

From masterplans to daily actions:

London public spaces as designed, reconfigured and used

Ed Wall

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Declaration

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Abstract

In this thesis I investigate three London sites – Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square – where public spaces have been subject to contrasting masterplanned developments, management operations and daily uses. Focusing on the timeframes of the masterplans I explore a range of accounts of public spaces to reveal how differing economic opportunities, scheduled events and everyday activities are afforded, negotiated or reduced as these locations are transformed. I employ observation, interviews, document surveys and visual analysis to understand competing ambitions for engaging with public spaces, from conflicts between urban planners and low-cost businesses, to negotiations between international property developers and local governments. I show how this combination of methods has enabled me to frame concepts of public spaces: planned and managed as *spatial forms*; photographed as, and designed, with *visual images*; and, occupied and used through *social interactions*.

The research into these physical and social geographies of large-scale masterplanning intersects scales of public spaces: from men playing checkers on makeshift tables in Elephant and Castle Market to the application of national planning policy at Paddington Basin and the engagement with global competition between cities through the remaking of Trafalgar Square. I analyse how uncertainty caused by large-scale spatial strategies, the realisation of visual priorities and unbalanced relations between private interests and public organisations compromise the public nature of space. I demonstrate that, as these sites are spatially reconfigured, rules are rewritten to control access and use. I explore how, as planners, landowners and architects facilitate and produce public spaces as architectural forms and pictorial settings, they employ new regulations that further undermine daily lived and used public spaces. I conclude by reflecting on the spatial and regulatory terms imposed on public spaces to propose a design code that might establish more inclusive opportunities and transparent relations in the future making of public spaces in London.

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Introduction:

Contexts for making public spaces

‘Any major redevelopment naturally produces a fair amount of controversy, especially if the world detects any unfairness.’

Simon Gregory, Local Historian (Email conversation, 2012)

London’s public spaces embody a constant reworking of relations between economic agendas, government departments, public agencies, competing businesses, daily routines and its urban fabric, frequently mediated through masterplans for redevelopment. The city’s public spaces reflect Staeheli and Mitchell’s description of ‘the public nature of space’ that is never settled but is ‘continually made and remade’ (2008:xxii). Interwoven and competing ambitions, from urban designers setting out proposals to transform London’s architectural spaces, to individuals reconstituting the city through their daily activities, are unevenly realised as urban developments unfold. Since the late 1990s, new urban development policies and intensified economic agendas have led local councils and the Greater London Authority (GLA), the metropolitan government that was formed in 2000, to facilitate many neighbourhood-scale transformations across the capital. However, the masterplans, which are often informed by private interests and international investors and that produce highly managed and carefully imaged public spaces, are often challenged by local individuals and community groups.

In this thesis I explore three London sites – Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square – as public spaces that are subject to large-scale masterplanned developments (see figure 0.1). I explore the relations between contrasting ways that the public spaces are remade, and I question what is at stake as unequal opportunities, from political strategies to small-scale and unplanned actions, are taken and contested. Through investigating these sites, combining my architectural experience with social science research approaches, I conceptualise public spaces in terms of *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions*. The cases of masterplanning provide spatial and temporal frames from which accounts of remaking public spaces are seen (through observation), heard (in interviews) and read (in documents and visual analysis).

I aim to explore the impact on individuals whose lives are part of the public spaces of these masterplanned areas as well as the priorities, and less considered issues, of organisations

whose work is involved in their transformation. I argue that claims by politicians, developers and architects to make new public spaces as architectural forms, along with desires to share tourist photos and redevelopment images, are frequently prioritised over public spaces that accommodate a diversity of everyday activities. In each case, people and uses are excluded from the new public spaces and smaller business operations are closed-down as unequal relations serve the economic ambitions of developers, public space managers and governments (local authorities, the GLA and national government). Paul, a resident local to Elephant and Castle, states:

I am not sure if there is a great deal of commitment from anyone who's on the development side to keep it [the existing market]... It doesn't make an awful lot of money for its landlord... It doesn't give the sort of image that developers like to portray for their new development. (Interview 2012)

In this introductory chapter I present the three cases of masterplanning, the focus on public spaces within these redevelopments and the relations between different ways that public spaces are produced. I then describe in detail the research questions, the concepts that are identified within the research and the London contexts in which each case is examined. I conclude the introduction with an outline of the thesis chapters.

Masterplans

The focus on three London sites¹ includes: a deteriorated sunken plaza that wraps around a shopping centre, both of which are planned for demolition (Elephant and Castle Market); a highly managed corporate canal-side that is in the process of being built across a former industrial area (Paddington Basin); and a redesigned grand civic space in the centre of London that attracts thousands of visitors each day (Trafalgar Square). Each site is part of a masterplanned redevelopment: *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* (2004 – 2029), *Paddington Waterside* (1998 – 2018) and *World Squares for All Masterplan* (1996 – 2003). Such large-scale developments in London, which have increasingly been facilitated in the planning process since the late 1990s, have restructured local economies and attracted the attention of international investors. Their implementation has led to transformed skylines with

¹ The three sites of focus in this study are the public spaces of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square. They are situated within three cases of masterplanned redevelopment, namely *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, *Paddington Waterside* and *World Squares for All Masterplan*. Descriptions of 'Elephant and Castle', refer to the area or neighbourhood of Elephant and Castle. The term 'Paddington Basin' has been adopted in this study to refer to the waterfront spaces along the Paddington arm of the Grand Union Canal, including the contiguous open spaces of the *Paddington Waterside* masterplan (the term Paddington Basin has been used by a previous development operation, now called *Merchant Square*). The name 'Trafalgar Square' is used to describe the entire space enclosed by the National Gallery and the buildings on the other three sides of the square. Descriptions and maps of each public space site are presented in chapter two, *Practices of public space – outlining a methodology*.

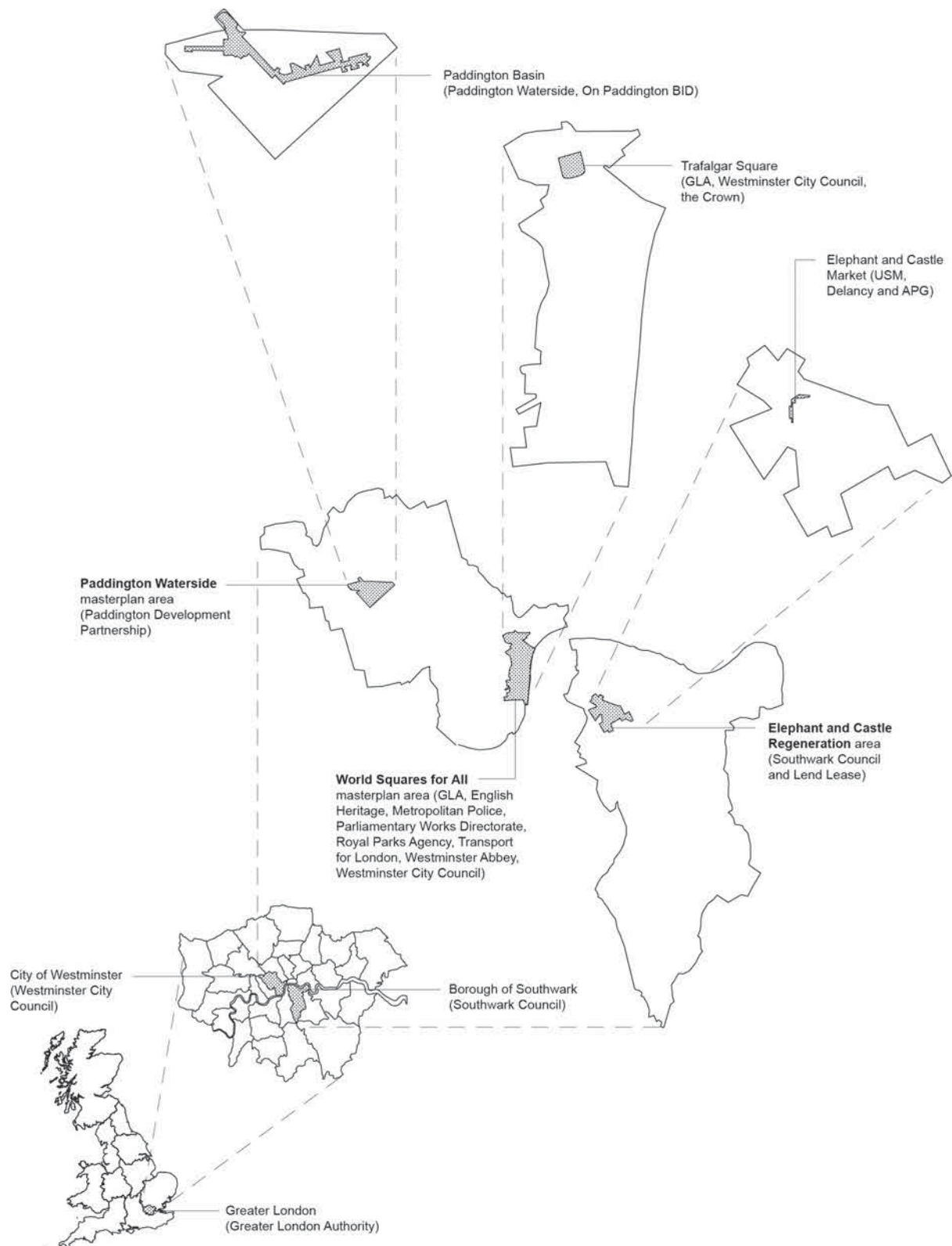


Figure 0.1 Three cases of London masterplanning framing sites of public space redevelopment in the context of borough, metropolitan and national geographies (Fieldwork drawing, 2013)

new buildings, reconfigured roadways, demolished neighbourhoods, displaced businesses and relocated residents. The masterplans have also redefined the relationships, physical forms and activities of public spaces through the contrasting planning, economic and design ambitions that are in play across London: at Elephant and Castle, an unbalanced partnership between the local council and global property developers to comprehensively demolish and reconstruct the area; at Paddington Basin, a development led by private investors and facilitated by the local planning authority to transform a brownfield site, creating highly controlled public spaces; and at Trafalgar Square, a central government initiative facilitated by the GLA to reinvigorate this central London landmark and redefine the image of London through programmed events in the square.

Public spaces

The public spaces that I explore are publicly accessible sites (see Carr et al. 1992:50) that are designed, managed and used by a variety of actors. They are sites that are appropriated through redevelopment and claimed as public spaces during the planning process. I also consider public spaces that are 'taken', as Don Mitchell describes (2003:35), and made public through occupation. I adopt a broad definition of public spaces as physical spaces, often formed by developers, consultants and government departments, and social spaces that are constantly reconfigured by individuals who use these sites for routine activities and to gather around public concerns. These are places defined by teenagers meeting up after school; vendors setting up their small businesses; students gathering around educational concerns to protest in London's streets; and pension companies using their financial means to profit from new public squares. I investigate how these public spaces are formed through financial agreements in planning negotiations, design decisions by architects and the physical occupation of each site. These are contrasting claims to public spaces, produced from relations between government departments, local authorities, property developers, global investors, cultural commentators, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), the Metropolitan Police, public space managers, architectural consultants, activists, residents and visitors, that reveal contestations between how public spaces are developed, managed and used.

The contrasting ways that public spaces are designed by redevelopment teams, approved in planning meetings, visited by tourists and used by local residents is accentuated when neighbourhoods are transformed through masterplanning. I primarily consider public spaces in the thesis through the contexts of the three cases and the relations from which they are constituted. I explore the context of a *local authority London* in the narrow shaded public plaza at Elephant and Castle, which since it was built in the 1970s, has been retrofitted with

a low-cost market that is reassembled each day and operates under the threat of redevelopment. I study the network of formerly industrial canal-side spaces of Paddington Basin, now situated as part of *corporate London*, remade as high-quality waterfronts, squares and streets, activated by flows of commuters and maintained by cleaners and security guards. I lastly consider the public space of Trafalgar Square in terms of a *global London*, a civic square architecturally transformed and then remade by visitors afforded greater public access to a programme of curated events. But despite the increased number of visitors some activities, such as busking and vending, have been pushed to the edge of the square whereby certain individuals are denied the opportunity to take part.

Relations-between

The research focuses on public spaces, as Doreen Massey describes, 'as the product of social relations which are most likely conflicting and unequal' (2005:152). For organisations, groups and individuals involved in redeveloping, operating and occupying these public spaces there are conflicting issues of reputation, profit, access and use at stake. The contrasting approaches to making public spaces – from practices of top-down redevelopment that de Certeau describes as a 'projection that is a way of keeping aloof' (1984:92) to close-up interactions in the street 'below thresholds at which visibility begins' (ibid.:93) – are core concerns in this thesis. At Elephant and Castle Market the ambitions of planners who wish to reimagine the area have conflicted with commercial interests of the adjacent shopping centre owners. Years of uncertainty over the future of the regeneration of Elephant and Castle have left market stall holders operating in increasingly deteriorated conditions, as the market managers and the stall holders struggle to plan the future of their businesses. As the concrete paving of the plaza is replaced with granite slabs in a new market square, doubts are raised as to whether the existing market traders will be allowed to continue. At Paddington Basin the primary objective of the Canal and River Trust (formerly British Waterways), the charity that owns the canal basin for 'public benefit' (www.canalrivertrust.org.uk, 2014), contradicts the operations of the commercial public space managers who oversee the towpaths on behalf of private leaseholders. Narrow terms of publicness, which include highly restricted uses and occasional evictions of those entering the space, are compounded by increased policing across the Paddington area and expanded influence of the development owners through the BID. At Trafalgar Square many groups seek a public space, open for debate and representation, in which to gather around issues of concern while the GLA that manages the square, has imperatives for visual aesthetics, health, prosperity, connectivity, security and world city status (GLA 2009): the first of the GLA's objectives in their *Manifesto for Public Space* is to create a 'beautiful city... with spaces that are fit for a world city' (GLA 2009). The use of the square for public actions is

only part of a schedule of political, cultural and commercial events that exclude less desirable activities of busking, vending and sleeping.

By working across the three cases, I explore how the uneven distribution of political power, economic means, cultural reputations and physical presence influences the ability of people to claim, access, assemble in, and even withdraw from the formation of these masterplanned public spaces.



Figure 0.2 Daily interactions of people and material forms that constitute public spaces at Elephant and Castle (left), Paddington Basin (centre) and Trafalgar Square (right) (Author's photographs 2008, 2012, 2013)

Research approach

Through the research I explore the socio-spatial dimensions of three prominent public spaces. My experience as a landscape architect and urban designer has previously led me to work with diverse spatial practitioners (such as artists, architects, engineers) and organisations (such as developers, city managements, governments). I build on these experiences, aiming, as Massey proposes in her essay *Negotiating Disciplinary Boundaries* (1999), to give attention to the 'relations between the disciplines' (1999:8). Employing methods and literature from different disciplines supports an investigation into how public spaces are planned, constructed and used together within a social framework of how public spaces are produced through site interactions. The combination of observations, interviews, documents and visual analysis enables me to access a diverse range of accounts of public spaces as planned, envisioned and used. By employing these methods, I identify competing ambitions from which I frame the conceptions of public spaces as: made and managed in architectural terms by teams of developers, consultants, politicians and planners (*spatial forms*); curated and shared through artistic renderings and a proliferation of media, such as newspapers, photographs and films (*visual images*); and, used, taken over and reconfigured through diverse activities and events (*social interactions*).

Research questions

The research questions entail an exploration of the specific geographies of each case, through detailed accounts of how public spaces are planned, managed and used, with a specific focus afforded to the interrelations framed by the masterplanning processes.

- How are the three cases of masterplanning unpacked into scales of political and economic strategies, management practices and everyday use?
- How do the planning and masterplanning processes, with public spaces at their core, produce differential benefits and represent interests in uneven ways?
- How do specific commonalities and differences across the cases open up wider insights into large-scale developments?

The first question highlights connections between ways of making (from economic strategies to small-scale daily activities) that produce specific architectural and social forms of public space. Across the three cases, I heard accounts of how policies are set out by politicians to facilitate neighbourhood-scale masterplans; how, as buildings are demolished, daily market operations are threatened; and, how as regulations are rewritten during redevelopments new programmes of events are curated. Through this first question I examine relations between the projects designed and the spaces enacted, how they come together and how they are contested. I compose socio-spatial narratives of each site that highlight relationships between organisations with power to impact large geographies and populations contrasting with smaller-scale groups and individuals seeking opportunities to use and influence public spaces.

In addressing the second question I examine disparities in these public space relationships, such as the financial means, political power and rights of ownership over land that are leveraged when public spaces are reconfigured through planning and reinforced through their continued management. In each case, the building out of the masterplans undermine the continuation of certain activities and compromise future opportunities in the new open spaces. New management structures are also established through the redevelopment process in the form of BIDs, estate managers and private security teams enforcing codes of use and access. I recognise, in addressing the second question that public spaces are both the process and result of contested and unequal social relations, conflicts that are played out in open spaces, in the offices of planners and developers, in online forums and occasionally in legal court.

I aim, through asking the third question, to identify the specific conditions and circumstances that have informed the narratives of public spaces described in each case. In particular, I question how differences across the cases frame nuanced accounts of redevelopment: how the insecure future for the businesses and retailers at Elephant and Castle is caused by the opaque negotiations and the uncertain progress of the redevelopment; how decisions to exclude homeless people from Paddington Basin, both evicted from the development area and excluded from the neighbourhood as nearby homeless hostels are renovated into hotels, are informed by the priorities of the developers and BID managers; and, how laws, such as the 1999 Greater London Authority Act, inform the unfolding of cultural performances in Trafalgar Square.

Conceptions of public spaces

I recognise contrasting objectives of individuals and organisations in the making of public spaces and the implications that these have on the spaces and people who use them. 'The relative importance of these goals', as Carr et al. describe (1992:10), 'has shifted in response to the changing demands of various publics and to political and economic changes in cities.' I identify from the London cases of masterplanning ambitions for making public spaces that I conceptualise as *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions* produced and contested in different ways: firstly, as *spatial forms* of urban redevelopment that can be owned, designed, managed and secured; secondly, as *visual images*, such as architectural renders and photographs of public spaces, framed, maintained, shared and marketed; and, thirdly, as sites for everyday and essential *social interactions* of working, protesting, shopping, relaxing, meeting or passing through. These three concepts of public space frequently overlap in the narratives describing how public spaces in the thesis are realised, defined and used. They also resonate with frequently discussed theories of space, such as the relations of scale between strategies and tactics described by de Certeau (1984) and Lefebvre's (1991) trilectic of representations of space, representational space and spatial practices.

Although I discuss established socio-spatial theories throughout the thesis, in particular in the literature review (Chapter 1), public space conceived as *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions* can be understood in relation to the specific methodological approach to the three masterplanned London sites. Firstly, field observations revealed daily routines and a lack of certain uses in the public spaces of the market, waterside and civic space. Secondly, interviews and conversations described the negotiations that architecturally and

visually define public spaces as they occur in planning meetings, client offices and design studios. Third, document surveys provided further historical accounts that evidenced the rhythms of spatial redevelopments and the impact these had on individual lives. While, finally, visual analysis, in the form of collages and mappings, enhanced the findings of films, photographs and drawings from document surveys and contributed to the notions of public space as spatial forms and visual images.

Spatial forms

The notion of public spaces as *spatial forms* is most familiar to urban designers, planners and landowners. It is a conception of the public realm primarily engaged with what Massey (2005:10) describes as 'already constituted entities' of space, deployed by those who engage with permissible heights, densities and massing as a means of remodelling the city. Spatial forms include material public spaces of imported stone, stainless steel bollards and anti-skate devices under the surveillance of CCTV and understood in terms of ownership. They are public spaces defined by architectural plans with red-line boundaries delineating who owns and who has control over the urban spaces. Public spaces considered as spatial forms include parks, squares, plazas, streets, footpaths, gardens and alleys. The masterplans of *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, *Paddington Waterside* and the *World Squares for All* incorporate many of these open-space typologies, that abut with old and new buildings to form patchworks of phased development parcels realised over several decades.

Like many of the buildings that surround open spaces, public spaces as spatial forms are considered by planners, urban design consultants and developers as land-uses to be negotiated, architectural forms to be designed and properties to be owned. They are public spaces created through design and planning practices. Masterplan documents for the *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* make reference to 'a new market square' being created (Southwark Council 2012:27). During an interview with the leader of the BID (Business Improvement District) at Paddington Basin it was emphasised that public space was being produced across former industrial sites where previously there was no public access: 'we have created new space' proclaimed Kate Beaton, leader of the BID (Interview 2013). Similarly, at Trafalgar Square, architect Sir Norman Foster claims that his design has recreated a 'major civic space' (www.fosterandpartners.com, 2002). To conceive of public spaces primarily as spatial forms can prioritise dimensions of ownership and practices of redesign. In this way, architects, developers, builders and planning authorities can create public spaces to achieve their ambitions for redevelopment and to fulfil their planning obligations. But, Simon Townsend, one of the architects who led the redesign of Trafalgar Square, described the problems of reading London through 'red-lines' and 'site boundaries'

which define ownership of development parcels (Interview 2014). He explains that when this perspective is challenged by interfaces between the spatial forms and other relationships, understanding the city 'gets a lot more complicated, frightening and uncertain' (ibid.).

Spatial priorities for public spaces can also reinforce public-private dualisms. Smith and Low (2006:4) explain that:

Whereas private space is demarcated and protected by state regulated rules of private property use, public space, while far from free of regulation, is generally conceived as open to greater or lesser public participation.

The public spaces in each of the cases are not exclusively owned or controlled by the state; instead, they reveal fragmented structures of property and management. The spaces are owned by the government (through the Crown Estate), the local authority (City of Westminster and Southwark Council), public agencies (Canal and River Trust and Network Rail) and private interests (including Lend Lease, Delancey, Reuben Brothers and Land Securities). As I describe in the following chapter, private interests take an active role in designing and managing public spaces across the UK. Reflecting the research of Smith and Low (2005:5), I include privately owned and managed public spaces in the research, since excluding them from the thesis would omit accounts of, and relations with, developers and commercial organisations who are active participants in public spaces in London.

[Yet] the experience of public space belies such an abrupt distinction between public and private spheres and spaces. It is important to recognize that many constituents of public space are privately owned, managed, and regulated elements of the public sphere (Smith and Low 2005:5)

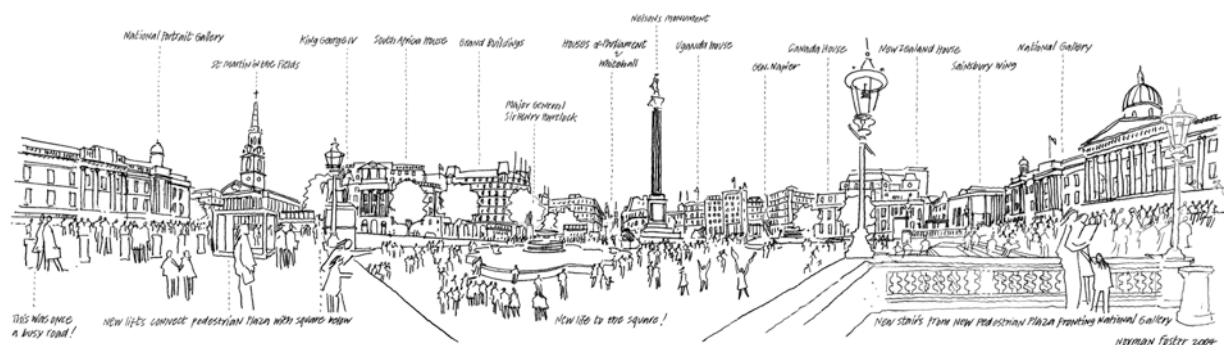


Figure 0.3 Architectural vision for reconfigured Trafalgar Square (Sketch by Norman Foster, 2004)

Visual images

The array of images in films, photographs, architectural drawings and other media depictions, found in document surveys along with the presence in the sites of people taking photographs, forms the second conception of public spaces prioritised as *visual images*. I consider both images of architectural forms of public spaces (past, existing and proposed as

well as fictional narratives from film and television) and of the activities undertaken within the sites (see figure 0.2). In Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin photographic images are used during practices of redevelopment to highlight the problems of existing public spaces that are redesigned and represented in sketches and renders (see figure 0.3). In Trafalgar Square image making is pronounced through the consistent presence of people photographing the square with cameras, mobile phones and tablets. The first masterplanning of Trafalgar Square (1839 – 1844) coincided with the advent of new photographic techniques (1839 and 1840) at a time that John Urry and Jonas Larsen describe as the development of the ‘tourist-gaze’ (2011:14). Photography has remained an important part of the experience and planning of the square. Sam, a local resident and colleague of the architecture team who redesigned the square in 2003, described how the latest spatial arrangement from the *World Squares for All* masterplan was intended to facilitate tourist photography.



Figure 0.4 Photograph of Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre with the roundabout in the foreground and the Strata SE1 residential tower to the right (www.kenningtonrunoff.com, 2013)



Figure 0.5 Architectural render of proposed Elephant and Castle Town Centre drawn to facilitate planning permission and marketing of spatial forms (www.elephantandcastletowncentre.co.uk, 2016)

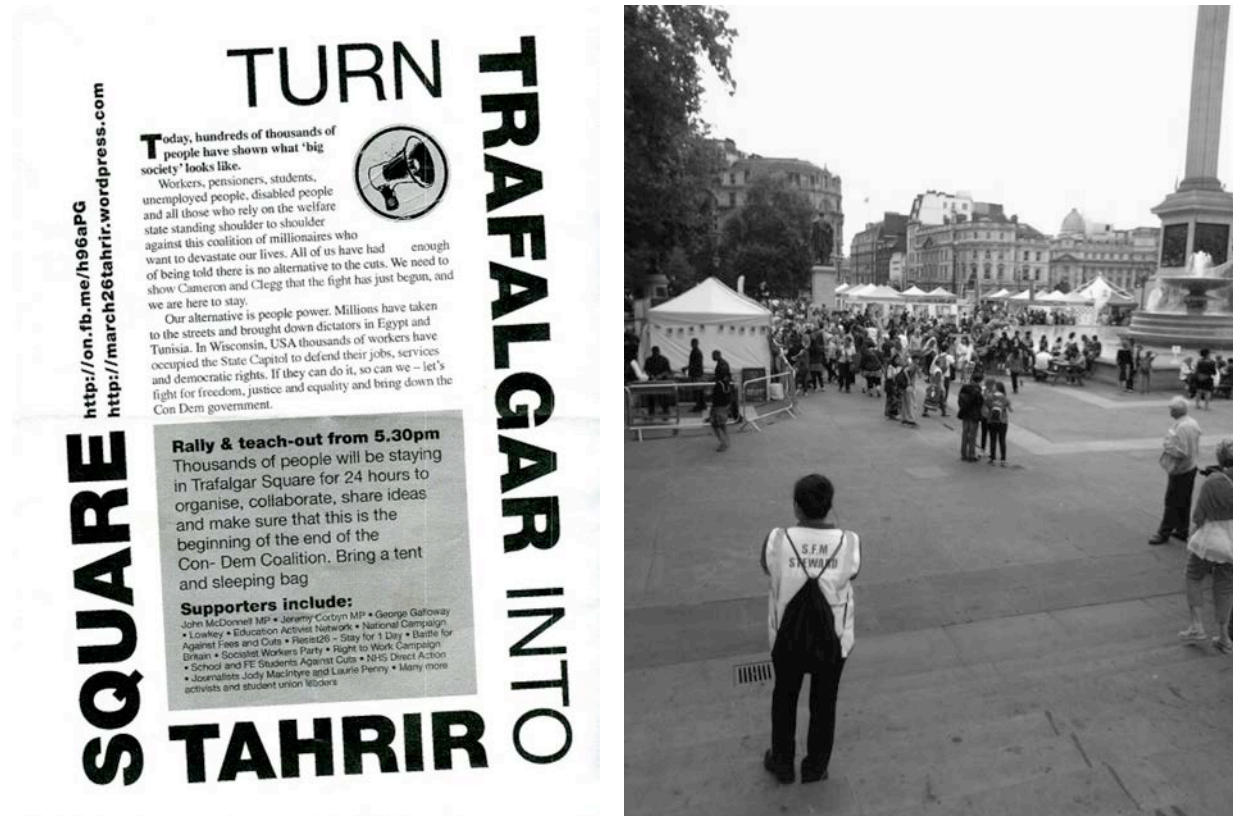
As London and its boroughs are redefined under financial pressures and global competition with other cities, visual narratives that reframe how the city is perceived through its public spaces have gained momentum. I identify moments in each case where the public realm is claimed as an 'urban image', as Aspa Gospodini puts it, 'rather than a democratic space' (2002:61). Although Boris Johnson, who as the Mayor of London led the GLA, supported the 'democratic tradition' of rallies and demonstrations in Trafalgar Square (www.london.gov.uk, 2014), his manifesto for public spaces prioritised the square's aesthetic beauty (www.london.gov.uk, 2009). In reorganising public spaces like Trafalgar Square, the GLA revitalised what Mitchell describes as a 'prestigious and symbolic urban landscape' to maintain 'the city's metropolitan status in the global urban system' (1997:323). It is a way of seeing public spaces as scenes, facilitated by tight regulations, which Mitchell claims prioritises order over more 'messy realities' (2012:186). Everyday transgressions, such as dishevelled looking people asking for money in the pedestrian tunnels leading to Elephant and Castle Market, teenagers smoking behind the corporate buildings of Paddington Basin and unpermitted gatherings in Trafalgar Square, create images that can undermine those intended by local authorities, BIDs and the GLA. However, images of such scenes can also be used during the masterplanning process to argue for, and legitimise, masterplanned change. I reveal in subsequent chapters that the regeneration of Elephant and Castle and the development of Paddington Basin create, appropriate and employ images to facilitate planning approvals, encourage investment in their projects and to market their residential and commercial spaces.

Social interactions

The third concept highlights the needs and uses of public spaces for *social interactions*. During fieldwork I observed commuters passing through on their way to work, groups of men talking, tourists gathering and dispersing through the day and residents sitting outside their buildings. The physical spaces were reconfigured as market traders at Elephant and Castle Market and Paddington Basin erected and dismantled their stalls while teams of events contractors at Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square reorganised their public spaces to host music concerts, cultural programmes and temporary artworks at various times of the year. The frame of public spaces composed around social interactions includes both spatial expressions of the public sphere (see Smith and Low 2005), as observed in actions and gatherings around issues of public concern, as well as routine uses of the material geographies of each site. These are public spaces of everyday and exceptional activities – as Massey asserts, public spaces ‘made out of our activities and our interrelations’ (www.publicspace.org, 2013) – which are more or less public, reconfiguring the fabric of London through physical action. Scheduled interactions are evident as teams of uniformed security personnel patrol all three public spaces; visibly present at Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square, while less frequently observed at Elephant and Castle Market. These routines express spatial and social control directed by the GLA, local authorities, developers and public space managers (such as BIDs) who employ contractors to enforce regulations, replace damaged paving, clean fountains, remove graffiti, pick up litter, wash away urine soaked corners and disperse pigeons. Such management regimes are synchronised with scheduled events (see figure 0.7) to maintain the spatial settings and control who may pass through or congregate, and what they are permitted to do.

Excepting political protests at Trafalgar Square (and infrequent demonstrations at Paddington Basin), few social interactions within these sites explicitly claim the sites as public spaces; rather, people occupy spaces through incidental and more routine activities and use. When spaces were taken assertively, I observed distinct forms of public action, such as political demonstrations against the policies of the Conservative-led coalition government (see figure 0.6). At Paddington Basin protests against pharmaceutical tenant AstraZeneca (2012) were described during an interview as having challenged how the developers had produced the public spaces (Interview with Canal and River Trust manager, Michael Bond, 2013). These activities resonate with Mitchell’s assertion for making public space through occupation (2003:35) and notions of public spheres that are formed from what Nancy Fraser describes as the relations between ‘a plurality of competing publics’ (1990:61). These are public spaces that represent democratic traditions of political formation through assembly and discourses in public. In Trafalgar Square the public actions highlight

the need for places to celebrate cultural events, to debate political issues and to find representation across a range of media. However, despite occasional contestations and expressions of public discourse, the cases considered here more frequently reveal routine rhythms of tourism, daily markets, commuting and practices of cleaning, security and management.



Figures 0.6 & 0.7 Unlicensed gatherings (left) and GLA organised events (right) gathering around political concerns and cultural celebrations (Flyer for demonstration 2010; author's photograph 2014)

Overlapping concepts

Descriptions of public spaces as *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions* are identified in the accounts of each site. They are also not discrete categories that can be considered in narrow disciplinary terms (such as architects emphasising spatial forms and sociologists focusing on social interactions) or with limited methodological tools (such as design, mapping or direct observation). The interrelations between what de Certeau calls 'types of operations' that produce space (1984:30) cannot be separated into simple dichotomies. From the research I occasionally identify the imposition of 'strategies' that aim to produce public spaces and 'tactics' that underpin their use (1984:30). However, I most frequently recognise what Massey terms a 'throwntogetherness' of space (2005:141), where different trajectories, actions and forms constitute public spaces. This approach emphasises relations between public spaces commissioned as architectural spaces, represented in

media images and routinely used for different activities. It explores the ideological, practical and material building of public spaces, their representation in visual media and their bringing to life through everyday use. To understand space, Massey claims, we must establish the 'relational constructedness of things' (2005:10). Rather than solely focusing on spaces as objects, this research examines the daily uses, public actions, planning agreements and legal conflicts that come together in physical geographies to compose the public spaces of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square – public spaces that are constantly being made and remade.

Through the research I aim to make sense of the associations between contrasting ways that public spaces are made and claimed, examining the unequal opportunities afforded to different people and organisations and how these are navigated and challenged. I examine the interrelations between individuals, groups and spaces: Southwark Council and competing developers vie for control of Elephant and Castle's shopping centre, a site central to the success of the masterplan; the BID at Paddington Basin create opportunities for developers and investors over the interests of residents who wish to see more diverse activities along the waterside; and, street performers on the edge of Trafalgar Square compete for the attention of tourists with events facilitated and directed by the GLA.

Three contexts: local authority, corporate and global London

The sites are explored within the timeframes of the respective masterplans and during the period of research from 2010 to 2017. The cases, which are explained in more detail in chapter two, *Researching public space – combining methods*, have been brought together in the thesis due to their differing structures of comprehensive masterplanned redevelopment, including: a partnering of local authority and private developers at Elephant and Castle (from 2004 to 2030); developer-led redevelopment at Paddington Basin (from 1998 to 2018); and, metropolitan government masterplanning at Trafalgar Square (from 1996 to 2003). All three projects were featured in an exhibition in 2007 by New London Architecture, a centre advocating architectural development in London, celebrating what its exhibition director Peter Murray described as 'a sea change in attitudes to public space' (2007:4). Murray cites in the exhibition, titled *Public City: Places for People*, the significance of the government's Urban Task Force, the recent formation of the GLA and the Mayor's appointment of acclaimed architect Richard Rogers who oversaw a decade-long transformation of London. One hundred and twenty projects were presented in the exhibition, loosely mapping onto Mayor Livingstone's initiative to 'create or upgrade' one hundred public spaces across

London (GLA 2002). But within a year of the exhibition, the 2008 financial crisis led to a cut in central government spending and a new Conservative Mayor was elected who gave greater emphasis to private investment in public projects. It was in this context that the research began in 2010, exploring three sites transformed through discordant ambitions for commercial gain, political expression and economic repositioning, interacting with individuals and groups for whom public spaces are key to everyday life. The contrasting London boroughs, political agendas and economic means that frame each case highlight three London contexts seen through local authority plans at Elephant and Castle Market (*local authority London*), corporate ambitions at Paddington Basin (*corporate London*) and global competition between cities at Trafalgar Square (*global London*).

Local authority London

The first context, of a local authority London, highlights the need of local councils to cede land and responsibility for development through partnering with private interests. Political agendas prescribed by Conservative and New Labour governments have, as Fainstein describes, 'promoted physical change with the expectations that better-looking cities are also better cities' (1994:2). She continues:

The quandary for local political officials is that they must depend on the private sector to finance most economic expansion, and they only have limited tools for attracting expansion to their jurisdictions.

By restricting the planning powers and budgets of local authorities, central governments have forced councils, such as Southwark, to partner with private developers who have recognised that large areas of land used for social housing, local businesses and green spaces can be released for redevelopment. With Southwark Council's ambition to update its marginal neighbourhoods and deteriorated public infrastructures, but with limited options available, the form, pace and objectives of developments have increasingly reflected developer timelines, investor ambitions and global markets (see figure 0.8). Fainstein (1994:123) identifies common characteristics of such projects:

... they involve the re-use of commercial areas by different enterprises that would cater to new kinds of customers; they require a major restructuring of land uses and the relocation or closing of existing business premises; and they [are] likely to cause changes in the composition of the working and residential populations in the project area and their surroundings.

This is a London of insecure and asymmetrical partnerships, between Lend Lease Corporation, Southwark Council and other landowners, who have repeatedly renegotiated the terms of their agreements to ensure adequate profit for private developers while denying sufficient public transparency.

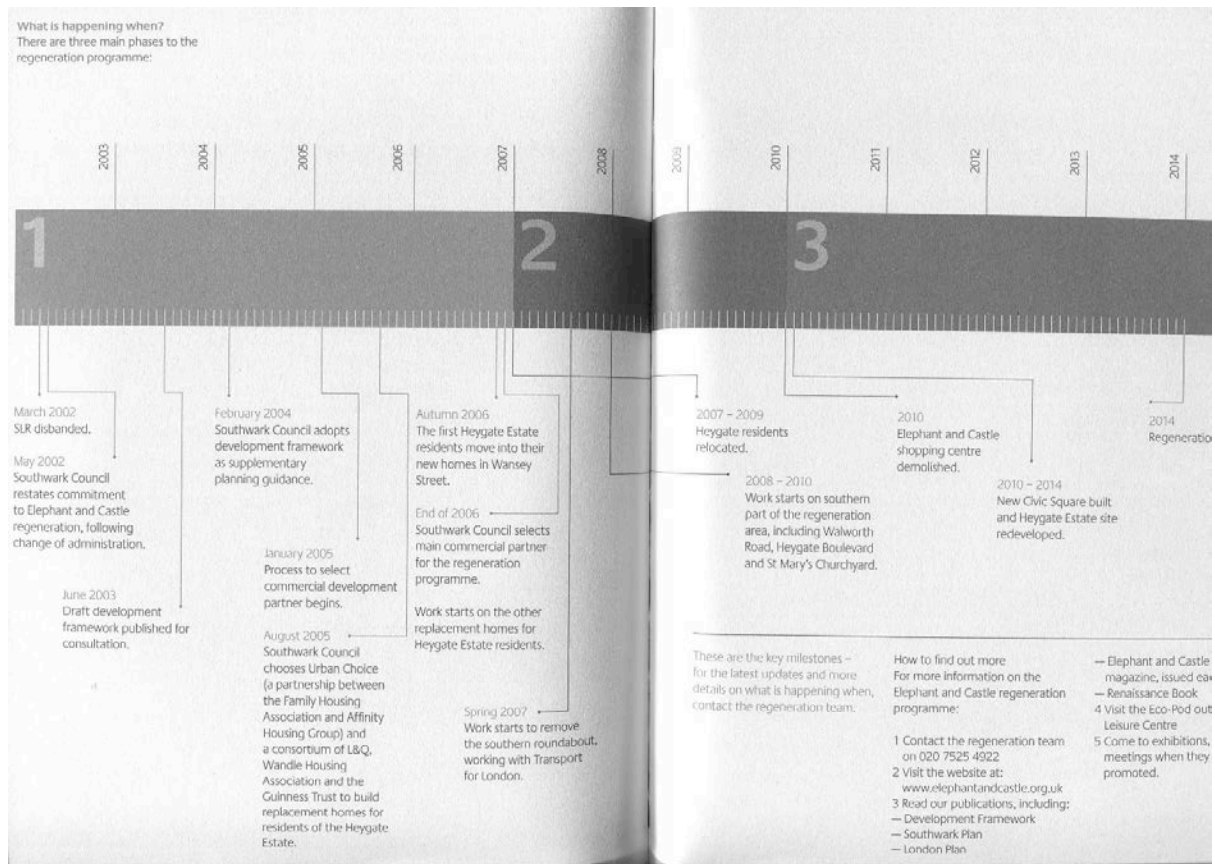


Figure 0.8 Local authority timeline for development at Elephant and Castle anticipating a commercial partnership in 2006 (Southwark Council, 2004)

While developers gain through commercial leases and sales of apartments, Southwark Council receive benefits as developers provide new parks, squares and renovated Tube infrastructure. Section 106 contributions, also known as planning obligations, are negotiated between developers and local authorities to provide resources to offset the impact of developments (Town and Country Planning Act 1990). The Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL) is a more recent tariff-based approach intended to support the development of local areas. Both mechanisms are used by local authorities to provide new public spaces for the benefit of existing areas and communities. Southwark Council's approach is to use Section 106 contributions 'for defined site specific mitigation' and CIL in order to 'secure contributions towards strategic infrastructure' (www.southwark.gov.uk, 2014). Both planning instruments can return benefits to developers who frequently maintain control of the new public spaces, and to the local authority who are able to divest their responsibilities for ongoing costs and maintenance (Department for Communities and Local Government 2006). Research conducted by architectural practice Gensler and the Urban Land Institute (ULI), published in a report titled *Open Space: An asset without a champion* (2011), promotes benefits for private investors in making and managing public space. Roger Madelin from Argent, the company overseeing the *King's Cross Central* masterplan, writes:

'Developers certainly value open space and invest in it accordingly because they understand the potential long-term return on investment' (2011:4). But Section 106 negotiations, as those between Southwark Council and Lend Lease, are seldom conducted in public, leading to criticism by government agencies (Department for Communities and Local Government 2006:24) and by Elephant and Castle residents. Paul, a local resident who also worked at the council averred: 'My personal view is that the people who were negotiating at a high level were not... transparent' (Interview, 2012). The lack of information about the process of regeneration has caused suspicion amongst residents and local businesses: as Mitchell and Staehelli identify (2008:xxiii), when private developers such as Lend Lease and Delancy take over the provision of public space from local government they haggle over the scope and scale of their projects, while appropriating control of surrounding spaces to visually foreground their developments.

Corporate London

In contrast, corporate London is a city of highly facilitated urban developments producing tightly regulated public spaces of streets, squares and amphitheatres that fit neatly between new offices and tall residential buildings. It is a London that has benefited from three decades of government policies, informed by economic liberalism and free markets, that can be read through the building, reconstruction and occasional abandonment of the city's public spaces. Firstly, in the 1980s, swathes of formerly industrial sites, waterfronts and rail yards, such as Paddington Basin, that had facilitated the mercantile and industrial growth of London and England, were sold for development by central government and public agencies. As the City of Westminster followed the central government's laissez-faire approach to planning in the late 1990s, Paddington Basin was divided into thirteen development parcels which were bought, traded, subdivided and leased depending on the opportunities for profit from their fluctuating property values. Westminster initiated the masterplan and facilitated each proposal for planning permission. Despite criticism of the commercial nature of the development (See Moore in Architect's Journal, 2009), Julian Dean, a Westminster planning officer, underlines: 'We have given planning approval to every scheme. We have never gone to a public enquiry... not because we have given in, its more because we've negotiated.' (Interview 2015). As with similar sites, for example, King's Cross and Greenwich peninsula, successive plans were developed over several decades, each reflecting the shifting profits possible from office space in the 1980s to residential accommodation in the 2000s. Although the development phases at Paddington Basin have progressed sporadically, there has been a consistent building-out of an infrastructure of pristine architectural public spaces. These open spaces elegantly foreground the building developments while realising ambitions for public access by the Canal and River Trust, who

sold the land along the canal to developers on long leases. The featureless landscape, paved in stone with stainless steel details, is highly maintained through routines of repairing and cleaning. Claims in planning documents to the publicness of these spaces are undermined by inconsistent access enforced by private security guards and compounded by a hands-off approach by the City of Westminster to the development of this London enclave.

What are variably described as public-private, semi-public, semi-private and privatised public spaces, characterise many of the new public spaces of corporate London. The private terms of development, maintenance and security that are reinforced at Paddington Basin are expected to be mirrored at Elephant and Castle, where the cost to maintain the development's new public spaces to the level desired by the developer is higher than what the local authority would provide. Similar developments across London, such as Paternoster Square and Broadgate, incorporate privately owned and managed open spaces. The development parcels are transformed by private developers and, once completed, remain owned by banks, investment funds and pension holdings. They have restricted access and they completely deny unlicensed gatherings or protest (Interview with photographer, Jamie, 2013). Small stainless steel plaques are ubiquitous across these sites, proclaiming that the spaces described as public in planning meetings are actually private and that access and use can subsequently be withheld. At Paddington Basin there are also multiple forms of management, including property management company Broadgate Estates; early pioneers in the management of privately owned public spaces in the UK in the 1980s. More recently Broadgate Estates has recognised the profit-making potential of providing 'public realm estate management' (www.broadgateestates.co.uk, 2013), which they now deliver for the Reuben brothers who own Merchant Square at Paddington Basin. Privately dominated changes to how public spaces of corporate London are managed continue unmitigated despite a study commissioned by the former Deputy Mayor, Nicky Gavron, stating:

London planning has become adept at the delivery of high quality public realm as part of large scale private developments... the planning system has not caught up with the fact that what is in effect public space is often subject to private management (GLA 2011:9)

Corporate London has also witnessed an acceleration of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) since they were introduced in the UK in 2003. BID organisations have embraced the opportunity to manage neighbourhoods across London addressing inconsistencies and frequent reductions in government funding of public spaces since the 1980s. The deployment of BIDs was questioned in early discussions around the privatisation of public space (Sorkin 1992) and continues to be criticised in North America as focusing on 'consumption, gentrification, and the maintenance of a "pro-business" streetscape' (Madden

2010:196). The main differences between BIDs in the UK and the USA is that to fund the former, a levy is charged to businesses whereas in the latter the building owner is charged the BID levy (see Carmona, de Magalhães and Hammond 2008:180). Evident from this research are the activities of BIDs that extend commercial approaches across public spaces of neighbourhoods limiting the publicness of streets, squares and canal-side spaces. In David Madden's study of Bryant Park, and as also claimed at Paddington Basin (Interview with BID manager, 2012), BIDs respond to criticism of the lack of publicness of their public spaces by claiming that BIDs have made areas 'more accessible and hence more public' than the spaces previously provided by public agencies (Madden 2010:196).

Global London

The third context, Global London, can be understood in terms of the events, images and aspirations for a world-class capital city promoted under the auspices of the Mayor of London and the GLA. It is a London understood through public spaces that have come to represent what Ash Amin describes as 'expressions of achievement and aspiration by urban leaders and visionaries' (2008:5). After the New Labour government was elected in 1997 they established the GLA, which was afforded, through the Greater London Authority Act (1999), oversight of both transportation and planning across the capital. The new Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, became responsible for Trafalgar Square and Parliament Square, which were midway through being reimaged by the *World Squares for All* masterplan. Simon Townsend, one of the architects involved in the masterplan, describes how John Gummer MP, previously Secretary of State for the Environment under the Conservative government, initiated the project through a series of debates at the Architecture Foundation, claiming that "two of our greatest civic spaces were just giant roundabouts" (Interview with Simon Townsend 2013). Gospodini suggests that during this period the 'quality of urban space' became a prerequisite for attracting investment into cities like London, Paris and Berlin (Gospodini 2002:12). To encourage property speculation in commercial and residential areas, global London is drawn into competition with other cities wishing to maintain a global status. Central government, the GLA and the office of the Mayor of London aim to create distinct and attractive conditions for investment – frequently through London's public spaces (see figure 0.9). As former Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott stated: 'London is built around its squares and its architecture and its old buildings – and they are beautiful!' (Interview 2013).

London's 'World Class' status aligns with a mayoral focus on actively making new public spaces 'fit for a world city' (GLA 2009:02).

Outline of chapters

At the core of the thesis is an investigation, employing a combination of methods to unpack the masterplanned cases at Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square, to explore intersecting accounts of public spaces as planned, designed and lived.

Chapter one, *Social and spatial relations of public space – reviewing literature*, explores the conceptual and planning literature that describe how urban spaces, and in particular public spaces in London, are made and remade. I bring together literature from across architectural and sociological disciplines that offer contexts for, and clues to, the issues of how public spaces in the three cases are constantly in the process of being made through material, visual and social interactions. The chapter is structured with the aim of understanding the relations between scales of global competition that inform the development of the cases, as well as engaging with literature focused on architectural spaces and close-up scales of everyday actions.

Chapter two, *Practices of public space – combining methods*, begins by describing the masterplan cases of *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, *Paddington Waterside* and *World Squares for All*, and explaining the selection criteria. I describe the combination of methods: observation, interviews, document surveys and visual analysis, to establish how varying accounts of public spaces are revealed across the cases. I discuss how I employed the methods within the contrasting conditions of each site and how they informed the conceptions of public spaces as *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions*.

The investigation of the first case is discussed in chapter three, *Making and taking Elephant and Castle*. I examine how, despite masterplans that envelop large swathes of Elephant and Castle, planning processes have progressed in a piecemeal and incremental manner. I examine scales of production, from the daily making and dismantling of market stalls to the comprehensive planning of the area spanning the last hundred years. I also question whether masterplanning strategies are reliant on the need to take space, where the problems caused by physical appropriation are compounded by drawn out periods of talking-down the everyday places of this marginalised area of South London.

Chapter four, *Place as property in Paddington*, presents the second case of *Paddington Waterside* – a site where a developer-led masterplan and a BID create a relentless commodification of space and reframe planning discourse that presents the making of places and public spaces. I argue that the business-orientated development results in a seamless, polished and over-written public realm that privileges people moving through the area rather than activities that may require a longer-term presence. I recognise the objectives and actions of state agencies handing over public assets to be managed by private concerns and a subtly aggressive expansion by private interests to selectively claim and package spaces, images and narratives beyond their spatial or legal bounds.

Chapter five, *Ornaments and images of Trafalgar Square*, investigates the third case of redevelopment, which sets out the remaking of Trafalgar Square by the Greater London Authority to establish a rhythm of globally visible events and practices in creating distinctive visual narratives of London. I question the visual and architectural emphasis, the civic presence of the square, its role as a public space and the frequency of cleaning. I highlight the ambitions for public spaces as scenes with which individuals and organisations wish to be associated. The chapter discusses the schedule of international events that involve the fencing-off of the square and, through the occupation of the space by crowds of tourists and protestors, the identification of the square as a distinctly ornamental and spectacular setting. I then reveal how the daily routines as well as large-scale events and gatherings are managed and presented in and to the public.

In chapter six I provide a *Summary of cases*, bringing together the conceptual and analytical issues highlighted in the three preceding chapters. I firstly highlight the distinctive issues revealed in each site and then discuss the overlapping, common narratives. The notions of public spaces constituted as *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions* are examined as they relate to the three cases. I explain how bringing together these cases has allowed me to examine common concerns and conflicting imperatives that contribute to particular understandings of public spaces across London. I explore the unequal relationships between conflicting ways of realising public spaces and I critically question public spaces produced in order to realise economic ambitions.

The final chapter presents conclusions from the research and focuses on the imposition of masterplans, aspirations for visual images and spatial forms and the realisation of large-scale strategies. I go on to discuss three considerations for how public spaces could be reconceived: as collages of public space; as processes of making and unmaking; and, in terms of understandings of 'publicness' focused on the inclusiveness of making rather than

access to public spaces as products. In the concluding section, I take the opportunity to speculate on a short public space code proposing an approach for achieving greater transparency through fairly and inclusively negotiating the future production of public spaces in London.

Chapter 1

Social and spatial relations of public space – reviewing literature

In this chapter I discuss ideas that inform the investigation of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square as sites where public spaces are differentially produced through competing processes. I combine my experience of architectural research into public space with social science literatures. I focus on texts that resonate with the three cases of *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, *Paddington Waterside* and the *World Squares for All* and that contextualise the regeneration of the UK's capital city's public spaces. I highlight an era of pronounced development in London in which commercial speculation and public interests compete and where small-scale concerns are less considered. The chapter contextualises the literature and the sites through analysing North American and European approaches to public space redevelopment in a particular period where masterplanning has brought together government agendas with international investment. It provides conceptual contexts by examining theoretical literature discussing the formation of space and notions of the public sphere and public space. Through the chapter I highlight the area of research to which this thesis aims to contribute, focusing on the intersection of architectural, spatial and visual analysis with social conceptions of how the three London public spaces have been formed.

Combining literature

I bring together literatures that inform the architectural configuration of public spaces (from urban policy to architectural theory) with discourses around their everyday remaking (from social sciences). A particular focus is afforded to texts concerned with conflicting ways public spaces are made, highlighting the unequal relations between global agendas and smaller-scale routines (Gospodini 2002; Low and Smith 2006; Mitchell 2003; Shane 1995 & 2005; Sorkin 1992; Zukin 1995). Working with architectural, spatial and visual research alongside texts by sociologists, geographers and anthropologists enables me to explore the relations between government policies, developer ambitions, spatial forms and daily activities. I draw authors into close proximity by writing from architectural perspectives with research from social sciences to identify accounts of public spaces told in the context of large-scale masterplanned redevelopments. In addition to specific literatures that resonate with the cases, I introduce commonly referenced spatial and social concepts: Lynch's analysis of North American cities, from *The Image of the City* (1960), for example, in order to analyse the conditions of districts that are reconfigured through masterplanned development.

I discuss Rowe and Koetter's analysis in *Collage City* (1978), an approach that is more suggestive of how cities are transformed, but which provide insights into concerns for comprehensive masterplanning efforts. Further, I examine de Certeau's conceptual frames from *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) as terms that enable the relations between government policies and routine interactions in the sites to be understood. Exploring architectural literatures focused on public spaces alongside texts that examine social interactions leads to discussions of the public sphere and the role of publics in public space discourses. I therefore examine what can be revealed through gaining spatial understandings of different relations of publicness.

Case study focus

Through an inductive approach to the research, beginning with direct observation in each location, then conducting interviews, surveys of documents and visual analysis, I have formed a theoretical framework. This chapter focuses on texts that support this approach and that pertain to the reconfiguration of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square, concentrating on how cases of masterplanned redevelopment in London are contested through spatial, visual and social approaches to realising public spaces. I employ definitions of public space found to inform the cases of masterplanning, extending from spatial forms (see Carr et al. 1992) to more social relations (see Massey 2005). I focus the review on texts that speak to the particular time periods of development (between 1998 – 2017); this is a time in London where renewed policy directions and highly charged economic agendas facilitated large-scale masterplanned redevelopments impacting public spaces. To explore broader geographical contexts, I reflect on discussions focused on models of private redevelopment and management that have transformed North American public spaces and that frequently correlate with the regeneration found in London in terms of urban economic conditions for development (Sorkin 1992; Mitchell 2003; Low and Smith 2006). I also explore research that examines state-led approaches to refashioning public spaces across Europe since strategic interventions enhance the ability of European cities to compete for large-scale private investment (Degan 2008; Fainstein 2010; Gospodini 2002).

Use of theory

This chapter introduces the research and theory that I have employed in three ways. Firstly, some literatures provide important verification of data regarding the cases as well as establishing national and international contexts for researching how public spaces are made and remade. Authors such as Campkin (2013), Raco and Henderson (2009) and Mace (2005) have undertaken significant research that has informed how I understand the development of public spaces at Elephant and Castle, Paddington and Trafalgar Square

respectively. Additionally, Madanipour's research (1996, 2010) that intersects the development of UK urban design and public space with theoretical frames provides an important source of information. Secondly, as I analyse each case, I highlight specific authors whose research resonates with what I identified: relating to the first comprehensive remaking of Elephant and Castle that occurred between the 1950s and 1970s I refer in Chapter 3 to Jacobs' critique of large-scale redevelopments (1961:68) and her propositions for smaller-scale urban blocks; in Chapter 4 I use Lynch's analysis of urban form (1960:47) to highlight how new spaces at Paddington Basin are designed to create urban images but how such attempts at place-making are undermined by issues of management and security (1981:205). Then in Chapter 5 I build on Sennett's description of public personalities in mid-nineteenth century London (1977) with Urry and Larsen's conceptualisation of the tourist gaze (2011) to explain the development of Trafalgar Square and its use as a site of photography and image making. The third use of theory in the thesis is in order to develop and substantiate concepts. I build on Massey's (2005:9) propositions for space, in particular her assertion that space is a 'product of interrelations' and that it is 'always in process', to refine my definition of public space in the concluding chapter. Massey's conceptual framing also resonates with Fraser's definition of the public sphere as well as Smith and Low's interest (2006:6) in bringing closer discourses of public space with those of public sphere. As described above, this combining of literatures to recognise what is at stake as public spaces are produced is a core ambition of my research.

Chapter structure

The chapter is structured in four sections and reflects, as Smith and Low describe in *The Politics of Public Space* (2006), '[how] the scale of public space and the public sphere is socially produced' (2006:7). I describe four scales that interrelate with the production of public spaces; scales that are identified in the three cases to highlight the relations of power from national policy and international corporations to community initiatives and individual actions. The first section intersects global agendas, national policies and metropolitan strategies for public space. I discuss the impact on London of development policy, literature regarding international trends and economic agendas that see cities compete for investment. In the second section, I analyse the processes of masterplanned redevelopment, demonstrating how spatial forms are defined by urban designers for developers and local authorities and how their neighbourhood scales correspond to public realm management mechanisms. In the third section I focus on the architectural dimension of individual public space projects that are designed as scenic settings, spatial products and social spaces. In the fourth section I discuss the scale of face-to-face interactions that use, repurpose and

regulate public spaces and how these actions can be understood in terms of both a spatialised public sphere and constantly reproduced public spaces. This section describes cases where some organisations gain and other individuals lose out during public space transformations, highlighting the usefulness of research processes of public space: 'Investigating the means of making and remaking public space provides a unique window on the politics of the public sphere' (Smith and Low 2006:7). The chapter concludes by emphasising the relations between these scales as public space is formed to consider how residents, visitors, market managers, business groups and state institutions assert themselves across these three sites of publicness.

Policies and strategies for public space: a global lens

The beginning of the masterplanning processes of *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* (1999 and 2004), *Paddington Waterside* (1998) and the *World Squares for All* (1999) are marked by significant changes in planning and development policy in the UK. At the end of the twentieth century, the recently elected New Labour government (1997) and the publication of *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (1999), by the newly formed Urban Task Force, set out enhanced conditions for urban regeneration of British cities. *Towards an Urban Renaissance* was commissioned by the then Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott and was led by the architect Richard Rogers. It emphasises the need for design-led regeneration in cities across the UK. The report features a foreword by Pasqual Maragall, the former Mayor of Barcelona who had presided over his city's winning and hosting of the Olympic Games in 1992. The authors present international case studies of what they consider successful public spaces (Urban Task Force 1999:72). They emphasise the importance of achieving a 'high-quality urban product by creating compact urban developments' (1999:11). The report proposes that developments include networks of public spaces composed of streets, squares and parks, forming a public realm managed by the public sector.

Towards an Urban Renaissance reflects many policy and design issues that Rogers had identified, with the politician Mark Fisher, in *A New London* (1992). Rogers and Fisher anticipate the establishment of the Greater London Authority (GLA) by calling for a 'strategic planning body' that could 'experiment with land taxes, road pricing, tourism taxes and business rates' (1992:xxxii). Following the publication of *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, the Urban Task Force and the government's Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) authored further reports encouraging the regeneration of UK cities. Publications such as *The Manifesto for Better Public Spaces* (CABE 2004) and *Towards a*

Strong Urban Renaissance (2005) greatly influenced a climate of design-led masterplanning and government-facilitated urban redevelopment for over a decade. The foundation of these organisations and their publications, Campkin explains in *Remaking London*, 'marked a feverish new appetite for the regeneration of cities, and one continued by successive governments and local authorities ever since' (2013:2).

This focus on urban redevelopment emerged from national contexts of previous Thatcher-led Conservative government policies and the influence of international strategies for the development of new public spaces. In the 1980s Thatcher's government abolished the Greater London Council (GLC), London's metropolitan government led by Ken Livingstone, and began to facilitate specific commercial developments, such as London's Docklands.

Imrie and Raco explain in *Urban Renaissance?* (2003:3):

Regeneration, Thatcher-style, was characterised by the use of public subsidies, tax breaks, and the reduction in planning and other regulatory controls as a mechanism to create a context to encourage corporate capital to invest in cities.

Imrie and Raco highlight a government policy that claimed that a 'trickle-down' of wealth from capital investments would reach local communities (2003:11). They explain that significant criticism of the government's approach pointed to widening inequalities and increased poverty in cities (see Fainstein 2010:116; Campkin 2013). In *Regenerating London*, Imrie, Lees and Raco argue that the regeneration policy enabled growth in specific areas of London, but they question whether this 'improved the quality of life for the majority of the city's residents' (2009:9). The resultant fragmentation of districts created enclaves of intense development juxtaposed with areas of neglect (see Shane 1995). This reliance on free-market approaches to development in the 1980s and early 1990s also led to new forms of tightly managed, commercially focused public spaces. Developments such as Canary Wharf and Broadgate established a tightly securitised public realm around their estates of commercial buildings. In response to such developments, Rogers and Fisher claim that the public realm of London was being privatised. Emphasising the need for local authority control of public spaces, and criticising the increased presence of private interests, they state: 'there is no revival of public spaces until these issues are tackled' (1992:111). During the 1980s two contrasting public space strategies were employed in several cities in North America and across Europe. On the one hand, the involvement of private interests and commercially-led development of public spaces was embraced in cities such as New York. In contrast, some European cities, most notably Barcelona, embarked on significant government-led investments into waterfronts, plazas and neighbourhood parks. These two approaches to planning were later combined in varying ways in London's Urban

Renaissance under the New Labour government. In North America, as metropolitan governments witnessed periods of deindustrialisation after the 1950s, decline in urban populations and limited financial means, they attempted to identify alternative development and management mechanisms for their public and private realms. From the 1960s, and intensifying in the 1980s, varying forms of involvement by private interests in the design, construction and management of urban areas were accepted by local governments, including: Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), park conservancies, privately owned public spaces, bonus plazas, suburban shopping malls, festival districts and gated campuses. Architect and writer Michael Sorkin brought together critics of these private strategies (including Crawford, Smith, Davis and Boyer) in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and The End of Public Space* (1992). Further critiques of how cities were being redeveloped ranged from the de-industrialisation and the re-colonisation of abandoned cities (Zukin 1991) to their gentrification (Smith 1992, 1996), 'Disneyfication' (Zukin 1991; Sorkin 1992) and militarisation (Davis 1990; Mitchell 2003).

In contrast to strategies that had been conceived, tested and employed widely in North American cities, state-led investment into the public realm was prioritised in Barcelona in the 1980s. Emerging from an era of isolation and under-investment during the Franco era, and witnessing decline in its traditional industries, the metropolitan government of Barcelona commissioned new public spaces and infrastructure as catalysts for economic development and as a focus for attracting inward investment (see Poynter 2006; Degan 2008). In *Sensing Cities: Regenerating Public Life in Barcelona and Manchester* (2008), Degan writes:

Creating more public spaces for collective use in areas such as El Raval [an historic neighbourhood in Barcelona] has to be understood as coming from the strong civic ideals that informed the first years of democratic planning (2008:96)

This approach to regeneration, which prioritised state-initiated design and realisation of new public spaces, was closely observed and followed by other countries and cities who sent delegations to Barcelona to understand their success. Rogers writes in the introduction to *Towards an Urban Renaissance*:

What we learnt from these visits is that regeneration has to be design-led. But to be sustainable, regeneration also has to be placed within its economic and social context. (1999:7)

However, without its own metropolitan government from 1986 to 2000, London was unable to coordinate redevelopment as New York or Barcelona had achieved. Although London underwent its own deindustrialisation and the abandonment of its waterfronts due to

transformations in global competition, it was less equipped to respond with coordinated urban strategies for its boroughs, neighbourhoods and public spaces.

But, by the end of the twentieth century London had engineered its own renaissance through bringing together, in varying compositions, Barcelona's model of state-initiated public space-led regeneration combined with commercially-focused funding mechanisms that had been pioneered in North America. In *The Just City*, Fainstein states: 'Within the history of redevelopment policy London represents an intermediate case between the New York model and that of the continental European cities' (2010:113). She explains that while London has had an 'activist and redistributive public sector' it also uses 'privatization, public subsidies, and deregulation to promote property speculation and entrepreneurship' (2010:113). The establishment of a new metropolitan government (GLA) and an elected Mayor for London facilitated high-profile initiatives, such as the *100 Public Spaces Programme*, the *World Squares for All* masterplan, of which Trafalgar Square was a part, and support for London's bid to host the 2012 Olympic Games. Although Imrie, Lees and Raco describe how the GLA 'drew on lessons learnt from the free-market disregard for social policy and social issues in the regeneration of the London Docklands' during the 1980s, and the 'weak trickle-down effects of the Docklands' regeneration to the adjacent parts of the East End' (2009:14), the GLA still needed to engage with private interests to fund many of their initiatives.

The New Labour government did not reject the previous market-led approaches to development – instead they encouraged a closer association between private capital, commercial interests and the public sector. The Urban Task Force set out that the 'public sector must act as the custodian of the public realm' while simultaneously advocating the adoption of new financial instruments and incentives to encourage private investment in public space (1999:56). CABE's *Manifesto for Better Public Spaces* reflects the Urban Task Force by emphasising the need for 'coordinated funding' for public spaces 'from both the public and private sectors' (2004:9). However, as there were limited funds to provide state-led public spaces as achieved at Trafalgar Square, and to fulfil the ambitions of Mayor Livingstone's *100 Public Spaces Programme*, local authorities relied on developer contributions to provide design, construction and ongoing maintenance for new public spaces (see *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* and *Paddington Waterside*). The situation in London reflected that of other cities that over the previous decade had become dependent on private investments to facilitate regeneration. Writing in *City Builders* (1994) before the election of New Labour and the subsequent implementation of new development policies, Fainstein describes:

The quandary for local political officials is that they must depend on the private sector to finance most economic expansion, and they have only very limited tools for attracting expansion to their jurisdictions (1994:2).

With the election of David Cameron as Prime Minister (2010-2016), funding for organisations like CABI and the Design Council (2011) were severely cut and agencies such as British Waterways were privatised to become independent trusts (2012). Similarly, public space investment was curtailed as Boris Johnson became Mayor (2008-2016), resulting in the later phases of the *World Squares for All Masterplan* remaining incomplete. In contrast, masterplans that involved commercial developers continued to be facilitated, such as *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* and *Paddington Waterside*, which were prioritised as Opportunity Areas (www.london.gov.uk, 2016). Imrie, Lees and Raco claim that despite contrasting policies under successive governments, these approaches to development are all 'part of a broader socio-political process in London which places urban regeneration at the fulcrum of the capital's economic competitiveness' (2009:5). They argue that:

... regeneration is being 'put to work' by politicians as part of a strategy to remove obstacles to economic growth and to create the social and physical infrastructure required to compete for inward investment (2009:5)

These policies 'conceive of regeneration as closely entwined with globalisation' (2009:6) with new and refashioned public spaces being key to inserting and maintaining London in these global city relations. In *European Cities in Competition and the New 'Uses' of Urban Design*, Gospodini describes the way that the global system is 'increasing competition among cities to upgrade their status' (2002:60). She writes that the 'development prospects' for European cities are considered partly due to the 'high quality of urban environment' (2002:60). Political ambitions were heightened in 1990s London as architects and politicians witnessed Barcelona prioritising the creation of hundreds of new public spaces, hosting the 1992 Olympics and raising its international status (Urban Task Force 1999). From the late 1990s these ambitions were intensely expressed in the remaking of public spaces in London.

The refashioning of urban space in London through the lens of global competition has been employed to spur economic regeneration: the redesign of Trafalgar Square can be seen to empower London's global standing through its imagery and events, while the regeneration of Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin drive inward investment through residential sales and commercial lettings. However, these selectively redeveloped areas are claimed to also increase fragmentation across London. In *Urban Design Since 1945*, Shane contends that 'London emerged as the exemplary fragmented metropolis in the 1980s' (2011:27). Building on earlier writing describing London's 'enclaves of hyper-development' and contrasting

'enclaves of disinvestment' (1995:65) Shane suggests that increasingly market-led approaches, as pioneered in London in the Docklands, led to 'local areas of architectural and urban design control in urban villages' (2011:25). Selectively chosen Opportunity Areas have further contributed to this fragmentation, facilitating the economic development of strategic areas that contrast distinctly from locations left lacking investment. Despite the Urban Task Force recognising problems of fragmentation in UK cities (1999:50) the GLA 'provides encouragement, support and leadership' for Opportunity Areas to address concerns that 'London has limited opportunities for accommodating large scale development' (www.london.gov.uk, 2016).

We can recognise that national and metropolitan policies, which have resulted in the creation of new public spaces in London, are closely associated with competition between boroughs and cities for global financial investment. These government-led initiatives recognise public spaces as tools for economic regeneration. In the following sections, I describe how UK-wide planning policy and strategies for planning across Greater London promotes the production of large-scale masterplans and architectural public spaces. I further explain how cultural and economic dynamics between developments, boroughs and cities privilege landmark-planned public spaces, such as Trafalgar Square, and encourages developers to employ public spaces in their masterplans to maximise their own financial returns.

Masterplanning districts with public space: national directives

Masterplans are the mechanisms through which government policies and many commercial objectives for development are focused and the way that each of the sites considered in the thesis are architecturally directed. These top-down approaches to planning, commissioned by commercial developers or state agencies, and undertaken by urban designers, give direction and guidance for long-term, large-scale development. As previously stated, the masterplanning of *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, *Paddington Waterside* and the *World Squares for All* frame the investigations at Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square respectively. The main goals of these masterplans have been to organise and, if necessary, gain planning approval for spatial development. Broader urban design ambitions are to make visible urban change to compete with other developments, areas and cities to attract investment. Gospodini describes how this approach contrasts with historic urban development:

While for centuries the quality of the urban environment has been an outcome of economic growth of cities, nowadays the quality of urban space

has become a prerequisite for the economic development of cities; and urban design has undertaken an enhanced new role as a means of economic development (2002:60)

Imrie, Lees and Raco (2009), Shane (2011) and Gospodini (2002) claim that this form of competitive masterplanning in London began with the Docklands. While we find in the cases that follow that subsequent London developments have departed from creating similar highly commercial, tightly controlled and privatised estates, such economic imperatives remain in the foreground of government and developer ambitions. Beyond the nuanced conditions addressed by *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, *Paddington Waterside* and the *World Squares for All*, exist the priorities of organisations commissioning masterplans to architecturally transform sites of sufficient scale to attract investment and returns.

The spatial scale of the masterplans encompasses large areas of London that include networks of spaces and buildings. Their scale incorporates neighbourhood-sized areas of the city, representing what Lynch terms a 'district' (1960:66). Lynch considers districts as sections of cities that 'the observer mentally enters "inside of" with common interior characteristics and exterior references (1960:47). As London has never been structured around a single and dominant city plan, unlike Barcelona whose extension was meticulously planned by Cerda (1859) or New York City with its grids of streets and avenues (1811), London's aggregation of districts is how many people perceive and experience the city. *Legible London: Yellow Book*, published by Transport for London, explains that 'London has no structured delineation' but is instead composed of 'a rich collection of neighbourhoods and boroughs' (2007:13). Under the oversight of the GLA, local authorities administer planning processes across their boroughs. This is highlighted by Fainstein who claims that 'despite the creation of the Greater London Authority and the Assembly the metropolis remains decentralized to the thirty-three local authorities' which 'continue to be the main decision makers regarding services and the specific forms that development takes' (2010:136).

Masterplanning across London's boroughs focuses on defining districts, neighbourhoods and urban villages. As Shane demonstrates in his field analysis of central London (1971), featured in Rowe and Koetter's *Collage City* (1978:114), historic masterplanned estates include eighteenth and nineteenth century districts such as Covent Garden, Belgravia, Mayfair and Chelsea. Shane explains that London has had a 'long fractal tradition of developing large, single-landowner enclaves' (2011:27), including the arrangement of the historic docks and the contemporary Docklands, which mirror the power of property

ownership found in the 'Great Estates'. These sites of urban development, which evidence contrasting architectural typologies of public space, also include post-war government-built housing estates, such as the Heygate Estate (Elephant and Castle), the Golden Lane Estate (City of London) and Robin Hood Gardens (Poplar). Since the 1970s, this district scale of masterplanned development has been undertaken in free market conditions, realising new estates through masterplans such as Paddington Waterside, King's Cross Central, Canary Wharf and Broadgate.

Masterplans are an urban design tool to spatially and economically restructure neighbourhoods as well as defining new districts. The first 'objective' of urban design, as defined by the former UK government's guidance in *By Design: Urban design in the planning system: towards better practice*, is to 'promote character' (DETR & CABE 2000:15). This objective resonates with Lynch's notion of 'districts' which he describes as being identifiable through 'some common character' (1960:66). Masterplanning creates districts with strong identities contrasting with what are often less well-defined adjacent urban areas. Lynch argues how districts can be understood through their 'thematic continuities' which include their 'texture, space, form, detail, symbol, building type, use, activity, inhabitants, degree of maintenance, topography' (1960:67). Similarly, the DETR and CABE list six other objectives, including: continuity and enclosure, quality of the public realm, ease of movement, legibility, adaptability and diversity (2000:15). These terms are promoted as the means through which masterplans can be realised and the ways that, once built, public spaces can become read as architectural forms. Through reinforcing 'thematic continuities' urban designers can realise specific ambitions for their clients, such as creating accessible public spaces, symbolic landscapes and exclusive districts. The image of large parts of cities therefore becomes transformed through masterplanning – as Lynch reminds us, 'most people structure their city [image] through the identity of the district (1960:47).

A range of strategic instruments of development can be employed when designing urban areas. Beyond masterplan drawings, which represent the spatial qualities of the proposed district, masterplans frequently include design guidelines, design codes, management plans and public space regulations. However, these devices are insufficient on their own to control the developments, so further legislation and planning mechanisms are pursued by developers and local authorities. In addition to the tools available through masterplanning, which can redefine entire neighbourhoods, additional development approaches, such as BIDs and CPOs (Compulsory Purchase Orders), are employed. Low describes 'physical tactics' of enclosure, eviction, securitisation and purchase that are enhanced by 'legal and economic strategies' (2006:83). The Urban Task Force writes that both 'compulsory

purchase and the threat of compulsory purchase are powerful tools for securing urban regeneration' which are part of a 'package of tools and measures'. (1999:228). CPOs are mechanisms available to developers and local authorities who need to obtain the ownership of land for developments, which they can argue will promote or improve economic, social or environmental well-being (www.legislation.gov.uk, 2016). We will see in chapter three, *Making and taking Elephant and Castle*, how CPO powers were proposed to be used by local Councillors to encourage the former shopping centre owner to demolish rather than renovate their property. Once land has been obtained for these developments, districts are more easily remade architecturally. In the thesis we witness these strategies differentially: through the threat of CPOs at Elephant and Castle (Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004); in the establishment of the BID (The Business Improvement District (England) Regulations 2004) and the outsourcing of the public realm management to Broadgate Estates at Paddington Basin; and, in the new regulations put in place at Trafalgar Square under the Greater London Authority Act 1999.

Where land cannot be purchased, or it is not in the interests of those with power to acquire it, organisations such as BIDs can be formed to exert greater control over urban districts. A proliferation of BIDs, commercially-led organisations that oversee the management of areas of London's public spaces, has occurred in London since the passing of the Business Improvement Districts (England) Regulations in 2004 (www.legislation.gov.uk, 2016). New districts have been established, defined through branded signage, cleaning, security and design of the public realm, reflecting the interests of businesses. We can recognise such operations in PaddingtonNow (the BID at Paddington formerly known as PaddingtonOn) that organises its visual and spatial structure, as the *Legible London Yellow Book* sets out, 'to suit their own purposes' (2007:14). In his essay *The Ends of Urban Design* (2011), Sorkin claims that the importance of BIDs 'has only grown as government has become increasingly enthralled by the model of the "public-private" partnership' (2011: 292). This can be problematic as the 'benefits of urban design (and maintenance) are directed to commercially driven players' (2011:292) facilitated through favourable Section 106 agreements, CPOs and BID mechanisms.

Masterplans are criticised as problematic devices in urban design. The large-scale, far-reaching processes and tools, which incorporate what Rowe and Koetter describe as 'total planning', 'total architecture' and 'total design' are closely associated with modernist city-plans that demonstrate insensitivity to their contexts (1978:86). Rather than single-use, mono-functional urban plans, Rowe and Koetter's critique of utopian and modernist approaches to the city instead advocate a collaging of elements, including public spaces of

‘memorable streets’ and ‘splendid public terraces’ (1978:152-164). Sorkin similarly recognises the problem with what he explains as ‘the inherent dangers of giant, single-sourced plans’ (2011:292) but he also questions alternative approaches premised on ‘a suspicion of big plans [that] refuses, however provisionally, to sum up its parts’ (2011:292). We see in all three London masterplans that the need to consider the city spatially, places architectural designers in a prominent role during planning discourses. This can lead to an over-emphasis on architectural frames of urban design with deliberations over form and style eclipsing other considerations. While Rowe and Koetter’s critique was primarily aimed at large-scale modernist masterplans, the style-based forms of post-modern masterplanning also fail to address more socially-oriented concerns of large-scale developments. For Sorkin, postmodern masterplans ‘evoking styles of manufactured difference’ fail to address previous modernist approaches that also lacked diversity. He states: ‘Today’s urban nightmare is the city in which the differences are simply architectural’ (2011:373).

Masterplans entail a useful intermediary scale of operation for producing public spaces, residing between scales of government policies and physical urban spaces. Legislative and planning mechanisms employed at a masterplan scale allow a leveraging of the benefits of remaking areas of London: In chapters four, five and six I highlight how a redistribution of public assets and private capital is facilitated at Elephant and Castle and Paddington and how landmarks, such as Trafalgar Square, provide a focus for comprehensive replanning in central London. As masterplans connect architectural and strategic ambitions for urban redevelopment, the potential power of urban design is significant. The impact of masterplans on public spaces is evident in the following section, which focuses on the scale of architectural projects.

Fixing public space architecturally: defining the site

Architectural public spaces are core elements of masterplans, providing shared spaces for people to gather in and to pass through. Long-established architectural typologies of public space, such as streets, squares, plazas, parks, amphitheatres, terraces and footpaths, dominate masterplans. In their multi-disciplinary research, *Public Space*, Carr et al. describe such public spaces (1992:3):

These dynamic spaces are an essential counterpart to the more settled places of work and home life, providing the channels for movement, the nodes of communication, and the common grounds for play and relaxation

Their investigation, which includes how public spaces are designed, built, used and managed, focuses on spatial frames of public space. Their description of architectural public spaces as the common ground on which people 'carry out' activities (1992:xi) closely reflects de Certeau's description of tactics which are limited to 'play on and with a terrain imposed on it' by those with power (1984:37). These public spaces represent consistent spatial components that fit together with buildings, structures and urban networks, establishing the material qualities of masterplans. The Urban Task Force posits that the benefit of a 'spatial masterplan' is that it 'controls the relationship between buildings and public space' and that it 'shows how streets, squares and open spaces of a neighbourhood are connected' (1999:73). Masterplans are typically led by a single consultant team, such as Make Architects (who designed the area of the former Heygate Estate within *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*), Rogers, Stirk, Harbour and Partners (who designed the Merchant Square area of *Paddington Waterside*) and Foster and Partners (who led the *World Squares for All* masterplan), on behalf of those who own or control the land. The relationships between lead consultants and clients establish the appearance of confident and comprehensive proposals that can then be communicated to investors and local authorities.

Behind the perception of single-authored plans, approaches to realising public spaces as architectural forms vary from case to case. Carr et al. explain that 'public spaces are created and maintained by a lengthy and often complex process of interaction among sponsors, builders, managers, and users' (1992:292). They are critical of what they term a 'standard process' that maintains a narrow group of decision makers 'in the interests of central control, and presumed efficiency and economy' (ibid.). Clients engage closely with designers and other consultants to identify the issues in an urban site, redesign the space and contract builders for the construction. In *Design of Urban Space: An Inquiry into Socio-Spatial Process* (1996), Madanipour explores broader relations between urban spaces and the practices through which they are produced. He uses the actions of urban design as a lens through which to examine contrasting scales of development, including 'macro-urban design and [a] micro-urban design' (1996:96). Although Madanipour writes that 'urban design deals with all scales of urban space' from the macro-scale design of masterplans to the micro-scale design of public spaces, and works across a gradient of scales of time, he explains: 'The time-scale and issues involved in masterplanning for new settlements are inevitably different from those involved in details of street design' (ibid.:97). Through introducing the notion of time, Madanipour questions whether urban design should focus on the process or product. While he recognises that many architects, and organisations such as the Urban Task Force are largely interested in the product of their work, he insists that urban design

should be concerned with both 'the process of this shaping and the spaces it helps to create' (1996:105).

To design and create public spaces as architectural products, understanding relations of property is necessary. For Madanipour, 'land and property development is the vehicle through which the built environment is produced' and in order to 'understand the urban design process... it is essential to gain an understanding of the property development process' (1996:121). This assertion resonates with the developments at Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin where transfers of control of property were fundamental to the realisation of projects. More specific to architectural forms of public space, Mitchell and Staeheli examine, in *The People's Property: Power, Politics and the Public* (2008), public space through an exploration of property. They find that 'property is a crucial part of the equation that creates public space and forms the public in its many configurations' (2008:128). They outline a 'practice of property' that includes the 'relations, regimes and struggles over what property is and how it is deployed' (ibid.). These relations are expressed through exchanges and appropriations of land during masterplanning, while new forms of property can be identified once physical public spaces are built and the rules of access are contested. Staeheli and Mitchell describe how 'property ownership is a powerful tool in the regulation of space and, thereby, the public' (2008:xxiv). In all three cases, this leads to competition between how public spaces are regulated, how they are intended to be used and rights over public and privately owned spaces.

Land has been exchanged to facilitate the spatial development of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square. As Staeheli and Mitchell show in their research: 'property is a crucial set of relationships that structure the roles, function, and nature of public space as space' (2008:xx). However, changes to property ownerships are not the only mechanism available to organisations redeveloping and managing public spaces. Staeheli and Mitchell claim BIDs provide other means to regulate public space and transform the relationships of property (2008:151). In addition to the establishment of the BID at Paddington Basin, the transfer of control from the Crown to the GLA at Trafalgar Square provided new regulations without necessitating changes to the ownership of the space. In contrast to the privatisation of some public infrastructures, the regulatory transformations of public spaces have resulted in a range of privatisations that create fragmented and layered responsibilities of ownerships, leases and management.

The implication of defining public spaces as property is that it narrows the terms of public spaces in how they are managed and used. Control of public spaces allow owners,

managers and other authorities to exclude people and activities. When these controls are expanded across masterplanned areas, large swathes of London become conditioned by small groups of individuals and organisations with power. Recognising that public space in London continues to fragment in terms of ownership and management (see Carmona 2008; Carmona, de Magalhães and Hammond 2008), the GLA commissioned a report into *Public life in private hands: Managing London's public space* (2011). As many public spaces in London are privately owned, including Elephant and Castle Market, which was built prior to highly documented privatisations since the 1970s (Minton 2006, 2012), the relationship between the management and use of public spaces becomes more pertinent. The use of public spaces can be associated with what Lynch and Rodwin describe, in *A Theory of Urban Form*, as 'traditional "land-use" categories of the planning field' (1995:359). The use of buildings, from factories to residential homes, is restricted by planning regulations that aim to provide a certain urban order and arrangement. Referring to cities, Lynch and Rodwin recognise that 'the pattern of activities and the physical pattern are often surprisingly independent of each other' (1995:359). But I would suggest that for the scale of architectural public spaces, strong relations can be identified between the spatial conditions and the actions that occur. Across the three sites, the public spaces are appropriated for contrasting purposes; the physical geographies and conditions of spaces, materials and infrastructure provide for or deter certain activities. However, as is also revealed through the cases, spatial design is insufficient on its own to control or determine all uses. And in such situations, as Lynch and Rodwin identify in practices of urban design, planners attempt to 'change the activity through the physical change' and by employing 'negative prohibitions' of regulations and laws (1995:359).

As public spaces are designed as spatial products, emphasis on the views of and from the architectural projects predominate. This issue is explored by Mitchell (1997) who questions the relations between public space and visual aesthetics. He poses the question: 'landscape or public space?' (1997:322), claiming that the historic Anglo-Saxon approach to landscape, extending from picturesque scenes painted to urban public spaces designed, is a 'way of seeing the world, [one] in which order and control over surroundings takes precedence over the messy realities of everyday life' (Mitchell 1997:323). We can recognise Mitchell's concerns for an aestheticisation of public space when reflecting on political agendas, such as Mayor Johnson's *Manifesto for Public Space* that advocates: 'A beautiful city where the spaces between the buildings can inspire, excite and delight visitors and Londoners alike' (GLA 2009:2). Also emphasising aesthetic qualities of space, *Towards an Urban Renaissance* describes the spatial masterplan as a 'sophisticated visual model' (Urban Task Force 1999:73). Mitchell incorporates a critique of landscape set out by Lefebvre, in *The*

Production of Space, where Lefebvre is concerned with 'the power of landscape' that offers 'an already clarified picture' (1991:189). Lefebvre suggests that landscape, when embraced in aesthetic terms, gives the illusion of control: in cases of architectural design, developers, landowners and local authorities are led to believe that visually dominated urban design can provide control over spaces and their activities. Transforming public spaces through these terms denies many less attractive, everyday interactions in public spaces or the possibility to reconfigure them in less photogenic terms. Visual images do not merely represent, but are also appropriated to reinforce spatial priorities. In *The Cultures of Cities*, Zukin states that 'the power to impose a coherent vision of a space enables a group to claim that space' (1995:279) allowing people and uses to be excluded:

The look and feel of cities reflect decisions about what — and who — should be visible and what should not, on concepts of order and disorder, and on uses of aesthetic power. (Zukin 1995:7)

In the three cases, claims over public spaces are expressed strongly by policy makers, masterplanners, owners and managers as they transform how a space looks, decide who is afforded access and define what they are permitted to do once inside. As Mitchell argues, through appropriating landscape techniques for making public space 'propertied classes express "possession" of the land, and their control over the social relations within it' (1997:323).

Strong visual imagery of public spaces can also obscure subtexts of control and ideology. James Corner, the landscape architect who designed the South Park Plaza of London's Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park as well as New York's High Line, writes in the essay *Eidetic Operations and New Landscapes*, that landscape provides 'a set of instruments to not only describe the world but to condition and control it' (1999:155). He also raises concerns for designing landscapes as spatial objects:

A too narrow concern for landscape as object (whether as formal composition or as quantifiable resource) overlooks the ideological, estranging, and aestheticizing effects of detaching the subject from the complex realities of participating in the world. (1999:156)

As public spaces are defined as architectural products, their visual qualities become important. The framing of public spaces in visual images extends from architectural representations, developed by designers to communicate conditions of spaces and social lives contained within, to photographs, films and images taken of spaces once they are built. Design images are used to reinforce idealised scenes of proposed public spaces while images of realised public spaces document how these spaces and the activities in them are

controlled. Zukin states: 'As in architecture, the visual image that designers create has been integrated into the landscape of power' (1991:48). In these cases, where it becomes necessary to limit certain uses and users, public spaces designed as landscapes are objectified as visually aesthetic forms.

We have seen that, despite traditions of public spaces framed as spatial forms, ambitions for public spaces vary. Carr et al. propose that 'the primary motives for making and remaking public spaces should be viewed against the changing panorama of public life' (1992:10). They set out 'public welfare, visual enhancement, environmental enhancement and economic development' as the goals of governments, corporate developers and managers for producing public spaces. I aim in this research to inquire beyond the intentions stated in the development masterplans, to explore the narratives of different people involved and their divergent goals for public spaces as spaces, images and interactions: the need for spatial infrastructures to enable events and connectivity is fulfilled through remaking physical public spaces; the desire for visual images of public spaces is met through hosting and producing scenic settings; while sites of interaction are realised as people meet and gather in the three public sites. Carr et al. also warn of 'not always stated' ambitions for making public spaces that may change in response to political and economic demands (1992:10). Gospodini (2002:61) elaborates on such economic priorities:

In order to secure development and growth, 'localities' or individual cities now have to offer even more inducements to capital, whether a refashioning of the city's economic attractiveness (e.g. tax abatements, property and transport facilities) or alterations to the city's image through manipulation of its physical form and/or its soft infrastructure (e.g. cultural and leisure amenities)

We see in the cases that the impact of realising economic ambitions through remaking public spaces narrows the possibilities of what public spaces can be. The control of architectural forms asserted by local authorities, developers and public space managers extends to the control of public activities – informing how spaces are managed, maintained and used. The following section considers public spaces produced through face-to-face interactions, instances where the impact of government policies, masterplan projects and architectural designs are explicitly felt.

Public spaces of interactions: everyday life

How sites are occupied and appropriated, and how they facilitate interactions, allows individuals and groups to define public spaces in spatial and social ways. In Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square activities range from the routine to the spectacular, from conversations in street markets to erecting structures for events and from photographing friends to recording beautiful settings. Although not all interactions within public spaces constitute public actions, to be present in public or to simply use public spaces is an essential part of living in a city like London. In describing rights to public space Carr et al. see 'spatial rights' as extending beyond mere access (1992:137). They claim that the 'rights to use a public space and have a sense of control within it are basic and overarching requirements' (1992:137). However, these rights are not always explicitly stated in the design of public spaces or the regulations that provide for or restrict their use. At times, when regulations are enforced in Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square, rights to public spaces are undermined. In *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* Mitchell states: 'what public space *is* – and *who* has the right to it – is rarely clear' (2003:5). Mitchell's research focuses on specific cases where he is concerned with 'the relationship between social activities and changes in public space law' and in particular, marginalised people, such as homeless men, who are excluded from certain urban spaces (2003:5). In this thesis, accounts of homeless people, street vendors and smoking teenagers transgressing site regulations highlight rare moments of contestation, and they reveal that some groups' rights to use redeveloped public spaces are restricted.

The public nature of urban spaces is also frequently described in terms of accessibility. What we could term the *publicness* of space is often framed through 'rules of access' to a city's squares, streets, parks and plazas (Smith and Low 2006:3). In *Whose Public Space?* Madanipour argues: 'The key feature of public space... is its accessibility' (2010:8). Issues of access mainly settle on two interrelated questions of who is afforded access to these architectural spaces and what activities are permitted. In Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square there are regulations that correspond with the architectural transformations of the masterplans. Terms of access do not explicitly exclude individual people, but the regulations focus on descriptions of spatial forms and social actions that are prohibited. As revealed by Staeheli and Mitchell in public spaces in North America (2008), regulating against the use of sleeping equipment and unlicensed gatherings in London's public spaces is an effective way of denying the presence of homeless people and protestors. Translating Lynch's spatial right of 'presence' (1981) to that of 'access' Carr

et al. define three forms, including physical, visual and symbolic access (1992:150): physical access is the ability to enter a public space (1992:138); visual access is the ability to see into a public space from outside and is considered to be significant for public safety (1992:144); while symbolic access relates to the 'presence of cues' (1992:149) which can be read to indicate who is and who is not welcome. Cues include: signs within spaces that prohibit activities of skateboarding, cycling, unlicensed performances, vending, the use of sleeping equipment and feeding pigeons; the presence of physical obstructions, such as bollards and impediments to laying down; and security guards enforcing the rules. In Elephant and Castle, the stop-and-search techniques of the police made the plaza by the shopping centre a disputed territory for teenagers; in Paddington Basin the removal of a roughly made structure that was occupied by some homeless people was made evident by the physical void left by the canal from one day to the next; while online and traditional media depict a rhythm of fenced-off events at Trafalgar Square, emphasising the GLA's priorities for one its main public spaces.

In describing the cases, I discuss concerns for public spaces that are more or less accessible, who is allowed access and what people are permitted to do once inside. But I more explicitly examine the accessibility to ways of making public space, including questions of who is afforded what opportunities. Contesting historical descriptions of public space, Mitchell explains:

... public spaces were only public to the degree that they were *taken* and made public. Definitions of public space and "the public" are not universal and enduring; they are produced through constant struggle in the past and in the present. (2003:142)

Mitchell perceives public space similarly to Fraser's (1990) consideration of the public sphere – as a site of struggle. Contestations over space and the issues that they represent range from rights of presence to opportunities to be involved in a site's production. Staeheli and Mitchell write that 'being present in public space – making claims to and becoming visible in the streets, sidewalks, squares, and parks of the city – is a vital, necessary step in making claims *on* the public and *as part of* the public' (2008:xiv). Due to the demands on public spaces, from global economic forces, government agendas, masterplan controls and architectural styles, we can identify how certain behaviours are restricted. As landowners, developers, investors and governments increasingly have potential profits and reputations at stake in the production of public spaces, opportunities to claim these spaces by other individuals and organisations are increasingly challenged.

As Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) suggest, rather than mere access to physical spaces, the access or opportunity that individuals and groups have to remake public spaces can provide more nuanced clues to a site's publicness. In *For Space*, Massey suggests that, in addition to concerns associated with the privatisation of public space, 'we might address the question of the social relations which could construct any new, and better, notion of public space' (2005:153). Relations around making public spaces are of particular interest in the thesis and underscore the usefulness in bringing together architectural research focused on physical spaces and social science literatures that discuss publics and the public sphere. I argue that discourses around the public sphere and public space have progressed separately, a concern raised by Smith and Low (2006:5). They highlight what they perceive to be the weakness in existing public space literature, 'in the practical means of translation from the theories of political and cultural economy to the materiality of public space' (2006:6). Smith and Low question the 'separate domains' that the public sphere and public space occupy and the infrequency with which these discourses overlap, highlighting the potential of further 'investigating the spatiality of the public sphere' (2006:7).

Relations between public spaces and the public sphere are alluded to by Fraser in *Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy* (1990). Critiquing Habermas' conception of the public sphere (1962), Fraser states that the public sphere is 'a site of the production and circulation of discourses' (1990:57) where there is 'a plurality of competing publics' (1990:61). This perspective of the public sphere as 'a site' where publics are produced and fought over is reflected in Massey's three proposals for space. Massey states that first, 'space is a product of interrelations'; secondly, these relations are 'predicated upon the existence of plurality'; and third, that these spaces are 'always under construction' (2005:9). In the three sites, both Fraser's descriptions of publics and a public sphere, and Massey's proposals for space, can be read. Public spaces are continually made architecturally and remade through social interactions in and across Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square. Accepting public space in these terms prioritises spatialising of emerging publics, conceives of public space beyond narrow architectural terms (of market plazas, canal towpaths and civic squares) and challenges restrictive regulations enforced by shopping centre managers, private security (and BIDs) and Heritage Wardens.

In addition to analysing the public nature of space, a stronger spatial understanding of the relations that form public space is suggested by Massey:

For instituting democratic public spaces (and indeed the spaces of places more generally) necessitates operating with a concept of spatiality which

keeps always under scrutiny the play of the social relations which construct them (2005:153)

Through attending to the spatialising of relations that create public spaces, this thesis questions how people are differentially empowered or disenfranchised through redevelopment processes. Returning to issues of access to public space, who is included in making public spaces, how they can engage in masterplanned developments and the degree of change that they are able to inform are recurring questions in the thesis. In an interview with *Shared Spaces* at the CCCB (Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona), Massey describes that 'public space is an arena, if you like, in which we have the opportunity of constructing a public' (www.publicspace.org, 2013). Elaborating on this premise and accepting Massey's proposition that space is always being constructed (2005:9), could we also consider public spaces in terms of processes where people are ensured opportunities to reconfigure material public spaces? Studying relations between contrasting accounts of public space, from observation, interviews, documents and visual analysis, highlights differing opportunities for institutions, groups and individuals to participate, contribute and are a part of public spaces. I contend that what is often less considered when public spaces are focused on notions of policy, space, property, use and access, are opportunities to participate in the making and remaking of public spaces.

I began this research by framing public spaces as gatherings of people (and associated institutions and organisations) around issues of concern within, and defining, physical, material geographies. This point of departure refers both to the more political relations that contribute to the formation of publics (Fraser 1990) as well as more architectural settings of the market, canal-side and civic square (see Carmona and Wunderlich 2012). As I have developed the thesis, and as Smith and Low (2006) advocate, I have found research that brings into close proximity social relations and spatial conditions particularly useful for understanding the contested dimensions of public spaces. In particular, Madanipour's definition (2010:1) of public spaces as '...accessible places developed through inclusive processes' opens up questions of how the design, management and governance of public spaces impacts on issues of access and inclusiveness. As I have demonstrated in this chapter, I give less emphasis to theory focused on narrow issues of public space, whether from authors who critiqued the increased involvement of private interests in North American cities in the 1980s (see Sorkin 1992), research into subsequent privatisations in UK cities (see Minton 2012) or concerns regarding governance and management (Carmona, de Magalhães and Hammond 2008). While the transfer of the management, and in some cases

ownership, of public spaces into private hands is an issue in the thesis it is only part of a wider socio-spatial narratives that I endeavour to tell.

I demonstrate through the three cases that public spaces are constantly remade by and inseparable from differing constellations of national policies, planning conversations, urban design projects, media descriptions, local histories, management decisions, scheduled events and daily actions. Building on Massey's propositions for space (2005:9), I find that the public spaces of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square are constantly being made and remade through a range of intersecting actions, concerns and physical forms. I argue, therefore, as I conclude the thesis, that public space is simultaneously a *process* of making (that is focused in a particular physical location) and a constantly changing *product* of these interrelations (that derives from a wide range of geographies). I contend that to consider public space, the spatial forms cannot be uncoupled from the social relations from which they are formed. Massey (2005:153) and Smith and Low (2006:7) claim that by focusing on the spatial conditions of public spaces issues of the social relations and public sphere can become more explicit. I build on this argument to claim that by investigating the relations between the processes (as policies, decisions and occupations) and the products (of what is experienced or imposed on individuals) of public spaces it is possible to understand what is at stake as public spaces are produced.

I structure a conceptual frame from accounts of making public spaces gathered from fieldwork. As introduced in the previous chapter and further elaborated in Chapter 6, the conception of public spaces claimed as *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions* reflects common and overlapping concerns for public space in the three sites. Madanipour describes how 'urban space will inevitably reflect the values and aspirations of those who produced it' (1996:109). How individuals exert their presence in planning discourses, how developers assert their rights of property through redevelopment or how groups maintain their routines of meeting in public spaces expose what can be lost and gained as these sites are transformed. We will see through the cases discussed in subsequent chapters that these assertions manifest in the public spaces produced. We will also explore how power is mediated and made evident through London's masterplanned spaces, whereas de Certeau states: 'Power is made visible in the city through struggles both in and over space' (1984:61).

Conclusions

This chapter brings together literatures from urban design to social sciences and from professional planning documents to theoretical texts to facilitate this exploration of how public spaces are made and remade in London. The structure of the chapter, from global and national relations to the scales of public space interactions, highlights the junctures of competing priorities and unequal opportunities in the making of public space. The juxtaposition of texts reveals contrasting perspectives, such as the fragmented conditions of London that are differentially addressed by critical theorists such as Shane (1995; 2011) as opposed to the government's Urban Task Force (1999) which addresses concerns for fragmentation through incorporating private interests. The structure of the chapter facilitates this combining and analysing of frequently divergent or separate research. The chapter structure also opens up the relationships between different scales of making public spaces, such as the national policies that determine Opportunity Areas to the management approaches that curate weekly events. The different sections bring into close proximity professional, academic and planning texts, such as the masterplans of *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, *Paddington Waterside* and the *World Squares for All*, and approaches to urban design practice (Madanipour 2014) with discourses on urban arrangements (Lynch 1961). Correspondingly, the overlapping of literature allows descriptions of space and public space (Carr et al. 1992; Smith and Low 2006; Madanipour 2010), public sphere (Fraser 1990) and landscape (Mitchell 1997; Corner 1999) to meet, informing the three conceptions of public spaces as identified through the cases.

The chapter highlights the emphasis given by the New Labour government and the later Coalition and Conservative administrations on local authorities establishing relationships with the private sector in order to facilitate design-led redevelopment. Practices of masterplanning have achieved a new prominence despite continued criticism of such hierarchical 'top-down' spatial reorganisations of London. Despite these government priorities the chapter has shown that an enthusiasm for urban regeneration in London is not new and that the development of urban fragments has been a key approach to achieving these spatial transformations. The structure of the chapter points to the significance of masterplans as mediatory mechanisms translating government policies and competition between cities into the physical and social fabric of London. We can conclude that while architectural forms of public space were afforded greater presence in policy and urban design during the period of masterplanning the three cases, the focus on economic agendas and private interests has left discourses around public spaces dominated by concerns for architectural form, ownership and management.

I have aimed in this chapter to provide a context of ideas that resonate with the accounts of public spaces and development described in the following chapters. I present the three London cases in more detail in the next chapter, *Practices of public space: outlining a methodology*, and in the subsequent three chapters that focus on each case consecutively. As I present different accounts from the masterplanned cases, many documents and interviews echo concerns about contemporary urban regeneration and changes to public spaces that are highlighted in this chapter. I have shown that by focusing on literatures that resonate with the three cases, in contrast to texts that attempt to fix general definitions of public space, I have been able to identify gaps between often separate areas of public space research. The presence in London of many different structures of public space has led me to include developer built, privately owned and commercially managed public spaces along with traditional local authority controlled sites. Through exploring contrasting formations of public spaces, I reveal in the following chapters, ambitions for public spaces as *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions*. It also affords a greater significance to the issues that are exposed from the relations between individuals, organisations and the three London geographies rather than focusing only on architectural and visual terms of public spaces.

Chapter 2

Researching public space – combining methods

In this chapter I discuss the research approach that I followed to explore accounts of making public spaces in Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square. I describe the usefulness in adopting three cases of masterplanning through government-led (*World Squares for All*), developer-led (*Paddington Waterside*) and public-private partnership (*Elephant and Castle Regeneration*) redevelopments. The chapter unpacks the four central methods: observation, interviews, document surveys and visual analysis, that I used to investigate ways that public spaces in these masterplanned sites are formed and reconfigured. I discuss the analytical approaches employed from which common accounts and distinctive public space conditions were identified and from which conclusions are drawn. The research approach attempts, as Duneier undertook in his ethnography, *Sidewalk*, to ‘make links between the micro and the macro’ relationships that inform these public spaces (1999:344). The analysis extends beyond the specific spaces of the market, canal-side and civic square to follow decision makers of central government, Greater London Authority (GLA), global private investors and international corporations that drive urban regeneration in London. I also reveal stories of people, organisations and material spaces that constitute a marginalised market, tightly maintained waterside and highly managed civic space.

In the first section I describe the selection of the cases of masterplanning and how these large-scale redevelopments were chosen to address my aim of researching processes *and* products of public spaces. I explain how neighbourhood scale masterplanned developments offer a mediatory scale, between the public space scales of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square and the scale of government policies. As explored through the structure of the previous chapter, I discuss the global and national scales that inform the masterplanned redevelopments and how these mechanisms creating new London districts provide contexts from which smaller-scale instances of reconfiguring public spaces can be explored. In the second section I explain the combination of methods that were necessary to access the range of relationships within the masterplanning processes, from international corporations to individual residents. I describe the four methods, including direct observation, semi-structured interviews, document surveys and visual analyses. In the third section I present how the information collected was analysed through testing and checking the numerous accounts of making public spaces in each site. I reveal the

successes (and complexities) of triangulation across methods and between the cases and I reflect on the usefulness of combining methods to address difficulties encountered when collecting partial and contradictory data.

In this chapter I discuss how, over eighteen months of fieldwork, what I observed reflected my experience as a landscape architect and urban designer investigating sites (especially through observation, document surveys and visual analysis) to propose masterplans for redevelopment. As I interviewed some of my former colleagues and associates as part of this research, in this chapter I reflect on the ethical issues to emerge. These experiences also lead me to consider my positionality: as I occupied the three sites during observation; as I interviewed politicians, planners, architects, developers, business owners, residents and visitors; and, as I leaned on my experience in document surveys and visual analysis. I conclude the chapter by highlighting how the combination of methods contributed to the concepts of public space made as spatial forms, visual images and social interactions. I then point to the significance of the specific methods that allowed masterplanning processes, and other instances of making, to be analysed. Finally, I identify how the combination of methods revealed unequal relations of power between individuals and organisations as public spaces were made and remade.

Cases of masterplanning

My aim for the research was to reveal the relations between individuals whose lives form part of the public spaces of urban development masterplans and the priorities of organisations from governments to developers, whose work is involved in the implementation. I therefore adopted a case study research strategy focused on masterplanning to provide a framework for the examination of what Denscombe (2010) describes as the 'complexity and subtlety of real life situations' (2010:55). A case study approach offered an opportunity for an in-depth examination of the relationships and processes between divergent sources, from local residents to multi-national organisations involved in planning, using, managing and maintaining the sites. It also facilitated a process of combining complementary methods, finding the most appropriate ways of accessing institutional, corporate, urban design and individual ways of making public space. This section describes how the three cases, as sites of public space, were selected and how they informed the methods employed by which to investigate.

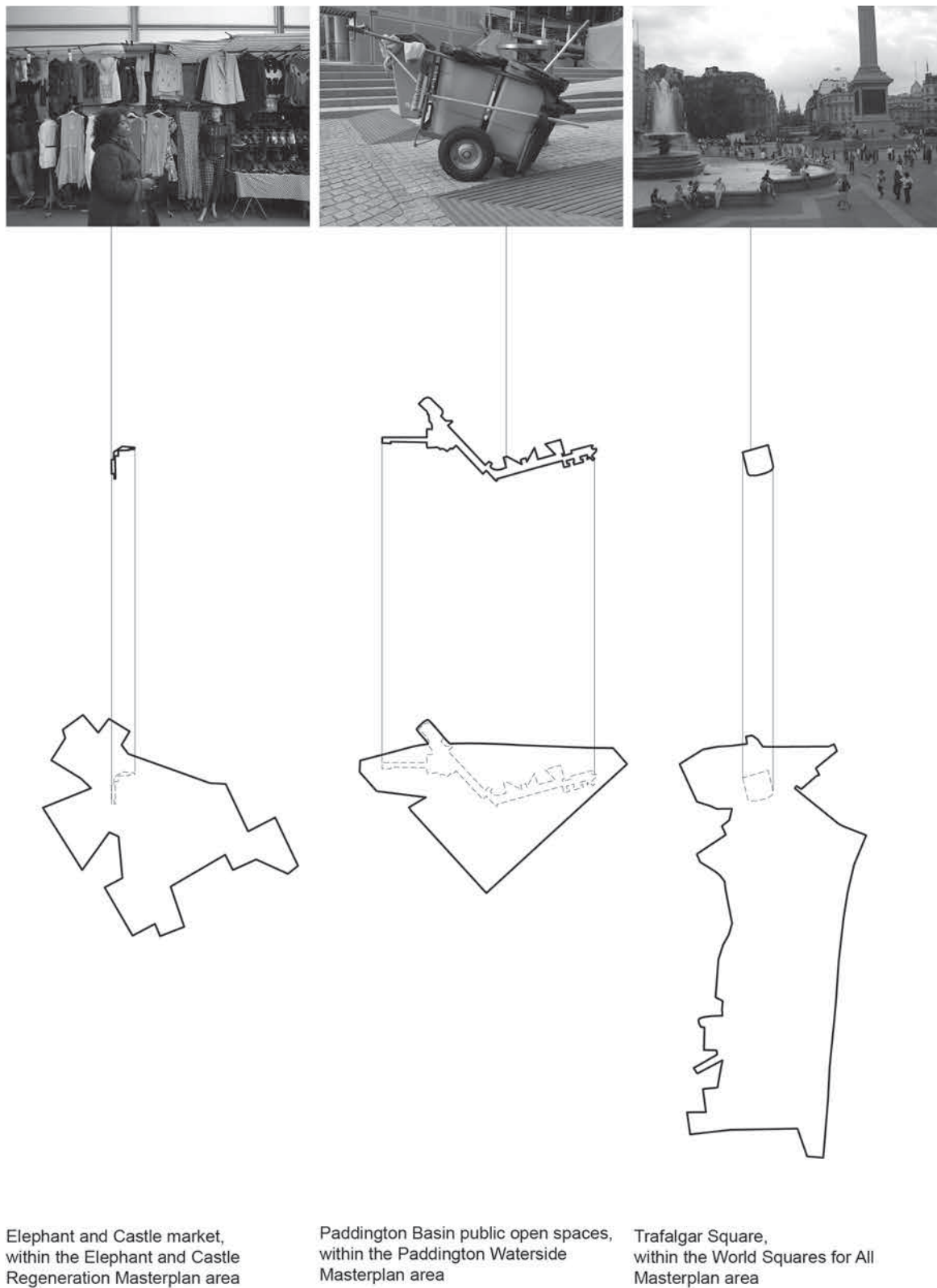


Figure 2.1 Diagram showing the relationships between the cases of masterplanning (bottom) and the everyday instances of making public space (top) mediated through the public space sites (Diagram by author, 2013)

Ragin quotes Becker who insists that researchers should ask: “What is this a case of?” (Ragin 1992:6). I selected *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, *Paddington Waterside* and *World Squares for All* as cases of masterplanning because I anticipated that they would reveal many instances of making public spaces across the three sites (see figure 2.1). The aim of my research was not to solely inquire into the physical forms of public spaces in London, neither to privilege the social interactions that define these spaces. Instead, my interest was in the formation of public spaces through the relations between political strategies and architectural plans and through the intersection of managed events and daily activities. Rather than cases of spatial form defined by physical arrangements, material conditions or urban designs, I was interested in cases of ‘making’ public spaces. In selecting cases of masterplanning, I was able to consider the influence of the planning system and the market-led regeneration strategies that operate within national, metropolitan and borough jurisdictions, as well as assessing the many smaller scales of action that reconfigure these London sites.

Denscombe claims that the common characteristic of a case study strategy is that it focuses on ‘just one instance of the thing that is to be investigated’ (2010:52). However, he concedes that there are occasions when more cases are necessary. In setting up the research design it was difficult to identify a ‘typical instance’ of how public space is produced in London. Public spaces are commissioned by central government, the GLA and local authorities and are designed for state agencies, private developers, schools, universities and libraries; they are requirements of planning agreements, Olympic commitments, masterplanned developments and commercial transactions and are reconfigured for events, celebrations and rallies; indeed, they are redefined during public gatherings and through their daily use. Public spaces are also varied in form and structures of publicness. Since the 1980s London has experienced a proliferation of formations of public space, from those remaining state-owned and managed, to others defined predominantly through private means. As identified, masterplans in London mediate between scales, informed by national policies and global economies, while redefining programmed events and daily interactions, thus, I considered that they could be useful spatial and temporal frames. I selected cases of masterplanning to represent the three main ways that this scale of redevelopment is undertaken in London – through government-led (*World Square for All*), developer-led (*Paddington Waterside*) and public-private partnership (*Elephant and Castle Regeneration*) masterplans – all which include public spaces and public lives being transformed.



Figure 2.2 Masterplan diagram for the regeneration of Elephant and Castle showing the shopping centre and the market area at the heart of the area (Lend Lease, 2014)



Figure 2.3 2011 Ordnance Survey map of Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre with the moat in which the market operates indicated with dashed line (Ordnance Survey, 2011, edited by author)

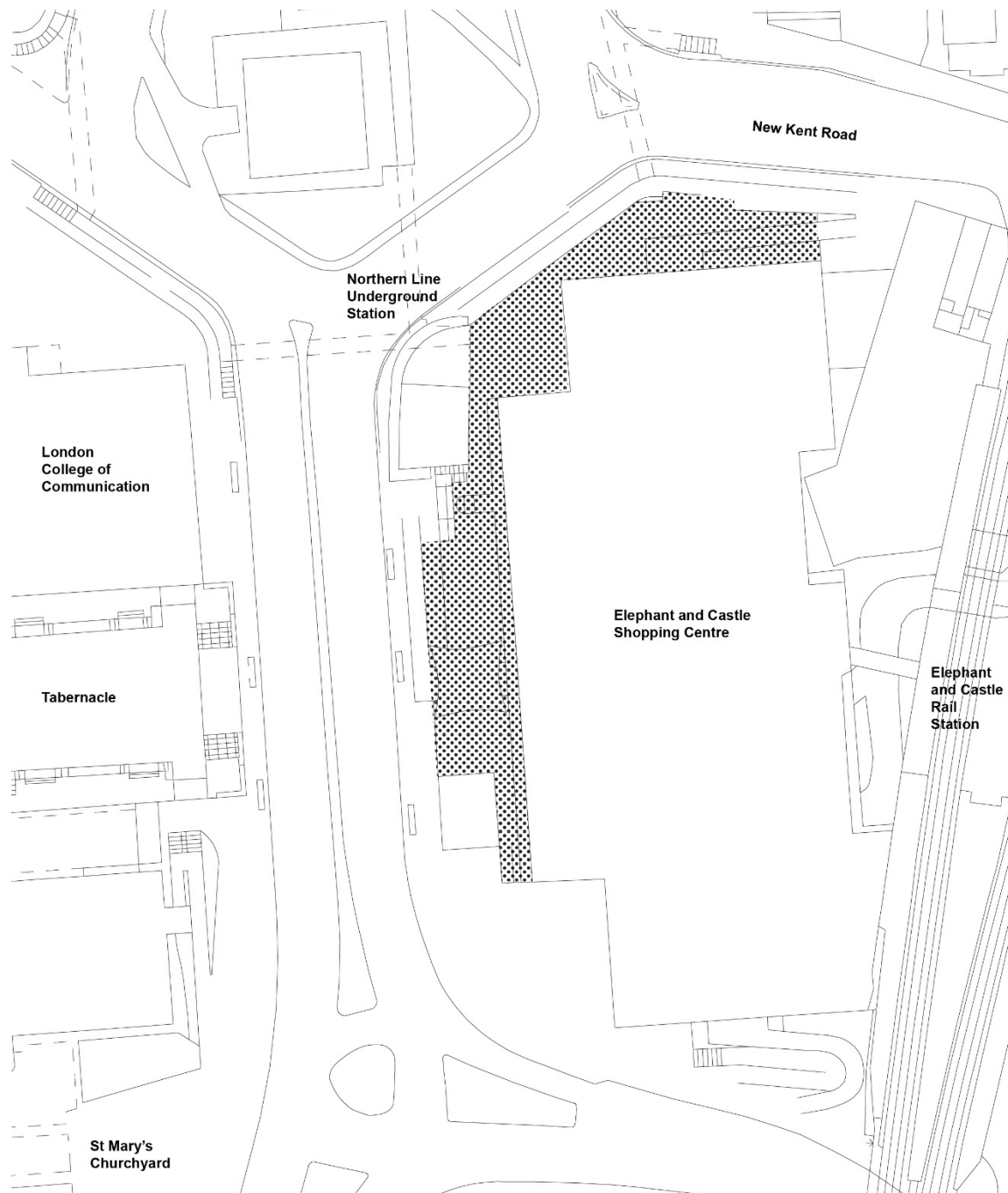


Figure 2.4 The Elephant and Castle Market (shaded area) wraps around the shopping centre (Diagram by author on Ordnance Survey base, 2014)

The first case, *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, aims to reconfigure Elephant and Castle through a partnering of the local authority with a private developer. The involvement of private interests was encouraged by the Conservative government in the 1980s and advanced under New Labour (after 1997). At Elephant and Castle this involves a £1.5bn regeneration of a strategic expanse of South London. The regeneration was set in place by an agreement between the London Borough of Southwark, as a public authority, and Lend Lease Corporation Limited, the international private developers. The plan proposes to

develop the GLA designated Elephant and Castle Opportunity Area (2004). The Opportunity Area encompasses fifty-five acres around Elephant and Castle (see figure 2.2), including the site of the former Heygate Estate, transport interchanges and the Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre, around which wraps the Elephant and Castle Market. Since 1990 the shopping centre and the market have been through repeated attempts at regeneration by its owners, and following the financial crisis of 2008, many of the planning agreements were also thrown into disarray. In 2013, the site was described by Councillor Fiona Colley, cabinet member for regeneration at Southwark, as ‘the last piece in the jigsaw for the regeneration’ of the Elephant and Castle area (www.southwark.gov.uk, 2013). The latest ambitions for comprehensive development across Elephant and Castle include the demolition of the shopping centre and the market, a process that, if continued as planned, will be completed around 2030 (www.elephantandcastle.org.uk, 2014).

The Elephant and Castle Market is the public space on which I focus the first case (see figure 2.4). This is a space consisting of conversations over games of checkers in the corner of the food court, market structures installed each day and customary exchanges as goods are bought and sold. Along with the Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre, the market is at the centre of what is considered by the partners as the ‘core area’ within the Opportunity Area. Although these assets are not owned by either partner, Southwark Council or Lend Lease, they are included in the Supplementary Planning Document (2012) that sets out the larger regeneration plan. The market and shopping centre are central to the council’s ambitions to ‘coordinate growth’ at Elephant and Castle (2012:2). As one of the final areas approved for redevelopment, Campkin explains that ‘more recent public debates... have centred most prominently on the shopping centre’ (2013:68). However, less focus has been afforded to the market that is tied, through common land-ownership and short-term leases, to the plans for the shopping centre. The overlooked space of the market, within this larger geographical context, therefore, stood out as particular interest for this research study. The low-cost privately-operated market has been a hub of commercial and public life at Elephant and Castle for over two decades, and its presence, under threat of imminent regeneration, provided an opportunity to explore the uneven relationships between people and organisations involved in or impacted by the regeneration. The enclosed space of the market, within the sunken plaza that encircles the shopping centre, also offered a public space with an ‘explicit’ boundary from which to understand the relations of the public space within the planned development area (Denscombe 2010:56).



Figure 2.5 The parcels of redevelopment outlined in the *Paddington Waterside* area (Map by Paddington Waterside Partnership, 2014, edited by author 2018)

The second case of making public space is the refashioning of *Paddington Waterside*, a network of canal-side spaces that are being slowly built through a process of developer-led redevelopment. The Paddington area of West London, located behind the grand rail terminal building designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel, was designated by the City of Westminster as Paddington Special Policy Area in 1988 and was subsequently selected as an Opportunity Area by the GLA in 2004. The masterplan area includes twelve redevelopment 'parcels' across eighty acres with public open spaces of Paddington Basin at the core (see figure 2.5). This development, led by Paddington Waterside Partnership, is expected to be complete around 2034 (www.paddingtonwaterside.co.uk, 2014).

As with Elephant and Castle, the ambitions for the regeneration of *Paddington Waterside* are established on the partnership's website with a keyed map indicating the phases of work (www.paddingtonwaterside.co.uk, 2014). However, the publicly accessible spaces of the masterplan (see figure 2.6), which the research for this case focuses, are less spatially

contained than at the Elephant and Castle Market. The partnership's intention for the open spaces is to offer users a seamless transition between public spaces beyond Paddington Basin to the privately controlled public open spaces within (Interview with Kate Beaton, BID chief executive, 2012). In the absence of physical gates or barriers, the activities within the canal-side spaces, the patrol of private security guards and the subtle changes in paving materials make it possible to identify the extent of the masterplan area.

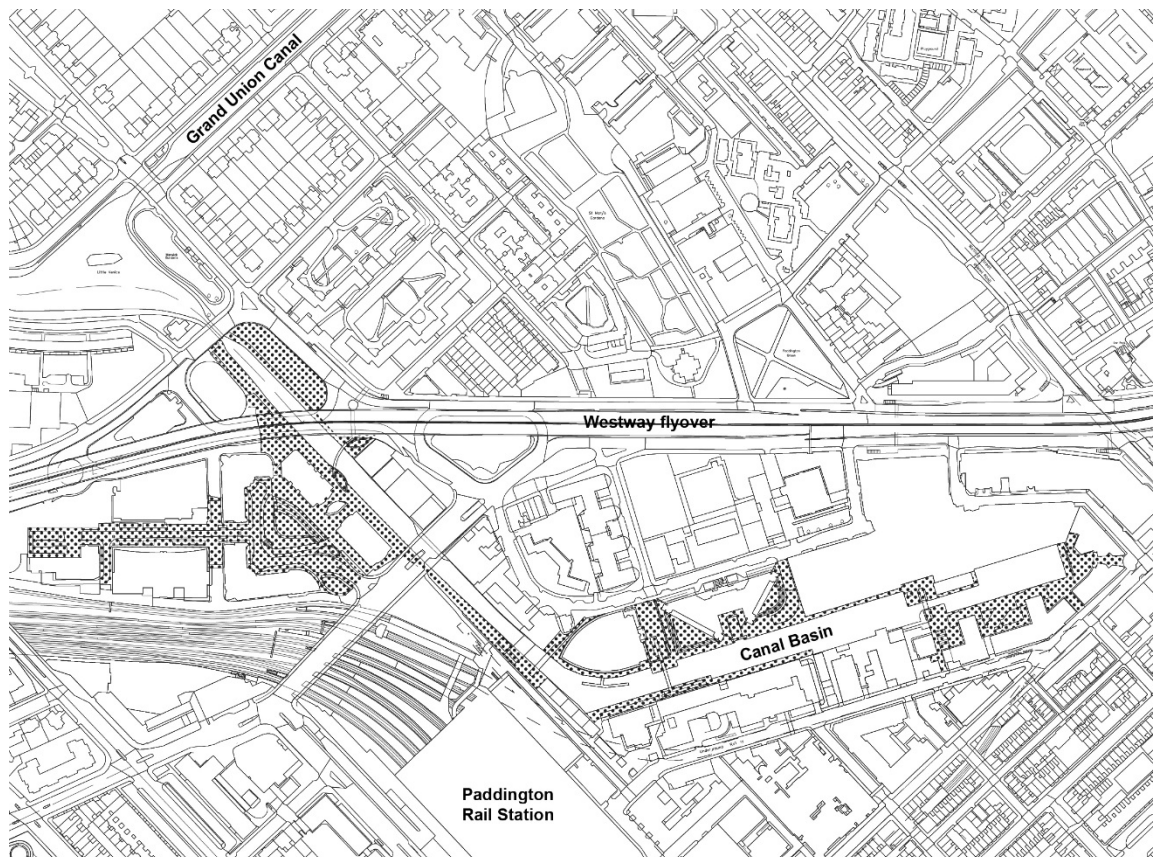


Figure 2.6 Network of publicly accessible spaces (shaded) through Paddington Basin (Diagram by author on Ordnance Survey base, 2014)

Across *Paddington Waterside* there have been frequent deals and occasional clashes over ownership, management and control of the privately held development 'parcels' that were once owned by the National Freight Corporation and British Waterways. Even before buildings are completed, assets are traded from developers to investors and the management of the open spaces is contracted to separate management companies (Interview with developer Richard Jones, 2013). The open spaces at Paddington Basin are managed by the development partnership and the BID, to include musical performances in the amphitheatre and weekly artisan markets through the summer. These events offer a curated backdrop to the rhythm of people commuting from the rail and underground stations and people smoking cigarettes outside of the corporate buildings. This is a publicly

accessible landscape patrolled by three different teams of private security guards and a developer-led BID. It is a space demarcated by the actions of the security teams rather than by planning-approved designs. Also, as the masterplan is realised, the BID maintains the developer's control of the area through an expanded programme of cleaning, maintenance and security.



Figure 2.7 The *World Squares for All* masterplan encompassing key London institutions, from the National Gallery and Trafalgar Square (1) to the Palace of Westminster and Parliament Square (2) (Masterplan by Government Office for London 1996, edited by author)

The third case of redevelopment is the vision of a *World Squares for All* masterplan that was initially commissioned by the Government Office for London (1996). The masterplan (see figure 2.7), which includes the redevelopment of Trafalgar Square as its first phase of implementation, brought together several public organisations, such as Transport for London and the City of Westminster. The plan proposed a remodelling of Trafalgar Square (2003) and extending the civic square up to the National Gallery, to be facilitated by the partial road closure of Pall Mall East. New steps were installed to further align the square with the gallery, while a café and public toilets were built under the upper terrace. Aside from these structural changes, the main features of this civic square remained; the two grand fountains, the four lions and Nelson's column were renovated.

During the period of redevelopment the management of Trafalgar Square was transferred from the City of Westminster to the GLA. Although the square remains under ownership of the Crown Estate, responsibility for the square was handed to the GLA through the Greater

London Authority Act 1999. Since Trafalgar Square's redevelopment was complete by the time I began my research, document surveys were useful in revealing that several public characters had already been displaced through the enforcement of new regulations. Before the research had begun, pigeons and commercial vendors had been removed from the central square and a requirement for written permission to engage in public activities, such as 'assembly' or 'public speech' (www.london.gov.uk 2012) – activities with which Trafalgar Square is commonly associated – was being enforced. The administration of the bylaws and the employment of Heritage Wardens, cleaners and the falconer, have since created further public actors who patrol the space, keep it clean and ensure that it is pigeon-free. Ambitions of the GLA to attract global attention to London through its programme of events and visitor experiences in the square present further instances of making public space through cultural, commercial and artistic operations. However, this has led to criticism of the GLA (Interview with GLA curator, Christy McLean, 2013) because, it was considered that use of the square for cultural activities, political gatherings and promotional events increased after the redevelopment making the square less available for individuals and daily visitors.

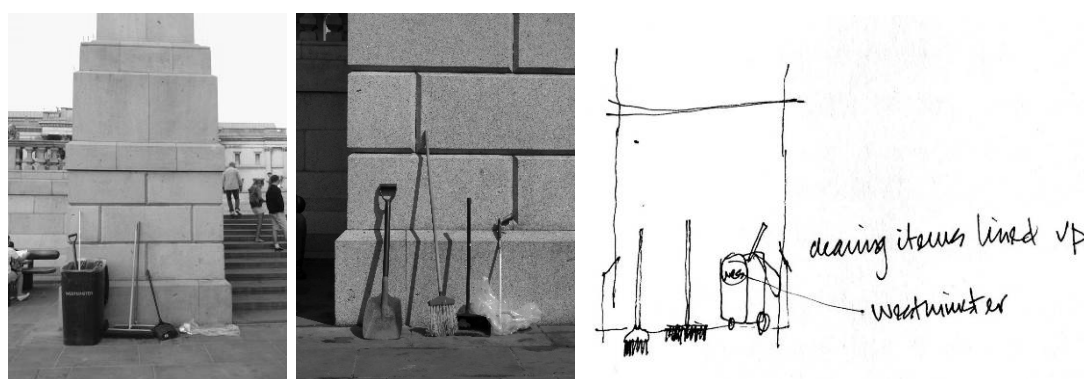


Figure 2.8 Instances of maintaining public spaces repeated daily at Trafalgar Square (Author's photographs and sketch, 2014)

Trafalgar Square presents clear spatial boundaries from which to work as a researcher. The design and construction of the square had been completed by the time the fieldwork began, offering a stable context from which to observe the activities in the square. In contrast to Elephant and Castle Market (which was awaiting redevelopment) and Paddington Basin (where public spaces were in the process of being built), Trafalgar Square had already undergone its architectural transformation to provide a stage for the many visitors, events, demonstrations, temporary operations, structures and artworks. Trafalgar Square offered an opportunity to consider a site being used and maintained (see figure 2.8), alongside one that was under construction and another waiting to be demolished. Despite claims of 'regeneration' at *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* (www.elephantandcastle.org.uk 2014),

'redevelopment' at *Paddington Waterside* (www.paddingtonwaterside.co.uk, 2013) and 'redefinition' of Trafalgar Square, through the *World Squares for All* masterplan

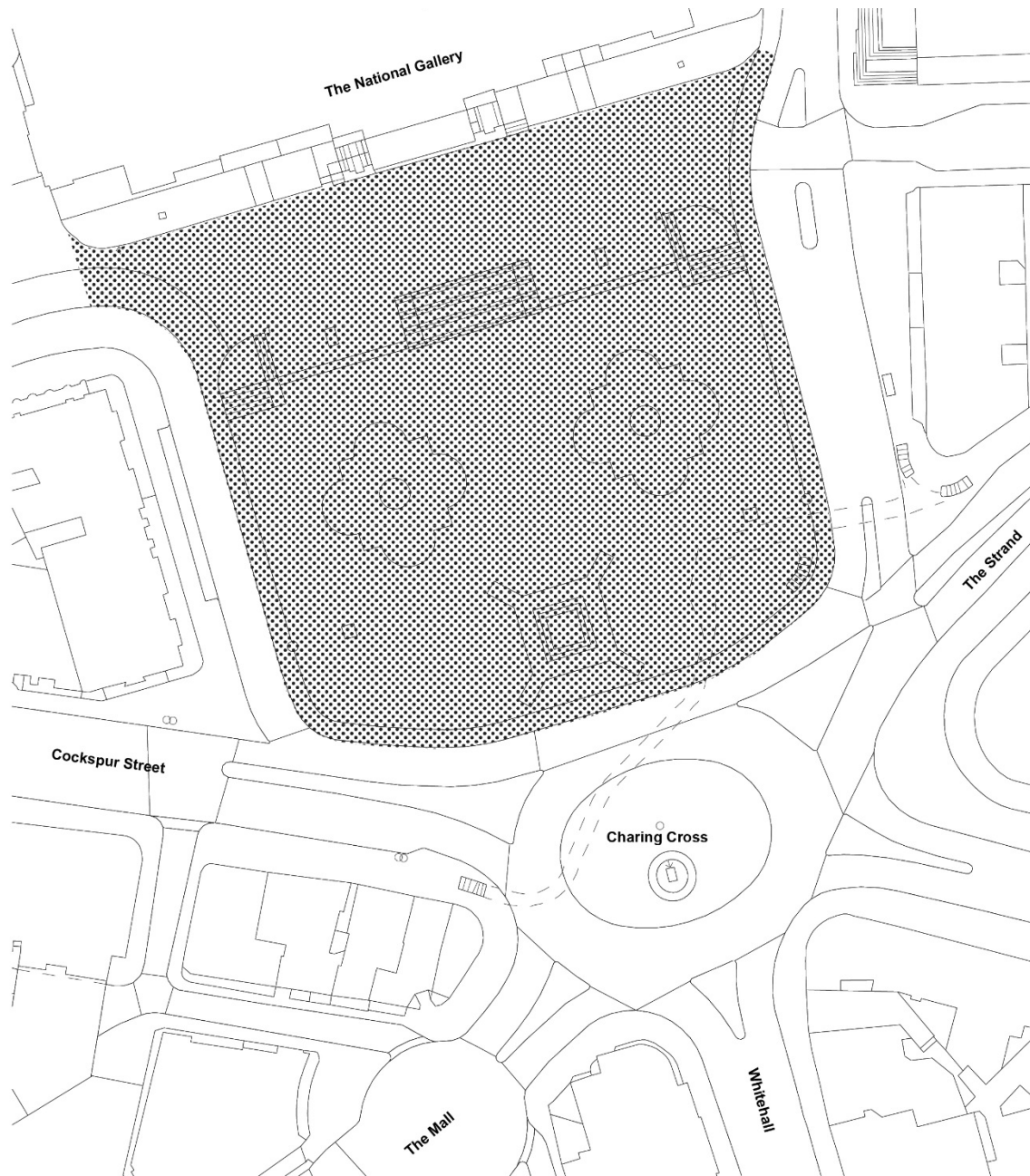


Figure 2.9 Trafalgar Square (shaded) (Diagram by author on Ordnance Survey base, 2014)

(www.london.gov.uk, 2014), we can identify consistent spatial and social transformations. The masterplans have facilitated economic priorities for the developers, agencies and local authorities who own or lease the areas. They are projects that provide contexts for public spaces of gathering, trading, performing, sitting, meeting and passing through – as well as what Campkin describes as, a 'broad range of processes – including gentrification and property development' (2013:7). The cases were not selected for purposes of direct comparison but rather to identify common patterns and distinctive issues involved in the

development of public spaces through masterplanning. The cases provided a point of departure for investigating relations of masterplanning with many other instances of producing public spaces.

Combing four methods

Since I was interested in exploring the interrelations between different ways of making public spaces, framed by the three cases of masterplanning, I decided to employ more than one research method. Denscombe (2010) suggests that a case study approach does not only allow multiple methods, but indeed encourages this strategy. Four qualitative research methods were employed to explore the overlapping narratives: direct observation, in-depth interviews, document surveys and visual analysis. This combination of methods offered a range of approaches from which to explore the different ways in which public spaces were assembled across the three sites. Firstly, research through observation allowed an immediate understanding of how these spaces were configured through daily interactions. How buskers claimed their performance spaces and the occupation of seats by groups of older people and tourists were mapped in my field notes. Interviews were conducted to include contrasting accounts of public spaces and how they were being transformed. Political, strategic and design decisions involved stakeholders who rarely visit the public spaces being remade, so visiting their offices to record their accounts was necessary. Document surveys were used throughout the fieldwork, initially to establish knowledge of the comprehensive visions for redevelopment, and later to validate what was observed and what was understood from interviews. Finally, visual analysis proved an important method for collecting maps, drawings and photographs of these sites and analytically combining them.

Multiple methods were essential to understand contemporary accounts of making public spaces in the context of historical narratives of redevelopment. The cases of masterplanning involved people who directed public space from corporate headquarters as well as those who performed fleeting public activities through interactions within architecturally produced spaces. The cases connected public spaces with remote offices where decisions about London's future were made and they opened-up questions as to what was to be gained and lost through the various ways of making public spaces (see figure 2.10). The complexity of relations involved in producing the public spaces required that I follow the evidence as it was offered, reading online documents, composing images, following suggestions made in interviews and learning from what I had observed.

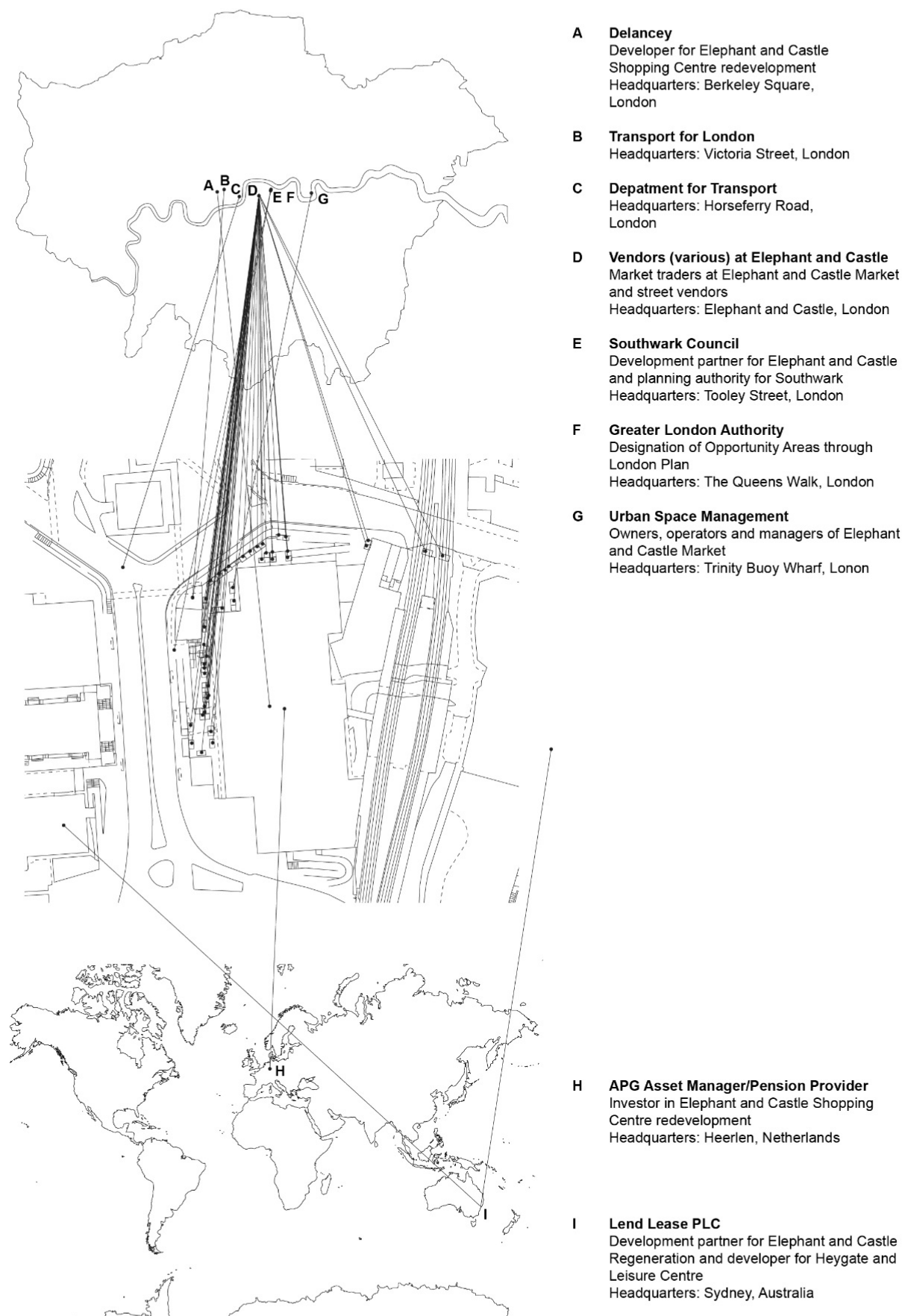


Figure 2.10 Public space activities, operations and developments at Elephant and Castle - and the wider geographies of headquarters where decisions are made (Diagram by author, 2014)

Observation

The fieldwork began at Elephant and Castle, extending from December 2011 until July 2012; I focused on Paddington Basin between August 2012 and April 2013; and, finally studied Trafalgar Square, from May 2013 until January 2014. Firstly, through direct observation, I recorded the use of the spaces, their architectural composition and material conditions. Then I mapped the social interactions within the sites and the nuances of how they changed through the day. Observations enabled me to witness previously unseen daily rhythms, such as cleaners mopping down the urine soaked alcoves around the Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre at five o'clock in the morning as they prepared the plaza for the opening of the market. At Paddington Basin, direct observation provided insights into the daily and weekly rhythms across the area: weekdays busy; weekends empty; lunchtime activity; evening silence; morning queues for coffee; midday cigarette breaks; twenty-minute security patrols; and, twice daily cleaning. Observation also revealed that the seats along the edges of Trafalgar Square were popular with occasional and regular visitors – seats that I would return to many times to join others in the square.

In each of the three public spaces, I systematically worked out effective vantage points from which to observe. My approach reflected that of Michael Rose, a professional photographer that I met in Trafalgar Square and with whom I would later arrange an interview: 'I am used to looking for the signs. And I also know that if I am going to go to a development I am going to check it out and see what are the access arrangements.' (Interview with Michael Rose, 2013). At the market in Elephant and Castle there were few places to stand inconspicuously and nowhere to sit, while at Paddington Basin, all the seating was orientated to the water and few places offered a clear view of the space. However, at Trafalgar Square the upper terrace opened wide views across the entire square and the stone balustrades proved a useful surface to lean, while writing notes (see figure 2.11). I began each day in the field by walking through and around until I had visually surveyed all the public areas. This practice of re-acquaintance was particularly useful when there had been more than a few days between field visits. Both the intricate everyday changes and the momentum of the masterplan projects at Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin and the frequency of events at Trafalgar Square kept these spaces in flux.

From site to site, observation provided opportunities to socially engage. It facilitated an opening up of conversations with commuters and vendors whose spaces I shared, revealing accounts of public lives and how different people are involved in activating public spaces. Individuals working in these spaces were more open to talking with me: market traders at Elephant and Castle were interested in what I knew about the imminent regeneration;

security guards at Paddington questioned why I was there and what I was doing with a camera over my shoulder; while at Trafalgar Square, event stewards asked me to move from where I was standing and then continued to talk to me about issues of securing the square. Although I spoke with many vendors whose eagerness for custom necessitated a willingness to communicate, as Whyte recognises, public spaces are 'not ideal places for striking up acquaintances' (1980:19). Initial small-talk sometimes led to short conversations and on one occasion an in-depth interview, as my making contact with photographer Michael Rose in Trafalgar Square attests. At Elephant and Castle access to market traders was widened by Roland, the market manager, who introduced me to traders who he felt would be receptive to my questions. However, even having Roland as my sponsor was not always effective. Incidentally, conversations with two traders, Al and Jude, from whom I learnt the most, were from conversations that I had initiated myself and built up over time.

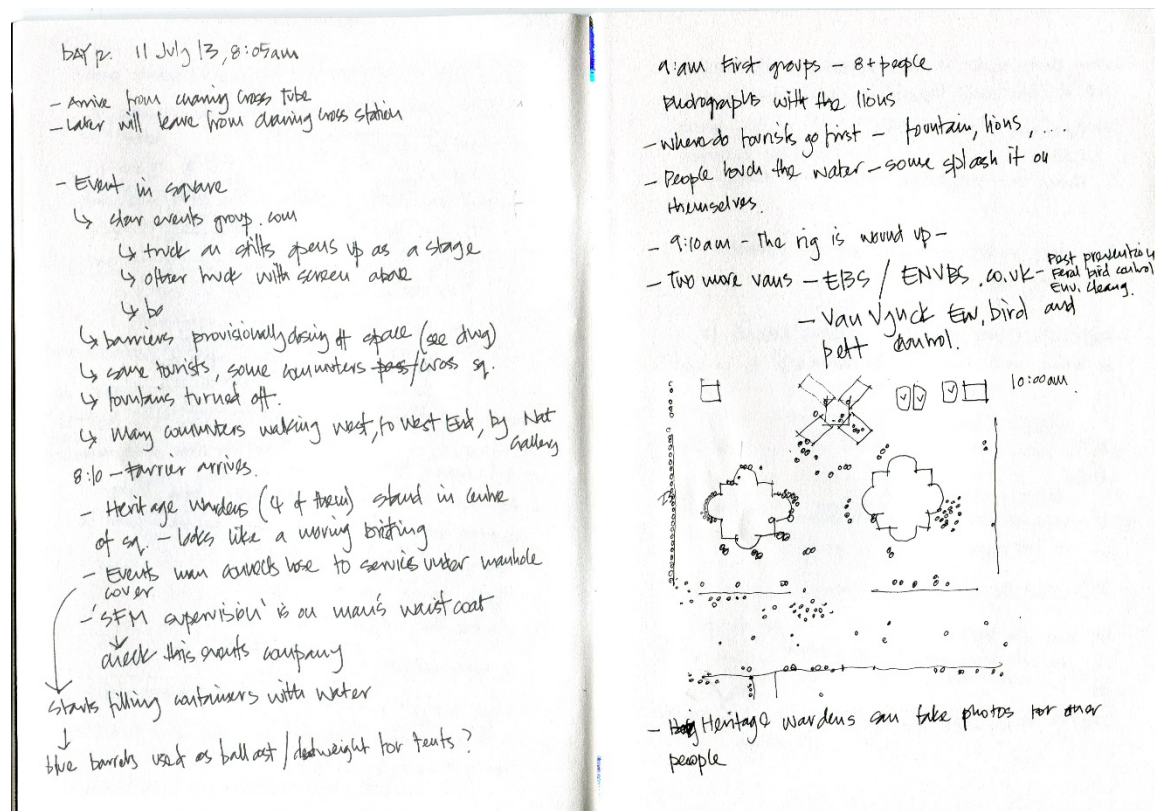


Figure 2.11 Sample of field notes recorded at Trafalgar Square (Author's field notes, 2013)

As these conversations in public increased I began to contact the subjects of the in-depth interviews that I had planned. Observation alone did not allow access to strategic decisions in the three cases of redevelopment, which were privileged to closed meetings involving private organisations and public agencies. Observation was ineffective in making contact with the head of planning at Southwark Council, residents of the new apartments at

Paddington or engineers tasked with Trafalgar Square's renovation. To reveal a broad range of narratives, in-depth interviews with those involved were needed, with the hope of discovering further accounts of public spaces planned and lived. So, after about twelve weeks observing in each site I began to contact potential interviewees. I reduced the frequency of my visits to the case study sites and spent time conducting interviews at local authority planning departments, corporate headquarters and the offices of public space managers.



Figure 2.12 Tables at Elephant and Castle's food court laid out in the morning and dismantled in the late afternoon (Author's photograph, 2012)

Interviews

I conducted twenty-two in-depth, semi-structured interviews with developers, managers, local authorities, landowners, designers, residents, users and other stakeholders of Elephant

and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square. I also arranged two interviews with individuals, such as with the former Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, engaged with producing public space at national and metropolitan scale and whose work has informed the redevelopment of all three sites. The aim of the interviews was to speak with individual residents and sole-traders, as well as employees of corporate and government organisations, to elicit accounts of local authorities, designers, BIDs and politicians involved in the provision of public spaces. As Creswell notes, when researchers are interested in a 'complexity of views rather than narrow meanings' the research should attempt to reveal 'the participants' view of the situation' (2003:8). The selection of interviewees ranged from people working in and using public spaces (market traders, residents and visitors) to individuals who inform policy (politicians and planners), design (architects and developers), operations (project managers and event planners) and management (site and security managers).

I was interested in what Massey describes as the 'stories-so-far' (2005:131), how people made public space, their roles and the relations they had with other organisations and individuals. Through following this approach, Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square could be read as 'collections of these stories'. Through interviews I identified contrasting accounts of public spaces. Roland, who managed the market at Elephant and Castle, described his daily routine without acknowledging the significance of his contribution to the public life of the area. His description differed to that of many employees of larger organisations, including local authority planners, developers and BIDs, who were keen to recount why they were interested in providing public spaces and including places for people within wider plans.

Interviewees were selected through preparatory visits to the field and brief surveys of online documents. I built up an initial list of organisations relevant for each case. Almost all the interviews were initiated through email or telephone introductions. During email conversations I would send background information explaining my research (see Appendix B). Three interviews (with the market manager at Elephant and Castle, a security manager at Paddington Basin and a photographer at Trafalgar Square) were agreed through informal conversations during the first stage of observation. Interviews with developers and planners were held in their conference rooms, offering silent settings from which to record in-depth conversations. However, I welcomed the opportunity to meet two interviewees in cafes away from their workplace where they could speak more freely. One interviewee, whom I met in a café in a railway arch at Elephant and Castle, described how he wanted to be interviewed as

a local resident, despite being an employee of Southwark Council (Interview with Paul, a local resident, 2012).



Figure 2.13 Recording interviews with mobile phone and notepad (Author's photograph, 2013)

In preparation for each interview I carefully considered the significance of the role of each interviewee in realising the public spaces of the cases. I made a list of topics that I was interested to know more about. This preparation was essential to remind myself why I had selected the interviewee; the list of bullet-points was used only as a prompt if the interview slowed, stopped or departed on what I felt were less useful tangents or contradicted what I understood to be correct. I began each interview explaining my research aims and I then asked the interviewee to describe their role in the realisation of the public spaces of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin or Trafalgar Square. 'Can you describe how the Canal and River Trust consider and realise the public spaces around Paddington?' I

asked Michael Bond of the Canal and River Trust (Interview 2013). Michael, as was consistent with most interviewees, seemed to enjoy the opportunity to talk about his work without significant prompts or further questions. I recorded each interview and made notes, writing down key points or issues that I followed up with subsequent questions. The notes were of particular use when recordings were interrupted or partly obscured by other noises. Each interview was scheduled for thirty minutes, unless the interviewee offered more time.

I asked permission from each interviewee before I digitally recorded each conversation using my mobile phone. The phone seemed less intrusive than a traditional voice recorder and it offered sufficient quality for transcribing the interviews (see figure 2.13). I did not digitally record the shorter, spontaneous conversations, such as those conducted with security guards on patrol, office workers on their lunch break, tourists sitting in the sun, residents on narrow boats of market traders. To do so would have interrupted the flow of the conversation while introducing research objectives, methodology and then gain their consent (see Duneier 1999:339). Instead, once I had left the field I would jot down a description of each conversation and write out key quotes. These were conversations that over time built up additional accounts of public spaces and the day-to-day lives of local individuals.

By beginning my fieldwork with periods of observation, I understood how the spaces were materially configured and used. However, I was keen to know the longer processes of regeneration, the histories I had not uncovered and ambitions for the future. From the interview with the market manager, descriptions of the market operations reinforced what I had known or at least expected to be the case at Elephant and Castle. However, with Peter, one of the architects involved in planning Paddington Basin, accounts of land acquisitions, the transfer of assets and commodification of canal-side spaces went well beyond the description of materials and spatial quality that I had anticipated. From earlier stages of observation there were individuals, like the curator of Trafalgar Square's Fourth Plinth programme, whom I had previously seen at an event in the square and subsequently contacted to interview. There were also several people recommended to me by other interviewees. 'What is really interesting', the curator suggested, 'is to talk to the guy who manages the square... He is the guy who is responsible for the cleaning of the square... He is this incredible fountain of knowledge' (Interview with curator, Christy, 2013). By adopting a snowball technique (see Atkinson and Flint 2001) I gained key introductions as well as contact details for further interviewees with whom I wished to speak and several people of whom I was previously unaware.

The interviews were critical for understanding both individual accounts as well as the interrelations between narratives. As I interviewed one person after another I found subsequent interviews valuable to fact-check. In this way, the over-written development narratives of place-making at Paddington were sometimes reinforced, while on other occasions discrepancies opened up. Differing perspectives of the developers and the local authority planners at Paddington were revealed when I asked about the adoption of privately-owned public space by the council: Julian from the City of Westminster Council described a day when private streets may be adopted as public; however, Kate from the developer side suggested that the council was releasing land from public control (Interviews 2012). As the fieldwork progressed, and the accounts began to frame the different processes of making public spaces, the data increasingly represented 'the impact of macro and micro processes through the 'lived experience' of individuals' (Low 1996:862). The interviews formed a complex of accounts that described how the experiences of some interviewees related to the actions of other people in making these public spaces. From these conversations, the motivations for the large-scale developments began to be revealed, at times in opposition to why and how the spaces were being used.

Documents

Four sources of documents were surveyed, including: specialist libraries (British Library, Southwark Local History Library and the Royal Institute of British Architects Library); National and Metropolitan Archives; internet sources and websites; and, exhibitions. There were several reasons for undertaking a range of document surveys. Firstly, I was searching for information about comprehensive redevelopments that were planned to transform Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square. The internet offered the latest 'official' narratives of remaking that the local governments, BIDs or developers wished to present. However, as I found historic rhythms of remaking Elephant and Castle dated from 1912 (National Archive, 2012) and its history of regeneration was noticeable for its many abandoned strategies and superseded masterplans, it was important to research beyond frequently rewritten council and developer websites (www.elephantandcastle.org.uk, 2012; www.paddingtonwaterside.co.uk, 2014; www.london.gov.uk, 2016).



Figure 2.14 Files from the National Archive and South London Press newspaper article from file (National Archive, 2012)



Figure 2.15 Exhibition brochure promoting the development of public spaces in London, including the three cases of redevelopment at Elephant and Castle, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square (New London Architecture, 2007)

The archives and libraries revealed different planned, architectural and commercial approaches to making public space in these locations. Architectural journals (such as RIBA Journal), exhibition catalogues (such as New London Architecture 2007), newspapers and sales brochures combined both critical and promotional accounts of these public spaces as both proposed images and as finished schemes. Analysing a range of documents offered essential data against which, what was seen and heard could be checked. Inconsistencies were exposed when I finally found a copy of the *Traders' Charter for Elephant and Castle* (2007), after almost twelve months of searching, which contradicted the harmonious relationship presented in interviews with the planning authority and the shopping centre owners (Interviews 2012). The charter states: 'This document has been created by the traders at the Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre that are being adversely affected by its planned redevelopment' (Elephant and Castle Traders 2007).

Although archive and library searches offered significant publications, reports and correspondence, online documents were also essential. Similar to the archival accounts of the lives impacted by the clearing of these public space sites through previous masterplanned regeneration ideas, websites, discussion boards and forums were active where the impact of the current redevelopments were voiced. For Elephant and Castle there were many online newspaper articles and community blogs that questioned the large-scale operations of Lend Lease and the council. One interviewee directed me towards *Southwark Notes*, a blog that asks the question 'Whose regeneration?' (www.southwarknotes.wordpress.com, 2014) and *Better Elephant*, a website presenting the community campaign for 'a more equitable and sustainable regeneration' (www.betterelephant.org, 2014). These sites provided commentary on the official regeneration process as presented by a developer-funded website (www.elephantandcastle.org.uk, 2014). Similarly, at Paddington Basin, the Paddington Waterside Partnership and the Business Improvement District had tightly edited websites that indicated the exclusion of the local council from their partnership (www.paddingtonwaterside.co.uk, 2014). Opposition to the *Paddington Waterside* masterplan and the eviction of businesses and other activities was not so immediately present when searching online, although a video created as a high school project and posted on YouTube recalled the closing of North Westminster School to make way for the development, an account unheard in interviews:

In all the bad years it [Paddington Basin] was a good enough spot for a school [North Westminster Community School], now that things are beginning to look up around here [referencing the investment from the redevelopment] it is no longer a good spot for the children of this community. And I think that is a great shame (www.youtube.com, 2014)

At Trafalgar Square, online sources and news stories were found to frame narratives of a civic square of cultural and political events. Images, films and texts describe the events that occupy the space, the national demonstrations and the prevalence of tourist photographs. The regularity of visitors taking photographs of themselves and the features of the square was evident during fieldwork observations, suggesting that, as Sontag describes, 'having an experience becomes identical with taking a photograph of it [the experience]' (1977:24). However, during internet searches, these personal photographs were more difficult to find than the popular mass media newspaper websites that report on events such as Nelson Mandela's visit, the Poll Tax riots and famous movies that feature the square. The professional photographs and videos that were bought by major media organisations dominated the images and stories of Trafalgar Square that could be found online. Through interviews, it transpired that Trafalgar Square was considered a 'good space for events', with photographers attempting to 'tell the event [of the square] in one photograph' (Interview with Michael, professional photographer, 2013).



Figure 2.16 Activist website, *Better Elephant*, documents the repeated attempts to redevelop Elephant and Castle while proposing alternative plans (www.betterelephant.org, 2014)

Data from document surveys were not consistently available across or within each case. Whether the regeneration was led by private developers, local authorities or public agencies, appeared to influence what could be found. In the case of Paddington Basin, documents were highly controlled and edited. Both Paddington Regeneration Partnership and the BID, OnPaddington, publish annual reports online. These are tightly written documents that appear to be for marketing and sales purposes rather than for offering transparency in the

development process. As both organisations were led by the same individual, Kate Beaton, the release of documents could be directed and coordinated:

The complex developer story is on *Paddington Waterside* [website] and the complex BID offer and the projects of the BID are on PaddingtonBID.co.uk. And then we jointly own the consumer brand (Interview BID chief executive, Kate Beaton, 2012)

In contrast, repeated attempts by the local authority and various developers to regenerate Elephant and Castle created a confusing array of released, superseded and abandoned planning documents. The latest stage of implementing a masterplan by private developer, Lend Lease, offered a more limited range of documents than when the redevelopment was managed by Southwark (www.elephantandcastle.org.uk, 2013). However, attempts to present a single comprehensive regeneration of Elephant and Castle were undermined by the traces of previous masterplans, artist impressions and press releases that were found on locally run blogs, newspapers and forums (see figure 2.16).



Figure 2.17 Map showing areas of land owned by Southwark Council (2008) overlaid with Ordnance Survey map (1954) demonstrating that land ownership partially reflects historic building arrangement (Diagram by author, 2014)

Visual analysis

I adopted four techniques to visually analyse and communicate throughout the thesis: recording, collaging, overlays and thumbnail images. Firstly, during observations, in each case, I made sketches and took notes and photographs. Taking photographs during observation required different approaches. Low (2000:41) found that her camera was useful

for engaging with the people she was observing. In Trafalgar Square I was occasionally asked by some of the many tourists taking photographs, to take a photograph of them. I did not, however, find that having my camera with me made it any easier to spend time in Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin. Printed T-shirts on the clothes stall run by Ahmed and Sundar in the Elephant and Castle Market insisted on 'NO-PHOTOS', while the stainless steel plaques that proliferate the developments of Paddington Basin also make explicit the restrictions on people taking photos. In both cases, however, I spoke with security guards and individual market traders who allowed me to conduct a partial photographic survey of Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin. I was instructed that I should not take photographs on certain days or of specific buildings and market stalls. I needed to consider how I took photographs at Elephant and Castle, as the narrow space of the market brought the action of taking photos into uncomfortable proximity to many people in front of the lens. Taking photographs revealed the complex conditions of ownership and management of development sites, buildings and market stalls and suggested the importance of privacy and image-making for the individuals and businesses involved.

In contrast to taking photographs, the practice of sketching required me to look closer and more carefully at the forms and relations across each site. I was able to describe and order information through sketches and notes – while articulating key occurrences that I observed. The drawings that I made were an attempt to remind myself of what was seen through the composition of, and movement within, these public spaces. Sketching also proved a critical tool for completing scenes that could only be partially captured in photographs. I collaged together sketches and photographs in what Rowe and Koetter describe as a 'rough method' (1978:142). Initially, I was attempting to fill in the gaps, to create a more complete picture, however these images also allowed experiences to be emphasised. The unwillingness of some of Elephant and Castle's market traders to be photographed is evident in the collages where people had to be added through being drawn (see figure 2.18). Correspondingly, entire events at Paddington Basin needed to be sketched over photographs, which could only be taken when the canal-side was empty of people.

Collages require the reader to take a leap of faith and look into my interpretations, remembering that, as Rowe and Koetter claim, 'collage is simultaneously innocent and devious' (1978:140). Collage also brought into close proximity multiple perspectives: they were useful in exploring my view on these spaces, as a researcher, as well as what is perceived by different people involved in making public spaces. Collage proved to be a useful technique for creating hybrid representations that combined differing views of the city, allowing the plan and the eye-level view of these public spaces to be seen simultaneously

(see figure 2.23). Drawings, like plans and masterplans, present an overview of an area through which the spaces are frequently ordered, directed and redesigned, while eye-level photographs can offer a view of close-up social relations between people and the spaces they inhabit. Caroline Knowles (2000) asserts that images, especially photographs, can be useful for the 'real' information that they hold, but they are open to alternative readings. Collages embody this opportunity to see public spaces from contrasting viewpoints as they simultaneously present and obscure.

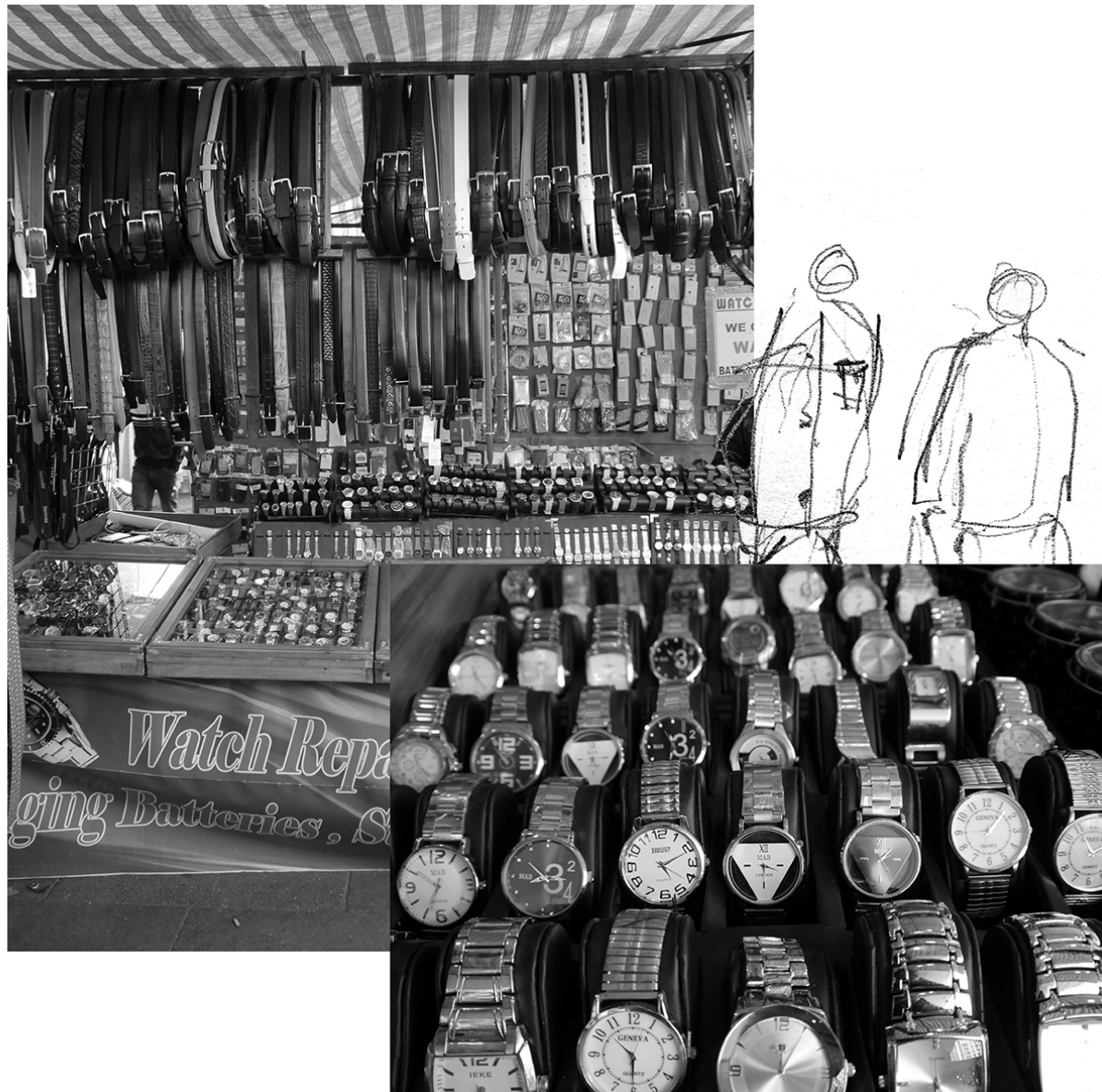


Figure 2.18 Collages as a visual record of Elephant and Castle Market (Collage by author, 2012)

I also combined maps and masterplan drawings using an overlay technique. Overlays allowed me to compare the temporality of spatial arrangements of the redeveloped areas, over long histories and through the different stages of the masterplans. Overlaying maps of

physical arrangements, property ownerships and public space management revealed issues at stake in the redevelopment of the three sites: overlaying a map of local authority land ownership at Elephant and Castle with a map of the shopping centre and market revealed that the spaces of the market were a patchwork of ownerships that would need to be resolved to facilitate the regeneration (see figure 2.17). Overlaying the development masterplan with a map of the BID area highlighted that the new businesses moving into *Paddington Waterside* were not included in the BID area – while they would benefit from an improved public realm, they would not incur the BID levy required of adjacent smaller businesses. Lastly, overlaying a map of local authority and GLA control with a map of where buskers congregated revealed that while musicians were prohibited from performing in the square, they were able to operate on the upper terrace managed by the City of Westminster.



Figure 2.19 Renders of proposed market areas, clockwise from top left: sketch by Fosters and Partners (2004), watercolour painting by Boissenvain & Osmond for the Willets Group (1962), digital rendering for Oakmayne Properties (2011), render for Oakmayne Properties (2006)

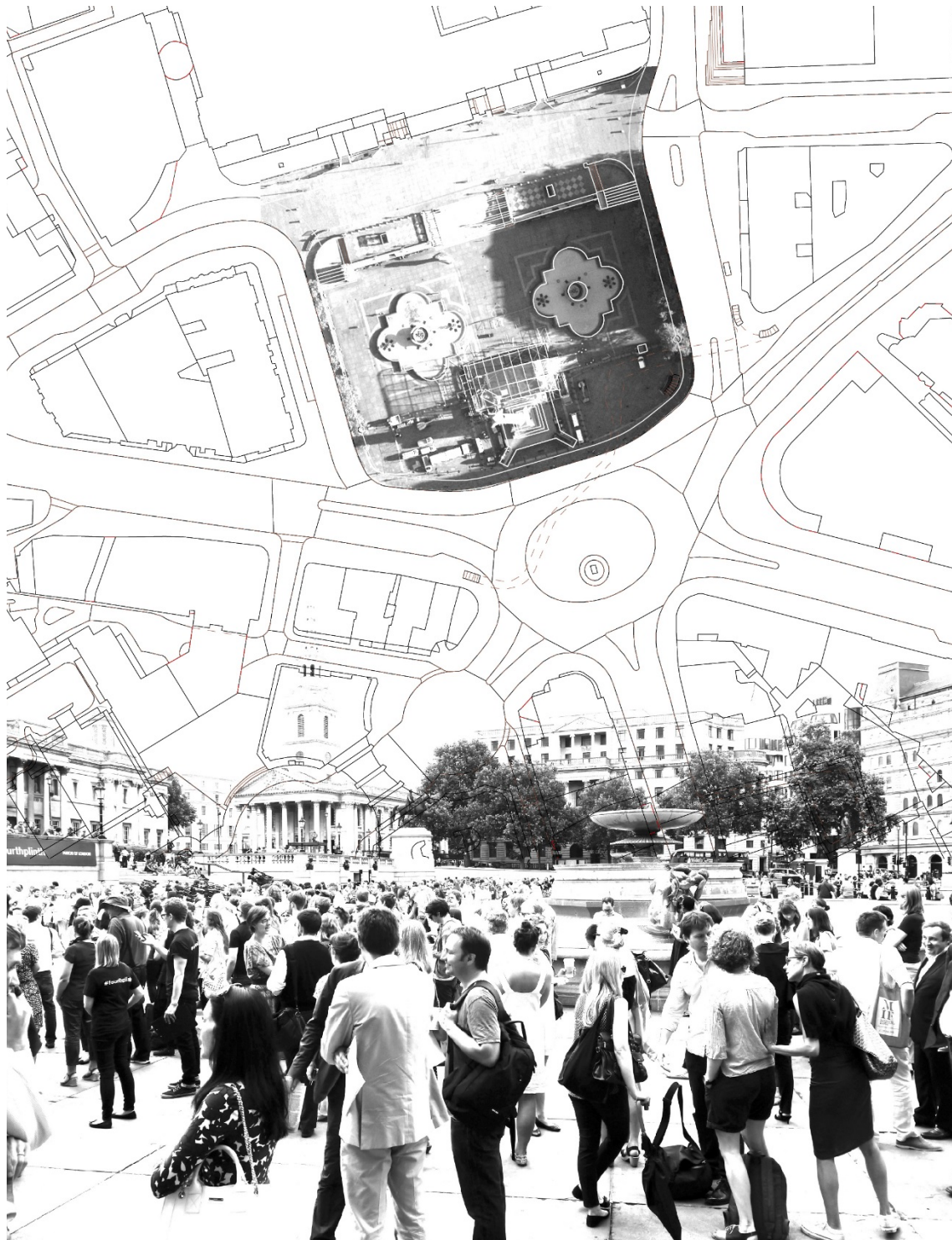


Figure 2.20 Collages offering hybrid perspectives of Trafalgar Square (Collage by author, 2014)

Thumbnail images of the proposed developments were collected, downloaded or scanned to compare the phases of proposals and how these compared to the realised designs. Cycles of proposed and then superseded regeneration at Elephant and Castle were identified in the collection of images from online sources as well as printed material provided by the council, the National Archive, Southwark libraries and developers. From the images that I collected a

repeated use of markets in architects' drawings pointed to the important aesthetic quality of lively market stalls within regeneration narratives (see figure 2.19) – contrasting with negative accounts of the existing Elephant and Castle Market (Interview with Tom, Southwark Council planner, 2012). Denscombe (2010) describes the usefulness of analysing images to consider the image itself, the producer of the image and the viewer. We can assume that what was included and omitted from the image, the framing of the view and what medium was employed to create the image, was carefully selected to persuade public audiences and planning officers and to promote the developments to investors.

I worked with visual material in a similar way to text-based transcripts and written documents. I used my knowledge and experience as a designer to collect, order, arrange, mark-up, sketch, collage and redraw visual information that I had gathered in order to recognise patterns and issues for discussion. This visual analysis of maps, architectural plans, visualisations and photographs created opportunities to reveal specific findings. While I identified consistent development narratives through studying the patterns of thumbnail images created from site photographs and architectural renders my approach to collage was more useful to express findings from each site. Through combining digital maps in plan projection with eye-level photographs of the same spaces I explore the simplicity of 'top-down' and static perspectives of the masterplanned areas, projections that contrast with the detailed, material and lived conditions of the public spaces (see Figures 3.1, 4.1 and 5.1). The juxtaposition of Ordnance Survey maps and aerial photographs, representations from which masterplans are frequently developed, with the photographed experience of spaces also points to the difference between professional and untrained means of engaging with public spaces. Through combining three different media, I aim with the collages to show the simultaneity of voices and contrasting approaches to making and remaking in each location. At times, the visual analysis provided evidence while on occasion it structured the written narratives set out in the substantive chapters.

Triangulation

From the observations, interviews, document data and visual images of each case, a web of narratives was revealed. I began the study of each site with direct observation before participating in the lives of the spaces, meeting and speaking with local participants. After a few days at each site I was following my intuition and began to overlap the methods. At times, what I was told in interviews did not correspond with what I had expected; here, checking facts through returning to observe was necessary. The inconsistencies of the BID

maps at Paddington needed to be questioned in interviews and followed up by email. When I did not get clear answers I needed to look further. This triangulation of methods, which Duneier modestly calls ‘checking stuff’ (1999:345), took me beyond the spaces of each site, into conversations that I did not expect and interruptions to the planned schedule. With this responsive approach to interrogating the ways that public spaces were being made, I frequently returned to the research design to adapt what I had expected and assess my own progress as a researcher.



Figure 2.21 Loading bay building which was situated on the Paddington Basin canal-side until the redevelopment began. Photographed in 1990, demolished in 1999.
(www.locallocalhistory.co.uk, 2015)

Each subsequent method overlapped with what had come before, building up specific accounts of how people were involved in producing public spaces. This continual testing enriched the data, as opportunities to cross check information were sought. It was essential not to isolate the data arising from each method, such as distancing the fragments of public life that I had observed from the masterplanning strategies that I had read about or that were revealed through interviews. Duneier claims that to do so would suggest that the everyday lives of people making public space were ‘self generating’ (1999:344). Without speaking to the market operators and its land owners, the degraded conditions of Elephant and Castle market plaza could have been associated with the market operations of the traders. Equally,

without finding images of structures and buildings along the canal at Paddington (see figure 2.21), on former teacher Jack Whitehead's blog, *Local Local History* (www.locallocalhistory.co.uk, 2015), I could have accepted a Westminster's planning officer's assertion that there was nothing on the development site before the construction began (Interview with planner, Julian, 2012).

Triangulation between the methods was essential. Comparing data collected from different methods provided access to contrasting accounts of public spaces and it allowed the validity and reliability of the qualitative data to be checked. Before each in-depth interview I would reflect on what I had seen and heard in the field – or more often, what I had not been able to uncover through observation. Information about developer accounts of Elephant and Castle or the role of security guards at Paddington needed to be questioned in interviews, since what was evident through observation was insufficient. Moreover, in the instances of complex arrangements such as those of street level vendors at Elephant and Castle who leased space from the council, it took several interviews with different organisations before I understood that competing narratives were at play (Interviews with Tom, Jonathan and Steven, 2012). Triangulation within methods was therefore also useful. Emergent patterns were checked through repeated visits to each site, while unclear issues were raised in consecutive interviews. During the interviews I questioned issues that seemed to go unanswered in previous conversations. This checking within and between methods led to a more nuanced working of the methods as I progressed from Elephant and Castle, to Paddington Basin and then to Trafalgar Square. Rather than privileging one method over another I constantly reflected on the usefulness of each, seeking out more interviews when needed or returning to observe conditions in the field that required further elucidation.

Through continued reflection and analysis, I attempted to identify patterns (and exceptions to patterns) that informed the ways that public spaces were designed, managed and used. Some of the public lives recorded through the fieldwork embodied daily, weekly and seasonal rhythms, while cycles of masterplanned development occurred over decades. Duneier explains that the structure and repeated rhythms of most social processes allow a researcher to 'learn about a social world' without being completely embedded. Describing his own research working with street traders, he explains that 'most of the things in a vendor's day... are structured' (1999:338). From observing and recording repeated practices across the sites, and working with the mix of methods, common patterns emerged of public spaces claimed as architectural forms, the proliferation of graphic representations of redevelopments and the dislocation of people and activities from the public spaces in which they lived and worked.

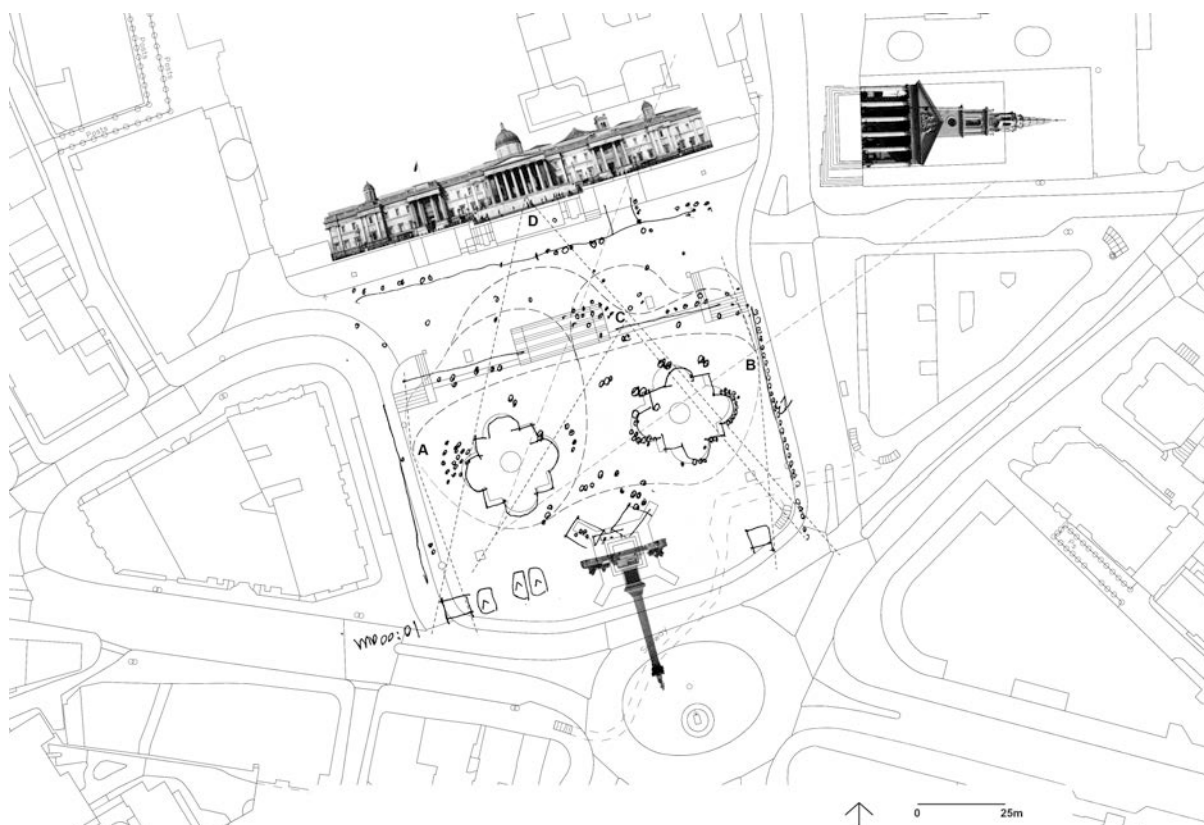


Figure 2.22 Montage of relations between views, activities and spaces of Trafalgar Square (Collage by author on Ordnance Survey map, 2013)

It was important to maintain a balanced approach to the research as I investigated the three cases and as I combined four methods. I approached each case employing the same sequence of methods, exploring the same questions over similar periods of time, and when inconsistencies did arise, such as restricted access to the public spaces, no response from some potential interviewees, a lack of available documentary information, I describe this in the thesis. I have taken particular care to ensure a consistent approach to interviews and conversations and how these have been represented. In each case I approached a range of individuals and institutions, including planning officers, developers, architects, event organisers or managers, security guards, residents, workers and visitors. For the interviews I consistently explained my research into how public spaces were made and I enquired of the interviewees role or relationship to the public space of the case in question. During conversations with individuals in the public space sites I would explain my position as a researcher but there were also occasions when this was not possible.

As each interview presented differing accounts of how public spaces were planned, designed, occupied and claimed, after transcribing I would analyse and interpret each individual narrative before comparing interviews regarding each case. I repeatedly read the

texts underlining any patterns and inconsistencies between interviews and across the methods. I employed a similar approach to each method, analysing in detail by repeatedly reading, marking up, and making notes on the texts and images. As I brought together interview materials with data from the three other methods I was able to make sense of what I found and structure specific narratives for each site, resulting in Chapter 3 (Making and taking Elephant and Castle), Chapter 4 (Place as property in Paddington) and Chapter 5 (Ornaments and images of Trafalgar Square). Throughout the thesis I have used quotes from interviewees in order to represent the arguments set out for each of the three sites. Although I have anonymised the interviews I have checked each quote against the relevant transcript to ensure that I have not misinterpreted or taken quotes out of context. I have checked the quotes several times, firstly when I have written each chapter and later on completion of the thesis, to ensure that what the interviewees describe is used in a balanced and consistent way.

Positionality and ethics

I was made aware during interviews and document survey analysis what was at stake for the individuals involved, highlighting the need for me to consider the impact of my research: residents at Elephant and Castle described their spaces as under threat: 'I am not sure if there is a great deal of commitment from anyone whose on the development side to keep it [the shopping centre] (Interview with Paul, 2012); residents at Paddington Basin were concerned about the value of their apartments: 'As an owner of an apartment in West End Quay, I'd be in favour of any photographs that cause our property values to rise! (Interview with Jonathan Shoemaker, 2012); accounts of Trafalgar Square raised concerns about restrictions to activities in the square: 'streets and spaces... they are coded by laws' (Interview with Simon, architect for Trafalgar Square, 2014). While I was initially concerned that during fieldwork my presence in the public spaces may unsettle the people visiting, commuting, working or shopping, over time I was reassured that this was not the case. Security guards and market stallholders registered my repeated presence and seemed interested in why I was there, but most other people did not acknowledge me. I fitted in as an observer and I became quickly absorbed into the life of the spaces.

In each interview I gave different emphasis to my contrasting roles, as designer, student, researcher and citizen. While always introducing the research through my position as a PhD student, I occasionally made clear my knowledge of urban redevelopment approaches or locales in London to reassure my interviewees and to encourage them to open-up. In

Studying Something You Are Part Of, Becker and Faulkner describe 'complete participant observation' (2008:18-21) where the researcher finds themselves inseparable from the participants and processes being studied. This was common during the participant observation in public spaces, but also evident in several interviews where I interviewed people with whom I had previously worked alongside. This access allowed me to gather data that were less available to 'outsiders', at the same time causing other difficulties (Becker and Faulkner 2008:19). On one occasion I was offered paid consultancy work at the end of an interview, which I declined; while twice I was informally asked for professional advice in return for the interview. I did not feel that either proposal would lead to specific ethical issues, but it made me question my future relationships with the profession that I have been a part of for twenty years and within which I was studying. What will these professional acquaintances think of the research? How could they be impacted by potential conclusions which could question practices of urban redevelopment? How critical of local authorities, developers and urban designers could I be if I want to work on future public space projects in London? These were issues that I had not anticipated, but which put into question my position both as a researcher and a practitioner.

As a PhD student I was required to follow a specific ethical code (London School of Economics 2008); I also read and referred to the *Statement of Ethical Practice* by the British Sociological Association (2002). These codes of research practice identified two main considerations for researching public spaces. Firstly, I attempted to maintain a respectful engagement with the people and spaces included in the study. In each case there were individuals and organisations that had a lot to gain or lose in the redevelopment of these neighbourhoods. In the market at Elephant and Castle there were several traders who had declined to speak with me regarding the research while others were enthusiastic. Elephant and Castle had a complicated reputation. One interviewee claimed that the council's objective had been to provide a rationale for ongoing redevelopment, but this had also led to an increased interest in the area, with film-makers, students, researchers and artists 'projecting a kind of idea onto it' (Interview with resident, Paul, 2012). I therefore needed to consider the conclusions that I would make and the potential impact that my research could have on the many individuals and organisations in each site.

I offered each interviewee the opportunity of anonymity and a chance to correct inconsistencies in transcribed quotes. To each interviewee I presented an official letter of introduction (Appendix B) that described the research aims and gave the opportunity for interviewees to review and, if desired, retract what they had said. Eventually, only one interviewee accepted the offer to read the transcripts: Jason, a communications manager

who spoke about organised events in Trafalgar Square, was keen to understand how he would be represented in the thesis, although in the end he did not request any changes. None of the interviewees requested anonymity, however, Paul, who lived near Elephant and Castle joked: 'don't worry, I won't be working for [the council] when your PhD is published' (Interview with Paul, resident and council employee, 2012). Most interviewees spoke frankly and on several occasions, they explained situations that could reflect poorly on their neighbours, colleagues, employers or themselves. Two residents that I interviewed at Paddington Basin implied that the problems with the neighbourhood were due to foreigners buying into the area, one concluding: 'Yes, it is becoming Islam' (Interview with resident, Sharon, 2012). For interviewees unfamiliar with having what they say scrutinised, leaving their full names in the thesis seemed inappropriate. So due to this and the negligible benefit gained from disclosing the names of the people whom I interviewed, I decided to anonymise all except for one person. The exception was the former Deputy Prime Minister and minister responsible for planning when the three cases were masterplanned, John Prescott. In describing his role in the thesis, his identity would be immediately clear, and it would be distracting to provide a pseudonym; he did not request to be anonymised.

It was neither practical nor possible to gain informed consent from all individuals, businesses and organisations that I observed and described in the field notes. The publicness of these spaces, however, implicitly offered a degree of consent by those entering them. This implied consent is offset by laws of privacy, that in the UK are detailed in the Human Rights Act 1998. The terms of privacy within the Act have little bearing on the public spaces of London, except when the public nature of the spaces is challenged by private ownership. Where the spaces of the study were privately owned, as in Elephant and Castle Market and in Paddington Basin, rights of privacy were occasionally sought by the landowners, such as in the signs denying photography. And in these cases, I would comply with owners' and managers' requests.

The second ethical consideration involved being sensitive to both the public and private activities in these cases. How I documented and would disseminate what I witnessed should not have a detrimental impact on the residents, commuters, visitors and other users involved. This required nondisclosure the exact locations of activities I had observed as well as not revealing the identities of those involved. I had witnessed public activities, such as a non-sanctioned protest and the daubing of political graffiti in Trafalgar Square that transgressed legal limits. However, there were also more private activities that I had observed in the public spaces. As Davies explains, 'nominally open public space may have 'private' or limited means imposed upon it' (Davies 2007:7), such as when photography at

Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin was restricted to address concerns for privacy. During the research I observed individuals engaging in activities contrary to the regulations of the space and undesirable to the private security guards who enforce them. Could sharing maps of the location of teenagers congregating at Paddington Basin be appropriated by over-zealous security guards? I decided not to include all my sketch maps or to describe all the details that I had recorded in the field notes. As with the identity of interviewees, it was not necessary to describe the specific locations of activities to discuss the accounts of how the public spaces were made and lived.

Conclusions

Three conclusions can be drawn from the case study research approach and the methods employed. Firstly, the research design, which included methods of observation, interviews, document surveys and visual analysis, has strongly defined the concepts that have emerged from the study: public spaces conceived as *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions*. From in-depth interviews and planning documents, accounts describing the ambitions of planners and developers to spatially restructure the neighbourhoods, became explicit. Document surveys and visual analysis revealed the importance of professional photographs and architectural drawings as well as engaging with the film material. During the observation stage, my experiences of taking photographs in Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin contrasted with those in Trafalgar Square, where the activity of tourists taking photos dominated. The observation method was more appropriate in identifying the daily changes to spaces, material compositions of stone, concrete and steel, and the site-based actions that define them as sites of publicness. However, how claims were made to public spaces, through planning strategies, urban designs, site operations and presence in the spaces in each case, required the combination of methods of observation, interviews and surveys.

Secondly, it was useful that the cases were of masterplanning, enabling me to reveal other scales of making public spaces. Masterplanning allowed me to understand macro scales of UK government policy and global economic relations, which impacted on the three cases of redevelopment, as well as providing a frame for revealing smaller-scale interactions of making. Through setting-out with the three approaches of developer-driven, local authority-initiated and city agency-mandated development, the diversity of other instances of making public space and their mutual relations were identified. The cases of masterplanning provided geographic boundaries and temporal frames from which to undertake the research.

These are sites and processes unfolding in the context of political and corporate decisions, which could be read in documents and from interviews. They are also material places in which I could observe the lived experiences and understand some of the marginalised narratives found within the masterplanning process.

Finally, the deployment of this combination of methods revealed competing relations of power that other methods would not have revealed. There appeared to be opportunities to transform public space that were available to most people that I interviewed, if they wished, but which did not exist for the individuals that I observed. The inhabitants of the spaces whom I had observed, and spoke to in the field, had little information about, and even less influence over, the prevailing developments; however, most of the individuals I met for in-depth interviews did have some knowledge. It was not possible to conduct any in-depth interviews with the cleaners, maintenance teams and security guards who materially remade these spaces each day. Brief conversations took place, but time-consuming questions and wider issues appeared to be a disruption to activities, patrols and routines. I was repeatedly pointed to managers who directed the operations being undertaken from adjacent and more remote offices. These managers, civil servants and business people were generous with their time. Mostly, they hosted me in their meeting rooms while they enthusiastically promoted their projects and the public spaces that they had created. These organisations, from local councils to private management companies, were privileged with information about what was planned for these spaces and they knew what powers they would assume in the process. Without in-depth interviews these accounts would never have been accessed – and the individuals with such influence over public spaces would have not been identified.

The cases of masterplanning are described in the following three chapters. While the contrasting accounts of public spaces that are designed, managed and used provide distinctive narratives of each area of London, they evidence common issues: the piecemeal reality of comprehensive masterplanning; the importance of visual quality; and, the limiting nature of large-scale strategic redevelopment. These conditions are differentially revealed in the following chapters: The making and taking of Elephant and Castle; Place as property in Paddington; and, Ornaments and images of Trafalgar Square.

Chapter 3

Making and taking Elephant and Castle

'I know [Elephant and Castle] well. It always looks like something is going to happen and then nothing happens... It always misses the cycle.'

Sharon Smith, urban planner and resident of Paddington Basin (Interview 2012)

In South London's Elephant and Castle there has been a perpetual 'making and taking' of space. Plans for comprehensive urban regeneration have overshadowed the deteriorating architectural forms, such as the Elephant and Castle Market, and they have impacted the lives of the people who live, work and pass through the area. Strategic redevelopments have unfolded over decades physically transforming the area and facilitating new ways of taking through transferring and consolidating land ownerships. Historic attempts since the 1880s to regenerate Elephant and Castle provide a context for current practices of appropriating buildings and land resulting in the displacement of businesses, families and individuals. Its proximity to central London, the considerable economic value of the 22-acre 'land bank' of the public housing Heygate Estate and the high-volume transport interchange have drawn public authority landowners together with private investors and commercial operators. These conditions create opportunities to realise large-scale strategic redevelopments provoking the proposition of new architectural visions while unsettling local people.

In this chapter I explore the first case of masterplanning, *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, with a focus on the Elephant and Castle Market. The regeneration is the latest attempt at comprehensive change planned by the London Borough of Southwark and implemented in phases by private development partners, Lend Lease. By weaving between historic and contemporary periods of redevelopment I explore the repeating narratives of developers, planners and architects reimagining the area. These accounts intersect with experiences of negotiating space between market traders, changing demographics of residents and businesses whose premises have been under threat. I examine how beneath the large-scale masterplanned regenerations, which involve demolishing and rebuilding large parts of the area from the 1950s -1970s and again since 2004, there are new private interests remaking the area's public spaces. I investigate histories of claiming, occupying, using and neglecting public spaces, all within the shadow of large-scale interests appropriating areas of Elephant and Castle during discontinuous periods of masterplanning, thus creating uncertainty and disadvantage for many local residents and businesses.

The investigation is focused on the public space of the low-cost market that is wedged between the shopping centre and the roadway in a narrow, sunken, publicly accessible open space called the 'moat'. The market operates between the annual extension of the market lease and daily rhythms of market stalls and between the incremental adaptation of individual buildings and the demolition of entire neighbourhoods. Each day, as the market opens, traders, shoppers and commuters take over the sunken space between the road and the shopping centre. Traders rent spaces in the low-cost market, erect makeshift stalls, open up the repurposed shipping containers and set goods out across steel frame structures. As the market closes in the evening the plaza is cleared and responsibility for the space is returned to the shopping centre owners. Large-scale transformations have been planned every few decades at Elephant and Castle, in what Jacobs calls an 'unbuilding' of the city through 'ruthless and oversimplified, pseudo-city planning and pseudo-city design' (1961:408). The area has been the focus of development pressures for over a century resulting in the acquisition, consolidation and reorganisation of land ownerships. The attraction of this South London gateway, as an opportunity to develop businesses in its small market spaces or a chance of financial return from remaking large areas of land, coexisting with the threat of having those very opportunities and spaces taken away.

In this chapter I explore the ambitions of the large-scale public-private development partnership, formed between Southwark Council and Lend Lease Corporation Limited, and the needs of market traders, residents, students and office workers who use and activate the space. Low and Smith (2006) describe common approaches to the appropriation of individual public spaces, through redevelopment, management and regulation; strategies of privatisation that are now prevalent beyond familiar public spaces of global cities such as New York (Sorkin 1992; Kayden 2000) and London (Minton 2006). However, Low (2006:83) states that these strategies employed by private interests in the taking of small-scale public spaces are 'inadequate when dealing with large tracts of land or urban neighbourhoods' like Elephant and Castle. At these larger scales of urban redevelopment 'an expanded set of strategies are employed' (Low 2006:83). This chapter explores a neighbourhood impacted by similar planning mechanisms, legal arrangements and financial incentives used in London to facilitate comprehensive change at such a scale. I aim to expose the dynamic, which Jacobs recognises, between physical spaces that are acquired by law and livelihoods that are ultimately removed (1961:312).

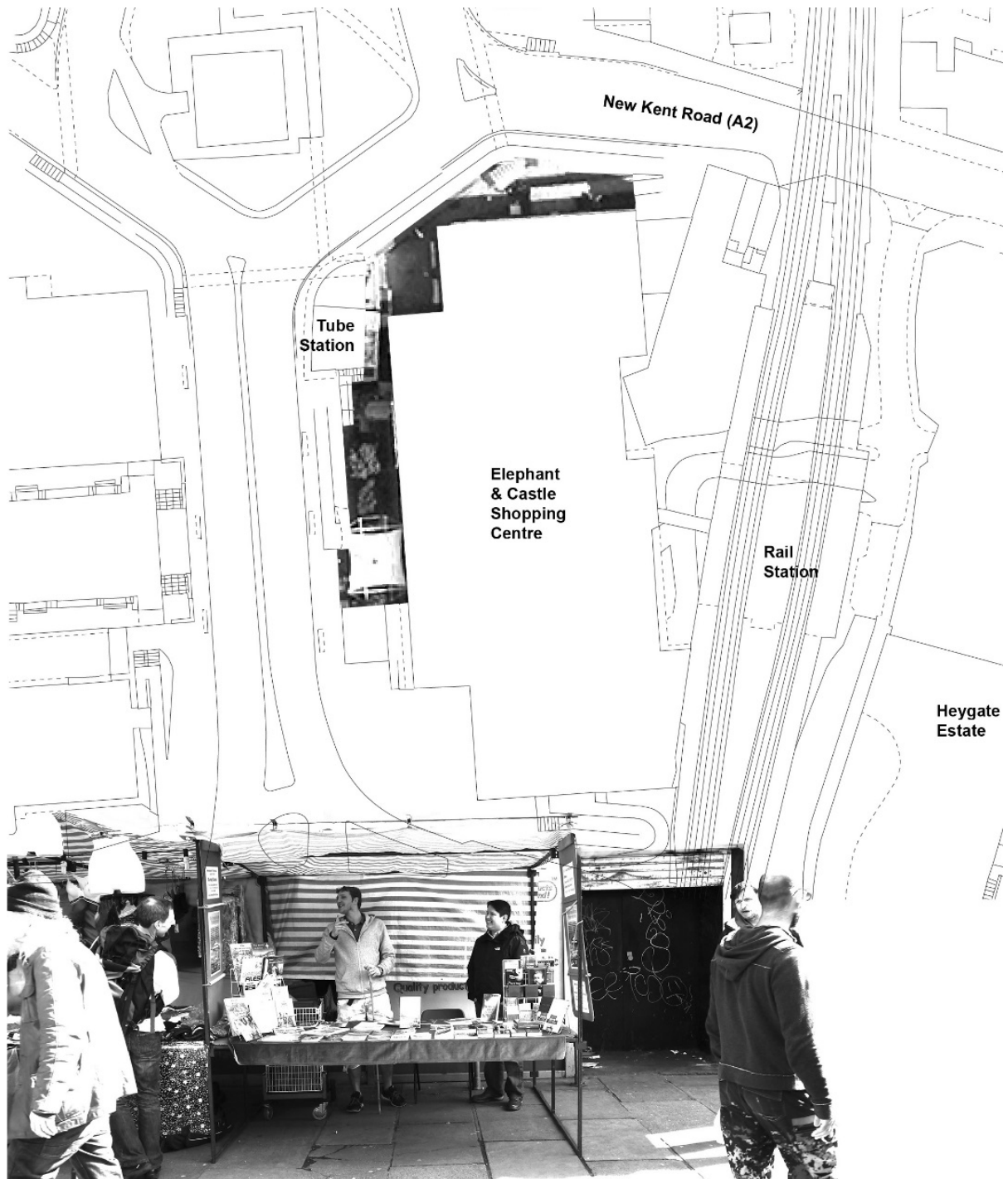


Figure 3.1 Collage showing plan view of Elephant and Castle Market overlaid with photo of market activity, between Tube Station and Shopping Centre (Collage by author, 2014)

Processes of making

'They are developers, they plan on making money out of it. But they also know that if they make it a better place they will make more money out of it too...'

Jane Goodwin, Chair of Elephant and Castle community group (Interview 2012)

After being replanned several times and dramatically reconfigured in the 1960s following a major transport redevelopment, Elephant and Castle is being masterplanned again. Buildings are being demolished, roads remodelled, leases run down, and communities decanted under the claim that several decades of decline will be turned around through a comprehensive redevelopment (www.elephantandcastle.org.uk, 2012). This is the latest attempt to regenerate this neighbourhood and strategic transportation hub. In 2007, Southwark Council ended years of uncertainty and decades of unrealised plans to select the global property and infrastructure developers, Lend Lease, to produce and realise a comprehensive masterplan. The decision to select Lend Lease over competitor Key Property Investments, a team that included the owners of the Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre, was explained by Councillor Nick Stanton, the leader of Southwark Council:

The basis of our selection was our judgement of the partner's [Lend Lease's] ability to bring finance, resources, experience and capacity to work harmoniously with the council to add value and to deliver the programme. (www.london-se1.co.uk, 2007)

From 2007 to 2010, during which the global financial crisis dramatically unfolded, the developer and the council negotiated and signed an agreement to transform the Elephant and Castle area, promising a future with larger parks, safer streets, better shops and a lot more housing. Half a century after Elephant and Castle was previously transformed via a car-orientated approach to modern planning (1961-1974), it was once again reimagined and reconstituted with new strategies to transform the area.

Both public and private goods are being appropriated through the latest redevelopment. The large-scale remodelling of Elephant and Castle has relied on what Low describes as 'legal and economic strategies' that facilitate ways of 'placing public goods in the hands of a private corporation' (Low 2006:83). There have been repeated attempts to regenerate the area, but it has only been through the alignment of political and economic conditions that this has become possible, firstly between the 1950s and the 1970s and most recently since 2004. The employment and threat of legal mechanisms, such as Compulsory Purchase Orders, has also facilitated the acquisition of private spaces, businesses and livelihoods. The public bodies of Transport for London and Southwark Council, along with the influential

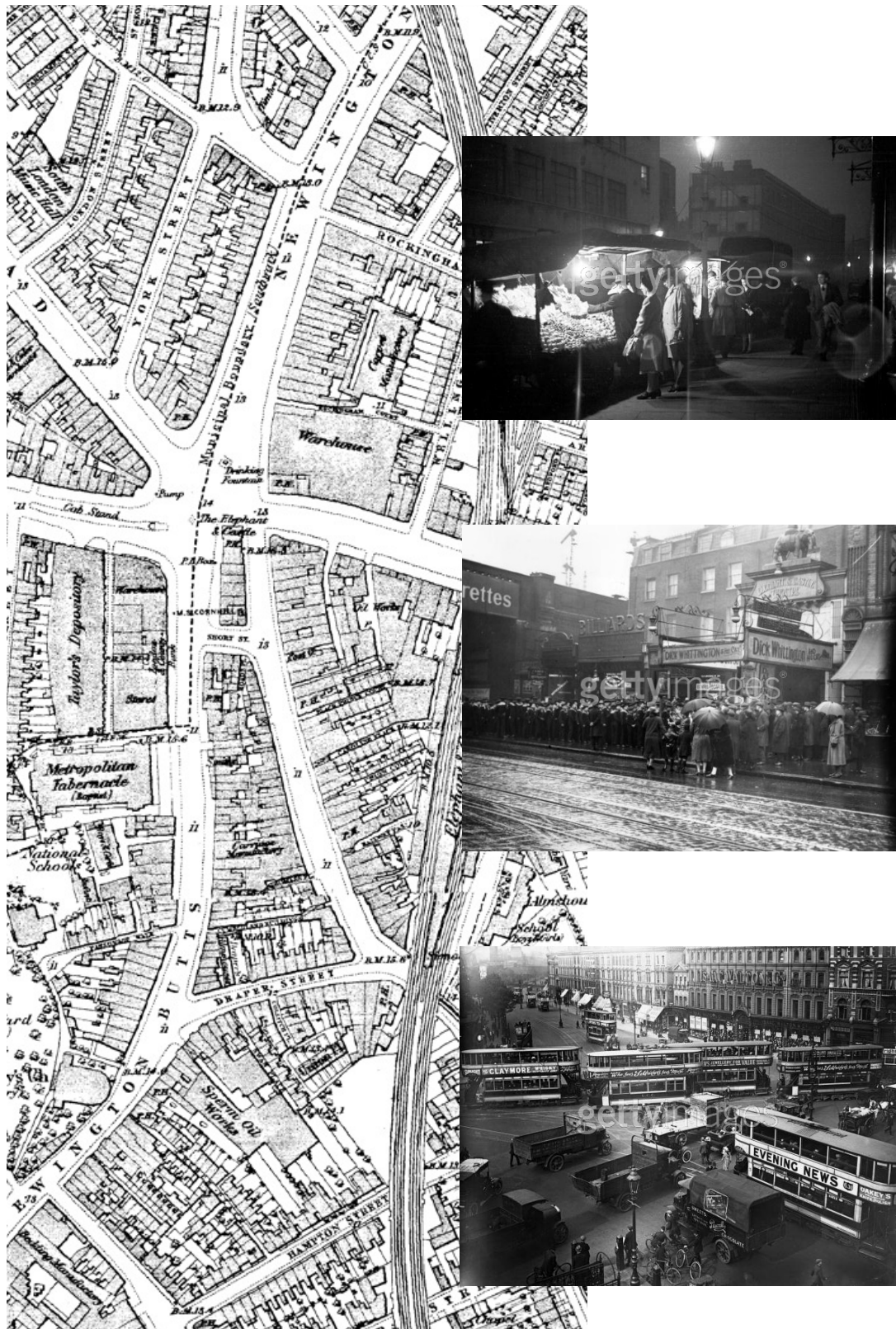


Figure 3.2 Historic, intricate street patterns at Elephant and Castle, with key intersecting roads coming together at the public house (Ordnance Survey 1845; Getty Images 1949, 1922, 1928)

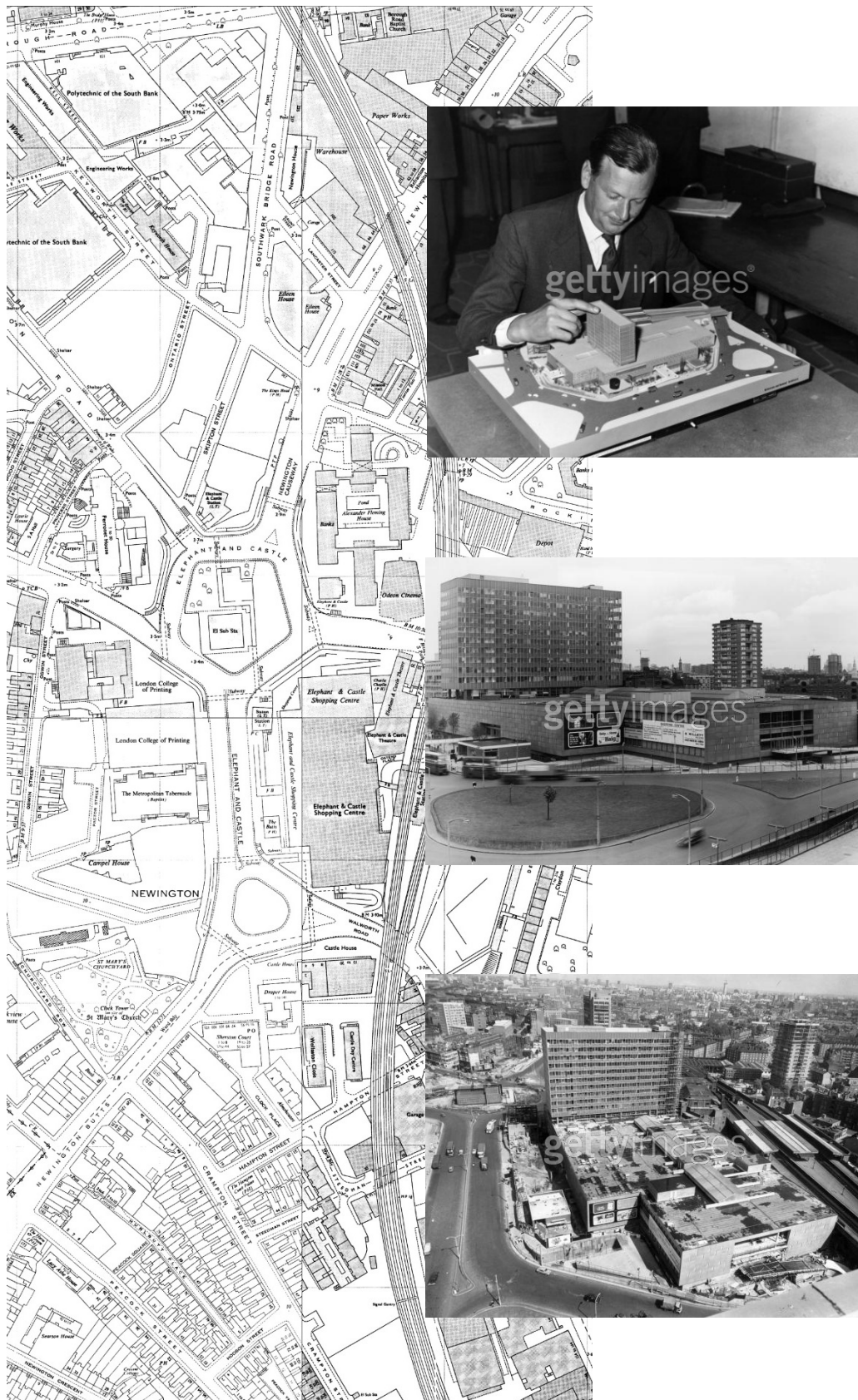


Figure 3.3 Gyratory system of roundabouts with the large blocks of the shopping centre, offices and housing arranged around (Ordnance Survey 1967; Getty Images 1960-1969)

global development partner Lend Lease and the shopping centre owners Delancy and APG, negotiate the spaces of Elephant and Castle and in so doing negate marginal market interactions and daily lives.

Incremental development

Structural changes at Elephant and Castle have consistently followed intensifications of the areas' transportation networks. The settlement, known initially as St. Mary's Newington (1222), developed incrementally in the thirteenth century as a crossing of roads in and out of London. Connections between London and towns and cities across South England led to an expanded network of highways that passed through Elephant and Castle reaching the River Thames. From Westminster Bridge (1750), Blackfriars Bridge (1769) to London Bridge (1176) all routes that crossed the Thames passed through what was to become known as Elephant and Castle. The New Kent Road was built in 1751 to connect the South East of England with Westminster Bridge, and it was shortly after that the Elephant and Castle public house is understood to have opened, over time lending its name to the area (Interview with local historian, Simon Gregory, 2012). For several hundred years Elephant and Castle grew, with change accelerating as new roads, rail and tram networks were laid out on top of each other. This cumulative growth continued until, in 1897, the first comprehensive plan was published proposing to improve the road layout. By 1912, when a government memorandum records an initial conversation about the potential redevelopment of Elephant and Castle, the area had trams on the streets, trains elevated above, and Tube lines running below. The noise, pollution and potential hazards caused by this congestion of traffic generated public concern for pedestrian safety.

Until the second half of the twentieth century, Elephant and Castle was defined by a fine-grain mix of streets, roads, rows, places, terraces, yards and alleys. These were the public spaces of Elephant and Castle: at the intersections of the streets and roads, people met, congregated and lingered. As Elephant and Castle grew without formally planned open spaces, public activities occurred on the walkways and pavements at the edge of the streets, and in the public houses, taverns and theatres. This was a time, as Sennett claims, where 'The focus of [this] public life was the capital city' (1977:17). But while the streets of Elephant and Castle were not planned, for the 'special purpose of pedestrian strolling as a form of relaxation', public spaces were connected to department stores, coaching inns and theatres that were also 'open to a wide public' (ibid.). On historic street arrangements, as Jacobs reinforces, 'the casual public sidewalk life of cities ties directly into other types of public life' (1961:57). Even in the early twentieth century, the drinking fountain, the cab stand, the middle of streets, the steps up to the Metropolitan Tabernacle and entrances to pubs,

theatres and markets were all public places of Elephant and Castle. The streets were how people travelled to work, where they queued for theatres and where they expressed themselves in public.

Modern ambitions

The mesh of streets and terraces fell victim to the first remaking of Elephant and Castle (1950s – 1970s). Since the twentieth century the prevailing approach has been comprehensive rebuilding. Even before the Second World War, which brought a renewed momentum for planning in the 1950s, the government's ambition was to establish a 'tabula rasa' to build over the network of streets. Comprehensive plans required significant financial resourcing, which, during the middle of the twentieth century, was provided by the London County Council and central government. Although previous plans were interrupted by economic decline in 1933, they were resuscitated after the war to realise a series of government, educational, office and commercial buildings. At the centrepiece of the realised plans was Europe's first indoor shopping centre, a super-block encircled by a system of roads and roundabouts that would replace the intricate street pattern and the Elephant and Castle pub.

The plans were to remake Elephant and Castle as 'the shopping, business and recreation centre for South London' (Illustrated London News 1965). However, when the shopping centre opened to reveal that its three levels of retail space were only partially let, the design, planning and construction were quickly and publicly lambasted. Even before it was built, Jacobs (1961:186) had published a strong critique of these types of 'super-block projects' that replaced intricate streets. For Jacobs, such urban forms reduce the diversity that small urban blocks offer and limit options for pedestrian movement. The 'flight from the street' that William Whyte (1980) describes is facilitated by the self-contained 'mega-structure', an internalised environment 'where the resemblance to fortresses is not accidental' (1980:85-87). Although the mall of the Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre was built on the former alignment of Walworth Road, and was glazed at either end to extend views inside and out, its giant scale, oversimplified form and surrounding moat failed to engage with the lives of the streets.

When the congested streets were built over, the proposed plan was to separate the former activities from the street into efficient roadways, sunken and elevated pedestrian routes, and open public plazas. The streets which had grown and evolved over centuries to accommodate a diversity of daily lives were removed to make way for the first master-planned redevelopment of Elephant and Castle. The road intersections were replaced with a

multiple-lane gyratory of traffic that wrapped around new buildings with huge floorplates, while pedestrians were separated from the intensity of the vehicular traffic by new tunnels below and barriers above. These were public space systems that, as Whyte (1980) claims, seem comprehensive but in terms of a 'completeness not relevant to most pedestrians'. Whyte recognises that in projects like Elephant and Castle 'the great bulk of traffic is concentrated on the main connectors' and in the other spaces of these efficient systems there is 'nobody' (1980:84). The shopping centre and its network of public spaces incorporated the narrow sunken plaza around the shopping centre, in what Sennett terms 'dead' public spaces that have 'no diversity of activity'. Sennett describes that such inactive spaces act solely as 'an area to pass through, not to use' (Sennett 1977:12-13). It is in the public space of the moat, after several decades of infrequent activity, that the market emerged to fill a need, again, for the diversity of activity in the spaces of Elephant and Castle.



Figure 3.4 View from London College of Communication, towards the Michael Faraday Memorial (Metropolitan Archive, date unknown)



Figure 3.5 View from inside the plaza (now called the moat), looking south (Metropolitan Archive, date unknown)

As Elephant and Castle has been reimagined, later phases of development have been tasked with solving the problems of previous attempts at comprehensive redevelopment. For example, the gyratory system of roads was built to act as an armature around the future focus of the shopping centre. Ironically, however, the Illustrated London News (1965) wrote that one of the main attractions of the shopping centre was its ability to remove shoppers from the 'noisy, dangerous traffic circling one of London's busiest roundabouts'. Similarly, in 1975, a year after the final phase of the masterplan was completed, a milestone that marked the end of decades of redevelopment, the shopping centre was sold and immediately planned for refurbishment. Over the following years many new initiatives attempted to address what were considered problems created by the first comprehensive redevelopment. These included: the top floor of the shopping centre that struggled to attract retailers being converted into offices; lighting and murals painted in the narrow pedestrian tunnels that were considered dangerous and unwelcoming; and, the shopping centre painted pink to cover the discolouration of the concrete panels.



Figure 3.6 View from pavement, by northern roundabout, looking into the market (Author's photograph, 2012)



Figure 3.7 View from New Kent Road pavement, looking into the market (Author's photograph, 2012)

The most enduring of these ideas, however, has been the Elephant and Castle Market that was established in 1992 by Urban Space Management (USM), the regeneration company who managed the shopping centre for UK Land. The intention of this low-cost market was to bring visible activity out into the open spaces to attract more people into the shopping centre. The market was formed from temporary structures, including forty-five steel frame stalls that are built and dismantled daily, as well as repurposed shipping containers and food trailers. Elephant and Castle Market is not the well-polished, trademarked and architect-designed Container City that USM display on their website (www.urbanspace.com, 2014) or the neatly branded Box Park shopping arcade built out of shipping containers in East London's Shoreditch. The rusting containers of Elephant and Castle Market squeeze inflexibly into the plaza. When the market is open, the goods from the containers spill out into the space, and when it is closed the once modernist plaza resembles an abandoned, windswept yard. But despite its makeshift appearance, and until the residents were removed from the adjacent Heygate Estate, the market was a bustling and frequently visited public space.

This intensity of Elephant and Castle as a transportation hub and as a gateway into London has attracted many people to work, live and seek entertainment in the area. The market

emerged in the open plaza beside the shopping centre to take advantage of this centrality. Until the masterplan began to be implemented, the space was connected to a maze of pedestrian subway tunnels, filtering and funnelling people from the busy roads above. Stephen James, who works for the private company that operates the market, claims that 'the market works because it is very central and as with all markets it needs footfall' (Interview with Stephen, market operator, 2012). This desire for proximity to the high footfall of commuters that pass through the space between the subway tunnels and the train station is reflected in the market traders' interest in the area. Barry, a regular trader for four years, insists that the 'location' of his stall by the subway tunnel entrances is essential for the successful operation of his business (Fieldwork conversation, 2012).

The plaza in which the market operates is central to the transport interchange at Elephant and Castle. It has four entrances from the street level, two from the shopping centres and three underground subways (all of which are now closed) that connect the market to 29 bus routes, two Tube lines, the National Rail station and all the areas of Elephant and Castle beyond the busy traffic roundabouts. The market provides low-cost household goods, clothes, perfumes, groceries and lunch for those living nearby, working in and passing through the area. Before the social housing of the Heygate Estate was closed to facilitate the latest development, including the removal of over 3000 residents, the market was activated and sustained by those who came across from the mass public housing, east of the shopping centre and by those who commuted through the market. Roland, the market manager, describes how the market 'used to [get local people] when the Heygate was there, now the Heygate is gone, we solely rely on the footfall of the public transport...' (Interview 2012). This combination of commuters, workers and residents visiting the market reflects Jacobs' (1961) claim that 'workers and residents together' can 'produce *more* than the sum of [their] two parts'. Rather than just the flow of commuters at the beginning and end of every day or the bustle of office workers in the market's food court during lunch, Jacobs suggests that workers and residents 'must appear at different times' of the day to make open spaces successful (1961:153).

The market became a space for the people who live, work and pass through Elephant and Castle. Its home in the moat, around the windowless fortress of the shopping centre, connected directly to the lower-ground floor of the shopping centre. The shopping centre complex was designed by Boissevain and Osmond, originally with shop windows illuminating and animating the sunken plaza. After several decades of adaptation, the façade presents a collage of damaged and boarded up shop windows that leave the shopping centre visually disconnected from the market. The plaza was designed to include seating, fountains and

trees but only a few damaged trees remain. The market has existed in the moat despite increasingly deteriorated spatial conditions and the complexities of ownership and management. It remains profitable for USM and for most of the regular traders, although the market manager states that ‘everyone is struggling at the moment’ without the residents from the Heygate Estate (Interview with Roland, market manager, 2012). Undeterred by such marginal conditions the market has allowed diverse public lives to emerge, creating one of the most active public spaces in Elephant and Castle.



Figure 3.8 Temporal daily rhythms, through 24 hours of Elephant and Castle (Fieldwork diagram, 2012)

The structure of responsibilities across the moat are complex. Until 2013, when the shopping centre was sold to investors Delancy and APG, the open public space of the market was owned, along with the shopping centre, by Key Property Investments, a joint venture between St. Modwen Properties PLC and Salhia Real Estate Company K.S.C. The previous owners proposed to renovate the shopping centre and extend it towards the pedestrian pavements, thus filling in the moat. The plans were opposed by Southwark Council who wanted the covered shopping centre demolished to create an open mall of connective streets – ambitions reflected in recently proposed plans by Delancy/APG. The low-cost market has been managed by USM since 1992, on a lease from the shopping centre. USM

operate the market and rent out pitches to individual market traders. While the market is operating, from 6am to 8pm, the space is maintained by, and is the responsibility of, USM; after 8pm the responsibility for the moat returns to the shopping centre owners. While the main area of the moat is owned by the shopping centre there are fragments of land around the edge of the building that have been owned by Southwark Council, the Highways Agency, Transport for London and Network Rail. There are also public rights of way that run through the market and shopping centre that are required to be kept open. As Steven James, who oversees the operation of the market for USM describes, the issues of ownership and management are 'very messy because it was never formalised back in the 60s when the place was built' (Interview 2012).



Figures 3.9 and 3.10 Clothes stall market vendor (left) and market goods packed up at the end of the day (right) (Author's photograph, 2012)

Ambiguities over who owns or manages the public spaces around the shopping centre contrast with the privately owned public spaces that have proliferated in London over recent decades (Minton 2006, 2012; GLA 2011; Carmona and Wunderlich 2012). Many privately owned public spaces have been built by developers as a requirement of Section 106 planning obligations and have remained privately owned and managed. But the moat at Elephant and Castle appears to have never been formally adopted as publicly owned through an oversight by the council. The lack of clarity has even confused the council, as demonstrated by the street level vendors who trade from roughly constructed kiosks by the bus stops. Steven James explains that after the market was established, Southwark Council was approached by several individuals who wanted to set up kiosks on the pavements by the busy bus stops (Interview 2012). Permission was granted, plywood structures were built, and businesses opened. Shortly after, it was brought to the council's attention that the land was not council land but instead the property of St. Modwen, the shopping centre owners. The management of the spaces and leases to the street vendors were swiftly transferred to

St. Modwen. Steven James concludes: 'And the council went, "Oh really, oh, sorry about that, there you go St. Modwen, have 'em back"' (Interview 2012). The proposed public spaces of parks, streets and market squares are expected to remain privately owned and operated, as is found in the waterfront spaces of Paddington Basin in the next chapter.

The spaces at Elephant and Castle are not easily framed through clear distinctions between public and private. The market contains multiple forms of publics constantly emerging through the actions of everyday life (Mahoney et al. 2010); these are actions of meeting, selling, buying, resting, playing and travelling. Since the residents of the Heygate Estate were removed to other areas of London and South East England, fewer people use the market for their daily shopping. However, during the fieldwork (2012), I observed local office workers and students visiting the market at lunch; groups of men playing cards by the food court; queues at the ATM; and, commuters passing through, as they changed from train to bus to Tube, on their way to work. Beyond the rhythms of planning and redevelopment the spaces of the market have been contested differentially through the life of the market, the passage of commuters the gatherings of visitors and through commuters and researchers taking photographs. During fieldwork I observed conflicts negotiated every day as people sat in the tunnels asking for money, as crowds of young people queued to enter The Coronet music venue and as families, commuters and students pushed onto the buses above the market. Roland, the market manager, and several market traders described competition between traders for specific market stalls that benefited from higher footfall by the tunnel entrances. However, as the pedestrian tunnels were gradually closed fewer people passed through the moat, the intensity of market activity reduced and such encounters over and within the space declined. However, even with fewer local customers, the market did attract new traders. Al, an Afghan who lived in the nearby Aylesbury estate, sold low-cost shoes (all of which were five pounds a pair) for several months on a stall he bought from a friend, however, he struggled to establish a regular presence at the market. As the shopping centre redevelopment has become more contested the market has further declined and negotiations over the best locations for market stalls has become competition for the remaining customers who visit the moat. 'It's quiet, everyone's complaining', Al commented shortly before he closed his stall for good (Fieldwork conversation 2012).

Full demolition

It is expected that the moat in which the market operates will be filled as part of the wider regeneration. The low-cost market in the moat will be closed and a craft market has been proposed on a new square on the other side of the rail station. When St. Modwen and their investors bought the shopping centre in 2002 they were attempting to leverage their position

to become the council's development partner for the whole of Elephant and Castle's redevelopment. In 2004, as the council were developing their masterplan, the shopping centre was proposed for demolition with the replacement being a new street-level retail section, extending towards Walworth Road through the centre of Elephant and Castle. St. Modwen were confident that if they were not selected as the council's development partner then they would profit from having the shopping centre taken from them through compulsory purchase to achieve the comprehensive plan. However, by the time Lend Lease were selected by Southwark Council the economic conditions had shifted and the opportunity of buying the shopping centre to then demolish it had been missed. St. Modwen had to reconsider what to do with their shopping centre asset.

Although they were unsuccessful in partnering with the council, St. Modwen soon recognised that they had maintained a central position in Elephant and Castle's redevelopment. The image of Elephant and Castle is significantly defined by the shopping centre, making the centre's redevelopment key to Southwark Council and Lend Lease's success. St. Modwen therefore began to publicly announce their intention to completely renovate the shopping centre. To make this feasible, the owners claimed, the new building would need to extend out into the moat and an additional 1,000 new residential apartments would be required in a tower above. St. Modwen did not submit for planning approval, however; they began running down the leases inside the shopping centre and their lease with USM for the market. Jonathan Newton of St. Modwen claimed that they were waiting to see what their Section 106 contribution would be; however, Tom Appleby, of Southwark Council, seemed frustrated with the situation, claiming, 'St. Modwen are playing hard to get' (Interviews with shopping centre owners, St. Modwen, and Southwark Council, 2012).

By 2013, as Southwark Council progressed negotiations with Transport for London on a new Tube station adjacent to the shopping centre and the market, the local authority began to put pressure on St. Modwen regarding their intentions. Councillor Fiona Colley announced a 'renewed confidence in the [redevelopment] project' but less satisfaction with the shopping centre plans. She stated that 'the council has now rejected earlier options to retain some parts of the original [shopping centre] building and will now insist on full demolition' (www.southwark.gov.uk, 2013). Within three months St. Modwen and Salhia Real Estate Company K.S.C had sold the shopping centre to Delancey and APG for £80m in cash, over £50m more than they had bought it for in 2002, thus 'crystallising a significant profit for our shareholders' (www.stmodwen.co.uk, 2013).

Scales of development

'Lend Lease, St. Modwen and the council, they ended up sort of dancing around each other and trying to work out what was going on... in the end it became split'

Steven James, Urban Space Management (Interview 2012)

Strategies of assuming control of land through redevelopment favour large scale spaces, economics and power. Beyond the sliver of the moat, ambitious developers and international investors, with access to vast capital resources, jostle for control. Less visible, and obscured by the prominence of the latest large-scale redevelopment exist failed partnerships with the local community, small businesses being wound down and individual concerns overlooked.

Large scale relations

The latest rebuilding is defined through a relationship between Southwark Council and Australia-based developers, Lend Lease Corporation Ltd. Their agreement is formed around Southwark Council's position as the majority landowner, who until August 2013 maintained control of the Heygate Estate, and Lend Lease's track record of large building and global redevelopment projects. The latter operates in over fifty countries focusing on property and infrastructure. Lend Lease has a revenue of over \$12 billion (www.lendlease.com, 2015) and, as reported by Ian Steadman in the New Statesman (2013) based on local campaigns against the development (such as www.urban75.org), are expected to make a profit of £194 million on their redevelopment at Elephant and Castle. The London Borough of Southwark is one of 32 London Councils and spans from the River Thames to Dulwich and Borough to Rotherhithe. Southwark owned the 22-acre site of the Heygate Estate that they exchanged with Lend Lease for £55 million; as part of the agreement, and in preparation for handing over the land, the council evicted the residents and cleared the site, as a cost estimated at £65 million (see Steadman, 2013).

Unlike the previous major construction at Elephant and Castle, which was finally completed with the opening of the Heygate Estate in 1974, local authorities in London have not been able to implement major redevelopment on their own. Poor in capital but rich in land, councils like Southwark have come to rely on partnerships with well-funded developers and teams of private consultants. Long-term public-private relationships now lead the regeneration at Elephant and Castle, reflecting what Imrie and Raco describe as central government's continued 'dismantling of the postwar welfare state' (2003:12). Rather than reversing the market-based government policies that began under the Thatcher administration, Imrie and Raco describe the New Labour government's increasing reliance on partnerships for urban redevelopment, leaving the state to take on a 'facilitating role'

(2003:12). Now that local government can no longer engage on its own at this scale of the city, large developers with private capital investors are fundamental to the process. But this coming together of public agencies and private corporations creates ambiguous relationships and a development process that the council does not always control. As Low claims, planning mechanisms are employed that 'utilize normative governmental procedures but are manipulated for private ends' with the long-term consequences being an 'impoverishment of the public realm and limited access to public resources' (2006:83-84).

The public-private partnership operates at a neighbourhood, rather than a building scale. A large-scale development is necessary for the local authority to sufficiently profit from the value of the land, which it owns, and for Lend Lease to commit sufficient resources and guarantee a financial return. As part of the partnership agreement between Lend Lease and Southwark Council, the developer is required to provide a social infrastructure of parks, open spaces, recreation and transportation enhancements. Section 106 of the 1990 Town and Country Planning Act, which states obligations to be placed on developers to offset the impact of their developments, has become an essential tool for local authorities with limited resources of their own. Through Section 106 agreements local authorities can provide much needed improvements to their boroughs while simultaneously relinquishing their previous responsibilities for the long-term management, security and maintenance of public spaces. Since the post-war period, when Elephant and Castle was built by the state, with funding and influence from the London County Council (LCC) and central government, approaches to urban redevelopment have changed. However, then as now, and throughout the shifting roles of government, free markets, communities, private-public partnerships and local initiatives, the conditions for achieving a successful redevelopment have remained the same: to engage with large-scale masterplanned redevelopment public agencies and private businesses need to be able to secure a sufficient scale of finance and land resources.

There have previously been several attempts to regenerate Elephant and Castle at a small scale. After the refurbishment of the shopping centre by UK Land, providing for the establishment of the market, two notable and public-led small regeneration initiatives began in the 1990s: *Elephant Links* and *Elephant Impacts*. These community enterprises included attempts to address physical conditions through tree planting, lighting, painting and the design of small structures. While these initiatives unfolded, and the appearance of the Elephant and Castle area was being aesthetically transformed, a survey of the Heygate Estate by Southwark Council in 1998, Paul describes, was 'pointing towards... partial redevelopment / partial refurbishment' (Interview 2012). The survey found that the architectural structure of the Heygate Estate was sound and that renovating the buildings

was the best option. However, the recommendations would have only facilitated a local scale of regeneration, which would fail to 'release any of the value of the land' (Interview 2012): refurbishment would not have facilitated building new market-rate residential units, and as a result it would not have enabled large Section 106 contributions.

In the 1990s, when the idea of remodelling Elephant and Castle for the second time began to be seriously discussed, there were several community groups involved. The Southwark Land Regeneration Partnership (SLR) was a private sector initiative that engaged in a three-way negotiation with local tenants and the council. Although the current development partnership, between Southwark Council and Lend Lease, claim that the SLR 'helped clarify its aims for the area and led directly to the establishment of a strategic vision that underpins the current programme' (www.elephantandcastle.org.uk, 2012) negotiations with the local community collapsed. The community website, *Southwark Notes* provides an explanation of the failed process, claiming that the council and the SLR developers 'couldn't agree on who would get what share of the profits' (www.southwarknotes.wordpress.com, 2012). Paul, offers an alternative perspective, in which the regeneration 'bit by bit... fell to pieces' with the rhetoric from the council being that 'community groups could not work effectively together' (Interview with Paul, a local resident, 2012).

Since Southwark Council began to look towards comprehensive redevelopment, claims of conflicts of interest between the different roles of the council – as landowner, developer and planning authority – began to be voiced. The regeneration of Elephant and Castle is guided by the Elephant and Castle Supplementary Planning Document (SPD), which was drafted by the council as the planning authority. Several months after the SPD was adopted, in 2013 Southwark Council and Lend Lease collectively as development partners, submitted a planning application to Southwark Council, this time as the planning authority, to progress a major phase of the redevelopment. Paul describes these conflicts as leaving the council with 'a kind of split personality between a developer partner and a planning authority' (Interview with Paul, a local resident, 2012). Ambiguities in the role of the council have led many critics to question the objectives of the local government and their relationships with others in the development. Although Tom Appleby, the redevelopment manager at Southwark Council, officially claims, 'We are trying to do a repair job... to re-knit the place back together' (Interview with Tom, 2012), rumours have persisted that Southwark's objective was to reverse the area's demographic from 75% social housing and 25% market rate to 75% market rate with only 25% affordable (www.urban75.org, 2013). As a local resident and also an employee of the local council, Paul was aware of these rumours:

I don't know how true... there was a kind of suggestion that... Elephant and Castle had at the time about 75% social housing, which was too much, way too concentrated, and it needed to be turned into a more mixed community... and magically everyone's lives would improve (Interview with Paul, 2012).

Comprehensive redevelopment?

Although the two major stages of rebuilding Elephant and Castle (1950s – 1970s and since 2004) have appeared comprehensive, their realisation has progressed sporadically and in piecemeal ways. Despite the bold masterplans and strong rhetoric, the large stakeholders of the redevelopments have also struggled to fulfil their ambitions. In 1947, the London Evening Standard reported on the first Elephant and Castle redevelopment as a plan that was to take between five and fifteen years to complete. However, despite the clarity of the plans, alternative visions continued to be drawn up over the next decade, even after the construction of the roads and roundabouts had got underway. Rather than one comprehensive plan that would be built in a few years, this refashioning of Elephant and Castle was a series of plans, buildings and infrastructures orchestrated by competing agencies and ambitions that would take over two decades to complete. As land-owners and economic conditions have changed masterplans by Foster and Partners, Martha Schwartz and Partners, SOM, Allies and Morrison and Make Architects have been authored – and many abandoned. This piecemeal progress is reflected in the redevelopment of Elephant and Castle's public spaces, with Tom from Southwark Council, describing the public realm strategy as 'just kind of incremental at the moment' (Interview with Tom, 2012).

Even since 2002, when the London Plan identified Elephant and Castle as a key area for growth, many alternate plans have been drawn up. Paul describes 2004 as the 'zenith of this utopian narrative' for remaking Elephant and Castle as 'there was plenty of money knocking about' (Interview 2012). Over the next few years a comprehensive plan was promoted that included the removal of the shopping centre, however shortly after Lend Lease was selected as development partner, the global financial crisis unfolded and the conditions for development changed. From 2008, the pressure on Southwark Council intensified as they had already begun to decant the Heygate Estate of its residents. Southwark Council had expended significant sums on private design and planning consultants and Lend Lease, their chosen development partner, was struggling to finance their projects due to the economic downturn (www.building.co.uk, 2008). In contrast to the first replanning of Elephant and Castle, which was defeated by the financial collapse of the 1930s, this redevelopment, or at least something like, had to be built out. Although the council was not in 'a particularly strong bargaining position', Paul notes, 'if the deal with Lend Lease had failed then not only would it have been a big disaster [politically], but financially it would have been a big disaster'

(Interview 2012). So as a result, plans were redrawn, contracts were re-negotiated and the phases of redevelopment unfolded in a piecemeal and less coordinated manner. Gavin Poynter describes a feature of a market-led planning system that requires the 'dilution of the role of the government' (2009:134). At Elephant and Castle, as the global financial landscape collapsed, the local government of Southwark Council had no option but to further commit to the uneven relationship that they had already committed to with Lend Lease.

Concealed conversations

As the relationships between the public-private partners became less balanced, the details of the agreement were increasingly concealed. Reflecting Low's assertion that such relationships between public and private organisations are 'harder to identify' (2006:83), local residents and community blogs began to criticise the opaque nature of the negotiations (www.southwarknotes.wordpress.com, 2013). Poynter explains that in such situations the 'removal of public scrutiny over the financing arrangements' can be deemed necessary to move developments forward (Poynter 2009:134). The opaque nature of negotiations and agreements has remained one of the greatest concerns of local community organisations and people critical of the redevelopment. Steven James, from USM states: 'once the main developer has been chosen it has gone a lot more behind closed doors, at least with the decision making part of it' (Interview 2012). Attempts at privacy, for reasons of 'commercial sensitivity' were undermined in 2013 when Southwark Council released a poorly redacted version of the regeneration agreement with Lend Lease (www.southwarknotes.wordpress.com, 2013). Details of the regeneration project, which were until then kept private between the two partners, became publicly accessible courtesy of the local blog, *Southwark Notes* (www.southwarknotes.wordpress.com, 2015). Financial details of the agreement revealed the significant profit for Lend Lease alongside the potential losses to be incurred by Southwark Council.

The piecemeal and discontinuous approach of the large-scale redevelopments which have transformed Elephant and Castle have also led to uncertainty and disadvantage. As large-scale plans take decades to be complete or are shelved due to less favourable economics, smaller-scale businesses and local residents find it difficult to consider their own futures. In 1933, a local businessman wrote to the Ministry of Transport protesting at the lack of information about the impending 'improvements' and the impact this was having on their businesses. In March of 1933 the London County Council wrote on their behalf, that 'some of the tradesmen in this area are in a somewhat embarrassing situation owing to the uncertainty of the improvement' (Letter from National Archive 1933). In the same year Edward Strauss of Borough High Street wrote to the ministry: 'The present position inflicts

great hardship on business people in the area affected by the scheme because their power to deal with their own property is severely circumscribed' (Letter from National Archive 1933). Although the plan for improvements, which included the demolition of many businesses, houses and streets, were abandoned until after the war, the uncertainty greatly impacted confidence to plan and the ability to do business in Elephant and Castle.

These unsettling narratives correspond to conflicts between local authorities, developers, market traders, medium-sized businesses and residents in Elephant and Castle today – from the contrasting scales of the super-block shopping centre to the individual market traders and shoppers. The shopping centre was, for several years, under threat of compulsory purchase for Southwark Council and their development partners to realise the potential of the central site. As a result, the owners of the shopping centre, previously UK Land, then St. Modwen Properties, chose not to renovate but rather to rely on low-cost regeneration initiatives. The market space of the moat is therefore under threat. Steven James, from USM, describes their frustration: 'We would absolutely be willing to invest in really trying to build the market up but you have got to have some kind of certainty' (Interview 2012). He goes on to describe the situation for the traders who 'don't want to invest in a brand new stall with all the trimmings if they are going to be told they have to get off next week.' This nervousness to invest compounds the deteriorated appearance of the area supporting the development agendas of the council and the developers. Or as Campkin describes of Elephant and Castle: 'demolition discourses have long contributed to its [the shopping centre] blight' (2013:71). Stephen James describes that USM feels 'left in the dark'. He explains that for almost ten years he has waited for assurances:

I have sat on various committees, in all their different guises at Southwark... and no-one can ever tell really what is going to go on. There were tenants' committees at that place, meeting every six weeks for about five years and they got no-where because in the end it will be decided by the developer and Southwark. (Steven, market operator, interview 2012)

The large scale, uncertain and piecemeal approach has tended to overshadow spaces, activities and people: the space of the moat, the activity of the market and the people whose everyday lives are entwined in these spaces are consistently marginalised by the redevelopment. For £27 anyone can turn up at Elephant and Castle Market and rent a stall for the day, as a casual trader (Interview 2012). There are some basic rules of trading that are set out in the market handbook – but if there is a stall available in the morning then anyone can rent one and establish a presence in the public spaces of London. Madanipour claims, however, that these 'marginal public spaces... are not on the list of priorities', when

local authorities are considering redevelopment (2010:113). The market, and even the shopping centre, do not contribute to an 'image and marketability' raising questions as to whether the moat, its market and the people who work in and use the area have a future in the space at all.



Figures 3.11 and 3.12 Architect's rendering of a proposed market (left) in contrast to the low-cost market (right) that faces an uncertain future (rendering by Fosters and Partners, 2004; photo by author, 2013)

Steven James recognises that the ambiguity of large-scale redevelopment impacts mostly on market uncertainty 'that all goes down to the traders themselves' (Interview 2012). Barry, a regular trader at the market, states that his immediate concern is how quiet the market has become now that the Heygate Estate has been decanted, but he is not 'making any plans for the future – until the regeneration is known' (Fieldwork conversation 2012). However, while the residents of the Heygate have been offered a 'Right to Return' to the area following redevelopment (www.southwark.gov.uk, 2016), the traders, some of whom have been trading from the market for almost fifteen years, have not been given the same assurances. Both the Market Charter and the Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) describe the need for a market at Elephant and Castle, but Tom Appleby, the Project Director for Southwark, questions whether the existing traders 'are the right operators to go on that new space' (Interview 2012). If the existing traders are not the right type of traders to provide the 'ethos' desired by the council, then who will take their place? And what options are left for people who have for many years conducted their businesses and contributed to the public life of the moat?

Taking through remaking

'It [the Elephant and Castle Market] could be improved from what it is today, but, when you are under constant threat of having it taken away or bulldozed and you don't know what the future is...'

Steven, local manager (Interview 2012)

The remaking of Elephant and Castle has facilitated processes of taking. Investors with money have strategically bought up property while organisations with power have run-down (or taken back) leases, cleared estates, and sought out compulsory purchase orders for themselves and on behalf of others. As occurred in its first reorganisation, the scale of ambition for Elephant and Castle has overshadowed the spaces, activities, and certainty of small businesses, property owners and residents. As Fiona Colley, local councillor for the area wrote in the Guardian newspaper, 'Elephant and Castle regeneration will transform the area, not just one [Heygate] estate' (www.theguardian.co.uk, 2013). Colley, who threatened to use a Compulsory Purchase Order to force the previous shopping centre owners, St. Modwen, to replace rather than renovate the existing building even extends her ambitions beyond the Opportunity Area of Elephant and Castle: 'our vision is to transform the whole borough' (www.theguardian.co.uk, 2013).

Rationales for appropriation

Transportation has proved a useful rationale for appropriating this part of London. As new roads and train lines have been built through the area, Elephant and Castle has been reconfigured. Increased movement into London from the South has consistently required streets to be widened and others to be built, resulting in the demolition of buildings and the displacement of businesses and residences. Mike Althorpe (www.thecarandtheelephant.com, 2008) describes the demolition of St Mary's Newington church, by the Metropolitan Board of Works, to accommodate the widening of Newington Butts in 1876. 'Charged with creating an efficient civic body' the newly formed London County Council (LCC) 'opened talks with the owners of the Elephant pub in 1892 with demolition in mind' (www.thecarandtheelephant.com). Compensation for the appropriation of these individual buildings was achieved through the rebuilding of the pub and the building of a new parish church on Kennington Park Road. However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, cars were vying for space on the streets. This new motorised vehicular traffic, that Jacobs (1961) describes as an 'instrument of city destruction' where 'city streets are broken down into loose sprawls' (1961:338) became a modern pretext for redeveloping the area.

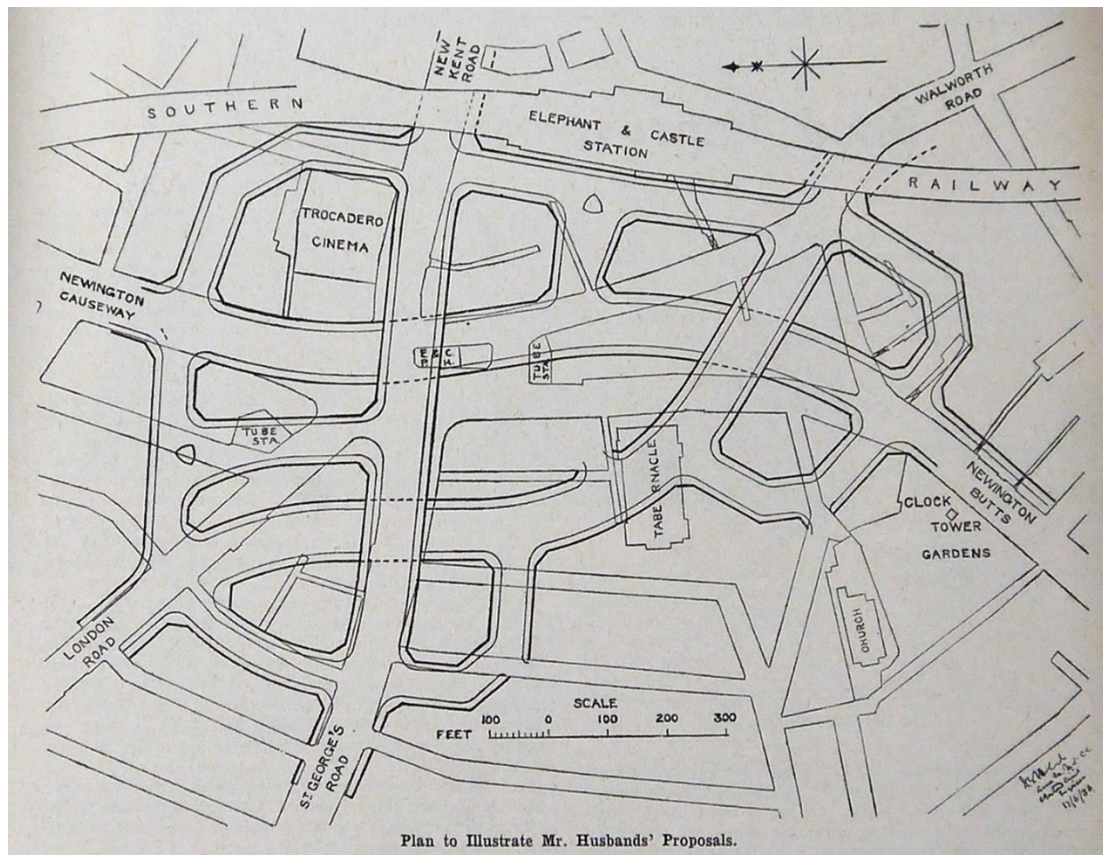


Figure 3.13 Accompanying the proposal by Mr Husbands for the *Municipal Engineering, Sanitary Record and Municipal Motor* publication, Husbands writes: 'easy curves and gradients are combined with shapely and commodious building sites' (June 25, 1936)

Jacobs, however, also warns against demonising the car, asking 'how much of the destruction wrought by automobiles on cities is really a response to transportation' and how much is 'owing to sheer disrespect for other city needs, uses and functions' (1961:339). From 1912, for almost half a century, traffic solutions were discussed, dreamed and drawn up that included comprehensive development of much wider areas of Elephant and Castle (see figure 3.13). In 1930 the Charity Organisation Society wrote to the MoT to complain that 'the dwellings of 2000 Citizens of this Borough are to be swept away' to 'carry out a grandiose scheme for relieving the traffic difficulties at Elephant and Castle' (Letter from National Archive 1930). Rather than appropriating individual buildings as had occurred in the past, the national and city governments became increasingly intent on using legal mechanisms, or creating them if they did not exist, to reconstitute the entire area. In 1945 a meeting between the LCC, the Ministry of Transport (MoT) and the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (MoTCP) the Town and Country Planning Act was discussed necessary to 'acquire, not scattered properties, but the whole of the area' to guarantee the Elephant and Castle development. The potential benefit from 'rate income' and 'income from rent' was presented as a further rationale for appropriating a larger area of Elephant and Castle, even

including 'some of the surrounding properties so that the council might recoup itself by granting commercial leases' (Meeting notes from National Archive 1945).

The destruction caused during the Second World War (WW2) provided another argument for appropriating land through comprehensive planning. With the worsening of the economy in 1933 the redevelopment of Elephant and Castle was cancelled due to the high cost of buying up the land. However, it was anticipated that after the war ended ambitions for a comprehensive remodelling of Elephant and Castle would be realised. This post-war optimism proved difficult for the London County Council to capture, leading to a meeting with the MoTCP in 1945, where the Ministry 'felt that the Council's proposal was rather like the man who wants to lick jam off the stale crust instead of eating the lot' (Meeting notes from National Archive 1945). Although the LCC was considered too cautious in the scope of their proposals, a year later they stated that 'bomb damage has eased the difficulties of acquisition'. Acquiring tracts of land, the MoTCP encouraged, 'would be very profitable to the council and that in the interests of the neighbourhood the council should acquire a much larger area' (Meeting notes from National Archive, 1946). In the years to follow schools, almshouses, streets of houses, in addition to the Elephant and Castle Hotel and Pub and the Trocadero Theatre, were taken and demolished (see figure 3.14).

Negative narratives of Elephant and Castle have continued to be employed as a rationale for development. Paul, a resident who lives nearby, describes how 'the council did its fair share of talking down Elephant and Castle to kind of stimulate the idea of an obsolete place, a failing place, a place that is full of crime, and noisy, and dirty' providing a pretext for them to claim that they 'can change all this' (Interview 2012). Negative representations facilitated by the council continue to influence how Elephant and Castle is perceived, with newspaper articles informed by negative visions framed by the council then quoted back by politicians. For example, Charlotte Philby of *The Independent* newspaper describes the Heygate Estate as 'a deserted scene from an apocalyptic movie' (www.independent.co.uk, 2010). In the article titled 'Living in Ghostland – the Last Heygate Residents', Philby fails to differentiate between the conditions of the estate emptied of residents and what it was like before the regeneration was imminent. Although she describes residents who for a long time found it a 'happy, safe place to live' she does not recognise that it was the talking down of Elephant and Castle and the uncertain prospect of eviction that led many residents to leave. A few years later Fiona Colley, a politician writing for the Guardian newspaper in support of the redevelopment, substantiates her praise for the Heygate regeneration by quoting Philby's

article: 'Commentators have called it a "crime-racked labyrinth of grey high-rise blocks" (www.theguardian.com, 2013).

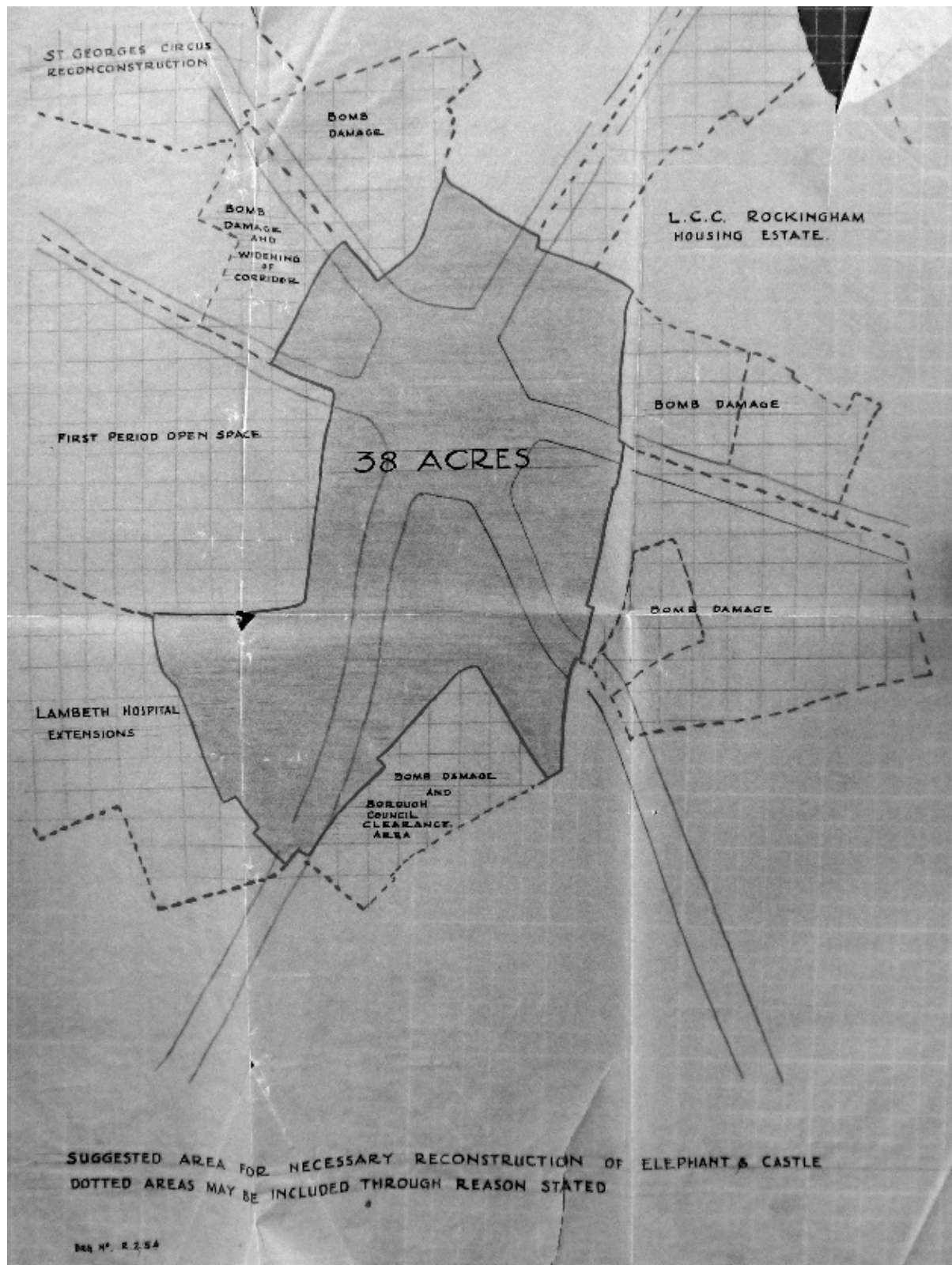


Figure 3.14 The central area of thirty-eight acres suggested for reconstruction to resolve transportation issues at Elephant and Castle (London County Council, 1945)

These negative representations of a deteriorated Elephant and Castle continue to vindicate the decisions made. While the deals between the council and its development partner concern residents and traders, as Jacobs describes of her experience in New York, 'it has all been decided before they [the community] are heard' (1961:406). Jacobs describes the workings of public planning meetings, and the helplessness and futility that is felt by local people. At Elephant and Castle, insecurities were exasperated by suspicions that decisions were first reached in private at a senior level between developers and the council. Jane, the chair of a developer-funded community group recognises this experience: 'One of the criticisms will always be, that we have come up with all these suggestions but how do we know that you are actually taking them on board. Well, all of them will not materialise, but some will.' (Interview 2012).

By prioritising interests of its development partner, the council failed to represent residents and other businesses. In the first post-war redevelopment, the state appropriated swathes of the area and now, since 2004, they are facilitating another taking of Elephant and Castle. The council's partnership with Lend Lease and their transfer of assets was facilitated at the scale of the Opportunity Area. Successive national governments have left local authorities in the UK impotent to develop their boroughs without private partners, both legitimising these public-private relations and increasingly necessitating them. The first demolition of Elephant and Castle began shortly after the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, allowing local authorities to appropriate private property for redevelopment. The Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 offers a further tool that modifies the definition of public benefit to favour compulsory purchase to facilitate large scale economic redevelopments. It is through these mechanisms that the Heygate Estate has been appropriated and handed over to Lend Lease, decanted of its residents. It was also through this Act that the seizure of the shopping centre by the council and its development partner was threatened to be facilitated.

Describing the plans underway at Elephant and Castle, Lees claims: 'Regeneration in London has become little more than the private sector building expensive properties' (www.theguardian.co.uk, 2013). Development has been transformed into a transaction where the state provides a range of mechanisms for private interests to appropriate buildings and spaces. In doing so, Southwark has developed an economic imperative but lost sight of other responsibilities. Paul concludes:

I think that if the council had taken the position of putting across to Lend Lease they had a democratic obligation to deliver these sort of things across

the borough: you have your bottom line and we have our bottom line as well, and our bottom line is a different type of bottom line to your bottom line, it's a kind of social bottom line and sustainability bottom line. But I am not sure how much those arguments were really used and we can't tell because it wasn't transparent and if they were transparent I think that a better deal could be achieved. (Interview with Paul, local resident, 2012)

Inevitable displacement

Displacement of homes, businesses and public activities has been one of the results of this large-scale rebuilding. Despite this, no 'Right to Return' has been offered to the businesses in the shopping centre or the traders in the market. A vague rhetoric about providing support for the relocation and accommodation of existing businesses was offered by the previous landowners and developers. Ian Fraser of the Traders' Association explains the situation for local businesses:

The problem is that history isn't on our side. There is no other scheme of this size and complexity of regeneration where the independent retailers have survived. (www.london-se1.co.uk, 2007)

When asked whether existing businesses would be part of a renovated shopping centre, Jonathan Newton of St. Modwen explains: 'I would be very surprised if any of them stayed, to be honest, just because I don't know how many businesses could wait three years from moving out, to start their business again' (Interview 2012). Jonathan describes that the owners had not begun their redevelopment, but for several years they had only been offering short-term leases to prepare for the clearing out the centre. He claimed that he was keen to help out the existing businesses, but clarifies: 'Don't get me wrong, the rents will increase'.

But what impact does an increase in rental costs and short-term leases have on the smaller scale activities of Elephant and Castle? Regarding the market, Steven James from Urban Space Management (USM) reflects on the redevelopment of the shopping centre:

Now that the shopping centre stays you could think that the market could stay, but it can't. Because [Jonathan's] intention will be to move the moat out to maximise the floor space of the retail. And that will say goodbye to the market. (Interview 2012)

The displacement of the market and the removal of its traders creates, as Mitchell describes, creates 'the city in an image attractive to tourists, middle and upper-class residents, and suburbanites' (2006:144). Mitchell's description reflects individual accounts (Interview with local resident Paul, 2012) that the council was attempting to increase the number of homeowners in the area and the suggestion from Lend Lease that they were keen to increase the presence of global brands (New London Architecture, 2012). Steven goes on to describe

that neither Southwark, Lend Lease or St. Modwen have a 'legal right' to keep the market or its traders because it is a private market (Interview 2012). He believes that markets reflect the community that they are in, and while he is keen that USM remain involved, he is more concerned for the traders themselves:

Ultimately, we want to see that the traders are OK, because for us it would not be the loss of our jobs and our careers and our companies if we weren't involved. For hundreds of people who have worked down there or who have lived with people who have worked down there, it would be. (Steven, market operator, interview 2012)

Markets are considered to offer significant contributions to urban development efforts. The Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) for Elephant and Castle's regeneration (2012), the document from which the redevelopment was led, praises the role of markets in enlivening town centres and having economic and social benefits. More specifically, it states that the plans for Elephant and Castle that include a new market space will 'give access to fresh fruit and vegetables, supporting local producers' (SPD 2012). The current market, however, only has two fresh fruit and vegetable stalls and has no stands that represent 'local' produce. Would, therefore, a new proposed market be inclusive of existing traders selling low-cost household goods, clothes and food? The website for the new Elephant Social Market highlights the plans for the new market square:

Expect a delicious line up of Street Food, farmers market traders, cooking demos, local designers & crafts, live music, art and workshops. Working with local charities and community groups, Elephant Social Market will be a vibrant hub for the local neighbourhood celebrating art, food, music and conversation. (www.theartworks.london, 2017)

The redevelopment at Elephant and Castle is considered less committed in improving the lives and businesses of local people. Instead the council and their development partner adopt strategies to either dilute the presence of the existing communities by attracting new people to an Elephant and Castle reimaged, or to deny their existence by removing the spaces in which they find presence (www.southwarknotes.wordpress.com, 2014). Mitchell (1997) describes redevelopment processes and changes in legal structures that specifically target homeless people and he challenges the implication on public spaces and on those who use them: '...these laws attempt not just the annihilation of space, but also the annihilation of people who live in it' (Mitchell 1997:305). While homeless people have been less evident through the research, it is in the small and interstitial spaces of the moat, the railway arches and the pavements, that low-cost businesses have flourished, and it is through their removal that these unique livelihoods will be extinguished.

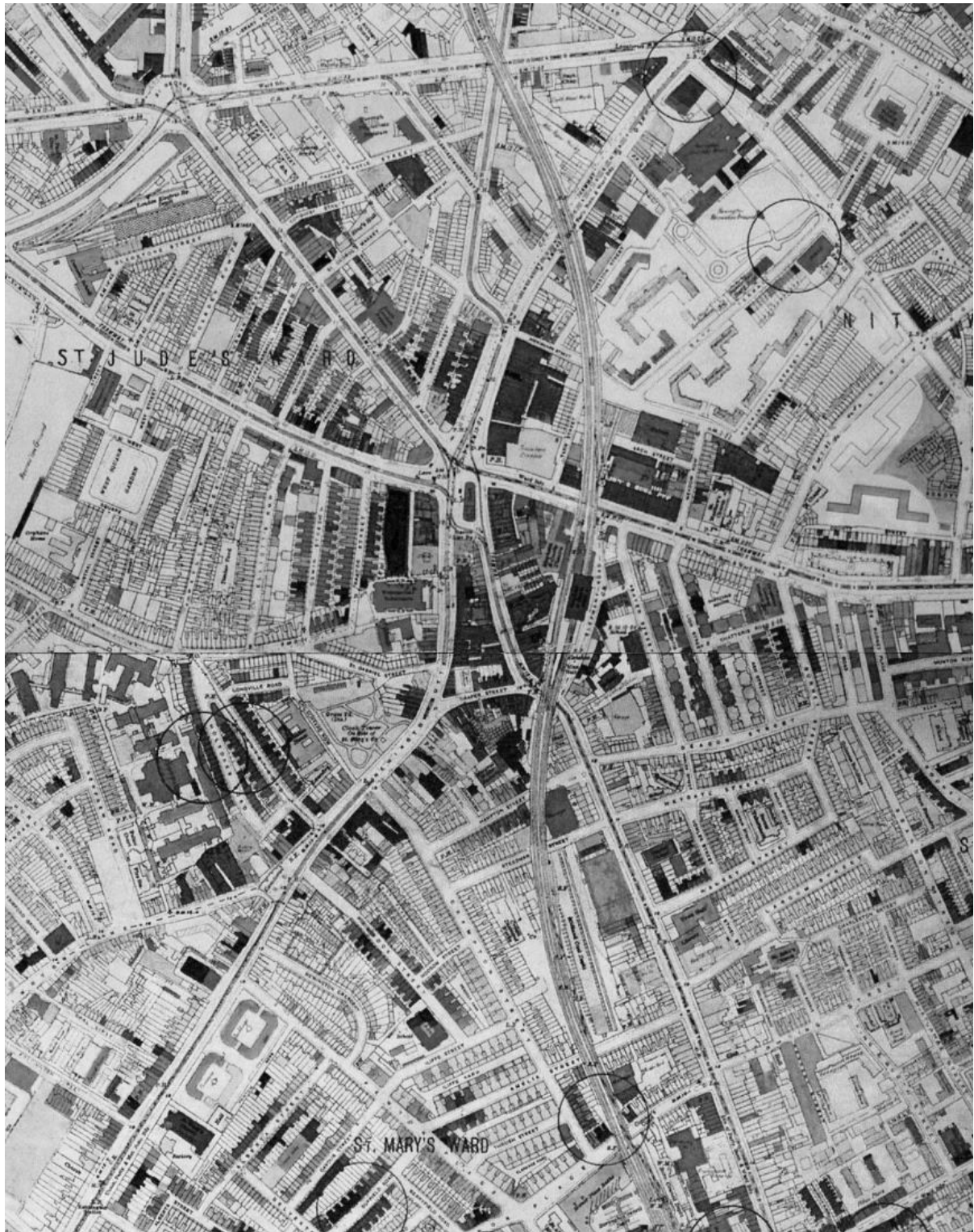
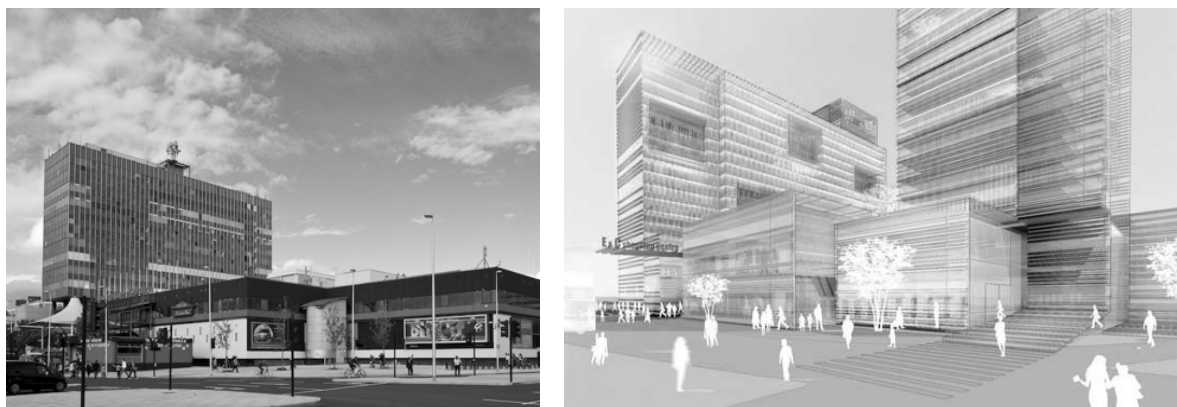


Figure 3.15 Map of Second World War bomb damage at Elephant and Castle (black: total destruction) showing destroyed as well as undamaged buildings that would be demolished in future years (National Archive 2012)

Negotiating public spaces

The public spaces that support everyday lives in Elephant and Castle are expendable and negotiable. Low and Smith attempt to differentiate public space from private space through,

'rules of access, the source and nature of control over entry to a space, individual and collective behaviour... and rules of use' (2006:3). The Supplementary Planning Document (SPD 2012) for Elephant and Castle reflects this ambition to make 'clear the distinction between public and private space' but how this will be achieved remains unclear. The blurring of public and private space is recognised by Akkar Ercan (2010) as a threat to the public space of post-industrial cities. He describes the 'different shades' of publicness that now exist and challenge planners and developers to resolve the ambiguities that arise through redevelopment (2010:48). However, a major practice of making public space in the UK remains through Section 106 of the Town and Country Planning Act. Agreements relate to deals between developers and local authorities, which may be financial payments or the provision of facilities such as housing, schools, roads and public spaces. Because these are negotiated agreements they are frequently criticised by residents and individuals not privy to the negotiations. At Elephant and Castle there are already claims of a lack of transparency that we can expect will be compounded by the opaque Section 106 agreements for the Heygate Estate and the shopping centre redevelopments.



Figs. 3.16 & 3.17 Artist's impression (right) of potential renovated and expanded shopping centre with new tower for 1000 residential units (St. Modwen, 2012), existing shopping centre (left) in 2011 (www.london-se1.co.uk, 2013)

During redevelopment, the control of new architectural spaces is often negotiated. The open spaces planned as part of the Heygate Estate's redevelopment are intended to be publicly accessible. But it is expected that the spaces will be controlled and managed by the developer, Lend Lease, rather than being formally adopted by Southwark Council. Tom Appleby states that: 'The council would want full public access and rights of way over it' but concedes that 'it is a cost thing' and that 'Lend Lease will want to maintain it to a level, or standard, that we [the council] might find more difficult to achieve' (Interview 2012). In contrast to the open space of the moat that has been in the ownership of the shopping centre and is loosely managed by both Delancy/APG and USM, there are increasingly

competing interests to control the new public open spaces in London. As the local authorities withdraw from their obligation to build and maintain open public spaces, private developers, consultants and landowners are welcoming the opportunity to step in. Conclusions to *Open Space; an asset without a champion*, a survey of real-estate advisors, developers, investors and public entities by The Urban Land Institute (ULI) and Gensler, include:

It is within the remit of key figures within the real estate industry to champion the implementation of existing collaborative models and the development of new ones (2011:20)

The private developer provision of accessible open space, which for the purposes of planning applications is frequently described as public, can meet many developer ambitions: firstly, the developer can fulfil their Section 106 obligations through the provision of publicly accessible space; second, these spaces can provide an attractive landscape setting to enhance the image and value of the wider development; and third, by building these spaces the developer is well placed to provide the management resulting in long-term control over what the area looks like as well as who can and cannot use the new 'public' spaces of the city.

The commercial sector is well positioned at Elephant and Castle to benefit from the new public spaces. In the ULI/Gensler report, all those surveyed recognised the 'commercial value of open space' (2011:7). In authoring the report, the ULI as a 'non-for-profit research and education organisation' which represents the 'the entire spectrum of land use and real estate development' and Gensler as 'the world's leading design firm for businesses' (2011:22), cite the principles of Gehl (1987, 2010), Whyte (1980) and Jacobs (1964). However, the report fails to recognise Whyte's concerns that 'many businessmen have an almost obsessive fear that if a place is attractive to people it might be attractive to undesirable people' (1980:60). In many North American cities, as examined by Whyte, it is the homeless that are the 'undesirables'. Mitchell recognises that 'considerable effort has been expended in figuring out how to regulate the homeless from public property, or how to expel them altogether' (2006:151). In Elephant and Castle there have been occasionally drunk and homeless looking men in the shopping centre and people asking for money in the narrow pedestrian subways, but they may not be the only people managed-out of the new public realm. As the new privately managed public realm emerges, through the demolition of the subways and the shopping centre, small low-cost businesses, market traders, groups of men playing cards and teenagers hanging-out will become less acceptable. Furthermore, Whyte describes, 'many corporation executives who make key decisions about the city have surprisingly little acquaintance with the life of its streets and open spaces' (1980:60). This observation resonates with the situation at Elephant and Castle where the public life of its

market and the shopping centre and in the low-cost retail and community spaces are being extinguished through redevelopment led by corporations based far away from where the decisions will be felt (see figure 2.9).

Conclusions

'It's had the terrible misfortune to be regenerated twice: once, in the 1960s, to convert its poor residents into car-driving modern citizens; and again today, to re-programme them into the kind of latte-sipping pedestrians you see on architects' drawings.'

Tom Dyckhoff (www.guardian.co.uk, 2012)

I draw several key conclusions from my research into the case of masterplanning at Elephant and Castle, and the focus on the low-cost market area. Firstly, I identify that the repeated redesign and reconstruction of the area has facilitated large organisations and corporations to appropriate land and displace existing activities. Although I describe smaller scale contestations between market traders and the local authority and conflicts between teenagers and the police (see Chapter 1), the remodelling of transport infrastructures has provided a consistent narrative that has facilitated the demolition of buildings and the building over of public spaces – with both periods of masterplanned change enabling the transfer of large swathes of land between different owners and organisations. Southwark Council and Lend Lease have employed planning and legal mechanisms to acquire properties that impede their development opportunities: the means provided in Section 106 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1990 and the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 were used by the council to favour their development partner, Lend Lease. This includes Southwark Council evicting tenants from the Heygate Estate and then transferring the cleared land to Lend Lease, and then threatening to acquire and demolish the shopping centre so that Lend Lease could complete the regeneration. Such actions have ignored the potential of local initiatives to improve the area and they have dismissed the value of renovating old buildings, resulting in the eviction of residents, the closure of businesses and the demolition of public spaces.

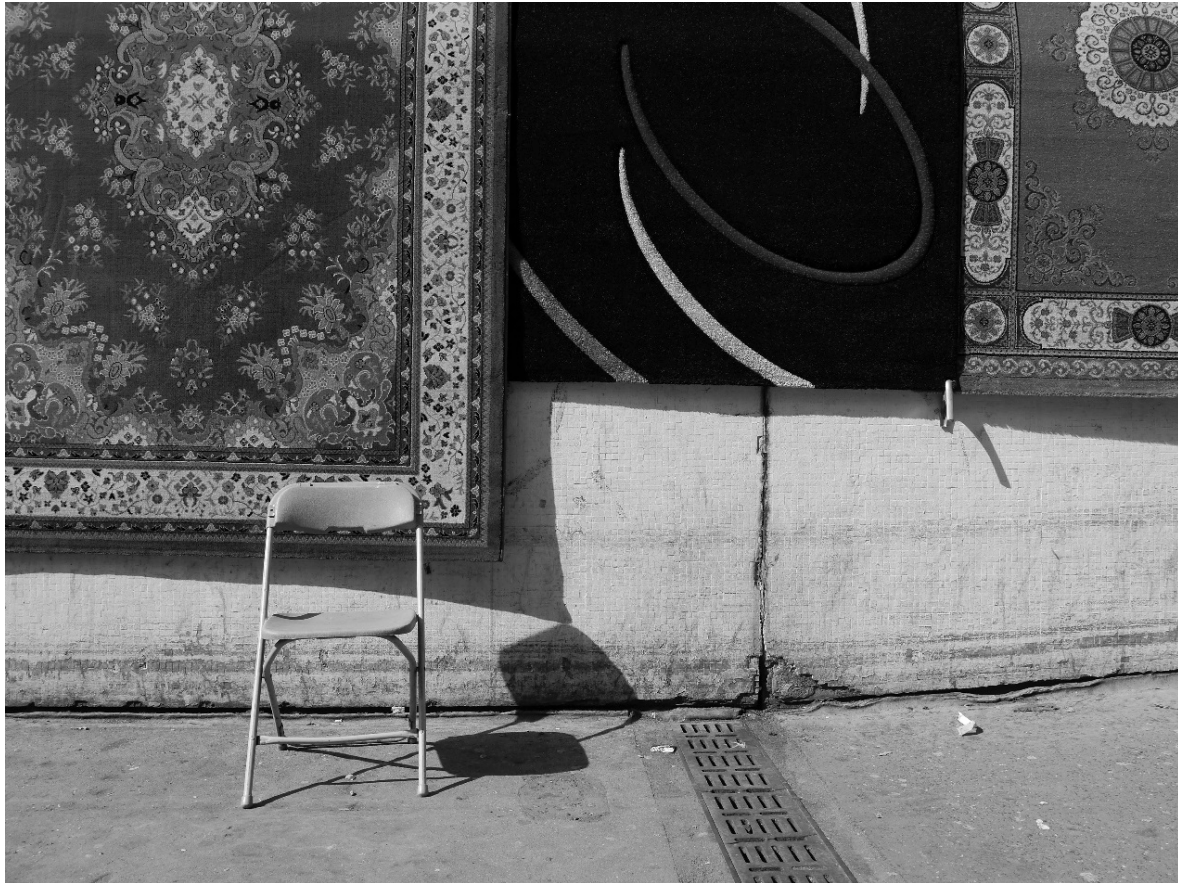


Figure 3.18 The makeshift repurposing of walls and railings is a visible feature of the existing market (Author's photograph, 2012)

Secondly, I have highlighted that the claims of comprehensive masterplanning unfold in a piecemeal and incremental manner. For the *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* to be realised the masterplan has been repeatedly redrawn, and agreements between the development partners has been renegotiated. Legal tools established by central government and the roles of Southwark Council and the Greater London Authority as planning controllers have been necessary to enable the development. At times when development strategies have stalled, particularly since the financial crisis, the agreements signed to establish the private-public partnership remain outside of public scrutiny. The powerful position of private developers such as Lend Lease, has contrasted with that of the local authority that found itself in a poor negotiating position. Having already committed to the development and unable to finance the reconstruction itself, the council needed to offer favourable terms to the developers. As a local resident describes,

One of the main problems with Elephant and Castle is that as a regeneration process it has been going on so long. It is now so politicised, that every administration needs to be the one that on their watch they get a spade in the ground. (Interview with Paul, 2012)

Third, I recognise that the masterplanning of Elephant and Castle has progressed with a high degree of uncertainty for developers, investors and market traders. The stuttering progress of the latest masterplanning effort, a discussion that has continued since the 1990s, has been impacted by changes in national and local governments, the global economic collapse and the ability of development partners to fund the reconstruction. In 2007, before many of these events even unfolded, Councillor Nick Stanton, leader of Southwark Council, explained:

We're very conscious that we've been talking about the need to regenerate the Elephant and Castle for a long time, and it's paramount that we get on and show people that we're serious about actually delivering. (www.london-se1.co.uk, 2007)

Uncertainty for residents and landowners has been exacerbated by threats by Southwark Council to compulsorily purchase flats and buildings. Businesses have been hesitant to remain as long leases in the shopping centre have been run down so that the owners can redevelop when their plans are approved. The conditions of the area have been derided by the council, the developers and the press: the visible deterioration of the area and its lack of 'national' retail outlets provided reasons for Southwark Council to 'talk down' Elephant and Castle, while Lend Lease's Development Director Rob Deck joked that he promised Peter John, the leader of Southwark Council, a Starbucks coffee outlet in the new development (New London Architecture, 2012). Despite St. Modwen's claims, while they owned the shopping centre, that they 'do a lot of stuff with the community' (Interview with Jonathan, shopping centre manager, 2012), they also recognised that none of the existing businesses would remain.

Finally, I conclude that during masterplanning individuals and small-scale businesses with less power than the council, landowners, developers and managers have been rendered invisible. If a hierarchy of Elephant and Castle Market can be imagined, large organisations such as Southwark Council and Lend Lease would invariably be near the top: together they direct the regeneration and they approve or decline planning decisions. Below the development partners would be the shopping centre owners who are key stakeholders in the regeneration, and then we would find the public space managers, such as USM who initiated and still operate the market. Individual traders, their customers, Roland, the market manager, and the market cleaners appear to have less voice in the regeneration and know little of the decisions that have been made. Steven James, of USM, recognises that without the traders the market would not be there, but he is also aware that if the market were removed, 'it would not be the loss of our [USM's] jobs and our careers and our companies' (Interview 2012). Despite their important role in maintaining and activating the public realm, I

have found that the traders, cleaners and managers employed by the market are some of the least considered individuals during the development process.



Figure 3.19 The Elephant and Castle sign taken from the roof of the public house and placed in the mall of the shopping centre; the public house, which lent its name to the area, was demolished to make way for the shopping centre (Getty Images, 1965)

This chapter has described how large-scale regeneration of London's Elephant and Castle neighbourhood is contested between the local authority, developers, residents and businesses. Negotiations over land for development, commercial activities and everyday activities reveal contrasting opportunities to engage in occupying, using and transforming public spaces. Despite the liveliness of everyday spaces like the market, comprehensive visions of the area take precedence over lived experiences. By removing the public space of the moat, the market and the traders will lose their businesses and livelihoods. The lives of residents and small business owners, who have defined the distinctive market space of Elephant and Castle for many years, are unable to be heard beneath the global financial ambitions that drive the redevelopment. Steven James of USM explains, 'It is a general market, so it relies on the people, a general market for local people' (Interview 2012). As the local people have been relocated and the redevelopment is built-out, plans for the area will produce different public spaces, attracting different people. As James describes: 'Markets have to reflect the people that are using them, and that is what the Elephant does.'

Chapter 4

Place as property in Paddington

I think in terms of a finished product... you can only achieve a degree of finish in areas such as this on the basis of land ownership...'

Julian Dean, planner for the City of Westminster (Interview 2012)

For three decades the spaces along and around the Paddington arm of the Grand Union Canal in West London have been the focus of intense profit-driven redevelopment. When the *Paddington Waterside* masterplan was originally approved by the City of Westminster, the plans proposed to replace an 80-acre post-industrial canal-side with a new business and residential district. The facilitation of the development by the City of Westminster and British Waterways has followed the national government's policy of deregulation and privatisation, requiring public organisations to release their land assets to private investors and developers. At Paddington Basin, as Julian Dean, a planner for the City of Westminster, describes, the 'disposal of [land] assets' by British Waterways led to conversations in the local authority about how to respond. The subsequent masterplan and resultant developments have been highly facilitated by the Conservative local authority in Westminster, through planning approvals and the establishment of a Business Improvement District (BID), and by strategic transport infrastructure approved by central government.

The redevelopment of Paddington Basin¹ has created a frontier that expands through what Smith describes in his research focused on New York City's Lower Eastside, as the 'actions of collective [land] owners' (1996:xviii). The momentum of transformation has been informed by sustained public investment into Paddington as a transportation interchange, through the arrival of Crossrail and the Heathrow Express, along with the privatisation of public agencies National Freight Corporation and British Waterways that once owned the masterplan sites. Central to the masterplan is the canal basin and a network of open spaces that have been built as each of the 13 development parcels reaches completion. Although the site was once under the responsibility of state agencies, what is being realised is not a public realm like the streets and squares of Central London 'where the streets have been ours since the 1772

¹ As mentioned in the introduction, the term 'Paddington Basin' has been adopted in this study to refer to the waterfront spaces along the Paddington Arm of the Grand Union Canal, including the open spaces contiguous with it which form the *Paddington Waterside* masterplan (the term Paddington Basin has been used by a previous development operation, now called *Merchant Square*). The term 'Paddington' is used to describe a wider area which includes the historic residential areas, commercial streets and the train station.

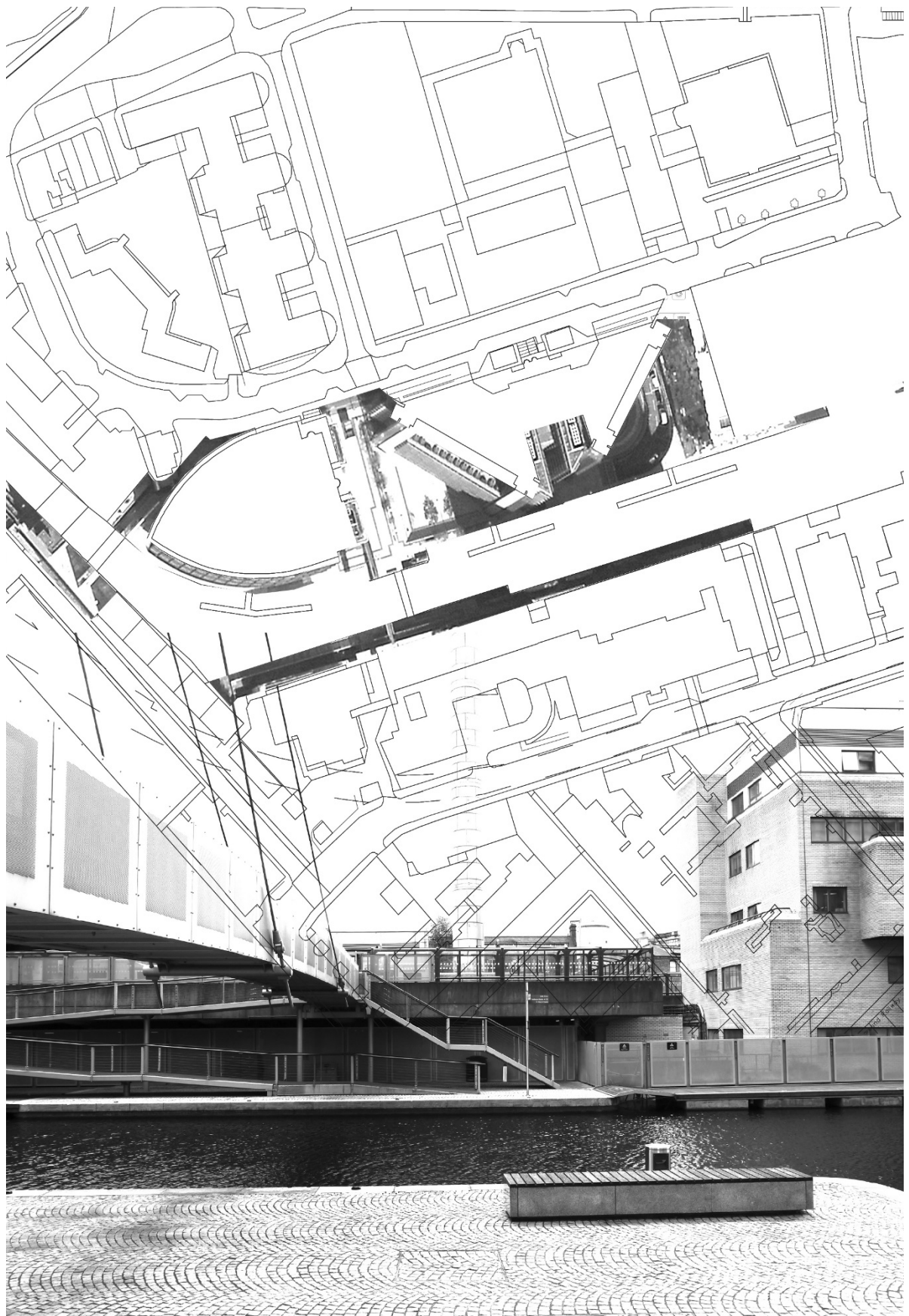


Figure 4.1 Collage showing top-down plan view of Paddington Basin overlaid with photo of empty waterside spaces (Collage by author, 2014)

Paving Act' (Interview with Julian Dean, 2012). Instead, this is a site of fragmented property ownerships, management structures and regulations, bringing into question the publicness of the public realm that is being constructed.

In this chapter, I focus on the second case of masterplanning, *Paddington Waterside*, with a focus on the public spaces alongside and interconnected with the canal basin. The unfolding of the large-scale redevelopment, which began in 1997 when the planning team at Westminster began to discuss the area's potential (Interview with Julian Dean, 2012), has relied on the local authority to facilitate planning approvals for the developers and to collect rent for the BID. It has also benefited from British Waterways and the National Freight Corporation releasing sites for development and offering favourable leases. The plan can be read as a conventional urban design arrangement of mixed-use buildings, streets, squares, footpaths and an amphitheatre along a rejuvenated canal. But as each phase has been completed, a landscape of well-maintained, high quality materials has opened-up a securitised public realm: the views across the dredged canal, the expanse of grey granite paving and the reflective building facades are marked by teams of security guards who confront teenagers, homeless people and other individuals who appear out of place. Behind the architect's drawings of Paddington Basin are layers of private controls that result in a lack of diverse or spontaneous activities, concealed disputes between developers and building managers and inconsistencies in development claims made by developers, the BID and the local authority.

In this chapter I investigate how public spaces are produced in this development west of central London and how descriptions of place-making obscure strategies for private ownership and control. I describe three intersecting narratives of Paddington Basin: the first, a physical site of urban development, architecturally designed and constructed; and secondly, commercial operations of urban development authored to facilitate profit. Between the development of traditional spatial structures of buildings and open spaces and carefully scripted marketing descriptions, I have experienced a process closely directed by private developers who manoeuvre to profit from both the private buildings and the public realm that they create. Thirdly, these narratives contrast with an account of 'place-making', presented by the BID and developer teams: 'It's about people and communities, the surrounding neighbourhood context, and creating a vibrant place to live, work and play', explain the development partnership (www.thisispaddington.com, 2017). However, as Harvey explains, the production of such places through 'architecture and urban design, is precisely about the selling of places' (1996:298). I identify the development of Paddington to be based on the ever-changing ownerships of property, promises of new public spaces and claims by public

agencies and private interests to be remaking Paddington Basin as a place. I reveal that behind assertions of place-making, historic structures are demolished, tenants are displaced, and the remaining traces of state-owned assets are handed to private managers. Despite the ambitions of the development teams to generate an identity for Paddington Basin, distinctive places have not been created from the masterplanned transformations. Instead, developers and the BID have incorporated the identity of historic buildings from outside of the masterplan area and refer to fictional characters, such as Paddington Bear, folding them into development narratives.

In this chapter I examine the redevelopment: firstly, revealing that behind claims to make a place, developers profit from creating sellable spaces; secondly, I identify a high-quality public realm that facilitates movement for most people, but obstructs activities for others; and finally, I describe that the packaging of Paddington Basin relies on an appropriation of image and control of areas expanding outside of the development area.

Making space, talking place

‘Place making is a lot to do with reputation, a lot to do with spirit, and the activities between the buildings and I think that a lot of people get it wrong, and I think it is very hard at Paddington because we have so many different owners.’

Kate Beaton, Paddington Business Improvement District (Interview 2012)

Narratives of place

There has been an ambition to make a ‘place’ at Paddington. In 1988 Westminster City Council designated an area of Paddington, then considered on the edge of Central London, as Paddington Special Policy Area (PSPA). Since then, the resulting 80-acre development has continued to be transformed by a developer-led partnership, which branded the PSPA as ‘Paddington Waterside’. One of the Paddington Regeneration Partnership’s (PRP) early priorities was the definition of ‘place’. An initial document, *Paddington Waterside: Creating a Place* (PRP 2001), describes the importance of a ‘high quality public realm’ that was considered ‘vital for improving perceptions and for creating a new sense of identity and place’ at Paddington (PRP 2001). The report was published by the PRP to ‘achieve consensus’ regarding the ‘quality, coherence and identity’ of the Paddington Waterside development, which includes 13 development sites and 22 partners. Richard Jones, a project manager for one of the developers, states ‘the trick with regeneration projects in slightly down at heel areas is to, as quickly as possible, establish a sense of place’ (Interview

2013). For Jones this included building the public realm early, or as he sees it: 'putting the soul into the first phase'. The investment in the landscape of pedestrian streets, bridges, walkways and an amphitheatre along with tree planting, lighting and signage, accompanied the first office buildings that were built over the former goods yards, an area branded as Paddington Central.

Though the redevelopment of Paddington Waterside, a new kind of place has since been emerging. When I began the research in 2010, the masterplan of Paddington Waterside was partially built out. One development parcel had been built and occupied (West End Quay), some were partly complete with the final phases having received planning consent (Paddington Central), others were being redesigned, renamed and resubmitted to the planning office for approval (Merchant Square) and some were waiting to be sold (e.g. North Westminster Community School). By 2010 the Heathrow Express had been in operation for over ten years (1998) and the Crossrail train link, which has a station stop at Paddington with an entrance onto the canal basin, had just begun construction (2009). The redevelopment broke ground in 1998 and the BID, advocated by planners at the City of Westminster and funded by Paddington Waterside Partnership (formerly PRP), began operation in 2005. Interviews with developers, the Canal and River Trust, Westminster City Council, the BID and Paddington Waterside Partnership reveal the importance of place-making to the organisations realising the redevelopment. Harvey identifies that 'those who have invested in the physical qualities of place have to ensure that activities arise which render their investments profitable by ensuring the permanence of place' (1996:296). In addition to the public spaces, the notion of place, as described by Richard Jones, includes the shops under the amphitheatre, the cafes, bars and restaurants along the canal (Interview with Richard Jones, project manager for developers, 2013). Creating a place 'requires big investment', Jones states, which he believes differentiates his development from others further along the canal. During the first phases, Jones needed to encourage the retailers of the shop units to remain open despite low sales, promising that once the numbers of residents, workers and commuters reached a critical mass, their businesses would become more profitable (Interview with Richard Jones, project manager for developers, 2013).



Figures 4.2 and 4.3 Canal boat moored in Paddington Basin beneath the Westway flyover (left) and construction hoardings around new Crossrail entrance onto Paddington Basin towpath (right)

The canal basin and the rail networks have been core urban elements in the attempt to define Paddington Basin as a distinctive place. The canal basin marks one of several periods of transportation infrastructure that have been overlaid several times. Originally developing around the meeting of Edgware Road, a Roman Road, and Harrow Road, a Saxon Road, Paddington has been dissected by canals, railways and the infamous Westway motorway that was built in the late 1960s. While the railways have had a resurgence through the Heathrow Express and the Crossrail projects, the canal no longer has any transportation function. It remains active with moored residential boats that move seasonally along the 2000-mile network. The canal basin and large tracts of property that abut the water are owned by the Canal and River Trust (CRT), formerly the public agency British Waterways. The land assets have been long-recognised for their redevelopment value, by architects, developers and landowners. Michael Bond who works for the Canal and River Trust believes that ‘even a small canal frontage... could have a 20% impact on the value, perhaps even a little bit more’ (Interview 2013). Project manager, Richard Jones agrees: ‘Estate agents will wet themselves over a view of water’ (Interview 2013). This higher land value for waterfront views is particularly marked for residential properties that have increasingly been planned along the canal as development plans have unfolded. Lynch specifically cites canals in his category of ‘paths’ (1960:47), one of five urban elements from which he considers the imageability of cities. For Lynch paths are prominent features along which other elements, such as buildings, structures and opens spaces, are ‘arranged and related’; they are also urban forms, he claims, which have the potential of giving a place definition (1960:47).

The canal, open spaces and land parcels are bound together through their potential for redevelopment. Lynch accepts that several paths can be 'imaged together as a simple structure' and that if there are many paths, such as towpaths, canals and other open spaces of Paddington, they can be perceived as a 'total network' (1960:59-60). The CRT own the canal, its towpaths and many canal side properties. These components were essential in the historic operation of the canal as a water network, which relied on towpaths from which barges would be towed, and also land that was occupied with wharfs and warehouses. As an infrastructure of urban redevelopment, they are again inseparable, as the large tracts of land offer a sufficient footprint for profitable development surrounded by water and open space that contribute to increased property value. The open spaces that form the new public realm, Michael Bond argues, also adds 'real value' to the development. As head of property for CRT, Bond describes how they have 'worked' their portfolio of properties as a major source of income: 'we have our growth portfolio... which is all about effectively generating capital receipts and capital value, normally through the planning process' (Interview with Michael Bond 2013). At Paddington Basin this involved selling a 999-year lease to a development partner and sharing the profits generated through its transformation. The redeveloped canal edge, the towpaths and the development parcels are now almost indistinguishable from each other suggesting that, rather than the canal on its own, they collectively act as an armature or network across the development area. An armature, Shane describes (2005:198), acts as a linear element that organises the sub-spaces of the city. As Paddington Basin has proven, for Michael Bond, these armatures can bring people together for 'commercial transactions' and for 'communal activities' (Shane 2005:198).

Paddington Basin is becoming a particular type of place. In the *New Urban Frontier* (1996), Smith describes urban transformations through gentrification and displacement. The frontier, he claims, 'adapts to place as it makes place' (1996:16). Although the term 'frontier', to which Smith refers, is more closely associated with North American colonisation, there are correlations with the redevelopments at Paddington Basin and Elephant and Castle. In 1987 Julian Dean and his colleagues at the City of Westminster's planning office recognised Paddington's potential as an outlying area of central London ready for redevelopment. Paddington was considered just outside of London's 'central activity zone' (interview with Julian Dean 2012). Dean explains that 'all the headquarters of government, state, crown, church, shops, thirty-eight theatres, cinemas, all human life' were inside the central activity zone; in contrast, outside the central activity zone was Paddington, a district that had suffered for decades from poor housing conditions, a decline in railway and canal infrastructures across an area that still revealed the traces of bomb-damage from the Second World War. As Smith describes of the urban frontier, Paddington Basin was a

'hostile' landscape waiting to be 'regenerated' (1996:12); or as Richard Jones confirms, Paddington Basin was 'pretty rough' before the development began. Across sites like Paddington Goods Yard 'if you weren't tripping over rusty old car parts you were tripping over prostitutes and needles' (Interview with Richard Jones, 2013).

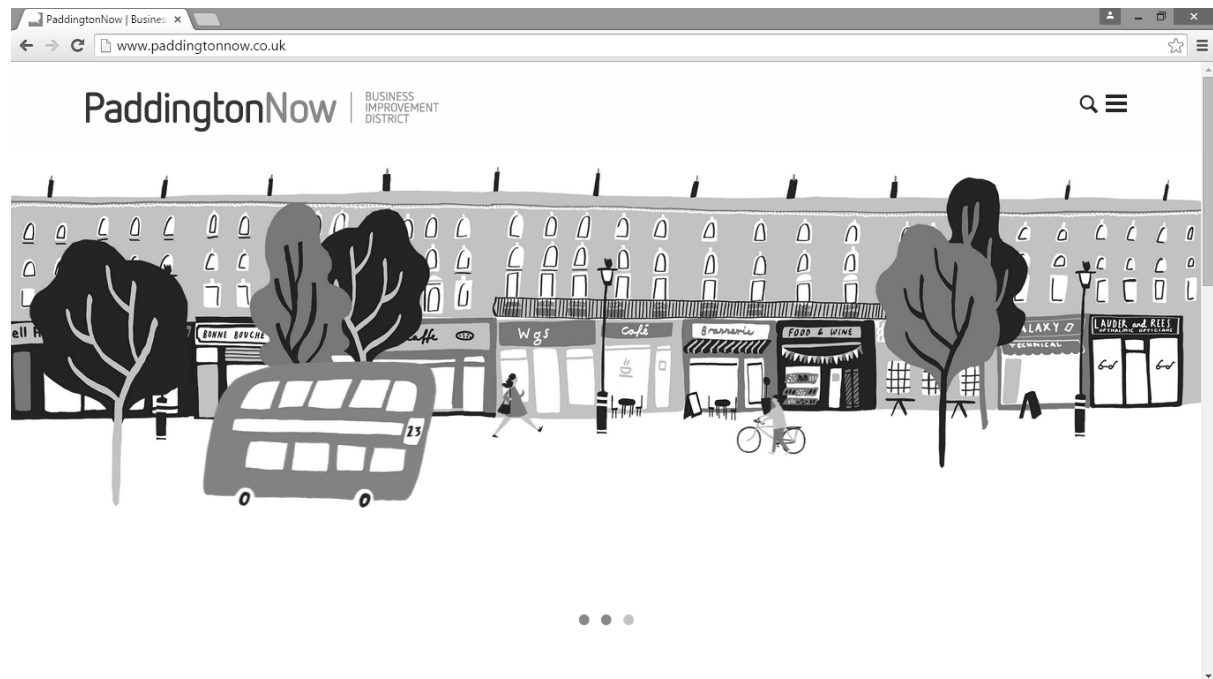


Figure 4.4 Screenshot of Paddington Business Improvement District website showing the references to historic streets, mature trees and iconic London buses (www.paddingtonnow.co.uk, 2015)

The first stage of creating a new type of place is the closing down of the remaining businesses and the removal of buildings. Harvey attests that: 'Old places... have to be devalued, destroyed, and redeveloped while new places are created' (1996:296). Jack Whitehead, the author of the website *Local Local History*, describes his experience walking along the Paddington Basin in 1999: it was a place 'totally demolished' where buildings had been bulldozed to clear the site which 'would become the anonymous foundations for new buildings' (www.locallocalhistory.co.uk, 2012). Although Julian Dean states that before the development 'There were no major historic buildings along the canal. There never had been.' (Interview 2012), Whitehead evidences a 200-year loading bay at the head of the canal that had been listed for its historical interest (www.locallocalhistory.co.uk, 2012). The loading bay, like the bridges designed by Brunel, were dismantled and put into storage to facilitate a site clear of obstructions from which the masterplan could be actioned. The resultant tabula rasa was efficient for establishing the large floor-plates that corporate tenants required across evenly subdivided, uninterrupted development parcels. As Jacobs recalls from the redevelopment in New York, the 'landmarks' across the masterplan site

were 'crumbled or sundered from their contexts' and the new place that emerged could only be described as a 'noplacé' (1961:339).

The *Paddington Waterside* area was cleared of its historical buildings by the time the BID was established in 2005. Therefore, new landmarks and points of reference were sought beyond the masterplan site. Kate Beaton, who leads both the BID and Paddington Waterside Partnership (formerly Paddington Waterside Partnership) describes that there is a 'beautiful heritage about Paddington' which the BID was keen to promote (Interview 2012). Despite pessimistic descriptions of the deteriorated industrial sites, poor housing and peripheral location claimed by Julian Dean (Interview 2012), Paddington has retained architecturally significant structures like the railway terminal designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel, the Great Western Hotel and many magnificent terraces of Georgian houses. Beaton explains: 'We wanted to take some of the flavours of the station, because the station is so - there is a romance about Paddington Station' (Interview 2012). The BID area therefore encompasses the historic streets to the West and South of the masterplan area and its marketing material strongly references the historic station. Recognising the potential of the deteriorated margins of the city, Smith reminds us that these places are not only unsightly and dangerous, but they are also idyllic – 'romantic but also ruthless' (1996:12). Between the BID and the development partnership their websites reference an array of locations inside and outside their bounds, including landmarks such as Paddington Station and Hyde Park and adjoining neighbourhoods such as Maida Vale. Unable to benefit from the historical assets removed from the development area, the marketing teams have looked further afield to author a new account of place at Paddington Basin.

Replacing the close-grained intricacy of the industrial wharfs, developers, the local authority and the Canal and River Trust have realised a high-quality, intensely managed, consistently paved public realm that wraps around modern glazed and brick facades of private residences and businesses. Despite marketing narratives of Paddington as a unique place, architecture critic Rowan Moore writes in the *Architect's Journal* about an increasingly popular model of development that he feels has been adopted at Paddington Basin (www.architectsjournal.co.uk, 2009). The 'essential aspects' of this model, Moore writes, include 'efficiently planned flexible blocks, which give corporate tenants the floorplates they want' alongside the 'creation of high-quality spaces between buildings'. Moore denies that the external spaces are 'public spaces' because they are 'managed privately' but recognises the significance of the 'high specifications of paving materials, coordinated street furniture, and outdoor art.' Around the buildings of each development parcel are squares, terraces and steps of machine cut light grey granite, stainless steel balustrades and hardwood furniture

alongside occasional copses of semi-mature street trees. This is a palette of materials that can be found across many sites in London that Moore claims follow the 'Broadgate model'. He describes that 'places like Canary Wharf, More London, Paddington Basin and the Regent's Place development on Euston Road, all follow its pattern'.

(www.architectsjournal.co.uk, 2009). Paddington has come to be seen to represent 'pretty much the mainstream', according to architecture critic Kieran Long, 'in terms of how we do go about making new bits of London today' (London Evening Standard 2010).

The undifferentiated buildings and open spaces that have been produced through the redevelopment of Paddington Basin, a site that now resembles many other developments in London, contrasts with developers' interests in defining a place of uniqueness. In contrast, along the edge of the canal, traditional cropped granite paving setts provide what Michael Bond from CRT describes as the 'cobble effect' (Interview 2013). This historic technique of paving, where stone masonry provides roughly cropped stone, is a requirement of CRT to give a heritage feel and continuity along its infrastructure of waterways. The towpaths along the canal form the main public rights of way through Paddington Basin, and continue to be owned by the former public agency. The rough paving contrasts with the machine cut, granite paving that is laid in the development parcels. Although it may invoke a sense of a more historical place, Bond feels that the traditional paving technique used on the towpath is one of the 'biggest mistakes' of their involvement in the development, as 'it's difficult to walk on in heeled shoes'. Despite the heritage materials specified along the canal, the management, security and maintenance of the public towpath at Merchant Square are not conducted by CRT, but rather contracted out to the private operator, Broadgate Estates, after whose 'model' Moore claims the Paddington Basin development has followed (www.architectsjournal.co.uk, 2009).

The *Paddington Waterside* masterplan also seems to follow Lynch's commonly accepted planning model for imageability (1960). The development masterplan encompasses a scale of London that Lynch would describe as a 'district' (1960:66). Three of Lynch's other urban elements for creating a 'city image' are also identifiable within the development: 'paths' pass along the canals and between the buildings while new 'nodes' and 'landmarks' are evident in the designer bridges, artwork and crossing of paths around the canal. Although 'edges' are more difficult to discern, especially at the extent of the development area and in-between the development parcels, the composition of the overall development does appear to recognise the importance of legibility, reflecting Lynch's belief:

...if the environment is visibly organised and sharply defined, then the citizen can inform it with his own meanings and connections. Then it will become a true *place*, remarkable and unmistakable. (1960:92)

The significance of image making is emphasised by the developer Richard Jones, who considers place-making as an 'aesthetic investment' (Interview 2013). Through offering high quality spaces, punctuated by bridges and artwork as landmark features, the developments follow the priority of the policy-makers at Westminster who have attempted to 'change the image of the area' and to shift the perception of Paddington from a district on the outside edge, to a 'central place' in London (Raco and Henderson 2009:311). Lynch warns, however, where paths lack identity or are easily confused with one another the 'entire city image' can be 'in difficulty' (1960:49). The similarity of the high-quality open spaces in Paddington Basin with other contemporary developments across London, along with the unbroken continuity of open spaces along the canal, highlight the difficulty in forming a clear identity of a new place.

Property and space

Despite ambitions to make a place, the reality of Paddington Basin has been the making of space. Raco and Henderson suggest, the development has transformed the area from 'a problem place to an opportunity space' (2009:305). By 2013, over two million square foot of commercial space had already been 'delivered' (www.paddingtonwaterside.co.uk, 2013) across a development that initially included over eight million square foot of 'built environment' (PRP 2001). Of the residential units for sale, the marketing brochure for 3 Merchant Square boasts apartment sizes that range from under 500 square foot for a one-bed apartment to up to 1377 square foot for a three-bed (www.merchantsquare.co.uk, 2013). The developer presents options of combining these spaces to create apartments with up to seven bedrooms across an area of 3635 square foot. The apartments for sale at 3 Merchant Square claim to offer a 'flexible living space' while apartments in the future phase of 1 Merchant Square will be 'perfectly proportioned'. They will, claims the marketing brochure, create a 'sense of space' throughout each apartment (www.merchantsquare.co.uk, 2013). The interchangeable use of the term space and place is touched on by Madanipour, who explains that 'the meaning of the two concepts [space and place] often merge' (1996:23). Attempting to differentiate between the terms, Cresswell describes space as a 'fact of life' rather than place, which is vested with meaning: 'Space, then, has been seen in distinction to place as a realm without meaning' (2004:10). The marketing of space offers residents an opportunity to give meaning to the apartments that they purchase, allowing them to redefine their properties as places. For investors, viewing the purchase of an apartment as an investment, the term space frames a finished product, a neutral commodity that can be

traded. Like the development parcels across Paddington Basin cleared of their historic buildings and uses, enclosed in timber hoarding, and traded between developers the apartments offer an assurance of the value of space.

As new buildings are sold in terms of their spatial dimensions and qualities, the sense of place that developers seek is focused on the features that compose the external realm. Open spaces, managed by the developers and the BID, which are surrounded by bars and restaurants, along with visual associations with historic streets, buildings and landmarks, are employed to make Paddington Basin a meaningful place. However, what is being made at Paddington could also be described as a 'non-place' (Auge 1995:94). Commonly associated with airports and shopping malls, Auge describes 'non-places' as 'spaces formed in relation to certain ends', like transit, transport, commerce and leisure, and defined by the 'relations that people have with these spaces' (1995:94). Despite the marketing narratives of place-making, Paddington Basin can be seen in the context of the Broadgate model: a commercial development that is insufficiently differentiated from other areas of London with objectives of producing a financial profit. The imperatives for economic return are reflected in the operations of both development partners, the BID and the former public agencies. In the context of the high-quality but poorly activated public realm, the relations that many people have to these spaces is bound up with their workplace or the economic value of the land they own and the apartments in which they reside (Interview with residents, Edward Shoemaker and Sharon Smith, 2012). These are spaces formed for means of economy, which we will understand in the following sections, to restrict activities and uses that may come to undermine this priority.

Movement and obstructions

'You go past [Paddington Basin] without even knowing that it was there'

Peter Moorland, architect and masterplanner (Interview 2013)

Movement facilitated

Most people easily access Paddington's new waterfront spaces. Access into this central London regeneration project, as defined by the development masterplan and the BID, appear consistent and evenly applied. There are over twelve entrances into the Paddington Waterside site, from adjacent streets, towpaths and public rights of way. The development parcels have been required to provide accessible open space, through Section 106 agreements (Town and Country Planning Act 1990) and guidelines from the Canal and River

Trust (CRT). Paddington Basin is the result of a masterplan that claims to open-up the formerly inaccessible and neglected canal side areas to create a new, dense, waterfront, mixed-use neighbourhood surrounded by permeable open spaces (Various interviews 2012, 2013). Whitehead recalls that the masterplan proposed by Terry Farrell and Partners in 1999 claimed that the canal-side area designated for redevelopment 'lacked public activity, permeability and a sense of place' (quoted on www.locallocalhistory.co.uk, 2012). For two centuries Paddington Basin had been an active waterfront, with limited public access and a clustering of industrial buildings along the canal. Increasing accessibility and permeability was to be an important outcome of the redevelopment (Interviews with Julian Dean and Kate Beaton, 2012). The canal towpath provides a sense of connectivity. The new developments open onto, are organised by, and are served by canal side paths that weave from one side to the other across landmark designed pedestrian bridges. The towpaths, in particular, connect to the streets and spaces beyond the canal basin suggesting a permeable environment throughout. Subtle changes in materials and linear drainage gullies indicate thresholds of ownership and management, or boundaries of the phased construction (Interview with Michael Bond, Canal and River Trust, 2013). However, there are no gates, walls, fences and few changes in vertical elevation to separate the towpath from the development sites.

However, despite the accessibility of the area, Paddington Basin is uncomfortably quiet for much of the day, particularly in the evenings and during the weekends. People tend to keep moving through the area with minimum engagement with each other or the spaces across which they move. Peter Moorland, one of the architects involved in the development, criticises the masterplan as a 'completely introspective piece of work' (Interview 2013). Although Moorland believes that this will improve as the development is completed, the location, arrangement and adjacent buildings make it difficult to identify the front of the development, where people arrive and where they leave. The inward-looking arrangement of the development is compounded by a lack of permeability along some edges that are blocked by buildings or dissected by the canal. It is difficult to exit Paddington Central to the north as the change of levels and the concealed access makes 'you feel as if you shouldn't be there'; describes one of the developers (Interview with Jones, 2013). Jones explains: 'It is not physically impossible [to go through our estate] if you know where you are going, and the security guards won't stop you' however he believes that the condition of the spaces makes 'people feel that they are trespassing.'



Figure 4.5 Infrequently used canalside spaces of Paddington Basin (Photograph by author, 2013)

This concern for trespassing at Paddington Basin resonates with some of my experiences during fieldwork where I was approached by private security guards and asked what I was doing. Across the development, the routines of cleaning, maintaining and securing the open spaces remind visitors that this is a very different public realm to that which exists outside. Despite early developments having been completed over ten years ago, there are few marks of aging, use or past inhabitation. Windows are cleaned, trees are pruned, hand rails are polished and even the canal is dredged of algae. Throughout the day and night, the private developments and publicly accessible spaces around the canal are maintained to a consistently high standard. The cleaning routine is only interrupted by the need to replace broken or damaged materials or the events programme that hosts family and business-focused activities one day, to leave no traces the next. Even during the ongoing construction at the train station, Paddington Central and Merchant Square remain in the background behind glossily illustrated hoardings. Cresswell states that when creating a space, it is necessary to be explicit about what lies ‘outside’ (2004:102). The main difference between Paddington Basin and areas beyond the development masterplan is that Paddington Basin appears to be permanently new. The public realm reveals no physical traces of what has

happened on the days, weeks, seasons and years past. Smith explains that 'new urban pioneers seek to scrub the city clean of its working-class geography and history' (1996:25). With old buildings demolished, former land-uses extinguished and a management regime that holds the new forms and activities in place, Paddington Basin can be understood as a particular type of place and public realm.

Amongst the people who do visit and pass through Paddington Basin, the teams of private security guards appear omnipresent. Young and middle-aged men in black and white uniforms, some wearing bright yellow jackets, circle the development parcels protecting the space and observing the people who live, work and pass through the area. Lynch describes that 'we are accustomed to one particular form of control' which is the 'legally defined ownership of a sharply defined area' (1981:205). At Paddington Basin, however, this is not immediately clear, as the legibility of the spatial forms is betrayed by a complexity which Lynch describes as its 'performance dimensions'. Extending beyond the five spatial urban elements that he describes for achieving image and identity in the city, Lynch sets out in *A Theory of Good City Form* (1981) the importance of performance dimensions that are not so easy to determine. Lynch includes 'control' as a measure of performance asking how 'variations in control' can affect the spaces of the city (1981:205). At Paddington Basin control is not merely exerted through the security personnel, but rather through the collective presence of cleaning, maintaining, security and events. Together, the four operations facilitate the continued flow of people through the area. The recognisable architectural forms that have been populating this 80-acre site for almost two decades are held in time while the flows of people passing through are highly managed by a schedule of development operations.

Obstructing engagement

Paddington Basin's developers and BID aim to control public spaces, to hold the area *in place* and maintain its image. This results in an open and accessible public space coming into conflict with what Mitchell describes as 'urban aesthetics' (1997:306). Mitchell finds an increasing occurrence of homeless people excluded from public spaces through what Zukin describes as the manipulation of 'symbolic languages of exclusion' and 'uses of aesthetic power' (1995:7). The operations identified during my fieldwork, of cleaning, maintenance, security and events, closely reflect the priorities of the BID: 'environment, safety and security, and the marketing' (Interview with Sharon, 2012). The main three development areas, West End Quay, Merchant Square and Paddington Central, employ their own teams of security, maintenance and cleaning staff. At West End Quay these operations overlap with the actions of the BID. While it can be understood that a commitment to place-making

facilitates planning approval and that attention to space is fundamental for investor interest, once the latter conditions are satisfied a requirement of 'control' across the open spaces is important to maintain the high-quality investment and the resultant image of the area. The cleaning, maintenance, security and events hold the image of the development in place, by attempting to daily recreate the architectural renders that initially facilitated planning approval to then attract tenants and investors. These are images that represent 'a place of comfort, of relaxation perhaps, of leisurely consumption, unsullied by images of work, poverty, or social strife' (Mitchell 1997:323), ensuring the continued long-term income on which the CRT and their investors rely.

The four operations of cleaning, maintenance, security and events are also profitable businesses in themselves. Following their success at More London, Paternoster Square and Liverpool One, management company Broadgate Estates has been subcontracted to manage the development at Merchant Square. Claiming to help 'manage and build the value of [their] clients' assets' (www.broadgateestates.co.uk, 2014), Broadgate Estates operates completed developments, like Merchant Square, for profit. Their public realm estate management provides the 'highest standards of cleaning and maintenance', opportunities for 'commercialisation' and services that can 'enhance public life' (www.broadgateestates.co.uk, 2014). These enhancements transform the priorities and the perception of the public realm, creating at Paddington Basin what Kieran Long describes as 'a weird place, ostentatiously guarded by private security' (London Evening Standard 2010).

Private operations lead to difficulties in identifying the spaces of Paddington Basin as public spaces. Westminster City Council intended full public access to the canal and basin and have repeatedly set this out in their RUDP (Replacement Unitary Development Plan) and their LDF (Local Development Framework). *Paddington Waterside: Creating a Place* (Paddington Regeneration Partnership 2001) promotes towpaths as unbroken public routes through the area, facilitating access, permeability and legibility between the developments – and being 'pivotal' in achieving the 'sense of place' (Paddington Regeneration Partnership 2001). However, understanding what 'public' means at Paddington seems problematic. Most of the open spaces at Paddington are described as public spaces by the local planning authority and by those designing, building and managing the external realm. The public spaces can be clearly identified as spatial types but there are contradictions in how spaces are perceived, experienced and proposed as 'public' spaces. The private activities of cleaning, maintenance, security and events that are imposed on Paddington Basin make it difficult to engage in public actions. Behind the simplicity of spatial forms, many questions

remain about the claims of creating public spaces, mixed use developments and community engagement by those responsible for the development.



Figure 4.6 Weekly summer artisan market at Sheldon Square (Photograph by author, 2013)

Instead, Paddington Basin defines a different public. Every Thursday there are two small markets in Paddington Basin. The largest is a row of ten stalls that sell clothes, cakes and antiques from under a line of trees above the Sheldon Square amphitheatre. The cakes and coffees prove most popular. The other market area is smaller and located across the bridge from St Mary's Hospital. This is predominantly a food market that remains open until shortly after lunch. The larger market, by Sheldon Square, has a long canvas sign proclaiming, an 'Artisans' Market'; however, there are no craftspeople and few distinctive products. Many of the stall holders do not make their own produce or even run their own stalls, rather, they are employees of others who own several stalls across different sites selling similar cakes, sandwiches and baked goods. These markets are part of the events that Paddington Central and Merchant Square provide and the type of craft market that we can anticipate will be promoted in Elephant and Castle's new market square. Rather than denying the existence of a 'public' at Paddington, we can instead recognise an 'exclusive public' that is 'produced and

managed by narrow interests' (Madanipour 2010:10) and whose spaces are animated by those involved in the events, security, maintenance and cleaning.

The open spaces of Paddington Basin can be easily entered, but movement across them is not guaranteed. The openness facilitates, as Lynch describes, 'a right of presence' (1981:206). Lynch sets out five 'rights' that comprise control in cities that extend beyond legal terms of ownership. At Paddington Basin this first right of presence is ensured through public access afforded along the towpaths of the Canal and River Trust (CRT). Michael Bond of the CRT explains, 'we have to provide public access to towpaths at all times.' The adjacent spaces that have been committed to the public as part of Section 106 planning agreements, also allows public access, reflecting Madanipour's assertion that 'without being accessible a place cannot become public' (2010:7). However, the conditions of access to Paddington Basin can easily be questioned when 'use and action', the second of Lynch's rights, are restricted (1981:206). Polished wall mounted stainless steel signs remind those passing through that they are on private property and that there are certain prohibited activities (see figure 4.8). The extensive signage at Paddington Basin, which proclaims that the 'public spaces' described at the planning stage are actually private property, outlines the main uses that are unacceptable. These include a diversity of notices proclaiming the prohibition of smoking, skateboarding, roller-blading, cycling, feeding pigeons, unauthorised parking, double-berth mooring, trespassing and even public access. The sign-posted regulations are enforced for the land-owners by private security guards who further restrict taking photographs of the buildings and who question the presence of groups and individuals who may appear out of place.

Private security guards are tasked with enforcing what is acceptable within the development areas. Cresswell affirms that places are 'created by some people with more power than others to define what is and what is not appropriate' (2004:27). Paddington Central and Merchant Square have separate security teams from those of the BID, which overlaps with security at West End Quay. The BID pays the Metropolitan Police for additional officers and contracts out CCTV surveillance. Richard Rogers, whose architecture firm designed one of the buildings at Paddington Basin explains the potential problem of privately owned and securitised public spaces:

Private security forces patrol their precincts and decide who is not welcome. People who simply want to sit are treated with suspicion, and groups of lads are frequently banned 'as a precautionary measure'. We are witnessing a new generation of enclosures, which may have an effect as long-lasting as those of the eighteenth century.

Now, as then, people's right of access to public space is being taken away. (Rogers and Fischer 1992:111)

The security teams in the development area have been criticised for, what Julian Dean from the City of Westminster describes as, being 'bolshy' (Interview 2012). In my fieldwork experience and as documented on social media the security guards actively restrict the use of photographic equipment. Dean believes that this is 'because we live in strange times' and accepts 'that is pretty much what we have got' (Interview 2012). Michael Bond from the Canal and River Trust elaborates: 'people these days are actually paranoid, in particular about terrorism' (Interview 2013). At Paddington Central, where large and occasionally controversial corporations reside as tenants, there is also a concern for privacy from protestors. Bond describes how animal rights protestors 'turned up' to demonstrate against the pharmaceutical company, Astra Zenica. The small group of activists were aware of the different divisions of land ownership and stood on the towpath, a public right-of-way owned by the Canal and River Trust. Bond recalls that 'they knew their stuff', in relation to the nuanced land-ownerships, which meant that 'the security people at Sheldon Square were doing their nut' (Interview 2013). Richard Jones, who oversaw part of the development of Paddington Central, emphasises that some of the corporate tenants are requesting these levels of security and privacy (Interview 2013), a view supported by Bond who offered the 999-year lease for the Merchant Square site to European Land: 'I think that is just the way of the world and you can't blame the property developers for that' (Interview with Bond, 2013).



Figure 4.7 Boundary between West End Quay and Merchant Square (Photograph by author, 2013)



Figure 4.8 'Private Property' sign at Merchant Square (Photograph by author, 2013)

Through the masterplanning process, the developers and the council have managed and designed-out people and uses that they feel are incompatible. Before the North Westminster Community College was closed, security guards at Merchant Square frequently confronted young people to deter them from congregating, drinking and smoking at Paddington Basin. The BID routinely 'sends the police in' to disrupt 'young lads' hanging around in the canal-

side spaces, behind Tesco and Ladbroke's (Interview with Kate Beaton 2012), while Westminster City Council have evicted a homeless man and dismantled his shelter on Stone Wharf. Although these are activities restricted in many parts of London, Lynch advocates that 'the management of all but very small areas must be tempered by the participation of potential users elsewhere' (1981:208). The participation of young people has been diluted by the closure of the college while the presence of homeless people has declined since many hostels and shelters have closed following the resultant rise in property values. Where the 'redevelopment frontier advances', Mitchell and Staeheli explain, it is increasingly difficult to find buildings and spaces for homeless residents (2006:167). As the neighbourhoods are developed and gentrified, the 'public spaces remain the places where homeless people can be' despite all the changes that redevelopment brings (2006:167). However, as the school and shelters are closed across Paddington, teenagers and homeless people appear out of place in the gentrified area. Rogers and Fischer claim that 'the steady erosion of diversity of activity has been an unpleasant side-effect of *laissez-faire*, market-led development' (Rogers and Fischer 1992:xxv). This resonates with Julian Dean who explains that 'it is not an act of policy', at Westminster, but rather 'how the market works', accepting that there are other places in which homeless people can 'live more easily' (Interview 2012).

As a researcher I was able to walk freely in, out and across Paddington Basin, but as I spent longer periods of time and attempted to engage with the people and spaces of the Opportunity Area, difficulties arose. During a sunny lunchtime in early August 2013 I stood observing the events of Sheldon Square unfold. I realised that I was being watched by one of the security personnel and as he approached, pointing to my camera that hung from my shoulder, he instructed me that taking photos requires permission. When I enquired as to whether it was OK, I was informed that verbal permission was not sufficient and cannot be authorised by him. Instead, I needed to request permission in writing and await a response. I walked up to the management offices where Nick Smith, the security manager, reinforced the need to ask permission in writing. He said that they receive many requests from students and professionals, and that the latter must pay fees to photograph or film the area. Nick Smith appeared irritated by my presence and question; however, when I finally received a reply, he warmly asked that I come at the weekend when the offices are empty. He clarified that 'it is quieter so not at all intrusive' (Email correspondence 2012). As I walked through the estate taking photographs on the following Saturday I came across a young couple photographing the buildings and views. I asked if they had sought permission and they appeared perplexed, shaking their heads. The inconsistent enforcement of the regulations about photography reflected the instance of evicting teenagers from the site by police as described by Kate Beaton, who works for the BID and developers (Interview 2012).

Questions of control across Paddington Basin are raised by such situations – overlapping patches of control that appear to be inconsistently applied to restrict lingering and engagement.

Repackaging Paddington

‘We are all about creating destinations. Attracting people to our network. One of our KPI’s is visitors, the number of visitors. And by visitors we don’t just mean people in boats. We mean walkers, joggers, cyclists, dog walkers...’

Michael Bond, Canal and River Trust (Interview 2013)

Packaging for business

The Paddington Waterside development, and the wider area of Paddington under authority of the BID, is regularly repackaged. Harvey describes that during ‘speculative place construction’ through investment in urban development ‘the selling of places and the highlighting of their particular qualities... becomes even more frenetic’ (1996:298). At Paddington Basin, continual branding and marketing facilitates residential and commercial development, which are measured in terms of financial return. The developers boast about the metrics of space being produced: they describe the increased number of floors, the area of large floor-plates in their new office buildings and the quantity of bedrooms and bathrooms along with the square footage of apartments. The marketing narratives of the BID present what Kate Beaton terms the ‘softer side’ of development, including the less tangible and elusive notion of making a ‘place’ (Interview 2012). These conditions supported by the BID are further encouraged by the CRT which focuses on ‘attracting people to our network’ (Interview with Michael Bond, 2012), directly reflecting Harvey’s assertion that:

It is also about attracting consumers (particularly the affluent) through the creation of amenities such as a cultural centre, a pleasing urban or regional landscape, and the like. Investment in consumption spectacles, the selling of images of places, competition over the definition of cultural and symbolic capital... all become conflated in inter-place competition. (Harvey 1996:298)

Throughout the development area there has been a continual division and subdivision of ownership and management responsibilities, resulting in the area experiencing a fragmented identity. Large development parcels have been divided, the management fragmented and new companies have joined the development, or have been created. As a result, a constant multiplying of names, brands and sub-brands has occurred beneath the three main

organisations of Paddington Waterside Partnership, the Canal and River Trust and the Business Improvement District. Kate Beaton describes the problem with place-making at Paddington Basin as the development parcels have been traded between developers and the identity became complicated: 'I think it is very hard at Paddington because we have so many different owners' (Interview 2012). Beaton elaborates:

One of the developers at the time, then called Chelsfield, then Paddington Basin Development, then Paddington Basin Development Corporation and then European Land, owned the same bit of land but went through four iterations of name. Then Paddington Central, that was Regalian, which sold to Development Securities, no, not Regalian. Yes. Regalian, who had a joint venture with NFC, National Freight Company, at the time, and they sold to Development Securities who bought it speculatively. (Kate Beaton, Paddington Waterside Partnership and BID, interview 2012)

The first identity of the development across Paddington Basin has been that of the development partnership, Paddington Regeneration Partnerships (PRP), later renamed Paddington Waterside Partnership (PWP). Initiated in 1998 by Chelsfield, one of the major developers, the aim of the PRP, as Chief Executive Kate Beaton describes, was to provide 'a coordinated development platform' (Interview 2012). The eight founding partners included private businesses and several public organisations, the latter of which, through government policy over the previous decades, had been gradually privatising or commercialising their activities. Despite the competing interests, who have since sub-divided, planned, packaged, sold and resold their long leaseholds to one another, the sharing of development information has facilitated a coordination of approaches and standards. The partnership provides services beyond its own boundaries and brand, *Paddington Waterside*. It operates a recruitment service, *Paddington First*, that encourages employment in the larger area; PWP also assists companies to deliver corporate social responsibility programmes through a separate organisation, *Time For Paddington*; and it leads and operates the *Paddington BID* (Business Improvement District). Together with the BID, it has created the identity of *InPaddington* which identifies the value in tangible and ephemeral elements of the area, such as of Paddington Bear, Isambard Kingdom Brunel, Hyde Park and the Royal Family, to promote itself and the Paddington area. This strategy by PWP advances what Low explains as necessary for the 'takeover of the public space of entire communities and neighbourhoods' (2006:83). Through this suite of companies and structures, PWP go beyond the appropriation of mere public spaces to subsume and commodify cultural and historical figures, fictional characters, spaces beyond Paddington and even the smaller private interests on the edge of the development area (Harvey 2005).

The emerging identity has been the Business Improvement District (BID), branded as Paddington Now (www.paddingtonnow.co.uk, 2015). The Paddington BID was initiated by the PWP in 2004 and was set out to extend beyond the Partnership boundary. Kate Beaton describes that the role of the BID, that will become increasingly important as the masterplan is completed, is to capture the benefits of the regeneration and Section 106 contributions through 'economies of scale' which achieve 'more bang for our [PWP's] buck' (Interview, 2012). Kate Beaton explains that the BID aims to benefit from the 'softer... social, community and economic' activities that can be understood to contribute to making a new place (Interview 2012). Sharon Smith, a local resident on the board of the BID, explains how the BID provides an additional level of service above what is provided by the council (Interview 2012). The concept of BIDs was imported from the US, where they have been criticised for privatising urban areas (Zukin 1995), and have been adapted through the Local Government Act 2003, which describes them as a 'partnership between a local authority and local businesses' (www.parliament.uk). Sharon Smith, however, underlines that the local authority is 'not in control of the BID' (Interview 2012). Instead the BID is considered to have a closer relationship with the development partnership. Kate Beaton who manages both the BID and PWP, states that the two organisations are operationally and financially entwined: 'it would be very hard to separate the two.' The key requirement of any BID is that it must be voted in by the majority of businesses in the area; once voted in, all those within the boundary must pay a levy towards its operation. In Paddington the total raised by the levy is approximately £600K a year. Although PWP provided financial support in the establishment of the BID, Kate Beaton recognises that 'there are enormous benefits to the Partnership of the BID, because it brings additional resources to market the location and to improve the location' (Interview 2012).

Through the BID, large developers have succeeded in extending their control of the public realm to encompass neighbourhoods and landmarks beyond the *Paddington Waterside* masterplan area. Neither the purchase of the land from British Waterways and the National Freight Corporation, its redevelopment or the extended management of the public canal towpaths, has provided PWP with the means to control the image of Paddington. Therefore, the BID was established to slightly overlap with the development masterplan, and to extend its 'frontier' into the wider Paddington district. Harvey explains that 'gentrified neighborhoods' as those emerging beyond the development area of Paddington Basin 'arise on the frontiers of capitalist development or out of the ashes of deindustrialized communities' (1996:296). The developers needed an additional tool to control the neighbourhoods beyond the development boundary (Low 2006), so established the BID and funded its chief executive. Without the BID, Kate Beaton describes, the image of the development could 'fall of the

edge of Paddington into a different Paddington' (Interview 2012). The BID organises programmes of cleaning and waste collection, it hires its own police and community support officers and it attempts to coordinate the businesses in the area. The BID is able to direct the public spaces and the private businesses, extending what Harvey terms the 'commodification of everything', including Paddington's 'cultural forms' and 'histories' (Harvey 2005:160). The coordinating brand of *InPaddington* was created by PWP and the BID as a marketing umbrella that co-opted real spaces and fictional narratives into the control of the two private organisations.

To control an area of London this size, which includes 34 streets across Paddington (www.paddingtonnow.co.uk, 2015), is expensive. Thus, it is understandable that the developers and their corporate tenants are not keen to pay the full cost. When the BID was established, its boundary fitted with neither the masterplan area nor what Westminster Council defined as Paddington. Instead, it strategically extended beyond the masterplan boundary, and only occasionally including the development area. The large areas of development in which the international businesses reside, namely Merchant Square and Paddington Central, are notably omitted. Because the BID levy is based on the rateable value of the businesses, the larger and more valuable corporations that are attracted to the large floor plates of the new developments would contribute larger amounts than the smaller businesses on streets outside the development, like Praed Street. However, Kate Beaton explains that there are significant management charges already for Merchant Square and Paddington Central: 'whether they [the developers and tenants] pay on top of that to have something that they are already paying for' she said 'is too big a risk to take' (Interview 2012). Kate Beaton explains that it was initially intended that the large businesses along the canal would benefit the local area (Interview 2012). The BID thought that corporate employees would enter the local community cafes, shops and restaurants at lunchtime and at the end of the day. This has not transpired as the large buildings that host these corporations provide subsidised canteens to accommodate their employees. The need to exit the enclave of the development area has been further diminished now that the train and tube station open-up to the canal-side allowing commuters to get directly to their offices bypassing all local neighbourhoods and businesses.

The complicated management responsibilities at Paddington Basin and attempts to keep costs down while maximising their return has brought developer organisations into conflict. The most significant has been a lengthy court battle over contradictory management responsibilities and service charges. Kate Beaton describes the complexity of the court-case, but finally jokes, 'I still don't know who won' (Interview 2012). The case was between

two developers who had at different times previously owned West End Quay. In 1995 when the Paddington Development Corporation (later European Land) signed a 999-year lease with British Waterways, the lease included several clauses regarding management procedures and charges. However, by the time Paddington Development Corporation sold phase 3 to another developer, these procedures were not in place, and new owners established their own management responsibilities and charges. Over the following years further management and ownership companies were formed by these two developer groups, all of which had an interest in the land. Ultimately the residents of West End Quay were paying several different service charges and a legal case ensued.

With a proliferation of marketing identities and objectives, from the individual developers, the partnership and the BID, incoming residents have not always received what had been promised. Sharon Smith, who sits on the board of the BID and is also a resident of West End Quay, who bought an apartment off-plan, describes how 'the image that was being created' by the developer's marketing teams was 'what I would call a lively riverside, waterside, with boats in the basin [and] with shops and cafes around the side' (Interview 2012). What has emerged in the intervening years 'has been quite significantly different, in some ways, to what was proposed' (Interview 2012). In several interviews with individuals involved in the redevelopment, it was suggested, as Michael Bond of CRT claims, the difficulty of place-making was that there was not yet a 'critical mass' of people and activities (Interview 2013). However, I would argue that the interconnectedness of the BID's priorities, of environment, safety and security, and the marketing, exposes contradictions of overly controlled, secured and marketed open spaces. The 'lively' spaces promised to incoming residents are subdued and sanitised by the aspirations of securitisation: 'The result is that places that seek to differentiate themselves as marketable entities end up creating a kind of serial replication of homogeneity' (Harvey 1996:298).

Conclusions

'Another area of London's public domain that should be developed is its network of canals... There are several sites with considerable development potential, such as Paddington Basin...'

(Rogers and Fisher 1992:121)

This chapter has primarily engaged with competing definitions of place, instrumentalised through processes of privatisation focused on the public spaces of Paddington Basin. Firstly,

I have recognised that the masterplanning activities at Paddington Basin have been the first stage of a relentless process of privatisation facilitated by public interventions: the development process was initiated by the sale of formerly public land assets by British Waterways and the National Freight Corporation; it was intensified by the promise of central government to provide strategic Heathrow Express and Crossrail infrastructures, that when built, provided direct access into the development areas; it was made possible by planning approval being given to all development proposals by Westminster Council; and it was expanded through the encouragement by local government for the developers to establish the BID. These public actions were followed by intense developer speculation, an expansion of the influence of the developers through the establishment of the BID and an influx of smaller-scale investors buying property outside the development area. This upgrading of the wider Paddington area has had significant impacts. Such patterns of upgrading are recognised by Smith, who describes that, where 'urban pioneers' such as individual property owners and businesses 'go bravely forth, banks, real estate developers, small-scale and large-scale lenders, retail corporations, the state, have generally gone before' (1996:xviii).

Secondly, although it could be expected that some buildings within the development area would be demolished as the masterplan is realised, a displacement of undesirable activities has unfolded. The police were employed to remove teenagers from the development area and the community school was closed and relocated. Beyond the masterplan area, prostitution and kerb-crawling along Praed Street are less evident than they were before (Interview with Sharon Smith, 2012) while homeless shelters have been closing down as the value of properties in which they once resided, rapidly increased (Interview with Julian Dean, 2012). Sharon Smith, who sits on the board of the BID, explains that the developer-led partnership (PWP) facilitated the BID so that the area around Paddington and along Praed Street could be 'regenerated to compliment the new development and improve the whole area' (Interview 2012). In this way, the influence of the BID in improving the environment, security, safety and marketing extends inside and outside of the masterplan area. This is evident at Paddington, resulting in what Julian Dean of the City of Westminster recognises as, 'social cleansing' (Interview 2012):

Because of the dynamics of central London policy, the degree of what some social commentators call social cleansing does go on. It is called how the market operates, so you might as well call it for what it is. It's not an act of anyone's policy.

The third conclusion is that narratives of place-making obscure a focus on ownership and property. Through the period of redevelopment, a constant rebranding has occurred, evident

through the construction and reconstruction of websites for the developments, masterplan and BID. As the masterplan nears completion Julian Dean emphasises that any 'degree of finish' will only be achieved 'on the basis of land ownership' (Interview 2012). He has observed development parcels being repeatedly subdivided, sold and bought, with each subsequent owner attempting to increase the value of the land, apartment or property. Financial interactions continue to complete a development area of valuable, sellable spaces. Julian Dean believes that what is left is a matter of 'stitching together between the schemes as they present themselves' (Interview 2012) – a need for 'place making' by PWP and the BID. It has therefore become essential to provide a robust and consistent image of the area and to ensure that the public realm has been maintained to a high standard. The daily activities of commuting and commerce along with the priorities of residential property owners and large-scale landowners give particular meaning or sense of place to Paddington Basin. Lynch writes that we inform places with our own meaning (1960:92) and it is with expectations of increased land and property value that Paddington Basin is ascribed. During a period of optimism for development in the 1980s, Julian Dean wrote a memo to his colleagues in Westminster suggesting 'We should plan for comprehensive mixed use development, not on one scheme, but based on ownership, because that gets you to implementation' (Interview 2012). Over the subsequent decades, a high-quality public realm has been realised across Paddington Basin, controlled and maintained, furthering a particular understanding of public space as property in London.

Fourth, public spaces at Paddington Basin are instrumental to the success of the development. We have seen in Paddington Basin, as in the regeneration of Elephant and Castle, how public spaces are provided and often required through Section 106 agreements between developers and the local authority. In Section 106 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1990 these negotiated agreements are termed 'planning obligations' (www.legislation.gov.uk, 2015) intended to be imposed on the developer as considered 'necessary to make a development acceptable in planning terms' (www.legislation.gov.uk, 2015). Developers have increasingly recognised the value of these public spaces to their developments through their provision and on-going control. In addition to acting as an obligation required of the developers, the high-quality public spaces provide an opportunity to frame a narrative of Paddington Basin as an exclusive place, contributing to the image of the developments and thus enhancing their value. The public spaces also provide a buffer around each building through which private security guards can patrol. While visually and spatially permeable, as required by the Canal and River Trust, the privately-owned and managed public spaces provide a protective zone from which protestors, drug users and

teenagers can be effectively excluded. Additionally, through claiming to provide a new, costly and high quality public realm, the developers can negotiate out of their obligation to build affordable housing or they can benefit from building at a greater volume or height than they may have been permitted to do otherwise. In this sense, Section 106 is co-opted by developers, allowing the private developer to gain from the planning controls that are in place to benefit the public.

Finally, I identify that through the development process, public spaces and forms of public are being redefined. The operations of cleaning, maintenance, security and events leave the public spaces undifferentiated from a mall without a roof. The openness and permeability of the masterplan area give the illusion of a public realm consistent with other districts London where the streets and squares are adopted into public ownership. The spatial forms, such as the amphitheatre, allude to democratic forms of public space and street signs mimic signage implemented by the City of Westminster. But the ease of which it is possible, for most people, to move uninterrupted through the area across a landscape of high-quality materials with minimal contact with others, frames these public spaces as passive and frictionless environments. The developers have realised a circumscribed public realm, where participation is limited and the contrast with adjacent public streets, such as the Edgware Road beyond the control of the masterplan and the BID, is extreme. Kate Beaton describes that a junior officer at Westminster Council wrote in a letter to the BID claiming 'that we had created an enclave which did not relate to the City of Westminster' (Interview 2012). In Paddington Basin, I have found, what Shane terms as an enclave of 'distinct spatial and social orders' (Shane 2005:177). Shane describes that enclaves can be built to 'help to distinguish them from their surroundings' and where systems of control and regulations restrict the 'social and functional order for specific people and uses' (Shane 2005:177). The new public realm, as promised by the developers and as repeated across other places in London, follows specific models of development, redefining how public space is experienced by residents, workers and tourists in London. A new urban condition that favours the priorities of developers and investors has been constructed, of which the local authority planners conclude: 'It is up to them how they organise [the open spaces]. Because they [Broadgate Estates] are not public, or public land' (Interview with Julian Dean 2012).

In this chapter I have analysed the regeneration of the canal basin and rail yards at Paddington: a development that reflects the financial ambitions of investors and developers; a masterplan facilitated by commercially-minded public agencies and a laissez-faire local authority; this has resulted in a situation whereby so-assumed undesirable individuals and

groups have been excluded from the reconditioned neighbourhood. Although the developers have attempted to author a narrative of making a distinctive place, *Paddington Waterside* follows a common model for development, including: buildings with large floor-plates that are attractive for corporate tenants and water views that increase the value of residential property. However, as I question these repeatedly rewritten accounts of place-making I propose that this model for development should be described at Paddington Basin in terms of the significant public investment required to make it possible, and the exclusionary public realm produced. I have revealed a site of intense speculation based on the value of land and property, a disposal of public assets and the control of people, activities and spaces in order to create a unique place.

Chapter 5

Ornaments and images of Trafalgar Square

'London is built around its squares and its architecture and its old buildings, and they are beautiful.'

John Prescott, Former Deputy Prime Minister (Interview 2014)

Trafalgar Square is a space of architectural ornament, curated performances and the production of images. It is the geographical centre of London, the place from which distances to and from the capital are measured, and it is the setting for many historical narratives about London, England and Britain. Trafalgar Square attracts tourists and Londoners alike, as individuals passing on their way to work and crowds drawn to the square's monumental setting. The relentless imaging of the square, through the photographic lenses of cameras, phones and other gadgets, frames many individual experiences. In contrast, the daily use of the square and the regular scheduling of events define particular notions of publicness. From when the square was built in the 1800s to its refashioning in 2003, under the direction of the *World Squares for All* masterplan, the square's visual composition, its ability to open-up dramatic views and its setting for the surrounding grand buildings has remained a priority for organisations responsible for the space.. Trafalgar Square is a key location employed in the production of World-class images of London. It is the second most photographed landmark in the world (Crandall et al. 2009). The perspective of Trafalgar Square as a highly visible democratic public space also attracts protestors, unions and activists wishing to engage with, or at least to be seen or heard by, powerful political organisations and individuals. These perceptions of London and its ability to compete to attract tourists and media attention are part of what Gospodini explains is the prioritisation of '...the production of a prestigious and symbolic urban landscape' (2002:61).

In this chapter I explore the third case, the *World Squares for All* masterplan, with a focus on Trafalgar Square redesigned by the government, continually photographed and disseminated as visual images and strongly curated by municipal and commercial actors. I emphasise the remaking of the square during and since its masterplanning, which unfolded between 1996 and 2003, contextualised with descriptions of the decisions that led to its first opening in 1844. I examine how the latest redesign embraced opportunities to frame magnificent views of the square's features and surrounding buildings despite

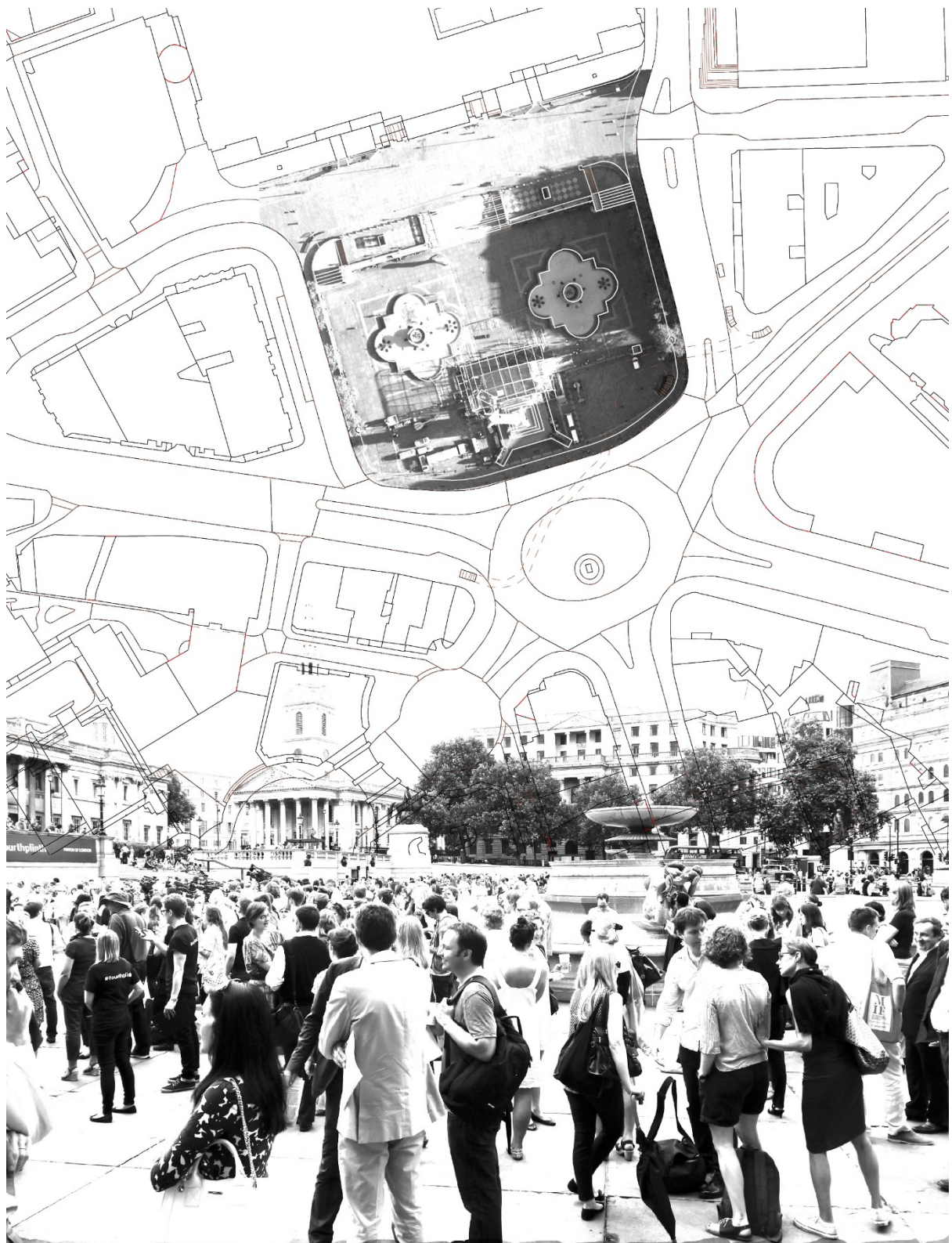


Figure 5.1 Collage showing plan view of Trafalgar Square overlaid with photograph of the square during the Fourth Plinth unveiling event (Collage by author, 2014)

priorities that were claimed to focus on reorganising traffic (Interview with Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott, 2014). The chapter presents past memorable public events, such as the demonstrations against the Poll Tax in the 1990s, as contexts for the schedule of planned events and spontaneous gatherings, which have occupied the square since the passing of the Greater London Authority Act 1999. I discuss the relationships between strategic decisions for renovating the square to increase access for visitors in the context of Sennett's description of how in the nineteenth century public discourses were taken outside of pubs and coffee shops through the design of new public squares (1994:346). These changes to the city, which Sennett claims 'resist the demands of the crowd and privilege the claims of individuals' (1994:369) resonate with the rhythm of events that the GLA permit to occupy the space and the otherwise dominance of individuals, such as tourists, taking photographs of the square. The chapter describes the making of the square as a place to find national and international publicity for political struggles and cultural events, as well as for individual visibility in photographs and social media.



Figure 5.2 Photograph of ice cream vendor on the upper terrace (Photograph by author, 2014)



Figure 5.3 Painting by James Pollard (1837-43) of coaches circling Trafalgar Square during construction (Berger Collection, 2017)

This chapter is arranged in three sections that discuss the formation of the square in 1844 and the re-design in 2003. The first section explores the associations that are made across the square, from the spatial relationships between an inner square of statues and the surrounding circulatory space, to the association of the square with a history of public events, famous architects and memorable images. In the second section I discuss the ornaments and setting of the square and relations between these spatial forms and the production of images through photography and film making. I examine both the physical actions of taking, posing for and disseminating photographs as well as the formation of individual and collective images of London. In the final section, I consider the square as a place associated with contestations, but which is managed as a public space through control and consensus. It is a public square that is less fought over, but rather a place to be used to gain publicity for national concerns, commercial events and cultural celebrations that are brought to the square under a global gaze.

Scenes of associations

'It wasn't, and isn't and was never a Trafalgar Square *only* project, it was a Trafalgar Square *area* project'

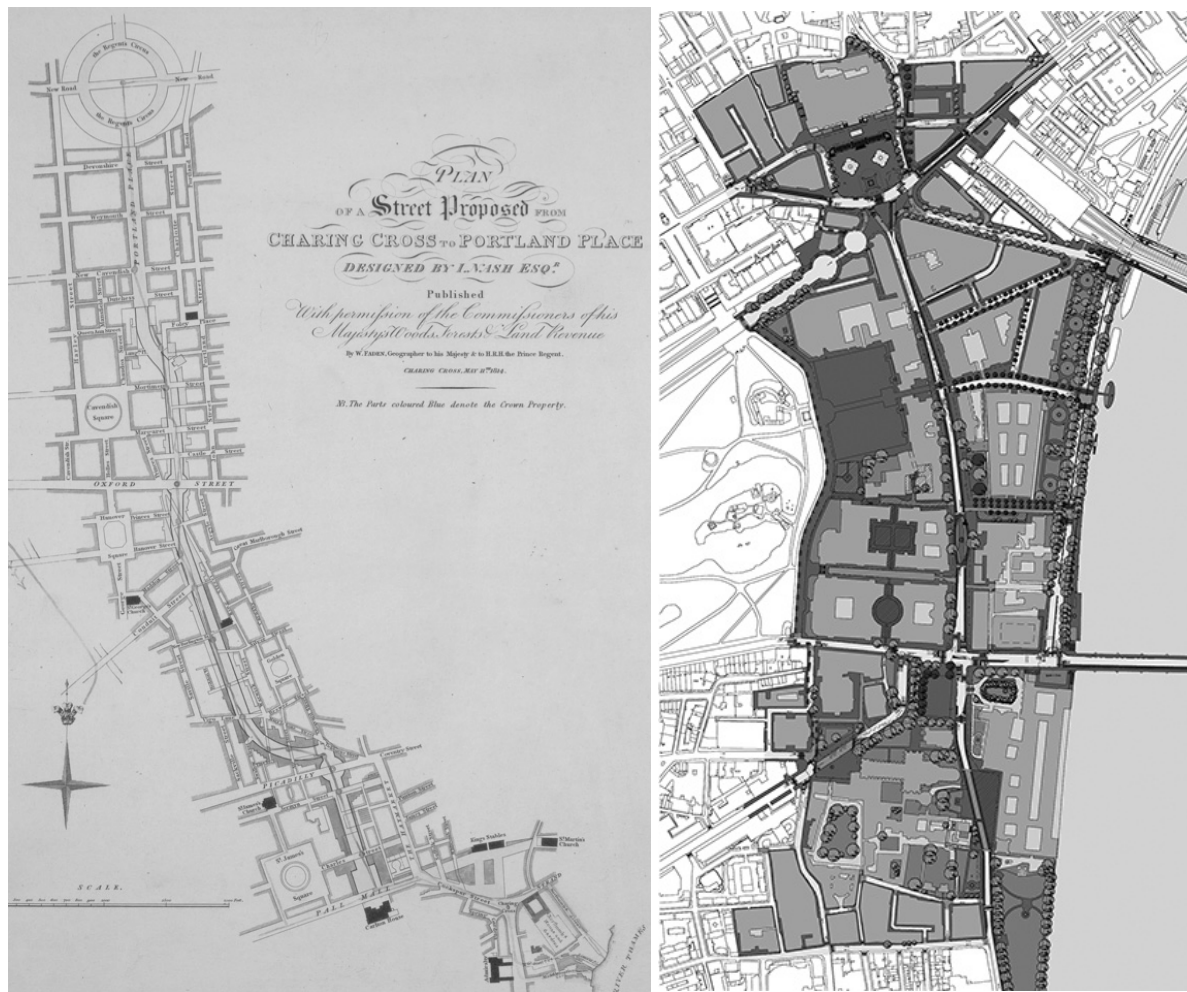
Simon Townsend, architect involved in the redesign of the square (Interview 2014)

Trafalgar Square is a grand civic square in the centre of London, located above and aligned with Charing Cross. The square is a 12,100m² traffic island which forms the termination of six streets: the Mall, Pall Mall, Charing Cross Road, the Strand, Northumberland Avenue and Whitehall. Trafalgar Square is a destination, a through-route and a public space. It is a key landmark within what Julian Dean from the City of Westminster calls London's central activity zone (Interview 2012). Initial intentions for a square at Charing Cross are suggested by architect John Nash as part of his proposal for Regent Street (1814), a proposal set out to remove many existing buildings between Cockspur Street and Pall Mall. As part of the strategic plans to improve movement and communication across London, Trafalgar Square was formed as an island, an intersection with roads meeting around its perimeter. The square was a significant space of movement, an intersection integral to the network of streets and squares that were planned by Nash and subsequently designed and realised by Charles Barry (1844). An emphasis on movement and the spatial arrangement of central London were also fundamental to arguments for reconfiguring the square at the end of the twentieth century. The networks of streets and squares, the former Deputy Prime Minister describes, had been 'taken over' by the car (Interview with John Prescott,¹ Deputy Prime Minister, 2014). They formed a system becoming what Rogers and Fisher call a 'rammed' roundabout 'whose centre [was] cut off from surrounding buildings by cross currents of traffic'. It was a place, they claim, which put 'the needs of pedestrians second' (1992:105).

Two contrasting spaces

Since it was first opened as a public space in May 1844, Trafalgar Square has been composed of two distinct but connected areas. The two spaces include the central square, which is enclosed by stone retaining walls to the North, East and West while open towards Whitehall, and the surrounding circulation of pavements and roads. The central square includes the ornamentation of two giant fountains, Nelson's Column with its four lions, three statues and busts, the Fourth Plinth, which hosts a roster of contemporary sculpture initiated by the Royal Society of the Arts; a structure that was formerly London's smallest police

¹ As explained in chapter three, all names of interviewees have been anonymised, with the exception of Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott who, during the re-planning of Trafalgar Square, was Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions and responsible for planning. Although I intended to anonymise all the names of interviewees, the high-profile role of the Deputy Prime Minister render this impossible.



Figures 5.5 and 5.6 The first plan for Regent Street by Nash (1814), showing reconfigurations at Charing Cross (www.bl.uk, 2014), (left); World Squares for All Masterplan (Greater London Authority, 1996-2003), (right)

station; and an entrance to both Charing Cross underground station and a subterranean pedestrian tunnel. The tunnel connects the central square to the outer walkways, and pedestrian paths follow the roads, which until the square was remade in 2003, fully encircled the square. Like Regent's Park, which was also planned by Nash in the nineteenth-century, this 'wall of traffic', as Sennett describes encircling the park (1994:325), restricted many uses of the square and, in particular, meetings of organised groups. As part of the renovation in 2003, the road at the top of the square that ran in front of the National Gallery was closed to vehicular traffic. John Prescott, the then Deputy Prime Minister, and the minister responsible for planning, describes that 'to go out to the gallery there and walk into the square and fight your way through the traffic was absurd' (Interview 2014). The closure of the street to traffic created an upper terrace that brought together the square with the museum as an uninterrupted pedestrian public space. The architect, Norman Foster, who led the

masterplan, claims that ‘the improvements recreate this major civic space, turning an undignified traffic roundabout into a truly public space’ (www.fosterandpartners.com, 2014). The planners who worked with Foster claim that along with modifications to the central square, such as the introduction of a new flight of steps in the centre of the terrace, the changes to the traffic flows caused ‘levels of pedestrian movement’ to increase by thirteen times (www.spacesyntax.com, 2014).



Figure 5.7 (left) Trolley and bag setting out the street performer's territory (Photograph by author, 2014)



Figure 5.8 (right) Performers getting ready for the first groups of visitors to the National Gallery (Photograph by author, 2014)

The streets, the upper terrace and the central square, a space that since the latest renovation also includes a large public toilet and a café, reveal different rhythms of London. Although directly adjacent, they offer contrasting spatial conditions and what Fran Tonkiss describes as ‘different senses of being together in public’ (2005:67). Tonkiss identifies the café, the square and the street as three ‘ideal-types’ of public space. Despite closing the upper terrace to vehicular traffic, formerly the road that extended Pall Mall East across the front of the National Gallery, the terrace can still be considered a street. Tonkiss describes the ‘informal encounter’ that defines spaces like the upper terrace, where street performers, commuters and tourists intermingle – strangers sharing a communal space where they are ‘obliged to accommodate others’ (2005:68). Following the transformation of Trafalgar Square, the upper terrace has remained the responsibility of the City of Westminster whose bylaws and regulations differ from those of the GLA who manage the central square below. Regulatory changes enshrined in the 1999 Greater London Authority Act have redefined the square as two spaces. The Act describes the laws to be sanctioned by the state to control the activities within the. Mace writes that from 1848 there have been successive regulations

written and rewritten to restrict activities occurring in the square, such as rough-sleeping, public assembly and delivering public speeches (2005:134). Street performers, are excluded from the central square through Section 5 of the Greater London Authority Act 1999, which cites that written permission is required to organise a performance, play a musical instrument or solicit money (www.london.gov.uk, 2014). The central square is a monumental space provided by the state, under the authority of the Crown, symbolising ideals of public space and offering representations of how the government wish London and Great Britain to be perceived. However, on the upper terrace, performers have the same claims to the street as commuters and tourists who congregate before entering the National Gallery. Jim Muir, an architect involved with Fourth Plinth Programme, describes that ‘you get people down here [in the central square] but this [the upper terrace] is where the action happens throughout the day’ (Interview 2013).

The historian Rodney Mace sees Trafalgar Square as part of an area in London that ‘encloses the symbolic seat of power and the centre of government of the United Kingdom’ (2005:11). This is reflected in the *World Squares for All* masterplan (1998), a plan which formed the basis for the remaking of the square in 2003, which extends from Trafalgar Square, past Parliament Square to Millbank (see figure 5.6). Trafalgar Square marks the intersection of the Mall leading to Buckingham Palace, the Strand which connects to the financial centre of the City of London and Whitehall which looks towards Parliament. The square was built in the mid-1800s on a site previously inhabited by the Crown stables and several taverns, small business and coffee houses; spaces ‘representing social exchange’, as described by Tonkiss, were replaced by a different form of public space, an open square ‘provided’ and ‘protected’ by the state (2005:67). As well as a grand termination of the streets that Nash had built and planned across London, his intention for the square was to enlarge a space of meeting for the city’s population. This understanding of Trafalgar Square, as a central meeting space in the nation’s capital, as well as a facilitation of traffic, reflects the two elements of the square’s composition: Londoners and visitors alike are drawn to the central square for its symbolic and historic associations, its grand views and architecture and for the events that punctuate the year. At the same time, relentless flows of pedestrians and vehicular traffic maintain another physical presence through and around the square.



Figure 5.9 Sketch by Richard Rogers (1986) showing the connection of Trafalgar Square (left) and the National Gallery (right) by creating the upper terrace (www.rsh-p.com, 2017)

An urban renaissance?

In their critique, *The New London* (1992), Rogers and Fisher set out arguments to reconfigure Trafalgar Square and address growing dissatisfaction of the central square, as separated from the rest of London. Their manifesto followed alternative proposals for the capital, which Rogers had drawn up and which contributed to an exhibition of design speculations at the Royal Academy called *London As It Could Be* (1986). Rogers' architecture practice describes the context for the proposals:

The election of a Conservative government in Britain, followed by the greatest property boom of the century, led to massive redevelopment in London. Rogers felt great opportunities to improve the capital were being ignored in favour of a piecemeal approach to planning, led by market forces rather than by any consideration of the wider public interest. (www.rsh-p.com, 2017)

In drawings and writing Rogers proposed the creation of 'an apron piazza leading down the slope of the square from the National Gallery' which aimed to bring the 'whole space together' (Rogers and Fisher 1992:105). The authors anticipated the election of New Labour in 1997, the formation of a new national government in which Fisher would become Minister for the Arts and for whom Rogers would lead the Urban Task Force. With the task force, Rogers published a national manifesto for planning, titled *Towards an Urban Renaissance*. The document elevated public space as a solution for what Rogers and Fisher perceived as a 'shabby city playing a less and less culturally central role' (1992:XIV). In addition to urban strategies that confronted their concerns for a decline of public life in the face of laissez-faire free-market development, they cited specific spaces, like Trafalgar Square, and potential project-based solutions.

However, when the architectural proposals for a new Trafalgar Square became a commissioned masterplan it was not Rogers, but rather his former colleague, and renowned architect, Norman Foster who took centre stage. In 1996 Foster was selected to lead a team to define the *Worlds Square for All Masterplan*, which was set out by a consortium of national and metropolitan agencies, to include the areas around Parliament Square, Whitehall, Embankment and Trafalgar Square. The steering group for the masterplan, which included the GLA, English Heritage, the Metropolitan Police, the Parliamentary Works Directive, the Royal Parks Agency, Transport for London, Westminster Abbey and Westminster City Council (www.london.gov.uk, 2014), considered the continual flow of traffic around both Parliament and Trafalgar Square as a hindrance to public activity and the movement of pedestrians. As the Deputy Prime Minister describes 'they are both squares, problemmed by traffic, but a different character' (Interview 2014). The masterplan reiterated the proposal cited by Rogers and Fisher to restrict vehicular traffic in front of the National Gallery, which would improve pedestrian connections from Pall Mall and Charing Cross Road towards Whitehall. When this ambition in the masterplan was defined as a project to be further designed and built, commissioning a team, which again included Norman Foster, the design incorporated a new flight of steps aligned with the Gallery and Nelson's Column, new toilet facilities and a café in the under-croft of what had become a new terrace looking down across the Square. The central square was then further connected to the terrace above by two glass elevators. With this deft closure of a vehicular road in front of the National Gallery, Trafalgar Square had expanded to meet the buildings that claim its address and connect more to the activities and public lives of London.

Simon Townsend, an architect who had persuaded Foster to lead his *Worlds Square for All Masterplan* team and who later led the redesign of the square, originally approached Richard Rogers to head his team. Townsend had attended a pre-election debate, sponsored by London's daily Evening Standard newspaper and the Architecture Foundation, where he describes the Environment Minister John Gummer's claim that 'two of our greatest civic spaces were just giant [traffic] roundabouts' (Interview with Simon Townsend, April 2014). Following the event, the planning department at the City of Westminster formed a 'partnership of interests' across different authorities and responsibilities to commission a masterplan. Townsend 'looked around to who to partner with' to win the commission and, in particular, he describes how he looked for 'big-name architects' (Interview, April 2014). Townsend was aware of the importance of architects, who Zukin claims are 'chosen on the basis of both their names and their work' (1991:46). Despite the 'huge ego' which Townsend recognises is associated with many 'star architects' (Interview 2013), he was aware that the presence of notable architects like Richard Rogers or Norman Foster within a bidding team

would offer a competitive advantage and also legitimise the proposals to remake the square in the way that the high profile of architects John Nash and Charles Barry had done in the 1800s. Zukin describes that ‘recently there has been a heightening of both subjective and objective use of individual architects’ (1991:46) who inscribe their own ‘signature on the landscape’ through their designs while also becoming part of the ‘landscape of power’ (1991:47). Although few Foster ‘signature’ forms can be found in the redesign of Trafalgar Square, early proposals did include what Townsend describes as ‘Fosterillos’ (Interview 2014). Conflating descriptions of the steel and glass entrances to Foster’s Bilbao underground system, which are locally referred to as ‘Fosteritos’, with another of the architect’s buildings, the Armadillo in Glasgow (www.heraldscotland.com, March 1997), by referring to ‘Fosterillos’, Townsend parodies what Zukin calls ‘the standardised forms which well-known ‘superstar architects... move from place to place’ (1991:47).

The association of Foster and Rogers with Trafalgar Square, and the connection of the redesign of the square to famous architects, reinforces the cultural value that remaking such a space imbues. Zukin describes the ‘economic and cultural value’ that is exchanged through projects like Trafalgar Square (1991:46). In cultural terms, Norman Foster and Trafalgar Square bestow one another with value. The importance of one of England’s most famous architects (www.theguardian.com, October 2007) to redesign London’s most famous square (www.london.gov.uk, November 2014) has been reciprocal. Townsend claims that while the square made a loss for Foster and Partners, it has remained one of the ‘highest profile from marketing terms’ (Interview, April 2014). Although economically leading the masterplan and being involved in the redesign was less successful, the project enhanced Foster’s profile and the association with the design of notable public spaces, masterplans and with the historical distinction of central London.

While Foster and Partners, who led the masterplan, did not lead the redesign of the square they have received continued credit for the project at the expense of Townsend’s firm, who led the implementation. Describing the redevelopment of the square, architecture critic Deyan Sudjic incorrectly describes ‘Norman Foster’s transformed square’ (www.theguardian.com, June 2003) while Foster and Partners’ own website quotes the Evening Standard, which opens with: ‘Sir Norman Foster’s scheme to pedestrianize the square...’ (www.fosterandpartners.com, 2014). As Zukin surmises, ‘a larger number of people may be impressed by architects’ names than actually know their buildings’ (1991:46). Townsend attempts to clarify who authored the Square: ‘Unambiguously, Foster and Partners were the lead contracting party for the masterplan from 1996 to 1998.’ However, he insists that ‘on the implementation the lead was [us]. I mean, [it] was, is and cannot be argued’ (Interview, April 2014). However, it is not the failure to recognise Townsend as the

author which is most problematic; Townsend recognises the value that Foster brings to the team and he expected that he would receive an imbalance of credit. Instead Townsend is concerned that a different and competing firm has consistently been associated with the project: Townsend describes that, ‘every bloody book that comes out and every report, and I don’t know whether it is this one or this one, it is bloody Arups [who are credited]’ (Interview Simon Townsend, April 2014). Townsend believes that it is due to the pro-bono work on Trafalgar Square’s Fourth Plinth Programme that has resulted in Arup, another multi-disciplinary design and engineering firm with whom Simon Townsend regularly competes for work, to be credited.



Figure 5.10 The movie *St. Trinian's*'s filming in Trafalgar Square with base of Nelson's Column and the clock of Big Ben in the background (Ealing Studios, 2007)

Powerful associations

There has been a flurry of individuals, corporations and cultural events associating themselves with the square since it was reopened in 2003. These relations can be read through the spatial, visual and social reconfigurations of Trafalgar Square that have been facilitated and encouraged by the Greater London Authority (GLA), which was formed in the intervening years between 1996 and 2003. Ken Livingstone, the first elected Mayor and leader of the GLA, embraced the initiative and assumed the chair of the *World Squares for All Masterplan* Steering Group and direct responsibility for Trafalgar Square. Part 10 of the 1999 Greater London Authority Act transferred the ‘care, control, management and

regulation of the Square and its ornaments' from the Secretary of State to the GLA (www.legislation.gov.uk, 2014). The new legislation enabled the GLA to promote the square for filming international films, such as, *Captain America* and *Skyfall*, hosting cultural events such as the announcement of London being awarded the 2012 Olympic Games and commercial activities, such as T-Mobile's mass sing-along. Through new management of the square, global brands were encouraged to associate themselves with Trafalgar Square and its scenic landscape, and through Trafalgar Square, associate themselves with London. Pat Karam, the location manager for *St Trinian's*, describes the importance of how 'authorities that administer major London landmarks' receive filmmakers who in turn contribute to the economy (www.london.gov.uk, 2014). London then promotes itself through organisations such as the GLA funded agency, Visit London, which describes to visitors London and Trafalgar Square's 'starring role in many blockbuster movies' (www.visitlondon.com, 2014).

In addition to interest for cultural and commercial activities in the square's public protests, demonstrations and events also recognise the significance of Trafalgar Square's setting. Jason Cobb, a trade union event organiser, describes the square as 'both iconic and eminently practical' (Interview with Jason Cobb, 2013). For events up to 25,000 people, the square is 'a very clearly defined space' that offers an amphitheatre of steps and a terrace up to the National Gallery. The square has been designed with reinforced paving to accommodate large vehicles and installations with an infrastructure of water, electricity and communications points that can service the events. The surrounding roads offer an ease of access for emergency services and, through its two tube lines, eighteen daytime bus routes and 36-night buses, it has convenient transportation links. Jason Cobb emphasises the significance of the large public toilets in the square that allow events to occur without the need for temporary facilities (Interview 2013). The granite paving, steps, plinths and walls that dominate the square are also easily cleaned and, except for a gradual accumulation of chipped paving, are hard-wearing (Interview with Simon Townsend, architect involved in design of the square, 2013).

Jason Cobb, who has organised trade union rallies in the square describes how the square's proximity to Parliament contributes to the impression that 'if you are talking in Trafalgar Square it feels like you are talking to the nation' (Interview 2013). The historic setting and the memory of past political struggles like the Poll Tax protests (1992) offer contexts that other public spaces are unable to provide. These are associations made through newspaper, television and online commentary, a contradiction that Cobb also recognises: 'it is entirely psychological because you talk to the nation through the media' (Interview 2013). The publicity of the events in Trafalgar Square become essentially bound to the presence that

the events themselves seek and where the drama and theatricality of the events becomes essential to drawing media gaze.

Through these events, Trafalgar Square becomes a stage set and a theatrical prop. In his essay, *The Word Itself*, J.B. Jackson (1984) examines the development of the term 'landscape' and its historic relationship with theatrical scenery. Describing the eighteenth-century use of the term landscape, Jackson claims that it 'had the function of discretely suggesting the location of the action' (1984:4). This use of the term is echoed by Michael, a freelance photographer for one of London's media agencies, when he describes how his photographs are 'always trying to relate... what is happening in the square and the square itself' (Interview 2013). The events that are attracted to Trafalgar Square are actively vying for presence within global media networks and the features of the square presented within the visual media of film and photography are essential in reinforcing the associations of the event with London and the nation. As a Londoner, Michael admits that he has no knowledge of the history of the square, but in his photos, he is trying to 'get a sense of the square' (Interview 2013). He describes his attempts to incorporate 'some of the icons of Trafalgar Square' which are used as 'props' to simultaneously indicate where the event is taking place and to 'hang a story on' (Interview 2013). What Jackson calls 'scenic devices' (1984:5) includes the recognisable features of the fountains, facades, buildings, statues, balustrades and monuments of Trafalgar Square that must be included within the photographic frame for the audience to recognise or make associations, and through the iconic square, with London and the UK.

The most recent visual ornamentation in the square has been the contemporary artwork on the square's Fourth Plinth. Through an eighteen-month cycle, artworks are selected and commissioned to be placed on what, until recently, has been described as the empty plinth. The Fourth Plinth Programme is led by the GLA and is intended 'to encourage debate about the place and value of public art in the built environment' (www.london.gov.uk, October 2014). Initiated in 1994 by Prue Leith, the chair of the Royal Society of the Arts (RSA), the Fourth Plinth Programme has become a continuous schedule of commissioned sculptures, originally intended for an equestrian statue of William IV. The presence of the sculptures offers a visually arresting contemporary presence within an otherwise heritage landscape. The artworks are often intended to reference a feeling of permanence, the dominance of male military statues as well as the overbearing presence of stone in square. Christy McLean, one of the curators for the GLA describes that: 'Having a temporary sculpture there really enlivens, it reanimates the historic debate about who the figures actually are' (Interview with Christy McLean, 2013). The sculptures frequently infer the dominance of

male statues celebrating war and the lack of everyday people. The first artwork, *Alison Lapper Pregnant* by Marc Quinn, was a three and a half metre high white marble sculpture depicting fellow artist Alison Lapper who was born without arms and with truncated legs. Quinn describes the association that his sculpture has with the statue of Lord Nelson, disabled in battle, although in contrast he sees Nelson's Column as 'the epitome of a phallic male monument' (www.london.gov.uk, October 2014). Quinn's concerns reflect Mace who describes the statues in Trafalgar Square which depict 'heroic men' while questioning why 'womanly virtues... are almost totally absent' (2005:11).



Figure 5.11 Heritage Warden and farrier chatting in front of café (Photograph by author, 2014)

The opportunity that Fourth Plinth artists have to critique the symbolism of the square is also reflected in the *Hahn/Cock* sculpture by Katharina Frisch. The giant electric blue cockerel that was unveiled during the period of my fieldwork in August 2013 is claimed to stand as an affront to Lord Nelson who looks down from the column opposite. Emphasising the concerns of the conservative Thorney Island Society the Daily Mail claim that as 'the national symbol of France' the cockerel is 'a reminder of the nation he [Lord Nelson] defeated' (Daily Mail 2013). Many of the artists have also responded to the setting of the square itself. Before the *Hahn/Cock* sculpture *Powerless Structures Fig. 101*, a four-metre-high sculpture of a young

boy riding a rocking horse by artists Elmgreen and Dragset was resident on the plinth. Elmgreen claims: 'It [the artwork] needs to be in a dialogue' with the square and the other permanent statues (Guardian 2012). The interactions between the sculptures, the square, its setting and the thousands of visitors who pass through each day elevate the artwork, as well as the fountains and column as landmarks. Lynch describes landmarks as 'point references considered to be external to the observer' (1960:78) and he discusses the importance of 'systems of landmarks' as well as the singular qualities of individual structures and buildings. The associations that people make between landmarks and their surroundings are fundamental to how they relate to, and navigate, Trafalgar Square.

Placing ornaments and taking photographs

'There is never any shortage of photos from anything that we do, from professional, good amateur to rubbishy Instagram snaps'

Jason Cobb, union organiser, describing the photographs taken at demonstrations (Interview 2013)

In the five years between which Trafalgar Square was designed and opened to the public, W. H. Fox Talbot invented the camera (1839) and took the first photograph of the square (1844). After inventing the calotype process, through which a transparent negative image could fix a scene and be used to create infinite photographic prints, Fox Talbot's photograph of Trafalgar Square captured an image of London in the 1800s, a time when the forms and perception of public spaces and people in public were changing. Sennett describes that in the mid-nineteenth century the public personality 'split in two' (1977:195). On the one hand, there was the role of 'actors' who increasingly and more proficiently 'expressed themselves actively in public' while at the same time, London saw the establishment of 'spectator', individuals who did not participate, but rather removed themselves from the public in order 'to observe it' (Sennett 1977:195). With the advent of the camera, a mechanical device was inserted into public spaces that increasingly made distinct, and mediated between, the urban public characters of actors and spectators. These relationships unfolded across the newly-made public spaces of London that would begin to replace the coffee houses and taverns as places of public life. Reflecting on the reconstruction of Paris in the 1800s, Urry and Larsen state: 'What is of central importance is the reconstruction of urban space which permits new ways of seeing and being seen' (2011:160). Trafalgar Square had been planned by Nash to 'afford a magnificent and beautiful termination of the street from Westminster' (Nash 1812 quoted in Mace 2005:31) and for Nash's client, Charles Arbuthnot, the Commissioner of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, the square would 'throw open to those in Pall Mall a full view of the magnificent portico of [St. Martin's] Church' (Arbuthnot quoted in Mace 2005:37). Over the subsequent two centuries Trafalgar Square has been made and remade

as a scene of ornamentation and as a site for the placing of visual props. These transformations have encouraged engagement with ‘actors’ and ‘spectators’, and through technological and social transformations they have blurred the separation of these previously distinct roles.



Figure 5.12 First photograph of Trafalgar Square, taken by W.H. Fox Talbot less than a month before the square was opened to the public, April 1844 (Metropolitan Museum)

Nash had planned the square as an island, around which carriages would travel. So, when the square was reconfigured (1996-2003), the architects and politicians claimed to address the problematic circulation of roads (Interviews Simon Townsend 2014 and John Prescott, 2014). Sennett criticises the road systems that Nash had originally planned, which enabled the ‘movement of large numbers of individuals in the city’ while disabling the ‘movement of groups’ (1994:324). The extended pedestrian space which opened in 2003 resulted in a heightened presence of actors and spectators. Street performers as statues compete through their motionlessness for tourists while the Greater London Authority (GLA), custodians of the square since 1999, charge professional photographers and film-makers for recording in the space. Simultaneously the GLA host image-friendly events from cultural fairs

to political demonstrations to globally promote the UK's democratic values and traditions, with which London and the UK wish to associate themselves. Mace describes Trafalgar Square as London's 'front room' (2005:11). Its adornment with overwhelming stone paving, historic facades, sweeping balustrades and oversized fountains has created 'somewhere that will impress the neighbours and overawe the country cousins' while its ornamentation of military statues reminds visitors of the heavy history associated with those who built, own and control this central London public space.



Figure 5.13 (left) Visitor to square taking a selfie with her mobile phone (www.flickr.com, 2014)



Figure 5.14 (right) Police photographer during a protest (www.flashbak.com, 2014)

Public images

Trafalgar Square is not merely a scenic urban landscape but a place that has evolved along with photography and image making. It is a place where tourists and Londoners alike record converge, documenting the scene and their experience in the square on cameras, mobile phones, tablet computers and camcorders. It is a central London site that has been formed and repeatedly reinvented through global as well as micro events; it has been reorganised with architectural interventions; it has been differentially managed through rewritten bylaws by politicians and commercial interests with an interest in how London is perceived. The square is bound up with a diversity of image making, from film and television to CCTV surveillance and police and protestors recording each other at political protests. Images of occurrences in Trafalgar Square are disseminated to audiences around the globe, while quintessentially British events (such as Royal ceremonies), to which most people are uninvited, are shared on giant television screens within the square. Such relentless image-making and sharing involves embodied, political and architectural actions, evidenced in the square through the prevalence of visitors taking photographs, the bylaws that facilitate the remaking of the space each day and the architectural landmarks that draw the attention of tourists behind camera lenses.



Figure 5.15 Unveiling of the Fourth Plinth artwork (Photograph by author, 2013)

Sharing of multiple individual images of a place forms what Lynch describes as ‘public images’, defined as ‘common mental pictures carried by large numbers of a city’s inhabitants’ (1960:7). The many striking views across the square, from the portico of the National Gallery, up towards St. Martin’s church and with the fountains in the foreground, frame a ‘series of public images’ which are photographed again and again each day. But for Lynch, a city image is not merely visual: ‘Nearly every sense is in operation, and the image is the composite of them all’ (1960:2). Through this conception, notable events, such as the Poll Tax riots in 1990, which form public images of the square as a place of democracy and public discourse, may not be directly visual or recorded in photographs and may be based on compound media memories and meaning. Trafalgar Square is frequently adopted as the ‘public image’ of London as international films, news and literature reinforce a narrow view of London. While the professional image-making of film, television and media events contributes to a place of local and global rhythms, the presence of amateur photography blurs with and dominates the experience of the square. What Urry and Larsen claim to be ‘the most important technology for developing and extending the tourist gaze’ (2011:154),

photography offers a small-scale action that finds presence in individual visits as well as the gathering of families, crowds and audiences.

With its remaking in 2003, and subsequent daily ritual of cleaners searching out litter and farriers scaring pigeons with their hawks, Trafalgar Square has become a tourist site which Urry describes has been 'reconfigured as a recipient of such flows' (2001:2). Through the strategy of the *World Squares for All* masterplan to its everyday use, the square has become a place for which 'systematic, regularised and evaluative procedures' have been developed to enhance the square's 'tourism potential' for individual visitors and events (Urry 2001:2). There are several subtle daily rhythms that unfold across the square, such as: commuters crossing the square from about seven o'clock in the morning; opening of the toilets at eight; fountains turned on at eight-thirty; and the changing shifts of Heritage Wardens, cleaners and the falconer. However, rather than a dominance of daily patterns, Trafalgar Square is a place that embodies seasonal rhythms and one-off events. As London warms up during the summer, the square becomes increasingly dominated by the presence of visitors and tourists; as John Prescott describes, 'there are certain places where people come as tourists' (Interview 2014). As the school summer holidays end, the masses of families and English language groups recede and are replaced by large commercial and festive events. Prominently, the erection of the Christmas tree, delivered annually from Norway since 1947, and the turning on of the Christmas lights punctuate the space and the seasonal calendar of traditions, which also includes celebrations for Chinese New Year, St. Patrick's Day, Diwali, Eid, Vaisakhi and St. George's Day. Through the management of the GLA, what Urry describes as an 'omnivorous producing and consuming of place' with 'corresponding visual images' (2001:2) has been facilitated through the hosting of large day-long or weekend events that momentarily unpack their infrastructures in the square, welcome thousands of people and then return the square as they found it.

Beyond the annual events, an eighteen-month cycle of remaking the square is evident through the Fourth Plinth Programme. Jim Muir from the Fourth Plinth Commissioning Group believes that the temporary artwork on the plinth 'is part of the rhythm of London.' He describes how 'there is a piece that comes up every eighteen months and there is a celebration of that and it creates a lot of debate and a lot of nonsense in the press and there is an event... and it is part of the season' (Interview with Jim Muir, 2013). In the lead up to the unveiling of *Hahn/Cock* by Katharina Frisch, the GLA widely advertised about the coming sculpture. Posters showing close-up shots of the sculpture tempted commuters on the Tube to follow the unveiling on Twitter. In addition to the commissioned sculpture, which is the central feature of the programme, there are supporting press and VIP breakfasts, unveilings and evening receptions that mark the public presentation. They form a programme of events

that Christy McLean, who leads the Fourth Plinth Programme for the GLA, believes raises the 'global attention' and enhances the profile of London: 'It is important for the Mayor and it is important for London' (Interview 2013). But like all large, globally visible events, the insertion of new sculptures on the fourth plinth is facilitated by spatial transformations in the square and influences the visitors' photographic frame. Christy describes the careful and secretive installation prior to the much-publicised unveiling:

It involves, taking [the sculpture] to somewhere in London, putting a box around it, put a scaffold up on the plinth, put the box up onto the scaffold, take the box off, leave the scaffold up, put a veil on top of it, take the scaffold down, leave the veil and then whisk the veil off the next day. So, it kind of happens overnight. (Interview with Christy McLean, 2013)



Figure 5.16 Promotion of Fourth Plinth in London Underground station (Photographs by author, 2013)

Small to large events

On days when there are no events, tourists, as well as some regular visitors, take seats around the edge of the square. Sennett recounts that in the Parisian cafés of the 1800s, the spectators sat 'silently watching the crowds go by'; similarly, in Trafalgar Square visitors look into the square 'appearing as scenery, as spectacle' (Sennett 1994:346). The seats in the square are popular with families, couples having lunch and individual people-watchers. There are other architectural features that also promote sitting, including, the ledge around the two fountains and the three flights of steps. Conversely, actors being watched include groups of families and friends, people taking shortcuts through the square, tourists taking

photos, children chasing the pigeons and groups of teenagers who climb onto the enormous bronze lions. The long straight benches face the grand civic space, visitors do not face each other to speak but look towards the centre of the square as if 'lost in his or her own thoughts' (Sennett 1994:346). The seats to the east are shaded in the morning and those in the west are shaded later in the day, leading visitors to migrate from one side of the square to the other to avoid or to follow the sun.

The regular daily activities of the square are interrupted during events. On these occasions, whether planned or spontaneous, the scale of gatherings subsumes the presence and opportunity of individuals. Groups spontaneously assemble around issues of public concern and discourse, such as the unregulated celebrations that followed the death of Margaret Thatcher (2013), but mostly they are crowds awaiting scheduled entertainment or presenting in public causes that have secured a licence in advance. On the day before a planned event the square is mobilised 'as spectacle' to both attract and accommodate 'large numbers of visitors' (Urry 2001:7). For popular events, such as the NFL Fan Rally (2013), galvanised steel barriers were unloaded from lorries and arranged at the top of the square by the National Gallery and lower down adjacent to Nelson's Column, by teams of roadies and events contractors. Once enclosed, the teams constructed temporary stages and giant televisions in the square beneath Nelson's Column and erected merchandising tents to flank the edge of the central square. Political rallies are prepared in a similar way: part of the square is fenced off, stages are set up; and, access is controlled by security and event marshals. The physical presence of crowds of up to 40,000 people (www.visitlondon.com, October 2014) as well as the barriers, stages and tents put in place to accommodate these events, restrict the use of the square for sitting and watching or for posing for photographs. Flows of commuters are impeded or redirected, tourist photographs are obstructed, and the fountains are sometimes turned off to facilitate crowds.

While Urry describes the production and packaging of places through global television (2001:2), which is a condition familiar to Trafalgar Square, events that occur outside of the square are also projected within it. Large screens were placed in the square to project the 'live' announcement of London winning the bid to host the 2012 Olympics, for instance. Such events, which have also included the screening of Royal weddings generate 'intense moments of co-presence' (Urry 2001:5). These events realise the square as the nation's 'front room' (Mace 2005:11), either as a formal parlour for watching stately events or an everyday living space for relaxing with friends. As well as communicating what is happening in the square to audiences around the globe via televised and photographed events, the installation of large TV screens transforms Trafalgar Square into an outdoor room in which

memorable events are shared with others. Maurice Roche (2002:224), explains that these events stage and project the 'power to transform' what are otherwise 'mundane places' into host sites. While Trafalgar Square has distinct architectural qualities of listed buildings, monuments, statues, floorscapes and trees, recognised as a City of Westminster Conservation Area (2003), Mace comments on the ordinary dullness of Trafalgar Square and the ornamentation around Nelson's column. He believes that neither the square nor the column would 'warrant more than scant mention in the canons of architectural or sculptural history of the period' (2005:14). But reflecting Roche's comment about the relations between events and their settings, Jason Cobb described that to have an event hosted in the square 'gives you a sense of it becoming an event of some importance and the theatricality and the history of having events' (Interview with Jason Cobb, union organiser, 2013). This interest in the spectacle, as Roche explains, offers 'possibilities for people to reanimate the sense of their world' through participating in such events or engaging with them from afar (2002:224).

During the summer, on days when it is not raining, some of the first people to reside on the upper terrace are street performers. Often groups of young men, speaking limited and broken English, dress in costumes attached to inventive elevating metal structures. Arriving early in the morning, to guarantee the most lucrative spots, they place trolleys containing their steel structures and costumes on the pavement outside the National Gallery. Between six and seven o'clock in the morning the trolleys are placed amongst the growing flows of commuters who walk between Charing Cross Station and the West End. Once a space is secured, the performers lay on the grass to sleep, or sit on the wall in front of the National Gallery. Working in teams, the performers keep watch over their equipment and the positioning of other competing actors as they anticipate the masses of tourist groups who will visit Trafalgar Square that day. The dominant presence of organised tours of English language students are recognisable from their branded t-shirts and bags; Martin, a language teacher who organises student tours to London, describes how Trafalgar Square is one of several expected sites that is 'part of the programme that parents expect' when their children visit London (Conversation with Martin, 2013). The first groups arrive around ten o'clock in the morning, just before the National Gallery opens, at which time the performers complete their final preparations. As they help each other into their costumes to stand motionless, like the military statues across the central part of the square, they fulfil the ambitions former Mayor Livingstone who wished for statues to represent ordinary Londoners and the artist Elmgreen who proposed moving the statues around.



Figure 5.17 (left) Annual NFL Fan Rally in Trafalgar Square (www.visitlondon.com, 2014)



Figure 5.18 (right) London Ambassadors offering tourist information (Photograph by author, 2014)

Taking photographs

While the performers are restricted to the upper terrace, in part due to the bylaws that restrict performances in the central square, the tourist groups move effortlessly between the upper pedestrian concourse and the main square below. Jim Muir from the Fourth Plinth Commission emphasises, 'you get these two kinds of lines of people converging here: of course, all the living sculptures and pavement artists and [then] everyone else' (Interview 2013). The individuals and families who arrive early, between seven and nine o'clock in the morning, share the street and the square with business people who rush along the upper terrace or through the square and with the teams of contractors who prepare the square for the day. As the tourists take photographs of and with performers they are encouraged to give money in return. An exchange, which writer Susan Sontag describes is part of an 'aesthetic consumerism' which confirms and enhances their experience (1977:24).



Figure 5.19 W. H. Fox Talbot's first in 1844 (left) and second photograph (right) in 1845 (from collections at the Metropolitan Museum and SSSL Prints)

The earliest tourists, who arrive around eight o'clock in the morning, also record their visit on cameras, phones and tablets. Putting down their branded coffee cups on the edge of the fountain, early tourists 'convert experience into image' to take home or upload as their 'souvenir' of Trafalgar Square (Sontag 1977:9). Photographs are taken in the same way as postcards are purchased at other tourist sites across London where the visit to the square becomes validated via photography. Michael Rose, a freelance photographer for a large photography syndicate, explains: 'I think the tourists wandering around Trafalgar Square, with their cameras and iPhones, or whatever, they are drawing their moment in the square and they are trying to capture it' (Interview 2013). Michael describes how tourists are 'trying to remember' the square through taking photographs, reflecting the art critic John Berger's ascertain that the photograph preserves the memory of the scene (2013:52). Through taking photographs visitors have their visit to Trafalgar Square 'fixed' as a visual record before moving on to another key London destination.

Visitors photograph themselves, families and friends and, significantly, the architectural qualities of the historic fabric, much of which 'remains as it was when Trafalgar Square was completed' in 1844 (City of Westminster 2003). When Fox Talbot captured his first photograph of Trafalgar Square, with the fountains in front of St. Martin's church (1844), the image was void of people (See figure 5.4). The curators at the Museum of Metropolitan Art, the owners of one of Fox Talbot's original prints, describe how Fox Talbot avoided the 'the predictably picturesque' views of Trafalgar Square to frame a more 'daring composition' of where the incomplete Nelson's column and the construction fence are in the foreground rather than the fountains (www.metmuseum.org, September 2014). Although the long exposure that Fox Talbot required would have blurred people and objects moving through the scene, the elevated vantage point and the distance from the square from which the photograph was taken would have obscured the identity and role of individual actors. Sennett (1977:195) describes that the presence of a spectator is not reliant on an actor to watch, however, in Fox Talbot's second photograph he captured a horse and carriage in the foreground, and by the middle of the nineteenth century photographs of people posing increasingly emerged (see figure 5.15).



Figures 5.20 Photograph of visitors posing in 1850 (left) and early morning visitor taking photographs (right)
(Photograph from V&A Collection, 2014; photograph by author, 2014)

The roles of 'actors' and 'spectators', which Sennett recognises emerging around the time when Trafalgar Square was built (1977:195), vary and shift throughout the day. These two groups, as defined by Sennett, are further elaborated by Roland Barthes (1981) who describes the photographer as the 'operator' and the 'spectator' as the person viewing the photograph (Barthes 1981:9). In Trafalgar Square, however, the presence of people solely taking photographs as photographers is less present. Instead everyone takes, or has the ability through digital cameras and camera phones, to take photographs. Within moments individuals shift from spectators of the scenes in Trafalgar Square, to operators of the photographic equipment to spectators of the photographs, digitally displayed on camera and camera-phone screens. As Urry and Larsen describe: 'It has become ritual to examine the digital-camera screen after a single shot... so that the image can be seen properly' (2011:181). The performing artists on the pedestrian street by the National Gallery and people who take to the stage during organised events maintain a distance from the spectators who photograph them. However, the actions of tourists in Trafalgar Square modifies as friends and family members exchange cameras or occasionally ask the Heritage Wardens to take a group photograph. Visitors switch positions from photographer to subject, moving from self-awareness when being photographed to an awareness of their surroundings and each other as photographer. This transference of roles is compounded with the increased popularity of visitors to Trafalgar Square posing for selfies. A way of taking photographs of oneself, which gained popularity through lightweight cameras and inexpensive digital film, the actor and spectator momentarily become one, with individuals and small groups extending out their arm (or monopod) to photograph themselves against the backdrop of the square.

The scene of Trafalgar Square can also be considered a spectacle. Barthes frames the scene, or 'person or thing photographed', as the 'spectrum' (1981:9), a term he adopts due to its relation to the word 'spectacle'. This reframing brings the setting of the square into a socio-spatial relationship with the spectator and what is being watched. Professional photographers, such as Michael Bond, consider the setting and the event in the photographs they take. Michael Bond states: 'we are trying to place what is happening in the environment' of Trafalgar Square (Interview 2013). The everyday spectacles of the square may be seen through 'people splashing their feet in the water' (Interview with Michael Rose, 2013) while the spectacle of what Roche terms 'megaevents' are, in part, invoked by the 'scale and character' of the 'masses of people' (2002:40). Roche considers these as 'dual' spectacles for the people attending the event, as well as those viewing on television or the Internet (2002:189). The 2003 renovation of the square enhanced the opportunity for spectators and spectacles. The new flight of steps created what Jason Cobb terms a 'natural amphitheatre' on which visitors sit for photographs, to eat their lunch or to watch others in the square below (Interview with Jason, 2013). The aesthetic considerations of the square and opportunities to take photographs were foregrounded in both the 2003 reconfiguration and the implementation of the Fourth Plinth Project (1999). Sam, a local resident and a friend of one of the architects involved in the latest transformation, explains how the design team carefully planned the best places to take photographs and how changes to the square would enhance the views (Conversation with Sam, 2014).

The intensity of interest in photography in Trafalgar Square is evident online. Through analysing 35 million images on the website Flickr, a team of researchers from the University of Cornell ranked London and Trafalgar Square as, respectively, the second most photographed city and landmark in the world (Crandall et al. 2009). Three years earlier, a Trafalgar Square Flickr Group was established where the five hundred members shared over four thousand photographs, under the heading: 'Trafalgar Square is the Social Barometer of London' (www.flickr.com, 2014). Yahoo!, the media corporation who part-funded the 2009 research and who own Flickr, concluded that the 'standard shot' from the photographs analysed was 'a wide-angle shot of the National Gallery and St. Martin-in-the-Fields church' (www.yahoo.com, 2014). While this vista turns its back on the famous Nelson's Column it highlights the richness of recognisable elements that constitute the square. Together with the scenic backdrops of the landmark buildings, the amphitheatre of steps or even the view down Whitehall framing parliament's Big Ben, this abundance of features, Yahoo! claim, are 'all worthy subjects for your lens' (www.yahoo.com, 2014).

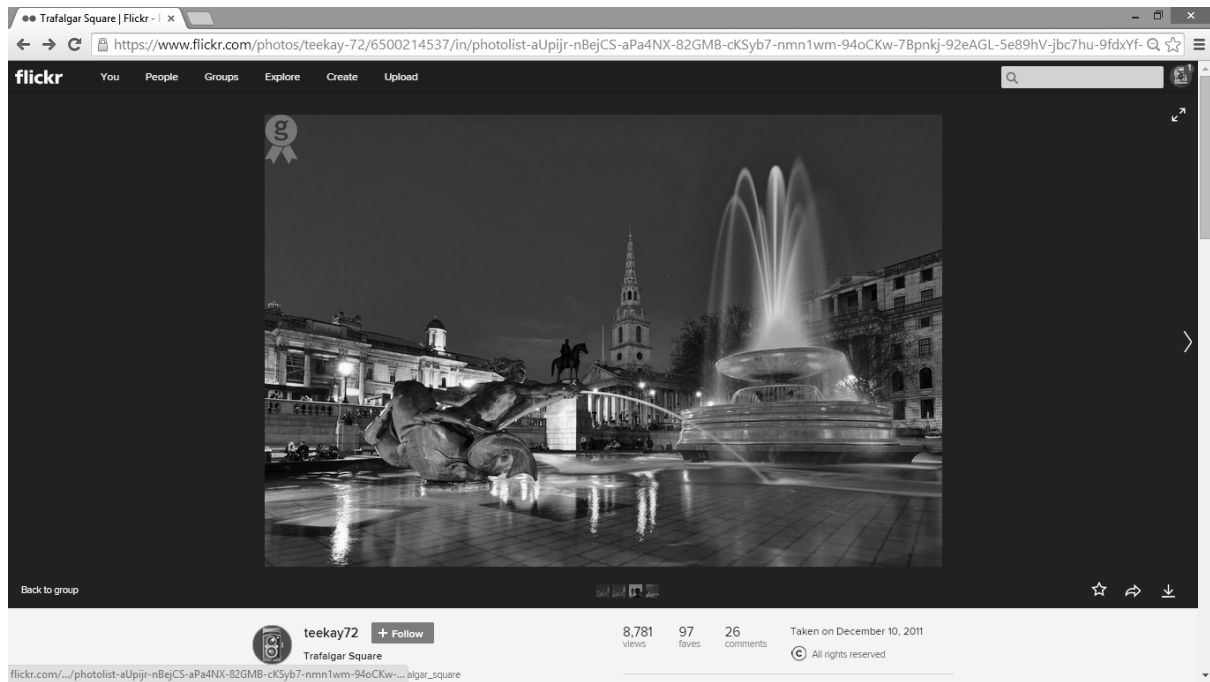


Figure 5.21 The 'standard shot' of Trafalgar Square on Flickr social networking site. The photograph was taken and uploaded by teekay72, and by October 2014 it had received 8,781 views, 26 comments and had been favourited 97 times (www.flickr.com, 2014)

Managing contestations and maintaining consensus

'So, all of the baggage of place and space and management and control issues were effectively, many of them were, codified in Trafalgar Square into a series of quite specific bylaws.'

Interview with Jason Cobb, union organiser, 2013

Tradition of protest

There is surprisingly little conflict in Trafalgar Square. For a place that the Greater London Authority (GLA) describes as 'a centre of national democracy and protest' that frequently attracts political and religious demonstrations (www.london.gov.uk, 2014) there are few visible, physical contestations in the square. The findings from my fieldwork contrast with historical narratives of Trafalgar Square, accounts marked by demonstrations that have gained publicity due to moments of violence. The square has a reputation as a site of protest: 'Trafalgar Square is a square of political and civil action, in many ways, you know, and protests' (Interview with John Prescott, Deputy Prime Minister, 2014). A small handful of highly documented demonstrations that have brought conflict with the police, such as the Bloody Sunday demonstrations (1887) and the student fees protests (2010), have created public images of the square as a site of resistance. These images punctuate a more

mundane rhythm of organised and controlled events for which permission must be requested in advance from the GLA, Transport for London (TfL), Metropolitan Police and the City of Westminster. Most days in the square unfold in a managed way by the Heritage Wardens, who oversee the space, its visitors who wonder at the architectural forms, monuments and urban actors. Deviations from the bylaws (GLA Act 1999), some of which prohibit putting your feet in the fountains or feeding pigeons, are mainly managed through discussion with and the presence of the Heritage Wardens accompanied by other contractors who are employed for specific tasks. Even on days when Trafalgar Square hosts demonstrations and political rallies, the tightly controlled nature of the events belie the square's reputation as an object fought over or a setting for public conflict. Instead, it is most often a place to express narrow contestations that manifest in other spheres of life, across London or the UK, brought to this public forum and managed through consensus, planning and agreement.

For rallies and demonstrations to use the square the organisation must complete an online enquiry form, the same process that commercial and promotional events must follow, forcing political and democratic traditions to fit into a general timetable of events. The Climate Camp (2009), International Pillow Fight day and Pasar Malam organised by the Malaysian Tourist Board queue-up to join a schedule of managed proceedings that seek a public platform from which their concerns, issues and products can be seen. In addition to this, Jason Cobb, a union employee who has organised events in the square reiterates the need for permission from the different agencies: 'there is a lot of pressure on Trafalgar Square' and as a result it is not always possible to get permission to use it (Interview 2013). He explains how stakeholders like TfL and Westminster Council have 'various controls' over the square and emphasises the importance of consulting with them all and planning far in advance. Jason believes that his trade union has 'a good track record of planning events' which reduces conflict with the authorities. Participants of demonstrations are drawn to the solidarity and belonging that events offer; however, the main objective of protests is to highlight concerns through the presence of thousands of people occupying the highly recognisable Trafalgar Square captured in images, amplified through publicity on television, newspapers and websites (Interview with Jason Cobb, 2013).



Figure 5.22 Poll Tax riots (1990) photographed by David Hoffman for the National Media Museum
(Photograph courtesy of www.eitherand.org. 2014)

Trafalgar Square has become a site for publicity. As a backdrop to be photographed against, a place to demonstrate in or a location to host an event, Trafalgar Square offers exposure to audiences within the square and further afield through multiplying forms of media. For commercial, cultural and political events, Trafalgar Square provides a setting that amplifies the messages that take to its stage. Jason Cobb explains how organised rallies unfold:

The standard format for a political demonstration is that you start off somewhere, you assemble everyone, and you have a rally of some kind with speakers and perhaps a little entertainment and then the people disperse.
(Interview with Jason Cobb 2013)

However, he describes that his 'objective is to get as much media coverage as possible.' Times have changed from when rallies and demonstrations were featured in newspapers with 'mass ranks of union banners'; instead the 'classic demonstration shot these days' is 'someone photogenic holding an amusing sign' (Interview with Jason Cobb, 2013). Demonstrations focus on Trafalgar Square because of the publicity that the space offers. Eye-catching placards and press-friendly sound-bites distil radical causes as well as commercial ambitions, hoping that the messages will be captured by photographers and syndicated to the national media.

Trafalgar Square offers a setting in which public events can be performed rather than a place in which public discourses emerge. Since it was reconfigured in 2003 and new regulations for events were put in place the square has been reinforced as a place to be looked at, indeed: 'places of the gaze rather than scenes of discourse' (Sennett 1994:358). It has become a place to represent oneself in public, or even bring attention to public concerns, rather than forming and contesting new forms of public. Organised demonstrations and rallies bring issues to the square with the hope of gaining publicity for their causes. The formal surroundings of Trafalgar Square, which Mace describes as 'a palpable expression of


<http://on.fb.me/h96aPG>
<http://march26tahrir.wordpress.com>

TURN

Today, hundreds of thousands of people have shown what 'big society' looks like.

Workers, pensioners, students, unemployed people, disabled people and all those who rely on the welfare state standing shoulder to shoulder against this coalition of millionaires who want to devastate our lives. All of us have had enough of being told there is no alternative to the cuts. We need to show Cameron and Clegg that the fight has just begun, and we are here to stay.

Our alternative is people power. Millions have taken to the streets and brought down dictators in Egypt and Tunisia. In Wisconsin, USA thousands of workers have occupied the State Capitol to defend their jobs, services and democratic rights. If they can do it, so can we – let's fight for freedom, justice and equality and bring down the Con Dem government.



TRAFFALGAR INTO

SQUARE TAHRIR

Rally & teach-out from 5.30pm

Thousands of people will be staying in Trafalgar Square for 24 hours to organise, collaborate, share ideas and make sure that this is the beginning of the end of the Con- Dem Coalition. Bring a tent and sleeping bag

Supporters include:

John McDonnell MP • Jeremy Corbyn MP • George Galloway • Lowkey • Education Activist Network • National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts • Reclaim26 – Stay for 1 Day • Battle for Britain • Socialist Workers Party • Right to Work Campaign • School and FE Students Against Cuts • NUS Direct Action • Journalists Jody MacIntyre and Laurie Penny • Many more activists and student union leaders

Figure 5.23 Flyer for the 24-hour occupation of Trafalgar Square (2015)

its host's social, historical and political aspirations' (2005:11), provide a visibly British context against which pressure groups, organisations and campaigns can present their concerns. Rather than encouraging public discourses, the square is a space for presenting previously formulated arguments. This emphasis on presenting political issues reflects priorities for Trafalgar Square in place since 1844, to transform a place of public discourse into a large public space of spectacle. The fountains put in place by the square's architect Charles Barry, which were intended to prevent large gatherings (Mace 2005), have themselves become the subject of the photographic gaze of visitors. The visual arrangement of the square in individual photographs overwhelms the narratives of Trafalgar Square as a place of free speech or democratic discourse. From the 1796 survey by Thomas Chawner, two coffee houses, two inns and an ale house can be identified, all of which were demolished to make way for the square, representing a shift from what Tonkiss classifies as public spaces of 'social exchange' to spaces that are 'monumental' and 'symbolic' (2005:67).



Figure 5.24 A short-lived protest before the police dispersed the demonstrators
(www.march26tahrir.wordpress.com, 2015)

Contracting responsibilities

Since 2000, the setting of Trafalgar Square has been maintained by several teams of private contractors. From cleaning, horticulture, maintenance, stonework and hosting visitors, contractors are continually present: the GLA describe that 'on any given day, there could be many different people on the square' (www.london.gov.uk, 2014). These contractors hold in place the appearance of the square, from the flux of large public events and installations to everyday occurrences. The increased presence of contractors who are authorised to represent the GLA, through the Greater London Authority Act 1999, has contrasted with the reduction of what Jacobs (1961:68), in her research of New York, terms 'public characters' who previously occupied the square. Performers and bird-seed vendors have been displaced by the Act, which prohibits unlicensed performers and traders as well as feeding pigeons. The Act has affected who is permitted to interact within the square and what they are allowed to do. Bernard Rayner is one of the public characters who was displaced. Known locally as Bernie, his family had sold bird-seed in the square for over fifty years. But in 2001 he ceased trading immediately after a settlement was reached following a protracted battle with the GLA.

Replacing Rayner is a successive team of falconers who are contracted to very publicly keep the pigeons away. Van Vynck Environmental have a farrier, two hawks and a white van parked on the square seven-days-a-week. Inside the temperature controlled van rests one of the birds while the other is put to work dispersing the population of pigeons, which is reported to have reached about 4,000 under the care of Rayner (The Evening Standard 2009). Now the farrier and his hawks have replaced the pigeons as an attraction for tourists: 'They [tourists] come to see the pigeons – but they take photos of the hawk' described the farrier as he patrolled the square (Conversation 2013). A team of Heritage Wardens are in place to enforce the 1999 GLA Act, which continues to prohibit feeding pigeons. Despite the performers and vendors being replaced by contractors, the presence of the latter does not automatically qualify them as public characters. For Jacobs, a public character is defined by an individual's interest and ability in being public (1961:68). Instead, most of the time, the cleaning, maintenance, catering, security and pest control contractors provide what Whyte calls 'mayors' (1988:160). For Whyte, the mayors of public spaces are 'great communication centers' who are 'quick to spot any departure from the normal life of the place' (1988:160). There is a team of Heritage Wardens that patrol the square 24-hours-a-day with the stated aim of helping visitors and providing information. The Heritage Wardens are primarily there to ensure that the Trafalgar Square bylaws are followed (GLA Act 1999, Section 385 and Local Government Act 1972, Section 236B) while providing an interface with the police.

The Heritage Wardens appear open to speaking with visitors, posing for and taking photographs. The Heritage Wardens wear red and blue uniforms, often with a fluorescent yellow jacket over the top. They work in shifts throughout the day and night, and walk through square in a casual manner. Rather than a fixed patrol, through and around the square, the Heritage Wardens meander through speaking with visitors and highlighting any minor indiscretions. They ask visitors, who are cycling or who are taking photographs with tripods, to stop what they are doing and after wandering further through the square they may come back to remind or enforce their earlier request. Through their presence and verbal reminders, the Heritage Wardens nudge visitors into complying with the regulations. In the summer, this may include people taking their shoes off to paddle in the fountains or tourists feeding their sandwiches to the pigeons. Both offences are prohibited by the GLA Act 1999, which is made explicit in the square through bold signs and the insistence of the Heritage Wardens.



Figure 5.25 Visitors taking off their shoes and paddling in the fountains (Photograph by author, 2014)

Towards the end of the working day tourists are joined by Londoners meeting friends, perched on the edge of the fountain with picnics and drinks. The sunny weather of July and August encourages a swell of visitors, and in the evenings the Heritage Wardens seem

overwhelmed in their task of enforcing the GLA's specific bylaws. When there are too many couples with their feet dangling in the fountains, increasing clusters of friends drinking alcohol or young children feeding bread to the pigeons, the role of wardens in enforcing regulations is ineffective. The square, on these days, performs as a large civic open place where both visitors and Londoners gather; the square, as Tonkiss (2005) frames this ideal type of public space, becomes an extension of Londoners' enjoyment of their city, creating a 'site of collective belonging' that '[affords] equal and in principle free access to all users as citizens' (2005:67). Thousands of people fill the square, an aggregation of small groups meeting together in public.

On most days, less visible than the falconer and the Heritage Wardens, is a team of cleaners. One contractor, in particular, Kirstin Dunne describes, is Paul who is 'responsible for the square... the cleaning of the square'. She claims that Paul has attended every unveiling of the plinth, has a complete knowledge of the other statues in the square and, in contrast to other contractors, adopts the role of a public character: 'he talks to people about the [Fourth Plinth] Programme all the time and he hears peoples' reactions' (Interview 2013). Quietly the team of cleaners circle the square emptying items from the waste bins as they are deposited. Every 30 minutes one of them walks by lifting individual items of waste from the bins with an extended litter picking device. While other parts of London empty their bins on a less regular basis, this repeated emptying appears to prevent other visitors to the space from rummaging through them. During my fieldwork, a roughly-dressed man in his thirties pre-empted the cleaners by searching through the few items in the bin for anything of value to him. Through the redesign in 2003, Trafalgar Square has not become a place which physically designs-out the presence of what Whyte calls 'undesirables' (1988) although the presence of the Heritage Wardens and actions of the cleaners, supported by the GLA Act 1999 makes it more difficult for people who search through the bins, drink alcohol in public and occasionally sleep. The central square is a public space that is controlled through being constantly cleaned, to remove dirt, rubbish and the presence of pigeons.



Figure 5.26 The traces and removal of graffiti after the student protests in 2011 (Source of photographs unknown)

Like the waste quietly removed from the bins, traces of past activities, found in political graffiti or damage to the square is quietly removed or restored. Within hours of large celebrations, organised events and dispersing political demonstrations, cleaning contractors cordon off parts of the square to remove paint and posters. When Scotland played football against England at Wembley in 2013 a reported 10,000 cans of beer were cleared from the square. In the evening, after most of the party had receded, a team of 20 cleaners worked from 18:30 until 08:30 the following morning, with Westminster City Council proclaiming: 'Our crews worked hard round the clock to get London back to normal for our residents and businesses this morning' (www.bbc.co.uk, 2013). The 'normal' condition of Trafalgar Square is inferred as a space without traces from the night before, whether these are the hangovers of celebrations or the political concerns of those who gathered. Harvey reminds us that 'those who have invested in the physical qualities of place have to ensure that activities arise which render their investments profitable by ensuring the permanence of place' (1996:296). The ability of the square to return to normal thus accommodates the schedule of events that relentlessly occupy the space, the tourists who visit and the need to maintain order and formality of the nation's front room.

Many mechanisms of control in Trafalgar Square are facilitated and supported through discrete image making. CCTV surveillance systems employed by landlords and the state, the Metropolitan Police recording protests while on duty, and the protestors recording them back, contribute to a highly documented and overlooked public space. The regulations of the square restrict how image making can be undertaken while the signs in the square make it explicit to visitors that they are being watched through a network of CCTV cameras. Real-time recording of the square, through CCTV surveillance, is enhanced during protests when the Metropolitan Police film and photograph protestors as potential evidence. This recording

of protests facilitates the police in maintaining order before and after events, as well as evidencing the use of Trafalgar Square as a place of democracy and protest. Less evident when visiting the square, is the coverage of the square in Google Streetview. Google's mapping coverage of cities around the world is predominantly facilitated by car-mounted cameras and aerial photography. However, Trafalgar Square has been systematically recorded by what Google call Trekkers, backpack-mounted cameras which can be walked through the city. As seen in figure 5.19, the square has been thoroughly walked through to achieve near total coverage. Through this mapping, Google can geo-reference photographs found on the web and understand the precise location from which the photograph was taken and how it relates to the official Google image of Trafalgar Square.

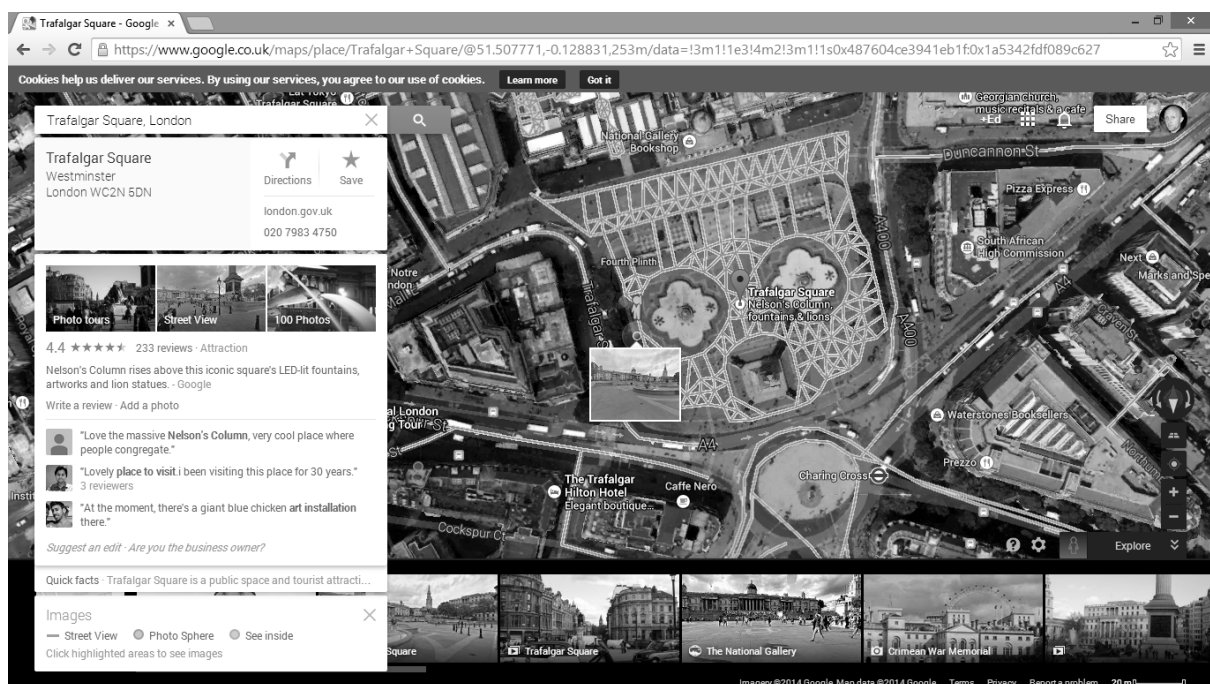


Figure 5.27 Google Map of Trafalgar Square showing lines where Google Street View has coverage (www.google.co.uk, 2014)

Conclusions

‘1840 is one of those remarkable moments when the world seems to shift and new patterns of relationships are established’

Urry, J. and Larsen, J. 2011. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. Sage

In this chapter I have connected the symbolic and visual nature of Trafalgar Square. Firstly, I have revealed that Trafalgar Square has been formed and refashioned as an intensely

visited and highly imaged civic space. It is a setting that is understood through photographs and films recorded in the square and it is a space experienced in relation to the taking of photographs. As I have demonstrated in this chapter, the building of Trafalgar Square and the development of photographic techniques developed at the same time in the nineteenth century creating a strong focus for visitors: Urry and Larsen write that 'from 1840 onwards tourism and photography were assembled together and they remake each other in an irreversible and momentous double-helix' (2006:164). Actions of taking photographs, in contrast to engaging with and in public spaces through collective actions and discourses, further extend Sennett's concern for public life in the 1800s and his descriptions of an emergent individualism of a public separated into 'actors' and 'spectators' (Sennett 1977:195). The GLA's renovation and reconfiguration of the square in 2003 has continued a narrative of communication and the movement of visitors through optimised connections and new spaces for taking photographs. The ambitions of Nash through his 1812 plan 'privileging individuals pursuing their own concerns in a crowd' (Sennett 1994:329) have been up-scaled to recreate Trafalgar Square as a place for global tourism and a focus of images representing London that are shared around the globe. We can understand Trafalgar Square as a place of spectacle on which visitors to London descend. The flows of communication are no longer only the spatial conduits of Whitehall or Regent's Street, but the projection of images through Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. Urry and Larsen argue that if photography was not invented then 'contemporary tourist gazes would be wholly different' (2011:186); equally without the transformation of London, through the plans of Nash and Foster, neither the gaze or the image of London would have been framed as they have for the last two centuries.

My second conclusion highlights that there was a significant focus on image making in Trafalgar Square's latest refashioning – and that this focus conceals other regulatory changes. The redesign of the square has further accommodated taking photographs while increased decoration of the square through the Fourth Plinth programme, which has enhanced the landmark qualities of the space. Gospodini describes cities like London that make 'alterations to the city's image through manipulation of its physical form...' (2002:61). The refashioning of Trafalgar Square in 2003, through subtle but significant spatial changes and edited regulations, facilitates this practice of reimagining. Visitors understand the square through eye-level photographic images that include the props of the fountains, the statues and lions in the foreground, brought together by the scenic backdrops of the National Gallery and St. Martin's church. These photographic perspectives ignore the operational separation between the central square, under management of the GLA, and the upper terrace overseen by the City of Westminster. The continuity of materials across the two spaces renders the

contrasting regulations as invisible. Changes to the regulations in 1999 (Greater London Authority Act) and 2012 (Trafalgar Square Bylaws), along with the spatial reconfigurations, contribute to this history of ordering space and curating images of the square.

The third conclusion is that the central square is a space *used* by the public, rather than a public space formed through public actions and discourses. The square is visited by individuals and groups of tourists throughout the year and it is occupied by Londoners and visitors alike for political, commercial and cultural events. Most people who visit the square appear to have no interest in the democratic notions of public space, where ideas of politics are contested, represented and formed. Instead, the scenic qualities of the space enthrall visitors and provide opportunities to gain publicity through their presence rather than their actions. Groups wishing to use the space as a site to contest political discourses must follow the same procedures as for commercial and cultural programmes using the square. The need to apply for a permit following the same process as other large events sorts the space by the scale, use and logistics of operation rather than the potential of these actions to define the square as a public space. Similarly, tourists uploading their photographs onto Facebook or protestors vying for online visibility of their concerns are measured in 'views', 'hits' and 'likes'. The ease of using the square is exacerbated through the intensive cleaning and maintenance of the space immediately following large events.

Finally, I conclude that Trafalgar Square provides a symbol of democratic traditions rather than as a site that supports emerging public discourses. Jason Cobb claims:

It is a public space, it is part of traditional freedom of expression that we have Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park, we have Hyde Park itself and we have Trafalgar Square. And it is part of the British democratic decisions to allow these spaces for dissent (Interview with Jason Cobb, Trade Union Organiser, 2013)

But there appears to be no evidence, from those who have formed the square through spatial and regulatory design, that the square should be a place where ideas of democracy can be debated or freely expressed. The square has increasingly come to represent the values that London and Britain wish to be associated: the GLA recognises that 'Trafalgar Square has been seen as a centre of national democracy and protest... The Mayor supports this democratic tradition, and gives access to the square for such causes.'

(www.london.gov.uk, 2014). The use of the term 'seen' rather than 'is' reveals the difference between the perception of the square being associated with democracy and the restrictions that have always been in place. That the Mayor 'gives access' to Trafalgar Square for such democratic traditions also conflicts with Mitchell's assertion that public space must be 'taken'

and made public through public actions (2003:142). From the fountains that Mace claims were intended to restrict large gatherings (2005:88) to the bylaws that instead of prohibiting most activities requires that permission be requested, negotiation is constantly underway between allowing access and defining how Trafalgar Square should be seen.

We have seen through this third case a civic square that has been designed to open-up views from surrounding streets and that has become a site that is increasingly the subject of personal photographs. This is a place with which many designers, politicians, protestors, performers and visitors strive to be associated. I have highlighted that the image and the setting of Trafalgar Square provide a focus for generating publicity for individuals, brands and issues of concern. The visual cues of the square, such as the statues, fountains and surrounding buildings, provide points of reference for identifying the location of such activities. I have shown that visual priorities are part of the square as a site of public demonstration and protest. In contrast to the cases of masterplanning at Elephant and Castle and Paddington, the redesign of Trafalgar Square was initiated and led by public agencies and government departments. However, I have revealed that in common with the other sites, private security and contractors are employed to enforce new regulations written as part of the masterplanning transformations. In the following chapter I analyse the three cases through exploring distinctive qualities of the three sites and their masterplanned contexts and then identifying the common characteristics from which further conclusions are drawn.



Figure 5.28 Cleaning the fountains (Photograph by author, 2014)

Chapter 6

Summary of cases:

This chapter summarises the three distinctive cases through two lenses: firstly I discuss Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square, as masterplanned sites where public space has been repeatedly remade through large-scale transformations, programmed events and daily routines, in order to highlight specific issues of each case; secondly, I examine the common spatial conditions and nuanced practices of making public spaces with the aim of identifying shared patterns from which conclusions can be drawn. As explained in chapter two, *Researching public space – combining methods*, the cases were selected as London spaces that have been subject to recent comprehensive redevelopment through masterplanning. Each location has, within the last two decades, been the focus of neighbourhood-scale masterplans, sites that I have explored in the context of metropolitan policies, national reports and international competition. Central to each case has been the redesign of public spaces, revealing changes to their material composition, public life and programmed events. The public spaces can be read through the ideals and ambitions of the people, organisations and institutions who have produced them, revealing relations between individuals and groups; informed by cultural practices, economic conditions and planning controls. Together these constitute the everyday life, design and development trajectories of London's public spaces.

In the first section of this chapter I consecutively discuss each case to highlight the distinctive qualities: architectural forms, commercial decisions, local authority involvement and lived conditions of each site and what is revealed in terms of the relations that produce public space. I place particular emphasis on the ways that public spaces have been differentially realised, negotiated and contested. In the second section I analyse the common and overlapping issues, from economic priorities for urban developments to concerns for the management, securitisation and privatisation of public spaces. The section is structured around the three conceptions of public spaces, as *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions*, from the impact of macro-scale economic conditions and political decision-making to the influence of small-scale, site-based interactions. As we have seen in the previous three chapters, there are both overlaps and interactions between individuals and organisations with varying motivations for public spaces formed in spatial, visual and social terms. Persistent ambitions for developing and using public spaces, from the financial imperatives of global investors to daily routine activities of incoming inhabitants, have

produced common and distinctive conditions, evident in each site. I identify public spaces as spatial forms, composed by urban designers, politicians and developers in the development conditions described (such as brownfield sites and building parcels) and in architectural typologies produced (such as squares, plazas and streets). These spatial forms define properties that are traded for profit and private rights of property ownership that are frequently asserted to challenge access and use. Material public spaces are further projected through visual images, evident in the presentation of political and economic ambitions facilitated by architectural renderings, through media representations and in filmmaking. In many instances, images are produced and disseminated showing buildings and open spaces that will never fully materialise. Visitors also define their relationships with these places through photography; posing, taking, sharing. These actions frequently conflict with multiple regulations to control photography, which overlap with the third lens whereby I recognise public spaces made and remade through social interactions within the masterplanned sites. Public spaces are constituted through the embodied occupation and physical transformations that result from events, markets, gatherings and chance encounters that remake all three places each day.

Contrasting cases

Elephant and Castle Market

The *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* masterplan offered a context for research into the daily, outdoor market adjacent to the deteriorating shopping centre. The space of the market, which was defined architecturally in 1965 in the plans of architects Boissevain and Osmond (for the Willetts Group developers), has gradually and incrementally been transformed in spatial composition and use. The architects intended that the modernist elevations of the shopping centre would be animated by shops with glazed windows and doors that opened onto a plaza of trees, fountains, concrete paving and seating. The space was designed as a forecourt for, and integral to, the shopping centre, but when the commercial success of the shopping centre was brought into question, the associated public plaza was repurposed. A new building owner engaged market specialists Urban Space Management to operate the shopping centre and they initiated the outdoor market (1990), and have continued to run it ever since.

The transformation of this once poorly used public space into a mish-mash of rusting shipping containers and steel-framed stalls created a bustling scene outside of the shopping centre. The change successfully realised the 'market as a social space', Sophie Watson and

David Studdert continue: 'there are a number of ingredients that play a significant role in making a market both socially viable and, at best, thriving' (2006:44-50). Reflecting Watson and Studdert's conclusions, the Market included products of interest to the local community, good access and transportation links, eating places for informal interactions and positive relations between the market manager and stallholders. The narrow plaza was reconstituted each day, through routine interactions, as market stalls were fabricated, opened, closed and dismantled. The economic exchanges of low-cost goods intermixed with conversations between the market traders, residents, commuters, workers and visitors. Flows of commuters passed through at the beginning and end of the working day, individuals asked for money in the pedestrian tunnels, children congregated on their way to and from school and around midday, the food court buzzed with queues for the food vendors. During the week, the food court was so congested that diners shared tables to enjoy Jamaican, Indian and Chinese cuisine. Reflecting Watson and Studdert's descriptions of other markets in London, I found that Elephant and Castle Market was a place that was 'not overtly conflictual' (2006:2): this was a place where the differences between people were accommodated and negotiated.

With the latest, advancing, comprehensive regeneration of Elephant and Castle, the public space of the market is due to be demolished. Over the last decade, a steep decline in custom for the market has been caused by Southwark Council decanting residents from the adjacent Heygate Estate, that once housed over 3000 residents. A further weakening of footfall has been felt since the pedestrian tunnels were closed. Stephen James who oversees market operations explains that the market 'is a general market, so it relies on the people; a general market for local people' (Interview 2012). He further describes how Southwark Council 'have cleared thousands of [residents] out, so the traders are finding it difficult'. Watson and Studdert recognise from their research on different markets that 'the social relationships between shoppers and traders were relatively strong' (2006:50). In this context we can understand that as the demographic of the area shifts, from a majority of social renting residents to an area dominated by market-rate property owners, the relations across the new market square will inevitably change.

The plans for regeneration have created contestations between Southwark Council, the developers, local traders and residents. Disagreements have been confined to community meetings and online forums, rather than protests within the plaza. Concerns of former residents of the Heygate Estate and the traders inside the shopping centre are reflected in the disputed 'Right to Return' of residents to the area and the agenda outlined in the *Traders' Charter* (2007). In contrast to the threat to the market and their stallholders, the

residents and businesses were impacted by a marked process of large-scale dispossession coupled with strategies of resistance. Despite their presence being under threat, individual market traders operating outside of the shopping centre are not considered in the *Traders' Charter*. The market has been undermined in the regeneration due to the loss of custom from Heygate Estate residents who are not expected to return, and the shopping centre, which is due to be demolished. At the same time, concern for what will result from the development has discouraged some traders from continuing with their stalls and has deterred many residents from remaining in the area. The uncertainty over the continuation of the market is exacerbated by its private ownership. Unlike the public market on East Street, which lies south of Elephant and Castle and which is protected through historic legislation, the private market by the shopping centre operates under a short-term lease with uncertain tenure. Also, in contrast to the more touristic and private Borough Market, adjacent to London Bridge, the value that Elephant and Castle Market offers the area has not been recognised by Southwark Council and the developers.

The key findings reveal that repeated strategic redevelopments at Elephant and Castle have facilitated new ways of taking spaces and buildings – a tabula-rasa development approach to regeneration – through transferring and consolidating land ownerships. On a large scale, these exchanges have occurred from Southwark Council to Lend Lease (for the Heygate Estate) and more recently from St. Modwen to Delancy/APG (for the shopping centre), but the loss of homes and businesses of individuals and small business owners has been overlooked. I have demonstrated, as with Paddington Basin, such large development projects lack transparency in how planning approvals are agreed. Although government agencies leverage the assets of their land to gain investment in public infrastructure, the relationships with developers become less balanced when there are greater financial returns at stake. We have seen that negotiations and resultant agreements have been increasingly concealed; at Elephant and Castle, details of the £1.5bn regeneration scheme were shared accidentally, when a poorly redacted document was released online (Southwark Notes 2013). This means that the activities at Elephant and Castle occur in the expectation of developers, investors, residents and market traders, that one day the spaces will be taken away.

Paddington Basin

The developers of the second case, *Paddington Waterside*, adopted a narrow approach to realising the site's commercial, residential, retail and public spaces. The network of public spaces that unite the masterplan's thirteen development parcels across 80 acres have been under the direction of privately-led Paddington Regeneration Partnership (then Paddington

Waterside Partnership). This mechanism of realising a physical transformation and the ongoing operation of the development site neatly orders the ways in which public spaces are produced: public spaces are made at Paddington Basin through both the development planning phases and the subsequent management rhythms. The experience of the spaces at Paddington Basin contrast with expectations of a public realm owned and maintained by the state – instead, these publicly accessible spaces display signs communicating their private ownership and the area's restrictions. The developments create a place where public actions, meaning those considered to form a public life, and less desirable social interactions, are tightly prescribed or prohibited.

Paddington Waterside can be understood as a masterplan-scale framework directed by the development partnership. The development was made possible when British Waterways and the National Freight Corporation offered long leases and a masterplan was initiated by the City of Westminster for an area previously designated a Special Policy Area. While planners at Westminster, developers and the Business Improvement District (BID) consistently claim that there was nothing on the site prior to the development, research reveals that buildings and activities have been repeatedly removed to facilitate the masterplan and the site's ongoing management. Similarly, claims that public access was denied prior to the development are undermined by evidence that public access was opened in 1987 (www.telegraph.co.uk, 2015). The narrative of Paddington Basin, which is focused on place-making, is directed by the partnership though the BID. It achieves this through leading the development, which includes 22 partners including developers, businesses and former government agencies, as well as strongly informing the BID. The partnership excludes the City of Westminster who had initiated the project and who remain the planning authority. The development has consistently relied on the roles of public agencies who facilitate the masterplan by providing favourable conditions as landlords and planning control. What has been realised is a commercial and residential development, connected through an armature of small private courtyards, dead-end streets, an amphitheatre and canal towpath, which the developers manage on behalf of the Canal and River Trust.

When it was formed, the development partnership described the importance of a 'high quality public realm' that was considered 'vital for improving perceptions and for creating a new sense of identity and place' (PRP 2001). This emphasis was reinforced when the partnership established the BID in 2005. This business-orientated organisation embraced new forms of public spaces as tools that could offer a coherent image of the area. The BID prioritised the making of Paddington as a 'place', expanding the influence and control of the development partnership to encompass surrounding streets and businesses (Interview with

Kate, BID Manager, 2013). This approach allowed the developments to benefit from the identity of the surrounding historic streets and buildings while informing projects to beautify the public realm and increase policing of undesirable activities, such as prostitution. Although the BID and the development partnership share a Chief Executive and office space, the geographic areas under their respective control do not fully overlap; indeed, most of the development masterplan is excluded from the BID area. Here, although the majority of the businesses within the BID area voted for its establishment and continuation, most of the shops, restaurants and corporations within the development area avoid the additional charges of the BID while informally retaining some influence over its operations through the BID's Chief Executive.

The public spaces that have resulted from the *Paddington Waterside* developments are tightly managed, highly maintained and frequently cleaned. Vast numbers of commuters pass through the area in the morning and evening, most disappearing into the corporate canteens of each building leaving the highly maintained public spaces empty of people, with one exception - groups of smokers who cluster around the building entrances and in the under-croft of the Marks and Spencer's headquarters. Even the spatial cues of an amphitheatre and a craft market in Sheldon Square, socio-spatial typologies, which allude to historic forms of publicness, fail to establish active public presence, discourses or exchange. Paddington Basin is instead a quietly relentless developer-led process that manoeuvres to control and profit from both the private buildings and the public spaces it creates. The trajectory of the development reflects the results of research conducted by Gensler and Urban Land Institute (ULI) that claim that public open space can be 'a crucial catalyst for economic development' and that it 'adds value to commercial property' (2011:3).

I find that despite tightly controlled profit-oriented redevelopment and management, the process has received continued support from the local authority and public agencies and it has faced negligible resistance from local residents or businesses. The repeatedly rewritten accounts of the development by developers and the BID overshadow the criticisms: an interview with Judy, a former teacher from the North Westminster Community School that occupied a site included within the development area in 2009, revealed discontent. 'It was quite clear that Westminster had its eyes on this prize site' (Interview 2013). Although a new academy was built outside of the development area, she claims 'the closure of the school has nothing to do with the education... it is the value of the land that is making that decision.' Judy's comments express concerns that the development is forcing certain activities from the area: 'Mixed use does not mean mixed use in terms of having a school in the middle with rowdy children running around.' Despite such disquiet, the City of Westminster, in its role as

planning controller, continues to facilitate the efforts of the developers and the BID to define the forms and activities of the public realm resulting in an increased homogenisation of the area.

Trafalgar Square

The third site of making public space is at Trafalgar Square. *The World Squares for All Masterplan* framed the redesign, which was completed in 2003 under the oversight of the newly formed Greater London Authority (GLA). As a central London civic space of national importance, Trafalgar Square's redevelopment was strongly informed by politicians at Whitehall through national policy, as well as by the Mayor for London and the City of Westminster in whose borough the square resides. The architectural changes to the square, which were set out in the masterplan led by Norman Foster and subsequently implemented by a team led by Atkins, are sufficiently sympathetic to the appearance of the historic forms, that they can almost go unnoticed. A new flight of steps from the pedestrianised upper terrace to the main square aligns with both the National Gallery above and the statues, fountains and ornaments below. The steps provide a new route for visitors passing diagonally through the square while creating a terrace of seating for resting, meeting and overlooking the activity below.

Within this architectural context, the square is socially remade through large organised events and gatherings as well as through tides of tourists, commuters and Londoners. The rhythm of artistic, commercial and political events that occupy the square are required to gain permission online from the GLA. The cultural presence of Eid celebrations, the occupation by the T-Mobile sing-along and the protests against government austerity are conflated into a singular category of events that 'use' the square. The architect Jan Gehl, who was involved with projects in Elephant and Castle (2003), Paddington (2004) and in central London (2004), emphasises in his book *Life Between Buildings* (1971) activities 'in' public spaces. This traditional architectural perspective is reflected in Massey's concern that 'a lot of architects think about public space in European cities in terms of having some great plaza, some empty space... filled with individuals who bump into each other' (www.publicspace.org, 2013). In these terms, Trafalgar Square is considered as a container in which social activities occur, which can be encouraged or prevented by particular architectural interventions, or that can be legislated against through regulations.

Bylaws were put in place for the square through the 1999 Greater London Authority Act, during the development. The regulations have socially transformed the space. To accommodate large events, certain Londoners and visitors have been displaced. When it

was redeveloped, Bernard Rayner, a third-generation pigeon-feed seller, was removed from the main square. The 1999 Act prohibits vending as well as feeding pigeons, activities that formed one of the public performances for which the square was previously renowned. Busking, displaying signs and sleeping are also legislated against, preventing unlicensed performances and political expressions while restricting the presence of homeless people. Heritage Wardens, the red-jacketed private security contractors employed by the GLA, patrol the square along with a farrier tasked with discouraging pigeons from returning to the area. In contrast, the upper terrace, which has continued under the authority of the City of Westminster, is congested with buskers, performers, day-visitors and commuters.

Rather than being primarily a political space, a historical narrative that the GLA promotes, the square is a highly imaged place. The square was first photographed by Henry Fox-Talbot in 1844 and by 2009 it was claimed by Flickr to be the second most photographed place in the world. Trafalgar Square is an open space in which people are both spectators and spectacle. When they are not gazing from seats around the edge of the square they are taking photographs of themselves, each other and the ornaments of fountains and statues. During events, rallies and gatherings there is an awareness from individuals and the organisers that their presence will be seen. Although politicians and architects cite traffic concerns as one of the main reasons for redevelopment, this should not obscure the importance of image making in the reconfiguration of Trafalgar Square. As with the original plan laid out by John Nash and realised by Charles Barry, the 2003 transformation was as focused on opportunities to frame magnificent views as it was with reorganising traffic. This is evident in the scenic outlooks that were enhanced during the 2003 redevelopment to provide platforms for photography.

I find that the curated events, controlled activities and historical narratives of this ornate square, a site that is also architecturally framed and easily photographed, draws people and organisations to seek associations. In addition to its associations with Britishness the site offers exposure to audiences within the square and further afield through multiplying forms of media. Through the promotion of the square by the GLA, new events have also unfolded across the square informing the global image of the square, London and the UK. This is a public setting that embodies strong cultural images. As a result, it is a highly charged space, where politicians and their cultural advisors, architects and curators construct the image of the space and publicise their associations. Commercial enterprises hire the square for spectacular performances, film-makers set dramatic scenes in the square and political rallies use it as a platform within the viewshed of parliament. I have found that architectural firms, such as Foster and Partners, also benefit in marketing terms from their role in refashioning

the square. The combination of visual backdrops and associations to political, economic and social histories, all situated in the heart of London, draw people to Trafalgar Square to be part of what is going on – as an architecture project, as a stunning London setting or as a social landmark.

Overlapping issues

In addition to the distinctive spatial conditions and interrelations that form each site of the investigation, I identify overlapping ways of making public spaces across the three cases. Although the market (Elephant and Castle), canal-side (Paddington Basin) and civic square (Trafalgar Square) are produced in contrasting ways, I reveal the acceptance of political goals and economic priorities that have emerged out of a distinctive period of urban regeneration. Commonalities are identified in the recurring presence of the same politicians, consultants, critics and developers who were engaged with the redevelopment of two, and occasionally all three, masterplans. Of note, consultants such as Space Syntax, Norman Foster, Richard Rogers and Jan Gehl, were employed by public agencies and private developers, influencing Elephant and Castle Regeneration, Paddington Waterside and Trafalgar Square over the two decades following the election of New Labour in 1997 and the establishment of the Greater London Authority in 1999. At a pedestrian scale, I have also recognised common patterns of use through the day that follow the rhythm of regeneration, transportation timetables, school holidays and seasonal changes, contributing to how people engage in and form the public realm of the three cases. As ways of making public space are asserted through the redevelopment processes, new partnerships and contestations are formed. Through considering relations between the opportunities afforded and the ambitions seeking to define public spaces, I structure them as *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions*.

Spatial forms

Whether a masterplanned development is a partnership between a local authority and developers, developer-led, or state-initiated, all three processes reveal strong economic priorities for transforming these areas of London. It became evident across all three masterplanning efforts that, and as Madanipour (1996:109) describes, public spaces follow the values and priorities of the developers, politicians and community organisations who inform them. An emphasis on the economic priorities that local authorities place on urban development and the need for financial profit on the part of the developers results in public spaces that are architecturally and visually bold, but that limit social interactions. Despite

political differences between Southwark and Westminster, the two local councils embraced neighbourhood-scale projects that were reliant on developer involvement. These relationships with developers, which facilitate the *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* and *Paddington Waterside* masterplans, bring millions of pounds of financial contributions into public infrastructures and generate significant profits for developers and investors. The local authorities are dependent on Section 106 contributions, and for this reason the councils take the risk to make an initial investment to enable their masterplans. Southwark were responsible for decanting the Heygate Estate of its residents, while Westminster facilitated the hand-over of land from public agencies. As such, the planners and councillors had a lot to lose if the developments did not go ahead. In contrast to the profits gained by developers, at Elephant and Castle and Paddington Waterside, the masterplan that realised Trafalgar Square engaged in a global contest. The GLA focused on facilitating the movement of visitors into the square through pedestrianisation. They also created conditions for investment, locally for the GLA through media events, and nationally as these events enhanced the image of London, England and the UK.

As economic priorities come to bear on the development, out-dated spaces were refashioned, and marginalised individuals including market stallholders, teenagers, homeless people, sex workers, and buskers, became less welcome. At Elephant and Castle the market is due to be demolished, and a new market square focusing on crafts has been built. However, the planners question the suitability of the current traders and managers to operate in the new market square. Similar exclusions of undesirable uses have been evident at Paddington Basin and at Trafalgar Square, through several evictions during the process of redevelopment, the rewriting of legislation that impacts public spaces and the enforcement of private interests. One of the key objectives of the GLA's *Manifesto for Public Space* (2011) is for a 'prosperous city that can compete nationally and internationally attracting and fostering businesses that bring jobs and growth' (2011:2). Additionally, as a report by Gensler and ULI claims (2011:3), developers would invest in the public realm 'if there was a financial incentive'. However, this redevelopment of public spaces that provide a way of making London more attractive ignores existing jobs, local economies and livelihoods that are unable to continue in these new spaces that operate under different regulations. Activities and uses within public spaces that threaten the investments of local and metropolitan governments, as well as the potential profit of private interests, are therefore found to be restricted.

The masterplanning processes are facilitated by the continued talking down of the existing neighbourhoods and architectural forms by politicians and their consultants.

Uncompromising images of failed buildings and neglected spaces, that are frequently associated in the media with undesirable or criminal activities, are highlighted through employing selected photographs, scripted sound-bites and narratives of decline. Derisory representations emphasise the failures of historic social and spatial infrastructures, such as: congested, polluting and dangerous transportation systems (Elephant and Castle Regeneration and Trafalgar Square); dilapidated, unsightly and failed architectural forms (Elephant and Castle); and abandoned, vacant spaces offering redevelopment opportunities (Paddington Basin). At times, criticism of the areas by planners and politicians is left unquestioned in news articles, such as when Councillor Fiona Colley confidently derided the shopping centre and threatened its demolition. In contrast, accounts of residents who describe low levels of crime in the area when the Heygate Estate was full of residents (www.heygatewashome.org, 2015) and the ambitions of the previous owners of the shopping centre, who presented plans for renovation rather than demolition, are less reported on websites and in newspapers. Other negative messages are identified in blockbuster dystopian films like *Attack the Block* (2011), whose filmmakers were permitted by Southwark Council to film scenes within the Heygate Estate.

The talking down of all three sites has provided a foundation for new visions to be proposed by design consultants that legitimise the ambitions of politicians and developers. By undermining the image of an area of London, vested interests can, as one of the residents of Elephant and Castle described, 'stimulate the idea of an obsolete place, a failing place, a place that is full of crime, and noisy, and dirty' (Interview with local resident and planner Paul). Negative rhetoric is employed to establish a confidence that 'we [the council, developers and consultants] can change all this'. Rogers and Fischer argue for the reconfiguration of Trafalgar Square and Paddington Basin based on their own critique of the problems in the area. The authors introduce Trafalgar Square as a 'rammed' roundabout in a 'shabby city' (1992:xiv), before proposing the closure to traffic and extending pedestrian zones - an idea that Rogers had already drawn up for his exhibited proposal at the Royal Academy in 1986. Further use of negative imagery provided decision makers with useful support for demolition through comprehensive redevelopment rather than small-scale local initiatives that are more complex, difficult to visualise and likely less profitable. Such talking down across timeframes of development, to months and even years of threatened disruption, leaves residents and workers uncertain of their futures.

Visual images

Visual images are rendered to package the proposed transformations. Another advantage of talking down existing urban conditions is that negative narratives establish opportunities for

alternative visions to be proposed. Visual and written proposals are created by urban designers to communicate and fulfil political ambitions and financial goals for urban redevelopment. Design proposals are necessary to attract investment, to persuade stakeholders and to entice the media. Artistic styles of representing the physical and social transformations are carefully selected: from Foster and Partners' hand sketches displaying warm, social scenes of a new craft market at Elephant and Castle, and a jostling Trafalgar Square, to polished computer renders that reassure investors in Paddington Basin's buildings of the high-quality finishes of their spatial product. Artistic images, which are often distinguished more by what they conceal, are disseminated through websites, newspapers, television and marketing materials. A proliferation of photographs taken in public spaces and shared on social media contribute to what Lynch terms 'public images' (1960:7), influencing how we perceive and configure expectations to newly designed places.

During packaging, the creation of new public spaces defined as architectural forms, and practices of recording and sharing scenes of spaces as visual images, are often conflated. In his essay *The Word Itself*, J.B. Jackson explores the term 'landscape' where he describes how 'first [landscape] meant a picture of the view, then the view itself' (1986:3). Clients and their consultants, architects, urban designers and landscape architects, reflect this overlap of meaning when proposing new public spaces as spatial landscapes communicated in landscape drawings. However, Corner writes that 'just as there is no innocent eye, there is no neutral or passive imaging' (1999:155). Landscape drawings of the three cases are produced aiming to persuade, communicate and satisfy clients who commissioned them, reflecting the economic priorities discussed above. The public spaces are rendered as landscapes where 'landscape is bound into the market-place and is available only at a price' (1999:157). In the *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* and *Paddington Waterside* masterplans the imaging of proposed public spaces, which are part of the public access that the local authority requires the developer to provide, prioritise the enhancement of the value of the developer's properties. In contrast, in the architectural drawings of Trafalgar Square during its redevelopment and in its imaging through photographs, notions of heritage and culture are brought to the foreground through historic and cultural ornaments. As if critically reflecting Trafalgar Square, Corner writes: 'It is through styling (design), of course, that one imbues the landscape with allusions to regional and cultural identity' (1999:157).

Each masterplan is also spatially configured with an emphasis on visual composition, the control of views and opportunities to take photographs. This common approach to making public spaces as architectural projects reflects the GLA's first objective in their *Manifesto for Public Space*: the GLA describe 'a beautiful city where the spaces between the buildings can

inspire, excite and delight visitors and Londoners alike' (2011:2). These are public spaces objectified as landscapes, establishing grand stately vistas, foregrounding developments and placing activities to attract custom. Extending his critique of landscape images to physical landscapes, Corner claims that 'the scene itself displaces viewers, keeps them at a safe and uninvolved distance, and this presents the landscape as little more than an aesthetic object of attention' (1999:156). The structuring of public space through 'scenes', inextricably bound to culturally or financially significant buildings and punctuated by landmark water features and artworks, is present in the plaza, the canal-side and the square. It is an approach criticised by Mitchell (2003:186), where public spaces are composed as landscapes in which priorities for order and control overshadow marginal or unappealing daily activities. This structuring of public spaces is coupled with extended visual control as all three sites display signage reminding the visiting public that they are under surveillance by closed-circuit television. Desires to control how the sites are perceived form restrictions on public interactions that could further animate the architectural public spaces and limit the participation of individuals and organisations that wish to remake the spaces as public sites. In this way, narrow terms of public space as places of safety and spectacle are formed through the overlapping intentions of the developers, the local authorities and the GLA.

Social interactions

Complicated ownerships belie the visual and spatial clarity expressed in the masterplans of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square. Lynch describes how 'we are accustomed to one particular form of control' which is the 'legally defined ownership of a sharply defined area' (1981:205). However, across all cases it has been necessary to navigate disorganised and occasionally contested conditions of ownership and management. At Elephant and Castle, a patchwork of land parcels have existed since the post-war reconstruction of the area, confusing the council and shopping centre owners; at Paddington Basin a lengthy court battle over management responsibilities and service charges brought opposing developers and leaseholders to a legally binding situation; and, at Trafalgar Square the different ownerships of the upper terrace and the main square have allowed buskers, vendors and cyclists to circumvent the regulations put in place in 1999 by the GLA. Mitchell describes that this 'illusion of control is one aspect of making over a city as landscape' (1997:325). Architectural proposals and their associated visualisations offer confident and definite solutions to the problems affirmed through the initial talking down of the three areas. The apparent 'transparency' of public spaces, as they are reinforced through a certainty of ownership, management, use and architectural drawings, gives false confidence to clients, whether these are the local authorities, developers or people who may use these spaces. The privatisation of public space, through its shifting ownership and

management from the state to private interests, has for several decades been central to public space debates. However, the uncertainty of ownership and the complexity of management across each site suggest that simplified conceptions of public space have existed before and since privatisation that began in the 1980s. The ownership of public space may not in itself be a problem. Instead the power that ownership affords creates inconsistent opportunities for different people and organisations to engage with and in public spaces.

In addition to the enormous impact on individuals, families and businesses from the decanting of residents from social housing, closing local schools, running down commercial leases, evicting long-established vendors and closing-off historic rights-of-way – threats to public spaces through ongoing control are evident in all three cases. As the developments have been built regulations and bylaws for each site have been rewritten. While developers increasingly recognise the benefits that open spaces offer their developments, holding onto the control of how they are maintained into the future is found to be important. At Paddington Basin the BID provides a mechanism for extending control beyond the timeframe and spatial bounds of the masterplan. New regulations, written by the developers and enforced by security guards at Paddington Basin and passed by parliament and enforced by Heritage Wardens at Trafalgar Square, point to the need for spatial transformations to be accompanied by legislation that reinforce regulations that restrict the uses of public spaces.

The architectural masterplans of all three cases are the primary mechanisms in the redevelopment process. The masterplans are attempts, as Corner describes (1999:156), at a 'total vision', not just to represent but also to 'control and condition'. But the drawings accompanying the *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, *Paddington Waterside* and *World Squares for All* masterplans are merely visual representations of more comprehensive development instruments, documents, guidelines and agreements. The formation of the BID at Paddington and the new regulations at Trafalgar Square are testament to the expansive roles of the masterplans. However, as with the messy ownership of these sites, the drawings of the masterplans are frequently contradicted by more unstable and unpredictable interrelations of making public spaces. Corner claims that 'the erring realities of life contaminate the purity of any dominant masterplan' (1999:157): realities found in the errors of planning officials in releasing details of the developer agreements at Elephant and Castle, the incursions of undesirable users at Paddington Basin and the Heritage Wardens being overwhelmed by visitors cooling themselves in Trafalgar Square's fountains.

Despite the control of redesigning public spaces being negotiated at high levels of local authorities, I reveal that individuals and organisations with power assert their presence in many other processes (from masterplanning to operations and from access to use) of making public spaces. In so doing, scalar relations of power can be read in each case. The market managers at Elephant and Castle decide who can rent a stall and dictate what they are permitted to sell. The Heritage Wardens at Trafalgar Square are empowered by the GLA Act 1999 to remove people from the space. Consultants assert themselves during masterplanning in attempting to define programme, activities and uses. Organised events as well as large spontaneous gatherings occupy public spaces, restricting their use by others. In all three cases, access, exchange and interactions are carefully negotiated. At times, conflict occurs between security guards or police and people deemed to have transgressed the formal regulations of the spaces. Contestations emerge when enforcement is inconsistent at the privately-operated Elephant and Castle Market and Paddington Basin, or at Trafalgar Square when the scale of the gatherings and the number of visitors is impossible to manage or police.

However, except at Trafalgar Square, there are few moments when the public who use these open spaces assert their presence and concerns to the large-scale decision makers, the councils, the developers and the investment funds. On most days and for most people at Elephant and Castle Market and Paddington Basin, the terms of private ownership are experienced as benign, as rights of access across public spaces are maintained by teams of contractors. However, the same private rights are aggressively enforced when surprising, conflicting or undesirable uses emerge. Nevertheless, on the margins of all three sites, slivers of space can be found where the rules that have been written to accompany the masterplanned developments are ineffective: at Elephant and Castle, men distribute religious leaflets on the narrow pavements above the market, bypassing the market fees; at Paddington Basin demonstrators against certain corporate tenants identify public rights-of-way on the canal towpath on which they can remain unchallenged; and, in Trafalgar Square, unlicensed protests or performers occupy the upper terrace.

The similarly scaled masterplanned developments, and the distance and hierarchy from which decisions have been made, has limited the ability of planners, commercial interests and consultants leading masterplanning projects to consider these smaller-scale spaces, temporal activities or marginal lives. Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square are locations where essential small-scale activities take place: they are sites of people meeting friends, sharing spaces with strangers and exchanging goods despite the marginal spaces they have been afforded. I found in all three cases that the

ability of decision makers to identify the value of small-scale activities, awkward or deteriorated spaces or the needs of individuals, was overshadowed by greater concerns for economic development and profit. Madanipour writes that 'marginal public spaces... are not on the list of priorities' when local authorities are considering redevelopment (2010:113). These conditions are exacerbated in the context of unbalanced agreements between developers and local authorities at Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin. The provision of public goods by the developers is a planning obligation, but these commitments by the developer are only agreements in exchange for other benefits. Although government agencies leveraged the ownership of their land to gain investment in public infrastructure, the relationships with developers became less balanced when there was more at stake. At times, negotiations and the resultant agreements were increasingly concealed, whether in deals between Southwark Council and Lend Lease that local resident Paul felt was 'kept in a very narrow place' (Interview 2012) or where former teacher Judy questions the closing of the school to make way for the Paddington Basin development. She concedes: 'But you can't prove that' (Interview, 2013).

Conclusions

I conclude from the findings that overlapping concerns from issues of large-scale developments to economic priorities and from talking down existing areas to packaging future proposals, primarily relate to the masterplanning practices of urban redevelopment. Repeated expressions of economic priorities and on-going control in the production of public spaces establish contexts for, and follow processes of, large-scale development. These commonalities raise questions about the development of public space in London through masterplanned redevelopment – issues that are further discussed in the following chapter. In contrast to the masterplans, smaller-scale activities and uses of public spaces highlight the distinctive qualities of such public spaces. The daily exchanges observed in Elephant and Castle Market, the swathes of commuters passing through Paddington Basin and the routine use of Trafalgar Square make these three London geographies exceptional.

While each case of masterplanning was selected for their contrasting structures (between local, metropolitan and national government and private developers) common concerns are raised about the relation of large-scale practices to small-scale public lives of each site. I have shown that plans for comprehensive urban regeneration dominate the spatial forms as well as the everyday lives of the people who live, work, and pass through all three sites. We

have seen that threats are exacerbated when small commercial activities that can define the daily presence of the areas no longer align with the images desired by the council, GLA or developers. Even when they are not ultimately displaced, individuals and organisations within these spaces operate under the threat of redevelopment. This affects not just marginalised individuals, such as the teenagers removed by security guards from Paddington Basin, but the market operators at Elephant and Castle awaiting decisions from the latest shopping centre owners, who themselves were threatened by the council, which leads the wider regeneration.

Despite the dominance of economic imperatives and large-scale ambitions, people continue to occupy and use the deteriorated conditions of the moat at Elephant and Castle, enter and pass through the intensely controlled spaces of Paddington Basin and are attracted to the highly programmed spaces of Trafalgar Square. Social interactions, of varying scales and both public and private in character, can be seen to redefine these public spaces amongst the larger cycles of architectural change. However, as I conclude in the following chapter, opportunities to inform the making of these public spaces remain unevenly distributed and aggressively challenged by individuals and organisations with power across these three London sites.

Conclusions

The thesis opens with a quote from Simon Gregory, a historian local to Elephant and Castle, whom I interviewed in 2012. In our initial email conversation, Simon wrote: 'Any major redevelopment naturally produces a fair amount of controversy, especially if the world detects any unfairness' (Interview correspondence 2012). Reflecting on the imminent transformation and the large-scale privatisation of Elephant and Castle through the Lend Lease masterplan and a recent exhibition set up by an opposition group, Simon touched on the issue of 'fairness'. I had not anticipated that Simon's concern would resonate so strongly throughout the duration of the research as I explored the relations between masterplan processes, public spaces and public lives at Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square. The main aim of my research was to explore public spaces through sociological and architectural perspectives to understand the relations between diverse ways that the public spaces had been made. As I analysed the interview transcripts, field notes, documents and images, complex and contradictory issues arose. Although my interview with Simon focused on the historical development of Elephant and Castle, and in other interviewees' accounts of making public spaces there were few claims of unfairness, the thesis reveals unequal processes of spatial and social transformation, many of which have been articulated by state actors.

Interviews with local residents, commuters, workers, security guards, developers, planners and politicians have described nuanced narratives of how the three London sites are made. These accounts of public spaces designed, built and occupied have been both reinforced and questioned through observation and document surveys. All three cases of masterplanning include public space sites of daily routines where activities of commuting to work and relaxing over lunch take place unhindered. However, it has been through understanding relations between people and spaces, of market stalls erected, clusters of smokers, school kids hanging out after school, men playing checkers – and the potential displacement of these activities – that has brought to the foreground issues of unfairness. The research has revealed spatial, visual and social ambitions that individuals and organisations have expressed in the remaking of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square: approaches that have opened-up as well as restricted opportunities for others through planned physical actions within these sites and through larger-scale processes of planning and development.

Focusing the study around three London sites of masterplanned redevelopment has established a comparative basis to explore the research questions. The study began by investigating *how the three cases of masterplanning are unpacked into scales of political and economic strategies, management practices and everyday use*. The approaches of transforming neighbourhood-sized areas of London, undertaken by a local authority partnership (at Elephant and Castle), led by developers (at Paddington Basin) and championed by metropolitan government (at Trafalgar Square), provide urban development contexts by which the redesign, programming and use of public spaces can be considered. Additionally, a range of accounts of public lives and public space conditions within the masterplanned areas, of individuals and social relations enacted within, reconfiguring and impacted by these physical spaces, have been revealed. Key narratives have shown that activities of making public spaces have been informed by global agendas and national, metropolitan and borough-scale politics. The second question asked *how planning and masterplanning processes, with public spaces at their core, produce differential benefits and represent interests in uneven ways*. I reveal that favourable conditions provided by local authorities to the developers at Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin were leveraged against residents, commercial tenants and smaller land-owners, questioning what roles these sites, well served by public infrastructure, should play. Imbalances of political and economic power result in many residents and business people losing opportunities to be a part of these reimagined places. In contrast, at Trafalgar Square the newly formed Greater London Authority asserted its management role to rewrite the terms of use for anyone entering or wishing to use the square. Through the third question I explored *how specific commonalities and differences across the cases open-up wider insights into large-scale developments*. The contrasting relations between masterplan clients, consultants and stakeholders that I identify reveal differing conditions for making public space at comprehensive and more local scales. I examined public spaces built over and public lives unable to continue under the shadow of new regulations, while alternatively, I identify high-quality public spaces realised for hosting visually striking events that have drawn new visitors, tourists and investment.

This chapter is composed of three parts. Firstly, conclusions are drawn from the findings as presented in the preceding chapters (Also see Appendix C: Table of planning features). The research into the specific conditions of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square across the period of the study (2010 – 2016) has led to detailed accounts of public spaces planned and lived. The conclusions arising from these findings, that critically discuss the imposition of masterplans, the importance of visual images and the power of large-scale strategies, mainly refer to the three cases. In some instances,

conclusions are relevant to just one or two of the cases, while occasionally they lead to more generalised conclusions that can be understood in the context of other sites across London. In the second part of the chapter I develop three universal considerations derived from the findings and conclusions, and that build on the review of public space literature undertaken as part of this study. I discuss the potential of conceiving public spaces as collages of spaces and processes that are constantly being transformed, and how such an approach could support new forms of, and engagements with, the production of public spaces. In the final section of the chapter I propose that some of the issues identified could be addressed through new policies and practices. I initiate a written code for planning, managing and using public spaces that aims to establish more inclusive practices and more equitable relations between contested ways of making public spaces in London.

Conclusions from the findings

Imposing masterplans

Firstly, I conclude that the masterplans of *Elephant and Castle Regeneration*, *Paddington Waterside* and *World Squares for All* are not comprehensive forms of development, but compromised and piecemeal ways of producing public spaces. As the three redevelopments have moved forward, the masterplans have been repeatedly amended and sometimes entirely redrawn. Some of the reasons for this incremental progress include: unstable global economic conditions impacting developments and dictating the pace and form of the Elephant and Castle regeneration; designs for residential accommodation superseding plans for office space at Paddington Basin as London's housing market surged; and, the failure of the *World Squares for All Masterplan* to progress beyond the first phase as relations of power shifted when Mayor Livingstone was succeeded by Mayor Johnson. At Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin, progress has also been impacted by the reduced role of local authorities following austerity-focussed governments. Masterplans provide urban designers, developers and politicians with useful tools for communicating total visions for redevelopments. Masterplan documents, such as design guidelines, codes and drawings, reassure stakeholders and encourage investors. The imposing top-down perspective of bold architectural forms, presented in masterplan drawings, follows a tradition of architectural representations that can also offer assurances of order and clarity. Despite definitive plans, in each case the large masterplans progressed sporadically and as their public spaces were realised, the orderly scenes promised in the drawings needed to be reinforced through additional structures of security and management.

The totalising visions of the masterplans concealed confusing ownership and management boundaries: ownerships that needed to be resolved at Elephant and Castle to progress development; ambiguous management agreements that were exacerbated at Paddington Basin as development parcels were traded between developers; and, a division of responsibilities between the GLA and the City of Westminster that oversee two differentially regulated areas of Trafalgar Square. The lines of ownership are imperceptible across the redesigned areas and they have no effect on most visitors, demonstrating that for most of the time, terms of ownership have negligible importance for the routine functioning of these public spaces. However, I found that these boundaries can become points of contestation as: market traders are poorly advised by the council (Elephant and Castle Market), protestors become aware of the subtleties of ownership (Paddington Basin) and street performers cluster in some areas while avoiding others (Trafalgar Square). The potential for conflict is heightened as many of the security guards and other privately-contracted operators are unaware of the existence or the exact location of these legal boundaries. While these lines of contestation underline the contradictions of the masterplans and highlight the difficulty for local authorities to consolidate ownerships, businesses and lives are severely impacted as order is reinforced through the daily operations of the material public spaces.

Despite ambiguous boundaries, public and private control is brought to bear through new regulations, security teams and management, on the land parcels of the masterplan areas. As each site has been transformed through masterplan processes, regulations that govern the spaces have also been rewritten. Madanipour recognises that 'In the processes of urban change, the conditions of accessibility are subject to change, hence changing the nature of public space' (2010:8). Layers of redevelopments create additional rules enforced by new structures of management: as I revealed, the central public spaces of Elephant and Castle, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square are now all managed by commercial contractors. The partnership between Southwark and Lend Lease at Elephant and Castle has left swathes of new public spaces under the control of private developers. Tom Appleby, a planner from Southwark Council explains their situation: 'It is a cost thing. Lend Lease will want to maintain it to a level, or standard, that we might find more difficult to achieve' (Interview 2012). At Paddington Basin, the developers have further extended their influence over the public realm by maintaining and patrolling the public towpath that continues to be owned by the Canal and River Trust while also founding and part-financing the BID, which spreads beyond the masterplan area. At Trafalgar Square private contractors have been embraced to fulfil the operations of cleaning and security formerly undertaken by the state. Whether prescribed by government legislation or by private developer regulations, certain

public activities, which could lead to undesirable images of the areas, are pushed to the margins of the sites. Despite the rules being enforced unevenly, the image-focused priorities of those who direct the spaces result in central and visible areas of the public spaces being highly controlled. This leaves the margins of narrow pavements and towpaths, where it is difficult to gather and where activities are less visible, to be used for unlicensed gatherings, protests, busking and vending.

I conclude that the piecemeal progress of the masterplans of *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* and *Paddington Waterside* significantly benefitted the developers who were able to renegotiate densities of development, land-uses and development contributions. The prominence and size of the masterplan developments meant that there was a lot to be gained from investing in the projects, both economically and politically: banks funding private developers at Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin; architects at Trafalgar Square associating themselves with the prestige of the project despite low professional fees; or the Mayor whose reputation is bound up with the success of these projects through their ability to generate positive images of London and attract investment. The promise from developers for comprehensive transformations of their boroughs commands the attention of local authorities and central governments who respond by improving transport infrastructures, facilitating planning permissions, transferring formerly public assets into private hands, renegotiating planning obligations and the handing over of future control of large areas of the city. However, the piecemeal progress of the masterplans opens-up repeated opportunities for developers at Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin to renegotiate items, such as percentages of social housing required in residential developments, or to change the direction of the project. Unbalanced relations between the local governments and the large-scale developers are reinforced as each has a lot to lose. The need for Southwark Council and the City of Westminster to compete for investment is a financial necessity for them to fulfil their commitments to maintain other public infrastructures of road and rail networks. However, this prioritisation of financial gain from large-scale planning projects appears to undermine relations between local authorities and their other responsibilities, such as public housing and schools that are removed during masterplanning.

Visual appetites

The second conclusion is that the architectural forms of the public spaces proposed in the three masterplans highlight priorities for visual images that represent both the developments and London more generally. I identified the three conceptions of public spaces defined as: *spatial forms*, *visual images* and *social interactions*. But I found close relations between the first two concepts that represent priorities for architectural forms and visual representations.

The production of visual images realises commercial interests in marketing specific developments, the images fulfil political ambitions to promote investment into London and they satisfy personal interests in visually recording and sharing experiences through photographs. These visual priorities require investment into the spatial production of public spaces; the redevelopment of London that often eclipses the publicness of the sites. We have seen that all three sites were spatially reconfigured with an emphasis on their visual composition, including the strategic placing of the low-cost market at Elephant and Castle (and conversely, the same image of the market has provided a rationale for its removal), the views of the canal at Paddington Basin and the vistas along Whitehall towards Trafalgar Square. This approach in prioritising public spaces as scenic landscapes, as a way of seeing the city, enforces what Mitchell describes as a 'politics of aesthetics' (1997:326). He explains that the public spaces of cities are replaced by landscapes, in order 'to substitute the visual for the (often uncomfortable and troublesome) heterogeneous interactions of urban life' (1997:329). These landscapes are commissioned by developers, public agencies and governments, and sought by private individuals for their exacting spatial arrangements and focus on high quality materials.

Architectural forms of strong visual quality have therefore become necessary to fulfil such appetites for images. New forms of public spaces, surrounded by distinctive buildings, offer settings for the generation of enticing images by professional photographers syndicated for the news media and visitors recording their experience to be shared on social media. Tom Appleby describes 'one of the central issues' that he has to overcome at Elephant and Castle as being 'the quality issue' (Interview with Tom Appleby, planner at Southwark Council, 2012). He explains that how people think of the area 'pretty much comes down to how we perceive the public realm' – a situation that leads to an increased emphasis on the quality of materials, spaces and forms during redevelopment. Kate Beaton, the leader of the Paddington Business Improvement District (BID) explained, just as Tom Appleby described the situation at Elephant and Castle: 'The [Westminster] council is divesting itself... The council could not maintain [the public spaces] to the level that people are currently paying service charge' (Interview 2013). Such an emphasis on quality reinforces a perspective of public spaces as finished and curated products rather than as sites that can be lived and redefined through their use and occupation.

The use of visual images to render and package the masterplanned transformations underlines a visual approach to public spaces built as architectural forms. As occurs during image searches online, scenes of proposed public spaces intermix with historic images and a diversity of photographs of these sites, creating what Lynch terms 'public images'

(1960:46). From Lynch's research into how urban areas are perceived, he writes that 'there seems to be a public image of any given city which is the overlap of many individual images' (1960:46). Public images of the three cases are formed from first-hand experiences combined with images of these spaces from the Internet, film and television media. The importance afforded to these public images, in continuing to attract visitors, tenants and investors, results in struggles over the authorship and content of which images are created and shared. Once the visual qualities of public spaces are given precedence, Mitchell argues, those who own public spaces exert their 'control over the relations within it' (1997:323). Restrictions are in place in all three cases for taking photographs. While not described in explicit terms, activities that may offer a less favourable image of the public spaces associated with the developments are forbidden. The need to seek permission or pay fees in advance of taking photographs lies in contrast to the invitation professional photographers receive to cultural events that occur in Trafalgar Square. The layered relations between image making and realising newly designed public spaces connects global competition between cities with the actions of tourists and the digital realm of online images and public spaces in London. We can conclude that rather than a demise of physical public spaces through an increase in online sites of public exchange (see Sorkin 1992), the online sharing of images necessitates increased and newly formed architectural public spaces to the detriment of public spaces of interaction.

Large-scale strategies

Thirdly, approaches of larger-scale organisations to employ strategies for comprehensive development imposes limitations on the opportunities of other, often smaller scale activities and groups. The cases reveal complicated relations between planners, politicians and developers, who direct the developments on a metropolitan, national and international scale, with individuals and small groups who operate locally within the public spaces. At Elephant and Castle, the increased confidence of the local authority partnership since 2014 put the future of the shopping centre refurbishment in doubt, further undermining the presence of the market operators and stallholders. Legal disputes between developers and leaseholders, the closure of the school for a new mixed-use development and the tension caused by unfulfilled expectations of the residents at Paddington Basin also highlight the lack of power afforded to individuals and community groups. The political significance of Trafalgar Square generates interest from national government, brand-name architects and the GLA, which I identify, impact the presence of smaller-scale activities by vendors and performers. We can see from the three cases that the relations between organisations, people, spaces and planning mechanisms unfold at differing scales of space and power. While I recognise the production of public spaces in the three cases is realised across an array of intersecting scales, the

power afforded to local governments (with land resources) and large-scale developers (with financial means) favour larger scales of masterplanning and disadvantage small-scale incremental development. Once opportunities for masterplanned redevelopment are identified, the power that the councils and developers have is strongly asserted in the planning and development processes. As a result, opportunities to be part of the practices of everyday and architectural transformation of public spaces are tightly prescribed.

At Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin the limitations of the local authority and GLA planning systems are exploited by large-scale private interests. Low (2006:83) states that 'private interests take over public space in countless ways'. She emphasises that in large-scale developments specific approaches are employed, and what she terms 'physical tactics' are reinforced by 'legal and economic strategies' (ibid.). Private developers recognise that local authorities are unable to realise new development projects without the presence of commercial investment. I highlighted ways in which Section 106 agreements and planning controls designed to offset the impact of large scales of development, are negotiated in favour of developers and investors, often compounding the impact of the developments on residents and businesses. High quality, new public spaces are created by developers who also make contributions towards local transport infrastructure. Such investments increase the marketability of developments for future incomers and investors while fulfilling the demands of Section 106 agreements and Community Infrastructure Levies. These contributions reduce obligations, such as the provision of social housing that may offer fewer benefits to the developers. The former owner of the shopping centre at Elephant and Castle described how their proposal to renovate the shopping centre and to add 1,000 new residential units would be offset by their financial contributions to an expanded Northern Line Tube station (Interview with shopping centre owners, 2012). If implemented, the shopping centre owners would have benefited from an improved transportation network with greater capacity and a flow of customers directly into its mall. The advantages gained by large commercial interests bring the suitability of planning control into question and raises further questions over whether there are sufficient controls over large-scale development and adequate support for public concerns and activities.

Negotiations conducted in private during the planning processes between public agencies and governments who have land assets and large developers backed by private investors, come to define the forms and relations of masterplanned developments. In addition to governments facilitating large masterplans, private developers assert control through employing design, planning and legal consultants to negotiate their relations with politicians and council employees. What was considered by several interviewees to be the unbalanced

nature of the development negotiations are not required to be shared publicly. As the significance of the financial gains of the developers increases and becomes more unbalanced, which is also facilitated by favourable terms agreed by the local authorities of Southwark and Westminster, it is not in the interests of either party to reveal what has been agreed. Architectural plans that are prioritised for their spaces of high aesthetic quality, as well as the long-term management of spaces, remain in the developer's control. As decisions about the future of public spaces are made in private, individuals and organisations with power use such opportunities to ensure that they benefit from what is agreed. Exclusive relations reinforce suspicions in local communities that the economic ambitions of planners and developers are prioritised over the needs and concerns of the public. As Judy, one of the former teachers from the school closed to make way for the development at Paddington Basin, describes: 'the closure of the school has nothing to do with the education, it is the value of the land that is making that decision' (Interview with Judy Peterson, 2013).

The conclusion that unequal processes in the development of public space frequently favour large-scale, private interests are recognised by many interviewees in the research. In interviews with local authority planners, the acceptance of individuals losing out from the developments also exposed the changing roles and expectations of government. At Elephant and Castle the shopping centre owners described how they did not expect any retailers to remain after its redevelopment, particularly because the shop rents would inevitably and prohibitively increase (Interview with Jonathan, shopping centre manager, 2012). Similar comments from Tom Appleby at Southwark Council question the future of the market in the moat:

I think that we would like to see opportunities for them, but whether they are the right operators to go on that new space, I don't know, it is a commercial decision in part. The one in the moat is managed by Urban Space Management, under a lease from St Modwen's, you can see what kind of, I'm not being derogatory to it, but if someone is going to create a new market on that space then they have to have an idea of what kind of... If you are setting up a new market you want to think about what ethos and the image you are creating. (Interview 2012)

Similarly, the actions of the security guards and the BID, who called in the police, have resulted in teenagers being evicted from the Paddington Basin area. Julian Dean of Westminster City Council explains (Interview 2013):

While the college [North Westminster Community College] was there... security guards noticed people hanging around. But one of the interesting things about that is the fear of youths hanging around is much greater social factor than the actual danger of youths hanging around. And you know, with either race or

dress or attitude problems, from both sides of the fence, security guards and teenagers, I couldn't imagine a worse combination, you know. But nothing that got really out of hand.

From developers, public agencies, planners and designers to tenants and residents there is an expectation, and in most cases an acceptance of the imbalances of power, that some organisations will benefit while other groups and individuals will lose out.

Further considerations

Socio-spatial relations of making

Building on the conclusions, I highlight three further considerations for realising future public spaces. The first is that, *through focusing on relations of making, social and spatial conceptions of public spaces become inseparable*. By highlighting relations of making, I have aimed to both address narrow definitions of public spaces that serve single disciplinary approaches and also to question commercial ambitions to focus public spaces on visually attractive architectural forms and to control of social relations within them. One of the aims of the research has been to work simultaneously with architectural and social science methods in the study of public spaces. This has necessitated a consideration of public spaces as neither architectural containers within which social activities unfold nor solely public spaces formed through social interactions. What Massey terms 'throwntogetherness' requires 'negotiation which must take place within and between both human and non-human' (2005:140). Through fieldwork I observed social relations within and as part of three specific London sites. During desk studies and interviews I further analysed the associations between the decisions and actions of using, adapting and redeveloping the physical spaces. The combination of methods revealed entwined and competing notions and claims to public spaces, leading me to propose the adoption of a broader approach that focuses on the publicness of making public spaces undertaken by individuals and organisations with varying interests, livelihoods and disciplinary fields. This approach reflects the multiple social and spatial relations that Massey claims produce public spaces, 'operating with a concept of spatiality which keeps always under scrutiny the play of the social relations which construct them' (2005:153).

Accepting public spaces as composed of multiple socio-spatial narratives questions the suitability of single disciplinary tools. I advocate that developers, planners, architects and landscape architects adopt additional research methods, such as observation, which can

reveal nuanced social interactions and may lead to developments that incorporate more diverse notions of publicness. Correspondingly, social scientists could more regularly employ visual and spatial techniques while also directly proposing designs and policies for new public spaces. Such transdisciplinary approaches would bring into closer proximity reflective research methods and propositional design practices, such as the techniques of Whyte (1980), who studied social relations within open spaces, and through his conclusions sets out new coded standards for future public spaces. Whyte proposes that 'If we could find out why the good plazas worked... we could have the basis for a new code' (Whyte 1980:15): he then concludes with specific practical proposals, such as: 'All primary spaces shall provide a minimum of 1 tree per 1000 square feet of primary space area' (ibid.:30). Through openness to, and knowledge of, both social science and architectural methods the possibilities of research and design projects can be expanded. Such approaches could also intersect academic and professional practices and could lead to a hybridising of techniques, such as combining traditional mappings of spatial conditions undertaken by landscape architects and urban designers, with conversations recorded by social scientists. The amalgamation of tools could underpin new forms of practice and representation as conversations in the field are mapped spatially and the redesign of architectural spaces is proposed in writing (see Sorkin 1993). Most importantly, however, the combining of approaches can reveal issues, such as the making of public spaces that reveal unfair conditions experienced by small-scale businesses as large-scale redevelopment unfolds. As Tonkiss (2014:1) claims:

Focusing on the interplay between the social and the physical shaping of contemporary cities makes it possible to see how the material organization of urban space is crucial to the production and reproduction of social and economic arrangements, divisions and inequalities.

The literature and theory employed in the thesis highlights useful examples and reveals specific difficulties in combining architectural perspectives and social science approaches in the study of public spaces. Smith and Low assert, 'public space and public sphere literatures can certainly overlap but more often than not they occupy quite separate domains' (2006:5). While architecturally trained writers such as Madanipour (1996, 2010) and Carr (1992) explore the social dimensions of public spaces; when they define public space they revert to notions of places developed spatially to accommodate public activities. From social science perspectives, contrasting but similarly dialogical relationships are also frequently argued for (see Low 1996, 2000 and Mitchell 1997). Through research on public plazas in Costa Rica, Low (1996:861) proposes a definition of space being socially produced and socially constructed. She writes that 'the social production of space includes all those factors – social, economic, ideological, and technological – the intended goal of which is the physical creation of the material setting'. Correspondingly, she defines the social construction of

public space as the 'phenomenological and symbolic experience of space as mediated by social processes such as exchange, conflict, and control' (1996:861). By working with these definitions, Low attempts to 'integrate the perspectives of social production and social construction of space' (1996:862). However, these descriptions highlight a binary approach that in the case of this research keeps sociological and architectural perspectives apart that I identify to be reinforced through practices of making public space in London. When reflecting on these two contrasting positions in *Spatializing Culture: An Engaged Anthropological Approach to Space and Place* (2014) Low explains that the 'co-production model' that she previously employed 'was limited by its two-dimensional structure' (2014:35). Her response is to add 'embodied space' (2014:35) as a third conception, building on an interest in theories that are 'experience-near and yet allow for linkages to be made to larger, social, and cultural processes' (2003:10). In contrast, I propose a single, but broader, conception of making public spaces, conceived as varying combinations of both social spaces *and* spatial lives.

The potential revealed in combining social and spatial approaches highlights the need to question other commonly described dichotomies of public space, such as those between narrow terms of ownership (corporate and state), scale (large and small) or formation (planned and spontaneous). All three cases in the thesis are composed from a patchwork of spaces owned and operated differentially by private and public interests. A mix of publicly and privately-owned spaces as considered in the thesis as public spaces, which are identified to have existed before all three developments began. However, I have also identified that large-scale mechanisms of masterplanned development have facilitated the consolidation of private ownerships at Elephant and Castle and Paddington Basin and state control has been reinforced at Trafalgar Square. When reflecting on issues of scale, by merely focusing on the impact of large-scale developments on small-scale uses, other dimensions and relations that criss-cross between them could have been missed. I revealed that mid-scale businesses, events, gatherings and operations are found to have significant presence in each of the three cases. Moreover, through unquestionably accepting the overshadowing of small activities by masterplanned developments, the significant influence of some individuals and the lack of power of other larger groups could have been overlooked.

Continually making public space

The second consideration advocates that *public space should be understood as a socio-spatial entity continually remade and unmade through differential rhythms, scales and compositions of publicness*. Intersecting trajectories of tourists, commuters and cleaners

intermix with seasonal markets and political events, transforming places previously reconfigured through urban design plans, reveals public spaces, as Massey proposes for space, as 'a product of interrelations' which are 'always in the process of being made' (2005:11). The constant interactions between people and specific geographies form new public spaces and unravels others: people gather and disperse, markets are fabricated and then dismantled while regulations that open-up uses of public spaces can as easily restrict other activities. The ways in which spaces are transformed varies between different relations and opportunities resulting in varying degrees of publicness across these sites. Through continually making and unmaking public spaces, unequal relations between individuals, stakeholders, state agencies and commercial interests are navigated and contested. As opportunities to remake these spaces are won or lost, the publicness of these sites as public spaces is redefined once again.

If public spaces are considered to be continually made through socio-spatial relations, this increases the need to negotiate contestations in public. Mitchell states that 'public space is always a negotiation' (1997:327), however, new regulations that restrict certain activities and participants can 'remove some people from the negotiators' table' (1997:327). Everyday rhythms are interrupted by large-scale masterplans and new legislation that extinguish some activities while opening-up opportunities for others. At Elephant and Castle Market the layered control across the local authority, shopping centre owners, market managers and stallholders has formed a site of cyclical daily routines and spatial configurations. Although the latest regeneration is expected to result in the closure of the market in the moat, other public interactions will inevitably emerge in the new market square. Similarly, controls by private interests, led by the developers at Paddington Basin, narrow opportunities for public discourses and action, but have not extinguished them altogether. At Trafalgar Square daily activities flow through the scheduled cultural, political and commercial events that occupy the footprint of the square since it was refashioned and reopened in 2003. However, many conversations that lead to agreements are undertaken in private leaving negotiations, that Mitchell refers to, being conducted outside of public scrutiny. A lack of transparency in the deals with developers, discussions that lead to Section 106 planning agreements (see Elephant and Castle Regeneration and Paddington Waterside) and out-of-court settlements (see Trafalgar Square) have led to suspicion and accusations in all three cases. Issues that impact the formation of public spaces have the potential to be more openly negotiated in public and with open consultation.

If public spaces are accepted as being continually reconfigured and redefined, and where the relations are open to public scrutiny, there may be potential for different people to

participate within the dynamics of making. When the research began in 2010 the works to redesign Trafalgar Square had been completed for several years while at Paddington Basin the redevelopment was partially complete and at Elephant and Castle Market the regeneration was just getting underway. Despite these contrasting stages of redevelopment, daily reconfigurations of market stalls and concert stages and longer temporal phases of artworks, signage and installations were found to cut across the refashioning of the architectural spaces. The differing compositions of commuters, tourists, students, performers, market traders, protestors and construction workers intermingled with the material spaces and continually reconstituted the sites as public spaces. Occasionally, I observed sites where notions of the public sphere, as 'arenas of social and political contest and struggle' (Smith and Low 2006:12), became indistinguishable from definitions of public space. Although this framing of public space has the potential to unsettle, it also provides for diverse interactions: as places defined by the contestation of public issues, as sites to be realised through design and as spaces of community action. If sites are continually being reformed as public spaces, rather than being fixed in place through tightly controlled rhythms of events, then they offer the potential for people to use and occupy these spaces.

Publicness of making

Finally, I propose that *the publicness of public spaces should be considered in terms of the inclusiveness of opportunities to redefine them*. To address the narrow frames of ambitions for public spaces identified in the research, as *spatial forms, visual images and social interactions*, alternative definitions can be imagined. The degree of publicness of public spaces could be considered in relation to the openness for different people and organisations to engage in the continual transformation of public space sites. This provocation reflects Massey's description of public spaces as places which are 'deliberately open' in which 'we have the possibility of constructing a public' (www.publicspace.org, 2013). I propose that what Madanipour terms '*inclusive processes*' (2010:1, italic in original) in making public spaces, should be as important as the physical architectural spaces in the definition of a site's publicness. We could consider public spaces in relation to their accessibility to socio-spatial processes, where people continually challenge the forms and terms through their presence, negotiations and actions. The degree to which a place could be termed a public space could depend on the openness to uses and participants, such as school children entrusted to redesign a space or tourists afforded rights to reconfigure a space through their engagement with buskers. Socio-spatial possibilities could result in what Low (2003, 2014) may be aiming for with her triologue between the social production, social construction and embodied conceptions of public space: 'space as a potentiality for social relations' (2014:35).

In the context of the findings, how could future public spaces as socio-spatial entities be considered? How could open definitions of public space be achieved despite competing agendas for the spaces under constant negotiation in their production? A common question could be asked of Elephant and Castle Market, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square: how can an openness and equity in access to continually make public spaces in masterplanning sites be achieved? Since concerns over privatisation of public spaces were raised in the 1980s and 1990s there has been a refocus on public space from issues of ownership to concerns for ongoing management. The contracting of Broadgate Estates to manage public spaces at Paddington Basin reflects the commercially-focused ethos of a ULI and Gensler report (2011), which states: 'The Business Improvement District model (BID) provides an effective framework for local government and businesses to engage in the improvement and management of existing open spaces in the short, medium and long-term' (2011:20). Although, in a contrasting GLA report, *Public Life in Private Hands: Managing London's Public Space* (2011), the Planning and Housing Committee states that there should be attempts to 'engage the community in both the design and the ongoing management process' (2011:42) there does not appear to be a slow-down of private interests involved in making public spaces or an increase in community decision making. Commercial organisations, represented by private developers and supported by state agencies and local authorities, are increasingly well represented in the redevelopment of public spaces while local groups and individuals struggle to become involved.

Coded propositions

I close the thesis by inquiring how the conclusions and the considerations for conceiving public spaces could be explored in practice. I further examine the issues from the last two sections: through challenging large-scale economic strategies that employ visual, spatial and regulatory approaches to making public spaces; and, by exploring the potential of more equitable socio-spatial relations that could continually redefine London's sites of publicness. In this final section, I propose three public space codes that address the conclusions in the contexts of *local authority London*, *corporate London*, and *global London* that I outlined in the introductory chapter. Firstly, I propose greater transparency in how public spaces are planned, designed, built and used; secondly, I advocate that a more inclusive approach to defining public spaces could be achieved through a London-wide design code for public spaces informed by individuals, community groups, government and commercial organisations; and thirdly, I suggest that an independent regulator for London's infrastructure

of public spaces could ensure transparency and inclusivity while overseeing the many claims to public spaces, ownerships, management and regulations.

Design coding is described in *Preparing Design Codes: A Practice Manual* as providing precise spatial design guidance through 'written and graphic rules' (Communities and Local Government 2006:10). Shane explains that such urban codes are a 'written, systematic and logically consistent body of laws and statutes that regulate a situation, activity or place' (2011:348). Design coding was strongly promoted by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) and the Department for Communities and Local Government, during the period of masterplanning of the three cases. Government-commissioned design code documents: *The Use of Urban Design Codes* (CABE 2003), *Design Coding: Testing its use in England* (CABE 2005) and *Preparing Design Codes: A Practice Manual* (Communities and Local Government 2006), provide an argument for employing design coding to realise spatial and economic urban developments. They focus on the benefits that design coding offers planners, designers and developers to create: 'better designed development'; 'enhanced economic value'; 'a more certain planning process'; 'streamlined development control'; and 'more coordinated development' (2006:10). More recently *Public London: Ten Years of Transforming Space* (2015), a study of public spaces by urban development advocates New London Architecture (NLA), calls for the establishment of a 'code of practice to ensure public space is public for all' (2015:101). However, I argue that the conditions described in the CABE and NLA documents contribute to, rather than address, the concerns that I have identified in the thesis – concerns that the development of public spaces is too focused on economic value addressed through spatial and visual design practices, resulting in the systematic marginalisation of certain individuals and communities. Rather than agendas only directed to benefit the interests of government officials, developers and urban designers, I propose that beginning a new public space code could also address concerns for fairness by empowering less visible, smaller scale interests and individuals.

Through the following three codes I aim to propose inclusive ways of developing public spaces that could be informed by diverse publics and which could further provide for, rather than deny the presence of contentious activities, undesirable individuals or unplanned gatherings. The coding of these propositions, as Sorkin attests in his utopian manifesto *Local Code* (1993:127), follows:

[It] embraces the idea that the city is a collaborative artefact and calls for a re-centering of the framework for such collective activity, for a re-examination of the narrow coercions of conventional "master" plans.

Design codes that are too open can be ignored or misinterpreted by developers and other stakeholders, and thus fail to fulfil the intentions for which they are authored. Alternatively, and in the context of public space in London, narrowly prescriptive codes could too closely reflect the regulations that I have found to accompany newly designed architectural public spaces. Regarding the latter, Shane recognises a history of legal codes used in ‘restricting the rights of urban minorities’ (2011:349). I suggest, however, that design codes and planning policies, must simultaneously open-up opportunities, as Sorkin attests (1993:127), while also achieving precision in how public spaces are produced. Whyte, who uses a design code in his proposals for public spaces in New York City, claims that a ‘lack of guidelines does not give builders and architects more freedom’ (1980:30). If we were to apply Sorkin’s *Local Code* to London, a code such as, ‘No public space should be unlinked. The public area of the City is to be continuous.’ (1993:66), we would prescribe a network of connected public spaces while affording landscape architects, community groups or developers the opportunity to decide how streets, squares, plazas and other spaces designated as public spaces are to be joined up. If we consider this code alongside ‘Public Space may be stacked’ (Sorkin 1993:66), then vertical connections to public roof gardens, such as the elevators connecting the street to London’s Sky Garden at 20 Fenchurch Street, would also be required to be public spaces. Furthermore, ‘Stacked Public Space may comprise no more than 10% of the total area of Public Space in the City’ (Sorkin 1993:66), which would provide specific limits to the development of roof gardens in London that are claimed to be public spaces.

While design codes can effectively define spatial forms, and set priorities for social interactions, both government guidance and more conceptual propositions that utilise design coding tend to focus on spatial forms. The Department of Communities and Local Government considers design codes to primarily facilitate a spatial approach to redevelopment: ‘Design codes support the culture change in planning and the transition to a spatial approach to planning’ (2006:10). Sorkin emphasises his spatial approach: ‘I have tried to include no direct prescription for the character of social relations’ (1993:127). However, the aims from which design codes are written and the architectural forms that result are social as well as spatial. Sorkin’s code to include schools and markets (1993:52) reflect his social priorities and allude to potential socio-spatial relations from which these specific places of education and exchange could be generated. I propose a design code for public spaces that is socio-spatial, and which has the potential to redefine spaces and spatial relations. Indeed, as ‘delivery tools’ design codes are proposed to ‘interpret, articulate and deliver’ strategies, policies and guidance (Department of Communities and Local Government 2006:34). Through this design code I aim to provide a fairer means for many

different people and organisations to transparently design, regulate and use future public spaces in London. I begin here with three codes, which now follow.

Code 1: Transparent negotiations

I aim with the first code to make transparent and bring to public scrutiny the relations and agreements reached in the production of public spaces in London. Fainstein recognises that 'demands for transparency, inclusion, and negotiation in public decisions' are a response to the 'inequitable impacts of urban programs resulted from blocking the voices of affected publics' (2010:24). The concealed contracts and opaque exchanges that inform masterplanning neighbourhoods and designing public spaces, particularly attempts of private interests at *Elephant and Castle Regeneration* and *Paddington Waterside* to protect their business interests, reveal significant financial opportunities for profit-driven developers. Additionally, the details of the out-of-court settlement that led to the displacement of established vendors from a redeveloped Trafalgar Square were never disclosed to the public. The benefits to developers of Section 106 agreements and Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPO), the relations of BIDs with developers and the sale of public assets to commercial developers suggest that there is a lot to be gained as public spaces are produced. Correspondingly, there is a lot to lose (or potential benefits to be lost) as agreements are signed, releasing public assets to commercial interests with questionable gains for the local authorities of Southwark and Westminster and the communities they are tasked to represent. The conflicts of interests within local authorities, between responsibilities for planning control and the need to foster entrepreneurial relations with developers, leave local authorities with greater incentives to conceal their agreements than to transparently present them for public scrutiny. Therefore, the first code proposes that:

1. Transcripts of all meetings, conversations, negotiations and agreements that inform the planning, design, development and management of public spaces should be available as publicly accessible documents.

Code 2: Inclusivity

The second code highlights two issues: the exclusion of individuals, such as market vendors, school children, homeless people and street performers, that I identified to be excluded from specific public spaces of Elephant and Castle, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square; and, the potential to include a more diverse range of individuals and organisations in the making of public spaces in London. Returning to Madanipour's definition of public space, as '*accessible spaces, developed through inclusive processes*' (2010:1, italics in original) I propose a more inclusive approach in making London's public spaces through involving a

broad range of public and private interests, composed from residents, businesses, visitors, stakeholders, developers and governments. Madanipour writes: 'An inclusive process would involve a larger number of people and agencies and would spread the benefits of the process to larger parts of society' (2010:12). Despite this, he notes:

However, if the needs and demands of the disadvantaged parts of society are not strongly represented, politically or financially, as is often the case, the process and its outcomes may not serve them at all.

I propose that the potentially simple language of design coding could be employed through an incremental and cumulative process that engages schools, charities and community groups. Such an approach could include the priorities of school children, homeless people and other marginalised groups in the making of public spaces, as well as the ambitions of developers, governments and private interests. This London-wide design code could be collaged through the involvement of diverse interest groups, written in both disciplinary-specific and less professional language, directly representing previously unheard voices alongside strategies already afforded publicity. Rather than translating the aspiration of communities through traditional consultation workshops, design codes could be written and directly adopted as a means of directing the redevelopment, management and use of public spaces. While the design code would require mediation (see the following, *Code 3: Independent Regulator*), the large number of individual codes, which would constitute a potential code for public spaces in London, could provide many individuals and groups an opportunity to inform the process. Additionally, a design code, representing strategic ambitions for development and techniques of everyday appropriation, would always be in the process of being translated through the actions of individuals using public spaces and organisations reconfiguring them through events, architectural design and masterplans.

Regarding the inclusive aspirations of design coding, in the foreword to CABE's *Design Coding: Testing its use in England*, the deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, writes: 'Design codes bring together the professionals involved in planning, urban design and highways, along with local residents, landowners and developers' (2005:5). The Department of Communities and Local Government report also recognises that, 'key parties have different motivations for preparing a design code' (2006:7). However, in practice most design codes tend to be, as described by Carmona and Giordano, 'authored to facilitate planning permission for the benefit of private consultants, private developers and landowners' and they 'tend not to be openly published on local authority websites' (2013:6). I therefore propose an alternative code to communicate the desires of diverse stakeholders, including the ambitions of individuals otherwise excluded. A written code for public spaces could

challenge the array of private and state-initiated regulations. A design code could provide a stronger prescription than the guidance provided by the *The London Plan* (GLA 2011). A design code overseen by an independent regulator, as proposed below, could address the issue of changing roles of local, metropolitan and national governments. The inclusion of a broad range of publics in writing the design code would challenge narrow private interests of individual owners and managers and could encourage local residents, visitors and organisations to engage in the remaking of public spaces. The second design code for public space is, therefore:

2. The design, development, management and use of London's public spaces is to be informed by a public space code written by a large number and diverse set of individuals, groups and organisations (and facilitated by an independent regulator, see Code 3).

Code 3: Independent regulator

With the third code, I propose an independent regulator with the responsibility of ensuring transparency and inclusivity in the design, development, management and use of London's public space infrastructure. As stated in the first code, public-private agreements that lead to the remaking of public spaces could be more transparent if details of negotiations were made available to the public. However, as Fainstein explains in *The Just City* (2010), only providing transparency 'fails to confront adequately the initial discrepancy of power' which forms policies and directs decision making (2010:24). As public infrastructures have been privatised across the UK, since the 1980s, once state-owned networks, such as telecommunications and transportation, have been provided with regulators to coordinate and oversee their operations (such as Ofcom and the Office of Rail and Road). In addition to overseeing networks that are operated by different private organisations and that extend beyond single local authority areas, the regulators have set standards and have acted as ombudsmen for complaints against the organisations who privately manage resources that were previously considered public goods. To consider London's public space as an infrastructure could broaden the scope of public spaces to include the streets, squares, canal-sides and wider networks of publicly accessible spaces; include state and privately-owned or managed public spaces; and, make inseparable the social and spatial dimensions of public spaces. I propose therefore that a new independent organisation is required to regulate London's public spaces.

As I have demonstrated at Elephant and Castle, Paddington Basin and Trafalgar Square, rights to public spaces tend to be decided by organisations with greater access to legal, land

and financial resources. A lack of regulation leaves imbalances of power in the production, management and use of public space unaddressed, allowing for an overregulation of public spaces by government and private interests. As Massey states (2005:152): 'All spaces are socially regulated in some way' and 'unregulated' public space 'leaves a heterogeneous urban population to work out for itself who really is going to have the right to be there'. In the context of the proliferation of forms and management of public spaces, an independent regulator could provide fair and consistent oversight over the operations and regulations of these spaces across London. However, rather than merely regulating the spatial forms of public spaces or the less ordered, small-scale activities of vendors, buskers, adolescents or transients, a new independent regulator could oversee all socio-spatial concerns for making public spaces, including the large-scale political and commercial interests. With the fragmentation of responsibility for public space currently across the 32 London boroughs, within new redevelopments and historic estates, and between BIDs and private management companies, an independent regulator could provide a consistent overseeing body. An independent regulator could also ensure that public interests are fairly represented in the making of public spaces as the role of local government, leadership and priorities of the GLA and the political agendas of central government change.

3. A new independent regulator for London public spaces should be established (which encompasses the entirety of Greater London and which remains independent from central government, the GLA, local authorities and private interests).

In concluding the thesis, I would like to reemphasise that approaches to masterplanning can create exclusive public spaces that overshadow the daily routines of sites across London. As Madanipour (2010:13) highlights:

... disadvantaged groups, who do not have access to financial resources and are frequently disconnected from the political process, end up having no control or stage in the city building process. The places that are created are not designed to serve them, as these groups are not often part of the decision-making formula.

Within large neighbourhoods and districts that are enveloped by masterplans led by governments, agencies and developers - public spaces, livelihoods and concerns of many individuals are disregarded. Behind bold designs for new urban spaces and the attraction of a reprogrammed public realm, competing interests are strongly asserted, creating unbalanced relations between commercial developers and small-scale businesses and between local authorities and activities of individuals deemed undesirable.

I argue that there is an urgency to create an independent regulator to establish transparency, to include the interests of marginalised individuals and groups and to oversee the presence of competing public and private interests in the development, management and use of London's public spaces. This research has demonstrated that even before the accelerated privatisation of public spaces in the 1980s, private interests have played a significant role in the provision and use of public spaces. To merely propose that the distinctions between public and private spaces be more clearly delineated ignores this history and overlooks the changing role of governments (national, metropolitan and local authority) and public agencies (such as the Canal and River Trust). I instead advocate for transparency of these relationships that have become so important in the provision of London's public spaces.

That such relations are often reliant on large scales of redevelopment must not overshadow the diversity of individuals and activities, often smaller-scale, from being represented in the making of public spaces. I would like to reiterate that as public space is an essential resource, and although it is repeatedly claimed and transformed by a range of powerful public and private interests, there are potentially fairer ways of opening access to these processes through independent regulation. I do not merely propose a further addition of regulations and laws, but rather a structure that opens-up new opportunities for inclusively planning, managing and using public spaces. This could be achieved, in part, by a design code that realises physical public spaces as inclusive processes. Such an approach, of bringing together many small single sentences of design code to create a collective strategy for public space, as Sorkin states in *Local Code*, could recognise that: 'The City will always prefer to see the small initiative reflected in the large' (1993:11).

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Appendix A:

List of conversations and interviews

Elephant and Castle interviews (recorded):

Location	Individual	Role	Date	Duration
Elephant and Castle café	Paul	Resident	5.3.12	2 hours
Borough High Street café	Simon	Resident and historian	9.3.12	2.5 hours
Council offices	Tom	Planner	28.3.12	45 minutes
Elephant and Castle café	Jonathan	Shopping centre manager	30.3.12	1 hour
Architect's office	Jane	Community forum	30.3.12	1 hour
Architect's home	David	Architect	2.5.12	1 hour
Research office	Jason	Planner	15.5.12	45 minutes
Manager's office	Steven	Market manager	25.5.12	1 hour
Manager's office	Roland	Market manager	25.5.12	20 minutes

Elephant and Castle main conversations (unrecorded):

Location	Individual	Role	Date	Duration
Food court	Steve	Market trader	14.1.13	2 minutes
Market	Barry	Market trader	25.5.12	2 minutes
Market	Al	Market trader	25.5.12	10 minutes
Market	Ahmed	Market trader	14.1.13	2 minutes
Market	Sundar	Market trader	14.1.13	2 minutes
Market	Gregor	Market trader	7.8.12	5 minutes
Food court	[unknown]	Security guard	8.9.12	2 minutes

Paddington Basin interviews (recorded):

Location	Individual	Role	Date	Duration
West End Quay	Edward	Resident's committee	10.10.12	1 hour
Council offices	Julian	Planner	22.10.12	1.5 hours
Resident's apartment	Sharon	Resident	24.10.12	1 hour
Manager's office	Kate	BID manager	3.12.12	1 hour
Manager's office	Michael	Waterways manager	11.1.12	1 Hour
Architect's office	Peter	Architect	16.1.13	1 hour
Manager's office	Richard	Developer	24.1.13	1 hour
Activist's home	Judy	Local worker	5.4.13	1.5 hours

Paddington Basin Castle main conversations (unrecorded):

Location	Individual	Role	Date	Duration
Sheldon Square	Simon	Security guard	6.10.12	2 minutes
Sheldon Square	[unknown]	Security guard	6.10.12	1 minute
Sheldon Square	Humphrey	Market manager	4.4.13	5 minutes
Canal-side	[unknown]	Local fisherman	4.4.13	5 minutes
Sheldon Square	[unknown]	Tourist	4.4.13	1 minute
Sheldon Square	Maria	Market holder	11.4.13	15 minutes
Merchant Square	[unknown]	Security guard	15.3.13	2 minutes

Trafalgar Square interviews (recorded):

Location	Individual	Role	Date	Duration
Council office	Christy	Public realm manager	10.10.13	1 hour

Café in Soho	Jamie	Activist	15.11.13	30 minutes
Architect's office	Sam	Engineer and architect	7.11.13	1 hour
Café in Farringdon	Michael	Photographer	15.7.13	1.5 hours
Architect's office	Simon	Architect	3.4.14	1.5 hours

Trafalgar Square main conversations (unrecorded):

Location	Individual	Role	Date	Duration
Trafalgar Square	[unknown]	Falconer	6.6.13	5 minutes
Trafalgar Square	[unknown]	Security guard	28.6.13	2 minutes
Trafalgar Square	[unknown]	Tourist	3.7.13	2 minutes
Trafalgar Square	[unknown]	Cleaner	3.7.13	1 minute
Trafalgar Square	[unknown]	Security guard	3.7.13	2 minutes
Trafalgar Square	[unknown]	Heritage warden	4.7.13	5 minutes
Trafalgar Square	[unknown]	Photographer	25.7.13	2 minutes
Trafalgar Square	[unknown]	Reporter	25.7.13	5 minutes
Trafalgar Square	[unknown]	Tourist	8.8.13	2 minutes
Trafalgar Square	Sam	Local resident	24.8.13	5 minutes
Trafalgar Square	Martin	Language teacher	21.7.15	5 minutes

General interviews (recorded):

Location	Individual	Role	Date	Duration
Manager's office	Jason	Event planner	22.10.13	1 hour
Politician's offices	John Prescott	Deputy Prime Minister	1.11.2014	1 hour

Appendix B:

Background information sheet

I am registered as an MPhil/PhD student in the Cities Programme at the London School of Economics. The study focuses on three public spaces in London. The study will emphasise the perspectives of the people who are involved in making these public spaces, from local residents, workers, architects, planners and developers. At this stage the focus of my study is the narratives of the people involved in realising the three public spaces of this study: Trafalgar Square, Paddington Basin and Elephant and Castle Market.

My fieldwork follows methods of observation, surveys and interviews. This includes a number of interviews and informal conversations offering different perspectives on these spaces and neighbourhoods.

If requested, participants in the research will remain anonymous and personal information will remain confidential. The information generated by the study may be published. 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 the Cities Programme. In addition my email address is e.d.wall@lse.ac.uk.

Sincerely,
Ed Wall

Appendix C:

Table of planning features

Key planning features	Public spaces	Elephant and Castle Market	Paddington Basin	Trafalgar Square
	Cases of masterplanning	Elephant and Castle Regeneration	Paddington Waterside	World Squares for All
	Areas	55 acres (Opportunity area)	80 acres (Development area)	160 acres (approx.)
	Dates	2004 – 2029 (expected)	1998 – 2018 (expected)	1996 – 2003
	Boroughs (Planning Offices)	Southwark	Westminster	Westminster
	Greater London Authority	Opportunity Area	Opportunity Area	
	Development structures	Public-private partnership	Developer led consortium	Public agency led
	Ownerships of public space	Delancey (Southwark main owner of masterplan area with lease to Lend Lease)	Canal and River Trust and Network Rail (main owners with leases to developers)	Crown Estate (and The City of Westminster)
	Managements	USM / Delancey	Various (including Broadgate Estates)	GLA (with contractors)
Key findings in relation to conceptual framework	Spatial forms	Masterplan processes revealed economic priorities for new public spaces		
		Talking down of areas provided a foundation for new architectural visions		
		Strategic developments facilitated new ways of appropriating spaces	Tightly controlled profit-oriented redevelopment and management	
		Less balanced development relations when greater financial returns were at stake		
		Negotiations and resultant agreements were increasingly concealed		
	Visual images	Visual images were rendered to package the proposed transformations		
		Spatial design and visual imaging of the public spaces were often conflated		
		Masterplans were spatially configured with a focus on visual composition		
			Narratives repeatedly rewritten by developers and BID overshadowed criticism	Events informed global images of the square, London and the UK
				Historic visual setting attracted people to construct images of and claim associations with the square
	Social interactions	During masterplanning marginalised people became less welcome		
		Threats to activities through management changes and controls were evident		
		Powerful individuals and organisations asserted presence in many processes of making public spaces		
		People seldom used the open spaces to assert their concerns about planning processes to the local authority, GLA or national government		
		Smaller-scale spaces, temporal activities and marginal lives were overlooked by decision makers located outside of the area, borough and London		
				Location, design and form of the square offers visible exposure to audiences