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Anatomy of a Street
I - II - III

Edited by
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& Levente Polyák

Anatomy of a Street
I-II-III

Anatomy of a Street was conceived to address the urban transformation of Central European cities, by focusing on one particular street or neighbourhood in the participating cities. These streets, functioning as 'main streets' in their neighbourhoods, like Király utca in Budapest, can be regarded as 'mises-en-abyme' of their city where one can find spectacular juxtapositions of traces of all major dynamisms of urban transformation: immigration, privatisation, public space renovation, gentrification, corruption, globalisation, the disappearance of public food markets, new architecture, civic engagement, etc. By parallel research and an interrelated mapping of the social and spatial metamorphosis of these streets in Budapest, Pécs, London, Warsaw and Belgrade, the project envisioned to investigate the transformation of urban 'High Streets' in Eastern and Western Europe, in respect and contrast to each other.

The *Anatomy of a Street* project draws its inspiration from critical studies examining the way how architecture is embedded in social, political and economic contexts, and how architectural objects, symbols and constellations can be described and decoded in specific local settings, as well as in broader global networks. The case studies – streets and neighbourhoods from various locations: Budapest, Pécs, London, Warsaw and Belgrade – differ geographically, historically and culturally, as well as architecturally. Notwithstanding this colourful variety, there is still a shifting degree of resemblance and interconnections informed by the global exchange of concepts, real estate and capital. Contrasts, parallels and synchrony are among the main questions that *Anatomy of a Street* raises, while

addressing the evolution of various examples of the European high street.

Anatomy of a Street is a nomadic project, unfinished by definition, which developed into a series of study trips – both driving and feeding back into our research. The publication consists of three chapters, (three separate volumes subsequently bound together), but originally published separately in three phases, as the documentation and diary of the research and related events, as well as essays and other contributions by academics, writers, artists and architects. From the back to the front: chapter one, *Anatomy of a Street: An introduction*, focuses on the Király Streets in Budapest and Pécs, providing the starting point for our exhibition on Church Street in Paddington, London, documented in chapter two: *Revisiting Church Street*; while chapter three, *Central Europe Between Informal Interventions and Formal Organisations*, is based on a travelling symposium between Budapest, Warsaw and Bratislava, and includes a small selection of papers and presentations delivered on the occasion of these meetings. In short, this publication is only one dimension of a research project comprising workshops, a travelling symposium, an exhibition and other events.

CHAPTER III

Central Europe Between Informal Interventions and Formal Organisations

In 2009, the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall gave occasion to a large number of events reflecting on the political, social, economic and cultural transformation of Central and Eastern Europe. However, accounts about the transformation of cities in the region are yet to emerge. Central and Eastern European cities, engines of change and battlefields of opposing agendas, have experienced an accelerated metamorphosis, and thus condense many of the spatial and physical symptoms of social, economic and political evolution.

Like Király Street in Budapest, certain streets and neighbourhoods function as 'mises-en-abyme' of the city, where one can find a spectacular juxtaposition of traces of all major dynamisms of urban transformation: immigration, privatisation, public space renovation, gentrification, corruption, globalisation, the disappearance of public food markets, new architecture, civic engagement, etc.

In the *Anatomy of a Street* project, we invited organisations and individuals from across the Central and Eastern European region to model the transformation of their city through the investigation of a certain street or neighbourhood. With the help of researchers, cultural producers, authors and university students, the co-operating organisations developed innovative, critical cartographies of the chosen streets or neighbourhoods, using methods such as observation, interviews, data survey and morphological analysis. The findings of the parallel research projects were shared in the framework of a travelling symposium, in three chapters. The three

Symposia Schedule

Warsaw

20 November
11.30am – 4pm

11.30am
Meeting at Mokotowska and Hoża st. corner, Warsaw

11.30am
Common walk trough Mokotowska street guided by Magda Śliwka (accompanied by Wojtek Kasperski)

2pm
Open discussion at Info Qultura. Participants: Levente Polyak, Eszter Steierhoffer, Grzegorz Piatek, Ola Wasilkowska and Wojtek Kacperski.

Bratislava

12 November
1pm – 4pm

1pm
Dagmar Petrikova: Anatomy of a Street – Bratislava

2.30pm
Levente Polyak: Anatomy of a Street – Budapest, Pécs, London

Budapest

7 November
2pm – 8pm

2pm
Eszter Steierhoffer & Levente Polyák: Anatomy of a Street – Budapest, Pécs, London

2.30pm
Aleksandra Wasilkowska: Anatomy of a Street – Warsaw

3pm
Dagmar Petrikova: Anatomy of a Street – Bratislava

4pm
Gregorz Piatek (Bec Zmiana, Warsaw): Debating the City – Art and Cultural Organisations

4.30pm
Jakob Hurrle (Multicultural Centre, Prague): Cultures from Around the Block

5pm
Constantin Goagea (Zeppelin, Bucharest): Interventions in Socialist Neighborhoods + urban report project

5.30pm
Ivan Kucina (Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade): Conditions of Self-Regulated Urbanity

symposia took place in November 2010, on three successive weekends: first in Budapest (with Aleksandra Wasilkowska, Dagmar Petrikova, Gregorz Piatek, Jakob Hurrle, Constantin Goagea and Ivan Kucina), then in Bratislava (with Dagmar Petrikova and Levente Polyák), and finally in Warsaw (with Magda Śliwka's walk, Grzegorz Piatek, Aleksandra Wasilkowska, Wojtek Kacperski, Sebastian Bałut, Małgorzata Kuciewicz and Simone De Iacobis). This accelerated sequence of presentations was certainly helpful in crystallising some of the findings, as different audiences reacted to them differently, and asked for specific explanations of different details: these reviewed and re-articulated projects, chosen from a wider selection of texts available on the project's website[1],

1 www.anatomyofastreet.org

constitute the basis of the *Anatomy of a Street* publication's *Third Chapter*.

After the Budapest and Pécs investigations, and the *London Festival of Architecture* exhibition, this third chapter is a collage of various genres, intentions, approaches, viewpoints and methodologies. From descriptive analysis through theoretical pieces to design projects, the reader finds a variety of ways to deal with the phenomena of urban transformation in the Central and Eastern European context. The chapter focuses on two cities at the southern and northern edges of the region: Belgrade and Warsaw. If Belgrade is represented by one longer text, Ivan Kucina's *Conditions of Self-Regulated Urbanity*, Warsaw is addressed in two shorter texts: Helena Chmielewska-Szlajfer's and Wojciech Kacperski's *Mokotowska Street: The Fresh Start of an Old Attitude*, and Alexandra Wasilkowska's *Marketmeter*.

Although all these texts approach their subject in very different ways, there are certain recurring themes that are treated by all of them: the dialectics of institutional and self-regulated tools and methods in the organisation of urban space, the contrast of

legible and illegible spaces, and changing perceptions of order and disorder. Questions on the role of informality in shaping the contemporary city take on a particular emphasis in Ivan Kucina's and Alexandra Wasilkowska's texts. Kucina, in his analysis of Belgrade's New Belgrade district, describes the city's evolution as a process disrespecting planning efforts, where, 'a new, self-regulated urban layer appeared, flooding the public spaces and existing buildings, disintegrating the urban logic by upgrading it with a serial of mutants parasiting the inherited infrastructure'. The source of this 'self-regulated urban layer' is the grey economy, that (with the help of the economic embargo imposed on Serbia in 1992 by the United Nations), 'has evolved from the strategy of survival to the main means of production'. According to Kucina, the grey economy not only influenced individual buildings: it became important enough to influence existing, and create new urban structures. By praising the energy and innovativeness of self-regulating urbanism, Kucina sees it as a potential antidote to the unification oftoday's cities by the implementation of European Union standards: 'divergent practices of the Western Balkans could become a counter-action to the integrating and homogenising effects of globalisation'. To help the reader understand the new urban order, Kucina also offers a dictionary of self-regulated urbanism.

Alexandra Wasilkowska's approach is entirely different. In an urban context where neither wars nor embargos intervened in the unfolding Capitalist economy, regulation is the rule, and informality the exception. Wasilkowska embraces traces of the informal use of public space, a particular example of which she finds in street vendors. However, recognising the conflict between the inhabitants' and authorities' perception of disorder and the economic, employment and health-related advantages street vending offers a neighbourhood, Wasilkowska offers a design solution that allows informality to dress as formality: she designs

a system (marketmeter) for 'adapting street trade based on regulations similar to those of parking metres and parking spaces', in the centre of Warsaw. Admitting that the use of public space is subject to users' behaviours, as much as to design and regulations, the architect offers a comprehensive, economic and aesthetic model for street trade, to reconcile formal order and informal use in the city.

In contrast to Ivan Kucina's and Alexandra Wasilkowska's texts, where the authors – retrospectively or prospectively – pronounce specific programmes for certain urban situations, the chapter's third text chose an ethnographical stance with a more descriptive, observation – and interview-based approach. Helena Chmielewska-Szlajfer's and Wojciech Kacperski's *Mokotowska Street: The Fresh Start of an Old Attitude* is a close reading of Mokotowska Street, a particular street from Warsaw's pre-World War II heritage. Mokotowska, one of the few streets that, in the eye of many residents, have preserved the atmosphere of the 'Old Warsaw', has been experiencing an extraordinary transformation: the replacement of ancient stores and inhabitants by boutique chains and newcomers hasn't left the neighbourhood without any conflict. Chmielewska-Szlajfer and Kacperski, by describing the different populations that use and shape the street, offer an enumeration somewhat reminiscent of Georges Perec's famous *Exhaustion of a Parisian Place*.[2]

2 Georges Perec, *Tentative d'épuisement d'un lieu parisien*. Éditions Christian Bourgeois, Paris, 1982

This publication is only one of the concrete outcomes of the *Anatomy of a Street* project. Urban observation only makes sense when it is repeated: slow-paced changes become visible to the spectator only when they become comparable to previous states experienced earlier. It is in this sense that the *Anatomy of a Street* publication's three chapters are but the beginning of a longer research project of a cyclical structure. Repeating

data collection from time to time, and returning to the raised questions from period to period, will enable us to capture the sense of change in the micro-structures of our cities. Cyclicality also serves the needs of a newly created 'neighbourhood database': establishing a system for a quasi-civilian census on a local level can empower citizens by giving them access to detailed information about the changes of their socio-economic environment, and helping them attain a better comprehension of urban dynamisms.

Conditions of Self-Regulated Urbanity

Urban structures reflect, as material facts, the history of the societies that have created them, as well as contemporary social relations. Post-socialist cities are the physical witnesses of the ideologies that have been abandoned, and the Capitalist ambitions that are loudly marching ahead. In the past, Socialist society projected the high ideals of universal humanity, such as equality, solidarity and unity, onto urban development, by appropriating modernism and following the most progressive concepts of modern architecture and urban planning. Collective values were represented by hierarchical urban structures composed of functional divisions celebrating social order and healthy environment. New settlements appeared at the peripheries of cities as groups of monolith buildings surrounded by green areas and parking lots, connected to urban centres by wide motorways and public transport systems. Unfortunately, the high ideals of universal humanity were realised with a limited budget, undeveloped construction technology, and under rigid administrative control, reducing the utopian horizon to a series of repetitive standardised units that were ultimately inhuman, alienating and dangerous. Urban planners' dreams became the population's nightmares.

Transition from Socialism to Capitalism, as defined by today's neo-liberal tendencies toward privatisation, market growth, and profit increase, has affected massive changes in social values. New standards of neo-liberal singularity have been proclaimed in place of collectivity, reducing the complexity of social relations to a continual competition. Orientation towards ultimate personal success has given sufficient reasoning for the abandonment of

The dominating urban presence of New Belgrade was created during the period of Socialist urban modernisation following World War II. It was developed from scratch at the no-man's land between two large rivers in an environment of continual social reforms following the progression of political experimentation in Socialist Yugoslavia. The incessant pace of political and economic change forced the transformation of urban discourse, resulting in the unfinished and intermingled layers of a new city of unexpected expandability: the centralised concept of a functionalist city that never managed to constitute its centre, a self-management territorial arrangement of insufficient residential mega-blocks, the urgently planned headquarters of Socialist corporations that used their political power to appropriate municipal land, a formal urban matrix of a 19th century industrial city promoted by postmodern urban critics, de-regulated down-scaled individual building interventions, and singular profit-orientated initiatives throughout the transitional period toward the free market economy. The series of dispatched, derogated, deviated and deserted planning discourses, characteristic of both Socialist utopian ambition and the post-socialist profit run, have created the unplanned discontinuity of urban development, resulting in a heterogeneous and disordered structure. In a strange and unlikely turn, as opposed to other modernist settlements, New Belgrade has become a city that is loved by its residents, wanted by developers and glorified by politicians.

Like any contemporary city, New Belgrade has been growing by disintegrating, thus developing fragments rather than its totality. Irrespective of planning efforts, big cities are becoming the uncontrolled territory of the immeasurable dynamics of people, traffic, communications, infrastructure, policies, buildings, services, events, memories, changes, waste, etc. More than half of the world's population lives in such urban conglomerations, and more than half of these citizens inhabit unplanned

social and environmental issues. Contemporary urban development has been determined by the domination of individual initiatives and institutional retreats within the framework of market competition. The result of such processes is the disintegrated urban structure, comprised of glossy buildings that exploit the local environment in order to radiate a globalised image of luxury. Their architecture has been reduced to standardised technological schemes and façade-rendering to provide these buildings with the most attractive face for their self promotion. A potential variety of building types has been standardised according to those most profitable, creating a mass of singular units that have appropriated the best locations in cities and their predominant surroundings. Once again, this time under neo-liberal governance, urban development does not fulfil social needs and expectations.

Both Socialist and Capitalist tendencies of urban development have been exploited in Novi Beograd (New Belgrade), the city that was imagined as the modern capital of Socialist Yugoslavia. What is particular for New Belgrade is that neither the Socialist nor Capitalist agenda has been fulfilled consequently, enabling this new city to grow 'spontaneously', albeit run under top governance and built with the full capacity of the state. New Belgrade started as an utopian modernist city, the hometown of a new society striving for a bright future, and attained an unplanned multiplicity through a series of politically driven opportunistic changes. (picture above)

lived through an emergent change from a centrally-planned development to an un-coordinated, atomized building practice.

The transformation of the city began under the United Nations embargo in 1992, amidst an atmosphere of war traumas, media obsession and politicisation. In this context, as compensation for the disintegrating state and collapsing institutions, the grey economy evolved from the strategy of survival to the main means of production. It has the capacity to create specific urban structures – dispersed and plugged into the existing environment. There is a dynamic between distributed and hierarchical systems; novelty was created through conflict and negotiation between individuals and institutions. Different degrees of management in urban development, of heterarchy and hierarchy in urban relations, and the effect of certain blends of non-regulated and regulated urban activities uncovered the inherent logic of emergent processes[1].

1 *The Genetics of the Wild City* is a research project by Stealth Group: Ana Džokić, Milica Topalović, Marc Neelen and Ivan Kucina. It has been developed through research at the Berlage Institute, *Postgraduate Laboratory of Architecture, Faculty of Architecture* in Belgrade, and by the Stealth Group from Rotterdam. The research formed part of the *Mutation Exhibition* in Bordeaux 2000, *Berlin Beta 2001* Conference, *V2_Wire Tap* in Rotterdam 2002 and *Archilab Naked City*. Exhibition in Orleans 2002: www.stealth.ultd.net

While their patterns were fairly simple, the complexity that arose from them maintained the time-based character of a self-regulated system and its heterogeneous and vivid structure. In nearly all urban processes, pulsating and flexible structures were achieved, resembling profound symbiotic forms that were often more sophisticated than those made conventionally. Their autonomous potential provided a fruitful ground for establishing alternative urban visions that confront utopian modernisation, as well as progressive globalisation.

Self-regulated processes feature a remarkable degree of building energy and innovation, and therefore open up the possibilities for re-defining institutional

and self-regulated urban settlements that have become the integral parts of these big cities. In the next twenty years, these numbers will double, establishing this self-regulated urbanity as the dominant type of human habitation, and uncontrolled urban transformation as a major tendency in development.

The trigger for this emerging self-regulated urbanity worldwide was precipitated by the grey economy blast, as compensation for the non-efficient distribution of wealth. Due to their dynamic infrastructure and production capacity, big cities that have attracted immigrants from underdeveloped regions experienced an abrupt change, becoming a complex and unstable ground on which the rules for building construction were constantly re-invented. This unleashed individual action began to produce innovation in literally every urban domain – from commerce to housing production and public services. A new, self-regulated urban layer appeared, flooding public space and existing buildings, disintegrating the urban logic by upgrading it with a series of mutants parasiting the inherited infrastructure. Varieties of unexpected inventions define new territories that are transforming the urban body. From these, new conditions of the contemporary city have been achieved, which, in spatial and temporal terms, address the finiteness and the absoluteness of the existing.

Simultaneously, in the decades of political crises and economical crash, wars and transitions in ex-Yugoslavia, followed by the collapse of the Socialist system of planning, and the rise of arrogant neo-liberal development, millions of individual uncontrolled building activities have taken place, taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the corrupted institutions that unwillingly underwent a process of administrative reforms. The wild, volatile spread of un-planned building structures has transformed the urban environment in all of the newborn states, representing a particular form of self-regulated urbanisation. The biggest city, Belgrade,

revealing the incapability of institutions to identify a more sustainable model for future development.

Furthermore, if the technical implementation of EU standards represents the increasing unification of peoples and places through the converging processes of economic, political and cultural change, then the divergent practices of the Western Balkans could become a counter action to the integrating and homogenising effects of globalisation. This means that the concept of 'local' could be empowered with the concepts found in the latest self-regulated urban development around the Western Balkans, which would truly shift the meaning from their originally negative connotations to their constructive potential. Conditions of self-regulated urbanity that emerge when the centrifugal forces outweigh the centripetal forces within are becoming thresholds for cultivating commons among individualised building initiatives.

A variety of complementary concepts has been found around the Western Balkans and recognised as patterns for creating alternatives.[3]

3 *The Lexicon of Provisional Futures* is a collaborative work process towards a collection of terms and redefinitions that imagine the Western Balkans as a vital and important trigger for the possible futures of Europe. With its planned workshops and collectively edited publication, it follows the *Lost Highway Expedition* (LHE), an exploration of the cultural and urban landscapes of the Western Balkans, and is a part of the larger framework project *Europe Lost and Found*. The Lexicon has been initiated by the Centrala Foundation for Future Cities and co-organised by Skuč Gallery Ljubljana, Press to Exit project space Skopje. www.provisionalfutures.net

and professional participation in the creation of urban space. Understanding the city as a complex self-regulated system, means questioning whether architecture and urban planning can be flexible in interaction with their changeable urban environment, and shift from the top-down, unilateral and project-based response towards a bottom-up and open-ended approach. An apparent direction for architects and urban planners is in influencing, steering and shifting the processes themselves – which means a change of focus from designing objects to designing instruments for navigating the processes. For that reason, a new methodology and a specific practice to monitor, visualise, and, to a certain extent, to predict spatial and organisational changes, has to be developed.

The search for indicators for an alternative urban future, new methodologies and the practices related to it starts in the urban landscapes of the recent EU political invention of the Western Balkans, given the fact that the collapse of the institutional framework gave rise to numerous innovative cultural, spatial and economic practices.[2]

2 *The Lost Highway Expedition* is an interdisciplinary and cross-national research project, which attempts to imagine economical, political and cultural geographies for the unknown future of the Balkans. It was set up as a massive movement of individuals plotting a route from Ljubljana to Zagreb, Novi Sad, Belgrade, Skopje, Prishtina, Tirana, Podgorica, and Sarajevo, from 30 July to 25 August 2006. Initiated by Centrala Foundation for Future Cities (CFfFC), Rotterdam: Ana Džokić, Marc Neelen, Katherine Carl, Srdjan Weiss, Marjetica Potrč, Kyong Park, Azra Aksamija, Ivan Kucina. LHE symposia at Columbia University, New York, and CAVS, MIT Boston, in October 2006. Lost Highway Exhibition, SKUC, Ljubljana, 2007. Lost Highway Photobook, 2007: www.europelostandfound.net

Evolving in difficult geo-political contexts, these emergent and self-regulated practices have been urged to re-direct the prospect of their activities as responses to the unstable conditions. For that reason, they are considered a vital and important trigger for empowering discussions on programmes envisioning an alternative future of European cities that are undergoing severe economical crises,

Left-over
Free space in-between fulfilled desires
Raw End
An unintentional result of the most literal application of the basic building tools
Under Construction
Continual delay due to un-determined rules of development

The contemporary urban state reveals the inefficient architecture and urban planning system that evaluates totality as its highest achievement, and the missing formulation of the development strategy that would recognise the potentials of self-regulated urbanity. Reliable knowledge about the conditions of self-regulated urbanity could provide an innovative model of urban development by producing a system of interactions among the found concepts. This potential emerges from the multiplicity of individual initiatives that take advantage of proclaimed regulations creating a dynamic and complex self-regulated system.

The globalisation of urban development has led to a rejection of self-regulated initiatives that are loaded with overly negative stereotypes: while institutional activities have been accepted as civilised, reasonable and tolerant, self-regulation, on the other hand, has been pronounced wild, irrational and conflicting. This stereotype has created the belief that the city could not be developed and sustained without a controlling mechanism defined by public institutions. However, urban planning discipline is currently in a dilemma about the pace of urban growth, and questions exactly how to create a new sustainable organism. The danger is that institutional urban planning may simply assume the mantle of a rigidly administrated meta-city apparatus impressed with its own order and comfort, and unable

They are applicable to any urban scale and location as a strategic policy and to design tools for creating processes and assets. Their cultivation could provide the specific conditions for any architectural and urban programme:

Fragmentation
The reduction of authority and the growth of self-regulated initiatives
Frame Line
A pronounced enclosure of privatised territory
Concurrency
Spatial implications of the various simultaneous states of existence
Hybridisation
Invention resulting from the crossover of multiple influences
Minimal Commons
A bit of co-existence, where there's nothing left to lose, but much to gain
Temporary Hierarchy
The ability to take over a particular spatial action for a limited time
Convertibles
The potential of distorting limitations into a space of exchange
Compensation
Exchanging expected service with service of another sort
Expandability
The capacity of the hosting body to adapt to un-coordinated external partitions
Short-cutting
A fast and unpredictable break through congestion
Para-Source
Scratching the energy from existing sources

Mokotowska Street: The Fresh Start of an Old Attitude

Introduction

Mokotowska Street, where pre-war buildings are mixed with later developments, carries the potential for a Warsaw attitude seeking an opportunity to conserve and demonstrate traditions unfolding from the contemporary everyday life of the street: cafés, shops and uneven pavements. Mokotowska is a downtown street that recently began its transformation into a 'Little Manhattan', as one long-time resident of the street put it. It is now turning into an expensive street with pricey shops and restaurants.

Like many other streets in the centre of Warsaw, Mokotowska is full of contrasts. Long-time residents, often of modest means, are being driven out by people who have been more successful in the new, democratic, Capitalist reality, and who also find life in the city's changing centre alluring. Moreover, many pre-war tenements are being recovered by descendants of the families evicted during the Communist period. Hence, crumbling pre-war buildings stand adjacent to newly-renovated ones, alongside austere pre-fab Communist blocks and recently erected modern edifices. This jumble is also spectacular at street level, where every day, 'old' and 'new' residents pass each other; their difference lies primarily in their affluence. The contrast is also clear on the narrow side streets: the sight of a new Volvo slowly purring behind an old Lada no longer shocks anyone.

Today, Mokotowska Street is home to a great variety of people: during the day, one can observe mainly employees of companies and institutions located nearby, eating out in cafeterias, pierogi-serving eateries, or in

to compete with the dynamic evolution and flexibility of self-regulation. On the other hand, self-regulated urbanity is still bound by political, social and economical problems and exists disconnected to the general standards. Both seem to lack a convincing vision of the future. The fact of today's massive environmental erosion might finally help in finding their new consciousness.

Methodology that is based on cultivating concepts of self-regulated urbanity lays claim on urban planning in a different way, as part of an on-going lively process, in which production of the city is shared among its residents, experts, institutions and developers. Urban planning no longer takes place thanks to ideological programmes or market pressures alone, but under the impulse of the urban actors that initiate new ways of producing frameworks in which to live. Entropy that is delivered continually through the interactions of urban actors is the eternal resource for material production and environmental transformation, in which cultivated self-regulated urbanity becomes the greatest manifestation.

Cultivation of a self-regulated urbanity does not seek to eliminate existing urban dynamics, but to understand how to maintain lively controversies instead of deadly quarrels, and how to create smart means for constructive exchange among the divergent states of existence. It does not presume permanency, but an open series of temporary initiatives. Once they are on the run, an urban future unfolds its own dynamic through opportunistic interactions among urban actors. Mutual recognition and re-examination within the interactive process keeps the direction of development always in question. Continual questioning creates a flow in which any concurrency could interact with any other. Urban networks are becoming the present form of expression of future potentials.

ruins (without owners). This contrast, too, contributes to the street's ambience.

It is difficult to openly assert what the future of Mokotowska Street will look like. While one might speculate about the likely increase of affluent residents, it is hard to ignore the street's long-time residents, or the art and entertainment spaces, whose attraction also reaches young Varsovians without significant purchasing power. And while it is still undecided whether the 'True Varsovians' will have the final say, there is no doubt that the vibe of Mokotowska, along with the attitude attached to this old city-centre street – with qualities only a few Warsaw streets can boast – will influence its further development.

Shops and shop windows

Shop windows on Mokotowska Street can be divided into those that have 'always' been there, and those which emerged only recently. What seems most striking about the street is that you can find almost any type of shop on it: from children's toys to toys for adults, from basic products to those that are wholly extravagant (you can see a sample of shop-signs on a Mokotowska Street corner in the photo below: a bakery, a sex shop, as well as a gourmet deli with Spanish wines and cured meats).

the more expensive restaurants with which the street is becoming increasingly associated. Other people go to shops and service establishments, like the old lady who has been coming to a hairdressing salon there for the last thirty years; earlier, she used to go to Mokotowska Street on romantic dates. There are also those who simply like to walk down Mokotowska Street because it serves as a substitute for gorgeous pre-war Warsaw. Reservations about the beauty of Mokotowska are usually voiced by tourists and 'Untrue Varsovians' (i.e., those whose Warsaw family tree is less than three generations long), who use the street only to get from one square (Plac Zbawiciela) to another (Plac Trzech Krzyży). Night-time Mokotowska regulars usually come from all over the city to gather in the (now defunct) artistic tenement building, or in a nearby club on Plac Zbawiciela; the square is a key space, which cuts across Mokotowska Street. Since making longer routes in pursuit of entertainment is a phenomenon typical of Warsaw – clubs are dispersed all over the city – it is no surprise that people visiting the artistic tenement often wished that Mokotowska Street were closer to the other clubs, or that the other clubs were closer to Mokotowska.

What constitutes the appeal of Mokotowska is also the cause of its ills: the street's vibe is easy to sense, but difficult to describe. Mokotowska began to stand out from other streets in the city centre sometime in the late 1990s, as shops with expensive clothing and equally costly restaurants emerged. Following this wave, more new enterprises opened gradually on the street, while the squares Plac Trzech Krzyży and Plac Zbawiciela became café-oriented points of reference on the street's map. Along with the shops, cafés and institutions, came property developers who set themselves to inserting stunning and pricey flats into the then grey and squalid buildings – and the people who could afford them followed. Still, as is the case in all of Warsaw, property ownership remains an ambiguous process: newly renovated houses (with owners) stand next to dilapidated

rooms in which people reside permanently. Still, truth be told, one can find tenements where the elevations look as if they were begging to be covered with billboards. The frontage seen in the photo is a good example of the rubble into which many tenements in Warsaw seem to be turning; lacking funds for their renovation, the buildings often fall into ruin.

People

Although often hidden from sight by rows of parked automobiles, people make up the core of the street's landscape. In the daytime, you can find a lot of hard-pressed, smartly dressed people who work in the offices close by. They talk on their cell phones, get into their cars, and drive off to other parts of the city.

Older people mark their presence at a somewhat slower pace, and thus perhaps less noticeably. Dressed with old-fashioned elegance, they stroll down the present-day space of Mokotowska. Yet when asked, the street they talk about belongs to the old Warsaw, which no longer exists.

The youth of the street, on the other hand, is completely different: dressed in trendy clothes, watching the shop windows closely, walking with a sure step on the unsteady pavement. They seem most happy about the street filling up with expensive shops and cultural spaces. For them, the street is one that has not made use of its enormous potential just yet.

Recently, one could notice an increasing number of construction workers renovating Mokotowska's buildings. Now settled in the street with their huts, scaffolding and tools, they, too, have become part of the street's landscape.

At present, jewellery shop Lilou is one of the most eye-catching shops on Mokotowska. You can see women standing in a queue every single day, and it sometimes even spreads onto the street. The place is a phenomenon in and of itself, attracting customers despite its steep prices.

Permanent street commerce, which boasts a long tradition in Warsaw, can also be found on Mokotowska. Each day around noon a woman comes with a peculiar set of goods: eggs and flowers, and sells them across from the grocery shop on the stretch between Plac Trzech Krzyży and Wilcza Street. Despite living in another part of the city, one can find her there every day: she comes there solely 'to work'. Nonetheless, she already knows the residents and has become a fixture in the street's landscape.

Above the ground floor

The life of the city does not take place only on the pavement, but also on higher floors or on the buildings' roofs. People reluctantly gaze above Warsaw's ground-floor level, mostly because of the advertisements, which cover many of the buildings. While advertisements have left Mokotowska Street relatively unaltered, one can notice instances of integrating ads into the façades. According to the present law, advertisements are not allowed to cover

Marketmeter: A Creeping Trade

Street trade creates a fluctuating and self-organising informal city space. According to Richard Sennett, informal spaces at the grassroots level make up the essence of a city: 'Informal public space requires under-determined urban planning, i.e., an architecture which allows flexibility of use and admits physical gaps and indeterminate relationships between buildings. It is in these liminal spaces that informality can flourish – the café built into a parking lot, or the market stall outside a loading dock. In other words, the virtue of informal public space in hinge cities[1]

1 hinge cities – a place of location, rather than destination, a city of mobilities that serve as connectors.

requires us to challenge ideas that emphasising spatial order and purpose in urban design, ideas realised in practice, produces an over-determined environment'.[2]

2 *Istanbul within a Europe of Cities*; 2009; www.urban-age.net

The process of planning and modernising Warsaw is moving toward the standardisation of public space. Informal spaces, the users of which are often the least privileged of social groups, are driven out to the periphery of the city. Public micro-spaces at the grassroots level, such as bazaars,[3]

3 Liquidation of an alley with Vietnamese restaurants at the Tenth Anniversary Stadium in 2010; liquidation of KDT in 2009.

are being replaced by controlled chains, and the green space is being taken over by car parks or granite walkways. The Warsaw authorities have consistently followed a policy of sterilisation and are liquidating all

an unsuccessful attempt to regulate street trade. The city ordered one thousand yellow umbrellas with the logo of the Warsaw Mermaid and the 'Fall in Love with Warsaw' slogan, which were to be purchased by street traders with a view to unifying the aesthetics of street sellers and their wares. Unfortunately, the umbrellas turned out to be impractical, flimsy and too expensive to gain popularity among pragmatic tradespeople. At the same time, in addition to the unlikely aesthetic improvement, the umbrellas did not solve the economic issues, namely the traders' non-payment of taxes.

Instead of the liquidation of street trade and sterilisation of Warsaw, I would suggest regulations and the development of a comprehensive, economic and aesthetic model for street trade. *Marketmeter* is a system for adapting street trade, based on regulations similar to that of parking metres and parking spaces in the city centre. Street traders would have the right to reserve public space for a period of time, a section of the pavement or a parking space, but based on precisely defined rules. In specific, given zones of streets, pavements and squares, pull-out tables would be built into the surface at ground level, as potential trading stalls. Upon payment of a certain sum to *Marketmeter*, depending on the period of use, the tables would be unblocked and pulled out from the pavement and used for displaying one's merchandise. When trading is over, the tables would be collapsed back into the ground. The general time-frame and trading zones would be regulated by the city authorities. At the same time, traders could adapt to the situation and changing economic climate, being able to decide whether to trade, for how long, and at which corner of the street seemed to be most profitable.

The payment monies thus obtained would be allocated to the budget of the given street, and would be earmarked towards the upkeep of the greenery, benches and playgrounds. Thus, the market capital would create social capital. The controversial aesthetics of 'pumice

vegetable stalls in central Warsaw, even those that have operated there for decades and are popular among locals.[4]

4 Inhabitants' protest against the liquidation of the vegetable stall at the corner of Kubusia Puchatka and Ordynacka Streets; http://goo.gl/2yWCf

Yet street trade has existed in Warsaw for centuries and has been perfectly integrated into the landscape of the capital. In Canaletto's paintings from the eighteenth century, the Royal Castle, Zygmunt's column and the stalls co-exist in harmony in painterly symbiosis. The Arab *souks*, Parisian *marché aux puces* and London *flea markets* come and go within the most elegant spaces without any hindrance or repression. Perhaps the problem of the Warsaw bazaars is, above all, the lack of a street-trading tradition and culture. The Persians, thanks to their *ta'arof*, have developed a ritual of courteous banter during street-trading. The French have given the weekend *marché* the status of a social integrator, elevating such manner of spending their free time. Through their fashionable and vintage *flea markets*, the English have promoted the idea of sustainability and slow living. Social life in public space revolves around *bazaars*. In Warsaw, alternative forms of trade are reappearing, such as the *Groceries Cooperative*,[5]

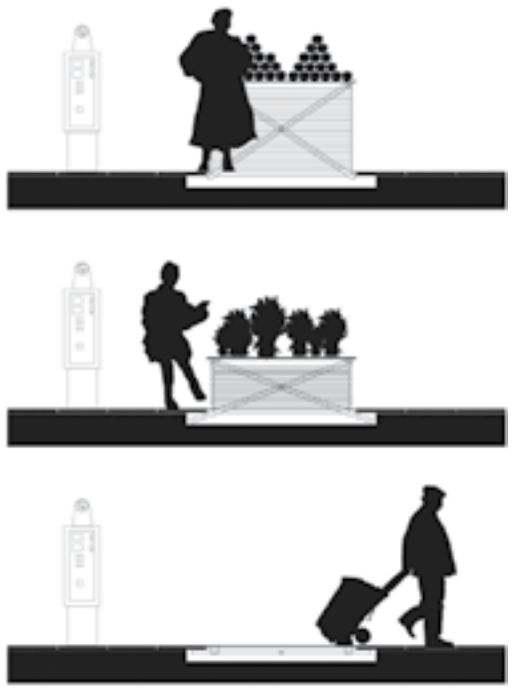
5 www.kooperatywy.pl; the Co-operative's slogan: 'We shall beat capitalism with a carrot'.

based on the self-organisation of their members and common purchases in agricultural fairs, or the Bio-bazaars that are now opening in the former Norblin Factory in Wola.

Nevertheless, an appropriate formula for the issue of street trade has not been found. The Warsaw authorities have made many attempts to combat the camping tables and clothes-drying racks used by street traders in the city centre. The Mayor of Warsaw made

stones and G-strings' scattered around may change over time, as the aesthetic tables themselves would encourage better presentation of merchandise among street sellers. The Mayor of Bogotá, Antanas Mockus,[6] a philosopher and activist, managed to change inhabitants' mental behavioural patterns in public space within just one term, through the use of art, performance and humour. City initiatives and the direct education of pedestrians have changed the face of the city.

Perhaps after some time, street trade in Warsaw may be recognised as a fully legal activity that can greatly contribute to the city, leading to the elevation of street trade itself to the ranks of other forms of trade.



6 Cities on Speed: Bogotá Change – Andreas Mol Dalsgaard's paper on the transformation of space in Bogotá.

CHAPTER II

Church Street Market, 2010

Church Street,
Alfies Antique Market, 2010

View of Church Street, *Decoratum* design gallery & the street market, 2010

Church Street Revisited

Just a few months after the *Anatomy of a Street* exhibition took place, I visited Church Street again. Even though it all started as a casual stroll with a friend in an area which already had a familiar and homely feel to me, it resulted in quite a strange visit, a kind of funny episode that summarised with eerie simplicity all my previous experiences and ambiguous feelings about the place. It was an autumn evening: the otherwise congested and vibrant street market, noisy and messy fast-food restaurants and cafés were all closed. As we walked down the dark empty streets, I tried to paint a lively image of the hectic daytime routines of the neighbourhood's diverse inhabitants, and pointed out some of the key locations and former venues of the exhibition. Halfway down Church Street, we arrived at the corner of Kennet House (See opposite), a modernist high-rise apartment tower facing the offices of the Church Street Neighbourhood Management Centre, an organisation that grew out of a community-led neighbourhood movement. I was just about to answer some questions about how Anatom*y of a Street* managed to address the co-existence of culturally diverse communities on the street, when someone, with a rather boisterous gesture, poured a bucketful of water onto our heads from a window above and disappeared with the same speed before I could even open my mouth. This chilly and fresh surprise was an accident, but promptly provided an answer that was inherently ironic in its innocence.

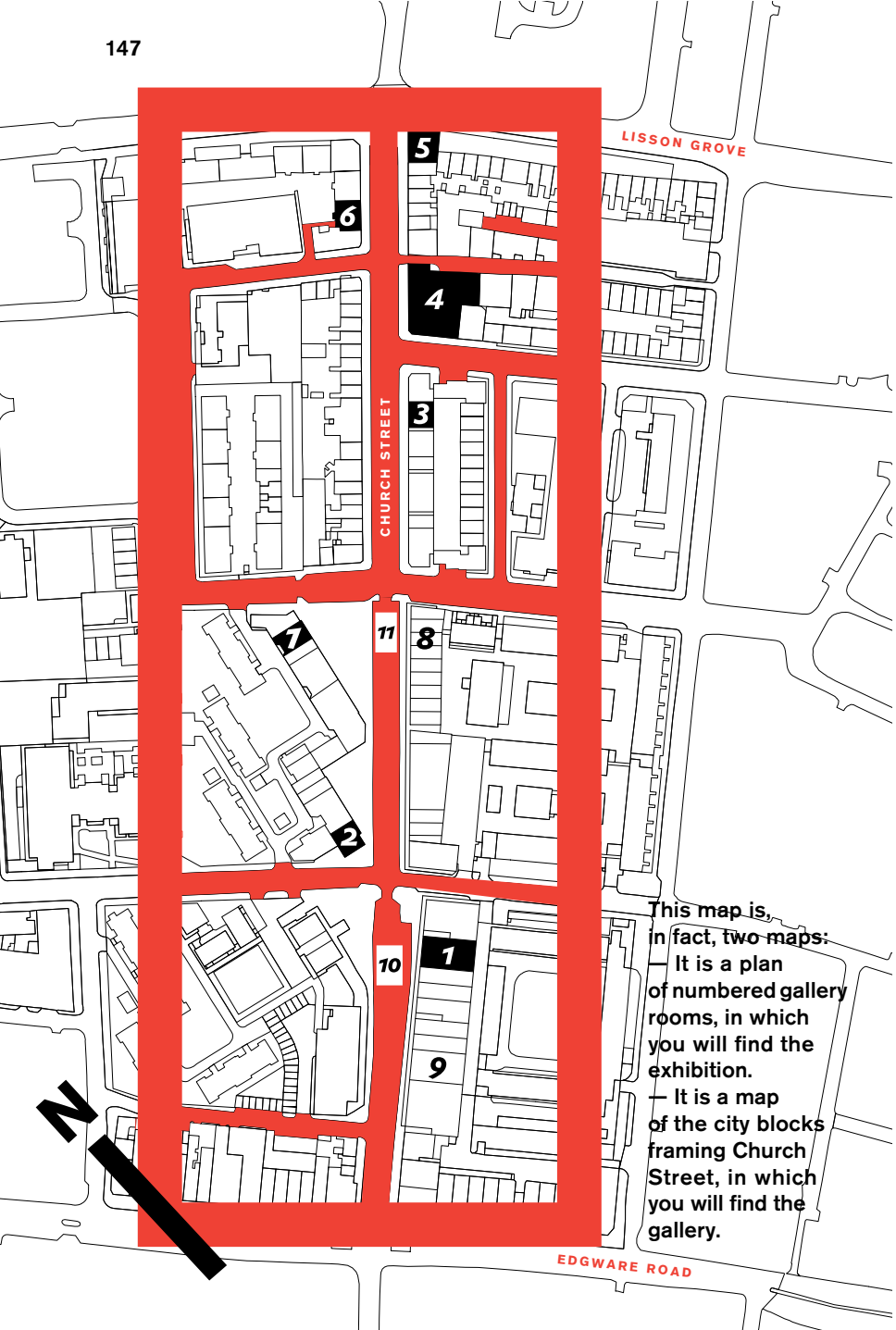
Revisiting and re-evaluating the experiences of an exhibition in retrospect is always a difficult task. The multiple criteria of 'success' often contradict each other, even more so in the case of a public art project that takes the street as its subject. *Anatomy of a Street*

point for the exhibition was a mapping project of the Király Street area of Budapest, a collection of indicators of urban change and dynamics. Artists, architects and designers were invited from the local context to respond to Király Street and create works to be exhibited on Church Street in London. The exhibited works shaped an itinerary through public and private space, in shop windows, market stalls, cafés, library rooms and hidden top-floor galleries of a remote location. In short, two otherwise very distinct streets were juxtaposed upon each other. Church Street provided a 'gallery infrastructure', a context in which works from Budapest were shown, while the itinerary of the exhibition provided a choreographed pathway through Church Street, which in this circular relationship became both the host and the subject of the exhibition itself. A 'gallery guide ephemera' by House of Jonn framed the street both as a gallery and as an artifact. It consisted of a map, wayfinders and an audio-guide that led the visitors through Church Street, aiming to create a new form of 'local tourism', seeking out the non-monumental, the overlooked and the ephemeral. The audio-guide was available to pick up from the local library or from temporary market stalls during the weekend, and instead of providing a classical guide to the works of art or an architectural tour of the buildings on site, it consisted of a series of intimate interviews with the people living, working or visiting the street.

This introduction with accompanying images attempts to reconstruct some of the experiences from the exhibition, and of Church Street itself; a travel guide, or fragmented diary in the form of anecdotes and other reminiscences. It will take you for a virtual walk on Church Street, following the numbered 'gallery rooms' on the map by House of Jonn (see overleaf), proceeding from south-east to north-west, from the lively Edgware Road to the quieter Lisson Grove and its famous antique galleries around the Alfies Antique Market.

was an exhibition which took Church Street in Paddington as a specific context, where different layers of the local and the global, new and old, and multiple representations of differing histories and cultures overlap and conflict with each other, creating and renewing tensions constantly. The exhibition positioned itself as a mapping project, favouring questions and flexibility over consolidating answers; an open-ended research, aiming to avoid any pre-fixed readings or simplified interpretations of the street. *Anatomy of a Street* therefore took a position that inevitably and essentially was also full of contradictions. On the one hand, the main question was how to avoid presentations freezing into representation: how can an exhibition acquire a presentational quality, without seriously interfering with the autonomy of the works and subjects that are exhibited? (Can architecture in its social aspects be exhibited at all?) On the other hand, such a research project tracing the intermingled dynamics of top-down and bottom-up processes of urban change, city planning and regeneration, must also take into account its own effect as an exhibition in the public sphere with the capacity to generate unexpected dynamics in its immediate urban surroundings and even beyond. The innocent remoteness of a 'scientific position' cannot be retained in the public realm: outside the laboratory, there is no place for outsiders. The main challenge to exhibiting architecture on its own site – on Church Street – resulted therefore in a constant negotiation between the positions of the insider and outsider, and between that which is considered to be the presentational and representational, navigating various sorts of translations: the curatorial concept of a 'research exhibition', art, non-art and the in-between.

Anatomy of a Street was twofold in its aims and format. The exhibition's premise was to compare two geographically, historically and culturally distinct locations, in order to learn from local differences, as well as to discover similarities on the global horizon. The starting



This map is, in fact, two maps:
— It is a plan of numbered gallery rooms, in which you will find the exhibition.
— It is a map of the city blocks framing Church Street, in which you will find the gallery.

Gallery rooms

No. 1
Church Street Library
97-99 Church Street
Internal shelves
—
House of Jonn,
Guide, 2010
Maps and Audio guides to collect. Mixed media, dimensions variable

No. 2
Neighbourhood Management
88 Church Street
Display Window
—
Emőke Kerekes & Anna Mózes,
Vendor Portraits, Király Street, Budapest, 2010.
Slide show, Courtesy of the artists

No. 3
Decoratum
31-33 Church Street
Shop Window
—
Péter Rákosi / Tehnica Schweiz, *Shop-Windows, an Inventory*, 2007-2010
Slide show, Courtesy of the artist

No. 4
Alfies Antique Market
13-25 Church Street
Video screen on stair to basement
—
no.w.here, *Scenes, Free Cinema School II*, 2010
Film, 50 min. Courtesy of the artists and the Centre for Possible Studies (Serpentine Gallery)
—
Stall SO13, 2nd floor
Szövetség'39, *No. 1-118*, 2010, Sound installation.
Courtesy of the artists
—
Rooftop café
Miklós Surányi,
Temporarily Inhabited Space, 2009-2010,
Sound installation,
Courtesy of the artist

No. 5
Number One Church St
1 Church Street
Shop Window
—
Allan Siegel, *Grounded But Uncertain*, 2010, Slide show on five digital frames, Courtesy of the artist.
—
Garden Railings
Ádám Albert,
Hunt the key, 2010,
Printed aluminum plate

No. 6
Drop In Centre
10 Church Street
Street Facing Window
(See also No. 6, 8, 9)
—
Miklós Surány,
Temporarily Inhabited Space, 2009-2010,
Ten colour photographs

No. 7
Monira Café
56 Church Street
Internal video screen
—
no.w.here, *Scenes, Free Cinema School II*, 2010
(see N.4)

Events

No. 10
June 26 2010
July 2—3 2010
Market Stall pitch
—
Bahbak Hashemi-Nezhad
Aubergine NW8, 2010

No. 11
July 4 2010
Market Stall pitch
—
Bahbak Hashemi-Nezhad
Aubergine NW8 Street Restaurant, 2010
—
Slide show on five digital frames, Performance,
Stall House of Jonn,
Map and Cassette Tape tour, 2010

Church Street is a lively side street running across the busy Edgware Road, linking it with Lisson Grove and the Marylebone area. It is only minutes away from Oxford Street, Marylebone and Paddington, yet is still somehow considered 'off the map'. Despite its central location, it remains a disconnected and hidden pocket of the city, a seemingly inconvenient infrastructural separation which contributes to the preservation of an autonomous and unique local scene. I came across Church Street only accidentally, and the street struck me at first sight. The multiplicity and (not always smooth) co-existence of different layers and microcosms, along with the variety of architecture – ranging from old Victorian and Georgian terrace houses to the predominant modernist social housing – results in a particularly rich and diverse milieu, all concentrated to such an extraordinary degree.

No. 1 – Church Street Library
97-99 Church Street

The Church Street Library served as central hub for the exhibition. Its congested open-plan reading room felt like an extension of the street, occupying the ground floor of a council block, neighbouring a dentist's office and a small boutique. To get there, one had to first walk through the noisy and messy street market from the Edgware Road side of the street, passing by cheap off-license shops, and a range of small cafés and fast-food restaurants.

Last July, the library moved a few blocks down the street, to a new purpose-built building with confined spaces and functions.

No. 2 – Neighbourhood Management Centre (CSNM)
88 Church Street
Emőke Kerekes & Anna Mózes,
Vendor Portraits, 2010 (see pp. 56-55)

The CSNM office is located on the ground floor of a residential council block, just on the corner of Penfold Street, a small back street hosting some of the neighbourhood youth centres, the Showroom Gallery and the architectural offices of Terry Farrell and Partners. During the busy period of organising the exhibition, our office migrated from cafés and the library into the CSNM offices, and slowly became a part of it.

House of Jonn,
Wayfinder No.3 above
Decoratum, 2010

No. 7 – Monira Café
56 Church Street
no.w.here, *Free Cinema School II*, 2010

We spent our first workdays on Church Street with neighbourhood officer John McDonald, known to the locals as 'walker-talker John', who took us around and introduced us to the shopkeepers, traders and residents on the street. One of our first venues was Monira Café, a small Egyptian bakery, which later hosted the opening of the exhibition and screenings by no.w.here, and a selection of their *Free Cinema School Project*: a non-linear fictitious story shot collectively on local streets with residents, filmmakers and amateurs. The exhibition ran from late

Superstore, Shop window on Church Street

now built into the archaeology of the street: a sign not easily understood, but accidentally preserved as a memory of something already forgotten.

No. 8 – Al Amir Bakery
45 Church Street
Miklós Surányi, *Temporarily Inhabited Space*, 2009-2010 (see pp. 16-15)

Miklós Surányi's photos popped up in different locations throughout the street: on the roof terrace of the Alfies Antique Market, in the windows of the Drop In Centre, in the 'One Price' off-licence shop, and in the small Kurdish café just opposite Monira Café, where a photograph of a dog (traditionally considered a symbol of impurity) caused some misunderstandings and quickly disappeared in the flurry of the street.

No. 5 – Number One Church Street
1 Church Street
Ádám Albert, *Hunt the Key*, 2010
(see pp. 20-18)
—
Allan Siegel, *Grounded and Uncertain*, 2010

Number One Church Street is a fashionable Shisha Lounge, neighbouring Alfies and other design galleries at the junction of Church Street and Lisson Grove.

The café hosted in its windows Siegel's multi-channel installation, a sequence of slide-shows documenting construction sites and the transformation of Király Street, focusing on the details of the process, and examining the concept of civic architecture.

Hunt the Key, the printed aluminium plate of Ádám Albert, was installed on the garden railings of the café, and was exceptionally warmly welcomed by the owners, who saw the work over all as a functional object: a protective shield against the wind, as well as against the unfriendly looks of some of the locals who were opposed to their business.

June through early July, and the screenings were often interrupted and substituted by transmissions of the Word Cup, visitors finding themselves in the midst of enthusiastic football fans.

The residents of the block above the café often complained about its late opening hours, while they had no objections against the neighbouring pub, which created suspicions about some racial tensions. It happened the night after the opening that a wayfinder above Monira Café went missing, signalling some of these tensions and raising our awareness of how easily these became amplified by the framework of the exhibition.

Anatomy of a Street
wayfinder above the former
Monira Café, 2011

Monira opened just a few weeks before *Anatomy of a Street* took place on Church Street, and only a few months later had completely disappeared from the street, giving way to a new set of entrepreneurs. A sticker replacing the removed wayfinder sign above the former café remained the only trace of the exhibition

Al Amira Cafe,
Church Street, 2010

Almost a year after the exhibition took place, I returned to the street again with my camera to take a few photos. While focusing on small changes, I became aware of the consistent characteristics of the street: its dividedness and constantly conflicting boundaries, arising from the different cultural understandings of the public and the private – rendering especially difficult and delicate the job of the photographer.

On a Saturday morning, a walk on the street from Edgware Road to Lisson Grove takes us through many different worlds, and from a cheap but colourful market, a multi-cultural melting pot in the valley of modernist residential buildings, we slowly arrive to the exclusive and expensive design galleries, glamorous showrooms and fashionable cafés at the other end of Church Street. Similarly to Király Street in Budapest, the tension between the two ends and two visions of the street is palpable, while their long-term co-existence is not probable. Thinking about the dynamics of regeneration and gentrification, the potential economic and cultural effects of the *Anatomy of a Street* exhibition (as part of the *London Festival of Architecture*, an international London-wide event, attracting over 250,000 visitors in only two weeks) were not predictable beforehand. While the exhibition might have contributed in some degree to putting Church Street on 'new maps' of the city, it did not, after all, end up attracting big masses, and in retrospect, *Anatomy of a Street* remained a series of small, local events.

The present chapter of this publication collects some documentation of these events: Bahbak Hashemi Nezhad's description of his *Aubergine: NW8* project; a collection of recipes; and a transcription of a round-table discussion, which took place in the Showroom Gallery on the occasion of the launch of the first volume of this publication.

No. 4 – Alfies Antique Market
13-25 Church Street
Szövetség'39, *No. 1-118*, 2010

Alfies is a famous landmark. An indoor antique market housed in a strange, somewhat monumental yellow building, formerly known as Jordan's Department Store. It is a recently – and cheaply – renovated art nouveau style building, decorated with large Klimt reproductions and Egyptian wall paintings on the outside, while the inside of the building is a chaotic maze of antique dealers, outlets and high-profile design showrooms.

The soundscape of Szövetség'39 was installed in one of the top floor galleries of Alfies, collecting sound from two different cities, composed in twenty-one sound montages that allowed for a virtual walk-in and between disparate locations: *Please close your eyes and try to imagine that you are in Hungary, walking down Király Street in Budapest, and then in Pécs, and finally back to London, in Alfies, Church Street…*

Aubergine NW8 Street Restaurant at the Church Street Festival, 4 July 2010

Aubergine: NW8

What started with a discussion about a potential project for the London Festival of Architecture over some very expensive instant coffee on Edgware Road, ended up as a relationship still continuing today with Church Street, its market and its people.

Church Street provided the starting point with its multifaceted community in the face of regenerational change, for a project that was shaped by local materials, skills, stories and personal histories, and most importantly, the enthusiasm and willingness of the locals.

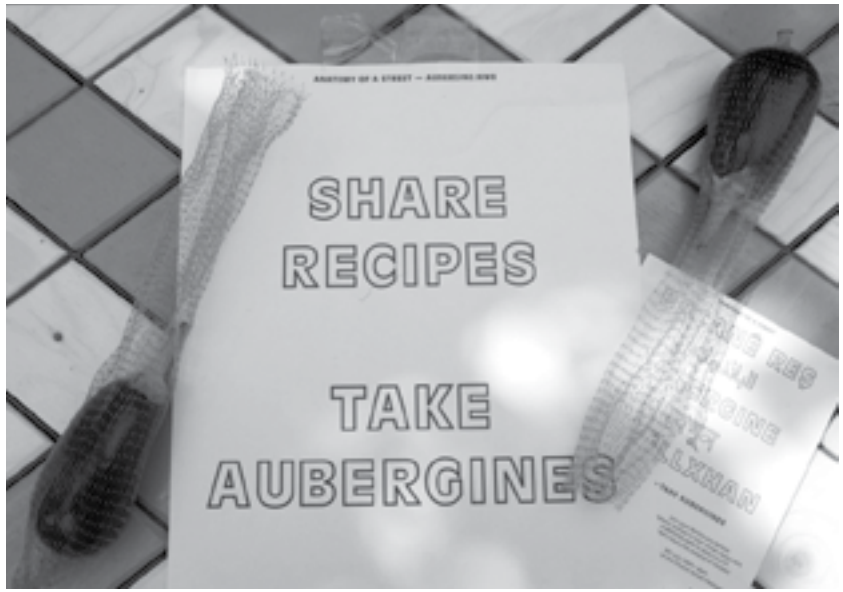
I cannot pinpoint an ultimate result of the project, or even give you one distinct answer as to what we achieved, for if I did, then I could jeopardise the importance of the many exchanges, experiences, coincidences, misunderstandings, recipes, trivial facts, and shared knowledge extracted in the process.

What I can shed some light on, are the aims that were integral to the conception and effectiveness of *Aubergine: NW8*, perceived as twofold:

Observational – of existing systems of play, local politics and social, economic and logistical mechanisms existing on the street market. From the one-man assembly of complex pitch structures and fruit price-wars, to a stall owner perpetrating Italian ethnicity and ladies with identical chequered shopping trollies;

Conversational – with residents, community officers, stall owners, etc. Each noteworthy and curious observation about the organically-grown community[1]

1 'Organically-grown' was a term used in relation to Church Street by Ed Quigley (from the local Neighbourhood Management Centre), to describe the fact that the neighbourhood in and around Church Street has grown into what it is today as a result of internal negotiations and policies between different communities, and the lack of attention (neglect) from the Westminster council.



‘Share a Recipe, Take an Aubergine!’
We set up a small stall, constructed from bread crates and numerous Church Street Benches and adorned with ‘Share a Recipe, Take an Aubergine!’ posters in Bengali, Albanian, English and Kurdish. The stall and its position on the market provide an area for exchanging humble home-cooking recipes for aubergines, in the process, building a contemporary history of the street and its concerns through casual conversations and stories.

Aubergine restaurant
The project, conducted in collaboration with food-activist Gabó Bartha, culminated in a social platform, in the form of a one-day street restaurant, where recipes turned into multicultural dishes, the public into collaborators. The restaurant was visited by residents, Westminster council chairmen, community officers, gallery curators, artists, and curious bystanders, all of whom were contributing by speaking with their mouths full.

was followed by a conversation, or at least a series of questions that helped to understand this complex growth, and consequently its current state, extracting knowledge and local experience by momentarily rendering equivocal a community that speaks fourteen languages.

The project developed in numerous phases, which included the design of ‘native’ furniture, and the sharing of recipes, and culminated in the form of a one-day street restaurant.

The aubergine
The cross-culturally popular staple ingredient, the aubergine, offered itself as the equivocal tool for the ethnically diverse community. A very popular item on the market, the aubergine is used by the Bengali, Sudanese, Algerian, Moroccan, Albanian, Kurdish, Iraqi and Chinese for everyday cooking.

Aubergine Trivia
Not dissimilar to the community itself, the fruit is an immigrant to English culture, and was only introduced around 1578.

Due to its easy self-cultivation and low price, the Aubergine was called the Friend of the Family during the near total financial and trade embargo placed on Iraq by America in the 1990s.

For scorpion bites, apply raw eggplant directly on the affected area to reduce swelling.

Church Street Bench – born out of the observation related to the vernacular uses of local material in the market. The Sunblest bread crate, an object native to the streets of London, can be seen used in a multitude of ways: as trays, seats, walls, support legs, shelter, to name just a few.

Aubergine NW8 Street Restaurant at the Church Street Festival

ANATOMY OF A STREET

BACANĒ REŞ

البانجانه

AUBERGINE

বেগুন

PATËLLXHAN

SHARE RECIPES – TAKE AUBERGINES

Visit Bahbak Hashemi-Nezhad's market stall at Church Street Market and exchange your aubergine recipe for fresh aubergines:

26 June 12am—4pm
2 July 11am—4pm
3 July 11am—4pm

Join Gabó Bartha and Bahbak Hashemi-Nezhad in their street restaurant AUBERGINE:NW8 to taste Church Street's favourite aubergine recipes!

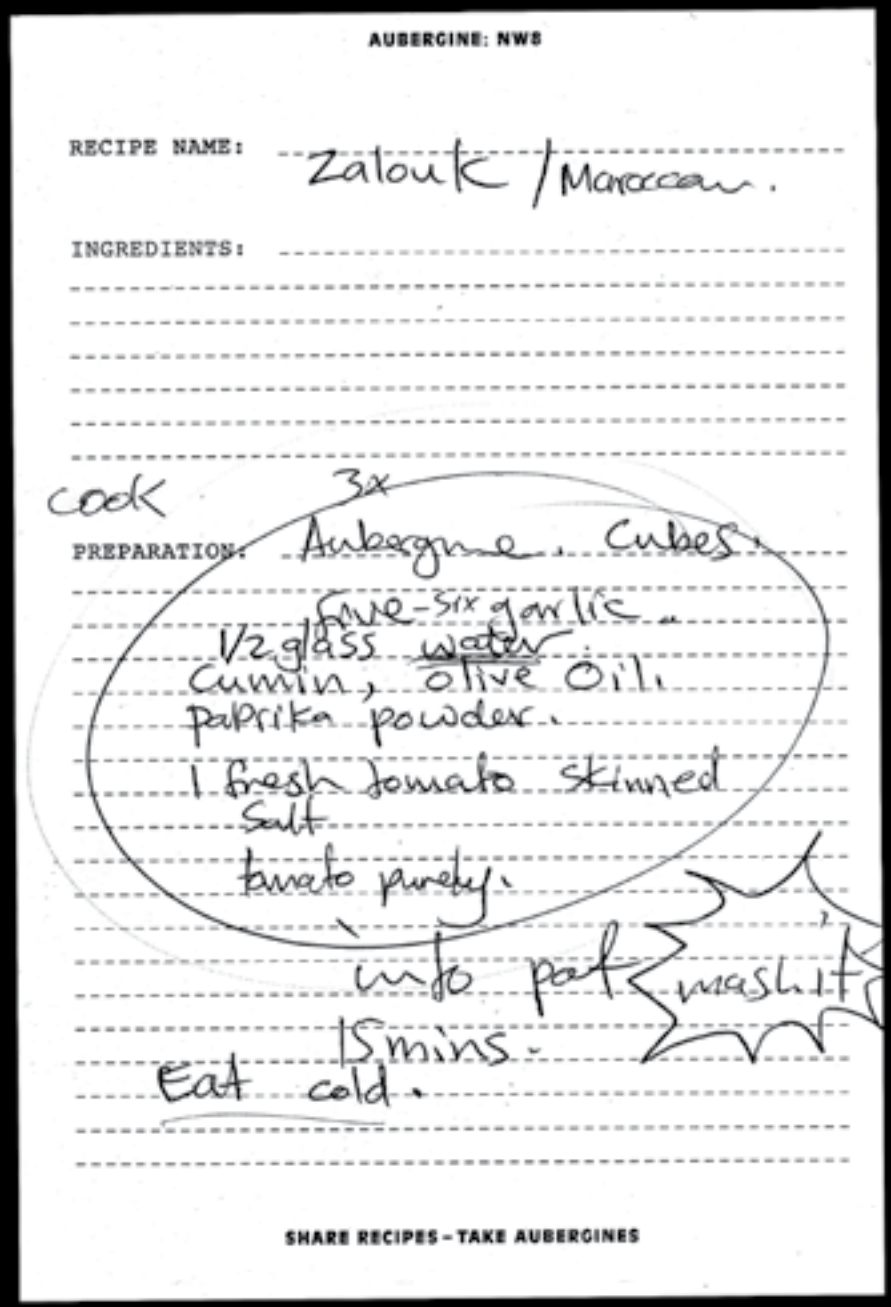
4th July 12am—4pm
(as part of the Church Street Festival)

Church Street Market

HCC Hungarian Cultural Centre London

LONDON FESTIVAL OF ARCHITECTURE 19 JUNE – 4 JULY 2010 WWW.LFA2010.ORG

Supported by the European Capital of Culture - Pécs 2010 in collaboration with the Hungarian Cultural Centre and the KÉK - Contemporary Architecture Centre in Budapest. The exhibition is part of the International Architecture Showcase organised by the British Council and The Architecture Foundation for the LONDON FESTIVAL OF ARCHITECTURE 2010.



AUBERGINE: NWS

RECIPE NAME: Zaloutk / Moroccan.

INGREDIENTS:

cook 3x

PREPARATION: Aubergine. Cubes.
five-six garlic.
1/2 glass water
Cumin, olive Oil.
Paprika powder.
1 fresh tomato skinned
Salt
tomato purely.
into pot mash it
15 mins.
Eat cold.

SHARE RECIPES – TAKE AUBERGINES

Francesco's Spontaneous Italian Melanzane Alla Parmigiana de Liguria (From the former cook to HRH the Queen of England)

Serves 2

Italy

Ingredients

aubergine – 1 (large)
parmesan cheese – 80g (freshly grated)

Béchamel
milk – 425ml
butter – 40g
plain flour – 20g

nutmeg – a pinch (freshly grated)
black pepper (freshly milled)

Preparation

1 Slice aubergine into 1cm thick discs. Lightly brush with olive oil and grill both sides until thoroughly cooked and a little charred.

2 Prepare Béchamel sauce:
- Begin by melting the butter gently – do not over-heat it or let it brown as this will affect the colour and flavour of the sauce.
- As soon as the butter melts, add the flour and, over a medium heat and using a small pointed wooden spoon, stir quite vigorously to make a smooth, glossy paste, then add the nutmeg.
- Now begin adding the milk a little at a time – about 25ml first and stir again vigorously.
- Then, slowly begin to add the half of the milk (over a period of about of 3 mins), switch to a balloon whisk and start adding the remaining milk, always whisking briskly. Now turn the heat down to its lowest setting and let the sauce cook for 5 mins, whisking from time to time.
- Meanwhile, season with salt and freshly milled black pepper to taste.

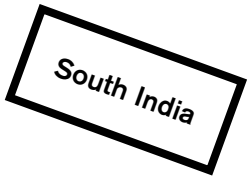
3 Place the warm grilled aubergine discs on a serving plate, cover with Béchamel and top with a generous pinch of freshly grated Parmesan, and salt and pepper to taste.

Untitled (Whole stuffed Aubergine)

Serves 4

Ingredients

aubergines – 10
(small short ones, or small thin ones cut in half)
desiccated coconut – 1 cup
ground peanuts – 1 cup
green coriander – a bunch
(fresh)
tomatoes – 3
(fresh, medium sized)
ginger – 2 tsp
(paste or fresh)
garlic – 3 cloves
(paste or fresh)
sugar – a pinch
cumin powder – 2 or 3 tsp
coriander powder – 1 tsp
chilli powder
(optional)
salt, pepper



Preparation

1 Use a blender to make a paste from all the above ingredients, except the aubergines.

2 Cut the head and tail of small aubergines.

3 Split the aubergines with an 'X' cut from the top ¾ of the height down, making sure to keep the aubergines intact.

4 Stuff the aubergines with the mixture above, and place in large pan/wok with some olive oil.

5 Cover the pan and cook gently for 30 min.

6 Serve with rice or bread.

Brazillian Aubergine Soup

serves 6-8

Ingredients

aubergines – 2
(peeled and cut into 1.5cm cubes)
onion – 1
(large, diced)
zucchini – 2
(large, cut into 1cm dices)
tomatoes – 3
(large, cut into 1cm dices)
garlic – ¾ of medium-sized bulb
(separated into cloves)
mushrooms – 450g
(quartered)
olive oil – ½ cup
chicken broth – 6 cups
red wine – ½ cup
basil – 2tbs
(freshly chopped)
oregano – 2tbs
(chopped)
curly-leaf parsley – 2tbs
(chopped)
salt and freshly-ground black pepper to taste

Preparation

1 Toss aubergine, onion, zucchini, tomatoes, garlic and mushrooms with olive oil.

2 Lay those mixed vegetables evenly on approximately 28×20 cm jelly-roll pan. Roast at 180°C (gas mark 4) until browned, stirring occasionally for even browning, for about 1 hour. Be careful not to scorch. Remove from oven and cool.

3 Puree roasted vegetables in blender and transfer to saucepan. Add broth and wine.

4 Simmer over medium heat for about 20 mins, until slightly reduced. Thickness of soup depends on amount of liquid added. Season to taste with salt and pepper.

5 When removing from heat add basil and oregano.

6 Serve in heated cups or bowls and garnish with curly-leaf parsley.

Roundtable Discussion on Church Street

6 July 2010, The Showroom Gallery, London

Participants:
Edward Quigley and Marco Torquati (Church Street Neighbourhood Management), Chloe McCarthy and Magda Novoa (MyCityToo), Neil Bennett (Terry Farrell and Partners), Nicholas Lobo Brennan (House of Jonn), Emily Pethick (The Showroom), Marsha Bradfield (Critical Practice Group)

Moderated by:
Levente Polyák & Eszter Steierhoffer

On the occasion of the launch of the *Anatomy of a Street* (*AoaS*) I publication, the participants of the roundtable discussion were invited to focus on plans and perspectives for Church Street in London Westminster, informing on and responding to the following issues of the *AoaS*. Taking the first chapter of the publication as a starting point, the roundtable discussion was set up to address these questions: Is urban regeneration possible on Church Street without engendering processes of gentrification? What is the role of internal borders and isolation in the preservation of neighbourhood character, social cohesion and local economy? What are the limits and possibilities of bottom-up organisation in accommodating urban change? How do concepts of speculation and development travel, and how are they transformed according to different social, political and economic contexts?

Roundtable discussion at the Showroom, 6 July 2010

Eszter Steierhoffer
We invited our speakers to this roundtable because they are all involved with Church Street and issues related to urban regeneration, shaping public space in various ways and in different dimensions. Most of you already know each other or have even worked together on different occasions. Still, I would like to ask you to briefly introduce what you do and how you see Church Street in the light of these questions and tensions related to urban regeneration.

Edward Quigley
Church Street Neighbourhood Management (CSNM) is a group, an organisation, which is facilitated by a charity called Paddington Development Trust. In our previous conversations, various different terms and jargon came up, but one of them that struck me was 'bottom-up organisations', which certainly is not the nicest term, but I think it is relevant for what CSNM is about. For those of you who don't know, Church Street Market is one of London's oldest markets, 130 years old, and is an interesting, very diverse area that has been neglected for quite some time. My role here is to establish Church Street and the market as a visited destination.

Marco Torquati
I was thinking when introducing ourselves, to what point do I go back in history. In the context of the last twenty years, I think is relevant to trace the regeneration of these neighbourhoods back to what was a huge national political scandal, the Lady Porter scandal. Lady Porter was considered to be the right-hand woman of Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister at the time. In the 1980s, the leadership of the council were concerned about certain, so-called marginal wards, which meant that they could have lost their Conservative majority over Labour. There was a definite policy to shift where people lived to change potential voting patterns. This concrete social engineering probably would never have been uncovered, except that the places where people were moved to were unfit to live, and eventually this led to an exposure of what was going on. I don't want to get into the politics of it, but basically it all occurred in these Northern wards of Westminster (Church Street and Harrow Road), and the upshot of it was that once it died down, the local authority of those days ignored these marginal wards. It clearly still carried on with its work, but there was very little emphasis because a lot of the people and activists who potentially could cause positive change were heavily involved in the Lady Porter scandal, and so they were considered to be the enemy.

I started to work in Westminster as a council officer in 1996, and even then it was a tense time. In 1998, there was a change of national government: Tony Blair came in and made a statement that within ten years, no one should be seriously disadvantaged by virtue of where they live. (It has been ten years now, but we haven't gotten much further.) What that meant was that suddenly money had been invested in these sorts of wards, while the local authority still didn't believe in positively spending in Keynesian economics. Local people saw all these potential resources in central government, but knew that their local authority wouldn't access it, so they set up themselves what is referred to as Paddington Development Trust (PDT). It was a movement of local people and activists to set themselves up as a local charity and directly access money from the central government to improve the neighbourhood. So that was the starting point for our work.

When I started to work in Church Street, in 2002, I came into an area that seemed isolated and had been ignored for years. There was no interaction with the public sector that could create change, no buzz of art galleries – it seemed a dead area. From then onwards, we started to create more and more interest in the neighbourhood. The early job was to put Church Street on the map.

Levente Polyák
What does it mean to put Church Street on the map? Why is this good for the neighbourhood? Whose map is it?

Marco Torquati
From my point of view, putting it on the map of organisations with resources, in order to make positive change. The PDT's mission is the economic and social well-being of the residents of North Paddington. I don't believe you can achieve that without the proper involvement of big public organisations, like the local authority. I certainly don't think you can get it without local people being involved, but I think you need the two, and therefore what we do is to bridge the two, and bring local people in contact with those resources that can achieve that sort of change.

Edward Quigley
There is approximately 24 million pounds spent in the ward of Church Street, and yet, there are very high levels of deprivation, very poor levels of education and literacy in adults, and unemployment is very high, so one of the roads of CSNM particularly in the early days was to make sure that the money is having the impact on the people who live there.
To answer your question from my point of view, and from the economic development angle, I would like to put Church Street on the map as a surviving street market, that despite being neglected by the local authority for some years, is still there, serves the local community and gives the neighbourhood a buzz and a character. I think the first conversation I had with Eszter in our office on Church Street was about what we were trying to do with putting Church Street on the map; and did we want to attract a whole new kind of visitor? Yes, we want to do that, but at the same time, we don't want to alienate the people whom the market already serves on a daily basis.

Eszter Steierhoffer
Based on my short experience on Church Street, it seems to me complex and difficult to reach, and to bridge between diverse audiences, as well as to keep a balance between continuity and change, preservation and improvement. It remains necessarily unresolved as to who should set the

parameters and norms that regulate the direction of a so-called 'progress', and therefore an equally difficult question is how the idea of 'regeneration without gentrification' can be brought closer to reality.

Besides the understanding of the local conditions and community engagement, a real potential to resolve these contradictions might be education and long-term planning. MyCityToo is an organisation that places a great emphasis on the education of young people about the urban environment. You recently invited them to work together with groups from this neighbourhood, to encourage the involvement of the younger generations in the decisions related to their own built environment. Chloe – as the representative of MyCityToo – would you introduce your programme and summarise your experiences on Church Street?

Chloe McCarthy
MyCityToo is part of Open City, which is an architecture education charity. It all started with the open house weekend, which was to encourage the public, and people who were not of the professional world in terms of built environment, to access spaces and places that they wouldn't normally be able to see.

Magda and I run MyCityToo, which is a free programme for young people (12 to 19-year-olds). It is about learning and increasing young people's skills in terms of interpreting the built environment, but it is also about trying to get a much stronger voice for them within the design process, and that is where it links back to the council that we meet monthly. Our event last weekend, for example, was about speaking to the public about different inter-generational spaces: we went out and had sort of street debates with a number of professionals, as well as the general public, looking at the issues around public space.

Magda Novoa
The programme aims to be a political statement of young people. We want them to learn about architecture, but more than that, we want to enable them to express their needs, and the needs of their community, about what makes public spaces enjoyable for them.

Chloe McCarthy
The programme is about teaching young people to have the capacity to articulate what they would like, but also to understand the impact that it has on others, where is the compromise within that, and how can they learn to identify solutions that might actually be working. It is not just for them and their needs, but for the older generation, as well. It is explaining about the different types of interactions, in terms of how the people move around the space, and what it really means when you talk about the character of a neighbourhood, who belongs in which neighbourhood, and how they come to those conclusions. It gives them much greater skills based in terms of negotiating a number of civic issues, like health, crime, and people's perception of them.

Edward Quigley
If you cast a survey of a hundred residents in Church Street as to what they thought of the group of 15 to 19-year-olds sitting on benches at 8 o'clock in the evening and socialising without doing anything illegal, I would imagine that a lot of them would have a problem with it. What interests me in relation to the debate of giving young people ownership of space is the 'community cohesion'. A lot of it has got to do with acceptance and tolerance in the community and about cohesion.

Magda Novoa
Yes, I think it is like a circle. They are requesting their own space, because they are feeling that they are bothering someone else. They feel like they are a threat.

Eszter Steierhoffer
What happened at the Church Street Festival? How many and what kind of responses did you get?

Chloe McCarthy
I think that the experience here on Sunday was excellent. We had the double-decker bus and postcards that we were using to gather comments and pictures from people about the inter-generational space, and also about what people want from their local environment. We were asking people to say what they wanted, particularly in public spaces. We got 200 postcards all together, and also we designed many badges together. We collected information to represent what the public was saying. I think that young people really enjoyed being a part of the festival: they really liked the fact that the professionals and the public were willing to speak with them.

Nicholas Lobo Brennan
Your buses had Spitalfields Market advertised on them, and I was wondering what your connection is to it, as a famously 'failed' regeneration project. I was wondering if your organisation is somehow connected to it, and what you feel about the state of Spitalfields development?

Chloe McCarthy
To come back to the original question of whether it is possible to have regeneration without gentrification, my background is in regeneration, but it is in the midlands. London is so dense, and the land is so highly valued, it is extremely hard to do it without gentrification. It is possible only in places where there's no interest from the upper-middle classes to move in, so these areas are left naturally to go through the redeveloping process, and the people are still able to stay, maintain their ownership, or continue to live there through rental. In London, if you want to have the process of regeneration without gentrification, you need a strong independent community organisation that will advocate and lead on behalf of the various members of the community, and communities of interest around the place.

Nicholas Lobo Brennan
These photos look great with your red bus and the local community surrounding it. But another interesting thing about buses – in answer to the question, 'which map is it that Church Street is not even on?' – is that Church Street is not even on the bus map, nor mentioned in local transport

but actually how to inject economic vitality into these estates. The rest of it is marketing and window-dressing.

Edward Quigley
I just want to touch on something, as well. I do agree with Neil [Bennett] in many ways, that Church Street doesn't connect with many other areas very well, but at the same time, it is pretty well served by public transport. In comparison, I think it is not very easy to get to Broadway Market, but it is known because it is something there, *and it has an identity*. So I would bring in identity versus connectivity. For example, the Showroom moved here, and that is fantastic. As soon as the Showroom moved to the area, we were contacted by a German art gallery that wanted to use Church Street for an exhibition for upcoming artists. They didn't know why they wanted to use Church Street – they had just heard something about it, that it is a little bit edgy. It finally didn't happen, but the fact that we have the interest shows that we are going in the right direction.

Eszter Steierhoffer
Fifteen years ago Broadway Market used to be a completely different place. Property was cheap, and therefore lots of artists, designers and also a large number of art galleries started to move in, which soon was followed by a drastic boom in prices and a process of gentrification in certain areas. At that time, Showroom used to be not too far away from Broadway Market, and moved only recently to the corner of Church Street. Besides the example of the Showroom, there's a general tendency and growing number of cultural activities in this area. Jana Graham is here with us from Serpentine Gallery, that is running an art project on Edgware Road and this area, and around the corner there's Lisson Gallery on Bell Street, to mention just a few. Emily, would you speak about your decision: why did you move here?

Emily Pethick
The Showroom was one of the early galleries that opened at the East End in a period when artists started to live and work in that area. The Showroom is a non-profit gallery supported by the Arts Council England. I started working at the Showroom at the point when we decided to move, so I wasn't very active in my role as director in the former building, except for actively seeking to leave the former space. The possibility to move to Church Street came up through Nicholas Logsdail from Lisson Gallery, who mentioned at a neighbourhood meeting that the Showroom is looking for a new space. I think Marco [Torquati] and Neil [Bennett] were both at that meeting, and there was a certain amount of enthusiasm about trying to find a way to bring the Showroom to this area. There was clearly a desire for the Showroom to be here, while in the former space I didn't experience any positive contact with its locality, even though the Showroom had been there for twenty years. Here, we have managed to forge very positive relationships with the CSNM, with Farell's and with various other organisations. We started a programme with participatory

infrastructure. I am wondering, urbanely speaking, how important that is.

Neil Bennett
I am an architect at Terry Farrell and Partners, which has been around since 1985. We are both architects and urbanists; we are interested in understanding and helping other people to understand the forces that shape cities and built environments. Our offices are situated just around the corner of Church Street. In urban terms, this area is quite disconnected from the city around it. Most people in London wouldn't know where Church Street is. That resonates with the question, how do you put Church Street on the map?, or should Church Street be on the map? In my view, it is all about connectivity with the rest of the city.

On the other hand, if you look at who lives here, it is a very defined section of the population. There are two peaks in the profile of the population: multi-ethnic families and transient singles. You have got a very paralysed population, and I think that is a consequence of the separation of this area from the rest of London.

Finally, to contribute to the discussion that we are just having, it is our view that we need to make Church Street part of London, and probably the only way to do that is to have diversity of employment, of people who live here, and also to have probably an increased density.

Levente Polyák
What can architecture bring to enhance diversity? What can architecture and 'good' design bring to the area?

Neil Bennett
First we need to understand the narrative of the place. We need to understand why this place is here, and what has shaped it. You don't need architecture as such; you need good building, which is listening to the narrative of the place. What we are trying to do on Church Street is to make it a good place, and I don't think we need architecture to do that in its immediate sense.

Levente Polyák
There is another thing that you said about social housing, and it probably does contribute, and goes against gentrification, am I right? Because probably the middle class doesn't want to move into social housing. Those kinds of buildings don't necessarily invite people who would gentrify the area.

Marco Torquati
What is important to understand about Church Street is that for this part of London, it has a huge concentration of social housing. Some of the houses have been sold, but 80% belongs to the state, which is why I think that gentrification is very unlikely here. One of the difficulties and one of the aims of regenerating is how to put more economic vitality into these estates. Anyone who has currently been moved into social housing is unlikely to be working, so they come with a range of needs, and therefore what has been created is pockets of economic non-vitality. A significant part of, and the challenge of regeneration is not the physical stuff, master planning and architecture,

to result in the area losing everything that is great about it. You hear about a lot of regeneration projects that are successful. They have involved the creative sector because the creative sector can get involved with the physical environment, which is great in the short term, but does it resolve in ten years down the line the area becoming more popular and then being desirable to upper-middle classes who come in and buy? This remains a question, but in the back of my mind, it is counterbalanced by the work that we are doing at the council and with the Master Plan, because that is where we are going to have any impact on looking at what Church Street is going to be in 10-15 years.

Levente Polyák
I was intrigued by something said about the contradiction that people want to see the market nicer and more organised, but on the other hand, they don't want to lose its affordability. What are the distinct future scenarios for just the street and for the market, and who are the actors who are behind these future scenarios? What are the interests that operate in the area?

Edward Quigley
There is economic growth. We want the businesses in Church Street to prosper and continue to grow, and closely linked to that, we want to involve the local community. I don't think that Church Street market has to change that much; I think there are relatively minor things that need happen for the street to work better for the people who live there, for the traders, and for visitors. I don't know if Church Street is going to be dramatically different in 15 years' time. I think that the differences can be minor, but can have a major impact: that is my personal aspiration for it.

Marco Torquati
We focus a lot on the market, because this is where you get obvious change, but to me, what drives the question is the current social situation that people live in. In Church Street, the life expectancy is 10 years less than the average of Westminster. As I said before, there is an extremely low level of economic vitality; you've got some of the worst child poverty in the country because people aren't working, and you've got overcrowding in certain houses. The area is not dense in architectural terms, but incredibly dense if you go through the front doors; that is why kids are hanging out on the street, because they can't invite their friends. Forces driving that are how you address those social problems. To come back to the question of housing, what has got to happen is that if we improve social housing, we get more housing, you have to look at the current families and their overcrowdedness first, rather than the housing of someone who has just arrived in Westminster.

One of the biggest issues in this area is a tough subject, with questions that are hard to answer. It is the racial tension that bubbles on Church Street. There is a perceived and, in some ways, real Arabisation of this area.
It is a tough subject, and it is something that typically people in public service don't like to deal with. No one has got the answers, but unless it is addressed,

projects, we were involved in collaborating with other organisations, such as the Marylebone Bangladesh Society, 60 Penfold Street, which is the old people's home across the road, the Princes Trust, one of the local schools, and we were also working with Dance Physics, so we made quite a lot of inroads. For me, it is really important in terms of how you make distinctions between gentrification and regeneration to try and work with people locally, to avoid what can often happen to galleries that parachute in and don't pay any attention to what is going on in their surroundings. We have been open since September, and you can't expect that immediately people are going to walk in from the street and get excited about our activities. It is a long process to try and win over people locally, but it is a challenge that we want to invest in.

Neil Bennett
It is quite instructive to compare the Broadway Market area to Church Street. Everything is the same here in terms of the fabric, of the buildings and therefore perhaps the people, which isn't the same on Broadway Market. Another difference is that there is ownership taken in the Broadway Market area, which is a very popular area, while here we have all kinds of spaces that nobody owns. I think this explains why and how Broadway Market is getting gentrified, and that the market is a bit expensive, which is not happening yet here.

Chloe McCarthy
Gentrification starts so much earlier than people realise. It is 80% social housing now, but that could change quite quickly, particularly if housing benefits go down. It could happen in five, ten years, if there isn't a strongly structured pace of who is going to buy out. Would you consider new forms of community ownership of housing or public spaces? I really like the American idea of community land trust, as opposed to the social housing situation that excludes people who want to live in a mixed area.

Marco Torquati
It is definitely the right aim to have more of a mix in the area of Church Street. To put people of different income and economic abilities together is a dangerous area, kind of behind the whole Lady Porter scandal. You have got to be careful of how it is done, but there are positive examples. We are involved in Master Plan Process, which is meant to set a vision for the next 15-20 years. I think what is absolutely crucial is that organisations like ours find a way of keeping funds and maintaining a presence.
The land values around here suggest that there will be great interest in social housing and private housing. The council is not going to lose social housing, but unless we are on top of it, it could get out of hand pretty quickly.

Edward Quigley
I have a concern. My focus is economic development and regeneration, so I am forced to focus on the three-year action plan. I do have a concern in the back of my mind, that the three-year action plan will go great, but then in five, seven or ten years, it is going

the tensions that bubble beneath the surface in housing estates will definitely explode.

Eszter Steierhoffer
How do you address that?

Marco Torquati
There has to be openness and discussion about it. Is it true that most houses are going to people of Arab origin? Why is that? Can there be policies to ensure the incumbent community, which isn't a white community, but a mixed community? If we say we are going to have a block reserved for people who have lived here for five years or more, to deal with their overcrowding, that is not a racist statement, because the incumbent community is a mixed community. I think you have to tackle it head on, because otherwise the change in the character of these areas will go down quite badly.

Local resident
There has not only been an increase of particular ethnic groups in the area, but there has also been a decrease in other ethnic groups. I have been here for almost fifteen years, and I remember when I arrived here at first, the dominant ethnic minority used to be Bangladeshi. It is not very visible anymore, while the Arab community is extremely visible. How did that happen?

Marco Torquati
How it has happened is that the current allocation of council housing is according to something called choice-based lettings. It means you apply, you get some points, and then get the first flat that is available when your level of need comes up. Church Street has a lot of social housing, so often people at the top of the list come here because there is not a lot of social housing in Mayfair. On the top of the current housing list now, there are Iraqi refugees from 2005 – it has taken this long to get through the system. They are refugees from the war, and they have every right to be here, but the impact of that war decided by people with wealth and resources is not being felt in the areas where those people with wealth and resources live; it is felt in poor neighbourhoods.

Chloe McCarthy
Places are changing because communities are in the front of them. These changes surely are part of the natural progression in a city like London, which is one of the nicest things in London, but not when it spills over into mass tension.

An important thing is to try to get people outside their houses. Church Street Festival is a good example: a lot more activity was going on the street, and people weren't just sitting inside looking at screens of whatever kind. People spoke to each other for the first time; there was a bit more interaction, which has been lost over time.

Marsha Bradfield
You mentioned engagement previously in relation to the work of CSNM, and I was wondering if you could speak about the various mechanisms of engagement.

What about opportunities for meetings where you get a bunch of people all together?

Marco Torquati
There is a lot of work on inter-generational engagement and cross-ethnic background events. There are some residents who want to get involved in boards and committees, but the vast majority want to make a contribution, but don't really want to get involved in stuffy community papers. So once a month, breakfast is provided, coffee and croissant, for these residents and connectors to meet. They have a topic every month; they go and come back with information about it. It is a way for them to get involved in contributing.

Marsha Bradfield
Do the topics that these people discuss in these community events result in an actual, material thing, or is it more about getting together and talking about what is not working?

Edward Quigley
The idea is that they go out and speak to their neighbours about what has been discussed. This means that we have a good reach into the community. We have got twenty connectors now – not huge numbers, but it is a start to getting people to speak to their neighbours about something that links them all.

Marco Torquati
To connect people and to break down prejudices, there are lots of events and activities that I probably was already talking about that get people out their front doors. To give an example, we ran a series of events around traditional food, called, 'What is on my plate'? We worked with five different communities, who hosted an event, prepared their food, and talked about their immigration and about traditions in their countries. Because the first event went so well, with about a hundred people turning up, the next hosting cultural group went a long way to make sure they didn't let down their own cultural group. So we had five weeks running with a hundred people turning up, which was extraordinary for us. There was one instance that I wanted to relate. It was an event hosted by an Arabic speaking group, mostly Algerian. They put the food on and then started on a Bedouin chant, and the group of woman started dancing in a very unusual way. One of our staff, John, started to rock, and started dancing in the middle of this group. Suddenly, the whole place went quiet, and they all dispersed, which was either because John was a man, or because he was not Muslim. It had the potential to die entirely, and then one of the women started to teach him this dance, and then literally in ten minutes the place was full of Bangladeshis, whites and West Indians dancing a combination of rock'n'roll and Bedouin dance. There is a potential to break down the tension and actually be a much richer community.

Epilogue

Almost a year has passed since the roundtable discussion at the Showroom Gallery, and Church Street pulsates with life today just as much as before. Cafés, market stalls, and small shops change names and owners, appear and disappear, and this vibrant flux seems to be the most permanent character of the neighbourhood. Yet, subsequent to the recent turn in political and economic climate, there are other transformations that bring about some more substantial, long-term changes, which are still not immediately visible for mere visitors to the street. The aim of this short epilogue is to list these in the context of the re-published conversations, and the ideas and visions for the future, which have shifted significantly. The Church Street Neighbourhood Management Centre faces drastic cuts in its funding, preventing a continuation and implementation of its previous work and resulting instead in a series of redundancies of its employees and a restructuring of the organisation. At the same time, eviction letters have arrived to notify residents about a new master plan, bringing about major physical changes on the street, with new buildings, new functions and a new life in the neighbourhood, with a future direction full of uncertainty and ambiguity.

CHAPTER I

Anatomy of a Street: an introduction

Welcoming Cities

The London Festival of Architecture's theme, 'Welcoming Cities', is open to a variety of interpretations: of cities welcoming the Olympic Games, as well as cities welcoming initiatives, diversity and eventually conflict. The *Anatomy of a Street* project poses the question somewhat differently: what if large-scale cultural or sporting events affect cities in far more diverse ways than we expect? How does the actual change taking place differ from the anticipated urban effects, and what are the side-effects of top-down, large-scale urban development? Do events or regeneration simply contribute to the process of gentrification and commercialisation of cities or, on the contrary, do they bring about complex bundles of effects and counter-effects?

Anatomy of a Street – an on-going research programme linking initiatives in Budapest, Pécs, London, Warsaw and Bratislava – is a proposal to take a closer look at these phenomena. The case studies of the *AoaS* project are locations in cities where top-down national or municipal planning, corporate development, small businesses and bottom-up initiatives of the civic sphere intersect, interact and create unique forms. The *AoaS* project questions some of the general assumptions that describe the relationship between public, private, civic and corporate elements in their effect on the city.

National contributions to architecture festivals and biennials have consisted traditionally of declarations of pride, and showcases of great architectural achievements in order to position nations in an internationalised competition for attention, investments and commissions. Contrary to this, the *AoaS* project draws its inspiration

from critical studies examining the way how architecture is embedded in social, political and economic contexts, and how architectural objects and symbols can be described and decoded in specific local settings, as well as in broader global networks. The case studies – streets from various locations – differ geographically, historically and culturally, as well as architecturally. Notwithstanding this colourful variety, there is still a shifting degree of resemblance and interconnections informed by the global exchange of concepts, real estate and capital. *Anatomy of a Street* takes the position of what may be called research architecture.[1]

1 'Research architecture', an undefined but overused term, here refers to studies of social, geographical and political processes which architecture engenders, facilitates or impedes. See: David Gissen, *Architecture's Geographic Turns*. In *Log* 12, Spring/Summer 2008,

In order to investigate the global dimension of changes, we propose to look at cities on the micro-level and explore them in a comparative manner. The starting point for the *AoaS* is therefore a search for local answers to globally relevant questions.

To diversify a methodological urban study, we opened up the project to flexible approaches. We invited artists and designers to investigate aspects of urban change, and developed our inquiry into a travelling exhibition that takes the form of a series of study trips – both driving and feeding back to our research. The project is asymmetrically divided between the research workshops, the publication and the exhibition. Balancing between documentation and open-ended mapping processes, we consider research in the form of an exhibition, and vice versa, exhibition in the form of research.

Anatomy

Anatomy is 'the scientific study of bodily structure (…), a

2 Oxford English Dictionary

detailed examination or analysis'.[2]

In this case, the study of a single street, a restricted area cut deliberately from its urban context. In this setting, the analysis may result in a distorted, yet condensed view of Budapest, Pécs and London, revealing complex connections inherent in the detail. Statistics of demography and local economy may provide a clear picture of general trends and tendencies at large; however, they may also obscure processes at the micro-scale. Without distrusting statistics and their revelatory force, we chose to provoke an encounter between statistical and phenomenological evidence, by defining uncommon cultural, social and economic indicators.[3]

3 We borrowed the term 'uncommon economic indicators' from WNYC journalist Brian Lehrer's crowdsourcing initiatives. http://beta.wnyc.org/shows/bl/

Walking down the street and looking at the streetscape, the signs, shapes, colours and lights, street furniture and advertisements, the old shops and new ones, the local off-license, merchants, residents and passers-by, the local paper, real-estate signs, vacant lots and empty buildings, hidden gardens, rooftops, street corners and open doorways, local cafes, restaurants, pubs and galleries, monuments and landmarks, sites of memory or fame, does, of course, offer much more than pure phenomenological experience. It opens up and delineates boundaries and different territories, and allows for glancing into parallel microcosms that co-exist beside, across and on top of one other.

The street enters the global exchange circuit through hidden processes: the task is to identify some of the mechanisms that made these streets became what they are today. To anatomise the unconscious infrastructure of social and cultural phenomena, and to analyse the underlying forces that generate changes in the chosen neighbourhoods requires the skills both of an ethnographer and a cartographer. Ethnology

and cartography in this sense are the undertaking of locating the global and situating the universal, so that its mechanisms are unveiled. As the philosopher-ethnologist Bruno Latour reminds us, 'Politics is not revolution but *clarification*, that is, the unfolding of artificial elements that we have not been aware of, on which we depend to exist. Politics, in other words, is a question of *air conditioning*, the progressive recognition that we live together within compounds that are as little natural as greenhouses, and the mechanisms of which appear to us bit by bit'.[4]

4 Bruno Latour, *Paris, ville invisible: Le Plasma.* In *Catalogue Airs de Paris*, Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 2007, p.262.

The Street as Indicator, the Street as Metaphor

The *Anatomy of a Street* project departs from the assumption that there is a methodological advantage in looking at a delineated area of the city and measuring change by analysing symptoms surfacing in the urban street. The idea of looking at a particular neighbourhood or a singular street to grasp changes of the whole city draws its inspiration from a variety of sources: the street has long been a philosophical, literary and political topos, the birthplace of ideas, movements and actions, and a generator of specific registers of perception, maintaining a dis-equilibrium between seeing and being seen.[5]

5 Richard Sennett, *The Conscience of the Eye.* New York, Knopf, 1991.

The street is more than a simple type of public space: situated outside of the frequently evoked dichotomy between space and place, the street is, unlike the square or the highway, simultaneously *lieu* et *espace*, space and place.

Certainly, the street cannot model the 'whole' city. So what is the use of looking at a street as if it were more than 'just' a street – a model concentrating the mechanisms that shape and constantly re-configure the city? In its linearity, the urban main street or high street (often more so than large avenues) gives passers-by the sensation of having their finger on the pulse of the whole city. Undoubtedly, there are neighbourhoods, blocks or streets that concentrate signs and symptoms of change in a particular way, thus accumulating symptoms of transformation and giving observers the opportunity to measure changes in their phenomenological directness. Like a gauge or a litmus test, or functioning as a barometer, the street may be seen as the smallest unit where complex urban tendencies can be observed and deciphered.

Of course, to consider the part as containing (or at least indicating) the whole is a tradition whose implications go further than the parameters of the *AoaS* project. From centuries-old philosophical ideas compatible with theorisations of contemporary science and technology, like Leibniz's monadology, to literary forms, such as narratology's 'mise-en-abîme' or 'synecdoche', looking innovatively at the relationship between the part and the whole still opens a fertile ground for the investigation of various cultural phenomena and the city.

Sometimes the street is a mere metaphor, an idea of community, of authenticity, of sparkling urban life, of a sense of adaptation, of street-smartness. Among the numerous cultural undertakings that deal with the street metaphor, a most recent source of inspiration is the collaborative media project, *Mapping Main Street*, launched in the United States in 2008, aiming to deconstruct the generalising notion of 'Main Street', as opposed to Wall Street, in post-mortgage breakdown

6 http://www.mappingmainstreet.org/

political discourses.[6]

Király and Church Streets

Our choice of Budapest's Király Street (King Street) in exploring aspects of Budapest's post-Socialist urban transformation is based on its history and location within the inner neighbourhoods of Budapest. Unlike any other neighbourhoods in the historic core – which follow the beaten path of gradual privatisation, renovation and consequently gentrification – it seems as if Király Street's population has worked hard on enumerating the widest variety of arguments for and against specific directions in development, and correspondingly, for and against specific ways of urban living. A 'swinging street', in the sense that it cannot engage either with the vision that owners of the proliferating design stores paint on its face, or with the values alternative youth culture associates with it, or with the survival economy of second-hand stores.

Király Street is an incubator, where all the current plans for the city are constantly brought into question: mechanisms of corruption or citizen self-organisation, of new developments and heritage protection are tested here. New design and art galleries, squats and ruin bars, second-hand stores and food markets quickly emerge and disappear in this neighbourhood, thus ceaselessly drawing, shifting and re-drawing frontlines between different visions for the city. This is where words such as 'development' and 'heritage' become floating signifiers, used and abused by any occasional argumentative context.

Pécs's Király Street is somewhat different, but is similar in its many aspects. The main street of a medium-sized Hungarian town, one would expect Király Street to be the showcase of what the city's commercial capacity can offer to residents, as well as to tourists: a dense retail district, where strolling is always about discovering new places and meeting new people.

There are many reasons why Király Street is not like

that. The economic crisis, combined with the heightened commercial expectations of the municipality in anticipation of the city's 2010 *European Capital of Culture* status, have left some parts of the street devastated. Due to the lack of flexibility in the rental policy and the lack of differentiation in rental fees (according to the leasers' status and profitability), empty storefronts and buildings wait hopelessly for those who can afford the high rental fees. However, as on its Budapest counterpart, Király Street's empty buildings do not remain disaffected for long periods: civic initiatives contributed to the mushrooming of alternative cultural venues and a flourishing garden culture in the neighbourhood.

What are the similarities between Paddington's Church Street and these two high streets in Hungary? Mainly its variety and divisions, the mixture of council housing and Georgian, Victorian façades. The contrast between the two ends of the street: the daily street market, off-license stores, cheap coffee shops, fast-food restaurants; and the high-profile antique stores, new design galleries and fancy cafés. As if an invisible hand drew a line between the two parts: alike in Budapest and Pécs, where the two faces of the streets reveal differing visions, whose long-term compatibility may be desirable – and improbable.

Despite its central location (only minutes away from Regent's Park, Marylebone, Paddington, Hyde Park and Marble Arch) Church Street is a hidden world trapped between the heavily trafficked Edgware Road, the canal and the railway network. Despite neighbouring the most expensive areas of London, Church Street counts as one of the poorest locations of Europe, with the highest numbers of unemployment, poverty and illiteracy. This often blamed isolation is, however, the very reason that made it possible to obtain and preserve one of the most precious qualities: a unique local feel to a street with a global mixture of communities and multi-cultural groups. Questions posed by the *AoaS* project about contrasting

visions – gentrification, preservation and regeneration, privatisation and globalisation, commercialisation and secularisation – become highly relevant in relation to the current master-planning processes and other initiatives for regeneration that are there to shape Church Street's future in the long term.

How does the localisation of the global, and the globalisation of the local occur? – and how do they contribute to the dynamics involved in the emergence and maintenance of intra-neighbourhood contrasts that tend toward the constitution of borders? To find answers to this question, we both looked at the chosen streets as particular, local entities, and juxtaposed impressions and reflections, objects and artefacts found in the two Király Streets and Paddington's Church Street in London.

Belatedness and Transfer

Ideas often travel faster than contexts. While there is a single terminology to describe and analyse urban phenomena, it is worth taking a closer look at seemingly inconsequential details that might alter the way privatisation, gentrification, commercialisation or secularisation are brought about in different locations.

A common thread followed by researchers and theorists of the post-Socialist urban condition was the question of path-dependence.[7]

The arguments defending the idea of path-dependency claimed that cities that have lived through an important period of Socialist-type political and economic governance will not 'find their way back' to the kind of development that Capitalist cities have experienced: they will face evolutions which will always depend on their previous development path. Counter-arguments denied the importance of the Socialist path: they claimed that the globalised nature of urban economies forces every city to respond to similar requirements, and thus to follow a converging path.

Without offering any evidence for the case of path-dependency, one must acknowledge the important differences in the rhythm of transformation between Western and Eastern European cities. Natural disasters, major political and economic tendencies set a global scale and time in Europe; however, the centres and peripheries, or the Western vs. Eastern (post-Socialist) bloc function and move according to different rhythms. This difference lies not only in the accelerated pace of transition following the radical political and economic changes of the early 1990s and the consequent rapid liberalisation of real-estate markets, but also to 'short-cuts' caused by the 'de-synchrony' between development plans and socio-economic conditions.[8]

For instance, gentrification in its classical sense, as a process led by non-established young artists, cultural activists and freelance intellectuals (while being followed closely by real-estate developers), does not exist in the same form in post-Socialist cities. In Budapest, inner city neighbourhoods, however dilapidated, have never been unappealing for developers. From the first moment of the opening of the real-estate market, developers who were conscious of real estate tendencies in the West started investing in neighbourhoods that – according to the theory of gentrification – were expected to rise. New housing arrived in areas still consisting of degraded buildings, thus creating sharp contrasts between long-time residents and newcomers, without the relative continuity of the process of gentrification.

Anatomy of a Street: the exhibition and the catalogue

7 G. Andrusz, M. Harloe, and I. Szelenyi (eds), *Cities after Socialism*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996

8 For example, while the use of vacant spaces and shops in Budapest or Pécs is promoted exclusively by grassroot initiatives (just like it used to be in London a few decades ago), the same thing in London is now a top-down facilitated, institutionalized process (with the tax cuts, Special Arts Council

Contrasts, belatedness, parallels and synchrony are among the main questions that the *Anatomy of a Street* exhibition and publication raises, while addressing the evolution of various examples of the European *high street*. On the occasion of the London Festival of Architecture, Paddington is the first venue of the *AoaS* exhibition, a nomadic project – unfinished by definition, which will travel to and learn from such cities as London, Warsaw, Bratislava and Budapest.

The publication is designed to complement the exhibition, offering historical, sociological and political insight into the forces that produce Király and Church Streets. In the first edition, the essay by Edwin Heathcote sets the tone for a comparative approach between the chosen streets, focusing on their architecture as shaped by the constantly shifting political and economic circumstances. Deepa Naik and Trenton Oldfield, founders of TIANG (This is Not a Gateway) reflects upon its members personal involvements in research and activism. Allan Siegel evokes the images of the large constructions of Pécs, in the wake of its *European Capital of Culture* season, while Csaba Ders delves into a deeper analysis of the town's principal street, *Király utca*. In his short reflection, Péter Lowas explores Pécs's self-organised cultural networks in relation to municipal development plans. A text by Béla Káli introduces the complexities of post-Socialist real-estate management. László Muntean analyses claims of heritage protection in a context where the notion of heritage becomes a weapon in an ideological battle. Gabó Bartha tells the story of the activist group KAP-HT that succeeded in preserving the local open-air food market. Ádám Albert's network visualisation depicts the mechanisms of complex transactions that helped local municipalities outsource public property by making it nearly impossible to follow the circulation of money and real estate.

Another section of the publication comprises an inventory of artworks that fed into our research. There is the photographic archive of Emőke Kerekes's and Anna Mózes's portraits of the shopkeepers in Király Street. Péter Rákosi's series collects theatrical displays of the everyday, and documents shop-windows in the Király Streets of Budapest and Pécs. Miklós Surányi's series of temporarily inhabited spaces is a poetic but precise documentation of the overlooked, the imprints of everyday activities. Maps designed by Tímea Csaba and Gergely Kovács visualise the internal borders of Budapest's Király Street neighbourhood, using data based on the research of university students of the Moholy-Nagy University of Arts and Design and the Budapest Technical University. The inspiration for the *AoaS* project came from Király Street, with the proposal for local research and a travelling exhibition that gathers material and experiences from different locations before finally coming back and taking place on the very site from which the first impulse originated. Our first venue for the exhibition, Church Street in London, came to us in a natural, almost unintentional way. We first arrived as strangers and wanderers, in the course of two and a half months, gradually becoming familiar and natural to the street, *moving in* and setting up our temporary office on Church Street.*

Two letters from Bahbak Hashemi-Nezhad and the House of Jonn are the documentation of a work-in-progress of research on-site, observations and early proposals of this period.

Based on the regular visits and conversations with the traders and visitors of the market, *Aubergine NW8* is a project by Bahbak Hashemi-Nezhad, a market stall for exchange of food and ideas (the cross-culturally popular staple ingredient *aubergine* for humble home-cooking

* We owe special thanks to the team of Church Street Neighbourhood Management for all their help and enthusiastic collaboration. Thanks must also go to all those who provided the space – (shop) windows, walls, rooftops, cabinets, shelves, tables and TV screens – to host our exhibition on and about Church Street.

recipes) seeking to explore and further understand the ethnically diverse community that surrounds and benefits from Church Street Market.

House of Jonn's proposal, a gallery-guide system (map, audio-guide and way-finders), is linked to the idea of bringing the gallery to the street, as well as it is a playful reference to the walks of the Situationists, a map and audio-guide linking London with Budapest. Interviews conducted and used in this audio-guide informed profoundly our understanding of the street and the making of this exhibition.

While writing this introduction, the exhibition is still being shaped. Its final evaluation is entrusted to the visitor and will be the task of the second chapter, the next edition of our travelling inquiry.

From: Bahbak Hashemi-Nezhad
Date: 03 May 2010 02:18
Subject: Re: furniture
To: Steierhoffer Eszter

Hi Eszter,

As you know I have been thinking about designing elements for the street restaurant. Well, after some research, observation and good old model-making, I have an idea that could work very nicely.

I am not really designing furniture but extending on the vernacular use of the crate within the market. There is a certain crate that is used in almost all London street markets, I have seen it from Dalston, to Deptford to Church street: the Sunblest bread baskets, as they are called. All of which were used originally for bread, but most of which today are used for anything but bread. They are used vertically, horizontally, upside-down, stacked, nested etc. Currently heavy large boards are required to be placed on top of these bread baskets to provide a stable flat surface.

I want to make an additional element that can be dropped into the diamond shaped holes to provide this flat surface. Something in the line of a flexible rug made from wood and held together using strapping tape (pictured). The picture shows some pieces of paper I have placed (instead of the 15mm thick wooden diamonds) to illustrate the idea. These 'filled' crates can then be used as a bench and a table.

We can discuss in detail tomorrow.
Bahbak

From: Nicholas Lobo Brennan
Date: 12 May 2010 09:50
Subject: Gallery Ephemera
To: Steierhoffer Eszter

Hi Eszter,

After looking at Church Street and the description of the Anatomy of a Street project we wondered what happens to the street when it becomes a gallery, and what happens to the gallery when it become a street.

Our key concerns were both the apparatus of 'gallery' and Church Street, and how they meet. So our idea is to produce the actual AoaS gallery guidance system ephemera - the map, the audio guide, the way finder.

The project time limit means that the production of the gallery like paraphernalia will be the vehicle to learn about Church Street itself, which we like.

Let me know if you want more details of the actual elements we will produce. I have attached some photos of Church Street which show some of the observations.

We can discuss them too,
Nick

Church and King

The point where Church Street spills into the roaring Roman Road of Edgware appears an exemplar of urban dysfunction and a crushing critique of London's particular brand of anti-urbanism. Yet, this is a cityscape of infinite complexity, one of the most perfect ciphers for the contemporary city in which globalisation informs the street in every conceivable way.

This is the view from that corner. The mouth of the street faces a huge hoarding and the behemoths of Paddington Basin's expanding fringes. This is the strange world of Paddington Green, the city's de facto high-security police station, once the monopoly of the IRA, now a drop-in shop for surveilled Muslims but also the Clash's Westway, a stream of imagined modernity flowing through the city. Church Street itself is delicately framed in perfect symmetry by a pair of traffic lights and the guard's tunic colours or a matching pair of 'no entry' signs.

The stucco Victorian terrace survives, set back from the single storey shopfront extension of what was once a mutualised building society but has now morphed into the Spanish Banco Santander, its flame logo looking deliciously like a mangal or grilled meat sign. 'Stucco?' said Groucho Marx of Florida's real estate boom, 'O can you get stucco'. The flush façades, stripped naked, caked with plaster like bad foundation, turn the corner into a mess of plastic shop-signs and ads for global phone cards, this new calling-home industry announced on its ad-hoc streetside boxes, the slightly more legal equivalent of the sharp's three-card-trick crate. The garish signs segue perfectly into the dumb pale façade of the Tesco Metro, one of Britain's few remaining home-grown global brands. The architecture which frames this entrance to the world of Church Street is defined at every conceivable scale. First, the resilient Victorian fabric which

has survived absurd traffic schemes and bombs, then the humane, Scandinavian-influenced social housing of the immediate post-war period, which modestly retains pitched roofs and window surrounds, a few ghostly remnants of northern European tradition. This gives way to more heroic applications, the ribbons of modernist housing, determined in their horizontality to create bands of social intercourse – street, canopy, terrace, elevated accessways. This is good, solid, self-effacing urbanity; these near invisible structures prove easily capable of handling bridal-wear shops, grocers and caffs, permeable enough to accommodate the Middle Eastern lifestyle, lived more on the street than in the shop, yet robust enough to remain secure and to adapt. Then this mid-moderne gives way to a less humane version, brick cliffs and towers begin to disperse the street, breaking up the plan though their sheer mass.

But between the housing and the pavement emerges another language, an architecture of the in-between. It is this articulation of street furniture and mini-architecture which gives Church Street its particular expression. The modernist blocks to either side set a datum for the street. Fascias are capped with concrete canopies so that the garish plastic lettering doesn't infect the dignity of the housing above. But equally, these devices create shelter and produce a humanised scale which chimes with the stripy canvas coverings of the market stands and the barrows. This correspondence between building and the itinerant architecture of the market creates a mid-scale which is what makes this a part of a real city. But the scale of this world is not limited to the market stands. There is a complex ecosystem of *things* positioned at this scale. There are three different species of phone box, from the enclosed and glazed to the simple side-canopied. The internationalism and relative poverty of parts of the area and the proliferation of prostitutes' advertising cards (clients presumably do not want to have numbers logged onto their mobile accounts)

means that the phone boxes are in greater use than they are elsewhere, where they have become largely defunct. A public toilet is dwarfed by the cliffs of social housing which frame it. Its half timbering is a touching reference to a bucolic, village green Englishness. The last resort of mock Tudor applied to that most English of building types. The streets are further flanked by bubblegum dispensers, by mobile street signs, by historicising bollards and signposts which bear no relation to the post-war welfare built landscape in which they stand.

Church Street gentrifies rapidly. The market stalls, some of which sell chandeliers, others seemingly attempting to sell spangly belly dancing outfits to the hijab-clad Muslim ladies, peter out and give way to antique modernist furniture shops and the indoor arcade of Alfies. The last stall is a frothy coffee merchant, a heavily gentrified intruder. Just as Benjamin perceived in the arcades of Paris the decline of a particular moment, but also a symbol of a certain kind of bourgeois production and consumption – industry and luxury – one which generated the unsettling, occasionally jarringly surreal juxtaposition of objects. Benjamin revelled in the defunct goods and trades of the arcades, geared towards a society that no longer existed, and outside of their time, temporal as well as spatial passages. In the self-conscious retro of Alfies, the effect is accelerated, moderne cocktail classics redolent of an age where wives were expected to greet their returning husbands with a Martini, the layers are suffused not only with the residue of time, but also endless layers of irony. Yet they do not let us forget that these are relics of an age which cherished modernity with an enthusiasm wholly lacking now. The security of a future of progress has disappeared; the ad-hoc aesthetic of the market outside has replaced a vision of gleaming technology.

Parallels are tantalising: Church Street is at once as globalised as anywhere in the world, yet resolutely local in its particular blend of businesses and an architectural

aesthetic which results from an enlightened post-war consensus and the uncertainty of a property market which has difficulty sizing up the potential of a poor district on the threshold of some of the most valuable and desirable real estate in the world. The former Duke of York pub on the corner of Gateforth Street is now inhabited by the Lahore Restaurant (established 1970). Király Street (King Street) in Budapest was, curiously, named after the King of England. The Angol Király (English King) pub lent the street its name. If there are other links, they are through trade. Király Street was a centre of the city's rag trade: a few of its haberdashers and fabric shops remain, whilst Church Street's traders ply their brilliantly-coloured fabrics from their stalls and shops. It was also a centre of the city's Jewish community; bakeries and delis, now catering as much or more for Israeli or American tourists than for the locals, still dot the surroundings, whilst the extraordinarily theatrical endless perspective of the courtyards of the Gozsdu Udvar just off Király Street give an insight into the density of the urban fabric on the edge of the one-time ghetto.

Like Church Street, Király Street became an early adopter design ghetto, now with VAM's design centre bringing the corporate modernism of the big Italian manufacturers to the city. Previously, it was a place of small, smoky cafés and grudging service, Communist-era stores with wonderfully unselfconscious window displays of machine parts or sun-faded 1980s knitting patterns. Now, in its blend of 'ruin pubs', design shops, kosher caffs and pop-up stores, it has become more mainstream, pandering to a sentimental image of its own dereliction. The ruin pub, a particularly Budapest phenomenon, sees bars inhabit the complex spaces of derelict apartment blocks, using every room, from courtyard to garret, to create a rolling sequence of space in which the customer asserts his or her independence of the formal city through a kind of drunken *dérive*. It owes more than a little to the pop-up bars of Berlin, which took advantage

of the urban carnage left by the vacation of the swollen state apparatus of the East after its swallowing up by the West. Dozens of properties, from Stasi offices to police apartments, were left empty and appropriated by enterprising entrepreneurs to create party spaces selling cheap beer, which disappeared as quickly as they arrived, their activity tracing frenetic patterns through the pock-marked fabric of the city, their movement ensuring they stayed hip and cheap. The biggest of Budapest's ruin pubs have, of course, become institutionalised, and the area around Király Street has become the epicentre of this formalised informality. The pop up and ruin phenomena highlight a number of contemporary concerns – they are at once a subversion of the city fabric in the finest Situationist tradition, whilst at the same time becoming a formalised fetishisation of decay. They are a huge hit with tourists who rail against the corporatisation of Western Main Street, but who fail to acknowledge their role in precisely the kind of gentrification which, ultimately, leads to the arrival of the corporates. Nevertheless, in their transformation of the hulks of the nineteenth century city they do allow a penetration into and an alternative reading of the interior spaces of the city, which is unique and, in a voyeuristic way, thrilling. There is an undoubted frisson in such subversion of domesticity, but it is accompanied by a sadness that the centre of the city is becoming less dense as inhabitants move to the suburbs and spend their leisure time at the mall.

Whether in Church Street or Király Street, there is an ever-present danger in obsessing about the decline of a particular version of the city. The growing tendency to idolise authenticity is unavoidable in a globalised, insecure, rapidly-changing and international gentrifying urban realm. Until recently, Király Street with its Communist-era shopfronts and dusty displays, its old time espresso bars and musty, decaying buildings, presented a picture of a city stuck in a seemingly more intimate urban milieu. Church Street too, with its buzz and astonishing

diversity of the kitsch and the utilitarian, its seemingly exotic blend of shishas and hijabs against a background of the architecture of the welfare state, and tempered with the chic of its mid-century moderne specialists, seems to have found an urban ideal. But, as its rapid Islamicisation shows, the streetscape is far from static.

The urge to preserve authenticity is powerful but misleading: it is precisely the city's propensity for change which keeps it alive, even if the process may be painful, and even if our tendency towards the sentimentalisation of an earlier era makes us yearn for the old days. Whether the context is London or Budapest, that remembered utopian city always seems to be something slipping from our grip. We should instead relax, attempt to enjoy the city while we can, and revel in its endless capacity to absorb and adapt.

The Surreal Experience of Trying to Address Inequalities with the Logic that Increased them

In the time I worked at Cityside Regeneration[1]

1 Cityside Regeneration Ltd (Cityside) operated in the West of Tower Hamlets. Cityside was a non-profit making company and partnership between the public, private and community sectors including Tower Hamlets Council and the Corporation of London. It was established to manage regeneration programmes. Cityside managed the Single Regeneration Budget Round 3 programme *Building Business* (1997-2002) and Round 5 programme, *Connecting Communities* (1999-2004). Corporation of London, accessed on 1 June 2010.

the organisation had two different chairman; one was the developer & co-landowner of Spitalfields Market[2],

2 Mike Bear, chairman of Spitalfields Development Group (SDG)

the other the soon to retire CEO of the company that owned most of the land and buildings in Aldgate East.[3]

3 Director of Tishman Speyer.

The other positions on the board comprised the seats sat in by executives from nearby global banks, local businessmen and New Labour politicians. The board was almost always absent of influence from women and from non-business orientated organisations. The board was always absent of a dissenting voice that might have challenged the hegemonic business orthodoxy. The significant majority of the projects we worked in neighbourhoods required an 'entrepreneurial business' approach as a result of an obligation, set by central

government, to secure at least 50% 'match funding' from non-government and non-charity sources for a project. The result of this authority was the pervasive deployment of business practices, business logics and business lexicon. At this time people began to give themselves job titles like 'Urban Renewal Creative' or 'Creative Industries Incubator Manager'. Unsurprisingly both planning applications for Aldgate East and the re-development of Spitalfields Market as an office block went through the planning process with ease, despite in the later case, over 40,000 signatures being presented in an attempt to prevent the creation of another new peninsula of financial district style monoculture.

With capitalism left for the most part unchallenged by the collapse of the Soviet Union it was injected with a virulent new logic, often referred to, probably to simplistically, as neo-liberalism. Every aspect of work in urban regeneration started to fuse with the logic of a western businessman with a new MBA. When the regeneration programme, which had propelled over £300million of public and private money[4]

4 Unscientific calculation of all 'regeneration funding' allocated to be spent in the strip of land abutting the City of London from St Kathernine's Dock to Bethnal Green between 1994-2004.

into the thin strip of geography abutting the eastern edge of the Corporation of London came to a close, the surreal experience of trying to address inequalities with the logic that increased them, was made more peculiar with the sacking and sunsquent police investiagtion of the the two senior local authority regeneration officers.[5]

5 Nisar Ahmed and David Richardson were suspended then dismissed from their senior posts in January 2004. See *Regeneration and Renewal Magazine*, 24 January 2004. Nisar Ahmed was jailed for 12 months for theft. See courtnews.co.uk

Despite this picture of corrosion, collapse and confusion, I was also aware due to personal network in the locality and wider work context, of a multiplicity of

organisations and people undertaking projects critically interrogating these processes, as well as a vast body of knowledge being expanded by vigorous, unexpected and heterogeneous agents.[6]

6 Our professional and voluntary experience has spanned academic work, regeneration project management, activity on committees and boards, education projects on housing estates and in local schools, regeneration initiatives and art in the public sphere.

New cells of new knowledge were and are continuously surfacing. This knowledge is generated and shared most often 'from the ground up' by those that inhabit the city, those that work alongside them and those thinkers within governments, think tanks or private companies that have not been seduced into only promoting and enabling the notion of 'erase, stretch, relinquish'.[7]

7 'Erase, stretch, relinquish' is introduced here as a term to summarise both the thinking and the actions leading built-environment decision-making processes. Rather than re-using existing building and making use of the ideas put forward by local residents, buildings are demolished. 'Erasing' is understood as both easier and more efficient. Demolition produces an empty canvas suitable for an alien 'typology' to land. The new typology 'stretches' all aspects of the site including size, height and programming – the main aim being to 'stretch' the profit margin for the developer and the tax revenues for the local authority. 'Relinquish' is the stage when almost everyone that has benefited from 'stretching' moves on: the developer either sells the site or passes on management responsibilities; the local authority no longer owns anything and struggles to answer who does own what or why none of the facilities promised have been built; and the neighbours 'relinquish' or resign themselves to the fact that their neighbourhood will never be what it could have been.

The sites propagating new knowledge are most often outside of 'the urban industry', and the agents of these new possibilities and practices seem to come together around shared notions of complexity, texture, rigour and potentiality. Is it not time for a re-understanding and re-formulation of the disciplines and, above all, of the participants involved in making space? Is it not time for urbanism to undergo a transformation similar to that of sociology opened up through cultural studies, or art history re-examined in the light of visual cultures? This is

not a moment to bemoan or to react against the current structures that are thought limiting and limited, but an opportunity to produce new conditions.

This Is Not A Gateway

Every movement and action in a city is a negotiation, each square foot belongs to a profit-making spreadsheet, every design is reviewed, every notion of 'citizenship' is contested. The work of Michel Foucault[8] and Gayatri Spivak[9] provides a useful lens to question power-knowledge mechanisms, along with the exclusion and marginalisation of certain groups resulting from the maintenance of power within the urban industry. The question of how we might approach these realities, as significantly more people demand agency in their cities, has been guided by the practices of both Saul Alinsky[10] and Paulo Freire.[11]

8 See for example, Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977).

9 See for example, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

10 See for example, Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals: A pragmatic primer for realistic radicals* (New York: Vintage, 1989).

11 Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 2007).

Following Alinsky, the need to act arises from recognising 'the world as it is'. Research data from UN-Habitat and Urban Age make explicit the significant implications of urbanisation on people's everyday lives. Statistics detailing the number of tall buildings constructed in Dubai and the accelerating concentration of financial and political power in a handful of cities are set against 'stomach dropping' and clearly unacceptable levels of poverty, injustice, monopolisation, collusion and exploitation. Our discussions with those working both within and outside spatial practices made it clear that the out-of-step between official knowledge and on-the-ground realities was causing burning frustration for many. Personal and professional experience in a diversity of arenas brought us in contact with sites of relevant, critical knowledge and practice. These sites are often independent but also include clusters of research groups and leaders within innovative companies pushing out beyond their institutions. We were constantly working alongside people with remarkable ideas and projects that we thought colleagues in other fields should know about. These were not binaries, but missed opportunities resulting from a perceived isolation from each other. Like others, we recognised the urgency, desire and mutual need for barriers to be broken down, for ideas to be made accessible and for an expanded dialogue to begin. It was clear to us that a platform was needed – one that would circulate these multiple fields and sites of knowledge. Encouraged by colleagues and associates, we set out to create a platform that would demonstrate the potential of coming together.

Arguing for an engagement with a range of approaches and disciplines, thinkers like Stuart Hall, Nicholas Mirzoeff persistently allow us avenues in considering how to propose the city as a site of knowledge and potentiality. Writing about the *A.C.A.D.E.M.Y* exhibition, Irit Rogoff asked: 'Where are the unseen possibilities that already exist within these spaces – the people who are already working there and who bring together unexpected life experiences and connections… the paths outward which extend beyond the museum, the spaces and navigational vectors which are unexpectedly plotted within it'.[12]

12 Irit Rogoff, *Turning*, e-flux Journal #0, www.e-flux.com/journal/view/18 (accessed 18/08/09).

It is this curiosity and continual questioning how spaces and knowledge can be unbound from established limits and expectations that have informed our thinking. We

know that language frames thought and the usefulness of visual culture can also be demonstrated by a consideration of shifting terms such criticism, critique and criticality, potentiality and actualisation; terms that alter in convergence with the changing conditions they seek to address. The significance of this is not to deepen an understanding of a fixed object of study, in this case 'the city', but rather to create the possibility of prising open the field, making its complexities explicit, and allowing for unexpected actors to propel ideas forward.

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Notes on a Street in Transition

During the course of a city's evolution, its thoroughfares develop distinct characteristics and values signifying their different profiles and functions. In this context, the urban street is not too far removed from the trading routes blazed from the wilderness or charted by mariners. Decades ago, Jane Jacobs clarified why streets can be more than simply pipelines transmitting people or things from one place to the next. In contrast to their function as basic transport mechanisms, in the most dynamic situations they are organic entities.

Urbanists, planners, sociologists and city dwellers have argued relentlessly about the qualities that make one street resilient and alive while another is moribund and desolate. Searching for some magical ingredient to inject into the life blood of a city's atrophying elements, they often invent panaceas that inadequately consider the well-functioning dynamics of a public space. The results become reductionist solutions that compress the complexity of urban inter-relationships; often foregrounding features of design at the expense of historical and social factors – factors not always easily identifiable, but which are critical to processes of a street's re-invention and sustainability.

Frank Sinatra sang about 'State Street, that great street' in a paean to Chicago; yet, in the closing decades of the 20th century, State Street was a boulevard on life support. Located in the city's commercial centre, planners tenaciously sought to revive the once majestic thoroughfare. First, it was turned into a pedestrian zone, and then revamped and returned to the clamour of autos and buses traversing downtown. Despite its architectural landmarks, after six o'clock State Street was

drained of its vitality, as people returned to surrounding neighbourhoods and the suburbs.

Undertakings like State Street, regardless of the collection of experts, are ineffective if the motives at the base of the process are ill-conceived or fail to consider the socio-spatial dynamics that have propelled a street's evolution (or its demise). With the locations under consideration here, these issues come to the fore: in the more general sense as case studies in the formulation and implementation of urban design concepts, and more particularly if (and how) the specific qualities of an urban space can be amplified and sustained.

Pécs is a small city in southwestern Hungary, a fraction of the size of Chicago; its historical centre dates back to the Roman Empire and now contains an amalgam of nationalities, reflecting the region's geo-political vicissitudes. The main historical, civic and religious structures are situated in a core area. Acting as a buffer against auto traffic, this *centre* is encircled by a roadway, which distributes traffic headed into peripheral areas. Beyond the 'ring' and extending to the city's boundaries lies an assemblage of smaller communities and commercial districts. Like windowed monoliths, the residential areas are dotted with housing blocks. They give these neighbourhoods a distinct physical appearance. Expeditiously constructed, frequently pre-fabricated, this type of mostly featureless housing is seen often throughout Central/Eastern Europe and was built in conjunction with regional economic and industrial policies. Despite the expediency of their construction, these neighbourhoods frequently contain a range of amenities and variations in design, sufficient to provide a quite liveable environment.

Within the midst of this constellation of the old and new, the banal and the remarkable, lies Király Street (King Street), a street name ubiquitous in Hungary and often one of significance. In Pécs, it is an important link in a mostly pedestrian route that runs from one end of the city ring to the other. A journey along Király, including its western and eastern extensions, is filled with details that mark the city's history.

At the street's mid-point is Széchenyi Square, where the Gázi Kászim Mosque (now a Catholic Church) commands this large public space. Built during the 16th century, when the city was part of the Ottoman Empire, it sits perched atop the gently sloping square. Nearby are the global, yet here discrete, yellow arches of a McDonalds and the landmark four-star Pannonia Hotel. At the eastern is end of Király Street (Upper Customshouse Street) is what remains of the Zsolnay ceramics factory. Begun in 1853 as a family enterprise, it became one of the largest factories in the Austro-Hungarian Empire; its glazing techniques and craftsmanship were well-known throughout Europe. Walking west, and just to the south, are the remnants of the old market square. A bit further is Theatre Square: a small public space surrounded by a large concert hall, theatre and other cultural facilities. On the opposite side of Széchenyi Square is Jókai Square, a junction of four streets, the main one being Ferencesek Street, the pedestrian way linking the city centre to the large main campus of the University of Pécs, Hungary's largest university. In this sense, the life blood of Király Street is inseparable from the civic institutions and public spaces which describe the city's central core.

Thus, as the main element in a well-used urban pathway, Király Street possesses considerable importance (but with only a passing resemblance to a thriving English *high street*). Walking eastward, the contrast becomes clearer, as the number of vacant storefronts and office spaces increases and Király's attractiveness as a business

location becomes marginal. Instead of a well-proportioned resilience, its allure depends upon the centrally positioned commercial elements, which in turn rely on tourism and the drawing power of the theatres, cafés and restaurants to stay alive.

The thriving English High Street exists on a balance of commercial enterprises and an available supply of shoppers. In contrast, while Király has an abundance of potential shoppers, they are drawn mostly to malls and hypermarkets. What arises then is a sharp disparity between the historically grounded urban promenade which Király Street represents and the enclosed walkways of the nearby Árkád Shopping Mall. With easy auto access and a location on the main traffic route bisecting the city, Árkád signifies a prime symbol of the consumerist culture that arose as East/West barriers were expunged in the years after 1989. With the ascendancy of malls and hypermarkets, a public space like the Király promenade is pitted against the enclosed, heavily monitored, privatised space of the mall.

When I arrived in Pécs in October of last year as part of an artist residency project, the extremities of the Király east-west axis and Széchenyi Square were part of the massive city-wide transformation easily seen in the mass of new building construction and rejuvenation processes. The swirl of activity, traffic detours and pedestrian re-routings were the result of the city's designation as a 2010 Cultural Capital of Europe – along with Essen and Istanbul.

Some years ago, when Pécs was vying for the Cultural Capital title, I attended a planning meeting which took place in an exhibition space on Király Street. The

city was competing against Budapest and other large Hungarian cities. Besides the short term cash benefits, many of those present had considered what could be the long-range positive effects of the city's selection and made specific suggestions regarding improvements in the infrastructure and cultural institutions. It was therefore with great curiosity that I returned to the city and viewed how the results of those discussions were being translated. This was not confined just to the city centre: the stirrings generated by this infusion of public and private capital could be seen in most areas of the city, but were highly visible – and disruptive – along the Király axis.

During the three months of my residency, I developed an itinerary of locations which spanned many of the city's districts. I focused on areas emanating from Pécs' special status. I visited them regularly and documented aspects of the construction process and adjustments in many facets of the cityscape. The fact that many of the changes were cosmetic did not necessarily diminish their usefulness or value. But some of this upgrading and new construction was begun rapidly and often haphazardly. And, while the new buildings altered the city's fabric and improved its cultural facilities, the question which often crossed my mind concerned how all the pieces would fit together and at what cost.

Starting from scratch and creating new structures represents one type of challenge for architects and planners, but adjusting, bending or eradicating what already exists ventures into conceptual and practical territories where an assortment of conflicting interests frequently collide, often producing muted solutions devoid of any cohesion. With such brashness of purpose, the resulting structures, whether new or refurbished, are often robbed of historical subtext with the edges of time brushed into an homogenised surface. The bewildering sense of purpose which lies behind the Király revitalisation projects seems to relinquish the street's vitality to the modulated experience of the shopping mall.

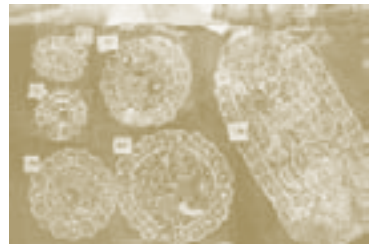
Thus, the alteration of Király Street illustrates the shortcomings of cosmetic solutions directed at fundamental urban issues. Processes of analysis and evaluation, as well as design, are only conceptual indicators of how urban transformations can extend or reconfigure existing social spaces (or accelerate their disassembly). The outcome of these processes lies not only in what has been visibly altered, but also in those structures and spaces that are untouched or vacant. Thus, today, not far from Király Street, sits a vast empty space that was formally a small market hall. Perhaps that market was intrinsic to its vitality? Now its presence is only as a gaping wound, despite its continued inseparability from other elements within the urban habitat.

Within this framework, a street, with its own ecological and organic qualities, is simply one element in the urban matrix. And, while initiatives to alter these qualities might originate from good intentions, ultimately, the manner in which urban arteries like Király Street are woven into or disconnected from the fabric of urban spatiality correlates directly with the results. And the results cannot be measured simply by calibrating the number of new façades or walkways. Rather, the consequences, when they prove to be beneficial, resonate as a type of magnetic field that criss-crosses a public space, charging it with substance and meaning.

Shop Windows, an Inventory


Dr. Csiraki Adorján
A NÉP NEVÉBEN
Április 11.


REPÜLJÖN
REPÜLŐJEGYEK



Shop-windows constitute the most visible layer of the urban signscape. Together with posters, advertisements and graffiti messages, they constantly update the city's visual environment: they describe to the passer-by the current state of consumable objects. Created to animate the desire of shoppers, they are also talkative inventories of what a store has to communicate. Created with craft, humour or exhibitionism, some shop-windows peel off from the store they represent and become self-referential signs, mere decorations of the street.

While Péter Rákosi started photographing shop-windows a few years ago, his interest in the subject dates back to his earlier carrier as a window-dresser. Regularly returning to certain neighbourhoods or streets, he began recording and cataloguing vitrine decorations. The geometric precision of these photographs and their organisation into a series suggest the

Community – Community Space

Community and community space are closely related – this is what we have come to conclude after brainstorming over the case of Király Street (King Street) at the Pécs workshop of Urban Ideas Bakery.[1]

1 http://creativecities.britishcouncil.org/urban_ideas_bakery/event/urban_ideas_bakery_in_

A properly functioning community space presupposes a properly functioning community, which is able to formulate its claims regarding the space and actively contribute to its creation and maintenance. Furthermore, this is an interactive process, during which the community and the space they occupy evolve hand in hand, while the space becomes a defining factor of the community's identity. In this relationship, the community gradually exceeds the role of passive consumer of the space, becoming its manager and developer because they consider it their own. In this reading, public space development means not the development of the physical environment and not even that of the community, but the improvement of their relationship.

Király Street, Pécs

The dramatic devaluation of Király Street on Pécs's 'public space market' can be traced back to the same system of relations. Apparently, there are two competing cultures of cooperation on the market of public space consumers: on the one hand, traditional public spaces created by the cooperation of the civil community and the local government representing it; on the other hand, 'pseudo-public spaces' engendered by the cooperation of the civil

society and the market.[2]

2 It is worth making a distinction between public spaces founded on community resources and culture, serving traditional civil community functions, and those founded on market resources and culture, serving economic goals.

It seems that the civil society's and the local government's culture of co-operation has limited or no capacity for keeping pace with the consumer/user/manager civil community's emerging demands regarding the once well-established old shopping street. First of all, the local government's formal culture of development is ignorant of the community's claims emerging in relation to Király Street, and is unwilling to involve the actors in the development process. Secondly, the civil society's demands or interests are difficult to grasp on account of their shortcomings in terms of co-operation and organisation, and they are unable to assert these as real partners of the local government. Not only do the organisational and institutional shortcomings of the two parties pose a problem, but the cultural conditions for co-operation are also inadequate.

It also appears that while market mechanisms are able to mobilise stable financial and organisational resources for the development and management of their 'quasi-public spaces', the informal organisations of the dissipated community of Pécs provide only a limited organisational and financial basis for a public space development process. Moreover, the financial and organisational base of the local government's formal organisational culture provides little support in this regard.

As a result, in the case of several actual development projects, the citizens of Pécs don't consider these traditional community spaces their own, using them less and in different ways than conceived by the development plans, and also devoting less care to their maintenance and improvement. The structural and organisational discrepancy that has arisen between

the public space and the public on the levels of use, management and development reproduces the conflict, which is perceivably manifest in the public space. This degrades the competitiveness of Király Street, as well as central public spaces fulfilling traditional community functions in general, as opposed to 'quasi-public spaces' that employ market strategies to position themselves much more sensitively to match the needs of groups of specific social functions.

Bottom-up/top-down views of a conflict

This spatial and communal discrepancy has a number of interesting and, in terms of finding a solution, important readings. Each approach endeavours to represent some kind of concordance of spatial and communal phenomena, an interpretation that crystallises a proposal for a solution. Each figure (including the ones above) therefore inevitably presupposes an innovative visualisation of the information at hand; not only because of the social, economic and political tension, as well as the disparity of their spatial views,[3]

3 Cf. Bill Hillier (1996) Space is the machine. Hillier's model has certain limitations as regards the actual mapping of reality; as Bill Hillier writes: '…it is likely that the designer's predictions will refer only to an illusory reality'.

but also owing to the constantly changing point of view assumed by interpretation and development. In addition to developing the language of imparting information, this visualisation process is a means of producing information/knowledge.

The viewpoints have been examined from two aspects, comprising two different methodological approaches. The macro-view involved a fundamentally deductive way of thinking in exploring the situation of Király Street on the basis of the functional discrepancies of the prevailing system. The micro-views involved an inductive approach, regarding the functional discrepancies of Király Street through the point of view of the

actors. Both aspects are indispensable for complete transparency. On the one hand, because macro-scale models are based on the cultural regularities of micro-scale phenomena; on the other hand, because these cultural foundations are rather plastic in a society under such intense transformation as Hungary, including Pécs, causing a high probability of distortion in the case of a macro-approach.

Macro: Király Street in the spatial-functional system of the texture of the city

Since the political transition in 1989, the 'public space market' has undergone considerable transformation as regards Király Street. The first significant event in this transformation was the appearance of the 'quasi-public space' of the ÁRKÁD shopping centre in 2004, in the immediate vicinity of the historic city centre. Exploiting the advantage and superiority of the commercial 'quasi-public space', as well as the weak points of the shopping street (lack of parking, public transport and management, seasonality), it forced Pécs's once lustrous but now languid shopping street into a competitive disadvantage. The *coup de grâce* to the street's commercial function was the erratic introduction of parking fees and the lagging public space development projects, ignorant of the everyday functioning of the city.

A theoretical opportunity for breakout would have been to interlink the new development zones of the Capital of Culture (ECC) project, the city centre and the western campus of the university into a unified spatial system. The functions of the ECC projects involving the city centre and the university could be organised into a synergic system linking and complementing the three zones by relatively simple means. In this relation, besides the Martyrs of Arad Road circumventing the historic city centre to the north and the Zsolnay-Rákóczi Streets to the south, a significant role would be imparted on Király Street, the main east-west axis of the city centre.

This would have come in handy in giving impetus to the eastern end of Király Street, which now gradually dies away after losing integrity towards Wheat Square.

This, however, has only sporadically been achieved by the current project: public space developments have been realised only in connection with key projects, to reinforce their synergy. The pedestrian shopping street still doesn't curve towards the Knowledge Centre and the Concert Hall, and access to the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter still requires a map and a great deal of perseverance. With the densest traffic in Pécs, Zsolnay Road bisects rather than connects the city centre.

Micro: Király Street on the mental map of public space users

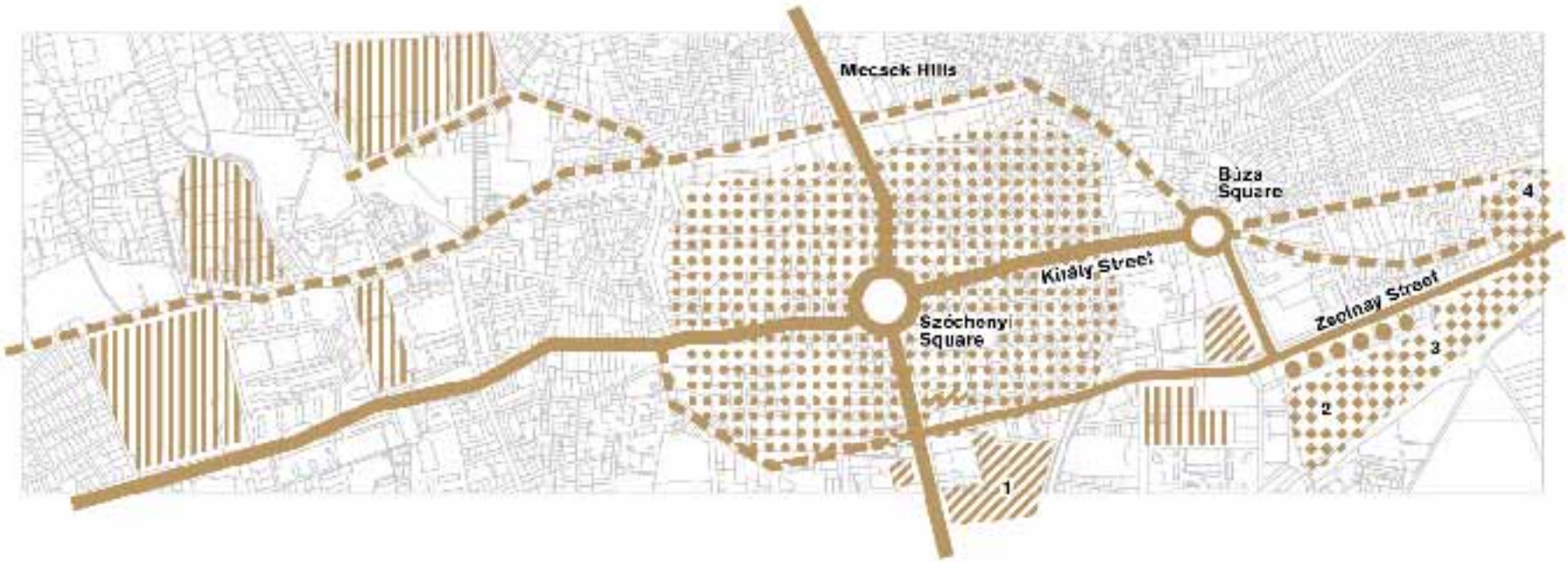
This analytical approach has focused on the groups of actors for whom Király Street was of concern, with special regard to how these individuals saw the situation and problems of the deteriorating street, as well as its causes. It explored the services offered by the street to each of these actors, and what they were missing; also how and to what extent they exploited the physical and functional capacities of the street. We hoped that certain facts and aspects which we considered evident – and which provided the premises of our macro-scale statements – would be enriched, confirmed, slightly adjusted, or even refuted by the viewpoints of the specific players.

In this case, a mental map can do more than visualise a community's apprehension of a physical space and its usage patterns; through the latter, it also indicates the level of success of the co-operation between the civils and the local government regarding the Király Street area. Responding consumers mark places of interest on the map in terms of spatial use and functionality: the figure accurately indicates the discrepancies of the aforementioned co-operation.

The maps lead us to conclude that presently Király

Street functions as a cul-de-sac rather than a street in the classical sense. It is difficult to predict today how this situation will be influenced by the scheduled public space developments and the new 'cultural quarter' intended as an eastern expansion of the city centre.

Macro Perspective
The Spatio-functional Context of the Király Street



- Historical downtown
- University campus
- Shopping malls
- The main area of the cultural capital developments
- Disturbing existing functions
- North-south and east-west axis of the historical downtown

1. Árkád shopping centre
2. South Transdanubian regional library
3. Conference and concert centre
4. Zsolnay cultural quarter (Faculty of Fine Arts)

Alternatives of Active Life in the City of Pécs

The title European Capital of Culture raises a number of questions. Namely, how is it possible to avoid the 'capital of culture' becoming a mere 'projection surface', where cultural roles and products are represented in extraordinary magnitude; to what extent the lifestyle of the residents is affected; how much room is given for the community – the population – that forms the structure and cohesive force of the city, to participate in the process; what democratic potentials are invoked by its presence and possible participation.

Pécs is European Capital of Culture in 2010. The city's original 'capital of culture programme' was a grassroots initiative, the local intelligentsia and activists able to keep track of its development, with most of its ideas based on their conceptions and claims. The project would have developed an already existing civil infrastructure further by involving existing domestic and international relations while administering no considerable change to the cityscape. The original programme was modified considerably in the years following the conception of the project, shifting its focus: under the control of the ECC office established in 2006, the alteration of the cityscape has played a much greater role. By 2010, the city has become one enormous architectural performance, receiving a stream of tourists with the spectacle of grandiose constructions.

Beyond the official programmes offered by the city, the impact of the ECC is also considerable in the self-organised alternative cultural scene, if not devoid of contradictions. For these organisations and alternative modes of using public space, which have been present

years before the ECC, change lies in an active and creative life. While existing independently, the civils and activists of Pécs, as well as its 'underground' art and music scene, have fostered ever more diverse international relations. They organise workshops and festivals, make attempts at filling the gaps of the alternative market (cheap bicycle repair shop, youth hostel, ateliers, involving the underprivileged, independent radio channels, etc.) with their *craftivist* approach. The beneficiaries (as opposed to consumers) of these events and cultural products are primarily young people, and anyone who is receptive. The feasibility of the system is guaranteed by the unlimited human resources (university students, creative intellectuals, etc.), its complete freedom from politics, and its open structure. This 'grassroots' activity does not concentrate exclusively on the city centre: rewriting the cultural topography of the city, it temporarily resorts to unused spaces on the peripheries, giving rise to the emergent city through micro-festivals and communal workshops involving residents; a city where the intermingling of various subcultures has a mutually catalysing force.

According to the city's capital of culture concept, the propelling force of development is infrastructure, real estate and city image; the civils, in contrast, see this in communities, groups and individuals, based on the idea that the a city is essentially defined by its residents. Decentralised and utterly non-bureaucratic practices can rapidly adapt to new circumstances and can be revived in different locations and contexts. On the following pages, I will discuss these cultural practices and civil initiatives.

Approach Art Association is a group of art professionals whose focus is organising exhibitions of contemporary art mainly outside conventional exhibition spaces: in industrial compounds (*Zsolnay Porcelain Works*), temporarily closed cinemas (*Apollo Cinema*), the *TV Tower* on Mecsek Hill, as well as sensitive areas in the city. Their 2009 series of programmes, *Temporary City*'s basic idea was provided by the vacant shops on Király Street (King Street), which were transformed into exhibition spaces for two weeks, occupied by various international artists and projects. The placement of art in spaces out of the ordinary (museum, gallery), together with the street performances, brought the abstract and alienated notion of art closer to the people, encouraging them to interact. Programmes of institutional culture are rarely capable of this, since they either delegate the manifestations of art into the sphere of leisure, or fail to carry any meaning for those outside a narrow elite. The projects of Approach Art Association resort to the methods of public or urban art to effectively confront the citizens with the meaning of art and contemporary culture today. The *Temporary City* action, however, also raised urbanistic issues in addition to artistic ones: how is it possible that the main street of a city (capital of culture, in fact) hosts a number of vacant shops, while its cultural players are constantly looking for places to occupy, and exist in constant fear of losing their headquarters, sites, galleries? Drawing on the opportunities opened up by real estate that had 'freed up' owing to the economic crisis and had thus become accessible, the projects of Approach, exploiting their capacity for the innovative and spontaneous use of space, laid the foundations of an alternative urban policy.

The objective of *Market Platform,* yet another initiative, was to highlight the significance of the last marketplace in the city centre. The organisers asked sociologists and artists to reflect on the situation. The common end brought different social groups together: the merchants themselves, whose sole remaining option to defend their position was an artistic scenario (cf. direct democracy), took part in a number of projects until the market was shut down for good.

Cult Street (Franciscan Street) was brought to life through a collaboration of shopkeepers and citizens. With music and exhibitions, the shopkeepers created a sort

of street parade atmosphere, from which their sales also benefit. The event is quite popular, as consumers like to be entertained while spending their money, listening to live music while buying books. We also have to devote a word to the *Culture Lab Cooperative*, which was created by civil organisations around the city as an organisation for the protection of their interests. The group maintained an experimental cultural space on the border of city centre and periphery for two years, accommodating, among others, non-popular genres of music and art. Having lost the industrial building that housed these experiments (as it was taken over by the city's ECC project), Culture Lab now rents several spaces on Király Street, which they renovate from grants funding, as well as their own means. One of these spaces is their 'headquarters', with offices, sleeping quarters, a kitchen and ateliers; another one is an alternative bicycle repair shop (*Velosophie bike kitchen*), and they also plan to start a youth hostel. The Lab's significance in the city's culture is essential: they have organised several street festivals and programmes involving residents, focusing their events on the goal of calling attention to the opportunities that lie in the unused spaces around the city. This kind of 'soft urbanism', the 'rehabilitation' of public space and unused real estate via communal use, is a realistic alternative to mega investments that are themselves destined to fail without the support of the citizens and in want of a programme that is in harmony with the architectural designs.

The Lab's latest programme took place in a long abandoned mine-shaft. *Krétakör Mayfest* could be realised because the renowned theatre director Árpád Schilling, also participating in the programme, created a performance based on the programme proposals submitted by the civils of Pécs in the early stages of the project. In the course of a long and intense cooperation, Krétakör (theatre company Chalk Circle) and the Lab put together an event from these that would involve different local social groups, as well as student age

groups. Meanwhile, the spectators were also offered the opportunity to participate, and the entire event, in terms of infrastructure and logistics, relied on creative civil groups.

With *Collegium Utopium*, Krétakör appeared in the city more as a catalyst than a theatre group, fostering local initiatives. Despite its financial fragility and unpredictability, there are a number of lessons inherent in this logic: exploiting the potentials of the city, building on existing capacities and needs could be informative for larger institutions and programmes, which are often unable to represent subcultures, the visibility and active representation of which is essential to democratic urban culture.

Vendors' portraits, Király Street, Budapest




While surveys generally focus on the residents of a particular area, we often have no information about the people who work there. However, these are the people who affect the character of a neighbourhood the most. Emőke Kerekes and Anna Mózes, in their series of portraits taken of shopkeepers in Király Street, reveal the great variety of retail types in the neighbourhood and the heterogeneity of their vendors. This heterogeneity suggests a variety of shoppers who frequent the street: they are all, from another viewpoint, agents of various uses of the city, and consequently, offer contrasting visions for the street.

In these images, each vendor or employee appears in a frontal perspective, usually gazing into the photographer's lens; the grocery, textile outlet, hardware store, boutique, vegetable stall, carpet shop, pharmacy, hairdresser, restaurant, bar, design store, art gallery, flower shop, and confectionary are revealed behind them as an accumulation of the paraphernalia of a profession.

Culs-de-sac of Transformation: The fate of historic neighbourhoods after privatisation

The inner Erzsébetváros (Elizabethtown) in Budapest fell victim to the merchant spirit already upon its formation in the late 19th century. A rather dense urban structure was formed already then – with all lots covered from one end to the other – leaving very little public space. With the exception of Klauzál Square, there are no green areas or parks in the inner, densely populated quarters of Districts VI and VII. Although such spaces were, in fact, included in the urban planning, the city sold them to investors, and they have been built over. These strongly profit-oriented developments of the late 19th century are usually referred to as the first large-scale real estate speculations. The unprecedented growth at the time provided a fertile ground for these in all respects.

It was after the joining of previously separate districts in 1873 that Budapest became a capital – lacking the necessary basic institutions and public facilities, as most of these had been operating in Vienna and Bratislava. Parliament, public administration, universities, schools, hospitals – all of these had to be built from scratch, as well as the residential buildings that would accommodate the masses working to build a metropolitan capital from the medium-size city of a population of 100,000. It was a self-generating process, as it coincided with the dawn of industrialisation in Hungary. Industrial development, and the concentration of labour force it required, had made the building of new neighbourhoods necessary, which itself provided hundreds of thousands

with work for decades to come.

Most of the buildings erected in this period are still standing, except for those that have fallen victim to World War II and recent real estate speculations. Of course, they have been run down by sixty years of negligence and an almost complete lack of maintenance, but they will still stand for longer than the architectural products of the past 20 or 30 years. This is mainly due to the favourable conditions at the time of their construction: the high quality of materials, the professional expertise, and the handicraft traditions. These buildings were state of the art in their age, and were designed with considerable reserves structurally and statically. Their load-bearing walls were made from high-quality fired bricks – true, initially mixed with carved limestone, which has less load-bearing capacity. If these structures have not been weakened by later in-expert reconstructions and renovations, they can serve as a good basis for a – perhaps even city-wide – real estate development project.

The residential houses comprising more than 100,000 flats in Budapest have essential social significance, as well: they were designed by an architectural programme that allowed the mingling of different social groups. The street front housed large flats with a street view, inhabited by wealthy or bourgeois families. The small flats in the side and back tracts lacked facilities and opened onto the courtyard. This is where the less wealthy, the poor, and the workers lived. Ground-floor shops along the main routes – such as Király Street – were occupied by merchants; the ones in the courtyards by artisans. Certain blocks housed bigger manufactories where industrial production took place. The tenement model comprised a diverse palette of interdependent social strata, groups and professions, encompassing entire quarters.

All this changed with one stroke when all private property was nationalised in 1952. This not only meant the

disappearance of the bourgeoisie: wealthy families were deported, their valuables seized, their flats divided into smaller ones to satisfy the renewed housing demand. The post-war political elite discontinued the previous regime's practice of investing capital into erecting new houses and entire quarters for the labour force swarming to Budapest from the provinces as a result of centralisation. They solved the problem with their own – simple and fast – means, breaking up most of the existing flats. At the same time, merchant streets, shops, boutiques and manufactories disappeared. It took decades for the city to recover and to rediscover its urban scene and spaces, but by that time, the construction of housing projects had started, as yet another contribution to de-urbanisation.

The regime's pool of devices was not exhausted by eliminating the fundament of downtown life – the bourgeoisie. Since the nationalised houses had started to wear down for want of maintenance, the political leadership resettled already poor Romany families into parts of the city centre thus left to erode – Districts VI, VII, VIII and IX. This decision is a perfect example of the ruling power's cynicism: neither the Romany, nor the deteriorating buildings benefited from the resettlement. The task of preserving the physical condition of the central districts remained unaccomplished.

As of the 1990s, everything was reassessed once more amidst the sudden emergence of the market. Previously national properties were passed on to the local governments, each of which could decide freely on their fate. The majority of real estate was sold by the districts to their residents. In view of the comparative statistical analysis, it appears as though the Hungarian families had all at once turned wealthy overnight: the private property per capita is now a lot higher than in most other European countries. In fact, the assets were simply reorganised: the country did not gain wealth.

The fact that the tenants had become owners did little to improve the physical condition of the flats,

and so the quality of life remained practically the same. Although the privatisation of flats comprised hundreds of thousands of transactions and produced income for the local governments, these authorities failed to use these returns to create new funds or reinvest them into the real estate to increase their value and raise the standards of the districts. Tenant-turned-owners acquired their freehold flats at a bargain price, often as little as 10% of the market value, although there was no stable real estate market at this time, so the prices were hypothetical. In this manner, almost anyone could turn into a flat owner without having to comply with the financial requirements of being one.

Real estate is an asset, and practically the most valuable one at that. As any asset, it needs to be managed, and requires knowledge of the obligations and expenses this entails. Asset management is a professional field that requires circumspection, know-how, and even risk assessment. Real estate is at once a capital and an investment, with a corresponding yield.

The majority of real-estate owners in Hungary lack the knowledge that the appropriate management of their property would require. The right of the current stock of flats – especially old residential houses – to exist is constantly questioned because no one is willing to do their maintenance. The majority of inhabitants have become owners by a one-time effort, but their lifestyle as owners is existentially unsustainable. The money once invested into the flat remains dead capital, whose capacity of producing income remains dormant for want of allocating resources to maintenance, renovation and development. This capital is simply worn down by the inhabitants, while renting a flat would perhaps provide a better quality of life for them.

Today it seems that the privatisation of the local government's stock of flats has not solved anything: 10 or 15 years after the transactions, there is still no considerable improvement in the liveability of these districts. The best example is the inner

Erzsébetváros – the old Jewish Quarter of Pest – which is still characterised by run-down buildings and the lack of public spaces. Among the sagging buildings, however, private capital has popped its head out, erecting 'characteristically characterless' buildings to replace the demolished old residential houses.

Nowadays, urban planning for the area allows practically everything necessary for making a quick profit, which is exhaustively exploited by the investors. The magic phrases – or numbers – are lot coverage limitation and floor-area ratio, which, in the case of these districts, allow a coverage that is even denser than the already extremely close-knit texture of the city. With the continued reduction of flat sizes, there are even more residents per lot, resulting in a deteriorating quality of life. This new investor's behaviour, assisted by the local governments, further degrades the conditions of life of the area, even if the street fronts are no longer run down. The quality and architectural appearance of the newly erected buildings – with a few exceptions – is completely sleazy and disgraceful.

The question emerges: what, then, is urban planning good for? Theoretically it serves to design medium and long-term interventions in service of a future objective, and to control the profit-oriented operations of investors, all in favour of the public and future liveability. Obviously, the investor – who, by the way, pockets a multiple of the profit that is realisable by fair means on the Western European market, and with much less risk and meagre performance – will not give a lot of thought to architectural quality. The economic crisis has only slowed this process down temporarily: investors, as well as banks, are ready to jump, waiting for the critical period to wear out so that they can resume real estate 'development', because this is the most profitable business in the region.

Despite their run-down condition, the buildings in Budapest are suitable for designing up-to-date living spaces: in addition to their static features

mentioned above, their spaces also vouch for this. The existing real-estate assets cannot be efficiently and sustainably made use of without the active participation of local governments. Of course, there have been attempts at rehabilitation before, as well as after the political transformation. However, the rehabilitation of entire blocks, which began in the 1980s in the inner Erzsébetváros, proved to be unsuccessful: not only was the construction industry incapable of producing high quality, but its fundamental concepts were also dubious – the zones of these buildings that were designated as public space have been vacant for decades.

State-of-the-art renovation of old buildings is never an easy task, but feasible, even if with more modest return rates than today's investment practice. It is also possible to modify and modernise these spaces: within a block it is possible to open several courtyards together, make passageways, and design diverse spaces and programme facilities, with high quality contemporary interventions. The development of public spaces and green areas – combined with a cutback in traffic – is also an integral part of renewing the central districts. Naturally, this can only be realised as part of a rehabilitation practice in which buildings are designed in accordance with public spaces, public functions and services.

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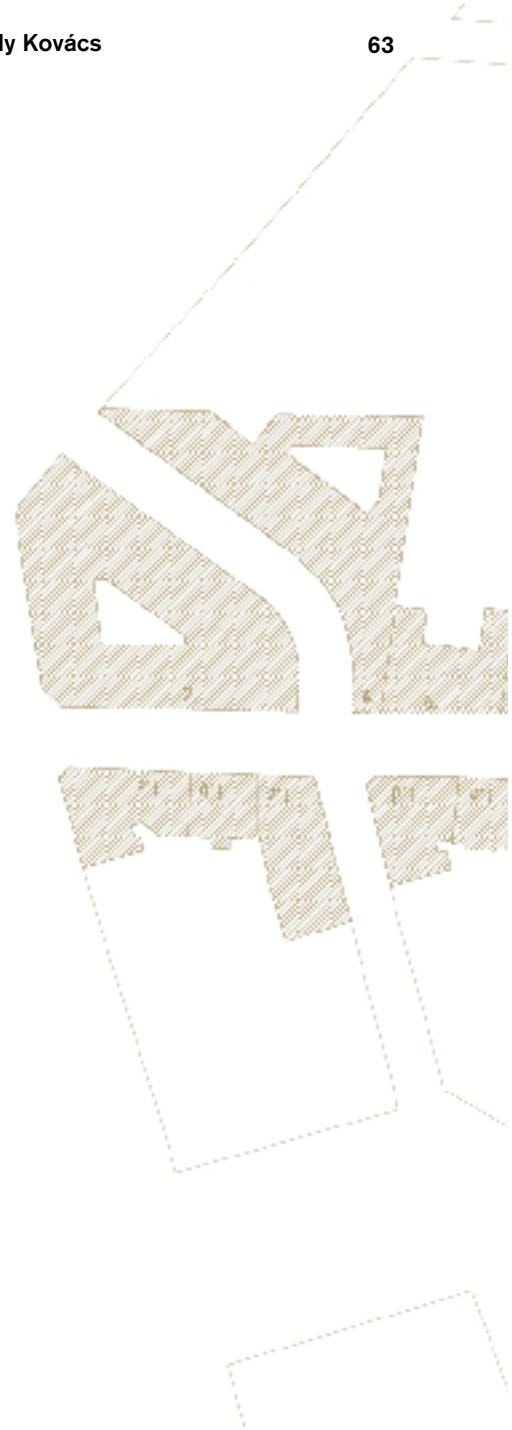

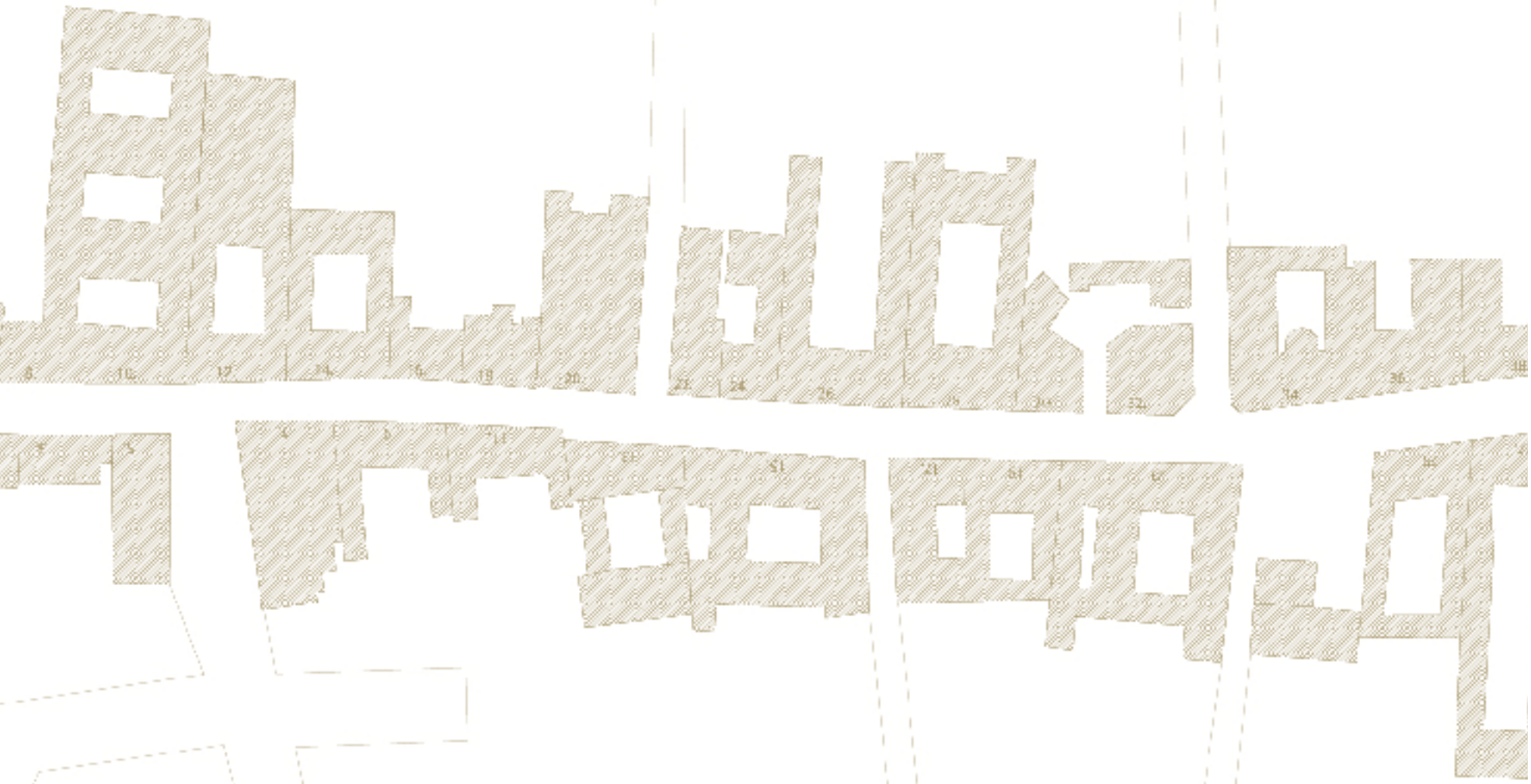

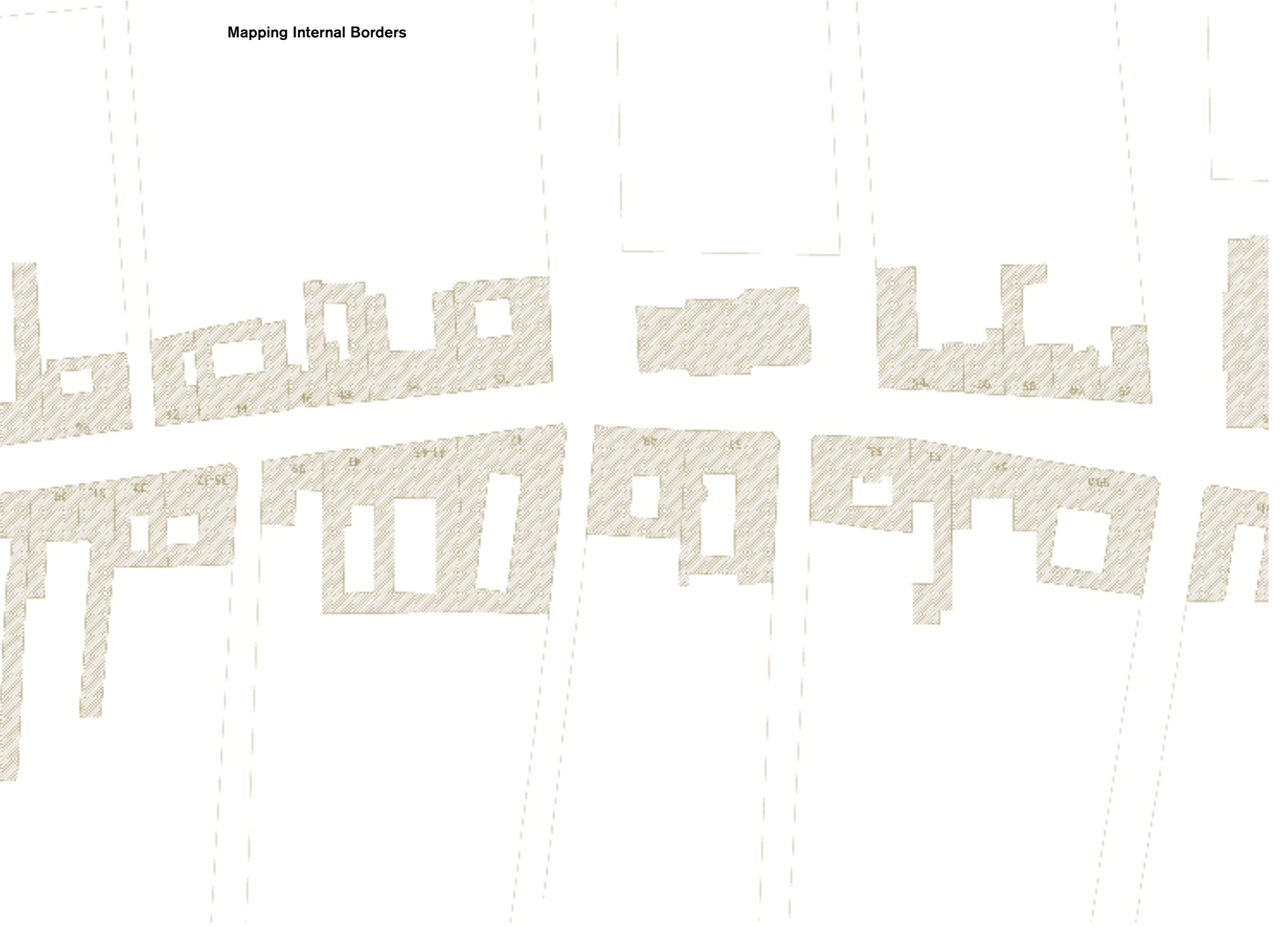


1.a


1.a — 1.e


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7


17 — 19


25


31 — 37


41 — 43


47 — 49


53 — 59


59.b


13 — 15


19 — 21

The Street as Palimpsest: The Dialectics of Preservation and Demolition in Budapest's Király Street

Over the course of the past decade, the area of District VII, known as Budapest's old Jewish quarter, has been a scene of fierce battles between developers supported by a largely corrupt district government and those civic organisations that have been assiduous in their attempt to protect the district's 19th century building stock, a large part of which has already fallen victim to the wrecking ball. The present architectural landscape of the district offers a unique palimpsest encompassing multiple layers of the district's history, from low-rise Neo-Classicist houses erected in the first half of the 19th century to recently completed multi-storey apartment blocks sporting vivid colours and large balconies with a Mediterranean touch. The mouth of Király street (King Street) at Károly körút all the way up to Kazinczy street showcases ample examples of such new apartment complexes standing in stark contrast to their older neighbours. At the core of the upsurge of public resentment against these new developments stands the notion of preservation of the district's pre-World War II architectural heritage perceived as a token of identity. By contrast, most of the demolition and the new constructions have been vindicated by the district government as part of the area's overall rehabilitation. If rehabilitation is used as a euphemism for the destruction of the district's organically developed architectural heritage, the concept of heritage seems equally vague when it comes to the actual identity that it allegedly signifies.

What constitutes this heritage then? Unlike in other European cities, where Jews had built districts for themselves in the Middle Ages, here they moved into an existing texture of late-Baroque and Neo-Classicist houses after having been granted the right to settle down in the second half of the 1780s. It was not until later in the 19th and early 20th century that rare architectural features such as 'through houses' providing passageways and interconnected courtyards between parallel streets were built (as in the case of the Gozsdu court between Király street and Dob street), as well as buildings combining residential and industrial functions, forming a maze of alleyways lending a peculiar ambiance to the quarter's streets. Ever since the early 1800s, Király street functioned as the single artery connecting the inner city with City Park. Although with the construction of Andrássy Boulevard in the 1870s, the street was slightly alleviated from its heavy traffic, it still continued to serve as an interface between Terézváros (Theresatown) and the younger Erzsébetváros (Elizabethtown), forming the northern border of the Jewish district. Heritage value is not so much manifested in architecturally outstanding buildings, with the exception of a few designed by prominent architects, as in the peculiar streetscapes and layouts that speak to a bygone era of a vibrant community of merchants and craftsmen. But in spite of the international protection granted to the Jewish quarter by UNESCO in 2002 as a buffer zone alongside the world-heritage Andrássy Boulevard, its protected status could not keep corruption at bay. The decimation of its 19th century housing stock accelerated in the subsequent years, until the National Office of Cultural Heritage, forced by public pressure, declared it an area of monumental historic significance in 2005 and extended official protection to 51 buildings.

Significantly, few (if any) of the activists dedicated to the protecting of the old buildings are residents in the area. Other local forms of public involvement within the

district have emerged but seem to be in embryonic stages. Conversely, however, the ambiance of the past afforded by the remaining old buildings has elicited multiple forms of nostalgia. The wide popularity of courtyard bars set up in abandoned interiors amid peeling plaster subscribes to such a nostalgic desire to connect with an imagined past through an environment pleasing in its evanescence. A complete opposite of the practice of façadism, in which the façade of a building is preserved and new interiors are designed behind it (as in 12 Holló Street), ruinous courtyard bars feed on the uncanny combination of the archaeological gaze and a carnivalistic pleasure of ruins – afforded by the precarious state of such buildings.

The peculiar ambiance that such places emanate derives from the surviving elements of the disorderly, maze-like arrangement of passageways that urban planners have sought to replace with a transparent pattern ever since the early 20th century. The planning of a new boulevard (Erzsébet Boulevard) that would have connected the inner ring with the outer ring dates back to 1908, but its realisation was thwarted by World War I. The idea would re-emerge in 1929, and eight years later, the so-called Madách Houses were built with a monumental arch connecting the two massive slabs of apartment blocks. Ironically, World War II withheld further construction of the boulevard into the Jewish quarter, leaving the grandiose structure as a monument to an ill-fated project. Although anachronistic in its inception, the idea emerged once again in the 1950s, even if with the plan for the boulevard reduced to a promenade. And even if a 12-storey office tower (built in the early 1990s) blocks the way behind the grand arch of the Madách Houses, the idea for the promenade still persists as a formative element defining prospective plans for the area. In its present form, the promenade cuts through the renovated courtyards of Gozsdu Court and continues all the way to Kazinczy street, defined by the overwhelmingly Mediterranean look of the recently completed apartment blocks. Here, the promenade is blocked by two old buildings

in deplorable condition. The one on the left (47 Kazinczy street) features a plaque, attached to the bare brick where the plaster had fallen off, declaring the house a protected monument – with its residents long ago evicted, just like in the neighbouring no. 49.

Although not in the form of a monumental boulevard rimmed by modernist streetscapes as envisioned in the 1930s, the legacy of this project remains to be a haunting presence that exerts its influence on the blocks between Király street and Dob street in the form of demolition, façadism and, most prominently, new apartment blocks that rise above their older neighbours as harbingers of the quarter's further gentrification. The uncanny sight of the decrepit, abandoned Neo-Classicist house with a plaque at its gate facing the grand balconies of the multi-storey residential block that could be anywhere in the world not only encompasses the radical confrontation of old and new, but places the possibility of communication between them at stake. For within the mechanism of the power-relations that crystallised in the wake of demolitions, the 'production' of heritage, as well as the historic character that it purportedly represents, takes shape as a desperate reaction to the imminent danger of its destruction. Instead of forming an 'and-and' relation, old and new are pitted against each other in an 'either-or' binary.

Re-thinking the Marketplace: A story of resistance and proactivity

In 2007, a cluster of activists formed the group *Our Treasure, the Market – Hunyadi Square* (KAP-HT) in order to save the market at Hunyadi Square, which is the only remaining open-air food market in the central districts of Budapest. Linking the luxurious Andrássy Avenue to the Király Street (King Street) area that is undergoing radical transformations, this market has become an indicator of the changing demographics, value systems and consumption patterns of the city. For years, the KAP-HT (together with ecologist group *Védegylet*) has been working on raising public awareness of the disappearing open-air markets, by emphasising the social and logistic importance of meeting places and sources of affordable, healthy food.

In recent years, various debates have surrounded the market on Hunyadi Square. First, and most notoriously, with respect to plans for an underground garage beneath the original site of the open-air market and park, a plan ignoring environmental impact studies and lacking any downtown traffic planning. After long negotiations and interventions of the KAP-HT group, the local government took into account the importance of involving local

residents in the decision-making process. Meanwhile, they also decided to apply for EU funds together for the renovation of the site. Various participatory exercises were introduced to collect views and opinions of the planned development, while the impact of the community on the final plans still remained strongly compromised. The proposed plan for the market square envisioned a 500-car parking garage under the square, which went against the agreement of the participating residents.

Following an unsuccessful bid to raise EU funding for the planned car park, the local government shifted its focus to smaller interventions like renovating the park, creating a new playground, re-designing the market stalls and turning parts of the square into a moderated traffic zone, thus allowing for more space for the Friday and Saturday markets.

Nevertheless, the conflict was renewed by the local government's plans to clear from the square a significant number of trees, considered as unsafe and endangering public use of the square. KAP-HT's call for independent expertise contributed to deepening the disagreement between supporters of the competing plans. Trees became thus crucial in the district's heritage preservation strategy: once the trees are removed, plans for the parking garage may gain momentum, and the existence of the farmers' market may be put into question. Close cooperation with the district's chief architect did not prevent the market from remaining on precarious ground: municipal attempts to reduce its hours of activity and to increase the stall rental fee may result in a more exclusive market structure.

To improve the market's visibility and strengthen the sense of community that the market catalysed, KAP-HT has organised numerous events at the market square and at other locations. KAP-HT's activity is not limited to campaigning: activists of the group got involved in the life of the market, elaborating strategies for improving services and product variety (by introducing new herbs

and vegetables, extending the selection of goods and foods) as well as opening up alternative channels of communication between the market traders, the wider public, visitors and customers of the market and the local authorities. The most recent events included a thematic exhibition organised around the notion of the market, food infrastructure and related issues in the downtown life of Budapest, aiming to involve and reach the non-market-going crowd.

Based on my 15 years' experience as a visitor of this market – which includes three years of active involvement in the life of Hunyadi Square, as an initiator of the grassroots movement to save the farmers' market – I met, made friendships and collaborated with traders and other visitors, enabling me to describe the market through the different profiles of the various traders. These are the following:

1 Pensioner, never having been a farmer; living in Budapest, with an allotment garden, selling surplus harvest;

2 Pensioner, living in Budapest, regularly selling vegetables from the garden attached to the house;

3 Elderly farmers, giving up selling, who may be replaced by a family member;

4 Vendors selling products from mid-scale farmers and from wholesale markets;

5 Pensioner, living in a small town, and growing a small quantity of vegetables to complement his/her pension. (People aged over 65 ride the trains for free, and bringing a few kilograms of produce to the market is a good opportunity for

them to earn some money);

6 Mid-scale farmer with family traditions (often their parents and grandparents were also farmers and went to the market with a cart in the past), coming to the market by car;

7 Farmer with family traditions, selling his/her own vegetables and fruits, complemented with products from the wholesale market;

8 Farmer with family traditions, subsistence farmer, bringing only a smaller ammount of fruits and vegetables to the market by train;

9 Relatively young villager, having lost his factory job due to the economic transition following the end of Communism, coming to the market by train, bringing what s/he can carry;

10 Has been working in agriculture/silviculture, but was not a small producer; still does seasonal work for others occasionally, brings produce in a small rucksack and comes by train;

11 Village pensioner after civilian job; amateur gardener, bringing jams, flowers, fruits in season;

12 Villager with very low pension-grabs what s/he can from her garden;

13 Villager coming only with some seasonal products only at certain times of the year;

14 Retired technical intellectual, living in a village, having always cultivated a small garden, and swearing to quit every year after finding a more profitable activity;

15 Relatively young vendor, selling his/her own product, complemented with a wide range of products from the wholesale market;

16 Traditionally a florist, selling merchandise from the wholesale flower market;

17 Vendor selling attractive goods from the wholesale market.

Selling at the open-air farmers' market requires a primary producer's certificate, but people who own a small piece of land can easily obtain this. Primary producers have the advantage of not having to pay taxes on transactions worth under HUF 640,000 (ca. 1870 GBP) annually, which is a good enough reason for retailers to pretend about their status both to authorities and their customers. Producers with long family traditions of selling their produce have witnessed the gradual dwindling of the market area on Hunyadi Square: today only one side of the square has stalls, and business has declined since the arrival of hyper- and supermarkets to Hungary in the 1990s. Others see the market as an opportunity to complement their income while still retaining another job. Another group of vendors turned to small-scale farming after losing their jobs as a result of the collapse of the Communist economic system and closure of factories.

Elderly people sell food at markets to complement their small pension, as over the age of 65, they can use public transportation free of charge, so that their only expense is the stall rental fee. Keeping the stall rental fee relatively low is essential to maintain this group in the market. However, they can hardly compete with larger producers: the more stalls they have, and the wider range of products, the better they position themselves on the market. The issue of food diversity and inclusive economy is yet to be raised by customers. Ideally, if market vendors formed an organisation, they would be more efficient in defending their interests vis-à-vis the local government. However, if their unity is impossible to achieve, there are many reasons for that: conflicting interests between primary producers and re-sellers, a lack of self-confidence and of a culture of self-organising are the most important among these factors.

And who are the shoppers?
Local pensioners, housewives and various people working in the neighbourhood. For locals who have free time during the day on weekdays, it is probably a habit to go to the market. Chefs from nearby restaurants also come for a quick hunt for herbs or fresh fruit and vegetables that were harvested on the previous, or the very same day. People on a tight budget appreciate the possibility to bargain at the outside market, or to have the option to choose something cheaper, while other health-conscious consumers come here to buy food that is locally produced. The fight of the local citizens' group to save the open-air market has attracted attention to the spot, with the market listed as the second best market in Hungary, causing a small but steady increase in the number of visitors from younger generations.

The sellers of the Hunyadi Square Market, Budapest






On the Trace of the Ring: globalisation and real estate on the 'most emblematic (Buda)Pest street'

Budapest, the capital of Hungary, boasts a number of invaluable national monuments. Many of these are residential houses still owned by the local governments. Recent years have witnessed the demolition and elimination of these buildings with no regard for their national monument status. This is especially true of Budapest's District VII, Erzsébetváros (Elizabethtown, the old Jewish ghetto). This is where the three buildings of our concern, Király Street 25 – 27 – 29, are located. Using social network analysis, we have researched and charted the history of their privatisation since the political transition.

Buildings no. 25 – 27 – 29 on Király Street are in poor condition. Years ago, it seemed that the local government could ameliorate the situation by selling them. They did so, but the exchange was conducted in a highly irregular manner. The goal of our research has been to unveil the process and background of this exchange. Over the course of time, several new players entered the field, making the story increasingly difficult to untangle, especially for the outsider. This called for a methodology that would render this exchange process visible, so as to make 'order' in the mesh of names and firms that seemed unrelated at first glance.

Our small world is held together by the force of relationships. We ourselves are the individual points who strive to find our way day by day in this unfathomable and

complex world sustained by the links of relationships. Our orientation and awareness are often hindered by our failure to recognise how interdependent we are. Often, with more or less success, we try to form a mental picture of a space where we can position ourselves and those surrounding us. Reality, however, is much too complex and unfathomable for us to comprehend it outside our immediate environment.

In the past years – partly to satisfy this desire – the network approach has gained ever greater popularity. This school is specialised in studying the network of relationships: harmonising qualitative and quantitative methods, its subject of observation is the relationship itself: among individuals, groups, or even institutions. One of the most intriguing trends in social network analysis – adopting the work of, among others, Mark Lombardi – is the visualisation of the network of relationships. Its goal is to make reality known in its very complexity and impenetrability.

While Mark Lombardi ventured to graph all this manually, today there are a number of software applications at the disposal of researchers. 'Reality' is now displayable with these, after building an appropriate database and running specific algorithms.

The database necessary for exposing the case of real estate manipulation on Király Street was based on the systematic research of a – considerable – number of press publications regarding the issue. We mapped the data in a two-mode social network matrix, in which we linked individuals relevant to the story with the firms they were connected with on the basis of the press material. The data collection encompassed every article (26 in all) published on the topic between 2004 and 2009, and included the complaint submitted to the court against the local government. Upon completion, the two-mode database was analysed using the MDS (multi-dimensional-scaling) option in NetDraw. In the social

network thus graphed, individuals and firms with similar relationship indexes are juxtaposed, while players filling very different functions are distant to one another.

The following 14 stages are required for such a complex and non-transparent social network to develop:

Stages 1–14: the route to obtain real estate on Király Street

1 The local government commissions its own firm to carry out the appraisal of the buildings. The assessed price is generally equivalent to the cost of relocating the residents.

2 Following the appraisal, a project firm, established by private individuals with the specific purpose of purchasing the residential house in question, 'approaches' the local government to make an offer for the building.

3 The president of the local government's economic committee (EC) submits a proposal to the local government's Board of Representatives (BR) regarding the sale of the building. The proposal includes the name of the buyer and the purchase price (a fictive price that will never be paid to the local government).

4 The BR meeting is chaired by the District Mayor. The sale of the residential houses is decided at a closed session. The EC proposal is distributed at the meeting, and the BR passes the proposal; in other words, accedes to selling the building. At the conclusion of the board meeting, the proposal is collected from the board members. After the vote, all

documents regarding the real estate sale are held exclusively by the president of the Economic Committee and the District Mayor.

5 Residential houses in which BR members or MPs hold apartments are not subject to sale.

6 The residential houses are sold without a public tender, violating public procurement law.

7 Owners of the firms established for purchasing the residential houses come from the same circle and are personally related to the local government. The newly established firm is well informed, and this is how, months before the official decision to sell the real estate is issued by the Board, they begin negotiations with foreign investors.

8 Based on a contract of sale with the local government, the buyer firms acquire a 3-year right of purchase on the residential house, with the local government's retained ownership.

9 The buyer firms' headquarters and the law firms involved are registered at identical addresses. Two law firms have had an instrumental role in the sales, accommodating the firms established solely for the purpose of purchasing and re-selling the buildings.

10 Subsequently, the buyer firm – without having paid a penny to the local government – begins to pass on its right of purchase by selling shares in the firm. The firm itself is sold at an extremely low price (8–10,000 euros),

including the rights of purchase in its property.

11 The tenants living in the residential houses are completely oblivious to the above proceedings. They receive no information whatsoever about the roof being sold from over their heads. The representative of the 'investor' calls on the tenants, showing them documents of authorisation from the firm and the local government, informing them that they need to vacate their flats.

12 In most cases, the tenants protest against the sale of their building, and claim their right of pre-emption regarding their apartment, which is denied by the local government.

13 Once the project firm finds a serious buyer, its ownership is passed on to offshore firms in Cyprus, the Seychelles or Ireland (without any transfer of money), who pass on the right of purchase to mainly Irish investors. The purchase price paid by the investors is a multiple many times over the value originally appraised by the local government; thus, the owners of the project firms acquire enormous profit.

14 Eventually, the local government ends up selling the property for as much as it cost to relocate the tenants, thus relinquishing ownership of the building, while being left with virtually zero return on the sale. Meanwhile, the project firms acquire an abundant profit despite selling the buildings below market value. The outcome: ownership of the buildings is passed into foreign hands, and a part of this world heritage is destroyed to give

place to modern, featureless buildings.

Presently, the above case is before the court, and numerous politicians and businessmen have been arrested. Investigation is underway in the case of 14 buildings in all.

We hope that social network visualisation has helped us render the story of the sale of Király Street 25 – 29 visible and more comprehensible even for those personally not involved. We believe this 'clarity of vision' provides important and useful knowledge for all.

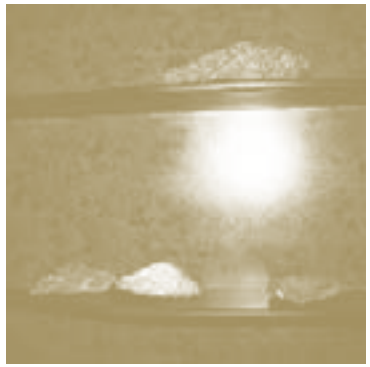
Hunt the Key: globalisation and real estate on the 'most emblematic (Buda)Pest street'

Running on the borders of the 6th and 7th district of Budapest, Király Street was famously called in the past century 'the most emblematic (Buda)Pest street' by the writer Gyula Krúdy. The neoclassical buildings on Király Street – some of them belonging to the national heritage list – now all await renovation or demolition. Amongst others, 25 — 29 Király Street, three nationally 'protected' buildings adjacent to each other are for sale.

This visualisation is based on 27 newspaper articles published since 2004 in 12 different papers, written by journalists committed to meticulous research on some of these processes and manipulations of the increasing globalisation of Király Street. Analysis of the relationship of different companies, firms and people who were involved in one way or another in the procedure of selling these real-estate reveal a vastly complex network. The visualisation displays people's and companies' affiliations differently, aiming to reveal a particular kind of power, decoding a convoluted, not at all transparent process which has been applied in other 13 cases in the past 6 years along Király Street in Budapest.

Hunt the Key:
globalisation and real estate
on the ‘most emblematic
(Buda)Pest street’

Temporarily Inhabited Space



With the ups and downs of the real-estate market, the balance between supply and demand of residential, office and retail spaces often becomes unsettled. The apartments turned into offices in boom times, and shops developed into dwellings in times of shortage are all signs of this dis-equilibrium. Király Street and its surroundings, accommodating various frontlines between contrasting visions of the city, has long functioned as the most important terrain to test the possibilities to use spaces differently from the purposes for which they were originally built.

Deserted residential buildings, abandoned garages and warehouses, disused schools and community edifices have become fertile ground for cultural experimentation. In his series, Miklós Surányi traces the way cultural use overwrites and re-calibrates industrial, residential and commercial units. Lost clothes, found objects, arbitrary installations, and accidental compositions all reveal moments of stability and imbalance

APPENDIX

Ádám Albert
is an artist, living and working in Budapest. He graduated from the Hungarian University of Fine Arts (Budapest), and he is currently working on his DLA dissertation at the doctoral programme at HUFA. His works focus on the following concepts: gallery – public space; art – reality; and popular culture – high culture. His works address current social anomalies and highlight issues such as public space as private space (someone's private space), surveillance (privacy policy). He uses semantically condensed and purified images, peculiar pictograms, special flowcharts; his works are mainly characterised by minimalist aesthetics.

Gabó Bartha's
latest form of preoccupation with food and fashion is market activism. She is a founding member of a neighbourhood activist group working to save, raise awareness of and improve a farmers' market in downtown Budapest. She has exhibited work and written related to this and recently co-organised a group show about food markets. She has a background in art history.

Pedro Cid Proença, Sophie Demay & Afonso Duarte
are a Luso-French graphic design ensemble. They met while studying at the Royal College of Art. They have since been involved in various projects, such as producing a book in a gallery space, an international non-school, a cinema building workshop and an itinerant bookshop.
www.cestdudigital.info

Ders Csaba
gained spatial intelligence as an architect first. Realised the limits of his spatial approach on urban scale as a visiting researcher in Columbia University with the support of the Fulbright Grant. Got a valuable insight about the production of urban systems in Bartlett, UCL. As a freelancer advisor, currently he is working on the emerging development model of the Danube Strategy of Budapest.

Tímea Csaba
is an architect, urbanist and curator based in Vienna. Working always in interdisciplinary fields, she is focusing on movement strategies, from the biggest scale as the migration of urban population, till the smallest detail as the play of fingertips in an empty room. She is founding member and member of the curator board at KÉK – Hungarian Contemporary Architecture Centre.

Beáta Dávid
Ph.D., sociologist, senior researcher at the Institute of Sociological Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA SZKI), professor at the Veszprém College of Theology. Areas of research: social network, sociology of health, social cohesion and family sociology.

Bahbak Hashemi-Nezhad
has a background in industrial design and photography, developing from an early stage a strong interest in the role of images and representation within product design. In 2006 he moved to London to study at the Royal College of Art, where he received his MA in product design under the guidance of Jurgen Bey. He has since set up his own studio and has conducted and collaborated on numerous international design projects which have exhibited in Sydney, Milan, Barcelona, Tokyo, Amsterdam and London. Bahbak lives and works in East London.
www.bh-n.com

Edwin Heathcote
is an architect, critic and designer living and working in London. He is the Architecture and Design

20th century English and American literature, and visual culture.

Deepa Naik
has worked with public works, Art for Change and the Serpentine Gallery, and has co-ordinated special projects with Irit Rogoff (Goldsmiths) including: *De-Regulation* (MuHKA 2006, Herzliya Museum of Contemporary Art 2006, Berlin 2010); *A.C.A.D.E.M.Y: Learning from the Museum* (Van Abbemuseum 2006); *SUMMIT: non-aligned initiatives in education culture* (Multitude e.V. 2007); and *Eye Witness Conference* (Birkbeck School of Law 2008). Guest lectures include the Dutch Art Institute, Art & Architecture, Chelsea College of Art. She is currently editing *Casting Off: New Journeys in Visual Culture* (2010)

Trenton Oldfield's
work is pre-occupied with cities including formal work within government, cultural and environmental agencies and personal practice as well as film, public art commissions, research and guest lecturing.
He was Coordinator of the Thames Strategy – Kew to Chelsea, Project Manager at Cityside Regeneration, a Community Development Worker in North Kensington, and active on the boards of the Westway Development Trust, London Citizens and Subtext. He is currently writing a book on the socio-political history of fences and their contemporary deployment in London's public spheres.

Levente Polyák
is lecturer at the Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design and at the Budapest University of Technology where he teaches urban studies and architectural theory. Levente has worked on urban projects for the New York, Paris, Budapest and Pécs municipalities, and as co-founder of the KÉK-Hungarian Contemporary Architecture Centre, he has organized conferences and exhibitions on contemporary urban phenomena. His theoretical work focuses on the intersections of art, architecture, urbanism, geography and cinema.

Péter Rákosi/Tehnica Schweiz
studied Visual Communication at the Moholy-Nagy University of Arts and Design. Since 1997 his photography has been exhibited in Budapest as well as internationally. Since 2003 he worked together with László Gergely photographer as Tehnica Schweiz, posing questions about the active participation of small communities and interpersonal relationships in the wider society. They are members of POC (Piece of Cake,European network for Contempeorary Images) since 2007.

Réka Schutzmann
is a social worker who obtained her diploma in 2008 on the College of Theology in Veszprém. She received the Scholarship of the Republic of Hungary in 2006. Currently she is a student at the Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest (social policy).

Allan Siegel
studied initially architecture but became involved in the experimental filmmaking movement and subsequently a founding member of the documentary film collective Newsreel and then was a co-director of Third World Newseel. Besides working as a filmmaker he is also a visual media artist, writer and teacher.
His films have been presented at major festivals in North America, Europe and Asia and his visual media at exhibitions in Budapest, Pécs, Chicago, New York, Cheltenham and Montreal. He taught for many years at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago and lectured at other universities in the United States. Currently he is a lecturer in the Intermedia Department at the Hungarian University of Fine Arts

Critic of The Financial Times and the author of over a dozen books on architecture including *London Caffs, Theatre: London and Budapest: A Guide to Twentieth Century Architecture*. He is half Hungarian and has lived and worked in Budapest. In 2001 he founded hardware manufacturer 'izé', a word which means 'thingy' in Hungarian.

House of Jonn
House of Jonn is Jordan Hodgson, Niall Gallacher and Nixolas Lobo Brennan. They met while studying Architecture at the RCA and formed House of Jonn in London in 2009. They have worked at various international architecture practices in London, New York, São Paulo, and Zürich. Their work work is concerned with architecture as a cultural practice and the complex exigencies of the contemporary city. These concerns encompass both the everyday and possible alternatives. Their work includes both built structures and images, and is produced out of a non dogmatic design process.
www.houseofjonn.com

Béla Káli
is an architect, project manager of Dutch architect Kas Oosterhuis' latest work, the CET-Budapest project. He graduated from ULB University of Brussels, Victor Horta Department of Architecture. Currently he is undertaking his MSc in Real Estate, Property Investment and Management at Technical University of Budapest and Trent University of Nottingham, writing his thesis on the rehabilitation possibilities of the old Jewish Quarter of Budapest. He teaches contemporary architecture and interior design at Werk Academy, Budapest.

Gergely Kovács
is an architect working in London. He studied in Budapest and at the Architectural Association in London where he is running workshops currently. His recent project exploring the spatial implications of the politics of neutrality has won several awards and been published widely.

Péter Lowas
is an artist and activist living and working in Berlin and Pécs, Hungary. Graduated at the Communication and Media Department at the University of Pécs. Co-founder of SmArt, a cultural project where he has organised experimental video/film festivals and art events in Pécs. He is a member of Lada project, is a Berlin based artist run brand from 2007. His works are based on found objects and footages as well as on situative installations addressing the idea of periphery, waste and hermeneutic thinking.

Emőke Kerekes & Anna Mózes
Emőke is a Transilvanian born photographer based in Budapest. Graduated from Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design Budapest, with a Bachelor of Photography degree in 2010. Anna was born in Budapest, studies animation at the Moholy-Nagy University of Arts and Design.

László Munteán
is a Ph.D. candidate in American Studies at Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary, writing his dissertation on the commemoration of 9/11 in literature and the fine arts. Since 2004 he has been assistant professor at the Department of English at Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Hungary. He teaches 20th Century American Literature and American Architectural History. He also teaches Hungarian Architectural History to architecture students from the University of San Francisco studying in Budapest. His fields of interests include urban space and memorials, interrelations of text and image,

and an Associate Editor of the journal *ARTMargins*.

Eszter Steierhoffer
is an art historian and curator based in London. She is a graduate of the Curating Contemporary Art MA at the Royal College of Art and previously studied art history in Budapest and in Italy, focusing on 20th and 21st century art and architecture. Her current research concentrates on a critical approach to curating architecture. At present she is directing the Art Network Agency Program at the Hungarian Cultural Centre in London.

Miklós Surányi
graduated from the University of Fine Arts in Budapest and worked on digital and video projects and several exhibitions oriented towards digital art. Since 2004 he is working exclusively with the media of photography. In 2006 he was awarded the Pécsi József Grant for Photography, ever since he exhibited widely in Budapest. In his series of photographs he is building up a strong connection, a quasi-narrative context between pictures, yet he aspires to have a story inherent also in individual images.

Csilla Zsuzsanna Vizl
was born in 1978, Hungary. Received the Hungarian Republican Scholarship in 2007. Obtained a diploma in 2008 on the College of Theology in Veszprém as social worker. Currently she is a student on the Semmelweis University, Budapest (social worker).

no.w.here
was formed in 2004 and is an artist-run space in London where the place of the moving image within contemporary art can be explored and expanded. They produce projects, events, facilities, workshops, education programmes. On the Edgware Road, no.where work with actors Khalid Abdalla & Cressida Trew to recall histories of Britain's Free Cinema movement, producing a collaborative film made by people in and with links to the neighbourhood. Their work is part of the Free Cinema School at the Serpentine Gallery's Centre for Possible Studies.

Szövetség'39
is an association of artists. Members of the group are: Anna Baróthy, Csenge Kolozsvári and Melinda Bozsó. Szövetség'39 is also an open workshop focusing on spatial design, welcoming professional artists and designers to develop and test their experimental concepts and ideas. Profiles of currently active artists in Szövetség'39 include: architecture, sculpture, media arts, computer graphics, web-design, experimental programming, animation and glass design.

Helena Chmielewska-Szlajfer
is a PhD student at New School for Social Research, New York, and The Institute of Applied Social Sciences, University of Warsaw. She has published a number of articles on contemporary culture, public art, urban studies and political practices in media. She teaches a course on contemporary culture at the American Studies Center, University of Warsaw. She is currently working on her dissertation on the relations between global and local popular cultures.

Wojciech Kacperski
studies philosophy and sociology at Warsaw University. He is a Warsaw city guide. Interested in: urban sociology, urban anthropology, perception of urban space. Writes about urban social movements. Published articles in several polish academic magazines (*Przeglad Filozoficzny*, *Kultura Liberalna*) and online magazines (*kulturasieliczy.pl*).

Ivan Kucina
is a full-time faculty member at the School of Architecture, University of Belgrade, Serbia and a Visiting Scholar at the School of Design Strategies, Parsons, The New School for Design, New York. Ivan's research focuses on the processes of transition in architecture and urbanism, particularly, on the informal building strategies and uncontrolled processes of urban transformation of the Western Balkans, with a specific interest in understanding the evolving space-time paradigm in architectural and urban design. Ivan Kucina is also a practicing architect and runs an interdisciplinary architectural and design practice together with architect Nenad Katic, with projects that range from urban design to residential buildings and exhibitions. In 2006, he co-founded the *Belgrade International Architecture Week* and currently serves as its Programme Director.

Aleksandra Wasilkowska
established a studio in Warsaw in 2007 for spatial and social research and practice after studying architecture at the Warsaw University of Technology and École d'Architecture de Bretagne. She has collaborated on projects with artists, sociologists, scientists, and mathematicians to explore the territories between architecture, art and science. Most recently, Aleksandra Wasilkowska with Agnieszka Kurant represented Poland at the 12th Architectural Biennale in Venice.
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Chapter I

On Cataloguing

Anatomy of a Street is a travelling exhibition and on-going research project exploring sites of an accelerated urban transformation.

The first event, running from the 25th to the 4th of July 2010, focuses on two examples of the 'high street' from Pécs and Budapest and and puts them in comparison to Church Street in Paddington, London.

This publication does not stand for a catalogue – instead, it forms a map of the theoretical, visual and geographical territory in which the exhibition occurs, compiling documents produced and assembled in advance of the street interventions. Produced conjointly with the event itself, the book informed and was informed by it, serving as a record of the project's preliminary stages.

Thus the publication's iterative growth: each time the exhibition moves, the book is extended with the documentation of the previous event and the programme for the next one, working as a chronological archive of the exhibition's path. It is, in this sense, a permanently growing and moving object, one that reacts to its context and is in a permanent state of liminality: documenting what just occurred while, simultaneously, unfolding new possible becomings – like the moving landscapes it tries to capture.

Chapter II

Chapter III