

Bruce Grove Transferred: The Role of Diverse Traditions in Historic Conservation

KATE JORDAN

In recent years, social inclusion has become enshrined in the manifestos of heritage and conservation agencies. A drive to include the diverse traditions of the Other into policy-making has raised questions about the meaning of the words “heritage” and “tradition,” about who articulates them, and to whom they belong. This article offers a case study of a regeneration program in North London as the locus for an examination of multiculturalism, gentrification, and diasporic identity. It suggests that conservation strategies are often compromised by an overreliance on unproblematic notions of tradition.

When I consider this great city, in its several quarters, I look upon it as an aggregate of various nations, distinguished from each other by their respective customs, manners and interests.

— Joseph Addison¹

As Peter Ackroyd has suggested, Joseph Addison’s above description of early-eighteenth-century London would be as familiar to Londoners today as it was to Addison’s contemporaries.² Addison depicted not the slow confluence of cultures simmering in the melting pot but a collection of discrete traditions belonging to groups who had been able to negotiate autonomous spaces in which to forge and maintain their own cultural identities. London has always been not simply a “city of immigrants” but a multicultural metropolis, reflected in the “thousands of eyes [and] thousands of objects” of its people.³

This article discusses the position of diverse “customs, manners and interests” in contemporary conservation programs, and explores possibilities for their future roles. The core of the discussion is a case study of the Bruce Grove Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI), a conservation-led regeneration scheme in a deprived, ethnically diverse borough of London. The implementation and development of this scheme offers critical insight into how social-inclusion policy in the heritage sector is feeding into local conservation projects in the U.K. It is presented alongside a review of a comparable, completed regeneration scheme in Spitalfields and Banglatown, in the East End of London.

Kate Jordan is an M.Sc. student in Historic Building Conservation at the University of Portsmouth. She will begin the Ph.D. program at the School of Planning, The Bartlett Faculty of the Built Environment, University College London, in October.

The questions the article raises are not about whether conservation programs in the U.K. should follow a multicultural path. My analysis supports the current drive to “respect and celebrate the cultural diversity of England’s heritage,” which is now written into English Heritage’s statement of goals.⁴ Rather, my intent is to examine how heritage practices might facilitate the coexistence of plural traditions in conservation-led regeneration schemes.

My analysis of the Bruce Grove scheme also considers the impact of gentrification and displacement on settled migrant communities in a postcolonial/postimperial landscape. Thus, it examines the shifting foci of diasporic identities, exploring the implications of a postcolonial construction of Other and the terms upon which migrant communities are able to assemble their own identities.

A recurring theme will be that conservation policy has developed historically in the U.K. under the hegemony of a white, English regime that has promoted unproblematic use of the words “tradition” and “traditional.” I refer to this tradition as “English” rather than “British” because of the expressly English mandate of the architects like William Morris who pioneered conservation principles in the U.K. and helped shape the British landscape, and whose philosophy continues to have a redoubtable influence over policy-making. The traditions of Welsh, Scottish, and Northern Irish people might be as likely to be subsumed under this hegemony as the traditions of those who have migrated from more distant lands.

National policy referred to in the article most often relates to policies of the central government or of the major heritage organizations, such as English Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund, and belongs to a body of legislation that extends across the U.K. English Heritage (formally the Historic Building and Monuments Commission for England) is a nondepartmental public body of the U.K. government with a broad charter to manage the historic built environment of England. It is currently sponsored by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. The Heritage Lottery Fund uses money raised through the National Lottery to transform and sustain heritage, from museums, parks and historic places, to archaeology, the natural environment, and cultural traditions.

WHOSE HERITAGE? THE BRUCE GROVE TOWNSCAPE HERITAGE INITIATIVE

In 2005 the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) awarded a grant of £1 million to the Haringey Council’s Bruce Grove THI.⁵ The THI is a grant-giving scheme designed by the HLF to support public-body partnerships involved in regeneration of the historic environment. In a bid to reverse years of economic decline, Haringey Council developed the scheme to help regenerate the Bruce Grove section of the historic

Tottenham High Road. In regeneration terms, Bruce Grove was a worthy recipient of the grant.

Bruce Grove is an electoral ward and designated conservation area within the London borough of Haringey. The Tottenham High Road historic corridor, of which the Bruce Grove conservation area forms approximately a 300-meter stretch, is of great significance to the history and development of the city. It succeeded the Roman Ermine Street as the main route between London and York, and as such, represented an important line of communication between the city and the north. Development, in the shape of inns, almshouses, and residential dwellings began in the fifteenth century, and by the eighteenth century, Tottenham had become a fashionable country retreat, with large detached houses lining the High Road.

Some fine examples of these buildings remain at various points along the High Road. But in the mid-nineteenth century the railways brought a new population to the area — the lower middle class. The railways gave this group a means to commute to work, and so live at a distance from the heart of the city. During the mid- to late nineteenth century, therefore, modestly respectable suburbs such as Forest Gate, Walthamstow, Kilburn, Peckham and Tottenham burgeoned.⁶ But as it began to attract these new residents, Tottenham became less fashionable, and high-end investment began to wane. It was during this period that Bruce Grove was developed, and the rather perfunctory style of its architecture clearly expresses this phase in the history of Tottenham High Road (FIG. 1).⁷

Today, as a result of a larger shift in the city’s postindustrial employment base, the socioeconomic character of the area has declined further. The borough of Haringey is now one of the most deprived in the capital, and Bruce Grove is one of its most deprived wards. Haringey is now ranked 13 out of 354 local authorities, with 40 percent of its population living in wards that are in the most deprived 10 percent



FIGURE 1. Bruce Grove, Tottenham High Road, 2004. Source: Haringey Council et al., *Feasibility Study*.

nationally.⁸ In Bruce Grove, signs of urban decay remain highly visible three years into the conservation plan, despite some very effective restoration projects.

The historic environment has clearly been a casualty of economic decline. The council's Conservation Management Plan (CMP) has described the Victorian and Edwardian buildings in Bruce Grove as having suffered "major neglect, disrepair, under-use and much inappropriate alteration."⁹ But of the ten "constraints, conflicts and conditions" that were judged to "make the properties vulnerable," four were also directly attributed to problems associated with "transient populations" and "cultural differences."¹⁰

It is difficult to gauge the ethnic composition of Bruce Grove at any given moment. Much of Tottenham High Road operates as a first stopping point for asylum seekers, and so its population is highly transient.¹¹ The snapshot offered by the 2001 census revealed that Black British Caribbeans made up 19.11 percent of the area's residents, with a further 1.9 percent identified as mixed White and Black Caribbean. By comparison, the figures for these groups in London as a whole were 4.79 and 0.99 percent, respectively.¹² According to 2007 figures, the percentage of Black Caribbeans in Haringey was 16 percent, which would indicate that the level of this population is fairly stable.¹³

Figures given by the 2001 census for Other White (not British) residents were also higher than the London average: 13.8 percent, compared with 8.29 percent. In Haringey the 2007 figures showed that, at 6.3 percent, Turkish-speaking communities (Turkish, Kurdish, and Turkish Cypriot) were twice as populous as the next Other White group, the Irish.¹⁴ However, while the Turkish-speaking population are still, anecdotally, thought to be the largest Other White group in the area, a steep and continuing rise in migrants from former Soviet-bloc nations since the 2001 census is likely to have altered the composition of the non-British white population in the last several years.¹⁵

The large number and diversity of black and minority ethnic (BME) groups has been a significant factor in the formation of the Bruce Grove THI, and the Haringey Council has developed its strategy around HLF social-inclusion guidelines, making wide consultation a feature of the project.¹⁶ A feasibility study, produced in 2004, detailed the process of consultation with owners and tenants of buildings targeted for HLF grant-funded improvements. All but two of the nine freeholders and tenants who made an appearance in the study were from BME groups.

Of those consulted, all tenants were willing to participate, although one was unable to make the financial contribution. Less cooperation was found among owners and freeholders, many of whom were remote landlords. Although the study highlighted the difficulty of getting owners and tenants to work together, it did suggest that many of the tenants had been operating in the area for some time and that the overwhelming majority were hoping to stay.¹⁷ This consultation



FIGURE 2. Map of Bruce Grove core area, showing the five groups of buildings selected for attention in the first phase of work. The broken line shows the conservation area boundary. Source: Haringey Council et al., *Feasibility Study*.

yielded two significant insights: that there is a high level of BME stakeholding, and that many BME businesses are firmly established and wish to continue in the area. This suggests that, while there is certainly a high level of transience, there are also settled migrant communities with an investment in the area and an interest in maintaining their properties.

Strategies developed as a result of the consultation were based on the division of the Bruce Grove Core Area into five separate groups of buildings (FIG. 2). Four groups were selected for attention in the first phase of work.¹⁸ Of these, much of the work planned for group 1 (513–527 High Street) and 4 (538–554 High Street, also known as Windsor Parade) is now complete (FIGS. 3–6). Group 1 is composed of two terraces of three-story Victorian buildings, built of London stock brick, to which a conservatory-style fenestration, which is largely intact, lends some architectural distinction. Windsor Parade, built in 1907, is a group of three-story, red-brick buildings which is distinguished by prominent gables and broken pediments.

At street level, both groups predominantly feature shopfronts. The feasibility study argued that these two groups made the most significant contribution to the area.



FIGURE 3. Group 1 before start of work in 2004. Source: Haringey Council.



FIGURE 4. Group 1, after completion of work in 2008. Source: Haringey Council.



FIGURE 5. Windsor Parade, before start of work in 2004. Source: Haringey Council et al., Feasibility Study.



FIGURE 6. Windsor Parade, after completion of work in 2008. Source: Haringey Council.

In particular, it singled out Windsor Parade as a “significant landmark building.”¹⁹ The work that has since been carried out on the upper stories of both blocks has been comprehensive, and has combined repair of brickwork and architectural features with replacement and restoration of absent or damaged features, including parts of the fenestration in group 1, as shown in Figure 4. Work such as this and the removal of

paint from the brick elevations, replacement of the slate roofs, and replacement of casement windows (to the original design) on group 4 has been aimed at restoring (the buildings, as much as possible, to their original form (FIG.7).

In the same spirit of restoration, a theoretical program of rehabilitation of the shopfronts was devised. The feasibility study considered the appearance of the shops to be key,

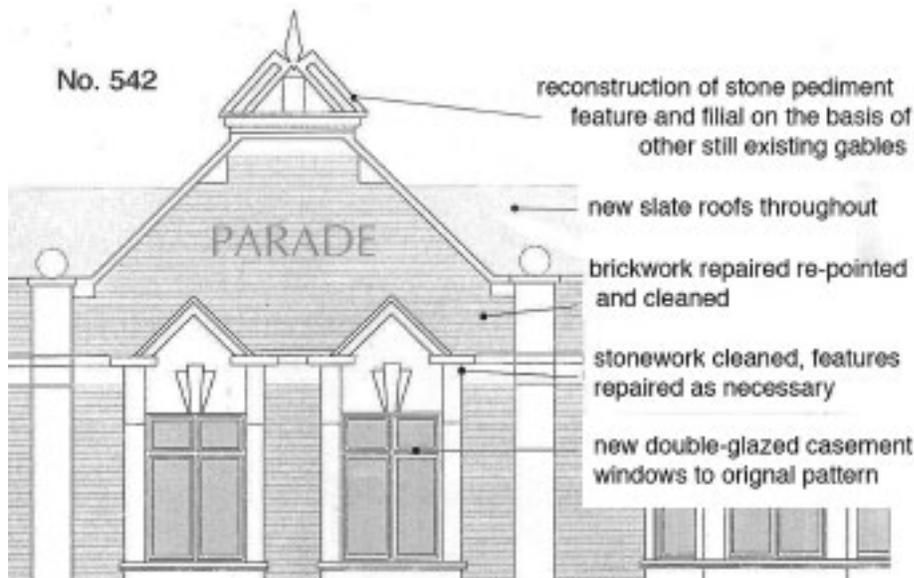


FIGURE 7. Section from plan of proposed work at Windsor Parade. Source: Haringey Council et al., *Feasibility Study*.

and it highlighted ways that individual adaptations of shopfronts by shopkeepers had negatively affected the streetscape. The study suggested that “Whilst each shopkeeper may have an inclination to have the largest and brightest sign, it is apparent here that the resulting discord and confusion allows no shop to stand out.” Furthermore, “the addition of internally illuminated box signs [and the] plethora of projecting illuminated signs” have created a “visual mess that significantly reduces the attractiveness of the whole.”²⁰ The study suggested that shopkeepers should be encouraged to avoid excessive or garish signage, opting instead for painted letters applied to a painted fascia. Where extensive work to shopfronts is being undertaken, the study recommended the use of “historic design guidelines,” and it suggested that “in the interest of harmony and visual coherence . . . there should be a limited range of coordinated colours employed throughout.”²¹ Figure 6 illustrates the high standards of restoration work achieved in the completed projects and demonstrates that the THI has been successful in persuading some shopkeepers to conform to the design principals. Many others, however, appear to have ignored them.

The council has recognized the difficulty of encouraging businesses to comply with these standards and commit to ongoing maintenance of the buildings, which will be crucial if the regeneration scheme is to be sustainable. Having identified “a lack of respect and knowledge of the history of the buildings” as a condition of the buildings’ vulnerability, an awareness-raising program was devised that included the creation of leaflets on the project, a permanent history board at Bruce Grove station, and ads on local buses.²² The residents association also suggested commemorative plaques. The group felt that it was “an area rich in history,” and it expressed an interest in “doing the research . . . and drafting the language for the plaques.”²³

A requirement of the HLF grant was the inclusion of a plan aimed at providing training in conservation planning, repair, and maintenance and in construction and conservation work.²⁴ The task of organizing this scheme was passed to Dearle and Henderson, a construction and regeneration consultancy commissioned to develop and implement a program. Among the initiative’s required outputs were a conservation awareness scheme, a schools-based community research project on the architecture and archaeology of the area, and the development of a “heritage/conservation education pack/tool kit.” The program was required to maximize the involvement of BME residents.²⁵

The word “heritage” appears here — as it does in the section of the CMP headed “Understanding the Heritage of Bruce Grove” — unencumbered by description of what kind of heritage or whose heritage it refers to. The heritage of Bruce Grove is complicated; in one sense it might refer to the Victorian and Edwardian buildings in the area, but in another it might refer to the memories and traditions of settled ethnic communities in the area today.

Such issues have emerged elsewhere in London. In 2008 English Heritage helped produce “Welcome to Holloway Road,” a heritage/conservation education pack about the local history and historic architecture of Holloway Road, in Islington, North London.²⁶ The booklet aimed to raise awareness of the Islington Council’s Holloway Road conservation grant scheme. It included work by local schoolchildren investigating “past and present” Holloway Road, a timeline of key historical events and architectural developments, and a section drawn from interviews on how people felt about the area. Holloway Road, like Bruce Grove, is characterized by its multiethnic population, and is home to one of the oldest Turkish-Cypriot communities in London.²⁷ “Welcome to Holloway Road” provided a trip through the

twentieth century that took in the “Campaign Against Lorry Menace,” the emergence of “yuppie” culture, and the arrival of a new Waitrose store. But it conspicuously overlooked the arrival from the 1950s onwards of the migrant groups whose presence is undoubtedly one of its most important features.²⁸

It is important to ask the question of historic conservation schemes: in whose image is “heritage” cast, and to whom does it belong? Notions of heritage feature prominently in the rhetoric of built environment conservation. Moreover, heritage and place-identity are often presented as interchangeable. For example, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) has suggested that “the built and historic environment is a vital part of everyone’s cultural heritage.”²⁹ In monetary terms, heritage may also have a significant impact on land value. In its aptly named report “Power of Place,” English Heritage observed that the “historic environment . . . is a powerful generator of wealth and prosperity.”³⁰ Heritage ownership, when converted to real estate value, assumes a very different register, and may indeed inflate a sense of belonging and identity.

DIASPORIC IDENTITY AND THE METROPOLITAN CORE

Implied in the concept of heritage ownership is its mutually dependent association with a fixed, knowable identity — a dialectical relationship in which the inheritance of a set of narratives is contingent on the ability of a group to understand and contextualize them. This collectively organized reassembly of inherited narratives, in turn, confers a legitimacy that authorizes their passage to future generations. While able to accommodate diverse histories and narratives, heritage strategies often rely on and reproduce versions of heritage in these standardized terms.

For diasporic communities, cultural identity, upon which notions of heritage ownership might be predicated in this rigid model, is often destabilized by the experience of migration. Jimmy M. Sanders has described migrant identity as “fluid across time and social contexts,” shifting around varying and conflicting “in-group” versions of self. Moreover, Sanders has suggested that “the public presentation of identity is also situational.”³¹ Where unstable identities are formed at the interface between autonomous and external versions of Self and Other, it is often difficult for groups to maintain an uncomplicated heritage of the kind that must be known and identified to be owned. Where heritage ownership engages with political and economic forms such as property ownership and policymaking (as it does in the Bruce Grove THI) those whose heritage cannot be described in simple terms are at a disadvantage. However, the political voice of those groups that have a clearly packaged heritage may be amplified by the mobilization of a collective identity drawn around this heritage.

For Jane M. Jacobs, negotiation of identities in postimperial cities is further complicated by migrant movement from the periphery to the core. In Jacobs’s account, the colonized Other, an integral component of the colonial project, had always been at a “safe distance” from the heartland.³² Postcolonial migration created a set of “immediate and intense encounters” between migrants, who were, in political and social terms, “moving within a system that already included them,” and an indigenous community who regarded them as outsiders.³³ The uneasiness of this relationship marked a new attitude toward racial identity that demanded transparency: a declaration of ethnic identity in black-and-white terms. Notions of English purity were thus juxtaposed against ethnic stereotypes that had been formed with an aim (whether ethically consciously or unconsciously) to understand, contain and limit the new migrant communities. As a result, diasporic identity, constantly renegotiating itself around the “intense encounters” of cultural difference and the shock of migration, was often reduced to a caricature.

MEDIATED SPACES: SPITALFIELDS AND BANGLATOWN

Spitalfields and Brick Lane, in London’s East End, became the destination during the 1970s for large numbers of migrants from Bangladesh, who settled in the area and established a small-scale, localized garment industry. According to Jacobs, “The process of identity negotiation and destabilization generated by the loss of empire and subsequent migration settlements are clearly marked in contemporary Spitalfields.”³⁴ This process animated a dynamic relationship between the Bengalee settlers, middle-class gentrifiers, and corporate developers, and initiated the creation of Banglatown, a cultural quarter drawn loosely around the traditions of the Bengalee settlers.

The Spitalfields Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme (HERS), implemented between 1998 and 2004, was the final phase of a long program of regeneration in Spitalfields. The area had begun to attract attention in the early 1970s, when the Survey of London’s identification of important eighteenth-century buildings coincided with wide-scale slum clearance in the area. At the time, a small group of architects and conservationists launched the Spitalfields Trust, a group that lobbied against the destruction of these buildings. The houses were of significance not simply because of their quality and well-preserved (if neglected) condition, but also because they had been built by French Huguenot settlers who had incorporated silk-weaving workshops into their distinctive mansard-roofed attics (FIG. 8). Belonging, as they did, to a particular migrant tradition, the buildings reflected a rich history of immigration and garment production. In time, the trust succeeded in saving a good many of them and helped secure conservation area designation. To ensure that the properties were restored sympathetically



FIGURE 8. Original mansard roofs built to house silk weaving workshops, Fournier Street, Spitalfields and Banglatown. Photo by author, 2009.

ically and with historical accuracy, the trust acquired some forty buildings, some of which it leased, others of which were sold to purchasers sympathetic to the trust's aims. In addition, the trust's newsletter, which circulated among conservation groups, advertised the sale of other buildings in the area. By the late 1980s, however, as a result of gentrification, the Bengalee garment workshops had all but disappeared from the area, and almost all its houses had become single dwellings.³⁵

During the 1980s and 1990s redevelopment of the Spitalfields market and the Truman Brewery site seemed to threaten further displacement of the Bengalee community. The consortium of developers of the Truman Brewery planned a new "urban village" around the largely Bengalee Brick Lane area. But, with the aid of grants, this effort included an outreach scheme to consult and involve local Bengalees. This provided the opportunity for Bengalee businesses to help develop "Banglatown," a cross-cultural celebration of Spitalfields' diverse history with an emphasis on Bengalee traditions. As a commercial enterprise, Banglatown has been extremely successful, and a good working relationship has developed between the local authority conservation team and the community as a result of a growing awareness of the economic value of the historic built environment.³⁶

Tower Hamlets Council, who have overseen the implementation of the HERS, have employed a range of strategies to protect the Bengalee community from displacement and secure the ongoing maintenance of historic buildings. The council, as is the prerogative of all local authorities, has been able to exercise a certain degree of suppleness in its practice. Tower Hamlets Conservation Officer Jonathan Nichols suggested that this flexibility is "not so much as to vary national policy, but to determine the strength of adherence to national policy, with regard to the prevailing character and populace of each particular area concerned."³⁷ This latitude has been vital in structuring a conservation strategy for Spitalfields and Banglatown. Importantly, the process began with consultation



FIGURE 9. New shopfront, Brick Lane, Spitalfields and Banglatown. Photo by author, 2009.

and discussion between stakeholders, with a town manager appointed to act as a permanent intermediary. This established a culture of trust between the local authority and community.³⁸

The conservation team felt that an approach that relied on enforcement and restriction would be counterproductive because it might set up conflict and discourage cooperation. Instead, there has been an effort to seek compromise wherever possible, and the council has relaxed conservation standards in some decisions over repairs and alterations. The accompanying photo shows a relatively new shopfront that may not have been granted planning permission in other circumstances or in a different conservation area (FIG. 9). Similarly, a photo of Brick Lane shows how its conspicuous retail and restaurant signage demonstrates sympathy on the part of the council with the cultural practices of Bengalee businesses and the importance of advertising in this competitive stretch of road (FIG. 10). In view of the fact that the conservation team have judged that shopfronts added to the



FIGURE 10. Brick Lane. Photo by author, 2009.



FIGURE 11. Nineteenth-century shopfront on residential property, Fournier Street. Photo by author, 2009.

Georgian buildings in the nineteenth century tell an important part of the history of these buildings and should not be removed, this approach also demonstrates consistency with the conservation principles currently guiding the council's planning decisions (FIG. 11).

The strategies developed with respect to shopfronts in Spitalfields and Banglatown invite comparisons with the more conservative approaches favored by the Bruce Grove THI, described earlier. The streetlights along Brick Lane, as well as the gate at the south end, have been specially produced and incorporate a Bengalee-inspired design (FIG. 12). All of the street names on placards in the area are also written in English and Bengalee. Although the Tower Hamlets Council is keen to minimize street furniture, it recently approved an application to erect a minaret on the street at the side of a Grade II listed mosque. However, it is the renaming of St. Mary's Gardens to Altab Ali Park (in memory of a young Bengalee who was murdered there) that best demonstrates the willingness of planners and developers to listen to



FIGURE 12. Streetlight, Brick Lane. Photo by author, 2009.

and accommodate community views. The nomenclature of Altab Ali Park has profound significance not only to the community but to the character of the Banglatown project as a whole; it marks an event that captures the essence of "intense encounters" and acknowledges the mutability and variety of cultural identities.

This is not to suggest, however, that all compromise has been on the part of the local authority. Encouraging struggling businesses to undertake costly repairs to meet conservation standards has been a challenge. Here, a combination of grants and business advice has been effective at persuading stakeholders to take a greater interest in historic value. Large grants were given in single units to freeholders and long-lease tenants to restore the buildings and shopfronts to conservation standards, and although the local authority was not able to control the inflation of rents, they have arranged courses and training programs to help businesses adapt to new markets and achieve profits commensurate with rising land costs. They have also provided help with legal action against landlords who have raised rents disproportionately. In turn, there has been a high level of compliance from the Bengalee community with conservation controls.³⁹

Figure 10 shows that the upper stories of the terraces along Brick Lane are well maintained and have retained a high degree of architectural integrity. Repairs to brickwork have been sympathetic, and many old sliding-sash windows have been replaced. Indeed, signs that windows have been replaced recently, some years after the end of grants and the completion of the HERS, gives an indication of the extent to which the program has engendered a willingness to comply with noncompulsory standards (FIG. 13). The advantage of having achieved this through single-unit grants and in direct collaboration with stakeholders is that individual property owners have had to engage in a high level of actual decision-making. As a consequence, they have greater personal investment in the quality of work — and in maintaining it. The danger of providing block grants to groups of buildings (as has been the case in Bruce Grove) is that there is less personal interest and engagement. This might have the effect of diminishing stakeholders' commitments to maintaining the building over time.

The increasing success of Banglatown as a retail and restaurant district has convinced stakeholders of the value of conserving the historic environment. While the Tower Hamlets Council does not insist on like-for-like repairs (indeed, the current lack of an Article 4 direction, which imposes tighter restrictions in conservation areas, would make this difficult), they have been able to successfully demonstrate the advantages of maintaining the historic buildings. And despite an inevitably greater level of erosion of the historic buildings along Brick Lane than in the area in which the Spitalfields Trust has focused most of its attention, the architectural integrity of the street remains fairly intact. There are still, clearly, some enforcement issues; but the



FIGURE 13. Replacement timber-sash windows, Brick Lane. Photo by author, 2009.

approach that favors “carrot” over “stick” seems, in this case, to be working for all parties.

A recent study by James Gard’ner, however, suggests that the local authorities and heritage agencies may still have some way to go before Spitalfields and Banglatown can claim to reflect a fully inclusive heritage. Gard’ner conducted a survey of buildings in the area, identifying all that were listed both locally and nationally. These were then measured against a list he compiled in consultation with the Bengalee community of buildings such as mosques, street markets, parks, etc., that were important to them. Of the twenty-two buildings that appeared on Gard’ner’s list, only two were Grade II* listed and nine Grade II. None was registered because of its Bengalee significance.⁴⁰

It is clear that Spitalfields and Banglatown has been created, if not in solely autonomous circumstances, then with a great deal of input from the Bengalee community. The “customs, manners and interests” of the Bengalees have been represented in diverse ways as a result of the discursive processes that formed this geographic and imaginary space, and neither reflect a single or authentic tradition nor a crude ethnic stereotype. In many respects Banglatown is the physical expression of Sanders’s “fluid” and “situational” identities, constantly regrouping in response to their encounters with such forces as capitalism and nationalism.

Equally complex are the processes of gentrification at work in Spitalfields and Banglatown. While clearly involving the displacement of one section of the community by another, they have activated the formation of a new, economically powerful subgroup. Here, notions of dominance and subordination are complicated by their different forms, with economic, demographic, social and cultural forces jostling for command.

GENTRIFICATION, IDENTITY AND TRADITION

This article presupposes that social and cultural displacement is a function of gentrification, and it recognizes Rowland Atkinson’s description of an economically activated “class succession” that excludes and disenfranchises poorer residents, as one, demographically distinctive, form of gentrification.⁴¹ This particular displacement and replacement of populations involves not only the economic transformation of a locality but also the superimposition of a new set of aesthetic and cultural values onto the visual landscape. Bourdieu’s account of gentrification traces a transition from cultural capital to economic capital. This transition is partially mobilized by a middle-class valorization of sites of cultural and aesthetic value, often those rich in historic architecture.⁴² Sharon Zukin has also suggested that a taste for historic buildings and the drive to protect them has been a dominant feature of economic restructuring in areas of gentrification.⁴³

An example of this is seen very clearly in the gentrification processes activated by the work of the Spitalfields Trust in the Fournier Street and Brick Lane Conservation Area. Here, a clearly articulated heritage gave direction and personality to the Spitalfields Trust’s campaign, and was mustered in a bid to garner support from others (“conservationists, sympathetic architects, avant-garde artists”⁴⁴) who identified with it. For Zukin, a collective cultural identity, formed under the rubric of historic building appreciation, becomes self-affirming; thus, a property price rise in historic gentrified areas validates the aesthetic judgments of the gentrifiers, and the principles of historic building conservation that unite them become enshrined in the logic of economic rationale.⁴⁵ In this way a culture or tradition is formed that, by virtue of its declared expertise, frequently inscribes the way that historic areas are conserved.

In the U.K., the ideology of this tradition is often expressed in the guiding principles of the Society for the Protection of Buildings (SPAB). Founded by William Morris in an effort to preserve “intrinsically English scenes and buildings,” the loss of which, Morris felt, threatened the bedrock of English identity, SPAB continues to exercise a considerable influence over conservation philosophy and practice.⁴⁶ Morris’s manifesto, which prospective members of SPAB are still asked to sign, elucidates the type of people who are expected to uphold and continue the mission of the society — “educated, artistic people” who would “think it worthwhile” to engage with discussions about the merits of historic buildings.⁴⁷

It would, however, be a misrepresentation of U.K. heritage and conservation practice to suggest that it is uniformly instructed by this tradition. In recent years social inclusion has been a key feature of the strategies and goals of the major heritage bodies. In 2002, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport outlined guidance for broadening access to the heritage sector, recommending that the “diversity of

Britain as a whole needs to be considered when promoting heritage sites.⁴⁸ The heritage agencies were quick to respond, with English Heritage, the HLF, and the National Trust writing social inclusion into their goals. Despite this, I would suggest that the default mechanism in English conservation principles is set, in the absence of an expressed social-inclusion mandate, to a tradition that was formed in the self-consciously English “William Morris mould.”⁴⁹

An unproblematic use of the word “tradition,” similar to the use of “heritage,” often appears in conservation policy and strategy. Today a wide variety of “traditional” skills-training programs are on offer, in part as a response to a deficit of specialist craft workers needed for an increasing number of conservation projects. Indeed, many HLF-funded initiatives such as the Bruce Grove THI have specific training programs attached in a bid to recruit and train new practitioners and help raise community awareness of the historic environment. Training to received conservation standards might be provided by organizations such as the William Morris Craft Fellowship Trust (WMCFT), which runs, in collaboration with SPAB, a course that offers training in “a broad range of traditional building skills”⁵⁰; or it might be funded by the HLF Traditional Skills Bursary scheme.⁵¹

The concept of the tradition here, I would suggest, is one that is culturally unilateral. Even where WMCFT refers to a “broad range” of skills, they are gathered together under the implied heading of traditional English skills (thatching, blacksmith, flint-knapping, and stone-carving). There is no discussion of whose tradition is reflected in the term “traditional building skills.” Of course, the “William Morris” tradition has as much legitimacy as any. It describes the aesthetic style and historical ascendancy of many of Britain’s buildings, which in turn rely on the deployment of skills developed around it. We might approach an uncomplicated use of the word, however, with caution.

Another facet of the default tradition that often underpins gentrification is the pursuit of authenticity. Raphael Samuel discussed this preoccupation with historical accuracy and authenticity in his description of “retrofitting.” He has suggested that a bourgeois desire to re-create the “period look,” fetishizes the historic environment, often reducing it to pastiche.⁵² In the gentrification of Spitalfields he saw “an inescapable element of artifice” where homes had become “showcases of the restorer’s art.”⁵³ Moreover, the re-creation of a “period look” invariably involves a cherry-picking from historical styles and is rarely authentic to the point of sacrificing twentieth-century comforts. Samuel has suggested that restoration projects routinely involve “changes of occupancy, transformations of function, and physical surgery which effectively make a property brand-new, even when its period features have been emphasised.”⁵⁴

A refurbishment of this kind is currently underway at 810 Tottenham High Road, a little further on from Bruce Grove. As part of the regeneration plan for the area,

£325,000 in English Heritage grants were awarded to restore the shell of this imposing eighteenth-century house to its original form.⁵⁵ Although the house has retained many of its original features, much alteration has taken place over the years, and decisions have had to be made about which parts of the interior should be retained, replaced or restored. The building is currently owned by the Haringey Buildings Preservation Trust (established by the Haringey Council), which has engaged in lengthy deliberations over how the building should be used.⁵⁶ It was finally agreed that any public use would require the installation of lifts, which might damage the original features. The trust, following the advice of the architect, therefore decided that residential use would better preserve the character of the building, and plans have since been drawn up for its conversion into two, high-specification dwellings. Painstaking historical accuracy has been a feature of this project, with careful attention paid to the types of mortar, oak, and even nails used in reconstruction; and yet, the end-product, with its nineteenth-century additions and twentieth-century en-suite bathrooms, will be far from an authentic reproduction of an eighteenth-century townhouse.⁵⁷ Of course, there is a powerful case to be made that the redevelopment of a historic building should respect the integrity of its original form, but it is clear that taste, fashion and markets also inform restoration and conservation techniques.

Somewhat ironically, the Spitalfields Trust has been directly instrumental in protecting (in its present form) one of the most significantly altered Georgian houses in the Fournier Street and Brick Lane Conservation Area. The building at 19a Princelet Street, now the Museum of Immigration, has two parts — almost exactly half Georgian townhouse and half nineteenth-century synagogue (FIG. 14). During the 1870s the rear walls of the house were completely removed, and the synagogue, which was accessed through the front of the building, was erected in the back garden. Based on current listed-building guidelines, this unusual adaptation would almost certainly be regarded as inappropriate.⁵⁸ Without doubt, the architect of 19a Princelet Street did not intend for a synagogue to be added to it. It was, after all, a house that was designed for a combination of residential and textile industry use. Indeed, the house was originally designed for the very purpose for which Bengalee textile workers were using houses like it until the 1970s, and from which the Spitalfields Trust was so determined to rescue them. And yet, for many who visit the museum (and it attracts visitors from all over the world), it is a monument to the dynamic, fluid history of Spitalfields, and represents a unique example of cross-traditional building use.⁵⁹

The Spitalfields Trust championed 19a Princelet Street while attempting, as Jacobs has suggested, to wrest away cultural and economic ownership of other houses in the area that were being “inappropriately” used and modified. In doing so, however, it revealed its hand; the traditions of some groups could be accommodated in the historical narrative it had con-



FIGURE 14. *Museum of Immigration at 19a Princelet Street, Spitalfields and Banglatown. The synagogue is attached to the rear of the property. Photo by author, 2009.*

structured, but other, less manageable traditions could not. As discussed earlier, a joint enterprise between Tower Hamlets Council, the Bengalee community, and the Truman site developers has been effective at carving out new, autonomous spaces. But a process of displacement has, nevertheless, taken place as a result of the gentrification of Spitalfields. Around Fournier Street, an enclave has been created whose physical character is so tightly bound up in its “authentic” Georgian identity (problematized by Samuel) that there is no longer a place for the Bengalee garment trade. Here, the problems of an authentic history or a single chain of traditions underpinning conservation strategies are writ large.

In Bruce Grove there are early signs that gentrification is beginning to take place. Zukin suggested that one of the first indications of gentrification is the “walking tour,” often organized by local amenity groups and resident’s associations to raise awareness of local history and the historic environment.⁶⁰ In February 2008, some three years into the

Bruce Grove THI, Haringey Council organized a tour, which featured talks from local history groups and a guided walk around Bruce Grove with a description of progress of the THI to date. It is far too early to speculate about the level of gentrification/displacement that might be taking place in Bruce Grove and its possible relationship to the THI, but the walking tour and other local history projects being organized at the Bruce Castle museum show that a structured heritage-management scheme is underway.⁶¹

CORPORATE GENTRIFICATION AND THE MANIPULATION OF TRADITIONS

The form of gentrification described above poses potential problems for migrant settlers and economically disadvantaged residents in Bruce Grove. A range of constraints will make it difficult for Bruce Grove to reinvent itself or create commercially viable, culturally autonomous spaces. Being adjacent to the Square Mile, the district around the financial center of the City of London, allowed Spitalfields and Banglatown to develop a thriving service industry. Spitalfields Market, still an untamed relic of the East End’s costermonger past when Jacobs was writing, is now an upmarket mall of expensive boutiques and bars providing lunchtime retail and restaurant facilities for nearby city workers. Banglatown has benefited from the spill-out of this new market, and the joint forces of community activism and capitalism have been mobilized in the formation of Banglatown as a distinctive, exotic brand, catering to the more adventurous lunchtimers. This has proved in many ways to be an effective partnership in the creation of a culturally autonomous area. Brick Lane, with the help of Monica Ali’s novel of the same name, has become something of a tourist attraction.⁶² A series of interviews by George Mavrommatis has suggested that visitors to Banglatown arrive with a preconceived notion of the area as a mirror to the successful face of metropolitan multiculturalism.⁶³ Here there is a meeting, in more ways than one, of the local and the global, a new set of “intense encounters” between local traditions, postcolonial politics, and international capitalism.

In the long term, however, Bruce Grove’s inability to brand itself might be an advantage for its residents. When culturally autonomous spaces are facilitated by commercial redevelopment and shaped by the market demands, they may become vulnerable. Economically and commercially, their *raison d’être* becomes the service of consumers coming from outside, and they must constantly tailor themselves to the whims and tastes of this market. Furthermore, if demand for their goods dries up, their very existence may be threatened. Alternatively, they may become victims of success and be swallowed up by large-scale corporate investors.

The current redevelopment of Chinatown in London, one of the most high-profile ethnic quarters in the U.K., hints at

this possibility. The Chinatown district, for some years a popular and thriving tourist destination, is made up of a collection of small businesses banded together by the autonomously formed and governed Chinatown Business Association.⁶⁴ The district has, much like Banglatown, become the purveyor of a distinctively branded form of its own culture, which, while it might struggle to defend itself against the charge of conforming to an essentialist stereotype, has allowed independent Chinese businesses, in a very expensive part of London, to survive. A £15-million redevelopment of the area by property developer Rosewheel Developments now threatens to cast Chinatown as the victim of its own success.

Rosewheel's aim is to redevelop the Sandringham Building at the heart of Chinatown, home to a number of independent Chinese businesses, in order to create a "modern shopping Mall that offers everything under one roof and where people can sense the true spirit of the old Chinatown."⁶⁵ The project promises to incorporate a range of the traditional elements of Chinatown that have made it so commercially successful, such as *feng shui* design principles and a rebuilt pagoda to replace the one in Newport Place, financed by Chinese businesses (an unlisted landmark feature). Horatio Cheng, the project director, has claimed that the redevelopment will "help London Chinatown regain its reputation as the best Chinatown in the U.K."⁶⁶ But the scheme has been met with widespread hostility from the Chinese community, who have mounted the Save Chinatown Campaign in a bid to persuade the Westminster Council to reign in the scale of Rosewheel's development. Min Quan, spokesperson for the campaign, has predicted that only chain businesses will be able to afford the rents in the new mall, and that this will have a "knock-on effect on rental prices in the rest of China Town."⁶⁷

DOMINANCE AND DIVISION: CONTESTED TERRITORIES IN BRUCE GROVE

Clearly, displacement might be the result of a number of factors. Global forces will likely continue to affect the economic and ethnic structure of neighborhoods — just as a white, English tradition will doubtless continue to cast a powerful influence over heritage management, unsettling the traditions of the Other as it does. But to understand cultural displacement exclusively in these terms oversimplifies conditions in areas of multiple and discrete traditions. Here, dynamic interrelationships between groups and shifting power structures constantly reshape the political, economic and cultural landscape.

I would like to suggest that in a diverse, multicultural area such as Bruce Grove, a range of factors allows different groups to develop culturally distinctive forms of engagement with the locality. Varying levels of political activity, for example, might be determined by the length of time a group has been present. Types of businesses and levels of property ownership may also be informed by traditional practices, and

the relative sizes of different ethnic populations may frame the visibility of discrete cultures on the urban milieu.

Part of the research that informs judgments such as these must, by its nature, be anecdotal. Vigilance must also be maintained against the construction of prejudicial stereotypes. But legitimate descriptions of cultural practice can be supported, to a certain extent, by documentary evidence. And, in this case, two in-depth interviews I conducted with senior members of the Turkish Cypriot community in Haringey, Mustafa Hussein, manager of the Turkish Cypriot Community Association, and Serhat Incirli, a journalist working for the Turkish Cypriot Community newspaper, *Toplum Postasi*, suggest a particular picture of economic activity and cultural dominance.⁶⁸

The most significant, recurring observation about Bruce Grove (and further along Tottenham High road) is that by the early 2000s Turkish and Kurdish communities had largely replaced the Turkish Cypriot community that had been the dominant Turkish-speaking group during the 1980s and early 90s.⁶⁹ To understand this situation, it is important to point out that, although they are often bracketed together, relations between such cultural and ethnic groups are often strained. In this case, internecine battles between Turkish and Kurdish groups (unsurprisingly, in view of the international situation) have divided Turkish-speakers in the area.

Having said this, the provision of certain "traditional" Turkish goods and services provides an interface between the two groups, with Turks and Kurds both consuming and selling the same products. It serves, if not as a glue, at least as a common point around which a particular cultural and economic relationship has been forged. And in terms of economic activity, Incirli identified both groups as being powerful and highly entrepreneurial.⁷⁰

Entrepreneurialism in this context is significant. In Spitalfields, the Bengalee business community played a key role in the construction and design of Banglatown; and while there were and are a range of residents, freeholders and businesses on Brick Lane who belong to other ethnic groups, a combination of business acumen and population size helped secure a strong Bengalee footing there. In Bruce Grove, of course, the picture is much more complicated. But, as has been mentioned, the consultation and participation element of the THI has so far concentrated on freeholders, businesses and retailers.

METHODOLOGY FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research into the Bruce Grove scheme will be carried out in a number of ways. Extensive canvassing of members of all the ethnic communities in the area will help build a picture of cultural practices, social structures, and economic and political activities among the groups, showing where there might be differences. Anecdotal evidence will be compared to information from documents such as land

registry records, census data, electoral roles, building surveys, and so on. Careful monitoring of focus groups will help identify signs of cultural and economic restructuring.

A survey that takes the form of James Gard'ner's pioneering approach in Banglatown will help outline a picture of the different buildings and monuments that are important to each group. In Bruce Grove, where there are no nationally listed buildings, those identified by the communities can be measured against the detailed hierarchy of buildings that the local authority has selected as having historical and architectural significance. To build a comprehensive picture of what features and aspects of the landscape are valued, participatory appraisal technology will be employed.

A wide study of national THI evaluations that focuses on the social and economic impact of HLF-funded regeneration will be vital to a full understanding and contextualization of the Bruce Grove initiative. In addition, data collected from the evaluation of the training programs that have been attached to THIs, particularly those in culturally diverse urban areas, will give insight into levels of social inclusion and participation across different ethnic and migrant groups, and will help form a picture of factors that might influence engagement. It may be possible to conduct a survey of migrant workers and the particular skills they bring to the conservation and construction industry. By cross-referencing this survey with the evaluation schemes, it may be possible to see ways of developing skills-sharing and cross-traditional training and education programs.

AN OPEN-ENDED VIEW OF HERITAGE

The improvements that have taken place so far in Bruce Grove are to be commended. The work now completed at Windsor Parade and at 513–527 Tottenham High Road have incontestably improved the streetscape, and will be sure to help attract new businesses. This is vital for the survival of the area, particularly in a climate of economic uncertainty (REFER TO FIGS. 4, 6).

Although there is, as yet, no obvious sign of the THI incorporating any aspects of Bruce Grove's culturally diverse character, both the Haringey Council and the HLF have expressed their commitment to social inclusion, extensive consultation, and public participation, not only in the Bruce Grove THI but across a range of other schemes and initiatives. It is hoped that an ongoing program of consultation and awareness-raising will encourage a greater level of cross-cultural participation, and that evidence of this will become visible in future projects managed by the THI partnership.

Increased investment in this depressed area is undoubtedly a high priority, but if the regeneration program aims to stimulate economic growth without marginalizing vulnerable members of the community, it will have to be closely monitored for problems attendant on gentrification. For BME

groups, economic displacement has a particularly destabilizing effect: for many diasporic communities, extended family and kinship networks form the social structure within which traditional practices and relationships function. These networks provide not only spaces for cultural autonomy but also practical and economic support, employment, and accommodation for new migrant settlers.⁷¹ Even where members of the community have a financial stake in a gentrified neighborhood, as their children and grandchildren find themselves economically excluded from the area, kinship networks begin to contract. Settled groups that had established visible communities, and whose culture and traditions were once embedded in the landscape, find themselves scattered and sapped of their political and economic strength.

A heritage-management program like the Bruce Grove THI carries a weighty responsibility, and has the potential to either mitigate or exacerbate the problems of cultural displacement. In either case, the effects on the community of an efficiently disseminated heritage ideology should not be underestimated. In Stoke-on-Trent, where the British National Party is steadily gaining popularity, a widely distributed leaflet juxtaposes nostalgic images of Stoke's historic industrial landscape with a contemporary urban scene dominated by a silhouetted mosque.⁷² The iconography of these images is stark and instantly legible. As Morris suggested, a potent nationalism can be animated by the deployment of an overarching and well-designed conservation strategy.

In view of this, it will be important that the THI be managed in a way that does not attempt to invoke the spirit of Bruce Grove's white, imperial past — a task that, in any case, would be extremely difficult in an area that has survived in such a piecemeal fashion. Moreover, to apply the tools and materials of a notional historical accuracy in a makeover of this sort (the installation of one-period-fits-all "heritage" street lighting and plant containers, for example) might result in an awkward mis-marriage of different themes and visual motifs. It would also be no more authentic in its appearance than a streetscape characterized by the co-mingling of chronologically antagonistic features. The Bruce Grove THI might be better served by a strategy that aims not to resurrect the colonial values of Tottenham's Victorian history but that faithfully restores its nineteenth-century buildings but that embraces the multicultural values of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. To purge the streets of modern paraphernalia constitutes a resetting of aesthetic values, and implies a resetting of historical and social values. As visual signs of the recent past are expunged from the physical landscape, so, too, are signs of the traditions and cultures of those whose history belongs to the recent past.

The impulse to whitewash signs of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has been fiercely resisted in the regeneration of Spitalfields and Banglatown. While the conditions surrounding its inception are different from those in Bruce Grove, this case offers a valuable example of how a local authority might implement a multicultural approach.

Tower Hamlets Council demonstrated great flexibility in its attitude toward conservation-standard repairs and alterations around Banglatown, allowing shopfronts and shop signs that might not have been permitted in other conservation areas in the borough. The Bruce Grove program, which has hitherto adopted a more conservative line toward shopfronts and signage, might seek direction from this approach. As discussed earlier, Tower Hamlet's dynamic approach is evident in such measures as the installation of distinctive street lighting rather than generic "heritage" lights. But the best illustration has been the planning permission recently granted for the new minaret. This ventures beyond pragmatism, representing not so much a compromise as further enrichment of the culturally diverse historic landscape.⁷³

Spitalfields and Banglatown is a densely textured territory, swollen with multilayered meaning and possibility. In recent times, as we have seen, the forces of gentrification, capitalism and multiculturalism have worked together — sometimes in union, at other times in conflict — constantly pushing and pulling the landscape into ever-mutating configurations. The Tower Hamlets Council has embraced this dynamism, understanding the nuanced differences between preservation and conservation — the former pitted against the changing tides, and the latter constantly navigating and tracking the tides of change.

There are no easy political or moral implications to be made or inferences to be drawn from the ways in which the landscape is forming. Despite the reservations of Jacobs and Samuel, the gentrifiers were and are a vital component to the continuing success of this area. Spitalfields and Banglatown are unique in their multicultural history and character, and

their historic buildings are a testament to this. Without the intervention of the Spitalfields Trust, very little of the historic fabric of the area would be in existence. Yet, had not the Bengalee community breathed new life into the area, this incomparable relic of Georgian London might have fossilized under the ascendancy of the preservationists.

Capitalism has undoubtedly kept the wheels of change in motion, and will continue to drive reinvention of this space. Early signs of the encroachment of the city are visible in new tall buildings springing up on the edges of the conservation areas. Advertisements for luxury flats for sale on Brick Lane attest to new building uses and the arrival of new demographic groups in the area. The ongoing mediation of these forces by Tower Hamlets Council, however, has helped maintain a successful equilibrium that continues to bring economic growth, nurture cultural diversity and inculcate a sense of vitality.

The next few years will see new demographic groups, new cultural influences, new contests, conflicts and alliances emerge in Bruce Grove. Just as they have in Spitalfields and Banglatown, these will alter the landscape in spite of any conservation strategy. The task ahead will surely be to acknowledge, accommodate and manage these changes, rather trying to resist the passage of time. Whichever course the Bruce Grove THI takes, it will be left, as the years of decay are peeled back, with the job of constructing interpretations of its past, present and future. It stands at the threshold of a new chapter in its history, armed with an array of possibilities. Whether it chooses to understand the diverse traditions of Bruce Grove as fragments or components of the project will have a profound and lasting effect.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. Joseph Addison, quoted in P. Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Vintage, 2001), p.701.
2. Ibid.
3. Walter Benjamin, quoted in G. Gilloch, *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).
4. Statement of Social Inclusion Goals, English Heritage, <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/nav.1698>.
5. G. Lee, "Working with Diverse Communities," case study presentation at the Townscape Heritage initiative Conference, February 2008. <http://www.hlf.org.uk/thi/caseStudies.asp>.
6. G. Crossick, *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870–1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p.33.
7. Haringey London Borough Council, Bruce Grove Townscape Heritage Initiative Conservation Management Plan (THI), August 2004, pp.16–20.
8. Department for Culture, Media and Sports et al., Regional Commentary on Cultural Services in the London Borough of Haringey (December 2006), summary of figures produced by the 2001 census indices of deprivation.
9. Haringey Council, Bruce Grove THI.
10. Ibid., p.38.
11. Ibid., p.39.
12. Office of National Statistics, 2001 Census; Area Statistics, Ethnic Group (UV09), <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk>.
13. Homes for Haringey, Equalities monitoring information (2007).
14. Ibid.
15. London Borough of Haringey Council, *Tottenham and Seven Sisters Area Assembly News* (October, 2007). A report in this publication suggested that, "The Polish community is Haringey's newest and fastest growing community." This and views on the numbers of Turkish and Kurdish residents is supported by interviews conducted for this article.
16. J. Davis, "How to Regenerate a Deprived Town Centre through Conservation," *New Start Magazine*, January 2006. Also see DCMS et al., "Regional Commentary on Cultural Services in the London Borough of Haringey," p.7. The report found that "The authority has a good track record of effective consultation with its residents, receiving a Getting Closer to Communities Beacon Award in 2005."
17. London Borough of Haringey Council et al., Heritage Lottery Fund: Townscape

- Heritage Initiative: Bruce Grove Cores Centre — Stage 2 Submission, Eligible Projects: Feasibility Study (August, 2004).
18. *Ibid.*, p.29.
19. *Ibid.*, p.17.
20. *Ibid.*, p.13.
21. *Ibid.*, pp.17,38.
22. Haringey Council, Bruce Grove THI, p.40.
23. *Ibid.*
24. G. Lee, "The Bruce Grove Townscape Heritage Project," *Conservation Bulletin*, English Heritage, Issue 55, Summer 2007.
25. "Bruce Grove Townscape Heritage Initiative Training Summary," Dearle and Henderson, March 2008.
26. Butler and Hegarty, "Welcome to Holloway Road," September 2007.
27. H. Abdullah, ed., "Departures and Arrivals," Turkish Cypriot Association, 2006. This collection of interviews with Turkish Cypriot migrants traces the history of Turkish Cypriots in London from the late 1930s.
28. Butler and Hegarty, "Welcome to Holloway Road," pp.24–27.
29. "People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for the Built and Historic Environment," Department for Culture, Media and Sport, June 2002.
30. "Power of Place," English Heritage, December 2002, p.1.
31. J.M. Sanders, "Ethnic Boundaries and Identity in Plural Societies," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 28 (2002), p.328.
32. J.M. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City* (London: Routledge, 1996), p.71.
33. Anna Marie Smith, quoted in Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, p.71.
34. *Ibid.*, p.71.
35. *Ibid.*, p.72.
36. Agroni Research and the Young Foundation, "Bridging the Gap: The London Olympics 2012 and South Asian Owned Businesses in Brick Lane and Green Street, Summary Report," July 2006. This document summarized much of what the Spitalfields HERS has achieved. The findings are supported and expanded upon by Jonathan Nichols, a conservation officer with Tower Hamlets Council, with whom I conducted in-depth interviews on July 10, 2008, and January 12, 2009.
37. Interview with Jonathan Nichols, January 12, 2009.
38. Agroni Research, "Bridging the Gap."
39. *Ibid.*
40. J.M. Gardner, "Heritage Protection and Social Inclusion: A Case Study from the Bangladeshi Community of East London," *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol.10 No.1 (March, 2004), pp.75–92.
41. R. Atkinson, "Measuring Gentrification and Displacement in Greater London," *Urban Studies*, Vol.37 No.1 (2000), pp.149–65.
42. P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1984).
43. S. Zukin, "Gentrification, Culture and Capital in the Urban Core," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol.13 (1987), pp.129–47.
44. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, p.80.
45. Zukin, "Gentrification, Culture and Capital in the Urban Core."
46. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, p.74.
47. W. Morris, The SPAB Manifesto, <http://www.spab.org.uk/html/what-is-spab/the-manifesto/>.
48. "People and Places," Department for Culture, Media and Sport.
49. *The Spitalfields Trust Newsletter*, quoted in Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, p.80.
50. William Morris Crafts Fellowship Trust (2008), <http://www.wmcf.org.uk/>.
51. Heritage Lottery Fund, HLF Bursaries (2008), <http://www.hlf.org.uk/HLFBursaries>.
52. R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994), pp.51–79.
53. R. Samuel, quoted in Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, pp.80–81.
54. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*.
55. English Heritage, "Early Georgian 'Des Res' To be Restored," English Heritage Website, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, People and Places.
56. Haringey Buildings Preservation Trust Website, <http://www.singernet.info/tottenham/>.
57. Butler and Hegarty Architectural plans for the conversion of 810 Tottenham High Road, 2008. I also made a visit to the site in March 2008 and was given a detailed account of the materials and techniques that were being used in the project. As a point of interest, the house forms one half of symmetrical building, the other half of which was restored in the late 1980s. The architects have chosen different materials for 810 that will result in a mismatch of colors and styles, as they felt that this was a more authentic approach.
58. "Planning Policy Guidance 15: Planning and the Historic Environment," Department of the Environment and Department of National Heritage, September 1994.
59. 19 Princelet Street, <http://www.19princeletstreet.org.uk/>. I also made a visit to Princelet Street in June 2008 and spoke at length to the guides and to visitors about the building, its history, and how people felt about it.
60. S. Zukin, "Postmodern Urban Landscape: Mapping Culture and Power," in S. Lash and J. Friedman, eds., *Modernity and Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp.221–47.
61. Haringey Council, Haringey Local History Fair 2008, http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/news_and_events/latest_news/localhistory2008.htm.
62. Released in 2003, the bestselling debut novel told the story of a recent Bengalee migrant who marries a British Bengalee and settles in Brick Lane.
63. George Mavrommatis, "The New Creative Brick Lane: A Narrative Study of Local Multicultural Encounters," *Ethnicities*, Vol.6 No.4 (2006), pp. 498–517. This article is based on interviews with tourists and workers around Brick Lane and gives insight into general perceptions of the area.
64. Chinatown Business Association, http://www.chinatown.org.sg/english/food_street.htm.
65. Stina Bjorkell, "Chinatown London: Renovation with Respect to Tradition," Radio 86, All About China, July 2006, <http://www.radio86.co.uk/explore-learn/travel/152/chinatown-london-renovation-with-respect-to-tradition>.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Min Quan, Save Chinatown 2008, <http://savechinatown.org/>.
68. The interview with Hussein took place June 26, 2008; the interview with Incirli June 30, 2008.
69. In my interview with him, Incirli confirmed this, saying that "The Turkish and Kurdish community are one of the largest groups along the Tottenham High Road, having replaced the Turkish Cypriot community as the first Turkish-speaking group."

70. Indeed, Incirli suggested that “Turkish and Kurdish communities are one of the most economically active groups and run a large number of businesses in the area (namely, catering and restaurant). [They] are often thought of in the Turkish-speaking communities as being very entrepreneurial.”

71. Sanders, “Ethnic Boundaries and Identities in Plural Societies.”

72. P. Barkham, “The BNP and Stoke’s Fragmented Political Scene,” *The Guardian*, May 29, 2008.

73. In my interview with him, Tower Hamlets conservation officer Jonathan Nichols remarked: “There was no problem with the minaret, since that is part of the history of use of the building that is now a mosque, but which has also been a synagogue, and before

that a chapel for the Huguenots. The present occupants are happy for the former Jewish occupants to see the memorial plaque that is on the floor above the prayer room, and are happy for it to be there. Once the minaret is built I would hope that any differing spiritual groups who may occupy the building in the future will not be disappointed if we reject their application to demolish it, for just this reason.”