EXPERIENCES AROUND DALSTON’S JUNCTION: Place Attachment in a context of constant Urban Change and Migration
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I have never been so grateful for all the knowledge and the experiences
I am the most grateful to my favorites; they are everything.
ABSTRACT

What does attachment mean to long-term shopkeepers and temporary residents in the Dalston parish of the Hackney borough of London? This essay aims to analyze the attachment developed by some shopkeepers and temporary residents settled along Kingsland Road; in particular, I will argue that some shopkeepers, who have remained through time in an adaptation strategy to this locality show attachment, resistance and enhancement to the place, similar to a group of temporary residents whom have been a continuous flux in the area. Both groups struggle throughout uncertainty and change creating dynamics and particularities despite their opposite-polar attachments. I will expose social dynamics that might be shaping the configuration of the area through different layers of experiences, characteristics and changes in their life-worlds. I will focus on the temporality, structures and dynamics around their processes. Drawing on existing literature on place-attachment, observation and interviews this essay attempts to capture glimpses of social contracts, networks and spatial particularities created in an environment of constant flux of migration and an ever-changing process of urban development.
STRUCTURE OF THE DOCUMENT

First, this dissertation will review the literature on the place-attachment and character concepts. Following this, it will specify the methodology that will be used for the analysis. A brief historical synopsis as introduction of Hackney Borough will then be presented. At the same time, I will more specifically discuss Kingsland Road and expose the physical transformation of the area, which occurred previous to this analysis. After, I will connect the experiences of these groups around the shops and the zone. The narrative of these specific groups will show the networks of their wholeness in different scales: temporary incomers, shopkeepers, shops and neighborhood.
Contemporary urban studies have included the concept of attachment as part of their research scope. The multidimensionality of this concept has given a wide spectrum of approaches and experimentation to the urban field. This concept has evolved from the pure relationship of dependency for a place or satisfaction gotten from it (Ramkissoon & Mavondo, 2015, p.2) to create an integrate concept, in which the actors, might be a person, a group or cultures develop social relationships in a temporal frame. This concept originally described as ‘the bonding of people to places’ (Low & Altman 1992 cited by Manzo et al, 2014, p.1); later acquired more relevance when it was related as to the concept of identity, sense of place and dependence (Manzo et al, 2014, p.1). Additionally, the interest given to this approach was increased at the stage of application as Altman and Low (1992, p.2); Manzo et al (2014, p.1); Scannell et al, (2010, p. 9,10) have pointed out due to the lack of structured methodologies for research and the inclusion of the varied theoretical parameters from different fields.

Assertively Seamon notes this concept might be seen as ‘multivalent, complex, and dynamic’, hence it might generate a much more integral and organic understanding of the relations described towards a place. Similarly, Low and Altman (1994, p.8) stated, place attachment would be seen as a group of affects, cognitions and practices on a variable-scale place with specificity and tangibility. Therefore, the concept of place attachment includes a physiological load (Scannell et al, 2014, p.21), based on human perception such as proximity, safe haven and belonging (e.g. Development of bonds as the one given through the awareness of security and safeness exemplified in Scannell et al (2014, p.25) and it is reproduced in the physical environment. Therefore, the results are the inclusion of the interpersonal-attachment theory knowledge to the place-attachment theory.

This perspective, where Seamon (2014) suggests place-attachment should not be seen only as the ‘individual or group of action, experience, intention and meaning’ (p.11) towards a physical space. It includes the ‘unnoticed phenomenon of person-or-people-experiencing-place’ (p.11). Also, he proposes to address the analysis of place attachment through lived dialectics of rest, movement and inward, outward (p.13); Idea which is supported by Gustafson (2014, p.39). He supports this inclusion and extends it introducing the concept of mobility. Hence, it is includes the motion into the dynamics of everyday lives as an important factor in order to analyze the development of place attachment. It might, therefore; better be seen as ‘a broader lived synergy in which various human and environmental dimensions of place reciprocally impel and sustain each other’ Seamon (2014, p.12). It would appeal to the balance in complementarity of all the parts. This approach of this ‘complementary experiences of place and place-experience’ (Seamon 2014, p. 11) is extended to a level of generative (Seamon 2014, p. 11) requiring also wide conceptualization of the subjects and or parts included in these dynamics. Arguably, place attachment might be seen as the combination of dynamics between people and place, with the insideness and outsideness of the subjects in a balance with their mobility exposed in all the scales.
Expanding on the conceptualizations included in the Place attachment theorization, there are some more developed and solid scopes through which Place is seen. In one hand, this term rather than the physical and limited, territorial definition has addressed wide connotations. Firstly, a place articulates the ‘wholeness of people-in-world’ addressing the daily ‘unnoticed taken-for-granted’ elements (Seamon 2014, p.12). Secondly, Place is considered as a figure of attachment therefore place-attachment can be shown towards multiple places (Scannell et al, 2014; Seamon 2014) Thirdly, Place is a ‘lived dimension’ which involves body routines in a time or space that contribute to a larger structure (Seamon 2014, p.13) thus it includes different scale connotations. Finally, Gustafson (2014, p.38) included another layer to the place conceptualization, addressing that place attachment might not be seen separate from mobility.

On the other hand, the literature of place has been related closely to the concept of character. In urban studies the concept of character is considered important, as it is distinguishably appealing to space, place, neighborhood or city. The ‘quality with no name’ (Alexander, 1979 cited by Davidson et al, 2012, p.48) does not count with proper classification, analysis structure and methodology (Davidson at al, 2012, p.48). However, it has been addressed in urban policies broadly as a characteristic to conserve. This narrow definition has attempted to base its focus on the build environment; tough as Davidson et al (2012, p.49) stated the character is a complex concept that includes also the social spectrum.

Consequently, the contributions given by the studies of place-attachment based on character have encompassed wider phenomenology about the social dynamics developed in spaces. Additionally, the varied multifaceted components and the multidisciplinary angles of these concepts related to place described as a ‘universally compelling area of scholarly work’ (Manzo et al, 2014, p.2) support new experimentations. Even tough, the lack of defined structure of the concepts and a broad settled methodology, due to its qualitative connotation has left an extensive unstudied field. This no-structuration also has opened an important gap for experimentation. Therefore, new challenges are settled for research methods in this field that would benefit greatly this study area. Measuring emotional bond intensity or examining place meaning (Williams, 2014, p. 92) seems not to be the complete formula to reach a holistic frame for the dynamics of people towards a place. Therefore, research might be better directed to a broad ‘understanding of […] role, function and processes underlying place relationships’ (Manzo et al, 2014, p.2) avoiding arguably the instability of bonds and individual characteristics of the social place elements and their relationships translated to the physical environment, call it space, place, or city.
METHODOLOGY: ATTACHMENT AND PLACE ATTACHMENT

This dissertation will be based on unstructured interviews that relate to the stories of a group of temporary-residents and a group of shopkeepers around Kingsland Road in the Hackney Borough of East London. This qualitative method will portray a narrative to look for the characteristics and dimensions of their place attachment. As Rishbeth (2014, p.109) proposes a locational storytelling method will capture ‘experiential qualities of memory and connection of social activity and cultural identities’. Therefore, it will grasp the intrinsic social dynamics transformed onto physical representation around the area. Still, as any other qualitative approach this method presents some limitations. Therefore, this analysis should not be generalized, as the responses are related only to the life experiences of this group of people. Also, in order to develop a wider view of the environment, this analysis will count on information from previous research conducted in the area, Hackney Council Documents and an interview with Barry Coughlan, Planning officer at the Planning and Regulatory Services Of Hackney Planning department of Hackney Council.
INTRODUCTION

Urban development has taken intensification\(^1\) as a lead dogma in planning policies in different cities around the world (Davison et al, 2012, p.47). In London such processes have influenced different development plans around the city. Following this trend, several plans have been introduced around the east area of London during the past years. In the northeastern borough of Hackney some development plans were included during this stage. This area has gone through constant urban transformation, as part of the Great London Plan and later as part of the East London planning project. Transportation, housing and regeneration of public spaces are counted as the principal interventions through which the Council (2015) looked for the improvement of this area that was considered as neglected and disadvantage.

The development plans in the Hackney borough include a 553 dwellings project, a library, public spaces’ regeneration, and transport stations (Davison et al, 2012, p.48; GLA, 2015). These plans were reinforced with wide publicity about the benefits of regeneration. However, this argument has been argued broadly for different groups of residents for whom these projects would be detrimental for the character of this historically diverse neighborhood (Davison et al, 2012, p.48). Groups of Jews, Turkish, Kurdish, Black Caribbean, Vietnamese, African and East Europeans along with South Asian have inhabited this borough for decades (Hackney, 2015). This historically migration has created a neighborhood continuously exposed to social changes. Therefore, the projects included in the regeneration are considered as possible threats due to the physical and social changes resultant of the demolition of some buildings and the construction of others. Also, the new inversions and incomers to the locality were addressed as a negative impact. Despite the fact of the opposition to the plans, different social and politics events have allowed some of the interventions to be introduced in the area.

One of the most important projects for the area has been the improvement of Kingsland Over-ground station and the re-opening of Dalston Junction, proposed as part of a development plan of Greater London Authority Plan (GLA, 2012). They represented key actions for the broader Regeneration Plan in Dalston. (Davison et al, 2012, p.50). These facilities located over Kingsland Road have notoriously influenced the dynamics in this locality, converting this already congested axis in a site under permanent construction.

The conglomeration of these different phenomena in a geographical space might have created a distinctive site to study the relations between people and their urban environment. Contemporary studies in similar areas have been carried out under the scope of gentrification and displacement and how these phenomena have influenced the character of the area. One major drawback of those approaches, however, might have been studying the phenomena without considering some groups that are imperceptible in the wave of big processes. These inhabitants whom

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\(^1\) Intensification is the term used to describe the planning policy argument over which the densification of the urban areas can created much more sustainable neighborhoods or cities, due to lower used of transportation and betterment of public spaces. (Davison et al, 2012, p.47)

\(^2\) Displaced are defined as low-income groups spell for increased prices in the
cannot be considered displaced\(^2\) or gentrifiers\(^3\), as in the original conceptualization, might shed some light on the subtle processes through which the neighborhood’s character remains and transmute.

In the case of Kingsland Road area, my observations show that there are two recognizable groups that seem to be distinctive from the groups addressed currently in the literature. First: A group of temporary residents, whom have been brought to this locality for different conditions, but are a constant factor in this area, despite their number. Second: A group of shopkeepers, whom have remained in the area despite the continuous social and urban transformation to form a group that seems to adapt to the constant flux of the site. I will claim their relationships towards the shops and the neighborhood, in both cases might expose an alternative perspective on the discussions on place-attachment, character, temporality and mobility. These groups might have become the lens, through which this equation of perpetual dynamics in motion could be seen in order to bring to light the insideness of the character structures that shape an area of post-urban-development.

Therefore this analysis attempts to expose the social dynamics and the physical features built around the adaptation carried out by the group of shopkeepers. It will recognize some invisible structures, social contracts, strategies and temporalities of these processes, presenting the place attachment as a survival strategic for the shopkeepers. While, in the case of the temporary residents, the analysis will be made based on their mobility condition; therefore expounding the coincidences in both groups dynamics that might give significance or character to the neighborhood, and through which they might be reinstating their right to shape the city through own specificities, needs and processes in different levels but still connected.

\(^2\) Displaced are defined as low-income groups spell for increased prices in the area (Davidson & Lees, 2005)

\(^3\) Gentrifiers original conception describes them as consumers (Neil Smith, 1979).
THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The transportation projects located down Kingsland Road contributed to the improvements of physical and social conditions in the zone. They affected to a great extent the dynamics of the Hackney Borough (Davison et al, 2012, p.53) and in particular the character and dynamics of this street. The area considered insecure and neglected started to change their urban fabric. As Davidson et all (2012, p.48) noted these specific projects, part of the extension of Over-ground East London line, triggered a socio and economic expansion in the zone, yet they also created a hardship for some resident and shopkeepers, who were displaced or relocated.

These processes of reorganization, therefore, have encountered opposition and support (Davison et al, 2012, p.57-59). Varied have been the experiences for residents and shopkeepers of this axis. Putting the identity as a central point of the discussion, some residents have been opposed to the development plans. Their struggle through different discourses has finish with the inclusion of some of the proposed plans (Davison et all, 2012). Hence, this process has created an amalgam of old and new diversities on a common ground, where different physical and social typologies collide.

Furthermore, this development process which brought new residents and investors to concur with the already continuous historical migration to this area. According to the Hackney Council (2014) mobile transnational professionals from countries of the A8 group along with incomers from Spain, Italy, Somalia, America, Australia and New Zealand conformed now the social scene of Hackney. During the last 10 years, this area showed an important migration principally of 20 to 29 age-incomers (Hackney, 2015). Additionally, the 2011 census (Hackney, 2015) points at the increase of well-qualified young people as the most important change of features in the area (Hackney, 2015) This migration of principally young professional has caused important changes in the market conditions, and social dynamics of this locality.

Moritz a photographer from Germany, who has resided in the area for about a year, defines this neighborhood as ‘cool’. He moves across the neighborhood with no daily routine. His freelance job allows him some freedom. He prepares breakfast and replies mails to later go out. Moritz dedicates an average of three days to work and the extra time to prepare him in new meditative practices. He feels this locality offers him a space to manage their different activities. At lunchtime, he walks down Kingsland Road towards the Ridley Road Market; yet, he does not usually shop there. An organic market and Tesco will be the place he chose to buy different types of products. On the way back home, he stops on a Turkish-place and gets a lamb-doner-kebab. Later, he meets friends at the corner coffee bar for some drinks. The place elected has a sign of two for one on drinks from five to eight. Here, it is also offered food, a mixture between Mexican tapas and international food. From tapas, paella to sandwiches the menu is completed. The prices reach the fifteen pounds. After, it is time to go around and find another place while the night comes and the discos are opened. Walking down the street, Moritz stops to buy a pack of cigarettes in a little store and he and his friends continue the search for a new place. It is late; they decide to go inside Superstore, a
trendy place, which holds a bar in the first floor and a disco in the underground. It is a good place for a chat while drinking a beer and later party downstairs. When they have finished and go out from Superstore is 24:15pm. Outside is dark and they go back home after a fun afternoon and evening in Dalston.

This intricate diversity of places and dynamics is evidenced in the build environment. The neighborhood built majorly of 3 to 4th floor attached constructions, now is mixed with new constructions that stand out for their height and style. Externally, the constructions respond to different temporalities. However, interiorly these buildings or houses are similar in their organization. Generally, these constructions have a basement space, a first floor for business proposes, next to small entrances to reach upper levels, which are used mostly as residences. The underground spaces hold mostly bars and discos, while the first floor business-spaces have a variety of commercial uses. The increase of other shops and services is visible, the residents address. Restaurants, pubs, bars, markets, boutiques, charities, coffee shops and many more face directly the sidewalk offering a vibrant environment of a pleasant walk trough a broad diversity of tastes, smells, sounds and spaces. This urban core has been transformed and it is still in evident process of change. It is a place where different parallel dynamics seems to motion in different times.

The owner of Escudo de Cuba restaurant travels everyday for one hour and a half to get to this locality. Marcos is a resident of the Croydon’s area in the South of London. The graduated chef started this business last year. He expresses positivism towards the business manage by him, but in equal shares with his Kurdish partner. Even tough, another business is closing a block from his. Marcos addresses some business do not last more than three years, but he cannot complain about his. The restaurant has survived longer than six months, time the closed restaurant lasted in the area. He used to work in a near restaurant when he met his partner. ‘My partner knows the people around’ he stated. Now, they think about opening another restaurant in another area indeed. ‘The rent is not high, and the area is good for businesses’ he said. They run this restaurant and the lower-floor disco bar. This restaurant offers ‘Ropa Vieja’ to sophisticated drinks. They also offer salsa classes on Wednesday. The day is complete, he said, before he goes and checks on some costumers. He has a reduce staff for now. Mostly, himself and the cook are full time workers in the place; they are both from the same nationality. Some people of the staff will join after. Late hours are the busiest Marcos exposed.

In contrast to Gustafson (2014,p.39) argument this area is not a place of either ‘active or traditional’ place-type attachment. The concepts of attachment by routes and by routes might be mixed, changed and are not oppose or parallels solely. The area created a ‘magnet’ in which different attachments may be elucidate without concurring in opposites. Different experiences have converted the zone in an attractive spot of the

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4 ‘Ropa Vieja’ is a traditional Cuban food based on rice and beans.
5 The ‘Attachment by roots’ is expressed as the one in the traditional sense. It would be developed towards home, or towards long-time residence (Gustafson, 2014, p.39).
6 ‘Attachment to place by routes’ is defined as the one develop by mobile individuals (e.g. migrants, temporary incomers). Under this perspective the place is seen as an expression of trajectory or a representation of ‘personal development …achievement, and personal choice’ (Gustafson, 2014, p.39)
city (Hackney, 2015) for nationals and internationals. The capacity of transformation shown by the neighborhood has allowed interesting dynamics as resultant. Long-term residents and the temporary-residents interact on every day basis. Therefore, it has constituted itself in generator of multiple attachments. Attachments that evolve together related to the others. Therefore, while urban plans are inserted in the area, the social dialectics change (Koutrolikou, 2011) in a daily negotiation, but the changes might not be just the defined in the literature.

Despite the changes in the zone or the threats to the neighborhood particularities claimed by different groups (Davison et al, 2012, p.53). It could be argue that the character is somehow still there. The always-in-motion process of the neighborhood seems to be the character. As Davidson (2012, p.48) states the character goes beyond the conservation of physical conditions in the neighborhood. Across the street old places are mixed with new constructions, different business and facilities in a wave of people of different styles and backgrounds. Different typologies have increased notably in the area. This increase has underline new conditions to the neighborhood. The prices have been raised, and services are of better quality in this new diversified market, however the groups addressed in this essay are not squeeze out. The people on their daily routine find themselves exposed to significant contrast, where different groups coexist. These dynamics go further than making reference to past circumstances of the neighborhood. It seems to be in construction of a hybrid character (Koutrolikou, 2011) with the pieces attached to area and what the constant fluxes brought in different stages and that is ‘its’ character.
THE SHOPS

This ‘complex order’ (Jacobs, 1972) conformed one of the most vibrant commercial axis in the area. In spite of the mixture of shops, the group of shops from Turkish and Kurdish origin stands out as the most prominent. The variety of these businesses includes barbershops, restaurants, telephone-accessories store, cafeterias, a Tamman, and financial institutions. It creates a particular network. This particularity is evident by signs with names and references to the Turkish culture and country.

PHYSICAL-VISUAL METHODS

In the case of the shops owned by the group of shopkeepers interviewed, they present shared physical characteristics. Restaurants, cafeterias or food stores sell broad range of products. They are a combination of new products and traditional products, hence fulfilling requirements of olds and news costumers. Organic products, western dishes, exotic drinks are sold inside these hybrids social and physical spaces. The adaptations clearly link two different markets. The old costumers and the new ones are welcome. In an environment that recalls familiarity and memory, but includes also trendy or ‘cool’ aspects. Both coexist in the line between the borders of exotic and standard.

The daily journey starts early in the morning for Leo’s coffee owner. This place 10-minute driving away from the shop has been his home for several years. Along with her sister, they arrive early in the morning to the

IMAGE 1
INTERIOR
cafeteria-restaurant that he has run for 20 years. The routine starts preparing the breakfast menu, which includes a traditionally British version and all the side dishes of an international breakfast with small variations. Promptly, he starts to prepare the lunch menu, while his sister takes care of the costumers and the cleaning around the tables. The menu conformed nearly by ten different dishes and two fixed-price-menu at lower price that are similar to what the owner and his sister would have eaten back in Turkey, where they are originally from. While the kitchen is at its busiest, costumers who seem to be familiarized with the place and the staff have come inside and start ordering their food. These interactions include certain familiarity and closeness. Even tough most of the costumers are elder people and none of them seems to share the same background of the owner and his sister. They share details of their journey, and allow themselves few minutes for table talk. This group dynamic includes most of the people at the place, and it is extended during the afternoon among some costumers and the owners. At five pm, Leo’s coffee owner and his sister have finished their workday and return home.

The social contracts (Certeau and Rendall, 1984, p.98) created in this limited spaces have created own characters for each one of the spaces. The negotiations among the old and the new have been a constant process. The continuous flux of this area can be the trigger for permeability. The shops seem physically codified to reproduce the diversity and perplex environment of the neighborhood inside of each place.

The stores were refurbished with pale colors; but shining lights outside. It is easily recognizable the background of the owner. Flags, landscape-portraits, instruments are part of the daily scenes. In other cases the stores have been transform into inside-markets where the products are exposed. Along with the familiarity created internally, these spaces expound their exoticism through murals and traditional objects with references to the market target they are interested in serve. Further than the physical conditions created around this hybridization of the places, the dynamics are also managed in a way to give a sensation of a domestic environment⁷, where everyone is accepted and have something to what relates to.

SOCIAL METHODS

The shopkeepers have also created varied social dynamics around their stores. Internally, employees who speak English and Turkish are in charge of the costumer service. Therefore, the owners extend their clientele inviting both languages speakers. The social capital recognize as important in order to create social structures and networks (Schramm, 2012, p.192; Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014) have been set purposely in these stores. These structures allow people to recognize themselves in the space and in the environment as part of it. They are part of a diverse group of people hold in a common space creating a link based in their differences. In both cases, long-term residents and temporary-residents can coincide in the same place; even tough their motivations are not the same.

⁷ In this text ‘domestic’ is used in the sense of the definition as domestic founded over dynamics and the diversity of these links. However, in this case the base is not ‘shared values, or common cultural orientations’, but a common ground.
At the Golden Scissor barbershops, there are clients that seem to be from Turkish origin and some other costumers are from other backgrounds. The interactions at this place are not different. The costumers get the hair or beard done and leave. However, the familiarity created around this place keep costumers coming back. The owners, father and son barely speak English; still they understand the requirements of their costumers. They have managed to carry on with this business for 25 years. The repetitive duty at a barbershop, allow the staff to take time outside the shop once in a while. In a bench disposed outside the glass they share time while they smoke and talk among them or with costumers. They speak Turkish mostly. Later one of the employees, who speak better English, closes the shop until next morning day. The owners have gone. In the back part of the store, where they resided

The ‘glue’ that keeps people coming again to these shops, where they can find a product, a dish or a service that is related to them might also come from the environment outside each one of the stores. The networks created with other Turkish or Kurdish shopkeepers in the area allow the area to have a particular environment. In a walk down this road, there are places with tables or benches in the outsides. These niches for socialization created an environment of security. Glass facades also let in exposition activities inside the shops. However, even tough these interactions might be much more notorious during warmer months. Some of these dynamics are reproduced inside in other times. For example, a group of men drink coffee and tea at the cafeteria-ice-cream-shop every afternoon, similar to what happens outside the Golden Scissors barbershop.

Isamaya French moved into the area five months ago. She along with her partner found a shared house with other three young professionals. This born and raised Londoner in her late twenties describes the neighborhood as ‘alive’. She points out the importance of the diversity of the area. The stores, markets, cafeterias, bars and discos are just ‘part of the charm’. She who works full time in a real state office near Shoreditch enjoys going around the neighborhood. Even tough, she seems to be some times annoy by the noisy of the bars closer to her home, she shares a kind relation with the neighbors, who help her each time package comes to the house and nobody is there to received. She, also, enjoy listen to the music from nearly bars while she dinners at the terrace of her house.

The socialization among people allows any walker to recognize people; even tough they do not enter into each one of these businesses. Temporary or long-term residents, therefore, created a bond of familiarity. They created routes inside the stores and routes around the neighborhood, due to the frequency and milestones. Their memories are created towards places and people. The memories are constructed through repetitive actions. It can be argue that the daily exposition to these interactions can create place attachment in shorter time, due to the familiarity and expectancy of something new involving the environment.

In summary, the physical spaces have been altered and treated carefully to engage new costumers, but without spelling old ones. The exterior and

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8 ‘Glue’ makes reference to the social capital concept as networks of population in different scales (Paldam, 2000, p. 632)
interior signs make reference to their origin but also they hold trendy components that created mixed environments. Further than the physical characteristics these spaces have developed social dynamics to welcome diverse types of costumers. From the language to the menu, every aspect seems to be balanced to reach different groups of residents and visitors. This place ballet^9 is carried forward through different physical, visual and social strategies.

^9 Jane Jacobs (1972) describes Place ballet as a ‘mode of place interaction whereby individual actions and interpersonal exchanges merge together spatially through bodily co-presence and social encounters grounded in place’
SHOPKEEPERS

It is almost certain that different reasons caused the particular consolidation of the commercial axis in Kingsland Road. However, the increasing number of Turkish and Kurdish immigrants in the zone, next to long leases or fixed rental prices are listed as part of the reason for the number of these businesses (Davison et al, 2012, p.49; Hackney 2015, Coughlan, 2015). According to the Hackney Council (2015) these long-term residents have been in the neighborhood for more than twenty-five years. The census indicates this group of inhabitants as the single largest group born outside the UK. It accounts the 3.6% of the population of this borough. Also, Turkish language is pointed out as the spoken language among the 4.5% of Hackney borough population (Hackney, 2015). Therefore, it can be inferred conglomeration and slow but steady growing contributes to the permanence and increase of these types of business.

The day in the Tamman, located in Matthias Road just few steeps away from Kingsland Road, starts early in the morning. The employees and the owner start preparing the place for the their costumers arrival. Seray Korkmaz, the owner’s daughter, reviews the appointments for the day. Also she organizes the front desk while everything is ready. She related the history of her family. Her parents arrived to this locality more than twenty-five years ago, and they have run this business for sixteen years now. However, She explains the shop has changed since then. First, they owned a barbershop, after seven years it was converted in the current Tamman. Seray acknowledge this Turkish bath as the first one to open in London, and she claims to be the best in the city. She also highlights the preserved Turkish character and prices as the most appealing characteristics of the place. She, who recognizes herself as Turkish, was born in the UK. The business has been improving due to the arrival of new residents, she said. They are planning to expand the Tamman, despite the fact they do not own the property. Indeed, this family has invested in another business near this locality. They also run the barbershop around the corner. Seray, who rounds the middle-twenties, counts in her staff people from different backgrounds. She expresses ‘if someone has experience in the business, they can work here’. However, she recognizes other Turkish owners tent to hired Turkish people. ‘They already know how things work’ and also ‘The communication is better’ she states. Yet, it is not a barrier anymore because she speaks English fluidly. She was born and raised here.

On this group analysis is recognizable different dimension in their attachment processes due to their migration condition. Therefore, generational gaps within the group will be treated in first-migrants-generation and second-migrants-generation, therefore, this analysis will address the different stages of antecedent, uprooting, transition and

10 Second-migrants-generation makes reference to the generation of people born in the UK, but still reference themselves as any other than British (e.g. Seray Korkmaz refers herself as Turkish but she was born in the UK). They are daughters and sons of the first-migrants-generation.
11 Thompson (2014, p.143) recognized four stages during the attachment process in a case of force displacement. These stages will be used to analyze both groups for their condition of migrants to the place. First: The antecedent phase is describe as the one people acknowledge what is causing the displacement (Thompson, 2014, p.143)
resettlement\textsuperscript{14} (Thompson, 2014, p.143) of their attachment on their own specificities as migrants.

In the case of the shopkeepers, the differences among generations of arrivals and differences within a family group are perceptible. On one hand, the immigrants from the first generation went through an experimental or adaptation stage. The elders of this group, in first-immigration condition struggled adapting themselves to the new environment. The lifeworld\textsuperscript{15} addressed by Seamon might be exposed in part as consistent and divisible challenges for the original group of immigrants. From learning a different language through the exposition to different cultures to the gender values of the new social group, every unknown dimension represented a stressful, scary and deeply transformative time. The disruptive internal and external changes forced the de-construction and the re-construction of the body-subject\textsuperscript{16} thereby their intentions (Di Masso et al, 2014, p.83) towards the place in both groups have a different tone.

The first-migrants-generation went through experimental or adaptation stages. According to Leo’s coffee owner, he moved into the neighborhood in his early fifteen. This experience put him unexpectedly into a completely different physical, social and cultural environment. Similarly, to the Golden scissors’ owner who arrived in his thirties. They stated this experience as ‘not easy’. Yet due to the conditions in their origin place, they were not able to go back to their country. The antecedent phase and uprooting phase were toned by the sudden change in the first case or the previous-though plan in the second case. However, those stages of emotional stress for hazardous incoming future due to changes might cause equally internal and external processes of recognition. Internally, the exposition to different cultures and many more social stances might have been unknown dimensions for these people. Also, externalities such as facilities, limited conditions of spaces among others placed this group in transformative times. As Scannell and Gifford (2014, p.25) exposed these experiences of vulnerability that underline stressful, scary and deeply transformative stages lead to attachment. The transition phase might include election of patterns related directly to the conditions of each person.

In this case analysis, however, the arrival of these people to the area will be taken as started point. Yet it does not represent diminishing the importance in the psychological sphere of the shopkeeper’s attachment, and further implication on the character of the area. Indeed, at this stage the place attachment might stretch the cords between the past and the

\textsuperscript{12} Second: Uprooting phase is the time of renouncing socially and physically to the networks and environment. This stage might not be present in some process of displacement for catastrophes, or unplanned events (Thompson, 2014, p.143).

\textsuperscript{13} Third: Transition phase is the time when shift are made. Problems of adaptation as language or finding a job are representatives of this period. Tough the recognition of the left-place and the new-place are the most important characteristics of this stage (Thompson, 2014, p.143).

\textsuperscript{14} Fourth: resettlement stage is the time when people reinstated connections and familiarity with the new context (Thompson, 2014, p.143).

\textsuperscript{15} Lifeworld is referred to as the ‘everyday world taken-for-grantedness’ action dynamics and activities (Seamon, 2014, p.16).

\textsuperscript{16} Body-subject is define as ‘the pre-reflective corporeal awareness manifested through everyday gestures and behaviors […] in sync with the spatial and physical environment …’ (Seamon, 2014,p.12)
future. Therefore, this group might have started to experience attachment towards multiple places (Gustafson, 2014, p.40; Rishbeth, 2014, p.106) during this time. Therefore, these actors might be a key component in the construction of character of the neighborhood. The reproduction of patterns based in multiples attachments may create a network of transference. Characteristics and particularities are reproduced in the place; even tough this behavior might exist for several reasons such as opportunities or experience in a specific field. A barbershop or a restaurant might be the response to an economic need for a cook or a barber. However it is the case; the support encounter in the immigrant group might be another important ingredient to settle their businesses. The network created among their Turkish-Kurdish immigrant group supported the entrepreneur shopkeepers at the beginning stage, increasing their possibilities of success and permanence.

Although, age, resources and education are important factors during attachment processes because of the times of adaptation; tough, as a group that created an impact in the character of the space might be more relevant addressing the consolidation of the wholeness of the group. The construction of ‘environmental, social, and […] [group] order and continuity’ (Relph 1976 quoted by Seamon 2014 p.14) could be suggested to start under this shared-condition. They recognize themselves as the first-migrations-generation wave to the site. As Seray Korkmaz stated the owners of the shops know each other. It has been this way for the last 25 years, before she was even born. Therefore, the first-migrants-generation acknowledges this common experience as a pivotal time with their mutual references. It could be suggested this social construction and dynamics as contributors in the conformation of this settlement and further character embodied in the area. It can be inferred this long-term residents based their attachment on the proximity towards similar people. Additionally, as Gustafson and Seamon (2014, p.39; 2014, p.28) suggested the attachment would eventually be transform. The attachment by routes might become attachment by roots, when people settle for long-term in another area.

Later, the second-migrants-generation experiences are contrasting from their elders. This group of people has been included in management positions to the business. Therefore, their life-worlds experiences started to be constructed differently. They did not go through a period of recognition and adaptation to the environment. They were born and raised inside the country. A glance on this difference may be exemplified by language proficiency. This feature is still a problem for the some elder immigrants, and no longer for the youngest ones. However, characteristics of Turkish culture might be inversed. Although, the youngest of this group are embedded in the Turkish culture by inheritance, yet this group memories’ construction is limited to this place, where they have lived the longer. Therefore, this group’s memories created place attachment by roots to this locality, which is different from the first-migration-generation that seems to have developed attachment by routes. This may also be suggestive of convertible or mixed attachment (Gustafson, 2014, p.39; Seamon, 2014, p.28).

Building on the differences of these groups, the trial of place attachment includes the concept of life-world is a recurrent reference. It allows acknowledging pivotal times in a lifetime. These references might inform
about processes and temporalities. In this group case those temporalities might present periods when the continuity was affected

Consequently, on one hand the attachment towards a social group developed by elder shopkeepers comes from experiences forced to create when they faced a new and different environment. First, this group of immigrants show attachment towards they left place, their long-term residence back in Turkey or Kurdistan. A clear reference of this attachment might be the reproduction of social and visual patterns. Shop’s signs that included names of places in their original country, such as Istanbul, Tamman, Efes can be found around the zone. Second: It might also be infer the attachment towards a place through forced environment. They could not go back to their country. As Leo’s owner stated ‘there [He was making reference to Turkey and his province in particular] were a lot of problems there’. Therefore, his personal development was based on the new context. Third: attachment to the community or social group they formed here with their pairs. At the beginning of their journey, as immigrants and later when development plans were included in the locality (Devine-Wright, 2014, p.168) threating their context. Therefore, the shopkeepers might stronger their bonds to the place. Finally: They have developed attachment to a place for memories and long-time of residence in the area, where they have been living for half of their lives. This exemplification might state that the attachment is transformable, increased, decreased, multiple and replicable in time.
TEMPORARY RESIDENTS

Whether it would be an internal mobility or transnational mobility, different types of people are attracted to this borough for varied reasons (Davison et al, 2012, p.47). Indeed, after the first immigration wave to the area a constant migration-flux has been permanent (Hackney 2015). Yet the Council recognizes the immigrants in different groups. Among this group, I will focus on the group of temporary-residents. This group is recognizable because they do not inhabit the area for periods longer than twelve months. However, during the past 10 years this migration to the site has acquired relevance. As the Hackney Council (2015) states they are an important economical and social contribution to the lively configuration of the neighborhood. This group of temporary residents, therefore, is currently an important part of the urban social core of the borough. Tough, they have not been addressed particularly in the literature and previous analysis of the area. Therefore, including them as part of the social and physical ‘synergy’ could bring a new perspective when analyzing the dynamic of the neighborhood character.

Victoria Rojo moved into the area in February of the current year, right after she came from Spain. Initially, she resided in one of her friend’s houses, however, after she found a job she moved to another house in the same area. At her thirties, the economical crisis of her country forced her to emigrate. However, she also stated that she has been living in different places for the last few years. Victoria lists Ibiza, Barcelona and Madrid among others. At her job, her schedule does not seem complicated. She works in shifts of 4 to 6 hours a day. The schedule is fixed indistinctively every week. She spends the rest of her time on different activities. The cultural activities are important features of the neighborhood, Victoria said. She likes to engage in wide range of activities such as visits to park, festivals or fairs. Victoria also highlights features such as the variety of shops, services and the people of the locality. She recognized the area as full of ‘helpful people’. ‘If I go to a store and they cannot help you, they will send you somewhere else. ‘Everyone knows each other’ she stated. Victoria lives in a council-house-type residence with two other young men. The rent borders the six hundred pounds a month ‘The rent is not expensive and it allows me to live close to my work and friends’ she said. After she expresses no interest to leave the zone for now.

Diverse places, cultural environment, social bonds and opportunities are described as principal features of the neighborhood argued temporary residents. It is, therefore, clearly recognizable their attachment start by
elected. They chose a place with certain social and physical conditions. This conscious process might imprint all the stages of place attachment with different connotations. The antecedent phase would not involve disruptive or extreme situations, for changes in their nearly physical world per se. Their migration did not constitute a drastic, unexpected change. Equally the uprooting stage for these incomers presented less physiological impacts. They are most likely to move into places, cities or neighborhoods with appealing characteristic. Therefore, people, language and environment might not be challenging experience for this group. Indeed, the election of place are completely tied to characteristics among which they feel part of the environment to some extend. Temporary residents, therefore, created a physical and social support in the new locality.

Additionally, the demands of the new context would not imply loss of origin place or recent-left place. The transition stage is supported by a ‘global’ standard of space. Those places might offer safe, diversity and experiences at the same time in a restrained space. These features might be strategically thought. Finding job, a place to live or the free disposition to leave the place released them from most of the stressful constrains of migration. Therefore, the ‘all’ experience might follow in the field of experimental. Arguing by this informed election of place, I would suggest the attachment to this place might be one-type place attachment. Therefore, it would be ‘fitable’ towards multiple places, and dependable of places characteristics rather than physiological processes in pivotal times contrary to traditional place-attachment conception.

Chloe Le Drezen moved into the area almost six months ago, Due to her profession, she spends periods of three to forth days out of London. Although she is not always around she appreciated to share a house with other three young professionals. They have consolidated a friendship in this short period of time, she claimed. She came to live to this place for a work partner. Both recently inserted in the labor market of London chose this place for the proximity to the job base-office, their friendship she stated. Tough, she plans to move out in the future. She said she needs another kind of space. Here, she has a room, yet she still feels the need for a small study to work as independent. Meanwhile, she enjoys the ‘edgy’ locality, she recommends Harvest8 as a place to go. She stops by there frequently during the week to get a coffee or buy organic products.

Concerning this group inclusion into the wholeness of the locality, this group daily life might not be a disruption in the wholeness of the area. The activities or sense of place might be already incrusted of changes and broad number presences. The resettlement stage of this low-tone group flux does not affect the neighborhood (Hackney, 2015), however, if this group is addressed under qualitative scope, their effect might be seeing as constant flux throughout the area. This group has created a social network internally and externally. Their mobile condition allows them to created links between places. People in the area bring other people in similar conditions. The networks are extensive to other neighborhoods or even cities. They might, therefore, represent a network of global

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17 Gustafson (2014,p.45) argues that in the context of constant mobility the attachment is also elected. People in conditions to move around pick a place with certain characteristics (e.g. leisure places). This argument provided a base to the conception of multiple attachments.
interchange. The dynamics and networks around this group, nevertheless, might not able to create full-identity bonds to a territorial, limited place. Yet, they might created an attachment to flux embedded in some places that connect each other from one place to the next.

Harvest8 owner’s son, Esen Cokciezici, thinks **change occurred in the zone is positive.** He highlights the **decrease of crime and the amount of professional living** in the area as the principal benefits. Two years ago, his family **opened this cafeteria and organic market.** The business has been successful he said. ‘It is a prime location’ for an economical activity like his family business. He lives near Kingsland Road. He is also likely to spend time at places around this locality. **Superstore, a trendy bar and disco, is his favorite.** This guy, with Kurdish background, mentions the importance of the temporary residents in the area, for those costumer can afford higher prices products, tough **he recognize also this group of young residents whom will not settle down** in the area.

They arguably could have formed attachment towards an imaginary-mobile-condition place, allowing them fluidity. In a context of global-standardized neighborhood and cities, the ‘intention to continue being in a place’ explain by Lewicka (2014,p.51) might be diluted in a flux of trends and mobiles. The place therefore, stops being a territorial imaginary or a sense of group, yet it might be consolidated as a flux, which connects different territorialities. This character is enriched in each territory but mixed and standardized in a flux. Therefore, it becomes reproducible in different places. Certainly it can transform the sense of character and attachment. It is not held in an object, body, place or group or confined space and its dynamics. It is in constant transmutation due mobility, therefore its embodiment in people place or object might be transitory.

Consequently, their contribution might be subtle or imperceptible, in short term as the Hackney Council (2015) stated. Yet, a constant long-term tone-down flux might be the based of the always-changing character of this locality. They seem to supply support to the neighborhood ‘edginess’. The attachment, in this case, may also respond to their experiences between the standard-globalized and the exoticisms-always-wanted preferences. In this wide diversity they can find things to which they feel close related. Also, the ever-changing character of the locality would also offer the unexpected factor. A global-type space may include all diversities to appeal the most diverse groups of people and their needs.
NEIGHBORHOOD’S DYNAMICS: CONCLUSIONS

SHOPKEEPERS-SHOPS-TEMPORARY RESIDENTS

It may be suggested the attachment developed by the shopkeepers and further development of character in a place might be expressed more clearly at their resettlement stage. It might cause physical changes in their environment through the embodiment or representation of internal dynamics. Their life journey in the area might be described in three stages: employees, owners and investors, which show an active and continuous attachment towards the place. Additionally, other stages, such as the family extension in the number of members or inclusion of second-generation as part of the businesses, may cause physical changes in the environment, because in the incorporation of their body-subjects. Therefore, the place starts to acquire different characters and processes due to that group different dynamics and attachment. As a result, continuity may be more likely to be found in migrations of first generation due their social bonds (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). However, the continuity in place might not completely relate to it, in second migration-generation. The place that acquires divers characteristics with time can be reproduced somewhere else. Therefore, the bond to the place is not longer as strong as in the elder generation. This phenomenon might also occur in the dynamics of temporary residents.

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18 Body-subject is define as ‘the pre-reflective corporeal awareness manifested through everyday gestures and behaviors […] in sync with the spatial and physical environment …’ (Seamon, 2014, p.12)
Additionally, it might be deduced that if we consider the experiences of people as the conductor wire between people and place attachment, the transference of certain specific characters are more likely to be done by the attachment of elder migrations. They shared common features that might not be replicable in mobile groups. Cultural or territoriality bonds are not anymore related to one place, this social bond is related to specificities. The mobility has created its own all-inclusive character. Undoubtedly the first-migration of shopkeepers and their experiences as transnational migrants have helped in the association with current networks. Indeed, the shopkeepers have gone beyond when extracting the concept of diversity and replicating it in other shops (e.g. Escudo de Cuba is a business of a Turkish local) however, it does not imply deeper bonds to new dynamics rather than economics.

At the same time, it can be suggest the place attachment shown by the temporary residents is in constant transformation. This character creates networks of reproduction and inclusion, which do not need a physical specification, but might be represented in place. The take-for-granted mixes of representations show complications of norms. Therefore, the memory of the place might be the ensemble of different cycles in movement at different time and pace. It can be suggested that micro-

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19 Take-for-granted (Gustafson, 2014, p.38) is related to the dynamics of place attachment and rootedness, which might be threat by the opposition of conceptualization between place attachment and mobility.

20 Lichfield (1988, 1996) referred to ‘Life cycle of urban fabric’ as the multiple urban actors processes and temporalities that created cycles. Those cycles created urban cores, addressing the planning process as geographical and sociological matter.
arrivals at different times created the diverse temporalities. This plasticity implanted in the area and its inhabitant’s routines might be the reason why there was not complete opposition (Davidson et al, 2012, p.57) to the plan strategies per se in the neighborhood. These oppositions came from certain groups, which are not treated in this analysis. However, the absence of the groups treated in this essay may end up the reinvention of the neighborhood itself therefore a part of the character would be lost (Gustafson, 2014, p.44). The dilution of bonds and with them dynamics of these types of groups would eliminate the wanted diverse messy environment. Arguably, the opposition showed to the changes might be excluding these realities in place. The insertion of improvements in the neighborhood has caused some ‘cohesion’ or consolidation for these groups. In cities with stables characteristics these processes and groups might be more assertive to be addressed, for its malleability dealing with the changes.

The resultants, indeed, may be the ‘easy and community based solution’ (Koutrolikou, 2011). The diversity in characteristics, temporalities and fluctuations might be an opposition to a top-down consolidation. These dynamics might allow diversity in dynamics, scale and typology processes. The people consider culture, diversity, temporalities and so on, as important features when inhabit a place. The global trend of experiences at their most are looked for new generation of people. Cities that offer extensive diversities in broad aspects back up their ‘coolness’ with continuous reinvention. These processes are parallel in different areas, with divers proposes. In the case of this neighborhood, each group created changes to attract people like the temporary-residents. The neighborhood may expose a ‘social mixing’ grassroots with own dynamics, therefore it constituted itself as an alternative to the concept exposed in planning policy lately, which just address visible groups.

The attachment of shopkeepers and temporary residents exposed might be opposed from the epistemology. Both present polar characteristics of ‘steadiness’ and fluidity. Looking deep into their dynamics these groups seems to be in constant transformation and motion, yet their place-attachment includes shared dynamics. These dynamics might nurture each other. The migration character of the groups might help them to become permeable. It created a mix that embrace and let go constantly. Those dynamics are represented in the space as the negotiations in which ‘In order to manage difference, [...] [a place] reshapes [its] everyday life in its politics and its dimensions of provisionality’ (Jaque 2011, p.27). The generative process address by Thompson (2014, p.143), antecedent, uprooting, transition and resettlement, are now constant dynamics in both groups. They release trends, shapes, or social dynamics everyday. During that process also some characters from the ‘others’ are taken. Services are improved, changed or diversified, while a new activity is exposed, brought, or developed. The shopkeepers and temporary-residents might be, therefore, the character that Social groups and the Council eagerly claim to defend (Davison at all, 2012). These groups’ interactions created

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21 Cohesion is referred as the wanted-consolidation of a group of mixtures. The term is used in Policies practices to addresses problems of disintegration and it is related closely to the sustainability by integration Koutrolikou, 2011).

22 Social Mixing is described in planning policies as part of the ‘Renaissance agenda’ where the assumption of mixture communities would achieve greater social interaction. Yet, it is criticized as it can hide Gentrification processes, due to inclusion in certain areas (Koutrolikou, 2011)
familiarity, uniqueness, therefore, created a place hold in this territory. However, the interchange of fluxes among these groups might not be political addressed.

It is important to highlight shopkeepers and temporary residents as part of the ‘creation’ and ‘identification’ (Thompson, 2014, p.143) processes without representing a notorious argument in the speeches of planning. They have re-stated their right to the city under their own dynamics. These groups shape the zone without stating political expressions, but in physical expressions. They created a place based on their daily life-words. Old and new, standard and exotic, Turkish and global mixed for adaptable transitions and interchanges. Both groups are in constant motion. Therefore they create networks of transference and fix their continuity to the area through their particular embodiments.

In this case, the recognized groups in this analysis might be distinctive from others groups addressed in the literature for their complexity and fruitfulness in new dimensions and dynamics. The temporary residents have created a regenerative character based in their mobile condition. This condition allows this group to become part of the area without opposition. At the same time, the shopkeepers created a ‘solid’ transmutable local. The continuous social and urban transformation includes their dynamics as a new layer. The adaptive layer built over the dynamic of transference with the constant flux. A character that is visible in the embodiment of their shops.

As result, these groups seem to play a mimetic dynamic and grounded on the neighborhood. It has embedded changes in patterns to adopt unification but diversity. Polar-place attachments have created dynamics of motion, yet the distinctiveness of the shopkeeper’s and temporary resident’s attachments allow transformation and steadiness. The mobility might be suggested as part of the character; even by conception the concepts are opposed (Gustafson, 2014, p.40). It is not coincidence that both change through this shared process. However, they keep their attachment form. The shopkeepers may built character in the place, while the temporary residents seems to built character throughout the place.

Consequently the alternative perspectives of these group’s dynamics expose a place attachment in mobility. It is regenerative, changeable or inherits. The preservation of place-character might be more dependable on the social contracts between subtle, ‘invisible’ groups in the literature and policies. These groups are not blanks of opposition; therefore, they follow their own evolving processes. Those processes are triggered by inclusive social contracts, back feed indeed. Finally the mobility opposed to the notion of place attachment (Gustafson, 2014, p.38) might create broader, much more interconnected relationship of place attachment. The motion may be a place full of networks and dynamics itself. These links might create attachment to urban ‘fluids’ imaginaries, no measurable in a territoriability. In the equation of perpetual dynamics in motion it may be found the insideness of the character structures that shape the areas, creating generative processes from post-urban-development areas to global-flux-networks of urban development enriched by every ‘solid’-transmutable-local to which they are exposed.
REFERENCES


IMAGES – FIGURES

FIGURE 1 DALSTON CONFIGURATION
IMAGE 1 INTERIORS TAMMAN, LEO’S COFFEE, ESCUDO DE CUBA, and MEXICO

IMAGE 2 EXTERIORS SHOPS IN KINGSLAND

FIGURE 2 PEOPLE TEMPORALITIES
FIGURE 3 SHOPS TEMPORALITIES
FIGURE 4 FLUXES
ALL FROM THE AUTHOR, 2015
INTERVIEEWS

SHOPKEEPERS
TAMMAN TURKISH BATH OWNER DAUGHTER
LEO’S COFFEE OWNER
HARVEST8 OWNER SON
GOLDEN SCISSORS OWNER AND SONS
ESCUDO DE CUBA OWNER

Where do you come from?
How long have you been living here?
Are you planning to stay?
Why did you move into the area?
Do you live around the area?
Do you know more people like you in the neighborhood?
Do you think the development plan have affected the area? How?
Where do your employees come from?
Describe your daily journey

TEMPORARY RESIDENTS
VICTORIA ROJO
CHLOE LE-DREZEN
MORITZ KERKMANN
TOM BENDER
ISAMAYA FRENCH

What do you work in?
How old are you?
Where have you been living, before coming here?
How long have you been living here?
Are you planning to stay?
Do you have friends?
Why did you move into the area?
How long are you planning to stay?
Describe your daily journey

PLANNING DEPARTMENT OF HACKNEY COUNCIL
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