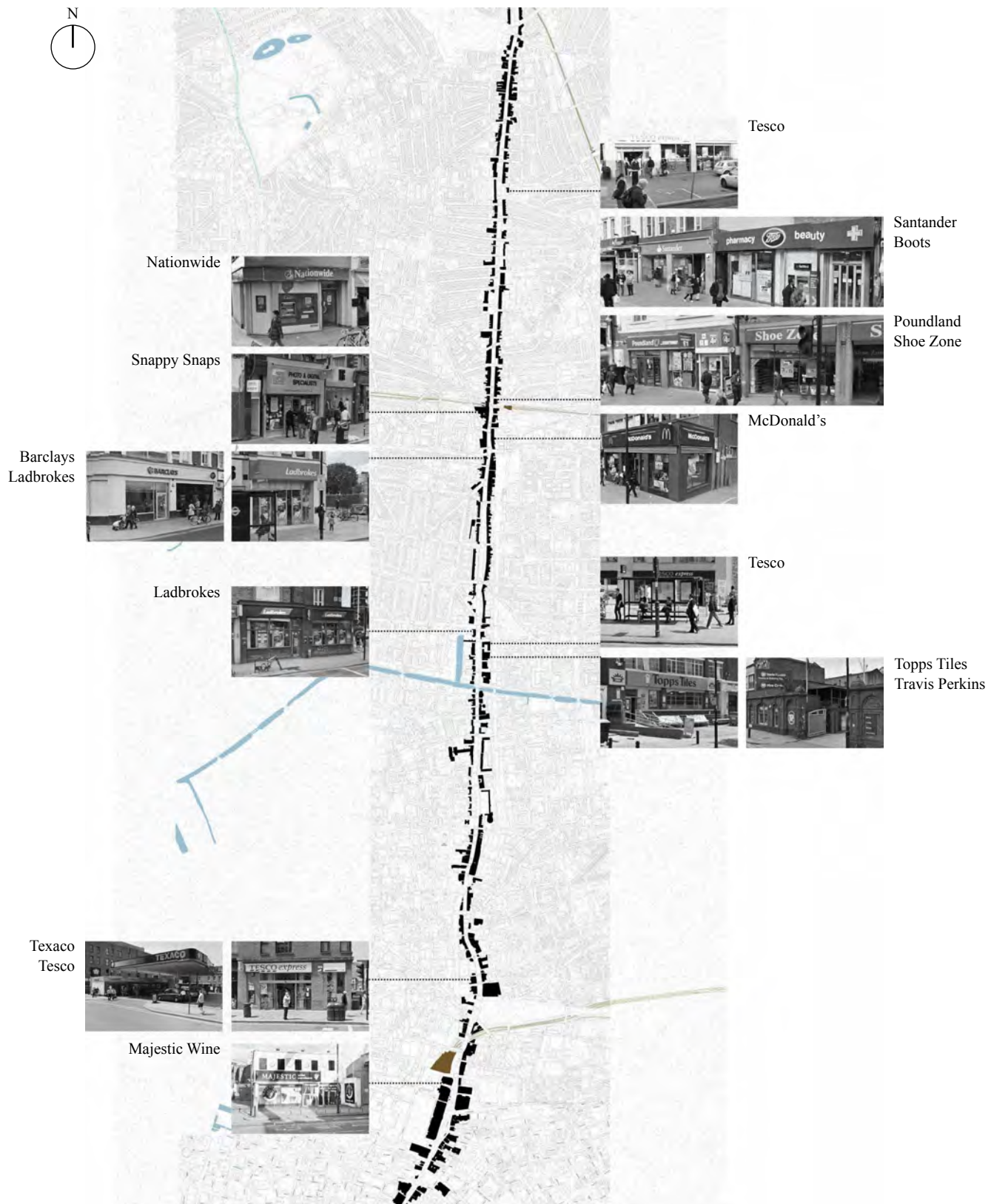
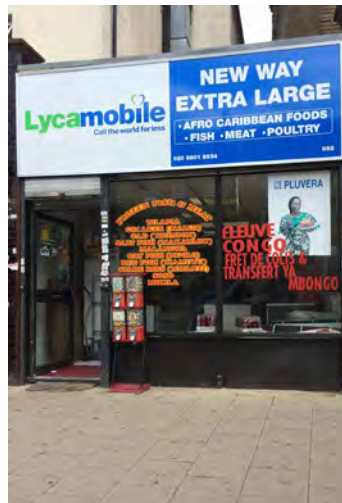


Figure 4.10 Chain stores along the A10 (drawing by Jane Clossick, photographs source: Google Streetview 2014. Basemap source: Digimap, Edina 2014).



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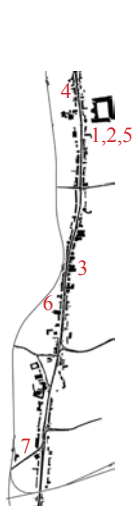
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Figure 4.11 Photographs showing global company Lycamobile branding on shop fronts on Tottenham High Road (photographs by Jane Clossick).

Some global companies take advantage of local businesses to display their branding, and in turn the local shops are willing to host branding because they get free signage and canopies, and the branding lends their business the legitimacy of a global corporation (Hunt 2012).³ There are Coca-Cola and Lebara Mobile canopies all along the High Road (Figure 4.11), and recently LycaMobile have replaced shop fronts all over London, recognising the value of local loyalty (see Chapter 3, section 3.3), and using this to grow familiarity with their brand. (Businesses of every scale ultimately rely on human social skills.) Small, local businesses then become a link between local loyalties, hosted in depth, and international, globalised brands. In addition to the local clustering of immigrants, and the expression of their culture, these are another iteration of Sassen's concrete local implications of globalisation. Hunt (2012) describes how individual shopkeepers interact with representatives from global brands, and it is similar to the way Oya interacts with the reps from L'Oreal and GHD.

Some reps explain that shopkeepers are fortunate to don their brand. They believe the benefits of brand association are payment enough. Others offer shopkeepers product vouchers or cash to display their promotional materials. In either case, many brand representatives strike exclusive deals with shopkeepers, to limit the presence of other branding on the shop front. In businesses with such small margins, these deals are hugely advantageous. (Hunt 2012)

In Chapter 3 I described how the characteristic structures of depth at the scale of the building and site accommodate interactions which lead to the forging of locality-based links and the formation of loyalty. Local loyalty is particularly valuable for vulnerable groups, such as recent immigrants from low-scoring HDI countries. The formation of loyalty and commitment is hosted by the structures of depth, and these human-sized, local places are what add up to become the social geography of London. It is in this way that the structure of depth mediates between scales, all the way from local to global.

In Chapter 2 I explained how the type of buildings and site organisation available dictate how rich depth can become, or whether it is prevented from developing more richness by physical or bureaucratic blockages. In the next section, I link social and physical depth with the narrative of locality and immigration from the first part of this chapter in order to demonstrate how insights about depth are useful for the theory of Cosmopolitanism, and how through the dual forces of globalisation and local loyalty, hybrid cultures have developed, which are specific to Tottenham.

³ For a fascinating insight into the relationship between small shops and international brands, see Mia Hunt's blog (Hunt 2012) and PhD (Hunt 2015).

4.2 Depth and Cosmopolitan theory

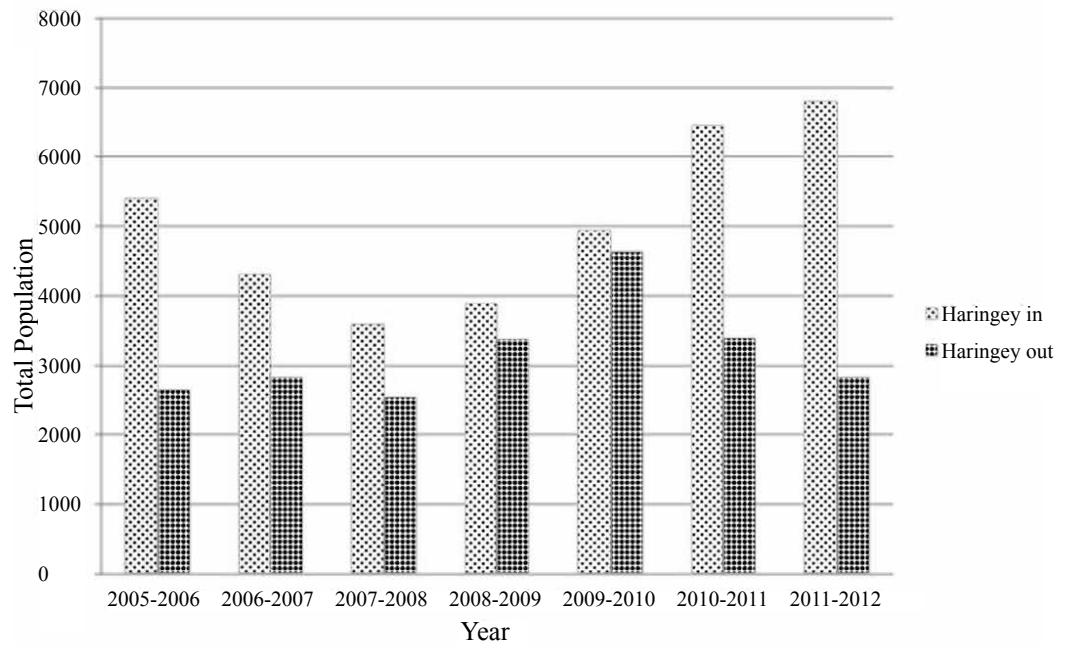
Many people in London have multiple overlaid identities. They are hybrids of different cultures, and simultaneously, local cultures are hybrids of local people's transnational loyalties. People are also deeply committed to local places for support and solidarity as a link between where they have come from and where they are. Tottenham is not, therefore, clearly bounded geographically, it is a *translocal geography* (Brickell and Datta 2010, 3) with multicultural goods available in shops and many languages on the signage (S. Hall and Datta 2010, 68–70).

London is a super-diverse place, and Haringey one of its most super-diverse parts. This diversity is apparent in the word cloud in Figure 4.12, which shows the numerous countries of birth amongst traders on Tottenham High Road. The size of each word is proportional to the number of people from that place, and several nations dominate: Turkey, India, Pakistan, Colombia, Jamaica, Ghana and Nigeria.

The number of immigrants in the UK increased from 3.7 million (6.5%) in 1990 to 6.5 million (10.3%) by 2010 (fuelled by accessions to the EU in 2001). By mid-2009, 13% of employees were born outside the UK (Coe and A. Jones 2011, 7). Immigration rates vary around the UK and London is particularly intense: of 25 local authorities in England and Wales with more than a third of their population born outside of the UK, only two are not London boroughs. 41.6% of Londoners were born outside of the UK (compared with Birmingham—22.9% and Liverpool—8.7%). Of 229 world nations, 119 of them have at least 1,000 representatives in Greater London, compared to 173 nations represented in the UK as a whole. They are concentrated in inner London, with 103 nations represented in 13 inner London Local Authorities (Paccoud 2013, 2–3). 45% of Haringey residents were born outside the UK, and 28% outside the EU. In terms of ethnicity, 37% of Haringey's population is white British or Irish, 23% are 'other white', 10% are Asian (Indian subcontinent and Chinese), 19% are black Caribbean or African, and the remaining 10% are mixed or of other ethnic groups (Haringey Council 2014b). The ONS 2011/2012 mid-year report estimates that Haringey had the tenth highest number of immigrants of London boroughs, with roughly 7,000 arriving, and 3,000 leaving, as shown in the international migration in Haringey chart in Figure 4.13 (Haringey Council 2014b). There was a perception amongst my interviewees that asylum seeking is a big source of immigration, but Haringey supported only 150 asylum seekers in 2013 (Haringey Council 2014b). Haringey has a high level of churn (turnover of residents), and has been the first port of call for new immigrants for a long time, some of whom have settled permanently.



Figure 4.12 Answers to the question 'where were you born?' in the survey of 675 businesses on Tottenham High Road. Word size corresponds to frequency of response (source: survey of Tottenham High Road, carried out by Elaine de Araújo, Jéssica Böhmer, Jane Clossick, Simone Mesquita, Colin O'Sullivan, Rafa Senff Peixoto and Ana Quintela, 2014).



It is notable that since 2009 the number of international migrants who are leaving Haringey has reduced. However, there is a spike in people leaving which correlates with the 2008 economic crash and its aftermath in 2009. Before and after that period of upheaval, the number of migrants leaving Haringey appears stable.

Figure 4.13 International migration 2005-2012 in and out of Haringey 2005-2012 ('Figures about Haringey: Population profile of Haringey' Haringey Council 2014b).



Figure 4.14 Mappings of Haringey showing percentage of people not in employment (top) and percentage of white British residents (bottom) (source: Datashine Census, UCL 2015).

There is a variation in wealth across the borough of Haringey which correlates to the variation in cultural groups, from east to west, shown in the maps of census data in Figure 4.14 (Datashine 2015). Places in Haringey where the most white British people live (to the west, shown on the bottom map in green) correlate to much lower levels of unemployment (and logically, lower levels of poverty).

Cosmopolitanism

Different groups of people have to find ways to live together peacefully in super-diverse (Wessendorf 2010, 2015) places. Cosmopolitan theorists (e.g. Nussbaum, Bhaba, Wessendorf, Vertovec) seek to explain how this happens. Cosmopolitanism, however, is an imprecisely differentiated set of beliefs, practices and dispositions which function differently in different contexts, unified by being practical, embodied responses to the challenge of diversity and coexistence (Chakrabarty et al. 2000, 577 and 584). Moral cosmopolitanism (e.g. Nussbaum 1996 and Habermas 1996; 1998), has a history which stretches to antiquity and a strong emphasis on universal morals (Delanty 2006, 28). Moral cosmopolitanism has been criticised for not being ‘rooted’ in sociological realities (Breckenridge et al. 2002). Political cosmopolitanism, primarily concerned with reconciling the universal rights of the individual with the necessity to protect minorities is similarly morally universalistic, and revives the Kantian idea of republic states within a cosmopolitan world order (Archibugi 1995). Political cosmopolitanism on the whole focuses on globalisation, and the emergence of cosmopolitanism as a result. But none of these broad-brush conceptions of cosmopolitanism offer a way to understand how interactions play out on the ground, in architecture. Cosmopolitanism is a ‘willingness to engage with the Other’ (Hannerz 1992, 252) and depth offers a means of understanding more precisely how this engagement takes place, where and when.

Oya considers herself a cosmopolitan. She is proud of the way the salon looks, and was delighted when I told her I found it inviting. She boasted about replacing the old canopy with a universally appealing orange and black design which lights up at night. At Easter, Valentine’s Day, Christmas and Halloween she puts particular effort into her window display. She is a Muslim, but she did not mention Islamic festivals and does not wear a hijab. It is worth noting that her shop would not be suitable for Muslim women to have their hair done, because it has a large window to the street, which anyone can see through. To ameliorate this, Oya keeps a screen for Muslim women to use although she argues that in general immigrants should subscribe to local cultural traditions:

Oya: People come in off the street and say, who has done your window, it’s brilliant. It’s me that does it all the time. I like to go along with it. Halloween, I like to put out sweets for the kids.

Jane: Tottenham is obviously amazingly multi-cultural. What is your experience of that?

Oya: I love it! But I do feel that, at the moment it's a holy month for the Muslims it's Ramadan. I think it should be publicised. At Christmas, it should be publicised. There should be a Christmas fair, its Christmas. You know, you are in England you go by England's rules. I'm a Muslim, but you know I think they should publicise all the cultures and make a big international thing of it. I mean years ago, and I'm on about years ago when I was at school, I remember going into my little local shop and saying, "could I have an empty mushroom box please?" and my mum used to help me decorate it and we'd put non-perishable items in for Harvest Festival. I can't remember last time any of my kids did anything for Harvest Festival. Why? Why are you changing it, it's other foreign people that are coming into your country. Why are you changing it to suit them?

People like Oya are at the centre of concentric circles of identity, and in contemporary times, universal liberal values are perhaps beginning to take precedence over family/ethnicity/nation (Werbner 2006, 7, 11). Cosmopolitanism is, however, also a set of embodied practices, as well as a set of attitudes. People and goods from other cultures are also simply part of daily life in cities (Noble 2009, 49). Bhaba calls this *vernacular cosmopolitanism*, where cultural hybrids come into being as a result of voluntary or coerced (by finances or circumstances) relocation of different cultural groups (Werbner 2006, 11; Bhabha 1994).

The vernacular practices of cosmopolitanism, or cultural skills which facilitate communication (Vertovec 2009, 7; and also Swidler 1986) have been documented in specific groups by a number of authors (Alexander 1992; K. Hall 2002; S. Hall 2012), although it is not possible to make an exhaustive list of all the things which comprise cosmopolitan practices, because these coping-mechanisms are so context-dependent. Calhoun (2003) argues that cosmopolitanism must be illuminated with an understanding of thick attachments to nations, communities and religions. These are very important to individual identity and self-understanding: no person can ever become a full cosmopolite if that means being wholly detached and free-floating from these ties (Calhoun 2003, 3). Werbner (1999), for example, described the working class cosmopolitanism of Pakistani immigrants in Europe, and compared them to immigrant Pakistani religious sufis. The rooted working class cosmopolitans did not abandon their ties to morally and emotionally significant communities—families and ethnic groups—in being open to the world—they were attached to several homes in different countries (Werbner 2006, 7).

Vernacular cosmopolitanism is effectively the capacity people have to rub along together in cities, despite coming from very different backgrounds, religions or ethnicities. At present a field is emerging which identifies and examines the actual places where such practices occur, in *super-diverse* cities (Blokland 2003; Lee 2002; Wise and Velayutham 2009; Wessendorf 2015). It is to this field of research that adding an understanding of depth is particularly useful, because the structure of depth is what allows an individual to hold un-cosmopolitan attitudes, yet to exercise cosmopolitan practices in their everyday interactions.

The way in which depth can harbour un-cosmopolitan or divisive attitudes, at the same time as cosmopolitan practices, is explained as follows. The phenomenon of *parallel lives*—conviviality in public, paired with strict division in other spheres—is how very different people negotiate difference (Wessendorf 2010; Vaughan and Arbaci 2011). People may live near one another and have no interaction at all (Lindo 2005, 10) rather like the people in Chapter 3, in which places which were not part of the social world of my interviewees were seemingly invisible to them. Lofland (1998, 22) identified three realms, individuated by the types of people we encounter: *public* (strangers), *private* (friends and kin) and *parochial* (convivial exchanges between strangers and semi-strangers). The matrix of public, private and parochial is different for everyone.

The public realm is (by definition) the most common, in both senses (banal and philosophical). It is here, therefore, that the mechanisms of cosmopolitanism are most important, since this where unpredictable encounters with others are most likely. Lamont and Askartova (2002) interviewed non-college educated men of different races working together in the USA and France and found that skills used to interact with people culturally very different from themselves, situated in everyday lived experiences, enabled them to resist racism. Similarly, everyone gets along on Tottenham High Road out of necessity, to do business, and to live a peaceful life most of the time. Wessendorf (2010, abstract) has described this as ‘corner-shop cosmopolitanism’: that is, the set of linguistic and convivial skills required to operate socially in a super-diverse context, which allow exchange relationships to occur. This is like Goffman’s (1967) facework—it is the necessary respect between individuals, who may be of different groups. Lamont and Aksartova (2002, 1) describe more or less the same phenomenon as an ‘ordinary cosmopolitanism’. But Wessendorf’s version captures the fact that there is also something strategic going on in many of these practices, when the aim, for example, of the multi-lingual stall-holder is to maximise his business (Wessendorf 2010, 20).

Simultaneity in depth means that at the same time as convivial interactions in the most public parts of depth, culturally specific (and possibly even racist or ethnically divisive) things can be happening in the deeper parts of depth (see Chapter 3, section 3.4). With an understanding of depth, however, the public, private and parochial realms are clearly specific, different parts of depth. Hence, when Phillips (2007, 1147) described public places as significant for ‘segregation’, he is not considering the gradated nature of publicness. Segregation (which is not desirable) may take place in some parts of high street depth, but not in all parts.

The differentiation in depth facilitates the impersonal trust needed by capitalist markets (North, Wallis, and Weingast 2009). It also allows people who are very different to live in close proximity, like Oya with her multicultural neighbours.

The matrix of public, private and parochial embedded in depth is also apparent from outside. People (implicitly) interpret depth structure. This means that on the high street and in the city, people can live side by side, and know how to do this, by interpreting the architectural conditions at hand.

Negotiating and living with conflict

Within one shop space, 'Armagan' who recently arrived from Afghanistan, occupies two square metres of space at the front of the store where he trades in mobile phones and software services. 'Umesh' who arrived from Uganda in 2003, runs a Western Union remittance store at the back of the shop. We ask Umesh who his customers are, and he replies, 'All kinds of people, sending money to their countries, and changing money for travel. They are all ages, from everywhere – Africa, Europe, Asia, everywhere'. 'Frances' is from Ghana, and her space is allocated between the two micro-shops at the front and rear, leaving just enough room to stack rolls of cloth and accommodate her sewing machine. Together they must negotiate how toilets are shared, and how security is arranged. Within the shop interior, they share risk and prospect, and shape the textures and spaces of a multilingual street economy. (S. Hall 2013a, 2)

It is the daily praxis of being together simultaneously in the structures of depth, which teaches people how to negotiate and live with their differences and to mostly avoid overt conflict. The quotation from Hall, above, captures this very neatly. Tottenham High Road as a whole is a place of constant negotiation, and living-with differences; in the case study block a mosque sits a few doors up from a betting shop.

Sometimes the negotiation in the mature depth of the independent shop is literal, with customers asking for discounts, even though the shopkeepers like Oya don't like it. As Chris from Jerk Centre said: 'you wouldn't do that in KFC or in Tesco's'. But that is precisely the point: neither Crazy Cut or the Jerk Centre are anything like KFC or Tesco. They are under the control of the proprietor, who is on the premises. They have a stratified depth structure with the characteristics of simultaneity and front-to-back gradation of publicness between what is most and least common-to-all. It is the characteristic structures of depth which accommodate the simultaneous and parallel lives that people play out in place ballet. Physically, a part of all high street places is more public, and they are therefore the site of potential boundary-crossing and negotiation of conflict. Within the general matrix of urban regions, high streets establish local hierarchies, whose richness/intensity is fed by their depth.

Co-existence does not mean everything is happening at once, in the same place. In the hubs of public life catalogued by Demos (2005, 64) time or symbolic differentiation enable different groups to occupy it simultaneously, and to share resources. As noted in previous chapters, these transitions represent opportunities (places) for different groups to interact (Vaughan 2014, 3). For example, Jaya from the opticians described his regular leisure trips to the betting shop:

Jaya: After work I just go round to the bookies and put a few bob back on, chat with them. Some are in the agriculture business ... Agriculture, studying grass, hashish. You know them, in the agriculture business. You know them, you talk to them nicely, they will talk to you nicely. Some of them, I mean if you not used to this area, or any area, some of them they way they speak, your first opinion is they are very very aggressive, but that's their nature of how they speak, you know.

Jane: They are not really aggressive?

Jaya: The main things it's the thing like anywhere, you speak to them nicely, they will speak to you nicely. Even though some of them will wear their trousers down to their knees, you know, it's the perception, some of them, I mean for me I don't have any problems I don't have any prejudices or racism whatever, I just treat everybody as equal.

This is a negotiation of conflict and the development of a shared, convivial culture. There is potential conflict there. Jaya doesn't want to buy drugs (at least, not that he admitted to me) and he might choose to report the dealers to the police. They in turn could have violent associates who might hurt him, or at least not allow him to sit down and feel comfortable. In reality, none of those things happen. Instead, they all just go about their business in close proximity to one another, not getting in each other's way. What prevails does not need improvement. There is a species of communal trust, at least a mode of communal avoidance of violence, within a general willingness to share anonymity with respect to each other. There is a primary topic of the place (betting), a secondary topic (drug dealing) and potentially multiple others too (meeting friends, debating). It is the size and shape of depth which lets all the things happen at the same time, there is enough space to allow the different activities to occur in proximity, but not overlapping.

Hall has observed the co-location of various ethnic groups, and argues that this is enabled by both the *semi-public* nature and cyclical use (the same people going to the same places) of the places she analysed (S. Hall 2009a and 2012). Nick's caff is situated 'between the public street and his family's home above the shop' (S. Hall 2009b, 60) and the sharing takes place through time as well as the internal space of the premises.

There are 16 tables comprised of four unequal rows and a clear designation through routine and preference, of who uses which table. Family and regulars sit up front furthest from the street, while people who come to the Caff for a meal or company, but prefer less engagement, tend to sit at the sides. The positions of the tables and the fluctuating use of the space throughout the rhythm of the day, define personal territories within the larger space of the Caff. Through these smaller terrains it is possible to belong differently: either without explicit interaction, or with talk limited across the table, or by joining in with larger conversations across tables (S. Hall 2009b, 83).

The culture of conviviality in high street places grows over time, accommodated both by the gradation of publicness from front-to-back and by simultaneity of occupation by different groups. In a Walworth Road café, Hall (2009b, 81) calls this being *at home*. Regularity of face to face interaction results in a development of a 'Caff culture' which becomes embedded over time: shared etiquette and habits, who sits where, who comes in at what time. The parochial realm is *transversal*, a place of intercultural encounters: 'the simple fact of regular togetherness

... can facilitate fleeting relations and sometimes friendships across difference, which in turn can impact on their broader feelings of belonging to the local area' (Wise 2007). Frequent, ordinary engagement with a range of strangers leads to the development of stable ways of relating to one another, and accommodating difference (Noble 2009, 52; Amin and Parkinson 2002). Only meaningful everyday contact can serve the purpose of allowing people to cross symbolic boundaries (Amin and Thrift 2002).

It is within the characteristic structure of gradated publicness of the depth of high street places that everyday cosmopolitanism is created, reinforced and maintained in Tottenham. At the same time, depth helps to structure this form of sociality. Oya can talk intimately with her friends, in Turkish, in the private kitchen area of Crazy Cut, and then proceed to the front of her shop to meet a stranger, with whom she converses in English about booking a haircut. This gradation also captures the potential of depth to accommodate both public (political), in its deeper parts, and crowd (an aggregate of individuals) in its shallower, more public and more philosophically common-to-all parts.

The process of accommodating and negotiating differences is not, of course, infallible. Regular peaceful interactions between individuals who differentiate themselves in one way or another 'do not preclude the possibility of negative out-group stereotyping and racially charged conflict' (Lee 2002, 185). This was demonstrated to me when Chris from the Jerk Centre expressed surprise when I told him that Oya felt the same about the Turkish community as he does about the Jamaican community (that they take advantage of her). He thought the Turkish people were more tightly integrated with one another, which is the way their community looks from the outside. Simmel's (1949) small localities would have been amongst homogenous local groups in towns and villages, whereas the High Road places in Tottenham are potentially places both of segregation, and at the same time, of local (parochial) belonging. Conviviality does not indicate an absence of prejudice. Rather, it represents a practical *modus vivendi* which operates by making variety ordinary and familiar, and is particular to super-diverse metropolitan areas like Tottenham or Hackney (Wessendorf 2010, 40).

The alternative way of managing conflict is that proposed by Grainger (Chapter 1), in which there is no potential for 'public', but there is potential for crowd, and therefore crowd-control. The decorum of malls is a dream of a crowd of peaceful consumers, but that is an 'all' or 'nothing' scenario, in which you are either in the shop buying things, or outside, not buying (rioting?) and there is no space for unexpected events, exchange or adaptability as the social scene changes.

Hybrid local cultures

It is through regular use of the Caff, and not only social or cultural background, that the social codes and etiquette become more refined... Talking about football in general, before, during and after the World Cup, provided an entry point into greeting or conversation across individuals, and "See the game last night?" was simply an easy way of saying hello, or of opening up further talk. (S. Hall 2009b, 85)

...

Nick: "I've never faced any racism on the whole, directly."

Suzi: "Why do you say you're foreign?"

Nick: "'Cos of my colour. The English people are lovely right. But bottom line is I'm foreign. And what's worse, I'm a foreigner in my own country! In many ways our culture is like the 1950s. We've still got the traditional ways, like being in a time warp. We're old-fashioned, even our language has stayed the same. They (Cypriots in Cyprus) see you as English Turks!" (S. Hall 2009b, 86)

As high street places continue to exist through time, gradually the cultural distinctions become blurred, in a process which is site specific. In some cases they change completely, like the change around Brick Lane in East London from being predominantly Jewish to becoming a Bangladeshi/Pakistani Muslim area through the twentieth century. In the first quotation, above, Hall describes the specific culture which emerged in the caff which she became part of by being there frequently. In the second quotation Nick from Hall's caff describes his personal experience of a hybrid culture: of being a Cypriot in London. Hybrid cultures are expressed through food, smells, language: the domain of custom. In Tottenham this is a process of acculturation to an emergent local culture, rather than assimilation to the dominant culture of the UK. This emergent hybridisation takes place to different extents in different parts of depth. There is more in the shallow parts of depth (such as multicultural shops signs on the street front) and much less in deeper parts (such as back rooms and kitchens). The progression from 'shallow' to 'deep', may not be linear, as discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.4, but is rather the journey from the street (most public and most commercial) to the more remote, less public, less commercial parts of depth.

Food is a way of sharing culture. When we eat we literally consume embodied culture, and eating is ubiquitous, since we all need to eat (as well as making choices about what we eat, when and where). Sally spoke with enthusiasm about the Greek bread and Turkish restaurants available on Tottenham High Road and in general, London is a place where one can eat food from all over the world, and where ethnic food economies are an asset (Ferm and Jones 2014, 18). 213 out of 635 Tottenham High Road businesses (34%) sell food of one kind or another; most are cultural hybrids. The caff, for example, emerged from Italian immigrants setting up establishments which were then frequented by the local working class (Heathcoate 2004; S. Hall 2009b, 82). The caff model was taken up by other immigrant groups whose food fitted: Greek,

Turkish and Cypriot people. The result is places like like KitapEvi, which I discuss later in this chapter and which sells falafel, an ‘Istanbul Breakfast’ and also egg and chips. Mayol (1998) sums this up eloquently:

Every alimentary custom makes up a minuscule cross roads of histories [...] under the silent and repetitive system of everyday servitudes that one carries out by habit [...] there piles up a montage of gestures, rites and codes of rhythms and choices (Mayol 1998, 172)

People express their own identity through their choice of food, as well as cross boundaries with other cultures. Daniel from Seven Sisters market was extremely proud of his imported meats and home made chorizo (and rightly so, it is delicious), and wanted to share his food with the world. For him it was the equivalent of having guests for dinner. Through the mediating structures of depth, different cultural groups can test one another’s cuisine, and get a ‘taste’ of one another. This is mostly not hooks’ (1992, 21) ‘eating the other’, in which otherness is commodified and sold as an exciting alternative to mainstream white British culture (though it is at times, recall my example in section 3.2 in the last chapter of a Mexican restaurant advertising its stereotypical Mexican-ness). Rather, it is a non-discursive (by which I mean it is not articulated in a spoken conversation), embodied means of crossing cultural boundaries—more like one culture hosting another. Smells and tastes mix together and produce a gradual blurring or intermingling of cultures, which results in a very local culture (Rhys-Taylor 2013, 18).



Figure 4.15 Drinks in the fridge in a Caribbean restaurant (top) various types of condiments and food products in an African mini-market (photographs by Jane Clossick).

Figure 4.13 shows two examples food and drinks available on Tottenham High Road. In the top image, the bottled drinks have Jamaican labels, (even though, as Chris from the Jerk Centre pointed out, they may be manufactured in the UK). Bottled drinks are international, but the labels appeal to local tastes. The bottom image shows British (ketchup and HP sauce) products stacked next to Caribbean peanuts, jars of guava and a box of Hausa Koko from Ghana. Heinz is of course a global brand but even global brands use different flavours for their products in different countries.

In Ridley Road Market (see Figure 4.16 for a Jane Smith drawing of the market), African and Caribbean, along with many other international people, all have their own differentiated social lives which revolve around the market. These social lives take place in very close proximity to one another, sometimes overlapping when purchasing goods, resting and watching the world go by, or gossiping with fellow shoppers (Watson, Studdert, and Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2006, 14–29). These social worlds take place in the same market, and overlap in places, but are not the same. When Rhys-Taylor carried out his study of Ridley Road, he bought a ‘jerk bagel’—a Jewish bread filled with Caribbean filling—a transcultural recipe and embodiment of a very local culture, which is constantly changing over time. These changes and interminglings have been described delightfully as an amalgamation of smells by Rhys-Taylor (2013, 1), who also inadvertently describes the structure of depth, in the quotation below.

Ali is a quiet man, a forty-five-year-old trader born in Pakistan, living in east London. He has worked in his open-fronted shop behind the green and white tarpaulins of a local street market for the last fifteen years ... While I interview him, Ali arranges transparent polythene bags of dried salt fish, sorrel, dried black eyed beans and yellow plastic tubs of salted ox tongue he had picked up in the early hours from a nearby wholesaler of Afro-Caribbean food. He takes a break from arranging his stall to barter over some powdered yam with a curt Nigerian woman before returning to preparations for the day. Having arranged his products, Ali lights incense sticks to ward off the smell of the neighbouring fishmonger and the seagulls it attracts. The heavy wooden smell of sandalwood mixes with a faint hint of cloves that fills the open fronted shop. (Rhys-Taylor 2013, 1)

Food is rich in cultural heritage. When eating jerk chicken in Tottenham one is eating a little bit of Jamaica, participating in a vague but identifiable Jamaicanness. At the same time, the presence of the Jamaican takeaway gives Tottenham its unique cultural shape and Tottenham Jamaicanness emerges. In the photograph I took of the Jamaican takeaway in Chapter 3, Figure 3.10 (top) there was actually a white working class British woman and her daughter in the shop chatting with Chris (the owner), who was himself born in Enfield. The mixing of cultures in the Jerk Centre was illustrated beautifully when an older Jamaican man walked in, and Chris slipped effortlessly into Jamaican Patois to explain why I was interviewing him. The Jerk Centre is plainly poised to serve this particular immigrant community. At the same time, it is open and available to all the people of Tottenham; its position at the front of the depth structure invites anyone to walk in. It is a site of cultural boundary-crossing, facilitated by the characteristic structures of depth of gradation of publicness and simultaneity.



Figure 4.16 Ridely Road Market and Bagel Shop (source: <http://www.janeillustration.co.uk/blog/dalston-drawings-3/31-3/> with kind permission of Jane Smith).

Chris encapsulated the mixing of food and culture in his shop in the following quotation:

Chris: People go for names innit, people go for names and brands. It's how we are, a lot of the Caribbean drinks and stuff that I sell, because it says Jamaica on it, people will go oh yeah, Jamaica, I'll buy it and they don't even look at the back and see that it's made in Tottenham. Seriously. Names is what sells products. I will say 80% of the Jamaican products are sold in this country, its a Jamaican company, but it's not actually made and manufactured in Jamaica, but because it says Jamaica on it, people will buy it.

Patterns in language use also comprise a way that hybrids exist in the characteristic structures of depth. At the front-most part of depth is the most common-to-all. Here specific words are often used to convey identity, as well as categories of goods, such as *Afro Cosmetics* (S. Hall and Datta 2010, 71 and 74), because shopkeepers have to communicate with a wide range of customers in order to make the maximum money. Languages used (both spoken and on signs) are indicative both of the shopkeepers' own identity and culture(s), and of the customers they are trying to attract. Shop signs and language are an explicit and observable form of the negotiation of social, economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu 2002). Cultural capital translates to social capital through networks of local people, and becomes economic capital because more customers come and use the business. The exception to this pattern is where the appeal is less common-to-all, such as in a social club. Only in such cases may the sign not be in English, since they neither need nor desire to stake a claim in the most public realm.

Shopkeepers themselves have an interest in being 'accessible' to as many people as possible: to be 'common-to-all'. One man I spoke to in an internet café, mobile phone sales and repair shop told me about half his customers do not speak English, and as a result claimed to speak more than ten languages enough to 'do business'. He looks at customers to guess which language they speak, but never asks where people come from, because he feels in London people ask that question instead of asking 'how are you?' and it's rude. In her Rye Lane research, Suzi Hall (2013a) found 199 units, of which two thirds were independent shops, with proprietors from 20 different countries. 11% spoke one language, 61% spoke two or three and 28% spoke four languages or more. The situation is similar in Tottenham although with slightly less diversity. The range of languages spoken is shown in the word cloud in Figure 4.17, where the word size is proportional to the number of people who can speak that language. With data available for 277 businesses, 29% speak only English, 71% speak two or more languages, 18% speak three languages and 6% speak four or more.⁴

⁴ I collected this information during a face-to-face survey of every business in Tottenham High Road in August 2014, see Appendix 2.



Figure 4.17 Languages spoken on Tottenham High Road (675 businesses surveyed), excluding English, which is spoken by almost everyone (source: survey of Tottenham High Road, carried out by Elaine de Araújo, Jéssica Böhmer Jane Clossick, Simone Mesquita, Colin O’Sullivan, Rafa Senff Peixoto and Ana Quintela, 2014).

Multilingual capacity is also a means of facilitating convivial exchanges; which languages are required changes over time, according to who is living in the area. An example of this is in the quotation below, from Wessendorf, writing about Hackney:

...stall holders at a local market in Hackney react rather stoically to the Nigerian customers' repeated attempts to bargain. The South Asian butcher at the same market speaks the Ghanaian language of Twi. He lived in Ghana for a while and now caters to a large Ghanaian clientele who appreciate his language skills. He has even hung up a Ghanaian flag behind his counter. The Algerian tailor is specialised in making West African clothes thanks to the predominance of customers from Nigeria and Ghana, but he is also happy to shorten European customers' trousers. The Turkish owner of the corner-shop has learned a few words in Polish because of an increasing number of Polish customers. He now also sells Polish beer and Sauerkraut. And the young white British sales assistant at Sainsbury's, mentioned at the beginning of this paper, sees no problem in communicating with an elderly Turkish customer via a translator whom she has called on her mobile phone. (Wessendorf 2010, 19)

In the least common-to-all parts of depth, language becomes more specific, signalling the more private realm for its occupants. It also allows groups to remain separate, even when they are occupying the same place, facilitating the sort of simultaneity discussed in the previous chapter. So, in general the language spectrum moves from dominance of English (as the *lingua franca*) on the high street to more differentiation in depth, culminating in private households in the streets around the high street where people never or rarely speak English, or which contain people who cannot speak it.

Bee and Oya at Crazy Cut both speak Turkish fluently, as does the beautician. Oya explained that she feels being a member of the Turkish-speaking community is not wholly positive but their ability to speak Turkish embeds them all into the local culture of Turkishness, whether they like it or not:

Oya: When they [Turkish speaking people] know you can speak Turkish, they just walk in and blah blah, in Turkish, and they don't care that you are with a client, and that's when the stern side of me comes out. I'm sort of: I'm actually with a client at the moment, she's paying for my time and so she needs my full attention. I can talk to you when I finish, do you want to come back or would you like to take a seat? ... I don't have a lot of that Turkish community coming in here, I avoid them because I don't have time for them, because they barter with you, and you're not in Turkey, and you're going to barter with me?! This is my price, I have rent and rates and wages, so pay this is my price if you like it you like it if you don't, you don't. If you try and bartering me, I'll show you how to barter.

There is an NHS doctor's surgery a few doors up from the salon. While Oya and I were talking a woman came in with a tiny, newborn baby. The woman was clutching a note from the GP. They had a rapid discussion in Turkish and then the woman left. Afterwards, Oya explained to me:

Oya: The lady that just came in, she's a patient of the doctor's and because they know we're Turkish they keep coming here and asking us go in there and do translation for them. The thing I can't keep leaving the shop, and it's only me and the beautician that speak proper Turkish. And it's a newborn baby, so I wrote down what she wanted me to, and I just said give that to the doctor and they will take it from there.

Hybrid cultures of individual high street places reflect global flows of people. They express the identities that emerge as a result of a particular set of people being together in a particular place, resulting in sometimes curious combinations of merchandise (S. Hall and Datta 2010, 72–73). Consistent frontage allows something like a collage of local and global references (S. Hall 2012, 38). It is more complex than collage, though, especially once we stop seeing the high street as merely a pair of façades. I would suggest that rather than a collage, there is a stratified hybridisation of culture: a richness accommodated in the characteristic structures of depth. The High Road is a mosaic of little hybrid cultures, and the culture of Tottenham resides in combination and proximity of these publics. The culture of London is composed of the cultures of its various areas, each of which is different: Lewisham feels different to Tottenham, Bethnal Green feels different to Stoke Newington, Clapham feels different to Kingston. Even accents change subtly from place to place, as well as variation between languages (e.g. English and Ghanaian), there are variations with particular languages between dialect. These are regionally differentiated, whether tribal in origin or developing within local parochial circumstances, such as a gang. They are a signal of subtle local differences in the place cultures of which they are part. So, the myriad accents and dialects of London signal how varied and hyper-local the construction of hybrid culture can be. As a result of this agglomeration, every part of the UK, of London, and each district in London has its own particular culture. Some are nested inside others, the larger ones are composed of the smaller ones, right down to the culture of an individual family or high street place. Some are side-by-side, or even completely separated from each other.

Chris from the Jerk Centre Caribbean takeaway expressed this local culture very clearly:

Chris: The black community is one community, but we all got different tendencies. Even like me, where I come from in Jamaica everyone there is also different. Even like now, you'll find when I was in my uncle's shop in Westgreen Road right, and when I'm in this shop I find people got more manners in this end for some reason, even like the young kids when they come in: can I have a patty please? Can I have some chicken and chips please? When I'm down there: give me a patty. It's like, what happened to please? There's always different tendencies between Caribbean people and African people. We are all the black community, but we all got a thing [different ways of being or styles of decorum]. Even like Jamaica, there's people that come from Jamaica that come from the city and I don't like talking to them, and the ones that come from the country, them are fine, so it's just different tendencies.

This phenomenon—whereby quite different cultures can exist side-by-side with little interaction save at the shallowest level—is the result of a pattern I explained above in which

immigrants (especially from low HDI countries) tend where possible to settle in areas where there is already an existing community from their original country.

There are potentially both positive and negative effects from clustering of immigrants in particular places, as discussed effectively by Vaughan and Arbaci 2011: When people who are alike live near one another, they can engage in communal activity (Vaughan and Arbaci 2011, 7) into the second and third generations, which sustains communal ties—a process of acculturation (adopting cultural traits and social patterns of the dominant culture), rather than assimilation (absorption into the dominant culture). It is protective against oppression, maintaining the culture of home (Sibley 1992, 107), and can result in increased electoral power (Body-Gendrot, Martinello, and Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations 2000; Kesteltoot and Meert 1999).⁵ Negative consequences include problematic social outcomes due to poor role models, peer effects or lack of access to information and networks (Galster, Andersson, and Musterd 2010, 2915–2944), because ‘disadvantaged individuals in an isolated area will form one set of social relations, while disadvantaged individuals in a well-connected area may form another’ (Lupton 2003, 5). This can cause problems for people in finding jobs (Musterd et al. 2008, 785–805), which can lead to high crime levels (Ceccato and Oberwittler 2008, 187), or can affect school results (Sykes and Kuypers 2009, 2417–2436). There is, however, a lack of evidence about the precise mechanisms which bring negative area effects about (see Spicker 2001; in Vaughan and Geddes 2014, 2–3). Whether more contact between solidarity groups results in better opportunities, or more integration between different groups, indeed what ‘integration’ even means, is not clear in the literature (Musterd and Ostendorf 2009, 1529). Although I do not claim to answer the questions, understanding the structures of depth, and how they mediate between different groups, is very useful for shedding more light on how cosmopolitanism operates spatially. It therefore offers a more nuanced context for thinking about area effects, and a potentially useful new analytic tool for understanding why things sometimes go wrong.

4.3 Depth and political participation

Jane: Do you know anything? Do you feel like you’ve been informed?

Jaya: No, to tell you the truth, we don’t expect it anyhow, I mean because basically at the end of the day, you know how it works, the government, top level, it don’t really filter [down]. Eric Pickles was here, what can he do? He was the Urban Regeneration Minister, is that right? He was here a couple of times, or I mean, there is nothing, I don’t think, we don’t expect anything anyway!

The discussion about high street places being sites of negotiation between disparate groups has important implications for politics. As Jaya expressed in the quotation above,

⁵ This is notably the case in Tower Hamlets, where the Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations are huge, and dominate local politics.

there is a feeling of *lack* of participation amongst the traders on Tottenham High Road. The fact that common-to-all-ness depends on position in the physical, time and social structures of depth also has significant implications. The places where political activities occur is very important, because the extent to which they are common-to-all is related to where they are sited within the physical and social structures of depth. In this section I look at the activities of Our Tottenham (OT) in these terms—where the organisation meets, how social networks influence its membership and how these different depth-based factors influence the kind of organisation OT is at the moment.⁶

OT is a federation of existing local community groups, which has a charter to which they all subscribe. There is no official leader, only keen and active members and various specific roles (such as treasurer). They meet regularly to discuss actions which can be taken on different topics, mostly things like defending local jobs and housing against the forces of regeneration. The below quotation is from the Our Tottenham website, and gives a flavour of their position and approach:

The Council are promoting their 'Plan for Tottenham', backed by greedy property developers and big business, and by the Mayor of London. It is full of fine-sounding objectives but contains much that should concern us all ... We are calling on the people of Tottenham to oppose all inappropriate planning and developments and campaign to defend facilities and proposals which are led by local residents, for our benefit, and which improve neighbourhoods for our communities – not just for the benefit of big business [Statement of the Our Tottenham network, agreed by OT general meeting, 13.2.2013] (Our Tottenham 2013)

Political organisations are often distinguished into two types. First, there are vertical-hierarchical (Conn 2011, 3) institutions of power, either elected or non-elected through official channels (such as Haringey council, or central government) which are segmented, ordered and enshrined in organisational policy. Second, there are horizontal-peer non governmental organisations (NGOs) and non-official organisations, such as OT, or the Wards Corner Community Coalition (WCC, introduced in Chapter 2), which are formed from grassroots networking with the purpose of achieving particular political or civic ends. These are based on interconnected social networks between peers.

The distinction between vertical and horizontal is helpful, but should not be overstated. The two systems do not have impermeable boundaries, they are different but share an ecosystem (Conn 2011, 7) with continuous interaction and co-evolution in the (metaphorical) 'space of possibilities' (Conn 2011, 7). Vertical hierarchical organisations can solve technical and instrumental scientific problems, but are less good for complex, multi-dimensional, human

⁶ For an in-depth examination and discussion of the work of OT, see Myfanwy Taylor's forthcoming PhD thesis 'Nurturing London's diverse economies: re-thinking urban planning for diverse economies,' more information available at <http://www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/about-the-department/people/research-students/myfanwy-taylor>

problems (Battle 2010, 14). Things like childcare arrangements, knitting circles and support between family members are instances of horizontal-peer organisation, although these are not overtly political. Everyday political parlance often makes it seem as though horizontal-peer and vertical-hierarchical were entirely separate kinds of thing, for example as ‘bottom up’ and ‘top down’ systems. It may be more illuminating instead to think of them as different elements of a wider all-encompassing complex system (Cilliers 1998). That is, horizontal-peer organisations get their character at least partly from the nature of the vertical-hierarchical institutions in their vicinity, and vice versa.

Given that depth is where social networks emerge and are sustained, understanding it is key to understanding how horizontal-peer political organisations form and can be supported, and how they are linked to vertical-hierarchical organisations. The term *space of possibilities* is inadequate: both space and possibilities are much too vague. We are dealing with a spectrum of interactions (from conflict, to negotiation, to accommodation, to collaboration) enacted across another spectrum, from informal gesture in common space, to specific purposive meetings within shops or community centres, to formal debate within an official political chamber or courtroom. The central question is therefore: how does the depth of places link to political activity?

Places for politics

The contrast between vertical and horizontal parts of a complex system indicates some of what is required. Something which can connect these two modes of activity has to be a place where communication is possible. As I have shown in Chapters 3 and 4, communication is facilitated between different groups to varying extents according to the characteristic structures of depth. My research has concentrated on the spectrum of publics along a high street, but many of the same considerations will apply to space for politics. In both cases we are dealing with places where different cultures meet, and where individuals must negotiate difference and disagreement. The literature on community politics, including radical calls for it to change, tends to de-spatialise it (see for example McCabe 2010; Norris and MacLean 2011; Burns 2000). My research shows that this must be a mistake. If the detailed configuration of depth is important for enabling adaptability and cosmopolitan existence on the high street, it's very likely that the same is true for politics: some ways of structuring depth will support healthy politics, others will hinder it. Understanding how inter-cultural negotiation takes place in depth should therefore be fruitful for ensuring wide-ranging local participation in vertical-hierarchical and horizontal-peer politics, and for a well-functioning space of possibilities.

Most vertical-hierarchical institutions and organisations have clearly defined homes, like the town hall or Westminster (the seat of power is a specific place). These are *outside* the fabric of every day life. Unlike national or local vertical-hierarchical political institutions, the

horizontal-peer networks of community politics tend not to be associated with a specific home. They exist in an amorphous place called the community, which is not a place at all. They exist inside the ‘informal fabric of everyday life’ (Norris and MacLean 2011, 18) (e.g. book club, coffee morning or pub).

Potential for participation and interpretation of depth

Our Tottenham holds three major types of meeting: regular OT meetings, separate meetings of working groups and community conferences. All of these are technically open to anyone to attend, and they all take place in different locations.

OT meetings are often held in Tottenham Chances and the second OT conference (the first one I attended) was also held there. It is a large social club and events venue run on a shoestring as a charity. Opening times are flexible (but not always predictable), the owner can be contacted and chatted to on the phone, everyone knows where it is, and the OT meetings happen alongside other activities like people having drinks in the bar and or people practising on the stage where bands play. In terms of being common-to-all, it is situated towards the front of the graduated publicness of depth. However, it does not have long opening hours, and the front is not permeable to the street.

Our Tottenham Local Economy Working Group meetings (which I attended regularly throughout 2014/15, see section 0.5 in the Introduction) are usually held at KitapEvi. KitapEvi, shown in Figure 4.18, is a Turkish restaurant and coffee shop near Bruce Grove station. It is at the front of block with a large glass window through which the interior is clearly visible. It is a deep and fairly narrow restaurant, with a variety of areas to sit, some of which have long tables, so a group can comfortably be accommodated. There is a choice of intimacy with the staff depending on how close one sits to the counter, which is at the rear of the restaurant). Its culture is a hybrid of Turkey/Cyprus and the UK, with Mediterranean and British food to eat which is cheap and plentiful. It sells Turkish coffee and lattes, chips and falafel. People eat and drink as they meet, in part to justify their presence in the café, and also because it is a sociable thing to do.

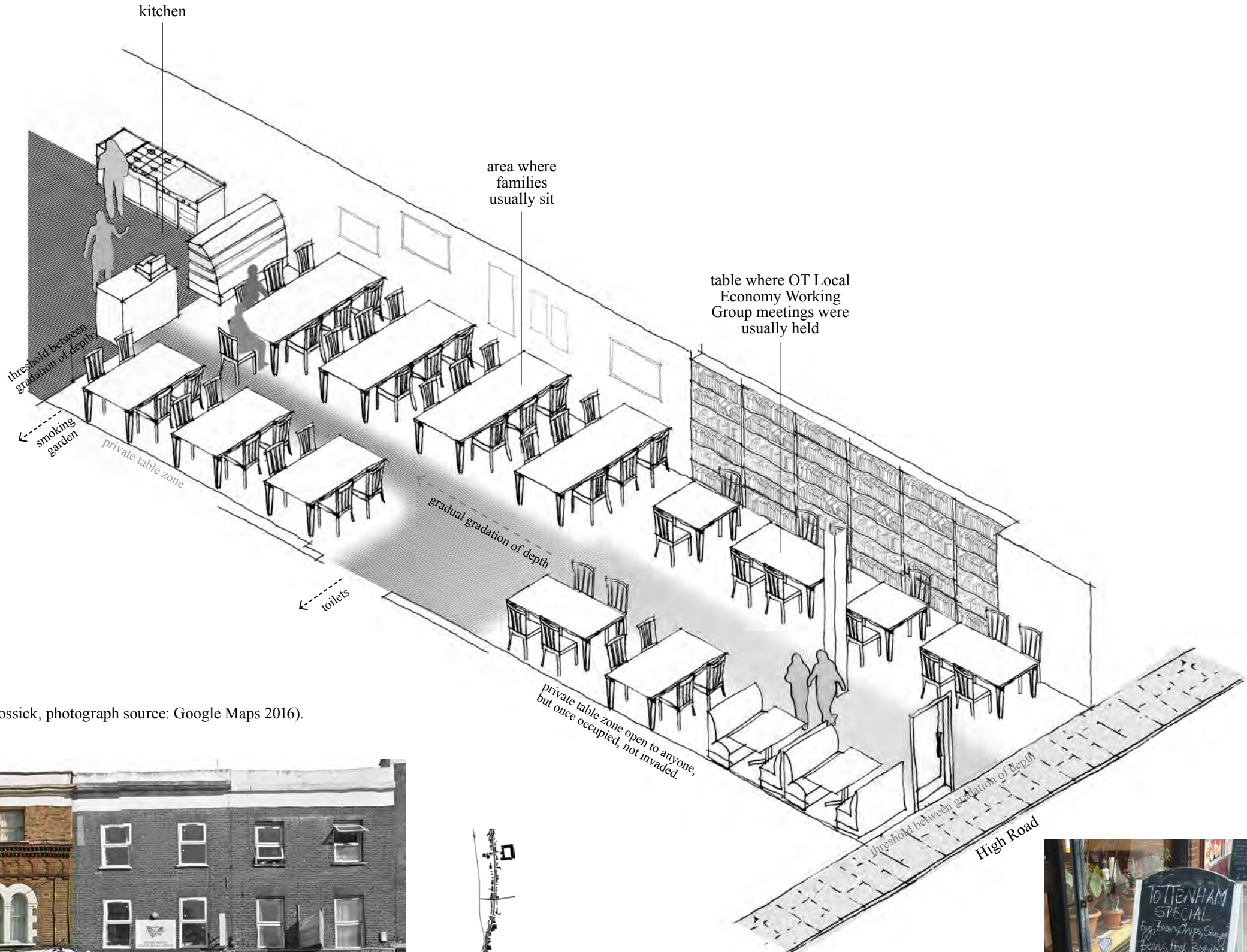


Figure 4.18 KitapEvi (drawing by Jane Clossick, photograph source: Google Maps 2016).





Figure 4.19 KitapEvi kitchen (top) and front door (bottom) (photographs by Jane Clossick).



Figure 4.20 Turkish library in KitapEvi, with remains of Tottenham Special breakfast in foreground (photographs by Jane Clossick).



Figure 4.21 KitapEvi garden (bottom) and, back of house bar area in garden (top left) back of house garden (top right) (photographs by Jane Clossick).

Meetings in KitapEvi are normally held close to the front door, away from the counter and the entrance to the smoking garden where family groups tend to sit. Here meetings are not easily overheard, partly because of the space but also because of the noise. Even though it is a public place, people don't just wander over and join in the meetings, nor are they invited to do so: there is no obvious sign that the group is an OT working group meeting. For the purposes of the meetings this is useful; having new people constantly join is unproductive, because they need time to learn the culture of the organisation. But for the purposes of widening participation (which is OT's stated aim) it does not work. Even in KitapEvi, (which is very permeable to the street, and the meetings are surrounded by Turkish books and people), the Local Economy Working Group was still largely composed of white, middle class people, with the odd black face. In some ways, meetings in KitapEvi are almost as inaccessible to the general public as those held in the council chambers. One effect of this is that some opposing views aren't represented. People in Tottenham have many different views, not all of which are represented at OT meetings. For example:

Give it up! I myself am a resident and I'm fed up with you people. The majority of people living in Tottenham want to see change and you're standing in the way. I can't believe you would be so selfish as to force Tottenham to stay the way it is out of small-minded nostalgia for a building that is not particularly interesting or valuable, either architecturally or to the community at large. You don't speak for us, you're just looking out for your own interests and it's about time the real community stood up to you. (Luke (no surname given) 2014 on WCC fundraising page, WCC 2015)

The third Our Tottenham conference was held in a Turkish social club on a side street behind Seven Sisters station, without any signage on the exterior to indicate that it was happening. This meant that attendees were largely academics and OT people who are already familiar with the OT network.

I saw the same phenomenon of political activities poorly attended because of their position in depth when I was involved in a community consultation student project during my RIBA II Diploma. The workshop took place over two sessions whose different locations made very stark the importance of location to a participation activity which seeks to include people who are not already in the social network. The first we organised at the University of East London campus in Beckton (very off the beaten track) in East London. The following quotations explain what happened:

Prior to the workshop, the initial risk of a possible low attendance was addressed with a series of measures: invited over 30 community contacts, pinned-up over 50 posters in key locations like shops and community centres, etc, handed out leaflets and talked to approximately 350 people with positive feed-back and talked to further 800+ people, placed around 1200 leaflets in letter boxes locally, contacted Newham Recorder, Greenwich Mercury, London Architecture Diary, Gumtree and the local Blast Radio.

All partners, students and UEL staff were at the AVA to start the workshop at 10.00 am. No member of the local community came to the workshop on that day. (Hadrys 2008, 19)

The second workshop took place in the Sports Hall of the St. Marks Community Centre and Church in Beckton, right on the high street. This location, although not particularly permeable to the high street, was connected to it via signage, and by students standing on the street and encouraging local people to enter. The attendance was vastly better, and this workshop was genuinely useful.

In another example, OT meetings tend to draw between two and ten participants, Local Economy Working Group meetings were generally attended by a maximum of six people. In a stark contrast, I chaired a very lively discussion about Tottenham High Road in April 2014 at the V&A Museum in Kensington, which was attended by approximately 300 people. This was, at least in part, well-attended because of its position in a very accessible part of Central London, although there were also other factors at play, such as the fact that Alan Strickland, Cabinet Member of Housing and Regeneration, was also at the discussion table.

What are the lessons we can draw from these examples? One is positive: we can use our implicit understanding of depth to facilitate horizontal politics, by holding meetings in suitable places in the appropriate part of high street depth and ensuring that they are accessible (although there are subtleties to this as the KitapEvi example shows). The other is less sanguine: in practice we can see people deploying the same implicit understanding to hinder open political engagement. Hiding participation events in depth which is not connected to the high street via signage can be an effective means of preventing participation—because the expectation is that one is entering a more particular enclave once behind the façade to the high street—yet still claiming to have engaged with local people. In both cases we see people making sophisticated use of the depth structures I have explored in this thesis. The crucial thing is to make this implicit understanding explicit, and thereby to show that these failures of engagement are the result of choices that we can make differently.

Deep democracy

Appadurai (2001) points out that here is a contradiction in global cities like London between the city as something like a city-state, connected to the networked global economy and producing a high concentration of wealth, and the poverty and disenfranchisement which comes with lack of access to global scale economy (Appadurai 2001, 24). Appadurai suggests a useful means of counteracting these forces, namely the practice of *deep democracy*. Deep democracy is a means of access to power, where local (otherwise relatively powerless) groups work together to achieve common ends and locally mediate or redirect the power of globalising forces. It is a horizontal-peer type of organisational structure, formed of multiple interconnections, personal

relationships, built up over time in place (McFarlane 2011 also uses the example of Mumbai in *Learning the City*). Deep democracy is firmly rooted in local context and knowledge and it has a structure like that of architectural depth. Appadurai discusses Mumbai, but the framework is applicable to the disenfranchised poor in more affluent, open-access societies where nepotism, elitism, spatial segregation and discrimination prevent free engagement with official political channels for a large sector of society (North, Wallis, and Weingast 2009).

OT offers an unrealised opportunity to build deep democracy in Tottenham. There are potential connections to bigger organisations, such as the London-wide network Just Space,⁷ and the various residents and pressure groups which have federated under the OT banner are gradually finding ways to work with one another. Technically, anyone is free to join OT meetings and there are no membership criteria. As a result of the inaccessibility of its meetings to a wider audience, however, OT is essentially a relatively closed network of people who have grown to know one another over time. It is dominated by middle class, educated people, many of whom are academics or retirees, who have the time to participate, and are less likely to suffer from burnout when change is slow to occur. Abigail Stevenson, the architect who put together the WCC *Community Plan* explained the problem they experience with burnout:

Abi (from WCC): But, I think the one thing with community groups is burnout, is a massive thing. The transition movement has identified that quite well. People like, so enthusiastic, and like 'I wanna solve all the world's problems, and take it all one, and' and then, you know, you can't write a flyer. It's too much.

There is also a non-physical, social network which includes the OT mailing list and individual email and telephone contact between members. This serves to reinforce the relatively closed nature of the network. Gaining access is easy for people like me with plenty of education, money, confidence, time and a good command of English. But, just like any High Road public, this non-physical network is relatively inaccessible to a large majority of people in Tottenham because they are not part of the relevant social and loyalty networks. There are no sites for participation which are sufficiently common-to-all occupied by OT to widen participation.

There was a similar problem for the Street Briefings, meetings between local community and police officers in Haringey, organised to attempt to build bridges between the police and Haringey residents:

Jane: I've seen the meetings and community events on the website actually, and I haven't ever been to one yet. [*Community events* here refers to events held by the police to invite participation from the local community].

⁷ Just Space was formed in 2006. It is an informal alliance of community groups, campaigns and concerned independent organisations who collaborate in making representations to planning authorities, share research and experience through workshops and publications. It aims to be both a form for making connections, and to be a voice for Londoners at grass-roots level during the major changes to London's planning strategy (Just Space 2015).

Paul: Not many people do go to them. In the rougher areas like Tottenham, you don't get many people go to them because people haven't got – they're transient, they don't stay here for very long, and they're really not interested in how they're policed

Derek, who runs H. Glickman Hardware, is also an active member of the Tottenham Trader's Partnership (TTP). He outlined another problem with participatory activities: they are very influenced by the networks that organise them. In the TTP, they have trouble getting participation from the 'ethnic grocery shops'.

Derek (from Tottenham Trader's Association): One of the ethnic grocery shops. No, they are the ones we can't get to join. No, they want to come and pick your brains for the few weeks after the riots in case there's any handouts.

OT, like official local politics, is therefore missing out on a lot of community knowledge and skills (Norris and MacLean 2011, 13). As well as that, OT can't accumulate enough social capital (trust) to lead effectively (Purdue 2001, 2222). In order to be effective, community groups and their leaders need to gather social capital both internally (amongst the group) and externally (amongst vertical-hierarchical organisations and local people) (Diani 1997, 129–147). Closed social networks are better for accumulating social capital because all the members know one another and can pass on trust amongst themselves. However, networks in urban areas such as Tottenham are often fragmented or totally separated, an instance of the 'parallel lives' phenomenon I discussed earlier. The social capital needed for leadership which has been gathered amongst one network doesn't transfer across to others (Purdue 2001, 2215). Social capital is very similar to what I have called loyalty. Mutual commitment and the accumulation of social capital take nothing more complex than regular meetings in place, it just takes time. However, where the network (such as OT) which facilitates the meeting is closed or exclusive, then the meetings in place serve only to reinforce the existing network, rather than to cross boundaries, even when the meetings are held in a public, multicultural place like KitapEvi.

Paul, the policeman I interviewed, encapsulated the problem of closed systems within community politics effectively in the following quotation:

Paul: On the night [of the riots] on the news you had an awful lot of black people on saying 'we're the community leaders, we're the community leaders', and I was dealing with the black community around here and I've said 'they're not my leader!' I've never met that person! Why's he speaking on my behalf?

The problem with a lack of social capital, and lack of commitment to OT from local people, is its consequent political ineffectiveness. If OT is not trusted (or even known about) by most local people then their power in the face of other powerful forces is reduced (Purdue 2001, 2221). No one is necessarily going to listen to them over and above the forces of, for example, regeneration—which have much bigger marketing budgets. OT are easily painted as over-zealous and regressive, which is how they have been described to me by members of the council. Much

the same problem occurs when any bounded group does not have regular face-to-face contact with others: the group is easily demonised and dismissed, or even becomes invisible. The former Principal of the College of Haringey and North East London at Tottenham Green (CHENEL) articulated the problem of established social networks dominating community politics like OT very clearly:

Paul Head: [After the riots we had] a whole range of views and you have to recognise that was genuinely 600 people from the community really concerned. There were 30 at the last public meeting. Now they are 30 hardcore people I've been engaging with for the last 10 years. You don't see the same 30 over the 10 years but you know they, kind of, you know, there'll be whoever is the current Chair of—around here—the Clyde Road Residents Association, who's Chair of the Broadwater Farm Residents Association, who is Chair of Stop and Search, the Stop and Search Group Police Liaison Committee, the Local Councillors you know they have been around for a long time and they are all quite legitimately have a voice to be had. Someone joked with me the other day, sort of said, God you are everything, nature of the job you know. So, for other people I would be part of that same 30, you are always around all of the time, and I think, what gives you a right to have a greater voice than me?

One of the OT member organisations, the Wards Corner Community Coalition (WCC), got together to fight the redevelopment of the Colombian market at Seven Sisters, described in Chapter 2. The market traders have clearly demonstrated that they are a fairly cohesive group, who are skilled at negotiation of conflict between themselves and mutual social, economic and family support, facilitated by the market manager, Henry. There was an event organised by the WCC in October 2014 to publicise the *Community Plan*, with stalls, badges and a raucous performance from a Latin dancing group, shown in Figure 4.22. Yet the vast majority of the traders did not get involved and in fact appeared totally uninterested, despite the campaigners' efforts. It was notable to me that the campaigners, who had set up their stalls in one section of the market, seemed shy to approach the traders; many of the campaigners do not speak fluent Spanish, and the traders have reached saturation point on this issue and no longer believe anything can be done anyway.



Figure 4.22 Images from the Wards Corner Community Plan promotion event, October 2014 (photographs by Jane Clossick).

The WCC campaigners have clearly not gathered sufficient social capital amongst the network of Colombians to enable them successfully to lead the campaign with the support of the traders. Daniel Martinez explained this, with particular reference to the language barrier between the WCC and a lot of the Spanish-speaking traders and customers at Wards Corner:

Daniel: I think a lot of people just don't even know, that's why they lose interest, cause its mainly like for the people that always go, always interested, you got to get people motivated for them to come. But you have to keep insisting people, cause people say they can't make it this week, they can probably make it next week but then people think I invited him last week, and he didn't come, I'm not going to invite him again because he's gonna say he can't come. I think you gotta keep telling people "we've got a meeting, we've got a meeting", or remind people each time as well

... a lot of the problem as well is the communication. Because mainly a lot of people here don't speak English or only a few speak English, and that's another problem. Because mainly all the meetings are in English... Use both languages, try and explain both things to the both languages. Cause I know a lot of people, and my dad wouldn't go there, cause he says like, he wouldn't come and speak to you. My dad, or let's say the one next door, he wouldn't go to a meeting cause he's like, I don't even understand what they are saying, so there is no point in me going just sitting waiting, waiting just waiting for the time to go past.

Myfanwy: And its also a problem with this planning process because the council consultation form is in English. All the plan, this is in English.

Daniel: That's the thing isn't it, a lot of people don't know what's the procedure to do, because English is not their first language. They don't know the laws like the rules, if it was like back in their original countries they would know a bit more what to do because obviously say when you are from England, you have grown up here, you know what is the procedure. But people come from, say, Latin American people, somebody comes from Colombia, they're just like "well they are going to knock it down, I suppose they can knock it down".

Wards Corner is a site for deep social connectedness, mutual support and embedded praxis which negotiates potential conflicts. The WCC do not seem to have successfully harnessed this potential. I think this is because the organisation has developed without a clear understanding of how to make itself accessible, and common-to-all, within the all the physical, temporal and social structures of depth. The market itself—like all the publics of Tottenham High Road—is a latent and *potentially* political institution. The same is true of many such places. High street publics are *agonic fora* which could be the site of community politics. As Battle states below, any participation builds from resources and capacities (such as places on the high street), which already exist. It is very difficult to fabricate a participatory process from nothing.

This institution failed to see what citizens might provide and may have even failed to recognize the concerns that were framed when the citizens talked together ... community politics unfold as people confront the complex realities of their lives to help create change that is consistent with what they value. There are no predetermined structures, strategies, or incremental outcomes. People engage, using their own resources and capacities as a starting point. (Battle 2010, 13)

For a particular cultural group, an accessible public is not necessary while everyone in the group knows each other, it only becomes necessary when appeal to a wider audience is required (see Chapter 3, section 3.4). The same thing applies for political gatherings. There is no point having them hidden away inside a block, inaccessible in depth, because then there's no opportunity to widen participation. As I have shown, the High Road itself is one of the most common-to-all places in Tottenham. To unlock deep democracy for Tottenham, it is important to understand why this is the case: how, that is, depth accommodates negotiation of potential conflict between different social networks.

Civic Commons

One recent proposal which might offer an alternative is the Civic Commons. This is a process which seeks to integrate horizontal peer and vertical hierarchical systems of power. In this model, tested in Peterborough from 2011, citizens' decision-making capacity is built through regular forum meetings, and development activities like training seminars to enhance their ability to contribute to the decision-making process. In effect, creating expert citizens, who are networked with one another, so that they can work with local government to respond to social problems (Norris and MacLean 2011, 21). This proposal too could benefit from knowledge of depth.

The central question for the Civic Commons is what type of public place is needed for this engagement to take root. The fora and networks need to develop over a long period, in order to build capacity to respond to arising issues, rather than organising participatory events in a reactive manner. This reactive organisation is like Dewey's (1954) publics—which mobilise around an issue and then evaporate. In contrast, the Civic Commons is engaging in the kind of capacity-building which OT are doing, but the risk of pitfalls I have described above is similar. The issues of where the fora should take place are mentioned by Norris and MacLean:

The location and tone of many existing initiatives can further dislocate participation from a sense of making a difference in communities. Participation exercises are often formal and professionalised, typically taking place in hotels, local government offices and town halls. Yet evidence suggests that citizens are less likely to participate in exercises that have a formal or official atmosphere because they feel uncomfortable or intimidated. Citizens would rather participate in regular community venues — cafés, pubs, museums and theatres. (Norris and MacLean 2011, 11)

'Public' in the literature is a vague public, one of the key constituents of 'open-access' societies (North, Wallis, and Weingast 2009) although North, Wallis and Weingast are not sensitive to the difference between the marginalized OT and the power and influence of an organisation like Grainger. The spectrum of publics on Tottenham High Road, and the way they are situated in depth, constitutes a more nuanced understanding of what public means, and how it can be utilised for the purposes of political participation: either by working with the existing

structure of publics, or by understanding the gradated publicness of depth in order to situate participatory activities in the appropriate place.

So, while I do not have clear answers, the insights about depth and the structure of high street publics in this thesis suggest there is a pattern to the way interaction takes place in depth, which would be useful for the Civic Commons. This is typified by Megan from Makeroom, who set up the Tottenham Living Archive on Broad Lane. She said her art project was an interesting exercise in meeting people she would never meet ordinarily. It was only because there was a place that wasn't normally there—yet was located in the right part of depth—which let Megan talk to people she wouldn't normally talk to.

Megan: What was interesting about that Broad Lane space is that there was no financial transaction, obviously, and I wasn't really wanting anything from people, and people could just have the time to talk, and they didn't feel that they were wasting my time by talking ... because I was interested in what they were saying. So it became more just about having that kind of conversation space on the street, rather than meticulously recording what people said, it was more about the fact that there was this place where people could walk in and talk ... in that moment they were having this conversation they wouldn't have had if we hadn't been there.

Conclusion

Through people, food, products and hybrid cultures, Tottenham High Road is a small part of the global economy and culture. Many authors have described the immigrant's simultaneous occupation of both here and there, arguing that the distinction between the immigrant and the local is an unclear one (Al-Ali and Koser 2002; Bhabha 1994; S. Hall 2009b, 81). Any community in a city, either based in shared ethnicity or nationality, does not necessarily share either an origin or location (S. Hall 2009b, 81). In this spectacularly rich and differentiated social landscape, it is high street places which have a topographic differentiation in which people can live out their preferred lifestyle in the context of their various cultures, and allow them to negotiate both differences and sameness, moving through a spectrum between what is common-to-all and what is specific-to-the-individual.

Through the process of cultural hybridisation of high street places, boundaries are both created, blurred, effaced and destroyed by symbolic and psychological changes in the understanding of other people through repeated contact. Often, groups who may be politically disparate in global terms integrate in local spheres, as the practices in the new place bring them together. In London, Pakistanis and Indians, or Greeks and Turkish Cypriots are cordial (Thomas 2010; Robins and Askoy 2001). Similarly, disparate religious groups adapt their practices when in contact with others (Vertovec 2006, 12). This demonstrates the power that everyday praxis has both on shaping identity and on negotiating conflict. On the other hand, a group which appears homogeneous from outside may have many stratified divisions, such as the 'south Asians' (Werbner 2005). This thesis has showed that all these factors are manifested

in space through depth structures, which themselves go on to shape the human cultures and behaviours that they accommodate. So, talking of multiculturalism and community cohesion in the de-spatialised abstract is not much use: we must seek to understand how differences are spatially organised in everyday life, in depth.

A generalised morality towards all people is required for corner-shop cosmopolitanism. Trust and respect for fellow people have been shown to be cultural: they are ingrained dispositions passed through family and circumstance, rather than a calculated and instrumental response to a current situation. Where society has high levels of trust and respect, and where individuals tend to have norms of generalised (rather than limited to a specific group) morality, an ethos of reciprocal cooperation, good government and reliable institutions is the result (Tabellini 2008, 260–266). Well-functioning institutions are often observed in countries or regions where individual values are consistent with generalised morality, suggesting a causal effect from values to institutional outcomes (Tabellini 2008, abstract). The process of increasing commitment, loyalty and social capital in a super-diverse context is one of developing generalised morality: moral codes apply to everyone, because everyone relies on conviviality (which includes work-around and negotiation of conflict) to get things done. Small local institutions (political or otherwise) are therefore more likely to be well-functioning in places where generalised morality is nurtured, in spaces for it to flourish. It is in the graduated publicness of depth that people learn a generalised morality for everyday convivial interactions. It is perhaps even *because* the most private sections of depth are so culturally specific that people are enabled to be convivial, and universally moral, in the most common-to-all sections.

The difference between parts of London where minority groups have greater electoral or entrepreneurial power and places where they do not is very likely to be related to the capacity of the group to connect and work together. (The traders in Wards Corner support one another through translation and legal services.) This capacity is reliant on depth.

People in poor areas tend to have strong local ties, but are less trustful of local political and non-political groups and political institutions than people in richer in neighbourhoods (Doherty, Goodland, and Paddison 2001, 2244). People tend to have the greatest enthusiasm for direct political action where it has previously been effective, or where opportunity structures are already in place to ensure civic participation from citizens such as those found in tenants' groups and meetings in housing associations (Doherty, Goodland, and Paddison 2001, 2245). In such meetings and groups, people meet frequently on familiar, common grounds of difference. There are opportunity structures already in place on the High Road in the form of the spectrum of publics. All that is needed is to utilise them.

In Tottenham, there are many groups who coexist peacefully (and sometimes not so peacefully, as seen during the riots). As should be clear from the discussion in this chapter,

deep democracy is fledging in Tottenham, through a variety of community groups and cultural networks. Nevertheless, deep democracy requires venues for it to happen. These venues must be able to encourage the widest participation, and to harness the skills of all groups and cultures to negotiate local conflicts. The 639 Centre⁸ lacks the adaptability and room for coexistence enabled by the sort of depth of High Road publics analysed in Chapters 2 and 3. Places for deep democracy need to have a variety of ownerships and cultural types, scales, opening times, food on offer, and so on. They need to be part of a number of cross-over social networks. The depth of Tottenham High Road contains thousands of these little slices of potential for commitment. They are already linked in a network through their emplacement and proximity, and the relationship between them is structured by the layered richness of depth. What is missing is a more articulated network, of the type described by Appadurai. This is being attempted in an embryonic form by Our Tottenham, and by the Tottenham Traders Partnership. In this chapter I have argued that understanding depth would help these organisations to achieve their aims. Alongside the special-economic and psycho-social aspects I have already discussed, there is untapped potential for a political self-empowerment which might prove genuinely transformational.

8 See Chapter 1, footnote 6.

Conclusion

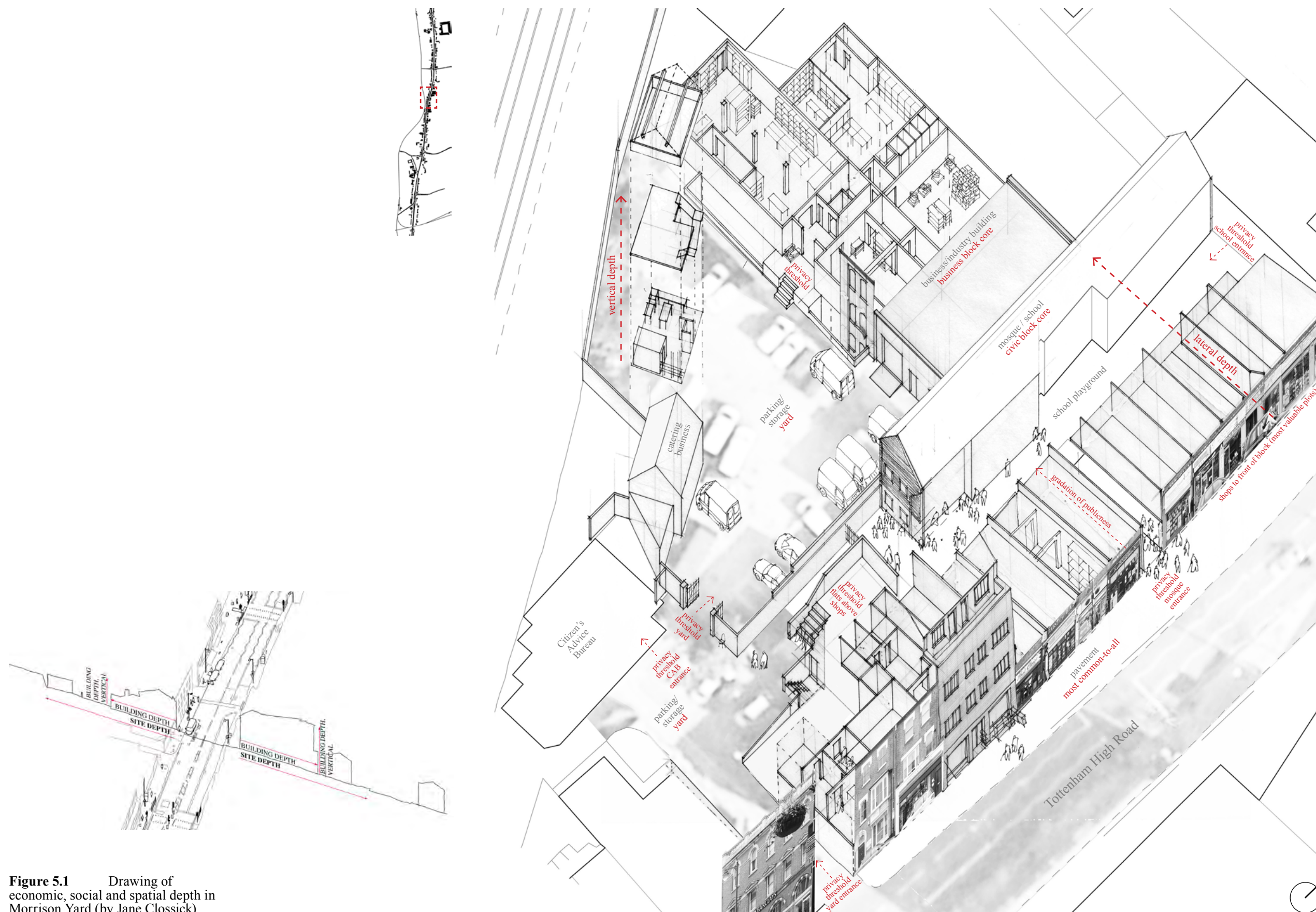


Figure 5.1 Drawing of economic, social and spatial depth in Morrison Yard (by Jane Clossick).

In July 2014, I spent several hours in a big tent in the quad at UCL discussing the findings of the *Farrell Review of Architecture and the Built Environment, Our Future in Place* (Farrell Review Team 2014). The conversation was focussed on two questions: Do we need a 'Place Alliance'? and would a 'National Place Leadership' be beneficial? It was generally agreed that a Place Alliance has the potential to advocate for places, above the competing interests of people, organisations and institutions who have a stake in them. In terms of what the Place Alliance might actually *do*, this was as far as consensus was reached. It was not agreed how and where this advocacy ought to occur, by whom (are members of the Alliance invited, appointed or voluntary?) to whom (the public, government, industry?) how the outcomes should be measured (in money, in well-being, in participation?) and then enshrined in what kind of policy (planning? economic? how do we control what developers build?). Discussions about the purpose of the Place Council for England were dominated by governance and funding. What struck me was the complete absence of questions about ethics and the human experience of place. These should surely be treated as fundamental, or at least not excluded from the conversation. Rather than discussing the administration and funding of a lobbying organization, it would be better to begin with ethical questions: What are places, who and what do they serve, what is their spatial structure, and how does that accommodate people and their lives? It is clear that we do not currently have appropriate tools to answer these questions, and this thesis has been my effort to rectify this problem.

In describing the depth structure of the high street I have revealed something which has previously been neglected; I have offered a set of ways to begin to measure, beyond monetary value, the whole urban culture. My study has been geographically limited to Tottenham, but the conceptual apparatus I have developed has much wider application, offering the key to understanding depth structure in locations far beyond Tottenham and London.

In conclusion to the work, I begin by stating my original contributions to knowledge, by synthesising my findings about depth into a coherent whole and clarifying the manner in which different urban topographies have the capacity to support different kinds of civic life. I then go on to discuss how understanding depth adds a useful dimension to existing literature, because depth is the context where social relationships, boundaries and relationships in a super-diverse context are played out. Depth structures are everywhere, permitting the coexistence of very different things in close proximity, enabling conviviality, as well as maintaining existing power relationships. Finally, I suggest ways in which my findings could be of use to existing urban policy in London, in giving a concrete shape for organisations such as the Place Alliance to work with and giving a way to avoid conceptualisations which flatten the richness of depth. Understanding the variation in the capacity of urban topographies to support civic life also gives a concrete set of reasons for directing development towards more depth, rather than less.

I describe how the methods used could be useful to other researchers, as a toolkit for revealing the structures of place. I offer a rough set of points of how designers and planners can seek depth in new developments. I finish by commenting on the limitations of this study, and what research could usefully come next.

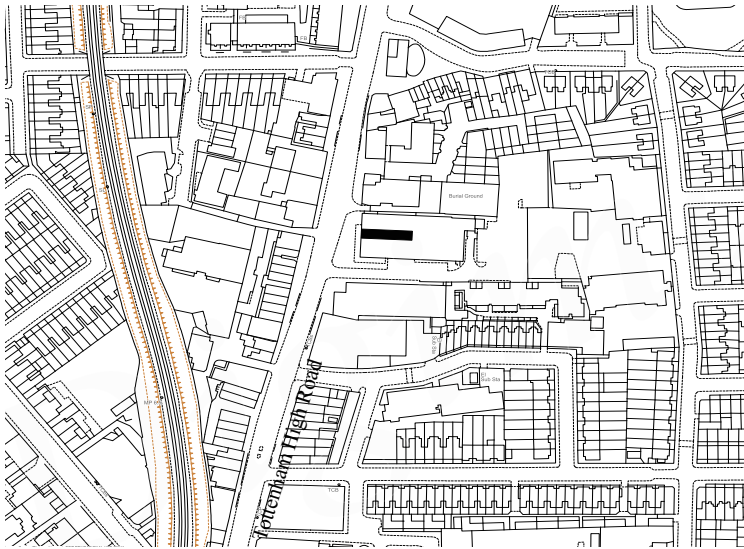
5.1 Main findings

I will begin with a synthesis of my observations about depth. Depth accommodates the diversity of civic life. The urban order of depth, and the depth of the urban order, is the layered organisation of places, publics, people, institutions and everything else of which a city is physically, socially and economically composed. A drawing of the key elements of depth, in Morrison Yard is in Figure 5.1.

Depth structures are patterns of human behaviour encoded in physical architecture. Human behaviour both shapes depth, since space is formed with certain behaviours in mind, and is shaped by depth. Praxis is shaped by the topography and architecture of depth, since human activity adapts itself to its context. In the case of the high street, this ordering is the result of the interaction between physical space, and two forces. The primary force is the economy (the free market economy, since we live in capitalism). The secondary force is the social behaviour of human beings. These are both embodied by and reproduced by the architecture and topography of the high street.

Depth is ordered in a characteristic manner in the lateral and vertical directions. The scale of this ordering ranges from the size of a room, to the size of a building, to the size of a block, and there is also an ordering which occurs at district and city scale. Physical depth contains the two characteristic social structures of differentiated publicness and simultaneous occupation. The extent to which depth exhibits these characteristic social structures, or becomes rich, depends on the nature of its architecture.

The various elements of the depth each have their own rhythm, linked both to the primordial conditions and the culture and habits of people. Parts which change more frequently (e.g. conversation) depend on those which change less frequently (e.g. architecture). Moreover, each part of physical and social depth depends on what is adjacent to it, both spatially and temporally. There is a rhythm of day and night which guides the opening and closing of shops and the occupation and emptying of houses. The ways we interpret the primordial conditions of light and dark; the temperatures of the changing seasons and how we respond to them; these are examples of cultural phenomena that are made concrete in the topography of the city. This topography is what gives the city its ethical power. It gives people freedom to be and to behave in certain ways, and it constrains them from being and behaving in others.

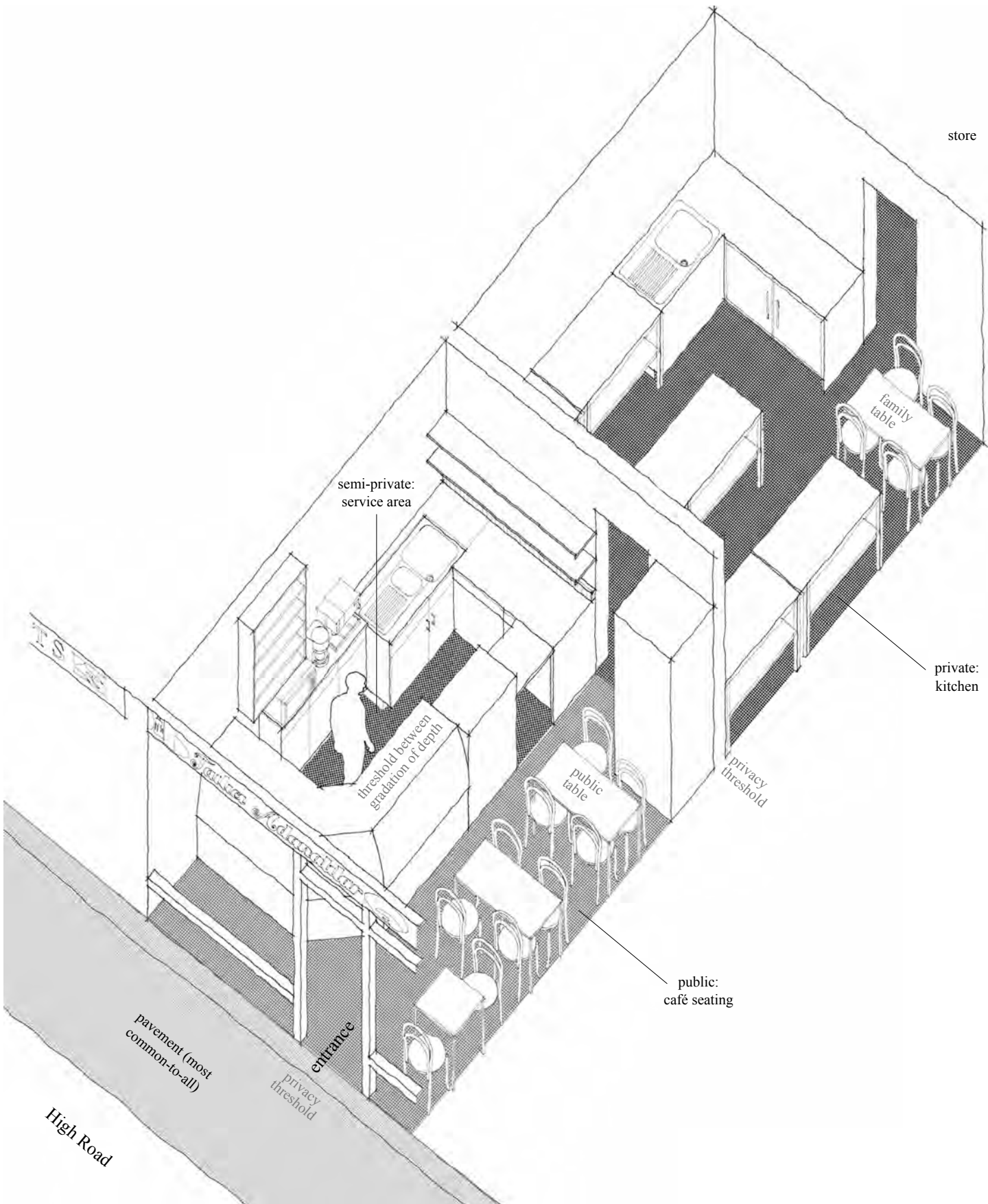
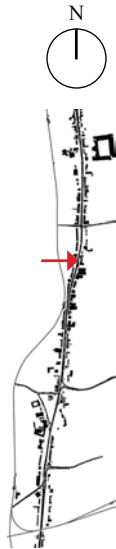


Block plan showing position of café in case study block



Photograph of the café, taken with my tea and baklava

Figure 5.2 Depth of the Turkish bakery in the case study block (drawn by Jane Clossick).



In Figure 5.2, I have shown the depth of a café in Tottenham where I rested and ate baklava in between taking research photographs. The café had a picture window through which one could see the activities outside, and has signage listing what is available. Trays of baklava are manufactured in the kitchen and delivered on foot by a member of staff to local shops, restaurants and for parties. The proprietor stands behind the counter and serves takeaway and eat-in food to customers. The things I hold in common with the proprietor allow us both to use the café; they allow us both to occupy the same space at the same time (although our purposes are different). The claims it lays are that we all follow the social rules of the setting; no-one brings in their own food, we are all wearing clothes and the lingua franca is English. The rules are different in different parts of depth, for different people. This drawing is included here as a final summary of the physical qualities of building depth in this typical example.

Depth and culture

In depth is distributed the great diversity of urban culture, from the most to the least common. This distribution is also a structure articulating cultural possibilities. As people move through their regular place ballet, some parts of physical depth are occupied by a larger range of people than others. Because this happens simultaneously in adjacent publics—in which the most public elements are more common-to-all, and the least public elements are least common-to-all—different human cultures can be accommodated in close proximity to one another, meeting and interacting in some of the more common parts, and being almost totally separate in other, less common parts. Most common-to-all are the natural conditions, of which urban topography is the most immediate manifestation as a structure of differentiation appropriate to the spectrum of public involvements. Particular settings respond to institutional horizons, which provide the conditions for freedom—to be noisy, hidden, pompous, loving, abusive etc., and to be a crowd, a large public, a small group within a larger public, intimate, with animals, etc. The resulting theatres of affordance for these possibilities rub up against each other. In general the more public situations are supported by the more private situations (which may be service conditions, like storage), always negotiating the manifestations of difference. This difference at city scale is very apparent between a residential street (where, as a visitor, the extent of one's involvement is peering in through people's gardens) and the shopping high street, where virtually anyone can disappear into the crowd, and become involved in public activities. Because this all happens at once, it is depth which allows the super-diversity of London to occur with very few problems and conflicts. Depth accommodates difference, and allows negotiations to occur.

Decisions about morally acceptable actions are situated in these urban topographies and are based in praxis (action-in-the-world). They are always the best we can do with the resources we have at a particular moment (Gadamer 1975). Inevitably, at higher levels of articulation (choice of dress, use of language, sexual partners) not all members of society will agree about

what is morally right, especially in vast and plural London. But at the more embodied levels the city itself expresses the shared ethical conditions by being the place that accommodates particular activities, ways of living and ways of interacting within which the more articulated moral choices can be made. Depth, therefore, also allows different groups of people to coexist in very close proximity, and for boundaries between groups to be crossed, in mutually (silently) agreed parts of depth. This is a powerful enabling background order, which (as I have said) allows inhabitants of a diverse city to coexist in spite of their cultural, moral and religious differences. This has a downside: it means that the most private realms are difficult to breach, so entrenched power-relations between different social groups are maintained by the depth structures. Yet at the same time as being a place where power relations are entrenched, the same 'hard to breach' depth structures also provide refuge for the most vulnerable: a place to find networks of mutual support. Specific place-cultures come into being in high street places as a result of movement of people, through both space and time, and they negotiate their conflicts or alliances in depth. Depth may be where power relations are played out, but it could also potentially be a place for power to build, following Appadurai's (2001) notion of deep democracy.

There are different kinds of participation in civic life. Some are voluntary (articulated) and some are involuntary (embodied). The urban topography provides the embodying conditions for the articulative possibilities (any setting has a mood or decorum attuned to its institutional character). The whole urban culture is both embodied and articulated. It is embodied in the relationship and interactions between the human body, natural conditions and the physical city, how the 'city gives a definite direction to nature' (Heidegger 1967, H.71; in Carl 2015, 13) and is articulated through movement, speech and gesture. This is the manner in which the city is the ethical interpretation of natural conditions. In the history of philosophy, Descartes' *ego cogitans* does not need the city to exist, but *dasein* cannot be without being in the world (Heidegger 1967). The whole urban culture of London provides the setting for people's understanding of who they are, how they are part of part of a collective, and how they find the dignity of being human.

Different amounts of depth support different kinds of civic life

The ethical conditions of the whole urban culture are embodied in the topography of the city itself. Different topographies, therefore, support different kinds of ethical order. A variety of historical and contemporary forces in London have produced two different types of urban topography: first, the organically grown depth around the high street, which came into being over a long period and in a piecemeal fashion; and second, the recent mixed-use, monothematic planning projects which are designed and built all at once. The goods found in the two types of topography can be compared (see Chapter 1, and the section 5.3 of this Conclusion), between how they empower or disempower people by allowing them to commit to different kinds of civic activities and relationships.

The hierarchy of embodied and articulated involvements, from windows to pavements to cups of tea, to smiles at strangers and conversations with friends, are what gives individuals sufficient consciousness of the shared ethical conditions of the whole urban culture to make moral decisions about their actions. The rich topography of depth is one which accommodates citizens as they live their lives to the fullest possible extent, engaging in everything involved in being human. It is a milieu of conflict, negotiation, accommodation and collaboration arising from the requirement of individuals or groups to balance their aspirations against their obligations or commitments to the anonymous civic whole. Ideally the aspirations correspond to the commitments, but are more likely to prevail as a tension between, for example, a need for customers and a desire to exploit them. What is possible for different people in different parts of depth is inextricably situated in places in the city, and can be articulated to different extents by different urban topographies. For example, a bench invites people to sit on it, a window invites people to look through it. One could accede to the institutions of justice or enact rough justice in an alley. This is not a wholly utopian picture of goodness, it includes latent violence which a proper democracy accommodates, at different levels. The depth of Tottenham High Road accommodates a potential for commitment to place for the people who live and work there which is profound, connected, continuous and therefore democratic.

Civic life involves both rights, such as the right of citizens to receive an education and be protected from harm from others, as well as responsibilities such voting, or avoiding harming others. There is civic participation (living in the city, using its services) and civic commitment (in which a person is embedded in a place through friends, family, work, ownership in a way which both uses the city and contributes to it). The topography and legal/ownership frameworks dictate what is and is not possible for different people, who have different amounts of resources of various kinds. Although there are agencies in place to enforce some of the more articulated rights and responsibilities (do not kill people or steal things), the vast majority are not enforced by the police or local authority. Instead, civic commitment is embodied in the ethical conditions provided by architecture's articulation of the urban topography. It is the engagement of a person with the society via embodied actions in the physical place in which society exists, the whole urban culture of the city.

Space for civic commitment and democracy

Earlier, I suggested that in Tottenham we see signs that a deep democracy is fledging in response to local conditions. Deep democracy requires venues for it to happen. The more venues, the more people have the potential to be involved (since all venues will be off-putting to someone or other) and the more different forms of political activity can take place (since different venues will facilitate different things). The 639 Centre is an official, planning project designed as a place potentially for politics, but does not work in the way that vernacular High Road publics

do, it seems more like a vehicle of persuasion or compulsion (and is more useful, therefore, for understanding the proprietor's position, than as a vehicle of spontaneous political debate). Vehicles of spontaneous political debate require a variety of ownerships and cultural types, scales, opening times, food on offer etc. The depth of Tottenham High Road contains thousands of these little slices of potential-for-commitment, and each could contribute to the network of deep democracy: churches, meeting halls, hair dressers, corner shops. They are already linked in a network through their emplacement and proximity, and the relationship between them is structured by the layered richness of depth. Understanding depth should offer mechanisms for understanding where the more powerful groups reside, and how the mechanisms they use could potentially be adapted to help less powerful groups. For this reason, understanding depth offers insights that are useful for participatory politics.

We need to rethink how we re-make the city, in these times of massive change and upheaval in London, making the economic criteria subject to the ethical ones—to ask what is possible for humans in different kinds of topography, and how we want people to be together.

5.2 Adding to existing literature about high streets

Existing literature has exposed much about high streets, but on the whole does not explore the richness of the depth which lies between the retail façade and the rest of the city. The general story told by the literature is that high streets are changing, but we do not really know why, and we do not really know if it is a good or a bad thing, although it is mostly presumed to be bad.

Observations made by other authors about high streets (that they are adaptable, sociable, persistent and so forth, as I discussed in the literature review in the introduction) can often be explained by the presence of a deep, hierarchical hinterland which contains a lot of civic life. Depth is obliquely present in many existing studies, in discussions about the networks of small places which support adaptability (Vaughan et al. 2010, 90) and in examinations of rhythm, temporality and in layering and overlapping of bounded spaces (S. Hall et al. 2014; S. Hall 2012; Lefebvre 2004). The latent presence of depth in the literature reflects its latent presence in the city, as an underlying physical and ontological structure, often not visible externally. In this study, my rich description of the depth around the high street adds a thicker and more nuanced understanding of the physical and social order of the high street and offers a way to answer questions about some of its more mysterious aspects.

A big problem in the literature is the incapacity to measure the value of high streets, and measure the success of schemes implemented to save them. Existing measures focus on economic vitality and viability. My work offers a way to measure what is there more concretely: who and what is in the depth of the blocks adjacent to high streets? It does not, sadly, solve the

problem of the cost of this type of research, it would still be expensive for local authorities to carry out, at least in the first instance.

One of the most significant things the existing literature says is that high streets are physically, socially and economically adaptable. I have vindicated this finding and added to it by describing the physical and social structures which produce adaptability. Different parts of depth change at different rates, and this links the constant change of the high street with the basic, natural conditions of earth. The adaptability of depth also means that cultural, usage, sound, and all kinds of other differences can be accommodated in very close proximity to one another. They do overlap in some places, and do not in others. In exposing the characteristics of depth structure as *gradation of publicness* and *simultaneity*, the physical characteristics and decorum of the structure of adaptability of the high street are clearer, and can be understood and worked with, by designers.

There are lots of ideas in the literature about high streets concerning what should be done to prevent their decline. Carmona (2014, 54) recommends intensification of high street hinterlands, making use of underutilised buildings and land. This is effectively the intensification of depth. My work has shown that depth must be both physically and bureaucratically available in order to become rich in this manner. It has also shown, however, that the intensification of high street cannot include too much housing, particularly not at ground floor level, because this is the end of adaptability and reduces the amount of public/civic life adjacent to the most well used routes.¹ This echoes the arguments of the Adaptable Suburbs project at UCL (2014) but adds a layer of detail to their understanding, beyond the rhythms of the movement network. They have made a very coherent and well-evidenced argument for why understanding and respecting the relative significance of different routes on the network is important for maintaining high street adaptability. My work adds to this, describing in detail how depth structures are created and maintained.

Some authors (S. Hall 2011, 2586; Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 36, 57) suggest that to sustain some high streets, general stewardship of the whole street needs to occur, like in Marylebone. This model perhaps would maintain the appearance of the high street through giving low rents to shops of cultural value, keeping everything tidy and aesthetically pleasing. These kinds of projects have also taken place in Tottenham, with Haringey Council's £500k Hornsey High Street Regeneration Project (Haringey Council 2015b). But understanding depth demonstrates that the development of an arterial road into a high street, and the emergence of depth, are reciprocal processes. When an arterial road becomes a high street that we would all recognise as such, it is because its depth has become rich and complex with overlapping uses. The presence

¹ This is only true in the case of new builds with minimum space and height standards. Pre-modern London town houses are the essence of adaptability, as discussed in Chapter 2.

of shops at the front of the depth structure is related to what is happening behind. To replicate the appearance of the civic city without the depth—as some historicist or aesthetic approaches would suggest—is therefore both literally and metaphorically superficial, resulting in the bizarre practice of retaining old building façades while eliminating all other elements which make these spaces work for human activity. But what people want when they retain Victorian or Georgian façades is the kind of city that they represent. This is the kind of city which actually exists in the richness of depth.

The understanding of depth in this thesis is useful generally for social and economic theory, because it describes in detail the physical settings around high streets in the UK where human interactions of all kinds take place. I have extensively explored this topic in the final substantive chapter, and examined the significance of depth for Cosmopolitan theory, Space Syntax and political involvement. Understanding depth is significant at every scale, because even large scale economic flows, or statistical measures, are composed of individuals operating in the real world, with relationships with other people, in real places. Nothing can be divorced from the actual world, and the human world is built by people. The range of applications I have shown for depth theory demonstrates that knowledge of depth is significant, because it is the place where lots of other things happen. It hosts the embodied conditions for praxis—and that is everything human beings ever do. In general, the emphasis upon concreteness reveals orders to which the grand generalisations are blind, and the more ‘primitive’ embodying conditions are that upon which the more abstract descriptions depend for their credibility.

5.3 Implications for policy

This thesis has demonstrated that some topographies have richer depth than others, and this means we are now in a position to judge what kind of approach policy-makers should be taking for high streets. The Wards Corner development will erase the rich depth which has emerged in the existing High Road market over time. As S. Hall (2014) observed in Peckham Rye, the ability to rent a stylist’s chair by the hour, while the proprietor of the salon provides the infrastructure (heat, light, venue), gives people access to economic commitment with a very small capital set-up cost. At the same time, deep cultural connections through friendship, family, shared values and ethnicity are potentially part of the deal. This is a situated socio-economic institution that relies on a particular type of tenure and types of buildings to be available. There is a deep civic commitment offered by the stepping-stone from stylist’s chair, to gathering a client/friend base, living locally, gathering local knowledge and discussing it with people with whom one works, befriends and serves.

The goods in the proposed landscape at Seven Sisters are not really comparable with the goods that exist there now. Tidiness, more expensive shops, and a different clientele will

be gained; but depth and the potential for depth will be lost, and as a consequence so too will local family and social commitment, local culture and the ability for people of all social groups to negotiate over this place. Many people's access both to a social and economic life will be reduced. The depth which accommodates more marginal activities and cultures will be taken away from the High Road, and will have to find another place to go: in particular, the migration to peripheral industrial estates of SMEs destroys the fruitful links with local civic life—the potential for crossing of boundaries between social groups is lost. Of course it is possible to imagine that a council would prefer a passive consumer culture over a rich political one, with which negotiation would be required.

To ameliorate this problem in policy, a fruitful first step would be to use language in a very clear and non-jargonistic manner. Depth is often obscured by conceptualising language, both written and visual, in which rich urban phenomena are reduced to concepts divorced from concrete realities of the city. *Well-being, community, retail unit, footfall*. Using words like *retail unit* removes all of the situational connotations of the word *shop* and renders it placeless; *footfall* suggests that feet might make their own way to the high street, leaving the people who are usually attached to them behind. The word *space* is also used frequently by architects and others as a catch-all term for all places. Parks, markets and high streets are *public space* (e.g. Dines et al. 2006, Watson, Studdert, and Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2006). Hall describes her caff and her tailor's as *space*, and also uses it to describe the overlapping social worlds of migrants (Hall 2009b, 81).

Space does not acknowledge the richness of concrete places in which actions have, and are given meaning, for people. Where the universe of available truth about the high street is an economic one, an empty shop is a void, because it has no other characteristics that might serve to fill it up (or about which other types of truth can be known). It is clear from this study that understanding depth properly, without conceptual generalisation or simplification, is necessary to understand the nature of the problem, which something like Farrell's Place Alliance aims to address. Understanding depth may include descriptions in spoken and written language, but drawings are also very important.



Figure 5.3 Photograph of Tomás O'Sullivan, taken in Hackney (by Jane Clossick).

The toolkit for achieving depth for designers & planning policy-makers

The toolkit for achieving depth by policy-makers and architects is threefold: firstly, identifying it and understanding it. Secondly, designing new bits of city in a way which works with it, not against it. Finally, providing and tending to the kind of civic architecture in which it can develop and thrive.

In terms of the first goal, I have demonstrated ways of identifying and understanding depth in this study. I have described its characteristic structures, how they come into being, and how they are maintained by everyday praxis of people on high streets. I have examined and interpreted normative praxis using a mixed range of ethnographic and architectural methods. To make judgements about the relative merits of different types of urban topography, urban culture must be understood as a whole. That does not mean that I have examined every inch of Tottenham High Road in minute detail. Instead I conducted a hermeneutic interpretation of praxis, in which I have examined a few typical high street situations, and interpreted what I found there, with myself always present and central. These methods, which were generated through my own praxis (of which I have also conducted multiple interpretations), offered a means of accessing the richness of the structure of communication between the primordial conditions and the phenomena I personally experienced on Tottenham High Road. How people occupy depth will be different in different cultural contexts, but I suspect similar structures are present wherever one finds human beings. Having tested lots of methods, an effective and relatively quick and cheap method is to identify fragments of typicality, as I did with the case study block near Bruce Grove on Tottenham High Road, and examine them in detail. Although doing this is more expensive than doing nothing at all, perhaps in light of this work the expense will be justified, because rich depth has been shown to be so important for maintaining the high street's adaptability. A couple of methods I have used could easily be used by local authorities: first, concentrating detailed study on a few slices (i.e. particular blocks of the high street); second, simply making a map of where potential depth is along the high street, so that it could be designated as protected from housing development. The same probably applies to industrial areas too, but that is beyond the scope of this study.

The second part of the toolkit for achieving depth is to provide an architecture in which it will come into being. A key finding is that in order to become rich and complex, filled with civic, non-residential activities, the depth of the block must be physically accessible. If the depth of blocks adjacent to a high street get filled in with buildings which are not adaptable to change, then the high street loses its key quality of adaptability. But in London at present land values are so high that the complexity of ownership and tenure which has to an extent protected high streets from regeneration is now being overridden. This is the real nub of the problem. I think that if people in general understood depth, they would be a lot less bothered about cosmetic

matters which are in fact inessential, like trying to preserve historic façades. Rather, our energy should be directed to preserving and extending the richness of our high streets' depth. Where depth can become rich, humans are enabled to become more human, and better than we are in places where depth is lost.

So, what does architecture which supports rich depth look like?

- It is adaptable: it can be changed and subdivided easily. Its floor to ceiling dimensions are sufficiently tall, front to back dimensions sufficiently deep, and it has enough light penetration to accommodate change of use in different parts.
- The depth of the block is accessible from a public street, both for people and vehicles, so it has the capacity to become richer, and for more buildings to be built in the depth of the block.
- The depth includes the provision of yards or gardens, so buildings and access can take place inside the block. This is crucial, because depth can accommodate even high-rise buildings, or such things as the Bernie Grant arts centre, as well as industry.
- It acknowledges the transition between common-to-all and common-to-some, by having the front door at the front. It faces outwards, with the more public parts in the most public places, and the more private areas at the back and/or on a different level.
- It respects parts of the street network which are most well connected, and does not attempt to divert people to a different major route. It works with the existing network of routes, rather than against it.

These points are rules of thumb. They are not a fail-safe pattern-book for the creation of city, because what depth looks like in different situations and contexts varies so widely. Yet they are a lot more useful than the existing, amorphous suggestions about stewardship, façade retention or physical character. The beginning-point must always be to understand and work with what is there already, using the types of methods I have described above.

In addition to physical characteristics, rich depth also has legal characteristics. Its ownership and tenure is fragmented, and therefore accessible to people with little money, as well as to those with lots of money. Access into the more common-to-all parts of depth requires money, but access into the least common-to-all parts requires resources of different kinds: the ability to speak particular languages, for example. The key characteristic of rich depth is that residential use is occasional, and not dominant, and tightly integrated with other uses.

The threat to rich depth in London by the difference in land values between residential and employment land cannot be underestimated. In 2015, permitted development rights which allow offices and light industrial space to be converted to residential without planning permission are a great threat to the richness of depth. Strategic Industrial Locations are designated for industry, and need must be demonstrated at the mayoral level for non-industrial uses to be built there.

There is no such equivalent planning designation for high streets (although Town Centres are designated). I propose that there ought to be a Strategic High Street Location designation, for at least one block each side of all the London high streets which were identified by UCL and Gort Scott in *High Street London* (2010). In these High Street Locations, only certain types of room and structures of connectivity will be permitted. In addition, the exclusions implied by present planning categories inhibit hybrids, such as living in a workshop. In High Street Locations these should no longer be inhibited, but the primary use must be non-residential. All ground floor units should be accessible from the main road or side roads, and have parking and access for vehicles of different sizes inside the blocks. Where ground floor accommodation can never become residential, its exchange value would be capped. This could then help to reverse the trend whereby high streets have gradually lost their population of appropriate and diverse types types of building, as has been seen (for example) on the A10 around Hoxton. Capping the disproportionate financial rewards of inappropriate residential developments will help ease pressure on this type of space, allow values to stabilize, and enable these streets to be repopulated. If the designation was so strict as to never allow any solely-residential uses at ground floor level within one block of the high street, then values and rental prices should drop or stabilise. Even if they do not, subdivisions in the way described by Suzi Hall should allow, even in the most expensive places, participation by the least well off.

This is not to say that no more housing should be built in London. Within reason, there shouldn't be any restrictions on height (provided it doesn't affect the experience at ground level by, for example, increasing wind speeds). Cities such as Florence, Venice, Berlin, Paris historically have rich and complex depth in their urban blocks, with stacks of residential up to four or five storeys above. Indeed, the same is true of some areas of London, such as Soho (shown below in Figure 5.4). This could easily be the future shape of London's high streets. In addition, existing residential areas of London tend to be extremely low rise, and a huge amount of additional housing could be built in if the height was to rise by a storey or two across the city.

There are also, however, pockets of non-residential use scattered in among residential areas, and these should have a similar treatment to high streets. With only non-residential uses permitted in the ground and first floors. They could still have housing built above, but should continue to house light industrial uses on the ground and first floors. If London is going to accommodate millions more people, as predicted by long term forecasts (GLA Economics 2014, 7), then we also need to service the population with civic infrastructures; the high street, and similar places, are the best places for that.



Figure 5.4 'Old Compton Street - Soho London' (source: Frank Bialkowski 2016, reproduced with kind permission).

Limitations of the study & recommendations for further research

This thesis is only about high streets and all the data was collected on one high street: Tottenham High Road. I have generalised about London high streets from my research on Tottenham, and this is a clear limitation. In addition, the data focussed on the high street, but London is composed of many other types of urban institution—industrial estates, for example, or swathes of residential streets. I quickly discovered over the course of this study (which started out as a study of the whole of the A10) that I would have to focus on something very geographically limited, in order to be capable of properly understanding the modalities of depth. There is also a limited amount of work one can fit into a doctoral thesis. But a sound reason to start small is that depth manifests itself very differently in different places, and the architect must therefore pay serious attention to the details of particular depth structures. As a result, it is study of a relatively tiny part of London.

As I have discussed in the final chapter, describing depth, and deepening the world available for discussion in literature and policy, is nonetheless very useful. The work also paves the way for seeking depth in other places and for other urban institutions. I recommend that the next steps for researchers are to use some of the methods I have used to give a shape to depth in other places—other cities with different histories, other countries with different political and legal institutions, other urban structures within London. It also paves the way for a more informed critical discussion about proposed planning projects. We can ask: do they foster the formation of rich depth? Do they work with depth structures, rather than against them? The policy proposals I have outlined work within our existing planning and market driven system in the UK, and there is certainly room for a broader discussion about the potential for state-led development, which I have not covered here.

I cannot stress enough that this thesis is not a nostalgic plea to maintain Tottenham High Road, or any London high street, exactly as it is now—or as it was fifty years ago. This is the kind of thinking that has led to the preservation of façades, along with the loss of depth. The world is changing, and it is changing quickly, this must be acknowledged and the inherent adaptability of high street depth must be allowed to adapt to changing economic conditions. We need more housing in London, we need more places for businesses in London. Nevertheless, people and the fundamentals of human nature are not changing. So it is very important to acknowledge the importance of depth in forming the ethical conditions for action, and therefore working with its structures in new development. That will help protect us from losing the convivial plurality so valuable to London. And it might also open up some of the opportunities I have touched upon for developing a real, deep, embedded democracy in our cities.

Conclusion: ethical urban order

Let us return to where I began this conclusion: the Place Alliance. The importance of *place* is starting to come to the fore in policy and academia. In the *Farrell Review* (Farrell Review Team 2014), as well as place being an ordinary word, it is an acronym: Planning, Landscape, Architecture, Conservation, Engineering, as the outline structure of a toolkit for understanding and dealing with place. The possibilities for place-acronyms are almost endless and I fundamentally disagree with the abstraction of the word place. A place is not a concept. A place a concrete thing in a particular location and geography.

Place-making is such a hot topic that there is even a place-making MA available at the Bartlett. According to the UCL website, to learn how to place-make, you need a combination of innate creativity and a set of analytical skills and to bring these together to propose ‘creative place-making solutions in a complex urban context’ (The Bartlett School of Planning 2014). The sort of knowledge which cannot be gathered ‘analytically’ is all gathered up into something called ‘innate creativity’ and alluded to by the mention of ‘complex urban context’. Creativity seems to be about creating something completely new, plucked from nowhere. But architectural and urban creativity are not like that. It is not about generation of form in a vacuum, it is about the use of an architect or designers’ tacit knowledge about human existence, and how this takes place in the physical world—their knowledge of depth. Development-led ‘regeneration’ is *not* the best we can do.

In his extensive history of place in modern and ancient philosophical thought, Casey (1997) argued that space has subsumed place since the Enlightenment, when it disappeared from philosophical thought. This was contemporary with the invention of the scientific method, and Heidegger correlated the mind/body split with the rise of the Western tradition of natural science (Heidegger 1977). Although phenomenological and hermeneutic philosophy holds ‘there’ (the ‘da’ of ‘da-sein’) central to the understanding characteristic of being-in-the-world (Heidegger 1967; later characterised as the strife/agon of earth and world in Heidegger 2002, first published 1950) it was Merleau-Ponty who properly developed the nature of the claims upon freedom enacted by contexts through bodily involvement (Merleau-Ponty 2002). Gadamer articulated the scope of Heideggerian hermeneutics (understanding as interpretation) in terms of the deep conditions of tradition and in terms of the commitments of praxis and its judgements (Gadamer 1975 Section 2, II). Moreover, in his preliminary sketch of the work of hermeneutics, using the ontology of play, tragic drama and the work of art, he argues the importance of mediation in architectural order, a term which effectively characterizes what we have been calling urban topography and its structure of differentiation (Gadamer 1975, II). In his later works, Heidegger suggested that the process of dwelling is less the provision of buildings than orientation in reality (1971). The civic city depends on the people and their relationships with

each other, in places. Accommodating deep democracy and civic commitment through urban depth is not something which can be achieved through aesthetically ornamented volumes for profit, delivered by developers (and their often cynical processes of consultation). This thesis has been an effort to reunite the mind and body in the concrete places in the city.

I have established where the collective common ground of difference lies between people in the civic context, how any situation in all its richness makes claims upon them, or conditions their freedom. Places in the city embody the institutional order, by which norms are maintained and affective (even in violation). Concrete examination of the city like this thesis is a fruitful way of understanding and making judgements about the ethical order, yet it is at complete odds with the way we generally try to understand, build and plan our cities, driven by political and economic, as opposed to ethical forces. The understanding in this thesis offers a way of examining existing studies about high streets, and the planning projects to which they are subjected, to find where they may be deficient, and suggests a counterposition to the commonly found flattened sociological/economic account. Instead, it is about fostering the capability of the urban structure to moderate and organise the inevitable competition between the different interests of groups and individuals in civic society. It is tempting to focus civic questions solely on the economy or economic metaphors for the myriad forms of ‘exchange’ (Hayek 1988), in lieu of political praxis. But urban structure is also composed of all kinds of other institutions which contribute to the negotiation of conflict. Measuring the non-economic value of places is difficult or impossible, so the success of any Place Alliance should focus on the extent to which a place enables the participation and commitment-to-place of the people who inhabit it, in depth. It should be embedded in a network of actual places—the physically located conflicts and reciprocities between businesses, councils, churches, clubs, and international corporations—but also in the dirt, the bin collections, the piss on the street.

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Appendix

1. Interview participants

Each of the people featured here was contacted individually to ask if they were happy to have their photograph and a short biography featured in this thesis. Each also received a copy of the thesis in draft form, with their own quotations marked, so that they could check they were happy both with their own words, and with my interpretation of their words.

There were further interviewees who either I could not contact, or who did not wish to be named. These people have been made anonymous in the thesis text. Names and other key details have been changed.



Megan Beck

Megan is an English woman in her early 30s who, when I interviewed her in her flat 2014, lived in Tottenham with her partner Tom, although they moved to Falmouth in 2015.

Megan is an artist, designer and a teacher in the post-compulsory, adult and community sectors. She has taught art and design to young people in Tottenham at the College of Haringey, Enfield and North East London and to adults in Waltham Forest at the Community Learning and Skills Service.

Megan was the founding director of Make-Room, an arts organisation set up with the aim of creating an accessible contemporary arts venue in Tottenham. Make-Room was an experimental platform for the production and exhibition of contemporary art by local, national and international artists, and provided opportunities for young people to engage with contemporary art by working with local schools, colleges and community groups. They set up the Tottenham Living Archive in an empty shop on Broad Lane, collecting stories and artefacts from people who passed by, and hosting community events.

I got in touch with Megan when I saw the shop on Broad Lane, and contacted her to discuss her work.



Vincent (Chris) Dyke

Chris is a man of Jamaican descent, in his mid 30s, who owns and runs the White Hart Lane Jerk Centre. Chris now lives in Tottenham Hale and has lived there for five years (in 2016). He grew up in Edmonton. He has a strong network of friends and family in Tottenham and Edmonton, and talked at length about the 'black community', particularly around West Green Road. He said, however, that most of his friends and family who live in Tottenham would prefer to move out, and indeed some of them may be forced to if prices in Tottenham get any higher.

Chris used to work in his uncle's bakery further down the High Road before starting his own Caribbean takeaway food business with the same name. There are three Jerk Centres in Tottenham.

His shop is under threat from the High Road West redevelopment, although he is a leaseholder and is expecting a compensation payout.

I met Chris while I was undertaking the survey of Tottenham High Road, and we sat and had our interview in his shop. He had to leave our conversation every now and again to serve customers, who were a mixture of ethnicities.

Chris preferred not to have his photo taken although was happy for me to use his name.



Nurcan and Joe Culleton

Nurcan (Nur) Culleton is a woman in her 40s, married to Joe. Nur is of Turkish descent although she was born in the UK and grew up in Islington.

Nur works as an inspector of health and social care establishments in eight different local services in Haringey. She is a keen member of the Quakers, which she has been attending for around eight years, and is also a member of the Tottenham Choir.

Joe is an Irish man, from Wicklow, in his mid 40s. He is retired due to ill health, and is now in charge of looking after his two children while his wife, Nur, works outside the home. Prior to becoming a full time parent, Joe was a senior manager in Islington Council, responsible for a range of environmental services, particularly refuse and recycling management.

They have lived in Bruce Grove for 12 years (in 2016), and in Tottenham for 17 years. Prior to that they lived in Hertford, and commuted to London for work. They have two children, a girl in her early teens and an older boy.

Joe is very involved in local community activities, particularly as a governor of Park View Community School. He also participates in local clubs and neighbourhood organisations, as one of the 'backers and the motivators of the people who do the legwork'.

Both Joe and Nur are committed to the local area, having had their younger daughter in Tottenham. Through neighbourhood ties, the children's schools and community groups they have a large network of people that they know. They have particularly strong ties with the people who live on their street, Elmhurst Road, and they collectively organise an annual street party.

I met Nur when I started attending Quaker meetings, and got chatting to her about what I was up to. I interviewed them in their house in 2012, and Joe kindly cooked me dinner. It was the first time I had tasted roasted cauliflower and I highly recommend it: delicious.





Paul Head

When I interviewed him in 2012, Paul was the principal of the college of Haringey, Enfield and North East London (CHENEL), but Paul very sadly passed away in 2014 after a long illness. Paul gave his spoken permission for me to identify him in this thesis during our interview.

Paul lived in Crouch End, in the west side of the borough of Haringey with his family. He was principal of CHENEL from 2009 and was principal of its predecessor the College of North East London, since 2002. He also sat on the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills' ministerial advisory group on guns, gangs and knives and was a key member of the Tottenham Task Force after the 2011 riots. He also worked with other groups on sensitive issues such as the prevention of violent extremism and police and community relations.

Before his appointment in further education Paul worked for 15 years in higher education as a senior manager, lastly at Thames Valley University.

I was introduced to Paul by another interviewee, Bill Guy (whose words do not appear in this thesis), who after our interview kindly took me into the college and helped me arrange an interview with Paul.



Oya Kurtuldu

Oya is a woman of Turkish Cypriot descent who is in her early 40s. Her family came to the UK from Cyprus in the 1960s, and she was born in London. She is married, and lives in Enfield. She has three children, two older daughters in their late teens and twenties, and one younger daughter.

Oya has lived around Haringey and Enfield all her life, and has always worked in Tottenham, where a majority of her friends and family also live. Oya has a solid network of local contacts, and is close to her extended family (her cousin also runs a business in Tottenham). She runs Crazy Cut salon on the High Road near Bruce Grove, a family business where one of her daughters, her sister and her cousin also work. She started her training at Crazy Cut in 1985, and worked there on and off until 2010, when she bought and took over the running of the salon from her friend.

I interviewed Oya in the kitchen of her salon one afternoon in the summer of 2014, while I was undertaking the survey of the High Road.



Derek Lewis

Derek is an English man in his late 60s who was born and brought up in Tottenham, and has always lived within sight of the local football ground. He is married with a son, who lives in Enfield and a daughter. His daughter lives in Harlow with Derek's son-in-law and grandchildren.

When I interviewed him in 2014, Derek had worked at H. Glickman Hardware Ltd. on Tottenham High Road (near White Hart Lane) since he began there as an apprentice, more than 50 years before, when he was 13 years old. The Glickman family opened the hardware store in January 1932, and they ran it until 1998 when Mr. Glickman senior retired, and Derek took over.

Derek has now also retired and H. Glickman Hardware closed in July 2015. About 15 years ago he bought a bungalow in Bournemouth, has now retired there with his wife.

Derek has many hobbies including fishing, model railways, and gardening and was an active member of his local church in Tottenham. He has a strong network of links with friends through the church in Tottenham, but all his family have left Tottenham, or have passed away, with the exception of his son in Enfield. They chose Bournemouth because many of the people they have known from Tottenham have moved there.



Anne Lippitt

Anne is an English woman in her 50s who I was put in contact with when I emailed Haringey Council seeking an interviewee. She grew up in Haringey as a small child, although now lives in a different part of London.

When I spoke to her, she was Project Director for Regeneration in Tottenham charged with leading recovery work following riots of 2011, including achieving redevelopment of damaged sites and supporting local businesses. Anne is a town planner by profession, with many years working in the public sector of which 25 years in senior management roles, including as head of various services and also at director level. She has been involved in a range of regeneration projects, including Kings Cross in the early 90s, Cricklewood in the early 2000s and in the last ten years various schemes in the London Boroughs of Southwark and Haringey (Tottenham up to the beginning of 2013).

I interviewed Anne during the spring of 2012 in a meeting room in Haringey Town Hall, in Wood Green.



Daniel Martinez

Daniel owns a butcher's business Carniceria Martinez, situated at the back of Seven Sisters Market. It is a family business which Daniel runs alongside his mother, father, siblings and cousins.

He is a man in his early 30s, of Colombian descent, who moved to Tottenham with his family as a young child. He now lives in Hertfordshire, and drives to work in Tottenham every morning very early. He is married, with two young children (and one more on the way in 2016) who are often to be seen running about in the market.

He has a strong network of Colombian friends and family in Tottenham, largely centred on Seven Sisters Market. Daniel is bilingual, and conducts most of his business in Spanish. He imports meats from Latin America, as well as manufacturing chorizo and other specialist meat products.

I interviewed Daniel with my colleague Myfanwy Taylor during 2014, while we were seeking information for the Stickyworld consultation for the Wards Corner Community Plan. We spoke in the juice bar in Seven Sisters, surrounded by the chatter of Daniel's colleagues, friends and family.



Henry Paz

Henry is the manager of Seven Sisters Indoor Market, and has been for roughly 11 years. Before he became the manager, he was the caretaker at the market, a job offered to him by a friend while he was working as a courier, because the market manager needed a caretaker who could speak good English, as well as Spanish. He acts as translator and mediator between the traders and the owners of the market.

Henry is a man in his 40s who was born in Colombia, moved to London around twenty years ago and studied at London Guildhall University.

He has always lived in North London. When he first arrived in the UK he lived in Newington Green, then moved to Crouch End, then Edmonton, then Islington. He now lives with friends in a flat above Seven Sisters Market, and occupying the flat is part of his role as market manager.

I met Henry with Myfanwy Taylor, when we were collecting feedback for the Stickyworld consultation of the Wards Corner Community Plan. Myfanwy and I interviewed him in his office in Seven Sisters market.



Patricia Pearcy

Patricia is an English woman in her early 60s who was born in London and has owned a chain of pharmacies in Tottenham for more than twenty years. She has lots of local business and personal contacts because she has run her business in Tottenham for such a long time.

She is a founding and highly active member of the Tottenham Businesses Group, a coalition of businesses in the High Road West development area who are fighting plans by Haringey Council to demolish their shops on the High Road. Patricia feels very badly treated by Haringey Council, and very upset that her business is under threat from redevelopment, which she sees as unnecessary.

I met Patricia through the Our Tottenham Local Economy Working Group, and interviewed her about the Tottenham Business Group, her business experiences and her thoughts about the High Road in early summer 2014. We had our meeting in KitapEvi restaurant on the High Road.



Abigail Stevenson

Abigail is a Welsh woman in her mid 30s who lives and works in Tottenham. She lives in a warehouse in Fountayne Road, and has lived there for more than ten years. She has a strong network of friends in and around Tottenham.

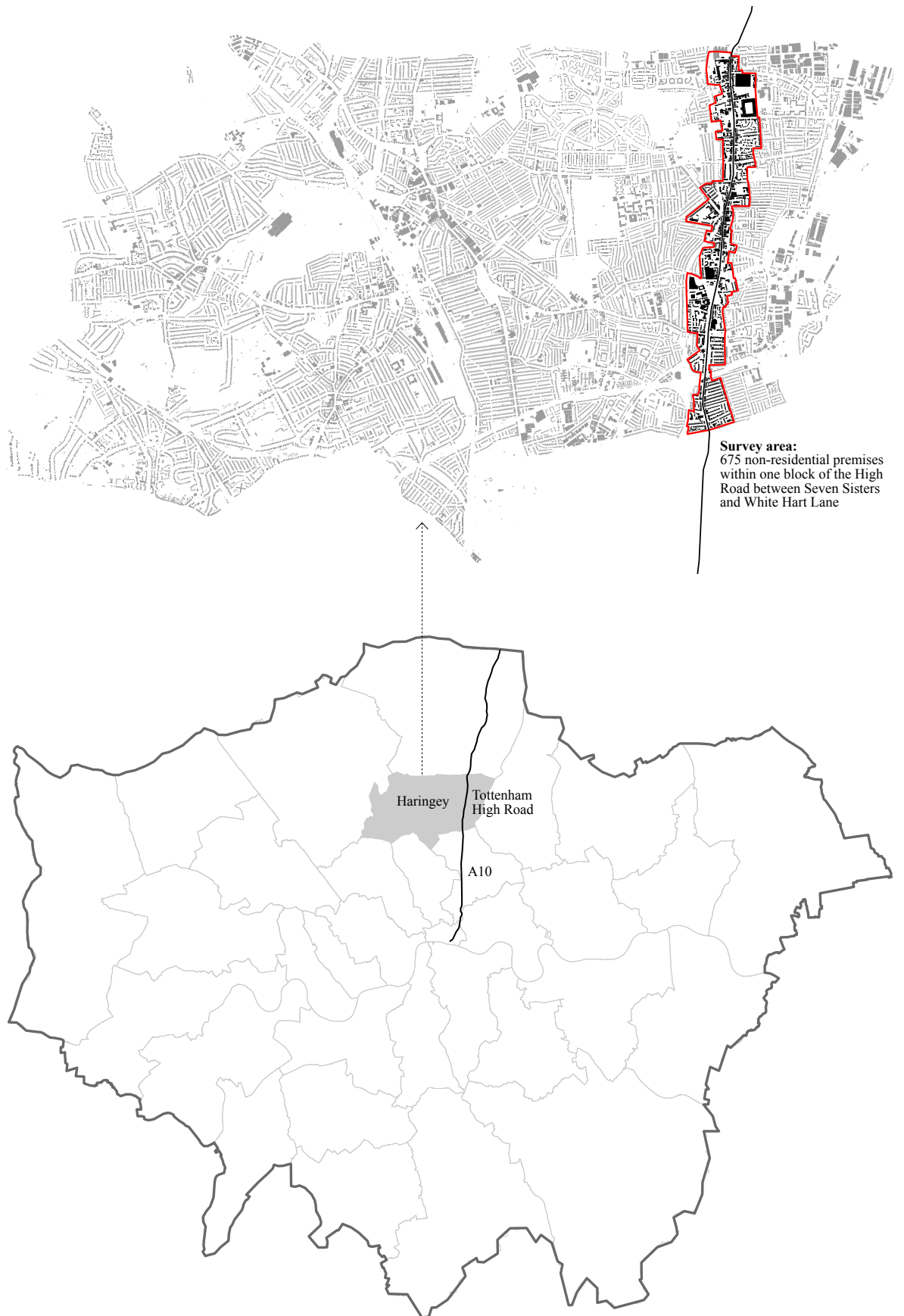
She is an architectural designer, and trained at the Centre for Alternative Technology in Wales. She is a specialist in sustainable construction, and particularly interested in empowering communities through architecture and the process of collaborative building. She runs Architectural Design and is project leader at The Community Energy Lab, with statutory funding received from Haringey Councils 40:20 Community Fund. She is also very active in the Wards Corner Community Coalition.

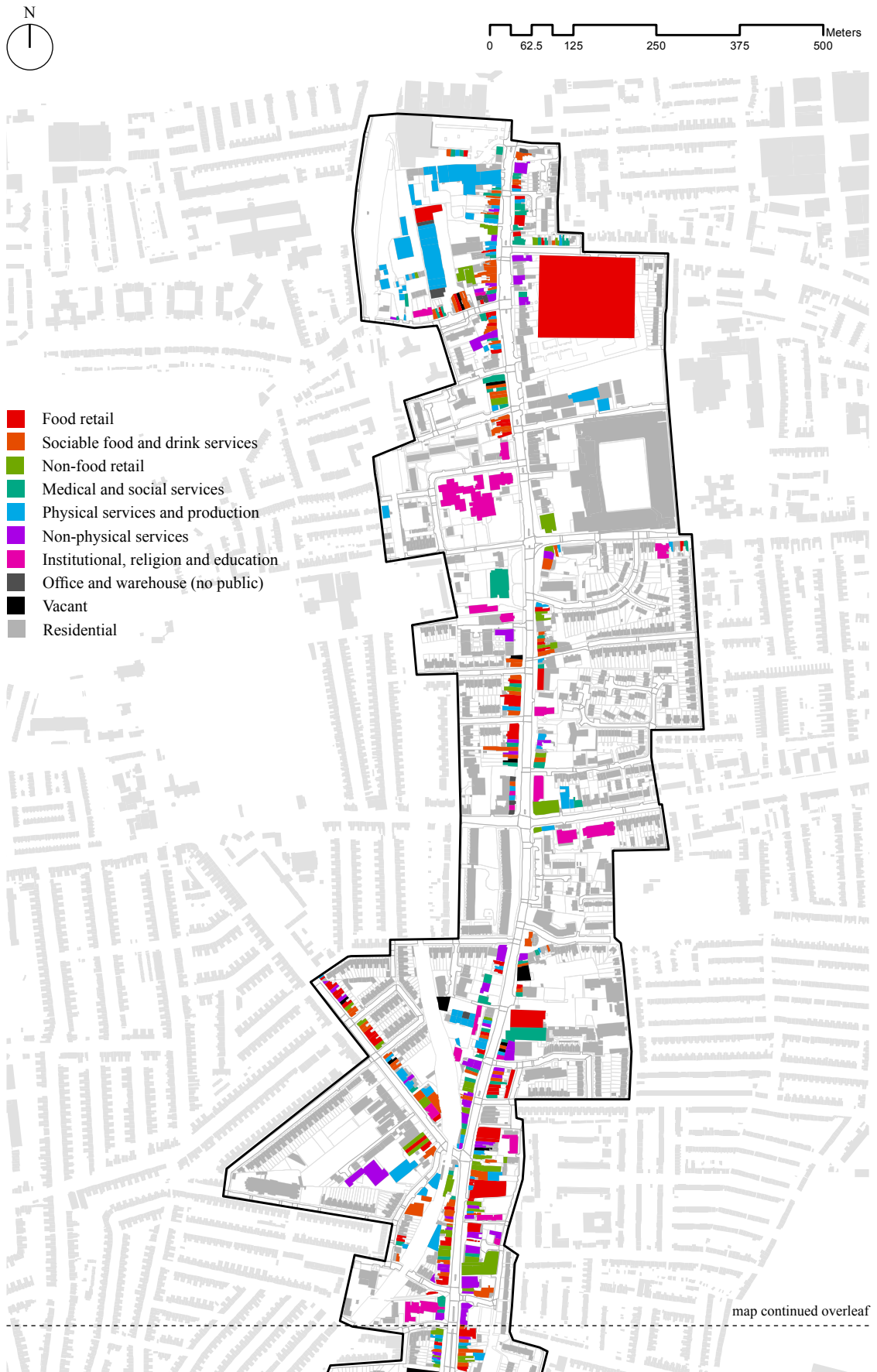
Abigail was the architectural designer who put together the (WCC) *Community Plan* for Seven Sisters Market, an alternative option to Grainger's proposal, and continues to be instrumental in the project (which has now moved into a phase of setting up a Development Trust or Community Land Trust).

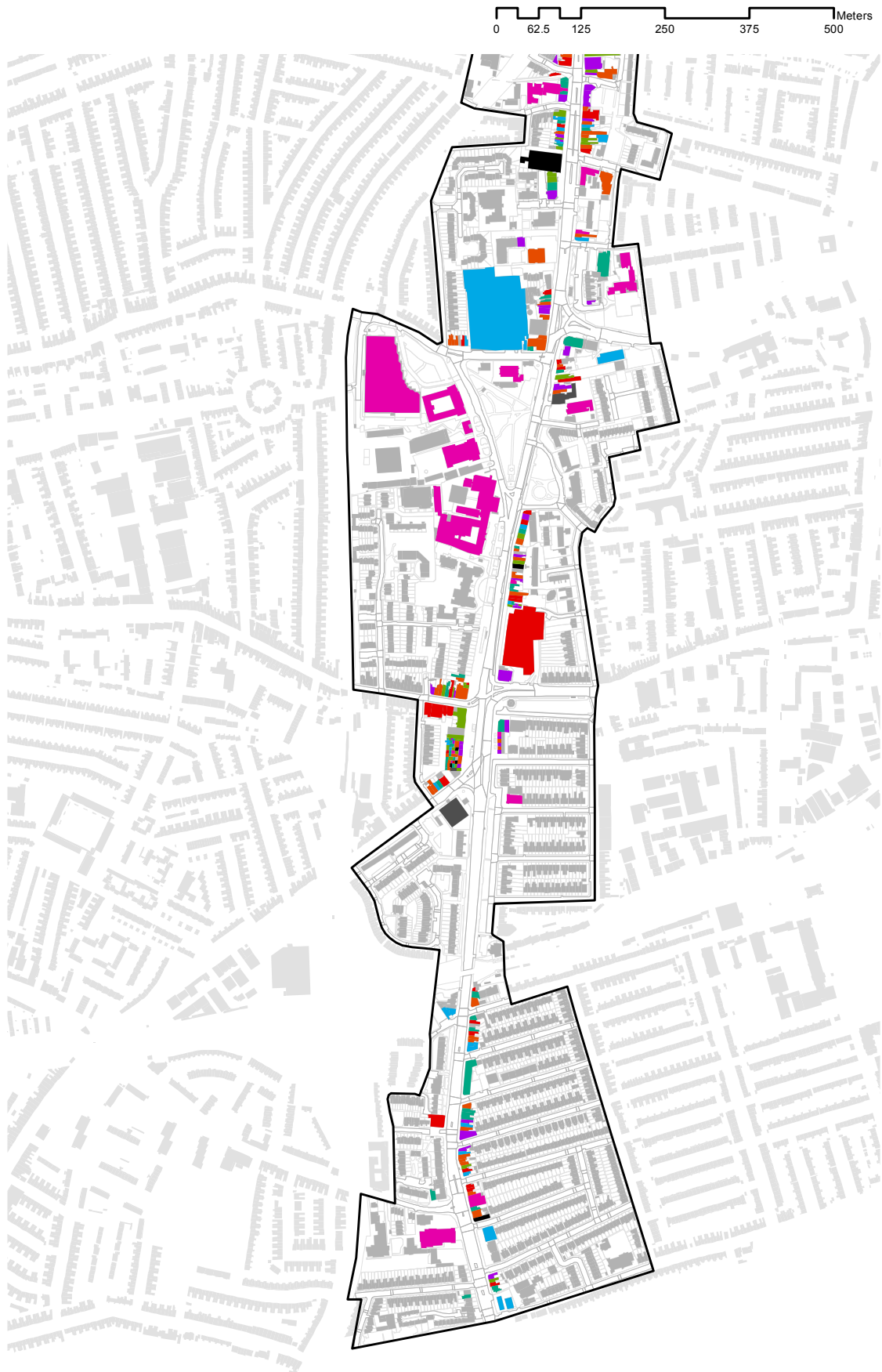
I met Abigail when I saw her email address on posters in Seven Sisters Market, and I contacted her to ask for an interview. Our paths then crossed again multiple times at Our Tottenham and WCC events.

Appendix

2. In the Valley: Where is Tottenham's Economy? High Road Survey







Introduction

In a context of major development-driven change in Tottenham, this project offered a complete picture of the High Road's economy, recorded through a survey of its 700 or so workspaces. It exposed a rich and varied small-scale economy and the range of unique products from Tottenham, as well as the stories of the people and places that produce them, offering a stark and deeply significant contrast to proposed development-driven change. In collecting this information, the research team collaborated in an ongoing art/research project the *Tottenham Living Market* (supported by LYST, Create and the GLA) which was intended to expose the findings to the public, politicians, planning community and press [this project did not receive funding, so did not go ahead]. The project also added hard information to the evidence-base for planning policy-making in Tottenham, developed and tested norms of practice for clear presentation of information to community groups and professionals and was the seed for a much more ambitious project that pictured the whole economy of the Lea Valley far beyond the high street (a research project was carried out for the Lea Valley by Cass Cities students in 2014/15 (see Chapter 2, section 2.1), and another in 2015/16 of the Old Kent Road and beyond, see <http://www.casscities.co.uk/Cass-Cities-audit-book>). It showed the high value of what is already there in Tottenham, and what can easily be destroyed with the wrong kind of development.

Research Questions + Aims

Where is Tottenham's economy?

This project identified and catalogued hard and soft information about every workspace within one block of Tottenham High Road. The work was publicised through a series of events at the Cass and in Tottenham. The data and published outputs was be made available to the public online. The data was shared with the Wards Corner Community Coalition, with the Tottenham Business Group and remains available for any local groups who could make use of it.

Context

This project was part of a package of research both completed and ongoing in Tottenham and built on a wealth of information and knowledge already collected by other researchers. *From Around Here* <http://www.gortscott.com/news/99/> carried out by Gort Scott and UCL (supported by the Mayor of London and Haringey Council) documented every workspace in Tottenham's designated Strategic Industrial Areas.

This piece of research used the same methods as *From Around Here*, adding valuable new information to the existing knowledge base. It also built on the work of researchers from the LSE Ordinary Streets project, <http://lsecities.net/objects/research-projects/ordinary-streets> in which Dr. Suzi Hall et al. documented the shops and businesses on Rye Lane in Peckham, a very similar urban environment. 00/: (Architecture 00) and Maccraenor Lavington/PBA

also reported on the structure of the urban environment in Tottenham and since 2013 Make-Room Living Archive has been conducting a qualitative research project about Tottenham from premises on Broad Lane.

There is a contemporary academic, political and media focus on high streets and this is an exciting opportunity to build and pull together the body of high streets research emerging at the Cass (eg. Jane Clossick's *Depth Structure of a London High Street* PhD; Tom Keeley's *Learning from Kilburn* 'high street university' and ongoing workshop series; Cass Cities' work and Mark Brearley's own long experience from the GLA).

Method + outcomes

The collection of data for this project followed the robust methods of Scott, Hall and the GLA (all three of whom were on board as advisors). Researchers visited every business in the study area (675 premises) with a short questionnaire, asking questions about workspace type, duration, tenure, number of employees, origin of proprietor and so forth and also collected narratives and photographs [many of which have appeared in this PhD thesis].

The data was analysed in a number of ways using both quantitative and qualitative methods, and used to generate GIS mappings, graphs and tables of survey data. During the survey period, researchers also reflectively recorded their activities [this data was analysed as part of the thematic analysis described in the Introduction]. This analysis is statistically sound. In her survey of Rye Lane Hall achieved a response rate of over 90%. In this survey, the response rate was lower (closer to 60%), but still representative.

As well as using the research process to collect data, we distributed essential information about community organisations to every local business and civic organisation, so that as well as taking information from them, we were offering something in return. Prior to carrying out the research, researchers informed local businesses via all available avenues. Jane Clossick attended the Tottenham Trader's Partnership meeting and made an announcement about the work, as well as informing other business groups and collaborating with the Our Tottenham Local Economy Working Group, and with the Tottenham Business Group.

The outcomes from this survey were:

- A database of business information, made publicly available
- Statistical information, presented in graphs and tables and in word-clouds
- A catalogue of photographs of every business on the High Road
- Short interviews with some of the businesses

Collaborations

Jane Clossick collaborated with Myfanwy Taylor of UCL and Anil Korotane of NGO Belonging <http://www.architecturehumanrights.org>. Myfanwy was a PhD candidate who used action-research to investigate the activities of Our Tottenham <http://ourtottenham.org>.

[uk/](#), a network of community groups in Tottenham, and the Wards Corner Community Coalition. She also undertook her own survey of businesses in the vicinity of Wards Corner at Seven Sisters, in order to publicise the *Community Plan* consultation process, which was presently underway while this research was taking place. Anil also carried out a survey in Tottenham in order to launch a competition for an architectural design for the Apex House site adjacent to Seven Sisters tube. Jane, Myfanwy and Anil agreed to use the same survey format and questions in order that the data can be amalgamated.

Team members

- Jane Clossick (project leader)
- Kato Allaert
- Simone Mesquita Álvares
- Jéssica Franco Böhmer
- Colin O'Sullivan
- Rafealla Senff Peixoto
- Elaine de Araújo Teixeira

Advisors


- Professor Mark Brearley (Cass Cities)
- Dr. Suzi Hall (London School of Economics)
- Fiona Scott (Gort Scott Architects)
- Myfanwy Taylor (Wards Corner Community Coalition and University College London)
- Our Tottenham Local Economy Working Group
- Tottenham Business Group

The visiting Brazilian students, Simone Mesquita Álvares, Jéssica Franco Böhmer, Rafealla Senff Peixoto and Elaine de Araújo Teixeira worked with me for two weeks, as part of an overseas research and exchange program. They volunteered their time and conducted about half of the face-to-face survey interviews on Tottenham High Road. They also took photographs and assisted with making some of the drawings in this thesis. Where the students' work is shown, they have been credited.

Project materials

On the following pages are samples of the materials used while carrying out the research project. First, the brief issued to the researchers who carried out the survey on the ground. Second, the survey form which was filled in for every business, civic and other non-residential activity within one block of Tottenham High Road. Third and forth, the letter and contact information which was given to every business, in order that they were able to withdraw from the survey if they wished, could contact us if necessary, and to offer contact details for useful organisations and planning information.

Project brief for researchers

<h1>Tottenham High Road Survey</h1> <p>research project brief</p> <p>Project leader: Jane Clossick Lead research assistant: Colin O'Sullivan Researchers: TBC</p>	<div data-bbox="320 371 528 629">  </div> <div data-bbox="568 1048 592 1126"> <p>Process</p> </div> <div data-bbox="619 376 1198 1126"> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In pairs, researchers will enter each workspace in the survey area and conduct a short interview with the proprietor. If the proprietor is not present they will speak to whoever is available. If the person present knows nothing about the business, the researchers will find out when they should come back to meet someone who can answer the questions. The survey will take 5 minutes and will cover the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> workspace type & what they make/sell/do/offer duration of existence tenure number of employees origin of proprietor & languages spoken where proprietor and/or employees live what proprietor did previously why their business is located where it is observations about premises (eg. subdivisions in shops) will be sketched on OS maps researchers will ask permission and take photographs where possible If participants seems interested and willing, researchers will arrange to return for a more in-depth discussion about their experiences and narratives The second stage of the research will be a detailed survey and production of drawings of approximately 5 of the workspaces on Tottenham High Road. These surveys and drawings will be undertaken when the first stage of the project outlined above is complete and we will identify which will be the most appropriate to draw through the surveying process. </div> <div data-bbox="1265 1072 1289 1126"> <p>Links</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1316 376 1412 1126"> <p>http://www.thecass.com/people/cjane-clossick http://www.thecass.com/research/1/research/cass-cities1 http://seccities.net/objects/research-projects/ordinary-streets http://haringey.gov.uk/index/housing_and_planning/tottenham/from-around-here.html</p> </div>
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Survey form

WHERE IS
TOTTENHAM'S
ECONOMY?
SURVEY QUESTIONS

Workspace, business or organization name:

.....

Type:

Address (Unit number, street number, road, postcode):

.....

How long has the business or organization been going?

How long at this site?

Where are products sourced (if business) or sold (if manufacturer)?

.....

How many employees (full time, part time) and where do they live?

.....

Where are you from?

What languages do you speak?

Where do you proprietor live?

What did you do before?

Name of proprietor (optional) and contact information (email/phone)

.....

.....

What are the ownership arrangements here? (License holder, leaseholder, freeholder (name if not freeholder) or some other arrangement? How many years are left and do you have the right to renew?

.....

Photos allowed? yes/no

Other comments/notes (street presence, internal subdivisions):

Information and permission letter



Sir John Cass Faculty of Art, Architecture and Design
Cass Cities
Central House
59-63 Central House
London E1 7PF

www.londonmet.ac.uk

1st July 2014

To whom it may concern

Background information sheet: **Where is Tottenham's Economy?**

www.thecass.com/projects/projects/current1/where-is-tottenhams-economy

Simone Álvares, Jessica Bohmer, Colin O'Sullivan, Rafaella Peixoto, Elaine Teixeira and Ana Queiroz are researchers from Cass Cities, based at the Cass School of Architecture at London Metropolitan University. Our study of Tottenham and its surrounds focuses on the people who live and work in the area and the spaces of work, learning and skill.

Our selected sites include Seven Sisters Market at Ward's Corner the shops, market stalls and businesses adjacent to Tottenham High Road, and the public spaces adjacent to the street.

All participants in this research project will remain anonymous unless participants specifically request otherwise. The information generated by this study may be published in academic and public outlets. At any point in the study, participants have the right to ask for any of their details or accounts to be withdrawn. Should you need to confirm any of the information above please contact Cass Cities leader Professor Mark Brearley at mark@mboffice.org.uk. The lead researcher is Jane Clossick and her email address is j.clossick@londonmet.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely,

Jane Clossick, on behalf of the research team

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*Information leaflets offered to businesses***WHERE IS TOTTENHAM'S ECONOMY?****PLANNING & CONTACTS INFORMATION FOR BUSINESSES**

Planning in Tottenham: The Council have recently consulted on key planning documents to determine future development in Tottenham. These consultations are now closed, but there will be more later in the year. For more information:

http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/housing_and_planning/tottenham.htm

Why does this matter to local businesses? The plans will result in the loss of existing local businesses through major redevelopment schemes, particularly around Ward's Corner and White Hart Lane. It is important for local businesses to get involved to have their say, provide information based on their experience and knowledge, and to secure their place in the future of Tottenham, if they wish.

If your business is part of the **High Road West** element of the Tottenham Hotspurs redevelopment, Tottenham Business Group is fighting for the rights of the High Road shops and local businesses under threat. If you would like to join us contact us at tottenhambusinessgroup@yahoo.co.uk or speak to Chairman Alex Tryfonos at 755 High Road Tottenham.

Our Tottenham Local Economy Working Group: The Our Tottenham network has formed to develop community-led alternatives to the council's plans that support the needs of local residents and businesses. One of the eight key action areas of Our Tottenham Community Charter is to support small businesses, by building alliances between residents' and local traders' groups, lobbying for the needs of small businesses and building our knowledge of small businesses and their issues through an audit. The group meets regularly, please visit the web address and email below to get involved or for more information.

<http://www.ourtottenham.org.uk>
ourtottenham@gmail.com

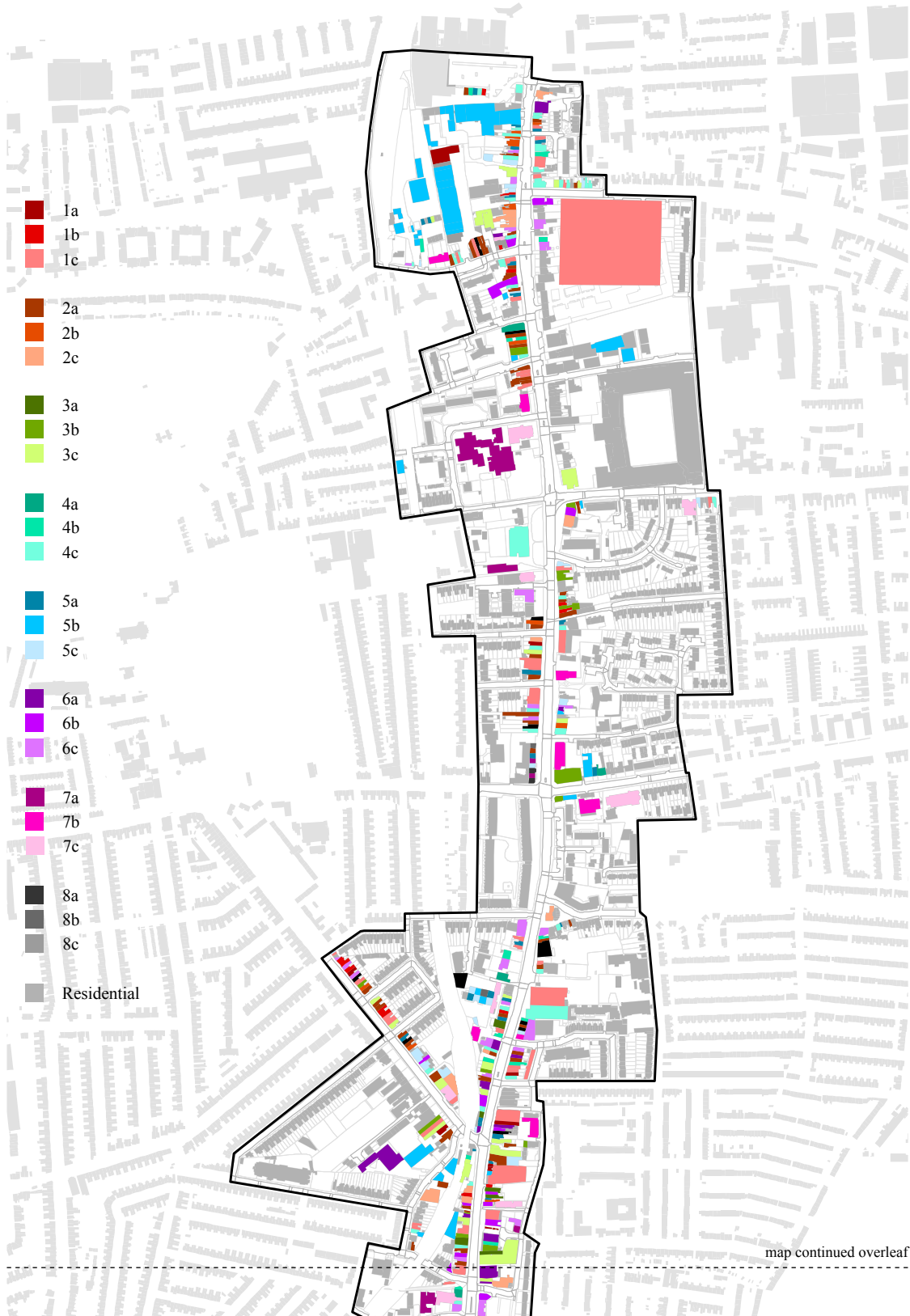
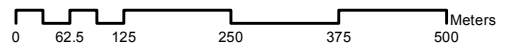
Tottenham Local Economy Survey: A small group of researchers are conducting a local economy survey for Tottenham. We have different interests and priorities, but will collaborate and produce some useful common outputs. Core information will be shared with the Our Tottenham **Local Economy Working Group**, and a new website is being set up to enable research, analysis and projects to be shared more generally (see tottenhamresearchresources.wordpress.com). For more information on the local economy survey contact

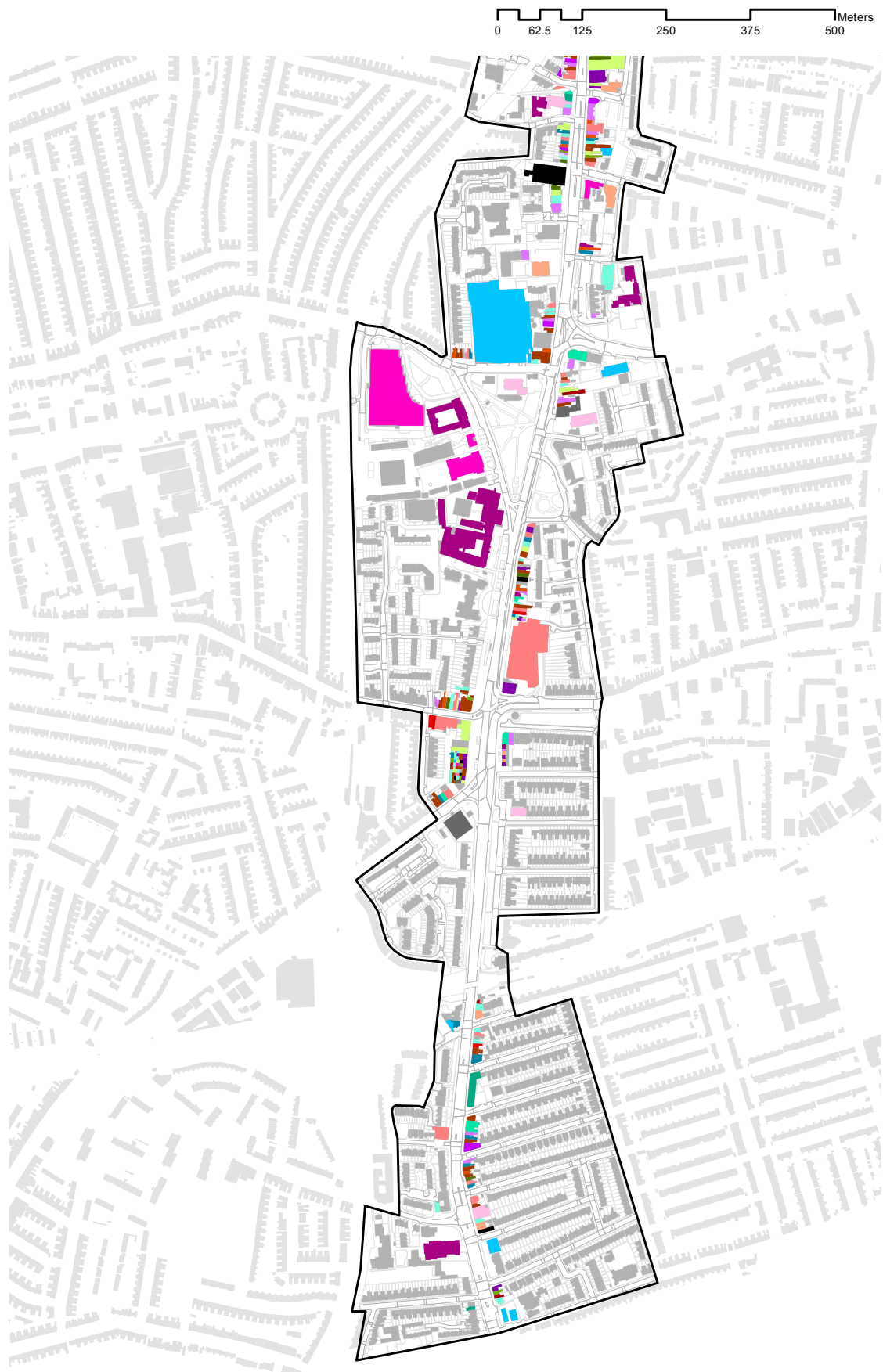
Myfanwy Taylor, UCL myfanwy.taylor.09@ucl.ac.uk
 Jane Clossick, London Metropolitan University j.clossick@londonmet.ac.uk

Tottenham High Road survey main findings

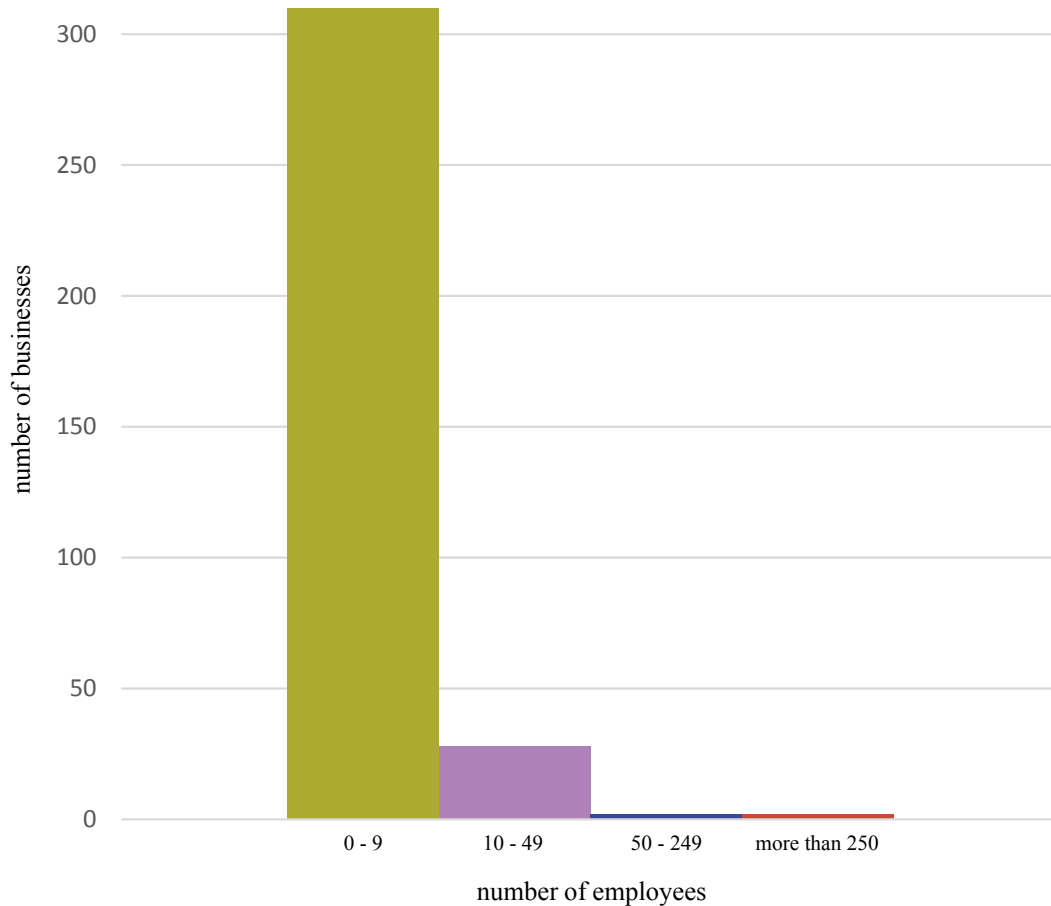
Tottenham High Road Survey Categories

1. Food retail
 - » a. Fresh food retail (bread, cake, meat, fish, fruit and vegetables only)
 - » b. Mixed specialist groceries (not newsagents etc.) e.g. Polish supermarket
 - » c. Retail of fresh and non-perishable groceries, tobacco, alcohol and newspapers, including supermarkets, post offices, news agents and off licenses
2. Sociable food & drink services
 - » a. Restaurant or cafe and fast food with seating
 - » b. Readymade food with no seating
 - » c. Bar, pub or club including private social clubs
3. Retail of non-food items (without repair services)
 - » a. Discount mixed household and other goods shops (theses sometimes include non-perishable food) like 99p stores, and charity shops
 - » b. Non-discount: Furnishing and decoration shops, florists/garden centres, books and music
 - » c. Non-discount: Clothing, shoes, cosmetics, accessories and jewellery shops (excluding 'sell gold for cash' type shops)
4. Medical and social services (looking after people's bodies)
 - » a. Free: GP surgery, library, hospital, children's centre
 - » b. Paid for: Dentists, opticians, pharmacies, alternative medicine
 - » c. Luxury: beauty salons, hairdressers, barber, nails, massage, beauty, tattoos
5. Services/production (looking after stuff)
 - » a. Small scale repair/maintenance: Mobile phone shops and repair, internet cafes/ printing shops and other electrical goods repair, key-cutting, shoe repair, launderette
 - » b. Large scale manufacture/repair/maintenance: vehicle repair/maintenance/parts, parking and petrol stations, construction, metalworks and timber yards
 - » c. Moving and making things (+ others not covered by other categories): Catering, minicab, international freight and courier, funeral and wedding, halls for hire
6. Non-physical services
 - » a. 'Desirable' financial: Banks and financial services, overseas money transfer
 - » b. 'Undesirable' financial: Pawnbrokers, cheque cashing and bookies, 'sell gold for cash' type shops
 - » c. Organisational services: Solicitors, translation, recruitment, estate agents and travel agents
7. Institutional, religious and educational
 - » a. Nurseries, primary and secondary schools, colleges, universities
 - » b. State & NGO institutions – Police, Citizens Advice, library
 - » c. Religious
8. Office & warehouse space (workplace without public element)
 - » a. Charity
 - » b. Office – general
 - » c. Warehouse/storage





Number of employees on Tottenham High Road



Of the 342 businesses surveyed:

91% (310) of businesses employ up to 9 people, with 3 as the average number of employees.

8% (28) employ between 10 and 49, with 18 as the average number of employees.

1% (4) employ more than 50 people, with 296 as the average number of employees. However, this is a large figure which skews results, so instead the lowest number of employees is used, 85.

There are approximately (rounded to allow for changes due to natural churn) 650 non-residential organisations on the high road.

Estimated total employees who work within one block of Tottenham High Road:

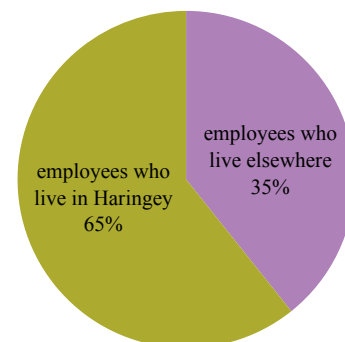
91% (592) x 3 employees	=	1776
8% (52) x 18 employees	=	936
1% (7) x 85 employees	=	585

TOTAL jobs on Tottenham High Road = 3300

Number of employees (percentages)

0 to 9	90.7%
10 to 49	8.1%
50 to 249	0.3%
51 to 249	0.3%
more than 250	0.6%

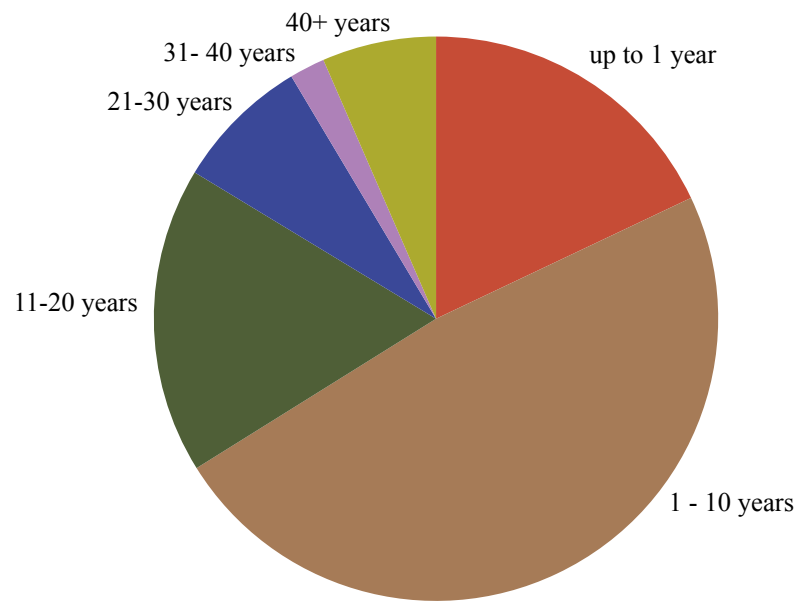
Location of employees



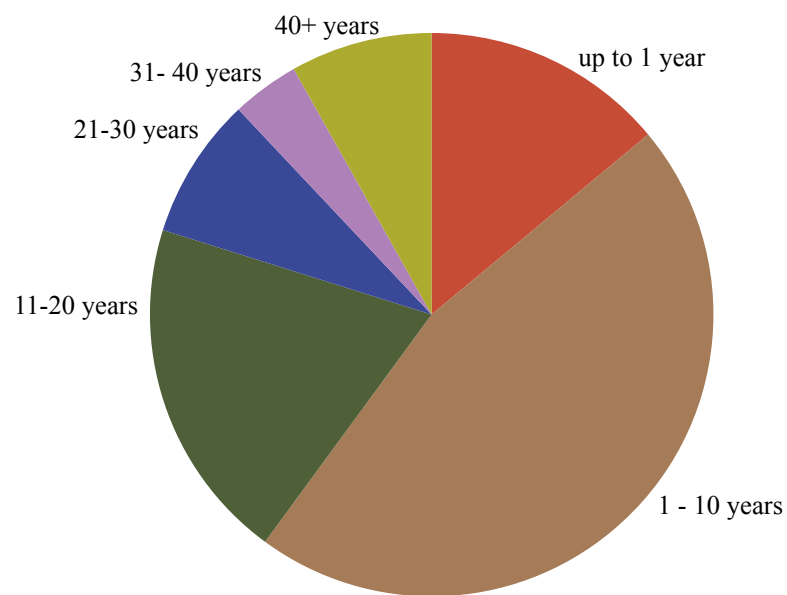


There are
3,300 jobs on
Tottenham
High Road

Time at site



Age of businesses

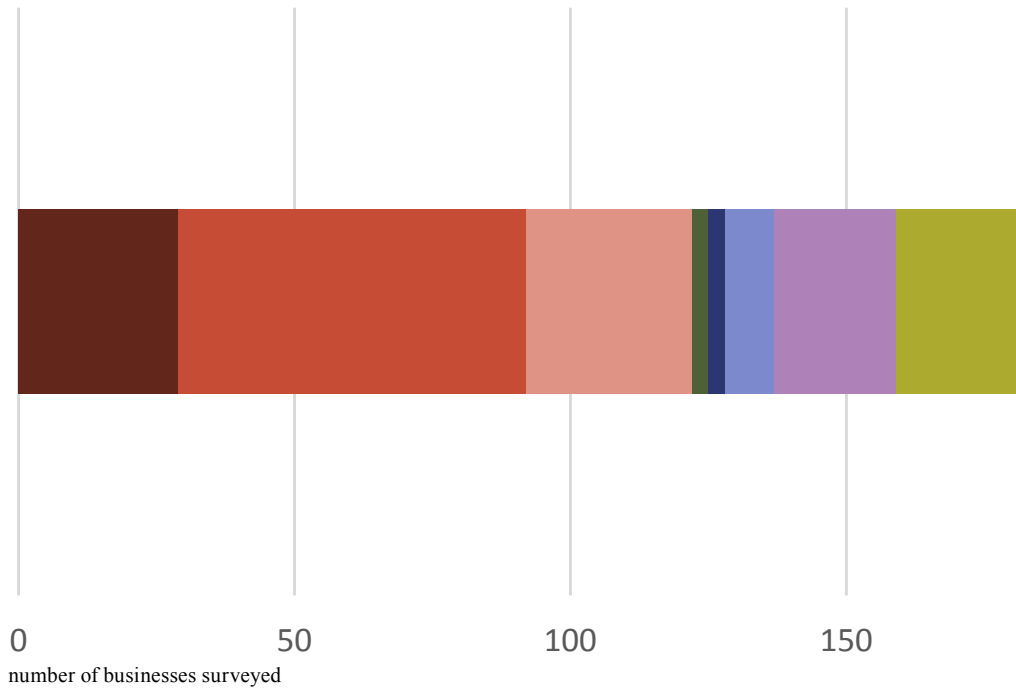


Answers to the question “what languages can you speak?”

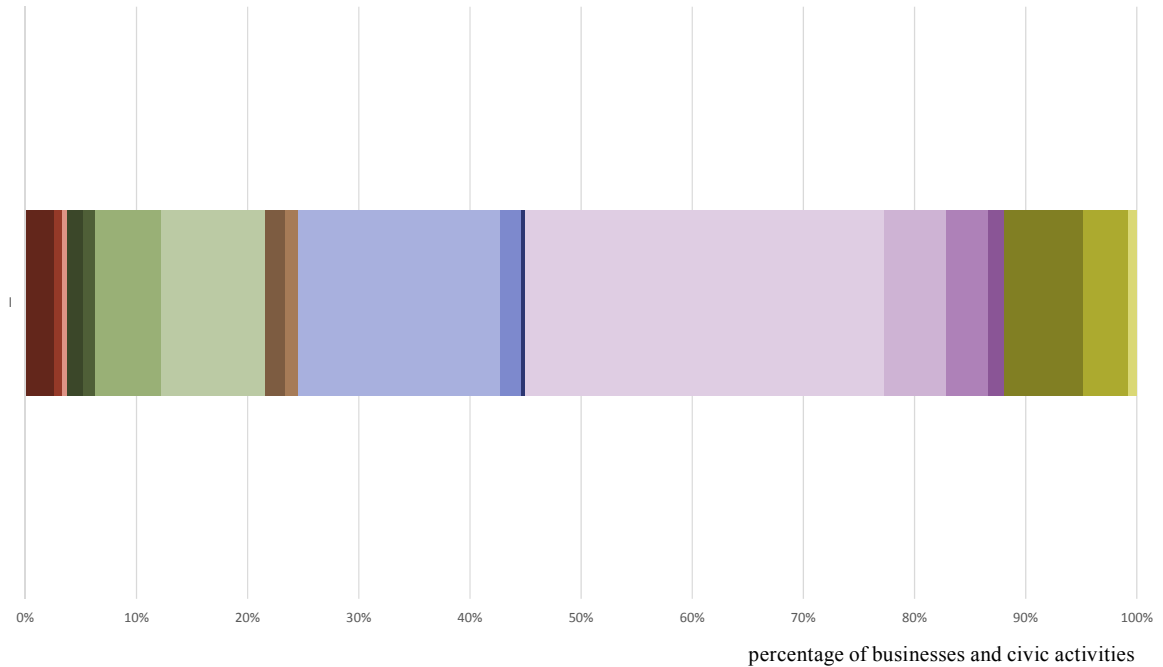


Word size corresponds to frequency of response .

World region from which products are sourced on Tottenham High Road



- London
- UK
- Europe
- Africa
- North America
- South America
- Asia
- Globally

Languages spoken on Tottenham High Road

- A Kikongo, Lingala, Luganda, Somali, Swahili, Yansi
- B Akan, Gambi, Igbo, Twi
- C Zulu
- D Chinese
- E Malaysian, Vietnamese
- F Punjabi, Urdu
- G Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Telugu
- H Pashto, Persian
- I Tamil, Sinhala
- J Kurdish, Lebanese, Turkish
- K Arabic
- L Hebrew, Yiddish
- M English
- N Dutch, French, German, Italian, Portuguese
- O Lithuanian, Polish, Slovak
- P Bulgarian, Romanian
- Q Spanish
- R Albanian, Greek
- S Russian

Data was collected for the languages spoken by interviewees in 277 businesses. Of those people, 196 spoke two or more language (English and one other language), 51 spoke three or more languages and 16 spoke more than four languages. Tottenham High Road is a very multilingual place.

Languages	Number of businesses
A Kikongo, Lingala, Luganda, Somali, Swahili, Yansi	7
B Akan, Gambi, Igbo, Twi	2
C Zulu	1
D Chinese	4
E Malaysian, Vietnamese	3
F Punjabi, Urdu	16
G Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Telugu	25
H Pashto, Persian	5
I Tamil, Sinhala	3
J Kurdish, Lebanese, Turkish	49
K Arabic	5
L Hebrew, Yiddish	1
M English	87
N Dutch, French, German, Italian, Portuguese	15
O Lithuanian, Polish, Slovak	10
P Bulgarian, Romanian	4
Q Spanish	19
R Albanian, Greek	11
S Russian	2
Grand Total	269

Answers to the question “where were you born?”



Economic & civic life: High Road names

10p Street Computer Repairs	Bairstow Eves	Caribbean Shipping Service
35 Local Rolan Ospina	Banana African Restaurant and Bar	Caribbean Supermarket
639 Centre (639 Centre ground floor)	Banqueting Suites	Carnicera Martinez
639 Centre Car Park	Baraka	Carpet Right
7 Sisters Domestic Appliances	Barclays Bank	Charlie's Cafe
7 Sisters Training Enterprises	Barclays Bank	Charlie's Casual Wear
99p	Barclays Bank	Charlton House Medical Practice
A & C Baby Link	Barminster	Cheap
A. Seaward & Son	Beaty Depot Salon	Cherubim and Seraphin Movement
A1 Networks	Beauty Depot	Church
Abaava Fabrics	Beauty Hut	Chick King
Abbey Ville	Belde Production	Chicken Excel
Abrepo Junction Supermarket	Bell and Hare	Chicken Express
Ackee Tree Restaurant	Bella Bilan	Chiller Box
Adagma IT Solutions	Ben Property Solutions	Chinese Medicine
Adam's Bags	Berkeley Pawnbrokers	Chison Express
Adjoa Ayebea	Bernies Art Centre	Christ Apostolic Church
Africa X5 TV	Best Kebab	Church of St. Mary The Virgin
African Organic Foods	Betfred	Citizens Advice Bureau
African Relief Fund	Betfred	City News
AJ Maintenance Services	Beyoglu Barber	Coin-op Launderette
Alamut	Beyza Mini Market	Collins Carpet
Aldi	Billo Shoes	Columbian Coffee
Alex BG Shop	Biuro Ksiegowie	Community Worth Project (639 Centre ground floor)
Alfemo Home Concept	Blankita	Connections Tercumanlik & Danis
Alpha Denson	Bloomingscent Cafe (639 Centre ground floor)	Manlik
Alteraciones Lily	Bobby's Urban Tattoo	Cookestates
Ama Hair Salon	Body Music	Coombes Croft Library
Amazing Grace	BR Smakosz	Copacabana Hair Studio
Amenti Healing Space	Bridges Estates	Cosmos Newsagents
Amore	British Furniture Store	Costa
Amps Auto Electrics	Brook Street Chapel	Costcutter
Andersen Care Agency	Brothers Cafe Restaurant	Cosy Home
Andrew Lloyd	Brown Eagle	Crazy Cut
Andy's Kitchen	Bruce Grove Cars	Curves
Anil Supermarket	Bruce Grove Cosmetics	CWB Windows and Doors
Anna House Dental Clinic	Bruce Grove Fish Market	Cyprus Supermarket
Apex House	Bruce Grove Primary Health Care	Da'Lick
Arche Dengiri-n Goto	Bruce Grove Supermarket & Meat Market	DAH
Archway Metal Works Ltd.	Bucky's News	Danny's Shoes Repairs
Archway Metal Works Ltd.	Budget Stores (UK)	De Blanca
Arkan Construction	Business_Name	De Dandanus Restaurant
Arriva London North	Cabin News	Dee Ultimate
AS & S Ltd.	Café La City	Deli Ninety Eight
Asda	Cafe Life	Dental Surgery
Ashanti Grocery	Cafe Lorusso	Dermark
Assunnah Islamic Centre	Cakes and Shakes	Dersim Der
Ates	Can Ciger Çigkofte	Designer Sports
Austyn's News	Can Perde Sarayi	Dewhurst of Tottenham
Auto Pro Bodywork	Çandır	DH Burns Optometrists
Awaiting Eyes Foundation	Caribbean Edge	Diamond Kebab and Chicken
Aydera Diş Laboratuvari		Diamonds
Baby Doll Salon and Spa		

Digiturk/ Kaplan Security	second floor)	Hazal
Dissident Sound Industry Studio	First African	High Cross United Reformed Church
Divine Care	First African Remittances Ltd.	High Road Food and Wine
Divine Solutions Schoolwear	First Call	Hollywood
Dixy Chicken	First Choice	Hollywood
DJ Fiz Textiles	First Impressions	Holy Trinity Church
DMG Prints (639 Centre first floor)	Flourish Craft Bakery	Holy Trinity Primary School
DMVS Bargain Store	Fonehouse	Hotspurs Café
Doctor Bird Caribbean Cuisine	Fosh Halal Supermarket	Howarth Timber & Building Supplies
Domino's	Friends Barber	Howlwadaaq Net Ltd.
Don't Forget the Kids (639 Centre first floor)	G & A Imports	HSBC
Dorati's Kitchen	Gabriel Basil Solicitors	Hyper Star Supermarket
Dot. Fiz Textiles	Garden House (KitaBevi)	Iceland
DPS	Gazali (empty)	Image
Dsolof Salon	Gaziantep Ocakbasi	Imbel Travel
Duk Danisman (UK)	Gençlerbirliği	Industry
Dunan Barber	George Ellis & Sons	Inkwell Copy Centre
DW Timber Supplies	GH Glory House	InstaPrint UK (639 Centre first floor)
Easy Sign	Gindungo	Integrated Payment Solution
Easybay Continental Food Centre	Giros Den Pedro	Intercity Mobile Phone and Internet
EasyGym	Gladesmore Estates	International Money Transfer
Ebr Attridge LLP Criminal Defence Specialists	Glary Uniex Hair Salon	International Supermarket
Ekin Food Center	Godwin Lawson Foundation (639 Centre ground floor)	Interstar Unisex Hair Salon Barber
El Botellon	Gokmea Munch Box	Interstar Unisex Hair Salon Nails
El Cafetal	Gorgeous Nails	Ipek Perde
Elbi	Gosia Travel	Istanbul Empire
ELBI Ltd.	Green Gate Passage Ria Money Transfer	Istanbul Hair and Beauty
Electrician's Hub Retail	Green Tea Supermarket	Ital'n'Vital Vegetarian Food
Electronics Centre	Greengate Passage Beauty Salon	Jack's Cafe
Elegance Dry Cleaners	Greengate Passage Mobile Communications	Jerk Centre
Elite Professional Taylor	Greengate Passage Underwear	Jerk Centre Food
Emma's Ivy Florist	Grove Car Service	JG Proprieties and Green Clean
Enjoy Cafe	GS Motors	Jimmy's The Beauty Shop
Erbiller Jewellers	Gunaydin Mini Market	Job Centre Plus
Erdens Florist	Guys Meat Shop	José Original
Esso / On the Run Café	H & T Pawnbrokers	Joseph Mynah & Co Solicitors
Euro Cafe	H. Glickman Ltd.	JPX Ltd. Congolese Freight Co.
Euro Star Tyres	Hair Mirror	Juba Cafe
Euroclean	Hair Waves	Juscool
Everyday Pets	Hairfort Unisex hair	Just and Brown
Excel House	Halal Butcher & Grocer Ltd.	K & M Hardware
Exterisma	Halifax Bank	Kander
Extra Large	Hall for Hire	Kebab Inn
EZGI	Hammond's Eye Practice	Kim's Bite to Eat
F. Upson & Son	Hansa Wines and Spirits	Kingdom of Life Ministries Centre
Fabhomes	Happiness Chinese Food	Kings Group
Face 1 Barber	Haringey Amateur Boxing Club	Kio's Newsagents
Factum Computers	Haringey Association for Voluntary and Community Organisations	Kith and Kids
Fairbairn Smith	(HAVCO) (639 Centre second floor)	Knights Residential
Fajas Salome	Haringey Law Centre	Köyüm
Family Halal Meat	Harman Nuts Roasting Ltd.	Kozzy Kitchen Nigerian
Faustina's Fashion Design	Harringey Health Services	Krazy Kebapche Café
Favorite Chicken & Ribs	Harringey Council Day Centre	KRS Food & Wine
Fernlea Surgery		Kullans Lettings and Property Management
Fire Promotion Ministries (639 Centre		Kumru Supermaket
		Kurecik Supermarket

Kwikfit	Nazar Supermarket	Plan Personel (639 Centre first floor)
La Barca	Needham Potter Solicitors	Planeta
La Dumitrescu	Nesters Chicken	Police Shop
La Fonda de Juancho	Network Car and Courier service	Police Station
La Fonda de Mario	New Concept	Polski Sklep
La Royale	New Deal General Store	Polski Sklep Klosed
Ladbrokes	New Gold Center	Porady Sollicitors
Ladbrokes	News 'n' Booze	Post Office
Launderette	Nish News and Off License	Post Office
Lick'n Chick'n & Pizza	No name	Pound Mobile Center
Lilly Whites	North London Coach Works	Pound World
Living World Temple	North London College	Pounds Plus
Lloyds Pharmacy	North London Community House	Prestige Design
Londis	Ltd.	Profit Accountancy
London Espresso Coffee	North London Kenkey House	Promise Training Centre
Look Good Studios	Nortons Estate Agents	Public car park
Look Sharp Hair Studios	Nubian Hair Studio	Public car park
Lowest Price	O'Boyz	Pueblito Paisa Café
Lucky Wines & Newsagent	Oasis Unisex Salon	Queens £1 Store
Lycamobile Kiosk	Olimp Café & Bar	Quick Silver
Lyn Nails	Olive Health Foods	Rapid Cars
M & G Clothing	One Pound Fruit Shop	Rayaan Restaurant and Café
M & H Properties and Services	One Tech Solutions	Redcorn Tyres
M Press	Open Door (639 Centre first floor)	Reed in Partnership
Madell	Organic Foods	Regency Banqueting
Manantial	Original Chicken Express	Regency Car Park
Mansons Pharmacy	Original Skin Tattoo	Remo Auto Centre
Mary's Lunch Box	OS&AS	Renew B
Maykolly African Cuisine	Oscar	Republica Dominicana
MC Dentistry	Oseikrom	Ria Money Transfer
McDonald's	OZ Food	Roma
Medi Taste	Ozdemir Textile	Roy Tyres
Medina Butchers	Paddy Power	Roy's Launderette
Meg Accessories	Paddy Power	Royal Fried Chicken
Mehmets	Paddy Power	Royal Mail
Mems	Palm Tree Court	Royal Net
Mems Builder's Merchants	Park Lane Minimarket	Ryan Joinery
Mems Builder's Merchants	Park Side Services	Sahar Food and Wine
Menar Cafeteria & Patisserie	Party Cake	Sai Baba
Mencap Haringay	Pato Lucas	Sainsbury's
Merin Cleaner	Pause Coffee	Sainsbury's Local
MFA Carpet & Flooring	Pavro	Sainsbury's Local
Mi Pueblito	Pavro & Bar	Salamis Patisserie
Milano Shoes	Pavro Sporkulubu	Salon Sam V-G
Mimi Noodle House	Peacocks	Sam Hair
Mini Ways	Pembury House Nursery School	Sam's Chicken
MisterWhat Tattoo and Piercings	and Children's Center	Sameday Service Courier Ltd.
Morning Star Nursery	Peppers and Spaces	Samuel Marks Ltd. Tailors
Morris Bargain Furniture	Percy Ingle	San Marco
Moss	Perfect Fried Chicken	Santander
MOT Station	Pesing	Santonis Shop
Mr. Klass	Peter's Hair Dressing	Santwynn Ltd.
Mr. Klass Mobiles (Lebara)	Pharmacare	Sapphire Hair & Beauty & Beyond
Mr. Trims	Pharmacare	Sara Banquesting Suite (above
Nana's Hair Salon	Pharmacare	McDonalds)
Nationwide	Phil Sollicitors	Sara Beauty Care
Natural Nails	Pizza Gogo Delivery	Satellites and Security Solutions

Save Pounds	Susan Hair & Beauty Salon	Seafood
Secret Nails	Swan	Tottenham Green Leisure Centre
Secure On Site (639 Centre first floor)	Swinton	Tottenham Health Centre
Sense	T & S Tyres	Tottenham Hotspur
Seven Brothers Supermarket	T Training (639 Centre first floor)	Tottenham News, Food and Wine
Seven Foods Limited	Taam Hayam	Tottenham Snack Bar
Seven Sisters Market (Bedclothes)	Tac Catering	Tottenham Star Restaurant
Seven Sisters Market (Clothes)	Tan Dental Practice	Tottenham Travel
Seven Sisters Market (Clothes)	Taste Buds	Tottenham Walk In Clinic
Seven Sisters Market Office	Tatlici Adanalilar	Tottenham Wine
Seville's Unisex Hair Salon	TBCAS Ltd.	Town Hall
Shabelle Internet	Teach Tapin(639 Centre ground floor)	Trans Electric
Shades Caterers	Teddy's Mini Market	Triibal London (639 Centre ground floor)
Sheri's	Telegiros Money Transfer	TSB
Shivani News	Tennessee Express	Turkish Association Club
Shoe Zone	Tesco Express	TV Edwards LLP
Shoobs (639 Centre ground floor)	Tesco Superstore	Tyres and Auto Repair Centre
Shower Safe and Design	TFC	U Phone
Showtime Communications	TGB Tottenham Gida Bazaar	UCKG
Simply Catering	The Alabar Lounge	Ukay Restaurant
Siraz Steak and Kebab Restaurant	The Ark	Unity Radio (639 Centre first floor)
Slonezko	The Beehive	Uniworld
Smile Dent	The Blue Bar	Unlu Supermaket & Off License
Smile for Life	The Brick Layers	Urban Life
Snooker Club	The Coach & Horse	Velina Ltd. Beauty
Solmaz	The College of North East London	Venus 14
Solmaz Supermarket	The Cooperative Funeral Care	Victorious
SOM Prints Graphic Designers	The Crowe Bar	Videomania
Soteria	The Dutch	Vinh Tu
Speed Linix Travel and Freight Ltd.	The Elbow Room	VIP Sports & Graffiti Paint Shop
Speedo Pizza	The Eye Pod	VLS / Mang & Co.
SPS Car Repairs	The Eye Practice	Wang's
Spurs Shop	The Money Shop	Waran & Co. Solicitors
St. Francis de Sales Catholic Church	The Money Shop Pawnbroking	Waterfall Trading Co.
St. Francis de Sales Catholic Infant and Junior School	The Oasis	Wild Orchio
St. Ignatius Church and Primary School	The Ship	William Hill
St. Mark's Methodist Church	The Surgery	William Hill
Star Mini Market	The Victoria Mutual Building Society	William Hill
Still Unisex Salon	The Welcome	William Hill
Stock Shop	Thomas & Co.	William Hill
Stoneleigh Road Car Park	Time To Eat	Wilsons Solicitors LLP
Street Market (no name)	Tom Clench Window Cleaner	Windsor & Co.
Student Space	Too Sweet	Winners Hair Salon
Su Perb	Top Communications	Worldwide Shippers
Sun Mini Market	Top Cut Unisex Hair Salon	X-cuts
Sunnah Bookshop	Top Wok Original	Xawaaladda Laban Express
Super Star Dry Cleaners	Totland	Yaw's Hair Salon
Superdrug	Tottenham Baptist Church	YH Communication
Supreme Hair and Beauty	Tottenham Chances	Your N1 Cash and Carry
Survival Hair Gallery	Tottenham Community Sports Centre	Yusra
	Tottenham Express	Zi Mini Market
	Tottenham Fresh Fish and	Zion
		Zumbala Latin Club
		[end]

Appendix

3. Interview mappings

