Grassroots spaces make London exciting: the relationship between the civitas and the urbs.

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Introduction

What makes London an exciting city? As a South European person living in London, I get asked many times what is it that I like about London. It is always difficult where to start, but I usually say that it is its diversity and how this diversity is experienced in the streets. The plurality of cultures that live in London's neighbourhoods and how these cultures are manifested. London's diversity responds to Vertovec's concept of super-diversity, who argues that diversity in Britain can no longer be measured just in terms of ethnicity. It is much more complex and has many variables such as "differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents" (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1025). London's diversity has not just been a phenomenon discussed by academics. It is something that has been celebrated by (some of) its politicians, from Ken Livingstone championing diversity in both his periods as Mayor of London during the Greater London Council (GLC) era (1981–1986) (see Hatherley, 2020) and in his second period in the Greater London Authority era when the figure of Mayor of London was reinstated[i] (2000–2008), to Sadiq Khan's "London is Open" or "You are all Londoners", which came in reaction to the United Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union. Both Livingstone and Khan have been conscious of the value that migration and diversity brings to London, and how the contribute to London's success.

London is an exciting city also for its street markets, which range from some that have become very touristic, such as Camden or Portobello Road, to locally-based markets that provide affordable access to foods and goods, and/or which cater for diverse cultures, bring to London specific kinds or food or goods from all over the world. These markets also reflect London's diversity and how this is manifested in the streets and in everyday life.

Diversity is also manifested in London's night life, cultural and music scene. From venues where you can listen to live music from all over the World – such as the now closed Passing Clouds, where currently is The Jago – to the Sunday informal jam sessions that take place in many small bars and venues across the capital. This ecosystem of small cultural and music venues across London has a great importance to London's city life. They are not limited to nightlife, but these cultural spaces also include community-based theatres – such as the Arcola Theatre in Dalston – as well as neighbourhood-based community centres where people organise cultural activities.

Some of these neighbourhood-based community spaces are also places where social movements and networks of solidarity and care flourish, such as the Granville Community Kitchen (see location in figure 1), which organises free community dinners most Fridays in the Granville community centre in South Kilburn (London Borough of Brent), where people from diverse socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds come to gather and have dinner. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the Granville Community Kitchen became an essential infrastructure of solidarity and care for the neighbourhood, delivering food to those at higher risk that were shielding at home and to hundreds of families in the neighbourhood (Sendra, Manzini Ceinar and Pandolfi, 2022). Another example of grassroots space of solidarity is The Village under the Westway flyover, in Bay 56 Acklam Road (see location in figure 1). The space was taken over by a group of activists and musicians during the aftermath of the Grenfell Tower fire in June 2017, a fire that killed at least 72 people and which devasted the community in North Kensington. The Village became a space for storing donations for those affected by the fire, and then a space for healing and overcoming trauma. These spaces where people gather and interact respond to Klinenberg's definition of social infrastructure: "the physical places and organisations that shape the way people interact" (Klinenberg, 2018, p. 5). The Mayor of London produced in 2020 a report on "Connective Social Infrastructure" (Mayor of London, 2020), where he highlights the importance of these spaces for London. He also connects London's diversity to these spaces, since social infrastructure facilitates that interaction between different cultures.
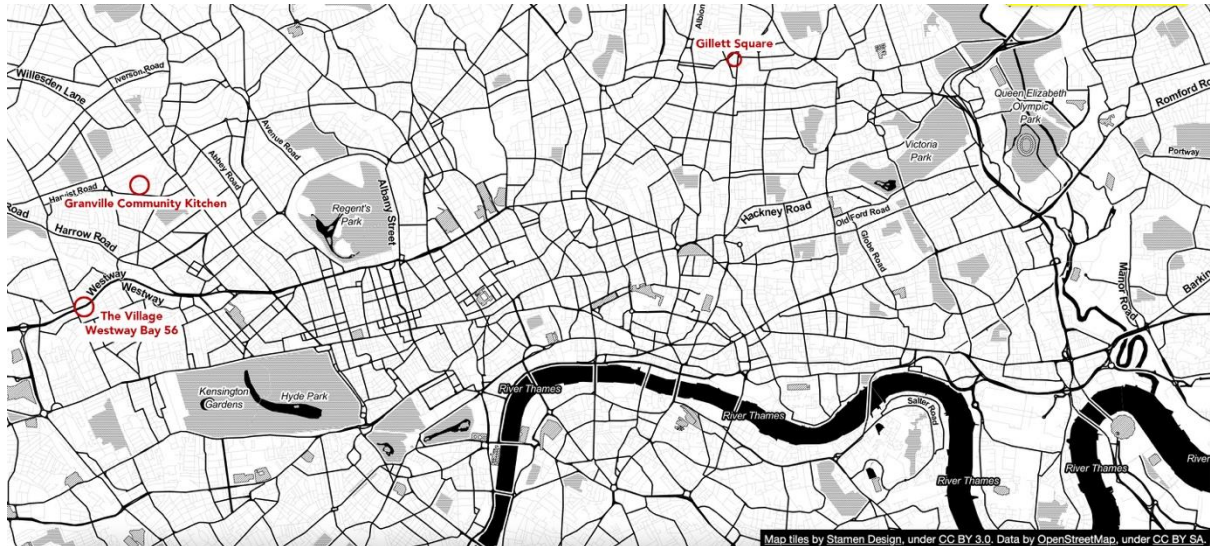
Figure 1. Map locating the case studies mentioned in this chapter: Granville Community Kitchen, The Village at the Westway Bay 56 and Gillett Square. Produced by the author from map tiles by Stamen Design, under CC BY 3.0, and data by OpenStreetMap, under CC BY SA.

A lot of the places and activities that make London special and exciting have emerged from the grassroots, from social movements and from struggles related to class, race, gender or sexual identity, among others. This is not limited to the small spaces and locally based activities that I have described above. Even if we think about some of the major events in London, such as the Notting Hill Carnival, it emerged from racial struggles in the 1950s and then grew to become a large event.

The fact that London is a global financial capital is not what makes it attractive and exciting, although there are links between the flows of capital and everything that happens in London. London has become a world city because of its cultural richness, and much of it comes from the grassroots and from various struggles. As García Vázquez (2022) explains in *Cities After Crisis*, urban places that have emerged from the ground-up have turned some neighbourhoods in attractive places to live.

These grassroots spaces – their creation and their maintenance – do not respond to the logic of financial viability that defines urban planning in London nowadays. They are not spaces that provide a short-term economic profit. However, they provide a social value that in the mid and long term can alleviate the pressures on the care systems, and which at the

same time make London an attractive city to live in, which is a key driver of London's economy and success as a global city. Since these spaces and activities do not respond to the logic of financial viability and do not provide short-term economic profit, they are becoming spaces at risk of disappearing due to real estate speculation and a financialised planning system.

In the last decade, we have witnessed how many of the cultural venues – including music venues such as Passing Clouds or LGBTQ+ venues such as The Joiners Arms (Campkin Marshall, 2017) – have had to close because of rent increases, issues with their landlords, or because of redevelopment. In addition to this, community spaces and social infrastructure are facing redevelopment and a significant loss of space (Penny, 2019; Robinson and Sheldon, 2019) to leave more space for other spaces that are more profitable such as housing or workspaces.

As Lathan and Layton (2019) explain with social infrastructure, it is important to study the value of these spaces in order to protect them from the financialised planning system. In this chapter, I focus on grassroot spaces, places generated from struggles and/or which provide support for minorities and communities at risk, which add value to London and make it an exciting city to live in. If we lose these spaces, London can lose its essence and become a homogenised urban landscape, dominated by the currently trending architectural style of the "New London Vernacular". As the petition to Save Portobello Road Market from a shopping-mall-style redevelopment in 2015 puts it:

> "It is important because such revolting developments are chipping away at our London and sucking it dry of its lifeblood and individuality. This is a marvellous piece of London where independent traders can sell their wares which allow W11 a truly authentic edge; and now they are proposing a sanitized shopping experience akin to the Westfield that does not enhance or reflect our beloved Portobello." (Sullivan, 2015): Petition to Save Portobello Road from the Portobello Village / Westway Space.

Given the value of these grassroots spaces, places generated from struggles and/or which support minorities and communities at risk, the aim of this chapter is to explore how to better support them and avoid jeopardising them in regeneration schemes that can affect them.

For doing so, I first explore which are the existing structures of support that exist for these spaces. While doing so, I also explore which are the struggles these spaces go through, the kind of help they need, and the potential relationship between grassroot spaces and institutions. After that, as a first step for approaching regenerations schemes that may affect such spaces, I propose an approach for understanding the relationship between the 'civitas' and the 'urbs'. This approach departs from Richard Sennett's framework on differentiating the 'civitas' and the 'urbs', developed in *Building and Dwelling* (Sennett, 2018), as well as from some of the discussions in our book *Designing Disorder* (Sendra & Sennett, 2020). From understanding the relationship between the 'civitas' and the 'urbs', I continue explaining how these relationships can be re-assembled (see Sendra, 2015 and McFarlane, 2011) to explore creative ways of supporting existing initiatives and encouraging others to take place. During the chapter, I refer to various case studies of place in London, in some of which I have been directly involved, while in others I have been an 'participant observant' while living in London. For each of the case studies, I outline a series of methods used in my action research work, which include co-design and co-production workshops where participants develop collective reflections, meetings with stakeholders, interviews and participant observation.

From institutional support to struggles on the ground

Owen Hatherley's (2020) book *Red Metropolis* narrates how throughout the history of metropolitan London institutions in the past 130 years, the capital has experimented with left wing politics. From the early days of the London County Council[ii] (LCC) and its social housing programme, to the last days of the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1981–1986 before Margaret Thatcher abolished it. In this 1980s period, the GLC provided support to migrant and migrant-descent communities, LGBTQ+ communities, organisations related to women's rights, and the intersection of the above. It supported the creation of various groups, community centres, as well as various community-led initiatives. Its Popular

Planning Unit illustrated well a constant interaction between city institutions and grassroots initiatives.

In this chapter, I focus mainly on the current situation. Since the year 2000, a new metropolitan institution was created, the Greater London Authority (GLA) (also discussed at the end of Hatherley's book). London is composed of 33 municipalities, each of which have their own elections, representatives and provide a series of local services. The GLA is an strategic authority, which develop metropolitan strategies that then local authorities have to follow. It is also responsible for some metropolitan services such as Transport for London (for more information see London Councils, n.d.). However, the GLA has limited planning powers, since most of planning power lies in local authorities (municipal rather than metropolitan institutions). The Greater London Authority produces the spatial strategy for London – the London Plan – as well as other strategies and guidance; it can refer, stop and require amendments to planning applications of large schemes; and is responsible for various sources of funding, including the funding for social housing, as well as other funding schemes.

Soon after the global financial crisis of the 2008 hit London, general elections took place and a Coalition Government of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats was formed. They implemented substantial cuts on welfare provision and restrictions on the capacity of local authorities in borrowing money. This post-2010 period of austerity had a strong effect on urban development in London. Local authorities suffered strong cuts of funding from central government and had to rely on partnering with private developers and put together regeneration schemes that put profit and financial viability at the centre. This resulted in the loss of many community spaces, places where diverse communities gathered, cultural spaces, night venues and many grassroots spaces. London's built environment started to become homogenised with large housing schemes on the New London Vernacular style.

In 2016, Sadiq Khan was elected Mayor of London, with pledges that included more affordable housing, an equal and diverse city, and a support for arts and culture, including a cultural infrastructure plan (Khan, 2016). Soon after he was elected Mayor, the United Kingdom decided to leave the European Union (although in London the majority of votes

were for remaining in the EU). Sadiq Khan's administration took "London is Open" as a moto that countered xenophobic discourses emerging from some Brexiteers and has been a champion of diversity, emphasising how important migrant and migrant-descent communities are for London.

A lot of his policies, strategies and guidance reflect this importance of London diversity, as well as the importance of community spaces, places for gathering and social interaction, and cultural and night venues. The recent Good Growth by Design guide on "Connective Social Infrastructure" (Mayor of London, 2020) starts with "London's diversity is a strength, not a weakness" in the foreword by the mayor. When defining social infrastructure in the first chapter, it says:

> "London's social infrastructure is one of its great assets. From bumping into friends and neighbours in the park café, to visiting a local nail salon, recycling unwanted furniture on a Facebook group, using the library to find information, or getting help from a community support network, social infrastructure plays an important role in supporting and enriching the lives of Londoners." (Mayor of London, 2020).

The report recognises and lack of protection of social infrastructure and asks local authorities to implement mechanisms that defend these spaces against other commercial and economically profitable uses. This is also reflected in the London Plan, which says that the social infrastructure loss should be replaced. The problem of this statement in the London Plan, as it happens with many of its policies, is the lack of mechanisms for implementing it. Firstly, it says "where possible", which opens many possibilities for local authorities and developers to justify that something is not possible (e.g. due to financial viability). Secondly, in many cases, the replacement does not necessarily respond to the community needs as much as the lost space did.

> "The **loss of social infrastructure** can have a detrimental effect on a community. Where possible, boroughs should protect such facilities and uses, and where a development proposal leads to the loss of a facility, require a replacement." (Mayor of London, 2021, p. 217.

The London Plan also includes the replacement of small cultural venues, but we face the same problems with the lack of mechanisms for implementation and the phrase "where possible".

> "The loss of cultural venues, facilities or spaces can have a detrimental effect on an area, particularly when they serve a local community function. Where possible, boroughs should protect such cultural facilities and uses, and support alternative cultural uses, particularly those with an evening or night-time use, and consider nominations to designate them as **Assets of Community Value**. Where a development proposal leads to the loss of a venue or facility, boroughs should consider requiring the replacement of that facility or use." (Mayor of London, 2021, pp. 300-301)

On cultural infrastructure, indeed, Sadiq Khan has done a lot of work on supporting venues at risk, as this was an important part of its original pledge. Soon after coming to the office, he appointed the Night Czar, Amy Lame, to protect night venues as well as LGBTQ+ spaces in the capital. The mayor and his team put together a Cultural Infrastructure Plan (Mayor of London, 2019), as well as a toolkit to protect cultural venues in London. This toolbox includes an interactive map with a wide diversity of cultural venues in London, as well as many other resources. As part of this, they created the Culture and Communities at Risk Unit, which supports both cultural and community organisations that are struggling and/or may be at risk of losing their space or closing down, and/or which may disappear because of a redevelopment scheme. They offer tailored support to these grassroots organisations.

The spirit of the Communities and Culture at Risk Unit has some of the characteristics of the "networks and municipalism" (Sendra and Sennett, 2020) that Richard Sennett and I advocate for in our book *Designing Disorder* – open institutions that learn from and support grassroots organisations to thrive. However, a lot of the organisations that the Communities and Culture at Risk Unit are supporting are victims of a planning system dominated by financial viability, of which the Mayor of London (and its spatial strategy, the London Plan) is also responsible for. The London Plan acts as a guide for developers to get their planning application forward. Rather than being pro-active in the support and provision of cultural

and social infrastructure, it sets a series of conditions that developers have to go through, where they may need to replace it "where possible". Even when this is achieved, when a much-loved space where people gathered is replaced in square meters elsewhere or as part of a multifunctional building that concentrates various services, the "social infrastructure ecosystem" (as named by the Mayor of London, 2020) that exists around it may disappear. I.e. the attachment between people and buildings is broken, and the momentum around community gathering, social interaction and community solidarity dissipates.

Without falling into the nostalgia of the past, the Popular Planning Unit and the GLC in the 1980s was closer to this pro-active approach of "networks and municipalism" – rather than reactive to a neoliberal planning system that prioritises profit. The Popular Planning Unit instigated the Royal Docks People's Plan (see Sendra and Fitzpatrick, 2022) and the GLC facilitated the community spaces such as the London Lesbian and Gay Centre, as well as funding many community groups and activities from ethnic minorities, LGBTQ+ rights and women's rights (see Hatherley, 2020).

In our book *Designing Disorder*, Richard Sennett and I propose open city institutions, which learn from and actively support community organisations and grassroots spaces such as those described in this chapter – locally-based social and cultural infrastructure, where different people gather and where diverse forms of culture are manifested and shared. Such spaces exist in London, but are at risk partly because of the current neoliberal planning system. Therefore, one of the first steps to implement this municipalist open institution approach is to change the planning system from one that prioritises financial viability and profit to one that understands and prioritises the social and cultural value generated. Social infrastructure and community spaces should not be seen as a token for developers to include in a little corner of their scheme, but as the driver of London's urban planning, since it is what make our city more exciting.

Understanding the relationship between the *civitas* and the *urbs*
When we learn about urban planning at university, we learn about what a "good city" is supposed to be like. Of course, measuring what constitutes "good city" has evolved in history in response to the challenges of each time (Amin, 2006). Currently, given the

environmental challenges brought by the climate emergency, urban planning schools teach that cities should be sustainable, safe and provide a good quality of life to people living there. For achieving this "good city", cities should be compact, pedestrian friendly, clean, with greenery and with various types of activities in proximity. However, some planning courses fail to teach something very important, which relates to understanding the relationship between the *civitas* and the *urbs* – this is people's relationship to their built environment, how they feel attached to building and places, what these represent to them, where they gather, what activities take place in them, and what kind of social relations and interactions take place in them. The preconceived ideas about what a good city is do not grasp the importance for people of an old library, or a community centre that may not fulfil the canons of a 'beautiful' built environment. Ongoing changes in the planning system in England are making more emphasis on "Building Beautiful" (Building Better, Building Beautiful Commission, 2020), but this in occasions does not consider the meaning some buildings might have for some communities and which might not fulfil these cannons of beauty.

At The Bartlett School of Planning, UCL, I teach a course titled Civic Design[iii], where each year we collaborate with a community group based in London. Community members from the group we are collaborating with take the course along with the students, since they get a free registration to the short course. This guarantees that there is a peer-to-peer collaboration between communities and students, and a knowledge exchange that works both ways. Through this collaboration, students learn and appreciate the importance of people's attachment to the buildings, the memories associated to them, the activities they do there and the social relationships they have in them. One of the key things we teach in the course is co-producing evidence with communities. Drawing on Fals Borda's (1987) framework for Participatory Action Research and in Domenico Di Siena's (2019) Civic Design Method, we teach them methods for co-producing evidence with communities in order to understand what is people's attachment with places. As muf architecture/art proposed in the project "Making Space in Dalston" (J & L Gibbons LLP; muf architecture/art, 2009): "value what is there, nurture the possible, define what is missing".

I have experimented with this approach in the co-design processes that I have facilitated – both in the action research projects that I have done at UCL in partnership with community groups in London and in consultancy projects that I have done with my practice Lugadero. With UCL, I have completed three projects that engage in a Participatory Action Research methodology in which researchers co-produce evidence with community members. These are William Dunbar and William Saville Community Plan (see Sendra et al, 2020, Colombo et al, 2021), Alton Estate People's Plan (Sendra et al, 2021), and a report on the importance of the community buildings Granville and Carlton during Covid-19 (Sendra et al, 2022). The first two are counter proposals for two council estates that are going to be demolished. With residents, we co-produced a Social Impact Assessment (see Colombo et al, 2021) that evaluate the impact of the potential redevelopment scheme. After that, we continued working with residents on co-designing an alternative scheme, which look at retrofitting the existing homes and building new ones through infill development, instead of demolition. In both cases, we used methods where residents could collectively discuss their attachment to the buildings, their relationships of care and solidarity with their neighbours, and where those relationships took place. We did this through workshops where participants could collectively reflect on these topics, using a diversity of co-production methods that were tailored for these residents and this place (see Colombo et al, 2021). This depth of the co-produced evidence cannot be achieved with other types of analysis of the built environment. It is necessary to generate that empathy with those living there and using the spaces. We took a similar approach with the research report on the Granville and Carlton, where we analysed the importance of these buildings as a social infrastructure, particularly during Covid-19, and where we also used co-production workshops, stakeholders meeting and semi-structured interviews with key actors as methods. Granville is where the previously mentioned Granville Community Kitchen is based, which is an essential social infrastructure for care and solidarity in the area. For this report, we also organised workshops to collectively reflect with residents and users of the buildings on the importance of them.

I have used a similar approach in my consultancy work. In addition to my academic work, I do some consultancy work facilitating co-design processes. In the previously mentioned Westway, I worked with various local activists on facilitating a co-design process to improve

the public spaces. The Westway Trust got match funding from the Mayor of London to improve the public spaces through a project named "Community Street". For this work, the Westway Trust called for proposals from teams to facilitate a co-design process. For tendering to the work, I put together a team with local activists and local people with extensive experience on community engagement. We used a diversity of methods, which started from understanding which are the diverse local cultures in the area and how they use the spaces. This included workshops, drop-in sessions, a continuous presence on the streets by having a pop-up office in a pod on the public realm during the four months of the co-design process, and also by having in-depth meetings with many community organisations in the area. The methods we used, which are explained in our final report (see Lugadero & The Grove Think Tank for the Westway Trust, 2021), consisted of collectively producing the evidence with the 876 participants that took part, as well as co-designing a series of recommendations/proposals for the appointed architects to take on.

In my previous work, I have explored the importance of understanding the relationship between the *civitas* and the *urbs* through the framework of assemblage theory, which is a body of work that looks at the agency generated from the connections between human and non-human actors (see McFarlane, 2011). In my previous work, I have looked at the importance of understanding which are the existing socio-material connections that exist in a place (such as the attachment between people, the built environment, existing policies, social relationships, forms of behaviour, the space, objects and material things) in order to propose re-assembling some of these connections, enhance some of the activities taking place, and propose new ones (see Sendra 2015, Sendra 2018, McFarlane, 2011). A lot of the methods outlined above aim to understand which are these 'assemblages' – these connections between people, place and the activities and social interacting that occur. From understanding these relationships, we can re-imagine how they can be re-assembled.

Reassembling the *civitas* and the *urbs*
When praising the value of grassroots and informal spaces, it is important to clarify that this praise does not mean that we should leave everything unplanned and let activities to emerge. It does not mean that urban designers and planners are not necessary, and our knowledge is meaningless. As Richard Sennett and I argue in *Designing Disorder* (Sendra &

Sennett, 2020), there are places where these grassroots initiatives need some support in order to emerge, and/or where the conditions need to be created. Urban designers can indeed use their skills creatively to propose situations and alternative arrangements that people that live in an area and/or use a space cannot imagine. However, for doing so, they need to understand the existing relationships between human and non-human actors, material and immaterial things, in order to reassemble them and introduce new elements that support and create conditions for the emergence of grassroots spaces.

I have explained how this can take place in my previous work using the case study of Gillett Square in Dalston, East London (see Sendra, 2015; Sendra & Sennett, 2020) (see location in figure 1 and image in figure 2). For this piece of research on Gillett Square, I carried out participant observation between 2011 and 2013. As an East London resident, it is also a space that I still frequent for various cultural activities. This is a useful case study because urban design has actively supported the emergence of unplanned activities and has transformed the space into a flexible public realm that is continuously evolving. Where currently is Gillett Square, there used to be a carpark. It was the design intervention of placing a series of kiosks/pods in the edge of the carpark to lease at affordable rents to local businesses what made people gather around the kiosks and turn the car park into a gathering space. The fact that people were gathering on the edge of the carpark made evident the need to create a public square where the carpark was[iv]. Years later, it was another urban design intervention which transformed the square into a flexible public space that is continuously changing: two ship containers were placed in the square, which serve as storage for structures for market stalls, table tennis, AV equipment, cinema screens, soft play games for children, and many other props and elements that allow a continuous re-definition of the square[v].

Figure 2: Kiosks/pods with local businesses in Gillett Square. The table tennis is stored in one of the shipping containers in the square. Photography by Estrella Sendra, April 2012.

All the subsequent intentions that took place in Gillett Square were urban design decisions. These urban design interventions go beyond material construction and distribution of functions. They understood the existing (human and non-human) actors, the relationship between these actors and the material and non-material elements of the built environment, and re-arranged these elements and introduced new components to release the potential space and create the conditions for activities to emerge.

Currently, at the time of writing in 2022, Gillett Square is going through another phase of development, which will expand the workspace building next to the square, remove the kiosks and replace them with some additional shopfront space in both the new building and the other side of the square. The last few times I have visited the square, I have seen that the kiosks have move temporarily into ship containers in the carpark that there is next to the square, where they are much more hidden. Some local campaigners – including the former CEO of Hackney Co-operative Developments that led the creation of the square and the previously mentioned phases – have raised concerns on the potential impact that the development could have on the traders, on affordable workspaces, as well as on the life of

the square (Barltholomew, 2018). There have been also concerns about the potential gentrification effect that the scheme could have (Open Dalston, 2018), particularly given the gentrification dynamics of Dalston. While it is not clear what effect the scheme will have on traders and on the openness and flexibility of the square, we can see that even the most successful grassroots spaces are continuously at risk due to the current planning system based on economic viability.

Conclusions

The example of the earlier transformations that led to the creation of an open and flexible space in Gillett Square responds to the idea of pro-actively supporting the creation of grassroot spaces, rather than having to react to "save" those that are at risk. Places like Gillett Square, where people from different cultures and socio-economic background convive in the square, where informal gatherings take place, with a public space that can support different activities, and which bring together various cultural venues, make the neighbourhood of Dalston – and London – an exciting place to live. Gillett Square form the kind of social infrastructure described by Klinenberg (2018), which both spaces and organisations that facilitate social relationships. Some of the community-led schemes that I have been involved with through my action research at UCL emerge as a counter proposal to development schemes that put community spaces and neighbourhoods at risk. Rather than having to support communities to "save" community spaces, planners and institutions should work with communities since the very beginning and collectively put together proposals that create conditions for the emergence of grassroots spaces, as the first phases of Gillett Square did. This are the pro-active municipalist institutions that I propose, which work directly on the ground and collaborate with the networks of grassroots groups to come out with creative proposals to make our city much more exciting and inclusive.

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[i] Since 1965, London is composed of 33 municipalities, each of which have their own elections, representatives and provide a series of local services. Since 1965, there has been two periods of metropolitan administration, which provide strategic services: the Greater London Council (GLC) between 1965 and 1986, and the Greater London Authority (GLA) from 2000 onwards. The GLC had a "Leader of the GLC" and the GLA has a "Mayor of London". London did not have a metropolitan administration between 1986 and the year 2000. In 1986, Margaret Thatcher abolished the Greater London Council. The Greater London Authority was created in 2000, during the government of Tony Blair.

[ii] The LCC was the metropolitan administration between 1889 and 1965, when the GLC was created. The LCC only included the inner-city boroughs and had a smaller boundary than the GLC and the current GLA.

[iii] The course started first as a summer school in 2018. Then, from 2019, it became a short course for continuing professional development (CPD). From 2020/2021, it became a master's module and it continues being taught as a short course.

[iv] The kiosks and the transformation of the carpark into Gillett Square was designed by Hawkins/Brown for Hackney Co-operative Developments.

[v] This intervention was led by muf architecture/art and it is included in the Making Space in Dalston study.