

BETWEEN CONTINUITY AND CO-OPTATION: INVESTIGATING URBAN HERITAGE AS A STRATEGY TO RESIST GENTRIFICATION

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STUDIES [4CITIES]**

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SEPTEMBER 1, 2025**



The pictures used on the cover and in between the sections of this thesis were all taken by the author within the Manor House warehouses district between July 2024 and June 2025. On the cover page: a picture of the New River Pub (Author's own, 2025)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the construction of narratives of heritage as a tactic to resist gentrification. The concept is explored through the case of Save the Warehouses, an anti-gentrification movement located in the Manor House warehouses district in London, an area characterised by a strong cultural and creative presence. The theoretical frame contrasts the concepts of heritage by designation, that is institutionalised heritage, and heritage by appropriation, a wider definition of heritage which includes everyday practices and identities. The findings of this thesis highlight that the relationship between heritage by designation and gentrification remains problematic, as narratives of heritage by designation can only have a limited positive impact, while simultaneously risking being co-opted by neoliberal actors. Furthermore, as a strategy of active resistance, narratives of heritage can raise issues for the survivability of the residents' movement. However, narratives of heritage by appropriation are helpful to construct social ties with other actors and to foster the support of local communities. Narratives of heritage by appropriation can be helpful to aid anti-gentrification struggles, but they cannot be the sole strategy to counter gentrification. By conducting qualitative research on the construction of narratives of heritage and their effect on the actors involved in the anti-gentrification struggle, this thesis aims to bridge the gap between literature on urban heritage, resistance to gentrification and urban infrastructures of power.

KEYWORDS: Resistance to gentrification; Urban heritage; Urban social movements; London; Heritage by appropriation

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NPFF - National Planning Policy Framework
CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis
CEZ - Creative Enterprise Zone
GLA - Greater London Authority
STW - Save the Warehouses



Entrance to the Omega Works warehouses from Hermitage Road (Author's own, 2025)

INTRODUCTION

Cities are constantly transforming and, as such, they act as terrain for various conflicts. This thesis focuses on one of these conflicts. Since 2021, the residents' movement Save the Warehouses has been trying to resist the redevelopment and gentrification of their home, the Omega Works warehouse. Omega Works is a former industrial building located in the Borough of Haringey, London, which has been transformed into live/work spaces for artists and creatives. Save the Warehouses has been focusing on the heritage of the place to stop the redevelopment plans. The heritage narrative that Save the Warehouses has been building is tying together the historical heritage of Omega Works, where some of the most important pianos in the world have been built back in its industrial past, to the community of artists who reside there today (Save The Warehouses, n.d.-b).

However, the relationship between heritage and gentrification is not an easy one. Literature about heritage and gentrification has focused particularly on how the heritage of places condemn them to touristification and related gentrification (e.g. Ferro et al., 2024; Hammami et al., 2022). It has also been studied how local communities attempt to resist superimposed narratives of heritage, which risk hurting urban areas more than anything else (Hammami & Uzer, 2018). However, there are still "under-researched geometrics of power that link heritage to resistance" (Hammami et al., 2022, p. 446). In fact, much less has been written about narratives of heritage building as a strategy to resist gentrification. Heritage building appears as a counterintuitive approach for anti-gentrification movements. However, protecting the built environment of a place, as well as its intangible heritage, might hold the potential to avoid displacement and empower the local community.

This thesis explores narratives of heritage through the differences between heritage by designation (or Authorized Heritage Discourse), that is listed and institutionalised heritage, and heritage by appropriation, which is less easy to label, but which includes the everyday practices and identities of urban communities (Dupagne et al., 2004; L. Smith, 2006). I expect to find stark differences in the potentialities of heritage by appropriation and heritage by designation for anti-gentrification movements. In this context, the case of Save the Warehouses and Omega Works can offer insights into the construction of narratives of heritage and how it relates to the already existing literature on resistance to gentrification.

Thus, my research question is:

What are the potentialities and limits of constructing heritage narratives around the Omega Works warehouses for the anti-gentrification struggle brought forward by Save the Warehouses?

With the following sub-questions:

SQ1: How is Save the Warehouses constructing narratives of heritage?

SQ2: In what ways are these narratives of heritage influencing the activities of other actors

linked to the anti-gentrification struggle – such as the residents of the area, the Council of Haringey and the owners of the warehouses?

This research positions itself within the broader literatures on resistance to gentrification, on artistic production and gentrification and on urban heritage and its links to gentrification. Academically, the aim of this research is to contribute to these literatures, tying them together to further the knowledge regarding artists and gentrification as well as tactics of resistance to gentrification.

Thus, the next chapter will present an overview of the existing literature, which can help answer these questions. Chapter 3 presents and discusses the methods employed for the research. Chapters 4 and 5 present and discuss the findings of the research, while Chapter 6 presents the conclusions that can be drawn from this research, as well as its limitations and possible outlooks for future research.



Street art on the front of the Catwalk Warehouse (Author's own, 2025)

LITERATURE REVIEW

To answer the research question, it is first necessary to investigate the existing literature. The following section is divided into four parts. The first part concerns neighbourhood change and gentrification more specifically. The second part includes a review of how gentrification relates to neighbourhoods with a strong cultural life, specifically the debate over the role of artists in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Thirdly, I summarize literature concerning resistance to gentrification and the role of artists in particular in anti-gentrification movements. The last part discusses urban heritage, its definitions and how it relates to gentrification, as well as the construction of narratives of heritage.

1. NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE AND GENTRIFICATION

Although each neighbourhood usually has its own distinctive features, no neighbourhood is unchanging through time. Cities are constantly torn between the preservation and destruction of places (Sterling, 2020). In the UK, neighbourhoods have been at the centre of urban renewal strategies since Tony Blair's government (1997-2007) (Bianchi, 2016; Meegan & Mitchell, 2001). Policies have been addressing 'neighbourhoods', however it is never easy to define what that is (Meegan & Mitchell, 2001; Schwirian, 1983). While some scholars focus on neighbourhood changes as the result of changing attitudes and behaviour within its population, others highlight how the future of an area depends on external social and political forces as well (Newman & Ashton, 2004; Schwirian, 1983). Political economy theories of neighbourhood change have focused on how urban renewal policies lead to benefits for investors and homeowner residents, while penalising low-income residents (Newman & Ashton, 2004). This means that urban renewal strategies often lead to gentrification rather than redevelopment which benefits the local community.

Within the different forms of neighbourhood change, gentrification is one of the most studied (Schwirian, 1983). It was first observed by Ruth Glass in Barnsbury, in the North of London (Colomb, 2008; Slater, 2011). Although the term was coined in 1964, the phenomenon of gentrification predates its name; however, little research has been published on pre-WWII gentrification (Lees & Rozena, 2025; Verlaan & Hochstenbach, 2022). Although various forms of gentrification have now been studied and observed, gentrification is described as the process which pushes out the inhabitants of a neighbourhood to leave space for a richer demography, as well as the symbolic transformation of the area (Makagon, 2010; Van Criekingen & Decroly, 2003).

Nowadays, gentrification has become a global process, sometimes also facilitated by state actors, to the point that any resistance to gentrification appears vain (Colomb, 2008; Hubbard & Lees, 2018; Lees & Ferreri, 2016). For this reason, gentrification at the neighbourhood level needs to be understood as the results of specific state policies as well as part of a wider social struggle (Wyly, 2019). Studying the demographic composition of gentrifying neighbourhoods is believed to be of help in understanding how gentrification unfolds. However, residents of gentrifying neighbourhoods often present various and distinct characteristics, raising doubts over the possibility that a single group can be accused of being responsible for the onset of gentrification (Somashekhar,

2021).

Traditional approaches to gentrification have characterized it as a wave or as a stage process, usually divided in three or four phases (e.g. Hackworth & Smith, 2001). These approaches were first formulated in the 1970s and 1980s to attempt to predict the future of gentrification (Lees, 2003). On the other hand, neo-Marxist theories of gentrification, in particular Neil Smith's (1979) rent-gap theory, focus on the dialectical process of investment and disinvestment, but are still unable to account for changes in fully gentrified neighbourhoods (Lees, 2003). More recent research has argued that gentrification is not the end point for an area: the neighbourhood will keep changing even after it has been gentrified (Lees, 2003; Lees & Rozena, 2025). Thus, while wave models of gentrification can be useful to understand the process in retrospective, they might be more of a hindrance while the process is unfolding (Lees & Rozena, 2025). In a similar vein, trying to pinpoint the starting point of gentrification for an area is a highly contentious issue and might not necessarily be useful for the study of the effects of gentrification (Lees & Rozena, 2025).

While part of the literature focuses on the definition and operationalisation of gentrification, it is also important to understand the effects of gentrification. For example, Dawkins' (2023) framework focuses on the injustice linked to gentrification and individuates eight forms of it: deprivation, estrangement, erasure, domination, censure, exploitation, disrespect and marginalisation. On the other hand, transformationalists' approaches to gentrification focus on the contradictions that arise from the migration of new residents and related socio-economic activities as a neighbourhood is being gentrified, as social exclusion and conflict are not always driven by class replacement, but rather by contrasting representations of space (Gainza, 2017). Within these processes, art plays a pervasive role (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). In fact, art can play a significant role in how spaces are represented, and it can be a wedge to introduce gentrification, as well as a form of symbolic resistance to it (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). Thus, the next section will focus on art and gentrification and on the role of artists in gentrifying neighbourhoods, which is today still a divisive topic.

2. ARTS AND GENTRIFICATION

More than forty years after the publication of Sharon Zukin's *Loft Living* (1989), the debate concerning arts and gentrification keeps dividing scholars. Zukin (1987, 1989) described how the presence of art in a neighbourhood can become the stimulus for new market competition, ultimately favouring real estate interests. Presently, culture is often used to lead regeneration processes. However, as already seen above, regeneration of neighbourhoods often turns into gentrification as the area becomes too expensive for its original residents (Bianchi, 2016). Thus, the relationship between artists communities and gentrification is much discussed and debated. There are, in fact, authors who see the gentrification of artists' neighbourhoods as unavoidable and unstoppable (e.g. O'Sullivan, 2013). However, this defeatist perception of reality does not aid in any way to understand the mechanisms behind the gentrification of areas with a strong cultural life.

Within the literature, there are two main points of view regarding this phenomenon. On

one side, artists are seen as the initiators of gentrification, a process from which they benefit. This position is strongly associated with David Ley's work, which defined artists as "pioneers" of gentrification (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). On the other side, artists are seen as victims themselves of gentrification, a process over which they have no control, and which drives them away from their neighbourhoods and displaces their communities. It is important to recognise that these narratives are not necessarily mutually exclusive. As above mentioned, art is often intrinsic to gentrification, both as an instrument to introduce it and as a tool to build symbolic resistance to it (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). Thus, artists can be seen as first initiators and later victims of gentrification.

David Ley's work has focused on the role of artists as pioneers of gentrification using as a starting point Bourdieu's theories, seeing artists as high in cultural capital, but low in economic capital (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Grodach et al., 2018). Building upon Ley's work and Hackworth and Smith's theory of the three waves of gentrification, Cameron and Coaffee (2005) theorise three waves of art-led gentrification. The first wave concerns the creation by artists of a *milieu* for the production of art, the second wave regards the commodification and the private consumption of the artistic *milieu*, and the last wave starts with the public consumption of art (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005).

However, not all scholars agree with this theory. Firstly, the waves theory implicitly assumes that all neighbourhoods in which first-wave gentrification has appeared will necessarily be fully gentrified (Gainza, 2017). Secondly, this theory describes artists as 'pioneers' of gentrification, assuming that they were the first to inhabit a new 'frontier', which was previously empty (Bain, 2006; Makagon, 2010). Van Criekingen and Decroly (2013) oppose the three waves of art-led gentrification and define marginal gentrification as a process in which the newcomers have more cultural than economic capital: the first gentrifiers are highly educated individuals with little economic possibilities who are attracted by the 'authenticity' of working-class neighbourhoods (Grodach et al., 2018). Marginal gentrifiers are not simply the messengers of a process which is determined independently of them (Lees et al., 2008; Rose, 1984, 1989). Artists as marginal gentrifiers need to cope with the effects of a new economy. However, at the same time they are also able to capitalize on it (Miles, 2015).

Other strands of literature acknowledge the possible role of artists as initiators of gentrification but depict them as unwilling actors. For example, Bain (2006) recognises that place-narratives created by artists can mobilise other urban actors, unwillingly leading to gentrification. Similarly, other scholars have looked at how the cyclical nature of art careers can push artists to fuel gentrification, especially if art practices are not closely related to the class struggle (Valli, 2022). For example, artists might participate in and promote 'artwashing' activities, that is art campaigns initiated by capitalist actors to hide the aggression and oppression of gentrification (Sterling, 2020).

A different narrative depicts artists as the victim of a process which is started by political actors. In various Western cities, from London to New York, artists have transformed former industrial spaces into live/work areas (Mathews, 2010). However, public-policy-driven gentrification is typical of former industrial cities that want to regenerate, as gentrification can ultimately lead to higher tax revenues (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005;

Zukin, 1987). The irony is that the more artists are able to live off their art, that is the more culturally active a neighbourhood becomes, the more the middle class appropriates the artists' lifestyle and studios (Zukin, 1989). Furthermore, urban regeneration policies focus on culture as an abstract concept to be consumed, not produced. The artists' economy does not fully fit within the capitalist system, while taking part in it (Moore, 2015). Thus, artists are used to achieve short-term economic benefits, but no place is left for them in the city, often leading them to occupations and squats (Moore, 2015; Pratt, 2018).

Once the gentrification process has started in an area with a strong presence of artists, it is necessary to understand what happens to the artists themselves. There are significant examples of areas being gentrified due to their strong cultural life or their industrial aesthetic, ultimately pushing out the artists themselves (Avdikos, 2015; Mathews, 2019). The main risk factor concerning artists and gentrification is that artists are driven out of the neighbourhood even in cases where local politicians and stakeholders promote 'thoughtful' public art initiatives (Rich, 2019). Displacement of the art community does not mean solely the loss of cheap rent and a studio, but the loss of community practices which develop in these areas (Pratt, 2018).

Thus, these two perspectives present a strong dualism regarding gentrification and artists: they are either blameworthy or its casualties. However, I agree with Valli's (2022) claim that perspectives regarding cultural life and gentrification should go beyond the perpetrator/victim duality. The first perspective presents a deterministic view of gentrification, while the second one solely victimises artists. In both cases, the result is that possible alternatives for resistance are ignored (Valli, 2022). Artists are never the only resident group of any neighbourhood. As artists cannot be the sole party responsible for gentrification, they also cannot prevent it by themselves. Furthermore, resistance to gentrification can, at times, be led by communities which play an ambiguous role in the transformation of their cities, such as artists (Hammami et al., 2022). The next part thus focuses on traditions of resistance to gentrification and how they relate to cultural life.

3. RESISTANCE TO GENTRIFICATION

Having looked at gentrification and how it relates to cultural communities, it is also important to look at the forms of resistance to gentrification. In the 1990s the topic was overlooked in the Global North, while scholars from the Global South produced a significant amount of literature regarding resistance to gentrification. Moreover, resistance to gentrification appears to be more successful in the Global South than in the Global North (Lees et al., 2015). Thus, it is important to recognise the influence of post-colonial studies, which focus on how power relations are shaped and challenged (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2020; Lees & Ferreri, 2016; Ritchie, 2015). Resistance is the strategy used by local actors to construct narratives from below (Hammami & Uzer, 2018). I accept Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso's (2020) assertion that resistance to gentrification can be active, politicised, and visible, as well as individual, invisible and daily.

Forms of everyday resistance are less studied and less discernible, as they are often invisible and informal, and concern individual ambiguities and temporalities (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018, 2020). Forms of everyday resistance are more visible in cases

of eviction and displacement, which lead to the reproduction of poverty (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018). In the context of everyday resistance, it is also useful to look at survivability, which is not always a linear or continuous process, as it regards the dignity of the individual, rather than continuous success (Lees et al., 2018). Resistance can also mean thriving in the face of difficulties (Crossa, 2013). Furthermore, survivability can be used to scale the resistance process from the collective to the individual, making it a pivotal element in connecting active and everyday resistance (Lees et al., 2018). Everyday resistance also includes the negotiation of ambiguities within anti-gentrification movements, as different actors take different positions regarding urban transformations (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018).

On the other hand, forms of active and organised resistance to gentrification include the mobilisation of collective identities, building of critical narratives and awareness campaigns (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018). Narrative building implies resisting gentrification through the re-imagination and the re-invention of urban landscapes (Basso et al., 2023). In the case of Occupy Wall Street, part of the success of the movement was due to the fact that they challenged the narrative of gentrification as a natural urban process (Naegler, 2022). Legal instruments have been adopted to combat state-sponsored gentrification in London, as in the case of the Heygate estate, ultimately mobilising support for the anti-gentrification movement (Lees & Ferreri, 2016). Another important element for active resistance is strengthening local communities, so to avoid the implosion of the movement due to internal conflicts (Thurber et al., 2021). However, there is evidence that organised movements and campaigns increase during the early phases of gentrification, but wane as gentrification progresses and the original residents are displaced (Creasap, 2016).

Art can represent a significant feature of active forms of resistance to gentrification. The cases of the protests around the Media Spree Area in Berlin and the Gängeviertel in Hamburg demonstrate that cooperation between residents and artists is possible if social movements address wider social urban issues, and not solely their self-interest (Novy & Colomb, 2013). In these cases, artists mobilised their cultural capital to aid the resistance movement. However, in Hamburg, the artists community was criticized as their interests were not fully clear to the radical left (Moore, 2015). Research has also focused on the increasing significance of *playful* forms of resistance to raise political awareness and defend the cultural and artistic importance of urban spaces (Crossa, 2013). In other cases, such as the case of Riverwest in Milwaukee, local movements which promoted the production of art, rather than its consumption, ensured that real-estate developers did not succeed in gentrifying the neighbourhood (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). It is important to highlight that these movements were already rooted in the territory when the first redevelopment projects were proposed. Similarly, Hollands (2019) has pointed out the importance of wider networks with various social actors for creative spaces to resist neoliberal co-optation. In fact, Miles (2015) points out that artistic participation in the face of infrastructural failure does not necessarily become social justice *per se*. It can be entrenched within the *status quo* as any other form of art.

Having looked at gentrification, resistance to gentrification and how culture and artists relate to both processes, it is now important to examine urban cultural heritage and how

it connects to the concepts discussed up until now.

4. URBAN HERITAGE

The following section focuses on urban heritage, how it is connected to urban creative areas and what its implications for gentrification are. Firstly, it is crucial to define what urban heritage is, especially as its definition has been expanding in the last decades. Initially, urban heritage comprised the architectural and historical values of cities, such as historical landmarks and monuments (Ripp & Rodwell, 2015). Traditionally, through historical heritage, Western elites' values have been elevated as universally relevant and applicable and the upper classes were the sole involved with the concept of preservation and conservation (L. Smith, 2006). Today, less traditional features of the urban are included in this definition, such as industrial and post-industrial areas, as well as the political and sociological elements of cities and neighbourhoods (Karlström, 2020; Ripp & Rodwell, 2015). As the concept has expanded, heritage studies have been converging with human geography and urban sociology, focusing on the role of communities for the preservation and production of urban heritage, perceiving urban heritage as a testament of the communities which live and inhabit cities (Lu, 2016; Mehan & Mostafavi, 2024). Thus, heritage studies now focus less on the preservation of buildings, and more on the understanding and preservation of urban areas which do not fit within the traditional definition of heritage (Tweed & Sutherland, 2007).

Urban heritage is, in fact, a constructed process. There are several institutions, UNESCO being the most famous one, which are entrusted with appointing heritage status to buildings and landmarks, as well as intangible traditions. The definitions that institutions employ to define urban heritage often lead to the exclusion of areas which are actually an essential part of the urban fabric, exclusion which in some cases impedes the social development of the area, as it is not considered worthy of preservation (Tweed & Sutherland, 2007). This exclusion is partly due to the underrepresentation of social sciences within heritage institutions, which leads to the underestimation of non-traditional heritage (Winter, 2013). This form of institutional heritage has been defined as Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) of heritage by designation (Dupagne et al., 2004; L. Smith, 2006). However, urban heritage is also constructed by communities. In fact, the choices that a group will make regarding its urban heritage will define it as a community, simultaneously othering those who do not relate to their heritage (Carman, 2014; Lu, 2016). The construction of urban heritage implies knowledge of local history and traditions, as well as the power and agency to impose one narrative over all others. Thus it is usually those who have more social and cultural capital who can build urban heritage (Lu, 2016).

Ripp and Rodwell (2015) argue that in order to sustain communities it is necessary to adopt a broader understanding of urban heritage. However, if we expand the definition of urban heritage to include all that is urban, we might reach a point where urban heritage will no longer be useful. It might be more fruitful to focus instead on the processes of construction of heritage. Thus, I argue that it is better to study how, why and by whom urban heritage is constructed. The next section explores narratives of heritage and their effects on the communities.

Narratives and Discourses of Heritage

Not all urban heritage is constructed the same way. There are both top-down and bottom-up approaches to the definition of heritage. Top-down approaches include the already mentioned institutionalized definitions of heritage, defined in the literature as AHD or heritage by designation (Dupagne et al., 2004; L. Smith, 2006). However, while Smith's analysis focuses solely on the critique of AHD, Dupagne and others propose an alternative to heritage by designation, which is heritage by appropriation, seen as the lived and living urban fabric (Dupagne et al., 2004; L. Smith, 2006). Heritage by appropriation is not as strictly defined as heritage by designation, which is categorised and institutionalised; rather, it is collectively defined and constantly evolving (Dupagne et al., 2004). While change is considered the antithesis for heritage by designation, when we look at heritage by appropriation change is its starting point (Sterling, 2020). Built heritage is generally seen as a resource for communities, however, communities are neither engaged nor empowered by it (Ripp & Rodwell, 2015; Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). However, one could argue that it is solely heritage by designation which does not benefit communities, as heritage by appropriation is defined and constructed by the communities themselves.

If heritage is understood as a constructed process, then it will be understood as a process which regulates the practices associated with the creation and recreation of identities (L. Smith, 2006). These narratives have a real and totalising force, which leads to the exclusion of non-conforming identities (L. Smith, 2006). Narratives of urban heritage triggers strong sentiments, making it an effective tool to affect how reality is understood (De Cesari & Dimova, 2019). Narratives are powerful strategies to explain and structure reality and the construction of narratives is a form of social action (Björninen et al., 2020). As all social processes, narratives do not exist independently, but are embedded in their social contexts and geographical locations (Andersen et al., 2020). For example, such narratives are being used by the European Union to construct a pan-European identity, while narratives of the 'rural idyll' based on past aesthetic and nationalist sentiments are the prerogative of the upper classes (Martens, 2022; L. Smith, 2006).

Regarding the relationship between the arts and heritage, there is a strong correlation between cultural areas and heritage construction. In fact, as already mentioned those who have stronger cultural capital, such as artists, are better able to construct narratives of heritage. Cultural heritage, both in its tangible and intangible form, is seen as the most valuable form of urban culture core (Della Lucia & Trunfio, 2018). However, there are risks associated with it, as the commodification of culture can lead to urban conflicts (Ferro et al., 2024). Artists are not always in control of the narratives associated with their works. For example, in the case of the Ateliers Mommen, in Brussels, which were threatened by real estate speculation, the artists advocated for their civil rights, while the media preferred to emphasize the romantic notions of bohemian artists (Hanquinet, 2011).

Approaches to cultural heritage are ambiguous. Scholars have highlighted how cultural heritage can preserve the identity and authenticity of an area (Della Lucia & Trunfio, 2018; Lazzeretti, 2012). However, managerial approaches to cultural heritage, which are forced upon cities due to global inter-urban competition, are overvaluing and

magnifying heritage to the point of destroying it (Della Lucia & Trunfio, 2018). Managerial narratives surrounding the heritage of creative areas, especially post-industrial areas, focus on their potential for economic development, without considering the social and sustainable development of the neighbourhood (Bertacchini & Santagata, 2012; Della Lucia & Trunfio, 2018; Gu et al., 2024). For these reasons, Jewesbury (2022) highlights how using art for heritage building can be a finicky tool, which risks crossing the line from resistance to gentrification to gentrification. The next two sections describe more in focus how heritage building has been applied both to gentrify and to aid anti-gentrification struggles.

Heritage Building as 'Gentrification from Within'

The relationship between urban heritage and gentrification has been studied in great depth, especially in cases where urban heritage leads to the mass touristification of cities (e.g. Ferro et al., 2024; Hammami et al., 2022; Hammami & Uzer, 2018). However, here I will not focus on the problem of touristification, as it is beyond the scope of this thesis. Firstly, it is important to understand the causal relation between heritage and gentrification: gentrification does not create urban patrimony, rather it uses its declaration as a leverage point (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). Thus, gentrification is linked to heritage by designation and not heritage by appropriation. This connection is particularly problematic in relation to urban communities, especially as the institutions which appoint heritage status, such as local and regional authorities, are also the ones pushing for a managerial approach to culture (Karlström, 2020). Furthermore, heritage by designation is a form of art consumption, which is a process closely related to gentrification, as opposed to art production which aids communities to resist gentrification (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014).

The relation between gentrification and the construction of cultural heritage is undeniable, to the point that the process of heritage building has been defined as 'gentrification from within' (Arkaraprasertkul, 2016). The mechanism behind the 'gentrification from within' theory is the mobilisation of local knowledge to increase the value of an area (Arkaraprasertkul, 2016). Incoming residents are seen as the main driver of gentrification, as they exploit the cultural aspect of their neighbourhood to raise property values and drive out the original residents (Arkaraprasertkul, 2016). For example, in Hoxton, London, the focus on the pre-industrial and bucolic characteristics of the neighbourhood led to the displacement of the lower classes (Harris, 2012). In a similar and more distressing case, in Kensington a brutalist building from the 1950s, previously listed as a heritage site, was first stripped of its protection status and then replaced by a neo-Georgian townhouse (Lees & Rozena, 2025). Following the replacement of the brutalist bloc which represented postwar socialist architecture, a culture publication wrote that "London is healing" (Lees & Rozena, 2025). However, these narratives can work solely if the local groups which are building heritage are homeowners, rather than renters, as they are the ones which financially benefit from revitalisation processes (Newman & Ashton, 2004). This is why homeownership as a tactic to preserve the heritage of an area and prevent gentrification is often a contradicting strategy which still leads to the exclusion of the lower classes (Annunziata, 2022). Thus, the following section discusses how heritage building can result helpful to anti-gentrification movements.

Heritage and Anti-Gentrification Struggles

As mentioned above, heritage and gentrification are mostly studied in relation to touristification, and less in relation to resistance to gentrification. The potential of heritage activism to resist enforced urban change is currently under-researched (Hammami & Uzer, 2018). Heritage building can be instrumental to urban cultural areas in order to resist the excesses of cultural consumption as it is one of the possible forms of anti-gentrification counter-narratives (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018; Lazzeretti, 2012). In fact, in some circumstances, the protection of local heritage might be a more powerful tactic than the defence of the right to housing (Chen & Zhang, 2021). All forms of storytelling are a key learning resource (Rivero Moreno, 2020). Urban storytelling is one of the many forms to contrast foreseen urban challenges, making urban heritage a key resource to construct resistance narratives, as collective storytelling can contrast the negative effects of top-down urban planning (Rivero Moreno, 2020). Narratives of urban heritage have been used in Hong Kong as a strategy to counteract the decisions of the more powerful, although its effectiveness has been limited (Lu, 2016).

Furthermore, Hammami and Uzer (2018) theorize the intangible heritage of a place, that is its heritage by appropriation, as resistance *per se*. This is because understanding heritage as heritage by appropriation and accepting it as plural and constantly evolving implies going beyond heritage as a tool to regenerate a place and rather appreciating the identity of a place as it is (Hammami & Uzer, 2018). Once urban heritage has been defined as heritage by appropriation, then community engagement, instead of management, is possible (Ripp & Rodwell, 2015). Constructing urban heritage might be significantly effective to resist gentrification in the UK, as the country's fiscal regime tends to favour the construction of new buildings over maintenance of already existing ones (Ripp & Rodwell, 2015). Designating a building as culturally significant might save it from redevelopment. However, as heritage by appropriation becomes heritage by designation, internal contradictions can arise and questions regarding its efficacy to resist gentrification might be raised.



Garden of the E2Left unit within the Arena Design Centre warehouses complex (Author's own, 2025)

RESEARCH DESIGN

Having defined the research questions for this thesis, the next step is to discuss how these questions will be answered. As a first step, I will describe and justify the methodology I have adopted for this research. I will then illustrate the data collection and data analysis methods which I employed, reflecting on how my positionality might have impacted the results. Lastly, I will delineate the scope and limitations of this research.

1. METHODOLOGY: UNPACKING THE CRITICAL

This section focuses on the methodologies of the research. As heritage studies have shifted from a more institutionalized understanding to a broader vision of heritage, their approaches have become more critical, and their concerns have aligned with fields such as human geography, urbanism, sociology and architecture. Critical heritage studies mix methodologies which have originated in several fields. In particular, it has borrowed critical discourse analysis from the field of linguistics. Thus, the next section discusses and outlines the approaches of critical discourse analysis and critical heritage studies, as well as their relation and the risks of using critical discourse analysis within the context of heritage.

Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Heritage Studies

The methodologies that have been adopted to analyse this case are critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical heritage studies. Critical discourse analysis has been often used in research about (urban) heritage due to the fact that Laurajane Smith has used this approach to build her critique of authorized heritage discourse (L. Smith, 2006). However, CDA originally originated from the field of linguistics (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough, 2012). The main theory of CDA is that discourse is “socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned” (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 448). That is, CDA asserts that discourse creates and reinforces power structures, making it difficult for alternative opinions to take hold (Waterton et al., 2006). CDA also allows for constant shifting between the particulars of a text and the broader issue that is being addressed (Waterton et al., 2006).

However, CDA is also not a well-defined approach, rather a set of methodologies, which can be positioned on a spectrum depending on the importance they give to either social relations or cognitive processes (Fairclough, 2012). I accept Skrede and Hølleland's (2018) critique to the use of reified agents in CDA, specifically Authorised Heritage Discourse, which has often been transformed into an agent in heritage studies, with little explanation of what it actually means. Thus, nominalisation should be used carefully, as otherwise the risk is obscuring the actual actions of real agents, as well as who the agents are (Skrede & Hølleland, 2018). In particular, the concept of Authorized Heritage Discourse has often shadowed the actions of people (Skrede & Hølleland, 2018). Narratives, as well as other nonhuman entities, can affect the reality of things, however their analysis should not overshadow the agency of the narrator (Cooren, 2004). In fact, the hybridity between the

narrator and the narrative allows the narrator to influence reality in ways that otherwise would not be possible (Cooren, 2004). Consequently, when applying critical discourse analysis, it is important to not reduce reality to discourse.

On the other hand, critical heritage studies have been developing as a field of research in the past decade, as an alternative approach to heritage than the one promoted by traditional heritage institutions. Critical heritage studies draw their foundation from critical realism and CDA, which is why the critical turn in heritage studies is sometimes also defined as the discursive turn (Harrison, 2012; L. Smith, 2006). However, because of their discursive focus, critical heritage studies are, like CDA, often at risk of ignoring the material dimension and practices linked to heritage (Harrison, 2012; Witcomb & Buckley, 2013). Analysing the network of stakeholders can be useful to overcome this limitation (Outila & Kiuru, 2020). Thus, this research focuses on how discourse over urban heritage creates and reinforces power relations, or how resisting forces try to assert new narratives, while also taking into consideration that these discourses are put forward by actors embedded in a network, and the material implications of such discourses.

Critical Case Study

In order to carry out this study, I have decided to employ a critical case study approach. The selection of which methodology to employ is a decisive moment for every research, as this choice will affect which data methods will be used, and ultimately the outcome of the research as a whole.

Critical case study approaches are used to study a contemporary case which is formed by a complex functioning unit and is studied through a multiplicity of methods (Johansson, 2007). This approach is a common feature of gentrification research (e.g. Avdikos, 2015; Bain, 2006; Basso et al., 2023; Lees & Ferreri, 2016; Mathews, 2019; Novy & Colomb, 2013). In addition, triangulation and mixed methods are a common feature of case study approaches, as they are employed to illuminate the case from multiple angles (Johansson, 2007). Data collection methods will be further discussed below, but it is important to highlight the need for clarity and transparency in methodological choices when adopting a case study (Meyer, 2001). There are no specific guidelines for case studies, leaving them open to critics if the methodological approach is not solid enough. There are no specific methodological principles to select a case study, rather cases are usually found through experience (Flyvbjerg, 2010). This fact has left critical case studies open to criticism regarding the pre-existing biases of the researcher, however the literature has demonstrated that critical case studies are more prone to falsification of preconceived notions, and not verification (Flyvbjerg, 2010).

Due to the high diversity of case studies and the lack of general rules to identify a critical case, there are several ways to classify them. For example, the classification can be based on number of cases, units of cases or even on level of activity analysed (e.g. Johansson, 2007; Meyer, 2001; Njie & Asimiran, 2014). This research focuses on a single case in which multiple variables (or actors) play a role and focus on the interactions within the process (among the different actors) and the interpretation and meaning of the process.

2. DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

In order to conduct the research, data has been collected through content analysis and semi-structured interviews. Based on these results, two conflict maps were also created. The utility of conflict maps for this research will be further discussed below. Content analysis regarded firstly policy documents about the Manor House warehouse districts issued by the Council, as well as documents on artists spaces and warehouses districts issued by the Greater London Authority. In addition, documents and comments regarding the redevelopment plans for the Omega Works warehouses were analysed. Out of the 120 documents regarding the redevelopment project which are available on the website of the Council, only six were selected, as the others were considered not pertaining to the research (e.g. comments about water pollution or fire safety, updated floor and design plans, and other construction-related assessments) (Haringey Council, n.d.-d). In total, 7 policy documents, 7 official statements, 4 reports and 1 prospectus have been analysed (for more detailed information see Table 1 below).

Table 1: Policy documents, official reports and statements analysed for the policy content analysis

Date	Title	Scale level	Typology	Author
March 2013 (consolidated in 2017)	Haringey Local Plan: Strategic Policies 2013-2026	Local	Policy document	Council of Haringey
2014	Creating artists' work-spaces	Regional	Report	Greater London Authority
2016	The London Plan 2016	Regional	Policy document	Greater London Authority
July 2017	Development Management DPD	Local	Policy document	Council of Haringey
July 2017	Site Allocation DPD	Local	Policy document	Council of Haringey
July 2017	Tottenham Area Action Plan	Local	Policy document	Council of Haringey
December 2017	Creative Enterprise Zones Prospectus	Regional	Prospectus	Greater London Authority
December 2018	Culture Strategy	Regional	Policy document	Greater London Authority
March 2020	Culture for all Londoners – Culture Strategy One Year On	Regional	Report	Greater London Authority
2021	The London Plan 2021	Regional	Policy document	Greater London Authority
2021	Creative Enterprise Zones Impact Report 2018-2021	Local	Report	Greater London Authority
November 2022	Statement of Community Involvement	Local	Statement	Collective Planning (on behalf of Majorlink Ltd.)

February 2023	Warehouses Living Management Plan	Local	Statement	Collective Planning (on behalf of Majorlink Ltd.)
April 2023	Landscape Statement regarding the Omega Works redevelopment	Local	Statement	Turkington Martin Landscape Architects
May 2023	Letter from Rt. Hon. David Lammy MP	Local	Statement	David Lammy MP
May 2023	Objections to Planning Applications HGY/2023/0570 and HGY/2022/4310	Local	Statement	Rikki Weir (Planning Officer for London's built environment community)
July 2023	Creative Enterprise Zones - GLA Culture and Creative Industries Unit Comments	Local	Statement	Greater London Authority
July 2023	Conservation Comment	Local	Statement	Place Services
March 2025	Local Development Scheme	Local	Report	Council of Haringey

In order to analyse the activities and strategies of Save the Warehouses, their online presence was analysed through content analysis. This included their website and their Instagram and Facebook accounts (the same content was posted on both platforms) (Save The Warehouses, n.d.-a; @savethewarehouses, n.d.)*. The first posts on the social media dates back to October 2021 and the last one, at the time of writing, dates back to April 2024. In total, 1 website and 82 social media posts were analysed. Details of social media posts can be found in Appendix I.

Furthermore, local and national media reports (such as printed and online articles, reports on television and radio) about Save the Warehouses have been analysed. Articles and reports were identified firstly through search terms on the major national, regional and local publications. The terms used were 'Save the Warehouses', 'warehouses', 'Manor House', 'Haringey', 'Harringay', 'warehouses district', 'warehouses redevelopment', 'warehouses community', 'warehouses gentrification', 'artists warehouses', 'creative warehouses', 'live/work spaces', 'live/work warehouses' and 'live/work artists'. Lastly, the results of this search were corroborated by a member of Save the Warehouses who had taken care of saving every media publication concerning their movement as they were published. In total, 13 articles, 2 press releases, 2 videos, 2 radio segment and 1 television segment have been analysed (for more detailed information please see Table 2 below). The analysis of the role of the media in the case of Save the Warehouses has been inspired by Hanquinet's (2011) analysis of the case of Ateliers Mommén, in Brussels. Based on Hanquinet's (2011) work, the analysis focused not solely on the

* As of August 2025, the website of Save the Warehouses seems to be down due to a technical error linked to the registration of the domain. However, it is still possible to consult the website in its entirety thanks to the Wayback Machine of the Internet Archive. To consult the website of Save the Warehouses, enter the url <https://www.savethewarehouses.org/> on the website <https://web.archive.org/>

stance of the media on the matter, but also on the way the artists community has been represented. Content analysis needs to take into account that the narrator (in this case, the journalist) incorporates other voices as well to argue the point, through direct and indirect discourse (Björninen et al., 2020). The selection or exclusion of particular voices is particularly significant as the case analysed is a case of urban conflict.

Table 2: Documents analysed for the content analysis of the media coverage

Date	Title	Typology	Publication	Scale level	Author
09/03/2023	Live in a Warehouse? Gentrification Is Coming for You Next	Article	VICE	National	Simon Doherty
17/04/2023	Traces of the past define major new mixed-use development in Haringey	Press release		Regional	vPPR
28/04/2023	The battle for London's Warehouse District	Article	The Lead	National	June Bellebono
10/05/2023	Salma El-Wardany 10/05/2023	Radio report	BBC Radio London	Regional	Salma El-Wardany
10/05/2023	North London residents object to plans that could see around 100 people made homeless	Article	Attitude	National	Alastair James
12/05/2023	"Our Warehouse Community Is Being Destroyed - We Have To Stop It"	Article	The Londonist	Regional	Kat Easto
15/05/2023	Protest at Omega Works artist housing redevelopment plans	Article	Enfield Independent	Local	Simon Allin
15/05/2023	Warehouse residents campaign to save 'one of London's last affordable artist communities'	Article	Haringey Community Press	Local	Simon Allin
19/05/2023	Artists in fight to save warehouse way of life	Article	The Times	National	Phoebe Hennell
22/05/2023	Warehouse district' residents fight vP-PR-designed redevelopment	Article	Architects' Journal	National	Ella Jessel
23/05/2023	New development in the Haringey warehouses district will destroy creative community	Press release		Regional	Save the Warehouses
24/05/2023	'It will kill the community': residents fight to save London warehouse district	Article	The Guardian	National	Mabel Banfield-Nwachi

25/05/2023	Public Records 25/05/2023	Radio report	Voices Radio	National	Holly Smith
31/05/2023	Warehouse residents fight gentrifying development that would make them homeless	YouTube video	PoliticsJOE	National	PoliticsJOE
09/06/2023	As Haringey's warehouse district is lined up for redevelopment the creative community is fighting back	Article and video	The Standard Evening	Regional	Emma Magnus (article) and Rhanie Al-Alas (video)
12/06/2023	Harringay: Artists living in creative warehouses fear losing homes	Article + Television report	BBC	National	Leyla Hayes
17/07/2023	In pictures: the creative community living in north London warehouses	Article	Dazed	National	Simon Doherty
26/09/2023	Haringey residents make shadow puppet film about warehouses	Article	Haringey Community Press	Local	Haringey Community Press
25/03/2024	Morris+Company's Haringey communal warehouse living approved	Article	Architects' Journal	National	Richard Waite

The content analysis has been complemented by 26 semi-structured interviews with several actors. As a first step, contacts with members of Save the Warehouses and other residents of Omega Works were established in July 2024 to first have access to the field. In total, between July 2024 and May 2025 four in-depth interview were conducted with members of Save the Warehouses (indicated in green in Table 3). Additionally, 10 residents of the area were interviewed, which includes both 5 warehouses residents who have not taken part in the initiatives of Save the Warehouses, as well as 5 Manor House residents who do not live within the warehouses district (indicated respectively in grey and purple in Table 3). At this point, it is important to keep in mind that gentrification studies are often at risk of presenting 'anti-gentrification porn', in which the focus is solely on the risk of the residents of being displaced, without accounting for their initiatives and agency (Busá & Lees, 2025). As the case studied regards resistance to gentrification, the agency of the residents is at the centre of the research. However, it is crucial to also account for the agency of those warehouses residents who have not taken part in the activities of Save the Warehouses.

Residents were stopped in public spaces and asked to participate to the research. Those who agreed were asked to leave their details so as to schedule the interview for a later time. In order to guarantee as much variety as possible in the background of residents interviewed, three public spaces in the area close to the warehouses district were chosen: Finsbury Park (frequented by a large variety of residents in different age groups, however frequented also by people who do not live close to the warehouses

district and had never heard of it), the New River Pub (part of the warehouses district, mostly frequented by warehouses residents but also by other residents, usually in the age group 18-45, rarely frequented by families and older people) and the Finsbury pub (close to the warehouses district but rarely frequented by warehouses residents, mostly frequented by Haringey residents in the age group 18-45). As it will be further discussed in the limitation section, non-warehouses residents were often wary to talk about the topic, unless they had some direct relationship with the warehouses or frequent spaces within the warehouses district.

In addition, to complement the content analysis of the press release, journalists who had reported on the case were contacted and asked if they wanted to answer some additional questions regarding their articles. In the end, four journalists were interviewed (indicated in light blue in Table 3). Interviews were also carried out with members of the local (Council of Haringey) and regional (Greater London Authority) political governing bodies (indicated in orange in Table 3). To investigate the historical and intangible heritage of the area, local and national historians and heritage experts were also interviewed (indicated in red in Table 3). Local and national heritage associations were first selected on the basis of their relevance for the case. The associations contacted are either involved in the protection of historical building, in the promotion of cultural or industrial heritage or work in the area of Haringey. The scope of the selection of the associations also kept into account the variety of approaches to the issue of heritage, ranging from the more traditional approaches, focused solely on the conservation of the buildings, to approaches which imply a broader understanding of heritage and account for intangible as well as tangible factors. Significantly, it should be noted that two of the historians interviewed, namely Hugh Flouch and Andrew Giller, had previously collaborated with Save the Warehouses to research the history of the Omega Works warehouses. For more details regarding the interviews see Table 3 below.

Members of Save the Warehouses have been anonymized in the results, as media exposure has created issues between them and their landlord in the past and are indicated as STW (short for Save the Warehouses). Local residents have also been anonymised to guarantee them full liberty in their statements without risking potential backlash from other residents or other groups. The audio of the interviews was recorded in all cases, except one in which a local resident preferred not to have their voice recorded. In that case extensive notes were written during and after the interview. All interviews were conducted in English, with the only exception of the interview with WH Resident 4, which was conducted in Italian, first language for both the author and the participant. Quotes from this interview are in English in the text, while the original Italian version can be found in Appendix II. All interviews were first transcribed and then coded on Atlas.ti. Quotes have been cleaned for clarity purposes.

Table 3: Details of the interviews carried out, organised in chronological order and colour-coded based on the role of the participants

Date	Name/Code	Affiliation	Role
July 2024	STW 1	Save the Warehouses	Member
October 2024	STW 2	Save the Warehouses	Member
January 2025	STW 3	Save the Warehouses	Member
March 2025	Ella Jessel	Architect's Journal	Journalist
March 2025	Alastair James	Attitude	Journalist
April 2025	Emma Magnus	Evening Standard	Journalist
April 2025	Andrew Giller	Giller Pianos	Historian of Piano Factories
April 2025	Phoebe Hennell	Times	Journalist
May 2025	Amanda Decker	Greater London Authority	Senior Programme Officer for Creative Enterprise Zones
May 2025	Eric Langham	Association for Heritage Interpretation	Trustee
May 2025	Ian West	Association for Industrial Archaeology	Honorary Secretary
May 2025	Haringey Resident 1	Resident	
May 2025	Haringey Resident 2	Resident	
May 2025	Haringey Resident 3	Resident	
May 2025	WH Resident 1	Warehouses resident	
May 2025	WH Resident 2	Warehouses resident	
May 2025	STW 4	Save the Warehouses	Member
May 2025	Hugh Flouch	Hornsey Historical Society	Local historian
May 2025	Robert Carr	Greater London Industrial Archaeology Society	Member
June 2025	WH Resident 3	Warehouses resident	
June 2025	WH Resident 4	Warehouses resident	
June 2025	WH Resident 5	Warehouses resident	
June 2025	Lydia Franklin	SAVE Britain's Heritage	Conservation Officer
June 2025	Timothy Solomon	Council of Haringey	Policy, Conservation and Design Team Manager
June 2025	Haringey Resident 4	Resident	
June 2025	Haringey Resident 5	Resident	

Lastly, based on the results of the content analysis and the interviews, two conflict maps were realized. One map depicts the conflict situation in 2023, which was the most active period for the Save the Warehouses, and one depicts the conflict situation as of today.

Conflict maps are photographic depictions of the actors involved in a particular conflict and of the relations between them at a precise moment in time (Fisher, 2000). As conflict maps can only photograph the situation as it appears at a certain point in time, two different maps were realized in order to account for changes that have taken place in the last two years. The realisation of these maps is based on Fisher's (2000) method for conflict mapping, which focuses on power relations and attempts to draw out the role of actors who are not obvious but who are still relevant. Furthermore, conflict maps are useful tools to understand the relative power of each actor involved and their potential of intervention. The use of conflict maps represents methodologically a counterbalance to the use of Critical Discourse Analysis, which, as discussed above, tends to focus on solely discursive practices, leaving behind the material conditions. Mapping out the actors and their relations is a useful way to better situate the case within its context and to foreground that the past and the present are constructed by 'material beings who co-produce heritage as a result of their own affordances or material capabilities' (Harrison, 2012, p. 113).

3. NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY: WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Some of the terminology used for this research needs to be discussed before proceeding further. One is the definition of the terms 'creatives' and 'artists', which are often, but not always, used interchangeably in this research. The way these terms are defined has methodological implications for the research as a whole which need to be understood to have a better grasp of the final results. The second term which needs to be clarified is, instead, the name given to the warehouses district of Haringey. This clarification is solely needed to avoid unnecessary confusion.

The issue of creativity

It is not an easy task to define what a creative community is. The notion of creative community remains ill-defined and in some cases terms such as creative cluster, creative enterprise or creative businesses are used interchangeably with the term community (Medema, 2011; Virani et al., 2018). Thus, the definition can be very narrow or very wide. Notably, in his work on the creative class, Richard Florida includes lawyers, doctors and software engineers in his definition (Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008). Florida's work has been much criticized for this definition and in his studies culture and creativity have no intrinsic value, but are solely seen as an instrument to attract high-tech industries (Pratt, 2008). Furthermore, it is also important to recognize that the terms 'creative class' or 'creative industries' carry a significant political implication (Pratt, 2008). In fact, the terms came into use after the 1990s to replace the use of *cultural*, which carries negative or ambitious implications that are not found instead in the idea of creativity (Pratt, 2008).

In the context of the Manor House warehouses, the term 'artists' is often too narrow to include all the activities carried out by their residents, as the studios often welcomes crafters that might not generally be included within the idea of 'artists' but that can fit in the idea of 'creative', such as photographers, potters and film prop managers. Nevertheless, residents of the warehouses and members of Save the Warehouses often use the terms

'artists' and 'creative' interchangeably, without distinguishing between a narrower and a broader definition. Furthermore, the idea of creativity within the warehouses is not always necessarily linked to the economic sphere, making definitions of 'creative' as the one used by Florida impossible to employ in this context. In fact, in some cases, warehouses residents are not able to economically sustain themselves through their creative professions, and as a result they have a 'day job' that allows to economically sustain themselves and their creative profession (STW 1, Interview 2024). Warehouses residents are likely to identify themselves through their creative profession rather than their day job (STW 1, Interview 2024).

Furthermore, it is important to recognize that creativity is not a 'gift' or a 'superpower', but rather a social notion, and as such it can be enabled or disabled by social and economic factors and conditions (Pratt, 2010). The warehouses provide an environment where multiple factors come together to enable the creativity of their residents: the cheap rent, the unusually large common spaces, but also the ability to share resources with other residents (STW 1, Interview 2024; WH Resident 5, Interview 2025). However, although live/work spaces are renowned for attracting artists and creatives, not everyone who lives in a warehouse is necessarily part of this category. For this reason, for the purposes of this research, when discussing the cultural significance of the warehouses the terms 'creative community', 'artists community' and at times even just 'artists' are used to indicate the residents of the warehouses in their entirety, without necessarily attributing economic significance to the term. However, the terms 'warehouses residents' and 'warehouses community' are preferred when the discussion does not necessarily relate to the cultural sphere, to avoid implying that all warehouses' residents are necessarily creatives or artists.

The warehouses district

The warehouses district of Haringey is known by several names. When the area was still a small town outside of London, in the 19th century, its name was spelled as both Haringey and Harringay. In the 20th century, once the area had been incorporated into Greater London, the bureaucratic designation was the Borough of Hornsey, reason why the area is sometimes still referred to as Hornsey. In 1965, the Borough of Hornsey was replaced the Borough of Haringey. However, locals still refer to the area where the original town was built, which now includes the warehouses district, as Harringay (Flouch, 2025). As people started to move into the warehouses district, they discarded both Haringey and Harringay, and called the area Manor House, after the closest Tube stop, or at times even just The Manor. To further complicate the issue, the warehouses district is part of the Tottenham Creative Enterprise Zones. Thus, although the warehouses are close to but not part of Tottenham, the area is sometimes referred to as such in the context of CEZ, or it is indicated as Southern Tottenham, which is geographically incorrect. As I first heard the area being called 'Manor House', that is the name that I have decided to use for the purposes of this research. However, as participants sometimes referred to the area under other names, these might appear in quotations below.

4. POSITIONALITY

Having discussed the methods I have employed, I believe that it is important to reflect on my positionality and how it has affected both the data collection process and the data analysis process. This reflection is needed not only because my standpoint has an influence how I have approached this research, but because it has already affected my topic choice. Scientific knowledge is not produced in a vacuum. In fact, my interest in Save the Warehouses stems from a close friendship with a former resident of one of the Manor House warehouses, which could have negatively impact how some of the participants have perceived me but has also impacted my own perception of the participants, as I have approached the case first from the point of view of the warehouses' residents. I am a well-educated and white woman, characteristics which put me in a position of privilege. Recognising these privileges is important to understand how my personal subjectivity has influenced the research process.

Some parts of my positionality have probably represented a contradiction throughout the research process. For example, the fact that I am not British might have both hindered and aided me in different cases. In fact, this means that I speak English with a non-native accent and there are various studies that suggest that native speakers often have a negative perception of those who speak with an accent (Munro, 2003). This might have created subconscious negative feelings in the cases in which I first approached the participants in person (e.g. when talking to the Haringey and warehouses residents to ask them to participate in my research). At the same time, when approaching experts by email, I noticed a more enthusiastic response when I mentioned that I study at a foreign university rather than when I did not. In these cases, the experts might have felt flattered that a foreign student had appealed to their specific knowledge about the UK and London.

Furthermore, as I am a woman there is always a risk that participants, especially participants with more conservative values, can perceive me as less professional than a male researcher, limiting my scope of action (Furnham et al., 2013). For example, when I asked local historian Hugh Flouch if he had contacts with Historic England, a heritage association which I had tried to contact, his answer was:

"Ask to see somebody and be sweet and appealing, and somebody will agree to an interview" (Flouch, Interview 2025)

This quote highlights how the behaviour of women is generally expected to be more submissive than the behaviour of men. This preconception affects female and female-presenting researchers and the way we need to interact with participants, especially male participants, in order to be taken into consideration.

On the other hand, being a woman could also have had an impact on my readings of the results. Lees, Rivas-Alonso and Annunziata have highlighted how their positionality as female scholars in the male-dominated world of urban geography leads them to a different reading of urban social justice than the mainstream interpretation (Lees et al.,

2018). Although this research does not employ an explicitly feminist approach, I cannot ignore how feminist lenses are part of my everyday approach to the world, influencing how I analyse power dynamics and interpersonal relationships.

Before presenting the results of this research, the next section illustrates more in-depth the case and the context of Save the Warehouses.



Entry to the 3N unit of the Omega Works warehouses (Author's own, 2025)

THE CASE

This thesis, as already mentioned, focuses on the case of the Save the Warehouses (STW) movement, which is based in the Borough of Haringey, London. In order to understand the results of the analysis, it is essential to understand the context of the case. Thus, the next section discusses the literature about gentrification in London specifically, presents the characteristic of the Borough of Haringey as well as the ones of the Manor House warehouses district and discusses the role of the area as a Creative Enterprise Zone. Lastly, the similarities with the case of Hackney Wick, another warehouses district of London which has been heavily gentrified in the last years, are discussed.

1. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Gentrification in London

As already mentioned above, London is where gentrification was first observed by Ruth Glass in the 1960s and the word was first printed in 1964 her book *London: Aspects of Change* (Johnson-Schlee, 2024). For the 60th anniversary of the publication of Glass' book in 2024, various articles have recently been published about the current state of gentrification in London (e.g. Beinart, 2024; Elsmore, 2024; Johnson-Schlee, 2024; Lees & Rozena, 2025; Strong, 2024). Literature about gentrification has certainly not been lacking for the past decades, however these articles are interesting to look at as they take Glass' work as their starting point to compare the current situation of the city. Although the phenomenon of gentrification certainly predates the birth of the term, there are very few studies about pre-WWII gentrification (Lees & Rozena, 2025; Verlaan & Hochstenbach, 2022). However, having a historical and wider perspective of gentrification can help us understand the long-term developments and temporalities of it.

In London and in the UK more generally, much research has focused on the state-led gentrification of council estates, which began under Thatcher's government and the implementation of the 'right to buy' policy (Busá & Lees, 2025; Lees & and White, 2020; Lees & Ferreri, 2016). Although this trend has been receding since 2020, when new evidence emerged of retention and construction of council houses, its effects have spilled over the population of council estates and have swarmed the whole housing market (Busá & Lees, 2025; Lees & and White, 2020). In fact, since the implementation of the right to buy, local authorities have been pushed towards an entrepreneurial turn, as Councils attempt to extract capital to fund public projects by increasing the rent value, ultimately harming the public projects they initially attempted to fund (Harvey, 1989; Harvey & Harvey, 2005; Lees & and White, 2020). Furthermore, even while institutional actors attempt to find a solution for the housing crisis, developers have managed to use the crisis narrative in their own favour to expand their market in the outer areas of the cities, ultimately aggravating the situation and displacing residents farther out from the centre (Brill & Raco, 2021).

Circling back to Glass' work, the present state of London appears to be the confirmation of her warning against the liberalisation of real estate as the city has now become the

terrain for the survival of the financially fittest (Glass, 1964 as quoted in Elsmore, 2024). The effects have not been homogenous within London as a whole, as the city is extremely diverse and complex, making it difficult to have an overall vision of it as a whole (Johnson-Schlee, 2024). Nevertheless, some general trends can still be identified. For example, Lees and White (2020) have identified an increase in resistance to gentrification in London, although there is still a lack of alternative designs and projects to regenerate urban areas without gentrifying them. The East of the city in particular has been used as a laboratory for urban regeneration projects (Corcillo & Watt, 2022). Not surprisingly, a recent study about 53 areas in London which have gentrified between 2012 and 2020 places most of these in the Eastern side of the city (Trust for London, 2025). Although the Borough of Haringey is located in the North of the city, it figures in this research as the fourth Borough for number of gentrified neighbourhoods (Trust for London, 2025). The next section focuses on gentrification in the Borough of Haringey specifically.

The Borough of Haringey

It is now important to place the case of STW within its context. The Omega Works warehouses are located within the Borough of Haringey and more specifically, as of 2022, within the Ward of Hermitage and Gardens* (Haringey Council, n.d.-a). Haringey is sharply divided between the richer and whiter West and the poorer and more diverse East (Haringey Council, n.d.-c; Raco & Moreira de Souza, 2018). The Manor House warehouses district is located in the Eastern part of the Borough (see Figure 1). Overall, the problem of housing affordability regards the whole Borough, as in the last years housing prices have been increasing at a higher rate than pay rises, and the ratio between the median house prices and earnings is above the London average (Haringey Council, 2023). Haringey is also the fifth borough in London by number of temporary accommodations, meaning accommodations provided by the local authorities to homeless households, and the Ward of Hermitage and Gardens has proportionally fewer homeowners and more renters than the rest of the Borough (Haringey Council, n.d.-b, 2023).

Since the beginning of the 21st Century, the Borough of Haringey has experienced increasing gentrification and related displacement due to an entrepreneurial turn of the Council (Horton & Penny, 2023; Panton & Walters, 2018; Raco & Moreira de Souza, 2018). As discussed above, this entrepreneurial turn is not specific to Haringey and, as in other Councils, local authorities have been pushing policies for urban regeneration which have been favouring the needs of the private sector while negatively impacting and displacing local residents (Harvey, 1989; Horton & Penny, 2023; Panton & Walters, 2018; Raco & Moreira de Souza, 2018). In London, developer-led gentrification disproportionately affects non-white residents (Beinart, 2024; Román-Velázquez, 2024; Strong, 2024).

As private actors take the lead of urban regeneration, residents increasingly rely less on the local government and resort, instead, to protest to defend their right to place (Panton & Walters, 2018; Román-Velázquez, 2024). In Haringey, this has already happened in the cases of redevelopment linked with the Tottenham Stadium and the

* Before 2022, Omega Works was located within the Seven Sisters ward. The Hermitage and Gardens ward was born out of the redesign of the Seven Sister and the St. Ann's wards (Haringey Council, n.d.-a)

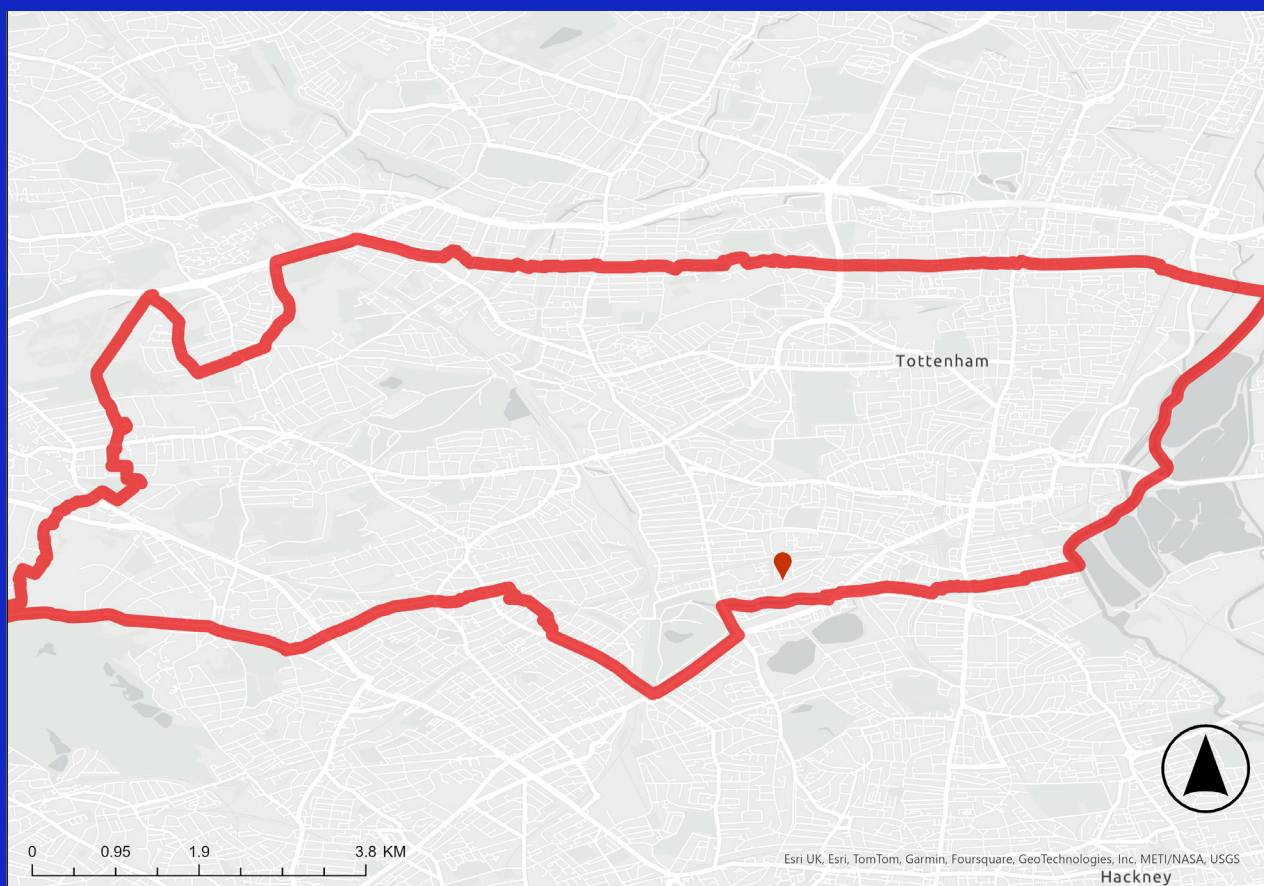


Figure 1: Map which shows the Omega Works warehouses within the boundaries of the Borough of Haringey (in red) (Author's own, 2024)

Haringey Development Vehicle (HDV). The Haringey Development Vehicle is particularly interesting, as according to the initial plans of the Council it was supposed to be the biggest public-private joint venture in the entirety of London, for a value of over £2 billion (Horton & Penny, 2023). Both cases took place in Tottenham, an area North-East of the warehouses district. In both cases, residents protested as the local communities were not consulted before the redevelopment plans were approved (Horton & Penny, 2023; Panton & Walters, 2018). In the end, residents were able to slow down the process, although their victories were only partial. Thus, redevelopment plans like the ones proposed for Omega Works are not unusual for the city of London nor for the Borough of Haringey.

Made in Tottenham: the first Creative Enterprise Zone

One of the twelve Creative Enterprise Zones (CEZ) can be found within the Borough of Haringey. CEZ are a project managed by the Greater London Authority (GLA), at times referred to as the City Hall, which is the regional governance body with jurisdiction over Greater London. In 2014, the GLA had already published a report to highlight the lack of affordable workspaces for artists within London (GLA, 2014). For this report, five case studies of artists' workspaces were chosen, none of which located within the Borough of Haringey. Most importantly, the project mapped artists' workspaces all across London as

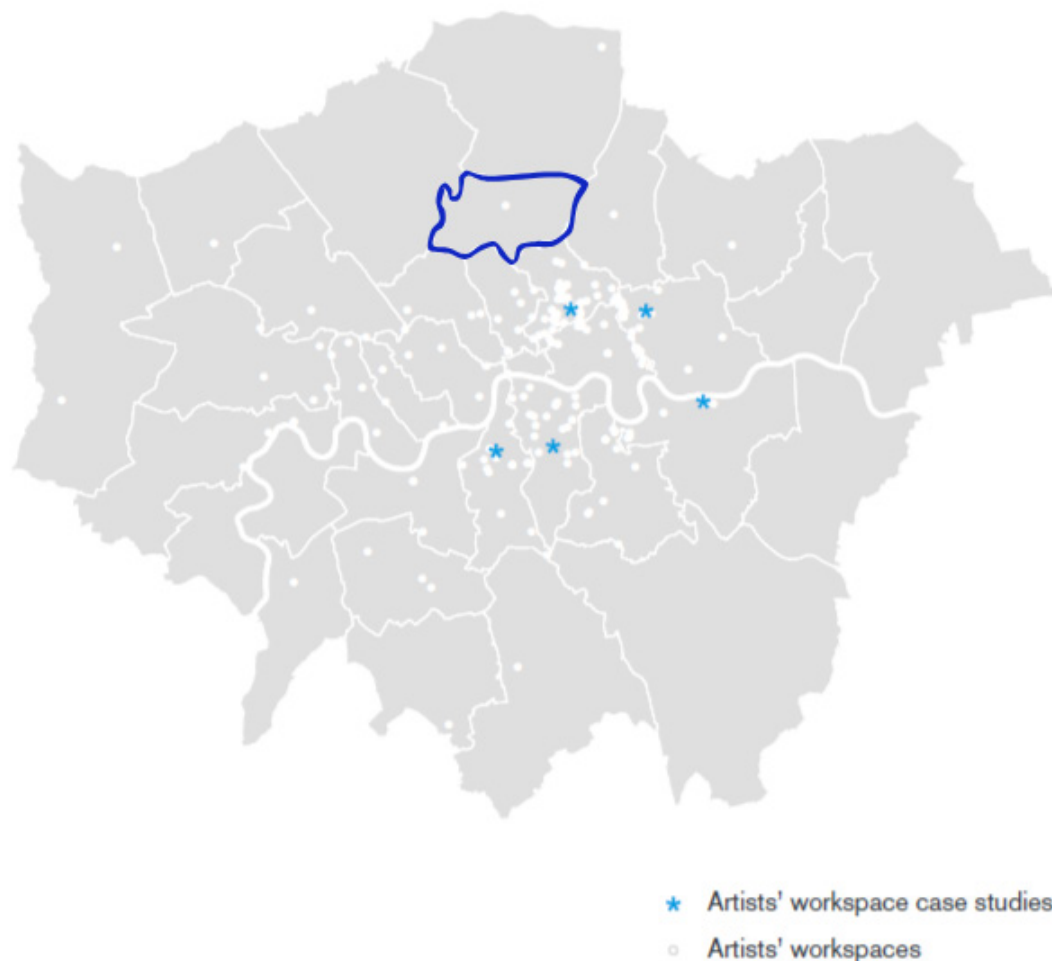


Figure 2: Map about artists workspaces in June 2014 according to the Greater London Authority (GLA, 2014). Boundaries of the Borough of Haringey (in blue) added by the author

of July 2014, and identified only one in Haringey as it can be seen in the Figure below, despite the fact that at the time live-work spaces of the Manor House warehouses already existed (GLA, 2014). This overlook was probably due to the fact that, as it will be explained below, at the time the Council itself was not yet aware of the warehouses' community. However, in 2017 with the implementation of the Policy DM39, the first planning policy for warehouses living within London, the situation rapidly changed and the GLA rapidly became interested in Haringey (GLA, 2021a).

The CEZ programme is a form of a creative cluster policy. Creative policies are often pushed to favour social inclusion, however data shows that the relationship between the implementation of creative clusters and increased social inclusion is weak at best if not non-existent (Oakley, 2004; Pratt, 2010; Virani et al., 2018). The main issue concerning creative policies is that they often try to regulate organic bottom-up development, attempting to impose a top-down approach (Oakley, 2004).

CEZ were first announced in 2016 to study how to avoid and contrast the gentrification of neighbourhoods with a strong presence of creatives, as the GLA noticed that displaced artists were no longer moving to other areas of London, but they were moving to different cities altogether, such as Lisbon and Berlin (Decker, Interview 2025). As it will be discussed below, around 2016 the gentrification of Hackney Wick, another warehouses district, was becoming an evident problem. However, the gentrification issue of Hackney Wick has always been particularly complicated, as it also involved the construction of the nearby Olympic Park, which encompasses five different Boroughs. On the other hand, Haringey already presented similar characteristics and challenges to Hackney Wick, namely the warehouses district and the creative community associated with it, without the same level of complexity (Decker, Interview 2025). Thus, in 2017 the Borough was chosen to launch the pilot project which later transformed into the CEZ.

The CEZ programme for Haringey has been named Made by Tottenham* (GLA, 2021a). Following the initial funding of £50,000 for the pilot project, the Council of Haringey received over £1 million in the period between 2018 and 2023 (GLA, 2021a). The results of the pilot programme highlighted the presences of under-resourced freelancer creatives in the area, and aimed at “retaining and growing the local creative community” as well as “securing and expanding the availability of creative workspace” (GLA, 2017, p. 22).

However, CEZ policy is problematic to implement at the local level. In fact, even though the strategies to implement the CEZ programme were first developed in 2016, they were not included in any policy document until 2021, when the 2021 London Plan was published (GLA, 2021b). The London Plan is the strategy development plan for the area of Greater London (GLA, 2016, 2021b). CEZ are contained within Policy HC5 of the 2021 London Plan on ‘Supporting London’s culture and creative industries’ (GLA, 2021b, p. 298). Local authorities have to take into account the policies of the London plan when drafting their own Local Plans (see Figure 3 below). However, the cyclical nature of both the London and the Local Plans means that these policies are often implemented with significant delay:

“Just because we put it out in the London plan, that doesn’t mean a local plan is coming forward for redrafting. It’s cyclical, because a local plan probably won’t get redrafted every number of years. It’s a really complicated process, so it could be that each Borough] has interpreted it slightly differently.” (Decker, Interview 2025)

The last Haringey Local Plan was published in 2017 and does not account for the policies

* Tottenham is another area within Haringey with a strong presence of creative industries

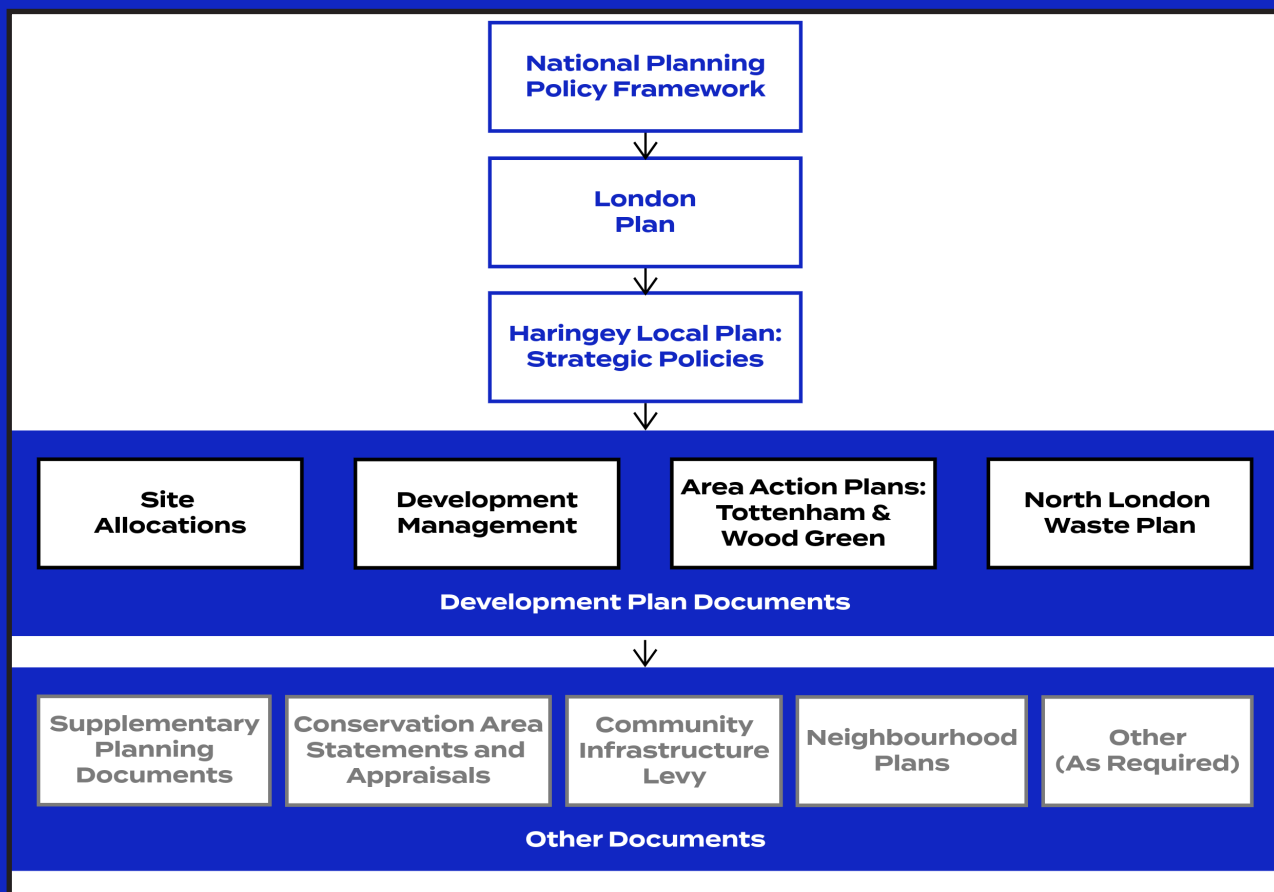


Figure 3: Hierarchy of planning policies for the Borough of Haringey based on data from the Council of Haringey (2017a) (Author's own, 2025)

contained within the 2021 London Plan (Solomon, Interview 2025). Therefore, because of this significant delay in policies drafting and implementation, CEZ have a more prescriptive than legal role.

Furthermore, the GLA has been criticised for using the term 'affordable' regarding workspaces without ever defining it (Leisewitz et al., 2022). The main issue with defining what affordable means is that it might have different meanings across different areas of London. Nevertheless, the 2021 London Plan provided a first attempt by indicating the need for 'below-market level' creative workspaces (GLA, 2021b; Leisewitz et al., 2022). However, while the GLA promotes affordable workspaces, it never mentions the importance of affordable housing for the long-term sustainability of the creative communities, although the term 'affordable housing' suffers from the same level of vagueness as 'affordable workspaces' does (Bingham-Hall & Kaasa, 2017; Corcillo & Watt, 2022).

Thus based on its objectives, the success of the CEZ has been so far tenuous at best (Pratt, 2010). While the GLA has been able to directly fund programmes to teach and support particular skills, its ability to guarantee affordable spaces, to support communities and to directly implement policies is strongly attenuated in the passage from the regional to the local scale (Decker, Interview 2025). Due to these reasons, even though the

Council of Haringey has received substantial funding from the GLA to implement the CEZ programme, the GLA still lacks significant and meaningful power to influence the decisions of the Council regarding specific cases within the CEZ.

The Manor House warehouses district

The warehouses district of Manor House began its transformation from industrial area to live/work spaces for artists and creatives around the early noughties, although some of the spaces were already used for raves and other events in the 1990s (Flouch, Interview 2025; STW 1, Interview 2024). Similar districts already existed in other areas of London, as well as in other cities across the world (O'Sullivan, 2013). Warehouses districts attract their residents for their sense of community and freedom, as well as for the alternative aesthetic which usually develops around these areas (Virani et al., 2018). The first warehouses that were converted into residential units were strongly do-it-yourself and, in most cases, illegal (Jessel, 2015; Stiel, 2014). In fact, during the first years, landlords who found themselves with free industrial units would rent them out to people upon agreement that they would convert them into residential units and would not pay rent for the first few months (Haringey Resident 5, Interview 2025). Most warehouses of the area were and still are owned by one of three companies, Provewell, Majorlink or Palmlane Estates, which often share the same staff members (Bellebono, 2023).

It was not until 2013, when a fire broke out in one of the units, that the Council of Haringey realized that hundreds of people were living in the warehouses, despite the fact that the warehouses were intended solely for industrial use. Trying to estimate the size of the situation, the Council reported in 2014 that there were about 727 bedrooms, divided in 322 units across 26 warehouses (Stiel, 2014). The size of units varies widely, with some units housing over twenty people while others fit a maximum of two beds (STW 1, Interview 2024). The Council of Haringey first decided to evict all the residents of the warehouses due to unsafe living conditions (Stiel, 2014). The residents protested this decision, leading to the creation of the Warehouses of Haringey Tenant Association (W.H.A.T., which no longer exists). An independent research group from the London School of Economics researched the socio-spatial characteristics of the warehouses district, and advised the Council to work together with the residents of the warehouses to improve the safety of the buildings, rather than displacing the existing community (Azar et al., 2014).

Following the creation of a taskforce designed to tackle the problem and the protests of the residents, the Council of Haringey created the *ad hoc* Policy DM39, which was adopted in July 2017 and which regulates warehouse-style living (Haringey Council, 2017a). Policy DM39 recognised the residential aspect of warehouses. However, they were not categorized as live/work development, but as a *sui generis* use (Haringey Council, 2017a). It is also important to note that while warehouses now have recognition at the Borough level they still represent a grey zone for regional and state authorities, such as the Greater London Authority (Decker, Interview 2025). As the warehouses were normalized and integrated into the laws of the Council, the residents started to denounce the first signs of gentrification. Provewell, which manages around 70% of the warehouses units in Haringey on behalf of offshore investors, invested £50,000 to

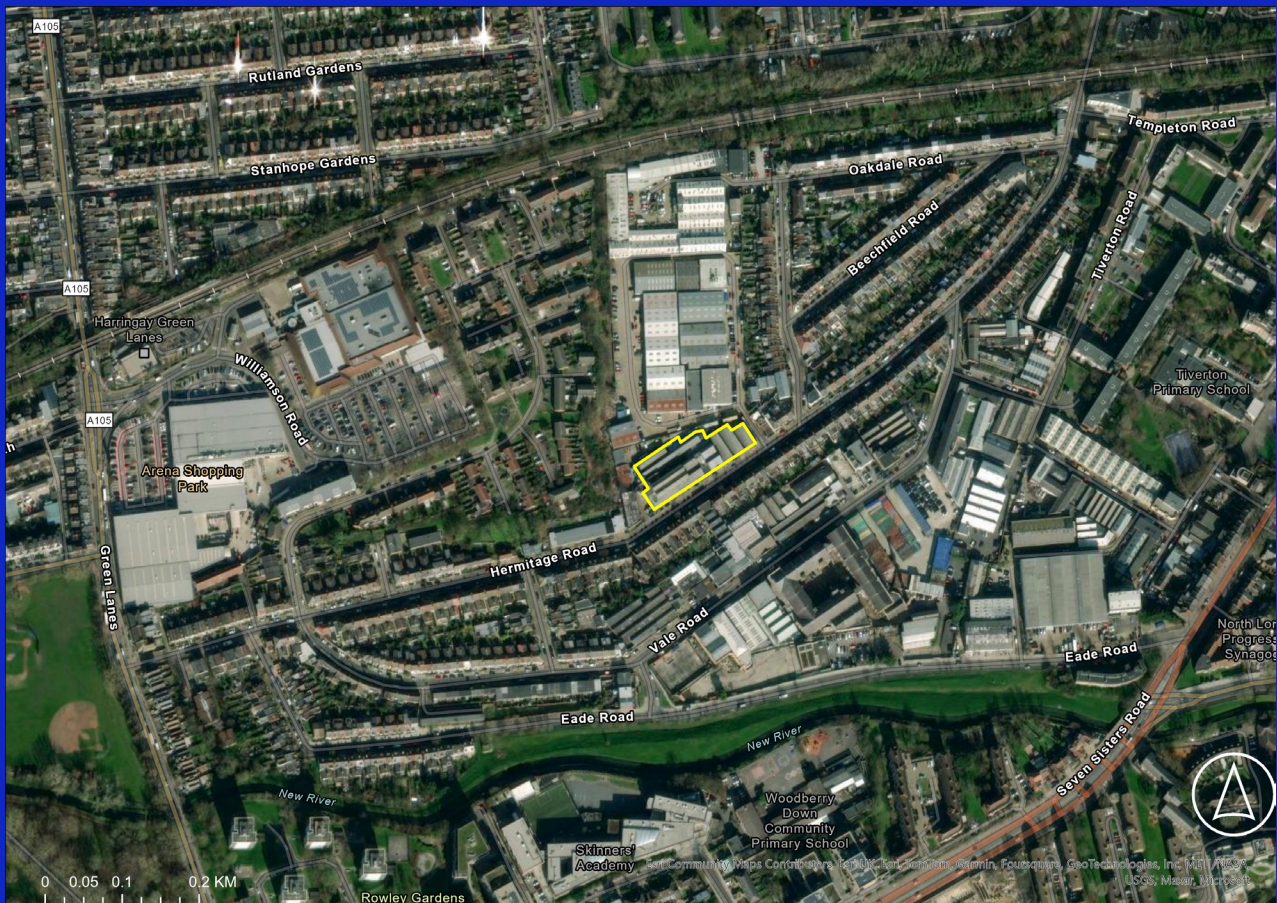


Figure 4: the Omega Works warehouses (in yellow) within the Heritage and Gardens ward (author's own, 2024); the industrial and post-industrial features of Manor House are evident from the picture

upkeep the exterior appearance of the area (Jessel, 2015; Provewell, n.d.). Some of the local artists saw this as an exploitation of their creative work, while another group of warehouses residents funded Haringey Arts and partnered with Provewell itself to transform the Manor House warehouses district (Jessel, 2015; Provewell, n.d.). Further institutional recognition came in 2018, when the GLA launched the CEZ pilot (GLA, n.d., 2021a). Thus, with the implementation of DM39 and the implementation of the CEZ, rent went up in most warehouses and the population of the warehouses changed, becoming more professional.

In 2017 the Council of Haringey also published its Site Allocation Development Plan Document (DPD), which indicates which areas of the Borough are allocated for redevelopment according to the general guidelines drafted in the Haringey Local Plan (Haringey Council, 2017b). The Site Allocations DPD indicated six areas allocated for redevelopment within the warehouses district, including Omega Works (Haringey Council, 2017c). This document highlights that warehouses living still lies in a legal grey zone, despite the existence of Policy DM39, but indicates the presence of live/work spaces as an opportunity and identifies the site-specific needs of the warehouses residents (Haringey Council, 2017c). The site was allocated for "potential development to increase accessibility providing increased employment floorspace, and provide warehouse living accommodation." (Haringey Council, 2017c, p. 69) Among the site

requirements and development guidelines for the development of Omega Works, the Council indicated that “the principles of Policy DM39 apply to the site” and that “buildings in this area should continue to be designed to maintain the unique warehouse character of the area” (Haringey Council, 2017c, p. 70). These elements indicate that the interests of the Council are not to eliminate the live/work spaces, rather to improve their living conditions, often deemed sub-standard (Haringey Council, 2017c; Solomon, Interview 2025). However, there is still the risk that the ‘unique warehouse character’ might be exploited by redevelopers. In fact, when plans were put forward to redevelop the units of the Omega Works warehouse, the local residents saw this as the first step towards their displacement.

2. SAVE THE WAREHOUSES

This section presents a temporal overview of the activities of Save the Warehouses, necessary to understand the final results of the research.

The movement was born in October 2021 following the discovery of a notice of redevelopment on a lamppost by a resident of Omega Works, as in the UK applications for redevelopment need to be advertised publicly (STW 3, Interview 2025). The notice was then posted on a Facebook group for residents of the warehouses district, and the first organisation event was held a few days later, at the local pub New River Studios (@savethewarehouses, 2021a). At this point, the project was still in the consultation stage. In February 2022, a consultation event between the developers and the residents took place. These consultations are mandatory for any redevelopment project in the UK, however the developers allowed only 4 residents to take part in this online event (@savethewarehouses, 2022a). Save the Warehouses organised its first event to contest the exclusion of the majority of the residents from the consultation (@savethewarehouses, 2022a).

The residents of Omega Works are contesting the redevelopment due to the fact that the realisation of the plans would result in their displacement. They have highlighted that although the developers have guaranteed the current residents priority to return after the construction is complete, the proposed plans imply an increase in rent of at least 25%, which most residents cannot afford, especially as under the new conditions it could only be possible to have one tenant per room, while currently couples or friends can share a room and divide the cost among each other (PoliticsJOE, 2023; Save The Warehouses, 2023a). STW has also contested the use of the term ‘warehouses-style living’ as used in the plans, as it is not clear what it would entail, and which features would be retained from the current live/work spaces, claiming the developers are co-opting the term (@savethewarehouses, 2021b). They have also pointed out that the mix of residential and warehouses-style living spaces would make it hard for creatives to use the spaces as live/work areas, due to noise issues and dangerous machineries, such as saws and wood machines, which could no longer be used in the outside spaces (Easto, 2023; Save The Warehouses, 2023b). In addition, while the developers have claimed that their plans for 80 beds would increase the current amount of available housing, the residents are claiming that around 110 people currently live in the Omega Works (STW 1, Interview 2024).

In the months following the first consultation, STW started to mobilise the support of the local community in preparation for the publication of the redevelopment plans. Omega Works residents were asked if they could provide support based on their skills and abilities:

“They did a call for people who had specific areas of expertise and who would be willing to join the steering committee. [...] I put myself forward and said that I’m an expert in media management work because I work for a PR agency” (STW 2, Interview 2024)

Their activities consisted of door-to-door campaigning with their neighbours, open-warehouses and fundraising events, such as a yard sale, DJ sets and art exhibitions, and an online petition to stop the redevelopment (@savethewarehouses, 2022b, 2022c, 2022d). For this initial phase, STW collaborated with ACORN, a community union which sustained STW by training its members, with Radical Housing Network, with the Haringey Solidarity Network and with the Haringey Community Action Network (Bellebono, 2023; STW 1, Interview 2024; STW 3, Interview 2025). During this phase, the residents were already able to catch the attention of the Council and to slow down the publication of the redevelopment project:

“At this point the Council was like ‘Wwell something’s going on here and we need to assess what’s happening.’ That bought us a lot of time which is what we needed. This was late 2022 [...] We started to build up the community around this because when they submitted the planning permission, we needed to be in the position to submit as many objections to it as we could. Because if there’s enough objections for the planning application to be a contentious issue then it has to go through a Council meeting.” (STW 3, Interview 2025)

The plans were later officially presented to the Council in April 2022 and made public in March 2023 (Haringey Council, n.d.-d). At this point, the strategy of STW switched to gathering attention through press coverages and encouraging the local residents to write objections to the redevelopment (STW 2, Interview 2024). To assure that the objections written by the residents would resonate with the policies of the Council, the movement held writing workshops (@savethewarehouses, 2023a). Objections could be submitted until 19th May 2023, and in this two-months window STW reaped the benefits of the community support it had built in the previous year. The role of STW in the press coverage of the case will be discussed in detail below.

STW focused on gaining media attention until June 2023, when one of its members was threatened with eviction following her appearance on BBC London (STW 2, Interview 2024). At that point, their strategy shifted, and media coverage became sparser. In fact, the last social media post dates back to April 2024 and the last article which mentions the case dates back to March 2024 (@savethewarehouses, 2024; Waite, 2024). The movement rejected to talk with the press in the following months (STW 4, Interview 2025).

Instead, STW focused on fostering ties with local actors, rather than attracting national attention (STW 4, Interview 2025). Events for the local community, such as makers

markets and art exhibitions, were held until the end of 2023 (@savethewarehouses, 2023k, 2023m). During this period, STW also organised events in collaboration with Fish Island Community Network, a similar warehouses movement facing threat of eviction in Fish Island (@savethewarehouses, 2023g). The residents of Omega Works were also commissioned by the Council of Haringey and the GLA to realise a video about the history of the building for the Haringey Feast 2023 signalling that local and regional authorities were attentive about the warehouses case (@savethewarehouses, 2023i). The video was posted on the website and social media accounts of Save the Warehouses as well as on the YouTube page of the Council (Haringey Council, 2024; Save The Warehouses, n.d.-b). To reconstruct the history of Omega Works, STW worked together with Andrew Giller, musician, piano restorer and historian, and Hugh Flouch, local historian (@savethewarehouses, 2023h). The video was realised with shadow puppets and Manor House residents were invited to take part in the creation of these puppets (Haringey Community Press, 2023; @savethewarehouses, 2023i). Members of STW also collaborated with the Culture, Strategy and Communities department of the Council on two other projects:

“They’ve commissioned us to help them redraft the culture policy of Haringey. And me and a couple of other Save the Warehouses people ran a theatre workshop for them, all across Haringey, to help them get insight on what people want about culture. With that data, they managed to be awarded for London Borough of Culture 2027.” (STW 1, Interview 2024)

The Council was then supposed to reach a decision on the redevelopment proposal by the end of December 2023 (Haringey Council, n.d.-d). However, as of August 2025, the plans are still under consultation. In fact, the Council presented additional questions to the developers, and they were given until the 30th of April 2025 to provide answers (STW 4, Interview 2025). At the time of writing, it is not clear by when the Council aims to have a final decision. Furthermore, residents of Omega Works are worried that even if the Council were to stop the redevelopment project, the landlords would simply carry out a managed decline, withholding any form of repair until the building is no longer fit to be inhabited and needs to be redeveloped (STW 1, Interview 2024; STW 3, Interview 2025).

From December 2023 to today, the residents of Omega Works have been living in a limbo. As the decision is now completely in the hand of the Council, STW has now ceased most of its activities, besides internal meetings and occasional check-ups with local authorities (STW 1, Interview 2024; STW 4, Interview 2025). To complicate the matter, some of the most active members of STW have also suffered from burn-out and stress in the last years, due to the intensity of the campaign as well as the landlord’s threat of evictions in 2023 (STW 1, Interview 2024; STW 4, Interview 2025). Although STW already considers a success the fact they have so far managed to stall the redevelopment, it is still not clear for how long the current situation will be sustainable.

3. HACKNEY WICK: A CAUTIONARY TALE

“There used to be Hackney Wick. It used to be the biggest warehouse district, but then it’s been gentrified. There are still some authentic warehouses there, but a lot of them are new builds. And it’s very expensive, usually” (STW 1, Interview 2024)

Many residents of Omega Works have made it clear that they do not want their warehouse to become “another Hackney Wick” (@savethewarehouses, 2022a). The gentrification of the Hackney Wick warehouses also comes up in many of the articles written about the case, and various participants mentioned it unprompted in the interviews (Allin, 2023b; Banfield-Nwachi, 2023; Doherty, 2023a; PoliticsJOE, 2023; STW 1, Interview 2024; STW 2, Interview 2024; STW 3, Interview 2025). Furthermore both Provewell and Majorlink own warehouses in both warehouses districts (Provewell, n.d.; STW 1, Interview 2024). For this reason, I believe it useful to briefly present the case of warehouses gentrification in Hackney Wick, which is now considered to be one of the most gentrified neighbourhoods in London (Oluwalana, 2022). Before redevelopment plans began, Hackney Wick, located in the Borough of Tower Hamlets, used to be the biggest concentration of live/work warehouses spaces in Europe (Virani, 2019). Although the context of Haringey is not exactly the same as Hackney Wick (where gentrification arrived also through the Olympics), the case of gentrification in Hackney Wick has already been studied and researched, making it an easy starting point to investigate the case of Haringey.

Gentrification was pushed in the area through policies which encouraged market forces to take control of the area, due to outdated beliefs about regeneration. The process was described as *heritage-led* by the Council, however, architects working on the redevelopment area pointed out that none of the buildings in Hackney Wick were important heritage assets, as they were not on any national or local listing of heritage buildings (Rossi & Aliberti, 2016; Solanki, 2021). While the Council was exploiting a narrative of heritage by appropriation, the redevelopers were justifying their actions through a narrative of heritage by designation. Local artists mobilised counter-narratives and dissensus through their artistic work to fight back against narratives of heritage by designation (Marrero-Guillamón, 2016; Rossi & Aliberti, 2016). The artists’ community in Hackney Wick, through the Cultural Interest Group, emphasized its collective identity as part of the heritage by appropriation of the area, but in the end that was not enough to stop the gentrification wave (Rossi & Aliberti, 2016). The case of Hackney Wick raises important questions regarding the narratives that STW is building. There are strong links between heritage by designation and gentrification. However, narratives of heritage by appropriation appear to not be enough for a community to survive in London once the gentrification process has started. The following section provides and explains the results of the research.



Entry to the Overbury Yard Warehouses complex. The gate reads 'MAKERS. DOERS. BUYERS. SELLERS.' (Author's own, 2025)

MOBILISATION OF NARRATIVES OF HERITAGE

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the analysis concerning the creation of narratives of heritage around the Omega Works warehouses. I will first look at the narratives promoted by Save the Warehouses. Secondly, I will present the results of the content analysis of the press coverage. The results of the press coverage also include a study and discussion of how the different actors have interacted with the press to promote their own accounts of the case, which will be visually summarised through a conflict map. The discussion based on these results will thus answer SQ1, that is that is *'How is Save the Warehouses constructing narratives of heritage?'*

1. SAVE THE WAREHOUSES AND NARRATIVES OF HERITAGE

Save the Warehouses has been the first actor to raise the issue of heritage concerning the Omega Works building. Their website is divided into four main pages: Campaign, Art & Heritage, Under Threat and Community-Led Future. This information already gives us a perspective on the importance of heritage for the campaign of the movement, and highlights that for STW heritage does not indicate solely the historical heritage of Omega Works, but also the intangible and cultural heritage created by the current residents. Under the Art & Heritage section we find the video that STW realised upon commission of the Council of Haringey and the GLA for the Haringey Feast 2023, as well as some pictures from their events and a poem about the warehouse written by one of the residents (Save The Warehouses, n.d.-b).

When discussing the narratives of heritage built around Omega Works, it is necessary to point out that the building is not listed at any level. Thus, any discussion about heritage put forward by STW regards heritage by appropriation and not heritage by designation (Dupagne et al., 2004). As mentioned above, in the narrative mobilised by STW around Omega Works, the historical heritage of the building is often tied to the cultural and intangible heritage of the warehouses' community. This includes not only the artistic production tied to the warehouses, but also the particular community values and communitarian lifestyle associated with them, which have been at the centre of the narrative constructed by the residents. For example, in the video about the history of Omega Works, when mentioning that the land used to belong to the Order of St John, a knight order dedicated to healthcare provision, the narrator comments that

"The spirit of caring for communities started at the warehouses before they were even built" (Save The Warehouses, n.d.-b)

This narrative was mobilised through the events organised by STW for the Haringey residents and online. The importance of the warehouses' community also played a significant part in the press coverage of the case, as explored below. For example, STW organised 'open warehouses' days, during which local residents could visit the spaces and better understand how life works in a warehouse:

"There was an event in April [2023] to show the community what it means to live in

a warehouse [...]. They had this event and there were a couple of warehouses that were really open to the public and you could go and see. There were workshops and art shows, food stalls, music performances and circus performances. There were some people who were talking about how it is to live in a warehouse, and I saw some families with children who had come to see what it was like.” (WH Resident 4, Interview 2025)

Interestingly, these events were also used by the Omega Works as a channel to talk about the history of the building as well:

“We did workshops, child-friendly events, and concerts. To invite people into the warehouses, get them to see what it’s like on the inside. [...] And to raise awareness of the history of this building, because this is a quite important piano factory. Back in 1935 they built the world’s largest piano in this building. And in the 50s and 60s, they built the Beatles’ piano here.” (STW 1, Interview 2024).

These events all represent *playful* forms of resistance, which has shown to be successful in creating emotional engagement and sustaining social movements for longer than traditional resistance tactics (Crossa, 2013). It is also significant to notice that both participants remarked on the presence of children, as the Haringey residents that were interviewed have all remarked on the stark demographic difference between Manor House, where there is a significant presence of young families, and the warehouses, where children are relatively absent (Haringey Resident 1, Interview 2025; Haringey Resident 2, Interview 2025; Haringey Resident 3, Interview 2025; Haringey Resident 4, Interview 2025). Members of STW are aware of this difference and had planned out how to best attract Manor House residents to their event. Members of STW and other warehouses residents later reported that these events, together with door-to-door knocking, were successful in constructing significant ties with the residents of Manor House (STW 1, Interview 2024; STW 3, Interview 2025). Furthermore, the support of the local residents demonstrates the ability of Save the Warehouses to address not only their direct problems but wider and systemic social issues as well (Novy & Colomb, 2013).

Online, this narrative was continued through posts which presented testimonials of residents of Omega Works and other warehouses. One of these posts read:

“Hear from three (out of over 100) Omega Works residents on why they choose to live in the warehouses. Spoiler alert - it is unanimously for the community” (@savethewarehouses, 2023b)

These testimonials often compare the communitarian aspects of the warehouses to the vastness of London, a city where many find it hard to build significant relationships. For example, one of the residents’ declarations read:

“These clusters of space grant a feeling of inclusion, which for many is difficult to come by in a city so vast. The opportunities for collaboration and small-scale organizing are amongst the more imperative elements for me.” (@savethewarehouses, 2023e)



Figure 5: Picture taken from Instagram account of Save the Warehouses which reads 'Why do you live in the warehouses? Most common answer: community' (@savethewarehouses, 2023b)

The predominance of this narrative was corroborated by interviews with other warehouses and Manor House residents. Participants often referred to the communitarian aspect of the area as the element that sets it apart from the rest of London, even more than the creative element. For example, WH Resident 1, who had moved in a warehouse four months before the time of the interview and is not an artist nor a creative, immediately pointed out to the communal aspect of the warehouses as the main reason for living there:

"Experience-wise, it's really positive. A lot goes on that you don't think would happen. There is the stereotypical element of living communally. Lots of communal food. Lots of social opportunities. You can plan your life a little bit less, and it stays quite stimulating and interesting." (WH Resident 1, Interview 2025)

Even among those who seek out the warehouses for their creative aspects and the space to produce art, communal living remains a significant element for living there, especially

for people who have just arrived in London. For example, Haringey Resident 4, who has moved to London to be closer to his partner and was applying to live in a unit in the Manor House warehouses district at the time of the interview, said that he was interested in living in a warehouse:

"[...] For a few reasons. One is the space that you get in some of these warehouses. I'm a musician, part-time, and I have a lot of musical equipment. The other reason was because I'm assuming there'd be lots of like-minded people who are also doing creative things, I thought it'd be a good environment for that. Also, I don't know that many people in London. And these warehouse communities seem to put a lot of emphasis on becoming friends." (Haringey Resident 4, Interview 2025)

Although these practices are never directly defined as 'heritage' by either STW or the warehouses residents, they are indicated as the elements that single out the warehouses not only from the rest of the neighbourhood, but also from the rest of the city. That is, they are examples of heritage by appropriation as the lived urban fabric (Dupagne et al., 2004). All the practices and elements that are ascribed under the term 'community' played a significant role in the narrative of heritage of STW. Furthermore, these practices are directly linked to the build environment. In fact, in 2015 an independent research team assessed that the spatial dimension of the warehouses, such as the organisation and the spaciousness of the common area, directly plays a role in the construction of the communitarian traditions of the warehouses (Azar et al., 2014). Thus, the intangible heritage of the warehouses is directly related to the built dimension and industrial history of the area, and a similar community could not organically grow anywhere. This is a significant connection, as urban communities are rarely empowered by the build environment, despite being recognized as the primary stakeholders (Ripp & Rodwell, 2015, 2018).

On the other hand, the historical heritage of Omega Works, while often mentioned by STW, has not been at the forefront of their narrative of heritage constructed online, with the significant exception of the video about the historical transformations of Omega Works:

"To build an iconic piano, you need an iconic warehouse. And so, on Hermitage Road, construction began on Europe's most modern piano factory: Omega Works." (Save The Warehouses, n.d.-b)

To realise the video, STW collaborated with historians Andrew Giller and Hugh Flouch, and they advertised this on their social media pages, together with a note on the historical significance of the Omega Works factory for the piano trade:

"Prior to being live/work warehouse spaces, Omega Works was once a piano factory where the largest piano in the world, CHALLENGER 11' 8" Concert grand piano No. 2, was built for the Silver Jubilee in 1935.

Giller said that this factory was incredibly important; it basically saved the British piano trade." (@savethewarehouses, 2023h)

However, in quantitative terms only 5 out of 82 posts mention the past of Omega Works as a piano factory, quite a small number compared to the amount of posts in which the warehouses community is mentioned (@savethewarehouses, 2023c, 2023d, 2023f, 2023h, 2023i). The historical value of the building has been integrated within the strategy of the movement; however, it was not put at the forefront of their campaign. The reason behind this choice is probably linked to the fact that, as STW states on its website, Omega Works is not the only warehouses currently threatened by redevelopment, and their goal is to preserve and safeguard warehouses communities all over London (Save The Warehouses, n.d.-a). This is exemplified by the already mentioned collaboration with the Fish Island Community Network, which is trying to protect warehouses in Fish Island (@savethewarehouses, 2023g). In this context, foregrounding the specific history of Omega Works would risk setting it apart from the other warehouses. Instead, by focusing on the communitarian aspects of warehouse-living and presenting them as elements of urban heritage, STW is able to foreground the importance of the Manor House warehouses district as a whole. The significance of this choice will be further discussed in the next chapter.

2. PRESS COVERAGE AND NARRATIVES OF HERITAGE

This section analyses the content and framing of the press coverage of the case. The section focuses on four different elements which have played a major role in the press narrative: housing challenges and rights, culture, community and warehouses lifestyle and industrial heritage.

Housing Challenges and Housing Rights

The first element to be analysed regarding the press coverage of the case regards housing challenges and housing rights in relation to the residents of Omega Works. The first article about the case, written by a former resident of Omega Works, was titled "Living in a Warehouse? Gentrification is Coming for You Next", immediately framing the issue of Save the Warehouses as an issue of resistance to gentrification in its press coverage (Doherty, 2023a). Many of the articles defined the proposed redevelopment an example of gentrification and compared the current situation of Haringey to the gentrification process which has already taken place in Hackney Wick (Banfield-Nwachi, 2023; Bellebono, 2023; Doherty, 2023a, 2023b; El-Wardany, 2023; Hennell, 2023). El-Wardany (2023) even mixed up Haringey with Hackney Wick while interviewing a member of STW.

However, only one of the articles mentioned the issues around the lease typology of the warehouses, which is a commercial lease and thus offers less protection than a residential lease (Bellebono, 2023). Bellebono (2023), as will be discussed below, is a warehouses resident themselves and thus probably drew this information from their own experience, as the issue regarding the vulnerability of commercial leases is never mentioned by members of STW themselves. Their article is also the only one that mentions the collaboration between STW and actors such as ACORN, placing the case

of Omega Works within a wider struggle for housing rights taking place all across the country (Bellebono, 2023).

On the other hand, the video realised by PoliticsJOE (2023) contrasts the demands of the Omega Works residents with the general need for more housing in the UK due to the current housing crisis. However, one of the residents interviewed in the same video points out that:

“They [the developers] are kind of paying lip service to warehouse living, but it is essentially a luxury flat development.” (PoliticsJOE, 2023)

Furthermore, another article reports that:

“Planning documents reveal the developer wants to build 36 flats at the site, but it has deemed the provision of affordable housing as financially unviable.” (Allin, 2023a)

However, the lack of affordable housing in the proposed plan is not linked to the current housing crisis in any article. Furthermore, the residents themselves reported to not be opposed to any form of redevelopment *a priori*:

“The opposition to this development is specifically because it doesn’t have any community consultation at heart and it’s going to drastically change the area. We’re not opposed to development. We’d like, and in fact are in conversations with the Council, to look at how this area does develop in the next decade or so with residents at the heart and doing genuine community consultation, which quite frankly we’re pretty good at.” (PoliticsJOE, 2023)

Nevertheless, despite the fact that gentrification is often mentioned in the press, only a handful of articles support the claim through actual data (Allin, 2023a; Bellebono, 2023). Some articles do mention that the proposed plans would see an increase of about 25% in the current rent levels (Allin, 2023a; Banfield-Nwachi, 2023; Jessel, 2015); other articles cite the current cost of living crisis that the UK has been facing since 2021 as a factor which further would complicate the situation of the current residents (El-Wardany, 2023; James, 2023; Magnus, 2023). One article also reports that the proposed development would decrease the actual number of beds provided:

“There are also concerns there will not be enough units to accommodate all the existing tenants in the new scheme, with just 67 units made available under the scheme for more than 100 residents.” (Jessel, 2023)

Thus, claims of gentrification remain vague in most articles, and the housing rights of the residents are also often overlooked in the general narrative. Nevertheless, many of the press reports still provided a link to the petition created by STW and to the website of the Council of Haringey where residents could object to the project or at least signalled where they could be found (Allin, 2023a, 2023b; Easto, 2023; El-Wardany, 2023; James,

2023; H. Smith, 2023). No article provided a link to the plans of the project which can be found on the vPPR website. It is also interesting to note that most of the press reports which included the petition and/or the objection were published at the regional or local scale. Thus, the press within London was not only covering the case to inform the public but also attempting to mobilise its readers in favour of STW. Nevertheless, the marginal role to which housing issues were relegated might have hurt STW more than helped it. The issue will be further analysed below.

Culture

One of the other elements used by the press is the representation of Omega Works and the warehouses district as an incubator for arts and culture, which is often mentioned. In some cases, the cultural aspect is highlighted with the intention to set out the warehouses district from the rest of the neighbourhood and London:

“It’s not just a home. It’s not just a workplace. It’s culture. It’s history.” (Bellebono, 2023)

Thus, in the narrative constructed by the press, the cultural and creative aspect of the warehouses is so significant that this district merits different attention from regular residential areas.

To highlight the significance of the Manor House warehouses district for the cultural life of London, many of the articles mention the presence of the Snap Recording Studio in one of the units of Omega Works (Allin, 2023a, 2023b; Banfield-Nwachi, 2023; Doherty, 2023a; El-Wardany, 2023; Hayes, 2023; James, 2023; Magnus, 2023). The articles and reports often also mention that among the artists that have recorded at Snap there are celebrities such as Liam Gallagher, Kate Bush, Coldplay and FKA Twigs to highlight the significance of the studio. Various articles also report the words of Marco Pasquariello, manager of Snap Recording Studio, as they appear in the press release issued by STW:

“The loss of Omega Works would be devastating for us. We can’t afford to take time out while the new development is being built, and we most likely wouldn’t be able to afford to move back into whatever they rebuild. Our recording studio was built from the ground up by a team of dedicated experts - spaces like this can’t just be thrown together. There are years of hard work and musical history here that rely upon this unique community and space.” (Save The Warehouses, 2023b)

Interestingly, the residents when interviewed push this narrative to the extreme, depicting all residents as creatives and artists, although this does not reflect the full picture of the warehouses. For example, during an interview a member of STW asserts that:

“I do all kinds of art, and we do all kinds of art in here. We’ve got a photographer and a dancer, a poet, an adventure playground builder, a mime, a fine artist.” (PoliticsJOE, 2023)

Kate Easto, who wrote an article on behalf of STW for the *Londonist*, also depicts the residents of the warehouses as a single monolith made up solely by artists, without taking into account the non-creative residents of the warehouses:

“The creative inhabitants have steadily transformed the warehouse spaces into art spaces that host community events, making them an iconic and vital part of London – and unique in the world. [...] We give back to the community – contributing to the cultural offering of Haringey and north London as a whole. In our spaces we host accessible workshops, gigs and exhibitions, fundraise for charity, and hold health and wellbeing sessions, and activist meetings for social justice issues.” (Easto, 2023)

This narrative, which is more prominent in the press than on the media channels of STW, risks to other the non-creative members of the warehouses, excluding them from the identity and definition of heritage constructed around the warehouses district (Carman, 2014; L. Smith, 2006). In fact, as STW constructs their urban heritage they also define who is included and who is not within this definition of heritage (Carman, 2014; Lu, 2016; L. Smith, 2006).

However, while the question of creativity is at the centre of the narration in many articles, only one mentions the question of affordability of live/work spaces. Allin (2023a) picks up from the press release of STW the fact that one of the residents is one of the few opera singers from a working-class background in the UK to highlight the fact that the warehouses make arts and creativity more easily accessible.

Surprisingly only three articles mention the role of political authorities in preserving and protecting cultural areas (Bellebono, 2023; Doherty, 2023a; James, 2023). The depiction of political authorities and the role they have played in the narrative built around STW will be further discussed below in section 3. Nevertheless, it is already significant to notice that the press has paid little attention to the role of political actors and policies, especially ignoring how managerial approaches to culture can overvalue it to the point of destroying it (Della Lucia & Trunfio, 2018). This omission leaves little space to discuss the wider role of urban policies for cases such as the Omega Works redevelopment (Hanquinet, 2011).

Community and Warehouses Lifestyle

The third element used in the narrative constructed by the press is the idea of community and communitarian living which are born out of live/work spaces. As mentioned above, the press often interlinks the cultural aspect with the warehouses' community, to the point where the warehouses community is depicted fully creative, without taking into account that not all residents fall into this category:

“Artists, musicians and other creatives living in a “vibrant” Haringay community are warning their way of life is under threat from a planned new housing development.” (Allin, 2023a)

The focus on the communitarian aspect of the warehouses is the most prominent in almost every article. Nevertheless, there are still significant differences in the narratives constructed around this element. In some cases, the fact is presented as almost neutral and without too many details about the typology of community build by the warehouses' residents:

"One of the benefits of something like Omega Works is the inbuilt sense of community. These are social spaces, where large groups will come together to eat, party, and now to protest." (James, 2023)

While in other cases, the emotional dimension is prominent when discussing the significance of the warehouses for their residents:

"And as an immigrant, I don't see a better way of immersing yourself in London. Finding yourself a new family, new support, if it be emotional or artistic support. Warehouses tend to breed some really close-knit communities." (H. Smith, 2023)

On the other hand, Easto focuses not only on the warehouses' community, but also on the neighbourhood as a whole:

"Here, we look out for each other, and our neighbourhood relationships are incredibly strong. They provide a support network for a diverse group of under-represented and under-resourced people to cohabitate, collaborate, and create a real community." (Easto, 2023)

Significantly, the local community was invited to participate to the events organised by STW through articles which advertised them on the local press (Haringey Community Press, 2023).

On occasion, warehouses are also depicted as a form of alternative lifestyle, as opposed to the mainstream conception of housing:

"It really changes what a home can be, instead of a unit of consumption that is always just 'we all need a fridge, and we all need a microwave, we all need this'. There's really an air of abundance, people do a lot of sharing." (H. Smith, 2023)

However, other descriptions of the warehouses focus on small details which garner sympathy and friendliness, presenting an overall romanticised account of the warehouses. This is prominent in Doherty's (2023a) and Magnus' (2023) articles. For example, when recalling about his own time spent in a warehouse, Doherty wrote:

"There were some interesting discussions around the long dinner table. Around 15 of us lived in a huge cavernous space that was perfect for parties. There were always other people hanging about; circus performers, a sex worker whose preferred mode of transport was a unicycle and a man who was 'moving out next week' and ended up on our couch for a year. On Friday nights, it became a pub for people who couldn't

afford to go to the pub. Residents put on DIY gigs. Communal dinners often involved a huge jar of homemade kimchi which had to be “burped” once a day to release the gas.” (Doherty, 2023a)

While Magnus, who visited the warehouses space to write her article, describe them as such:

“The door is always on the latch at the communally designed live/work space, which has a handmade pulley system for teabags, a double bass, left by a former housemate, and a treehouse-like structure built by the housemates for people facing homelessness.” (Magnus, 2023)

Details such the kimchi jar, the handmade pulley system for teabags and the sex worker whose preferred mode of transportation is the unicycle, while true, when foregrounded present an idyllic and utopian image of the warehouses, which does not necessarily correspond to reality. When asked to comment about her editorial choices, Magnus answered that

“I think I’ve foregrounded the sense of community in the article, which came across very strongly when I visited. I [...] felt there was a genuine sense of community and companionship when I was there. [...] The warehouses also felt like a well-loved, long-term home for the residents, despite the fact that they were all renting. I tried to pick out details like the kombucha in the article to show that the residents are invested in these spaces, take pride in them and treat them as homes.” (Magnus, Interview 2025)

Furthermore, another journalist pointed out that, although this depiction of the warehouses’ community does not correspond to his own approach, such a framing can help the story to reach a bigger audience:

“What I found with people-led stories is that they on occasion strike through. I think you have to get at the core of the emotion of the story for it to begin to resonate with people. We did similar stories with bars and LGBT spaces in London that were closing or moving. We did a more emotional romantic look at the story. There was a very big pickups of those” (James, Interview 2025)

However, as highlighted in Hanquinet (2011), foregrounding an idealised version of creative spaces in the narrative risks to obscure the struggle for housing rights. This was indeed kept into account by some of the journalists who covered the case. For example, Alastair James told me that he preferred to focus on the potential risks that the redevelopment would entail for the current residents, rather than idealise the spaces:

“I felt like I could romanticize the creative aspect of the community, but it was very important for me to focus on the fact that these are real life people who would potentially be made homeless. That was on my mind a lot when I was writing the story” (James, Interview 2025)

Furthermore, other accounts highlight that the warehouses, like any space, also entail negative aspects, both in terms of community and the living standard. Hennell and Bellebono, who both are warehouses' residents, do not shy away from a more realistic account of the warehouses' lifestyle. For example, Bellebono admits that the living conditions are often sub-standard:

"From a mice infestation to ceiling leaks, the quality of our home can sometimes feel subpar, especially due to how distant landlords can feel." (Bellebono, 2023)

While Hennell reports some of the difficulties that residents face when living in such a big community:

"The downside is that it's often packed with people,' she admits. 'It can be overwhelming to not get a moment to yourself. Sometimes I think, 'Wouldn't it be nice to have a flat to myself?'" (Hennell, 2023)

This representation of the warehouses' community is closer to the one that the residents interviewed depicted, as they pointed out that conflicts are often unavoidable for such a big group (WH Resident 2, Interview 2025; WH Resident 4, Interview 2025).

Bellebono also points out that the warehouses' community is not a static entity. Changes in the population have entailed changes in the practices and customs of the warehouses' residents, undermining in some cases the communitarian tradition that had been built over time:

"With the popularisation of warehouse living, more and more people are moving on the road without the intention of building a home or a community, and with the rents spiking up, this is bound to become even more common. "There used to be a bigger fight back in the day." says Namal, "there's been so much change of mood and movement that people have become quite complacent. They're not as invested in the space as they used to be."" (Bellebono, 2023)

Thus, some of the press accounts constructed more realistic narratives. The potential negative effects of more idealised and romanticised descriptions of the warehouses' community will be further discussed below.

Industrial and Tangible Heritage

The last element that will be discussed here in relation to the press framing of STW is industrial heritage. That is, the tangible heritage of Omega Works as a former piano factory and industrial site.

First of all, it is interesting to note that very few articles mention this aspect. In some cases, the industrial history of Omega Works is only mentioned in passing (Allin, 2023b; Jessel, 2023; Magnus, 2023). When asked to comment on why the history of the building was not given more relevance, journalists reported that they did not find this element significant,

or at least not significant enough, and preferred to directly focus on the struggle of STW:

"I was given around 1300 words, and I wanted to use that to focus on the residents, their campaign and how the development plans affect the people living there now, rather than its industrial past." (Magnus, Interview 2025)

"The historical significance is interesting, but it was more interesting what that space created. Affordable workspace and affordable living space and the chance to live in a community of people, rather than the building itself." (Jessel, Interview 2025)

Other reports pay more attention to this aspect (Doherty, 2023a; Hayes, 2023; Hennell, 2023; James, 2023). Interestingly, these four articles all link the fact that Omega Works used to be an important piano factory with the current presence of Snap Studio, and its importance for the current musical landscape:

"The first site to be developed is a former piano factory that once built the largest piano in the world for George V's 1935 silver jubilee. It is now home to Snap Recording Studio, which has been used by Kate Bush, Liam Gallagher and Coldplay." (Hennell, 2023)

This direct connection created by the journalists between the musical past and present of Omega Works creates a narrative of heritage which links the industrial past with its present, designating the artists community as the custodians of the history of the place.

There are cases in which the industrial history is given more space in the narrative of the story and that is whenever residents of Omega Works are directly interviewed and given more space to talk freely. This happens in the two radio reports about the case and in the video realised to accompany the article on *The Standard* (Al-Alas, 2023; El-Wardany, 2023; H. Smith, 2023). For example, one of the residents declared to *The Standard* that:

"The heritage that is built on this area is contained of such a mark of history to London and that really shouldn't be lost." (Al-Alas, 2023)

While another resident asserted on BBC Radio London:

"This site itself has a really rich creative history. [...] It was a piano factory, and in 1935, it was Challen Pianos, and they built the largest piano in the world for the King's Silver Jubilee. There's so much creative ambition that has been on the site for almost a century, and it still continues today." (El-Wardany, 2023)

Industrial heritage is thus the least used element in the press narrative. However, when it is mentioned, it is always directly linked to the creative aspect of the warehouses. The residents of the warehouses further corroborate this narrative, being designated and designating themselves as the main custodians of the history of Omega Works. The residents also placed themselves in direct opposition to the developers, who are trying to exploit the history of the area to ultimately erase it. It is significant that the

residents themselves have taken up the role of custodians, as urban communities are often defined by heritage experts as the primary custodians of urban heritage, without however actually being engaged as such (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018).

To summarise, the representation of the case of Omega Works in the press presented significant points of comparison with the case of Ateliers Mommén in Brussels (Hanquinet, 2011). In fact, in both cases the press sided with the demands of the social movements, however often presented a romanticised and over-idealised version of these communities, sidelining the more significant political and systemic debate around gentrification. Furthermore, in the case of Omega Works not all residents are necessarily creative nor artists. However, the creative aspect of the warehouses was often depicted as more relevant within the press, at times even through direct quotes of the residents themselves. This choice might significantly hurt the warehouses' community in the long-term. Using art for heritage building might ultimately lead to the neoliberal co-optation of aesthetics of resistance (Jewesbury, 2022). Furthermore, if heritage by appropriation is defined as constantly evolving and changing, this narrative put forward by the press might lead to the crystallization of the warehouses' community, removing the constructive force which first propelled the residents to resist redevelopment (Dupagne et al., 2004; Hammami & Uzer, 2018). Similarly, little attention has been given by the press to the fact that STW is open to alternative redevelopment plans. Thus, while the press coverage of the case often aimed at rallying support for STW, some of the aspects of the narrative constructed around Omega Works and the Manor House warehouses district present conflictual elements which could negatively impact the narrative of heritage presented by Save the Warehouses itself.

After analysing which elements were used by the press to frame the case of STW, the next section focuses on the relationship between the press and the other actors and which role each actor played in influencing the narrative.

3. CONTROL OVER THE NARRATIVE

Having looked at how both Save the Warehouses and the press have constructed narratives of heritage around Omega Works, it is important to look at how the narrative was influenced and controlled by the several actors involved in the case. I first look at the relation between STW and the press, then between the developers and the press, and lastly between local and regional political powers, the press and STW.

Relations between journalists and the warehouses district

This section focuses on the relation between STW and the press. First, it is important to point out that most of the press coverage around the case was initiated by the movement itself. As above mentioned, one of the members of Save the Warehouses works for a PR agency and she took care of the media engagement for the movement (STW 2, Interview 2024). Furthermore, as it can be seen from Table 2 in the Methods section, most articles and reports about the case were published between March and June 2023. As mentioned above, the press activities of Save the Warehouses ceased after one of its members was

threatened with eviction by the landlords in June 2023*.

To understand the degree of interaction between STW and the press, it is interesting to understand the relationship between the journalists who covered the case and the warehouses district. In fact, out of the 15 journalists who covered the case, 7 of them have or have had some personal relationship with either Omega Works or Haringey in general. However, these personal ties were not always explicitly mentioned by the journalists, and I only discovered them later when talking with the journalists.

The first article was published by Simon Doherty, who explicitly mentions in his article that he used to live in a Manor House warehouse, and drew from his past experience to describe the warehouses district (Doherty, 2023a). June Bellebono lives in a similar warehouses in Hackney and compares the case of Omega Works with their own living situation (Bellebono, 2023). Alastair James, who works for *Attitude* discovered STW after connecting on social media with one of its members:

"I found out about the campaign because I connected with someone who was involved in the campaign. He was working to try and get more media attention on it. We just happened to connect first in a friendly way. We weren't connecting for the purposes of talking about it." (James, Interview 2025)

James then decided to write an article about STW as he thought that the case fit within the editorial line of *Attitude*, a queer magazine, due to the high presence of LGBTQ+ residents in the warehouses (James, Interview 2025). In May, an article was also published on the *Londonist* written in the name of Save the Warehouses (Easto, 2023). This article was written by Kat Easto, who explicitly mentioned to be a resident of Omega Works and member of Save the Warehouses:

"We live and work in Omega Works, one of the main warehouse complexes on Hermitage Road, N4. I've been here for just over a year." (Easto, 2023).

Phoebe Hennel, who covered the case on *The Times*, is also a warehouses resident, although she does not explicitly mention this in her article (Hennel, 2023). Hennel was approached by STW, which was looking for publicity:

"I spoke to them because they were looking for journalists to write about it." (Hennel, Interview 2025).

* There are three articles which were exceptionally published after June 2023, and which mention Save the Warehouses. The first regards a photography show about the warehouses community and was written by Simon Doherty, who had already published an article about the case in March 2023 (Doherty, 2023a, 2023b). The second article, already mentioned above, advertises to the residents of Haringey the workshops organised by Save the Warehouses for the realisation of the puppets shadow video (Haringey Community Press, 2023). The third article regards another redevelopment project, put forward by Morris+Company, set to take place in the Manor House warehouses district and similar to the one proposed for Omega Works but which, contrary to the Omega Works redevelopment, was quickly approved by the Council (Waite, 2024). These three articles are the only ones for which members of Save the Warehouses or warehouses' residents were not directly interviewed.

However, despite the fact that she is a warehouses resident and that she was approached by STW itself, among the journalists I have talked with, Hennell is the only one who has had any issues with Save the Warehouses regarding her coverage of the case. In fact, after the publication of her article, she was asked by a member of Save the Warehouses to change her description of the warehouses:

"It was published and they said 'can you get it removed from the *Time*?' They said it framed it in a very negative way, and I really disagreed. I ended up not deleting it. I still don't think it portrays them in a negative way. [...] I asked them for some examples of things that are actually inaccurate. One of the things was that they didn't like that I described that some people here are ravers, but it's true!" (Hennell, Interview 2025)

Thus, it is interesting to note that STW was attempting to adapt the narrative to avoid negative stereotypes and to better attract the general public. Hennell refused to change her article in the end, but it is significant to note that the empty warehouses were first occupied in the 90s to organise raves, playing a significant part in the history of the warehouses district (Flouch, Interview 2025). However, because they do not fit within the narrative they have constructed around Omega Works, STW attempted to ignore any link between the warehouses and raves.

Another resident of the area is Emma Magnus, although she does not live in a warehouse. Magnus, who works for *The Standard*, found out about the case through a local Facebook group, as STW was trying to gather the attention of their neighbours and decided to propose the topic to her editor (Magnus, Interview 2025). Lastly, Ella Jessel, who wrote about the case on *Architects' Journal*, used to live in Omega Works. In this case, the fact that the story was covered by a former resident of Omega Works was actually a coincidence:

"I got asked to write that story [...] I said 'Oh, it's funny I used to live here'. I didn't write that piece because I lived there, it was a coincidence." (Jessel, Interview 2025)

Nevertheless, this still had an impact on the story. Jessel's article is in fact the only one that was originally written upon request of vPPR, the architects' studio which designed the redevelopment plans, as they sent a press release to *Architects' Journal*. However, Jessel, who not only has lived in Omega Works but had also covered the fight for protecting the warehouses in 2014, got in touch with STW to understand their side of the story, which was included in her article as well (Jessel, 2015, 2023, Interview 2025).

Thus, many of the journalists who worked on the press coverage of the case had strong personal ties with either Omega Works, the warehouses district or the Manor House area more broadly, and this probably played a significant role in how they decided to frame the case. Furthermore, not all journalists expressed their relationship with the area in their articles and these only became evident during the interviews. It is possible that some of the journalists who did not agree to an interview might also have personal connections with the warehouses. These ties indicate that residents of the warehouses have strong cultural capital and are able to mobilise it when needed, pushing forward their own narration of the narrative against the narration of the developers. Nevertheless, these

journalists did not act as a monolith block and there are still significant differences in the way the case was portrayed and in which it was framed by the reports, as discussed above. Furthermore, the conflict between Hennell and STW demonstrates that, although the movement had a strong influence on the press, it was not always able to impose its own narrative.

Relations between journalists and political powers

It is also important to look at how political powers were represented and how they interacted with the press. The analysis of political powers will proceed by scale: from local, to regional to national.

At the local level, the most significant actor is the Council of Haringey, which was often contacted by the journalists to comment on the case (Allin, 2023b; Banfield-Nwachi, 2023; Doherty, 2023a; El-Wardany, 2023; Hayes, 2023; James, 2023; Jessel, 2023; Magnus, 2023; PoliticsJOE, 2023). It is interesting to note that the attitude of the press towards the Council has changed over time. In fact, the first articles had a strongly hostile attitude towards the Council, to the point of depicting it as a collaborator of the developers in the redevelopment of Omega Works:

“[N]ow the council and developers want to demolish Omega Works, and replace it with four generic blocks of flats.” (Easto, 2023)

Part of the reason why the journalists pointed to the Council as an accomplice of the developers was because in the months following the first notice of redevelopment, the Council was absent and gave little to no answers to neither the Omega Works residents nor the press:

“Eventually, the decision to approve or reject planning permission for the new development will go to Haringey Council, which told VICE: “We do not own this site and are not responsible for the people being evicted.” (Doherty, 2023a)

However, as STW gained more and more attention, the stance of the Council changed and started to provide the press with a standard answer, more open to the concerns of the residents and the press. For example, a Council spokesperson told *The Guardian*:

“We are aware of and fully appreciate the concerns expressed about this application. We are currently undertaking formal consultation on the proposals and would urge anyone with views to submit these, so their voice is heard. Our planning policy seeks to secure a long-term sustainable future for warehouse and creative living and to ensure the unique characteristics of this type of accommodation are provided in new warehouse living developments.” (Banfield-Nwachi, 2023)

As the Council started to show concern for the redevelopment application, members

of Save the Warehouses also started to demonstrate a more understanding attitude towards the Council itself:

"She adds: "I do have faith in the planning committee to listen to the community and make the right decision."" (Magnus, 2023)

Interestingly, despite the fact that the Council is often mentioned as an actor, only three articles mention the *ad hoc* Policy DM39 and the role played by the Council in 2014 to safeguard the warehouses district (Doherty, 2023a; James, 2023; Jessel, 2023). In the press, the focus on the Council has been mostly on its decisional power regarding the redevelopment itself, rather than on the broader influence on the redevelopment of the area over the years.

Regarding the regional level, in the press there is very little mention of the Greater London Authority. Bellebono (2023) mentions the GLA Culture at Risk Team, which works with grassroots organisations to safeguard cultural infrastructures and which was previously in conversation with STW. Only Smith (2023) mentions that the Borough of Haringey is a Creative Enterprise Zone:

"There was a mayoral initiative, in 2018, for creative enterprise zones. Several boroughs across London were named as Creative Enterprise Zones to try and entice creative business to occur in those boroughs. Haringey was named as one of those."

It is possible that the press has overlooked the political power of the GLA over the Creative Enterprise Zones because, as explained above, each Borough integrates the programme within its own Local Plan, and thus the power of the GLA is filtered and indirect.

Lastly, a notable political figure which had a strong influence on both the press and the Council is David Lammy, MP for the constituency of Tottenham, which covers part of Haringey, including the Ward of Hermitage and Gardens. On 17th May, 2023, Lammy wrote a letter to the Council in which he expressed his concern for the proposed redevelopment:

"It is crucial to recognize that the Omega Works Warehouse has provided a space for local artists, creatives, and small businesses to thrive. These spaces contribute to the vibrant cultural ecosystem of Haringey, fostering innovation and artistic expression. [...] I therefore urge the council to take these points into consideration when reviewing the current proposals for the redevelopment of Omega Works. [...] Preserving our heritage, promoting affordable housing, and nurturing our local artistic communities are all essential for the sustainable development and well-being of our borough." (Lammy, 2023)

This letter was picked up by the press, and Lammy's words were often quoted (Al-Alas, 2023; Hennell, 2023; Jessel, 2023; Magnus, 2023; Waite, 2024). This statement gave credibility to the residents of Omega Works and pressured the Council to address the

issues raised by Lammy.

Relations between journalists and developers

The last actors that played a role in the narrative constructed around the warehouses were the developers. While most articles interviewed members of STW and the Council, the developers rarely spoke with the press, even when asked to comment. Overall, this had a negative effect on the way the developers were represented, as they were often depicted unfavourably. For example, Doherty (2023b), who had previously attempted to contact the developers without receiving an answer, wrote that:

“The future of Haringey’s warehouse district is under threat. Property developers are currently circling around the area like a pack of ugly hyenas, drooling at the prospect of flattening the site, assassinating the local culture and putting up soulless blocks of overpriced flats.”

Even less extreme depictions were still very critical of the warehouses’ landlords:

“Ultimately, behind these “liberal” spaces, there’s growing financial greed. Whilst this may be true to many renters dynamics, in warehouses the owners are directly operating on tenants’ exploitation, by issuing commercial leases rather than residential ones, and low quality housing (with prevalent issues of mould, draft and faulty electrics) that is sometimes unfit for human habitation.” (Bellebono, 2023)

Furthermore, it is also important to recognise that there is not a single developer, but multiple companies who have worked on the project: Majorlink Ltd. (which owns the site), vPPR (which has designed the redevelopment) and the consultancy agency Collective Planning.

Collective Planning was the actor that journalists first tried to approach, however they declared that “myself nor the client [Majorlink Ltd] do interviews on our schemes” (Doherty, 2023a; James, 2023). Following this silence, other journalists attempted to contact Majorlink, and at that point Israel Gold, project manager of the company, started to provide journalists with a standard answer (Allin, 2023b; Hayes, 2023; Hennell, 2023; Jessel, 2023; PoliticsJOE, 2023). Nevertheless, one journalist reported that Majorlink “didn’t really want to be chatting about it” (Jessel, Interview 2025).

The answer provided by Majorlink denies many of the claims put forward by Save the Warehouses. For example, the company claimed that it had “engaged with residents more than the requirement”, while residents replied that they “didn’t hear a thing” about the residents engagement process (Banfield-Nwachi, 2023). Gold also claimed that rent levels would be similar to the current ones, however this was discredited by Jessel (2023), who pointed out that the proposed rents would be lower than the Haringey average but still higher than the current warehouses rents.

It is interesting to note that Gold also claimed that:

“What [the council] can’t allow is for the residents and creative community to live in unregulated properties with no building control – mostly organically grown and major fire risks.” (Hennell, 2023)

Thus, the company is putting all the responsibility for the sub-standard living conditions of the warehouses on the local political powers, rather than taking accountability for the state of their own buildings.

The architects’ studio vPPR engaged directly with the press in only one case. vPPR sent a press release to the *Architects’ Journal*, which often writes pieces about similar redevelopments (Jessel, 2023). Jessica Reynolds, director of vPPR, declared that the new project would ‘future-proof new and existing communities on the site,’ denying that the redevelopment scheme would lead to displacement (Jessel, 2023). The piece focused on the design features of the project, such as ‘split sections with flexible layouts and a raw material palette’ and ‘double-height living rooms opening onto balconies facing the communal courtyard’ (Jessel, 2023). However, Jessel still contacted Save the Warehouses and added their claims in the article as well:

“I think they [vPPR] weren’t expecting the sort of more negative side of it. I think they imagined it would be a positive sort of design piece” (Jessel, Interview 2025)

It is also significant that Jessel’s (2023) article is the only one which includes picture from the proposed redevelopment, which were also sent along by vPPR (see Figure 6 below). In fact, all other articles include pictures of the current warehouses’ residents in their units, of the outside of Omega Works or of past events which have taken place in the warehouses (see Figures 7 and 8 below). Thus, although the article contained references about STW that vPPR was not happy about, the piece was still more focused on the project and its design rather than the campaign put forward by the residents.



Figure 6: Picture of the proposed redevelopment plans for Omega Works (Jessel, 2023)



Figure 7: Picture of a communal dinner inside a warehouse in the Manor House district (Doherty, 2023a)



Figure 8: Picture of Omega Works residents inside one of the units of the warehouse (Magnus, 2023)

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This section presents an in-depth discussion of the findings analysed, and partially already explored, in this chapter. First of all, the Conflict Map 1 presented below (see Figure 9) presents a visual summary of the findings presented so far. The map illustrates the relations between the several actors involved in the case as they were in 2023, the year during which STW was the most actively building narratives of heritage around the Omega Works warehouses. The relations illustrated in the Conflict Map 1 have already been discussed in the case section as well as this chapter, however, they will be here briefly reviewed. The actors are positioned according to their scale, with local actors at the top of the map, regional actors in the middle and national and international actors at the bottom. The various line colours indicate the relationships (and their direction) among the several actors involved. For a more detailed explanation see the Conflict Map 1 Legend (Figure 10) On the right there are the civil society actors with which Save the Warehouses has collaborated, namely the Fish Island Community Network, the Haringey Solidarity Network, the Haringey Community Action Network, the Radical Housing Network and ACORN, as well as the local historian Hugh Flouch and the piano historian Andrew Giller. At the centre there are Save the Warehouses, the warehouses residents and the Haringey residents, while below them are the developers, namely Majorlink Ltd., vPPR and Collective Planning. On their left there is the press, from the local to the national level. The press partially overlaps with the Haringey and warehouses residents

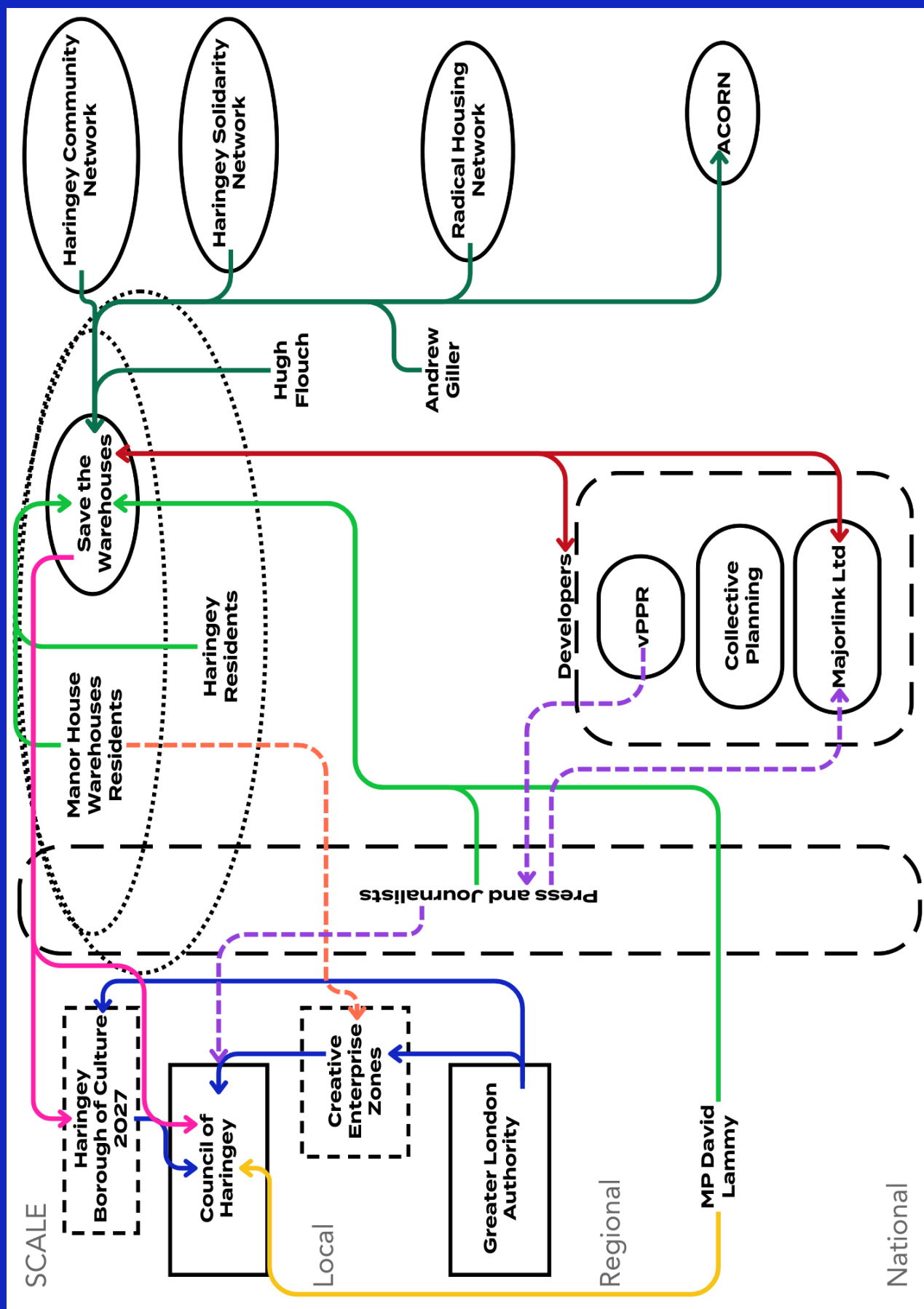


Figure 9: Conflict Map 1 (Author's own, 2025)

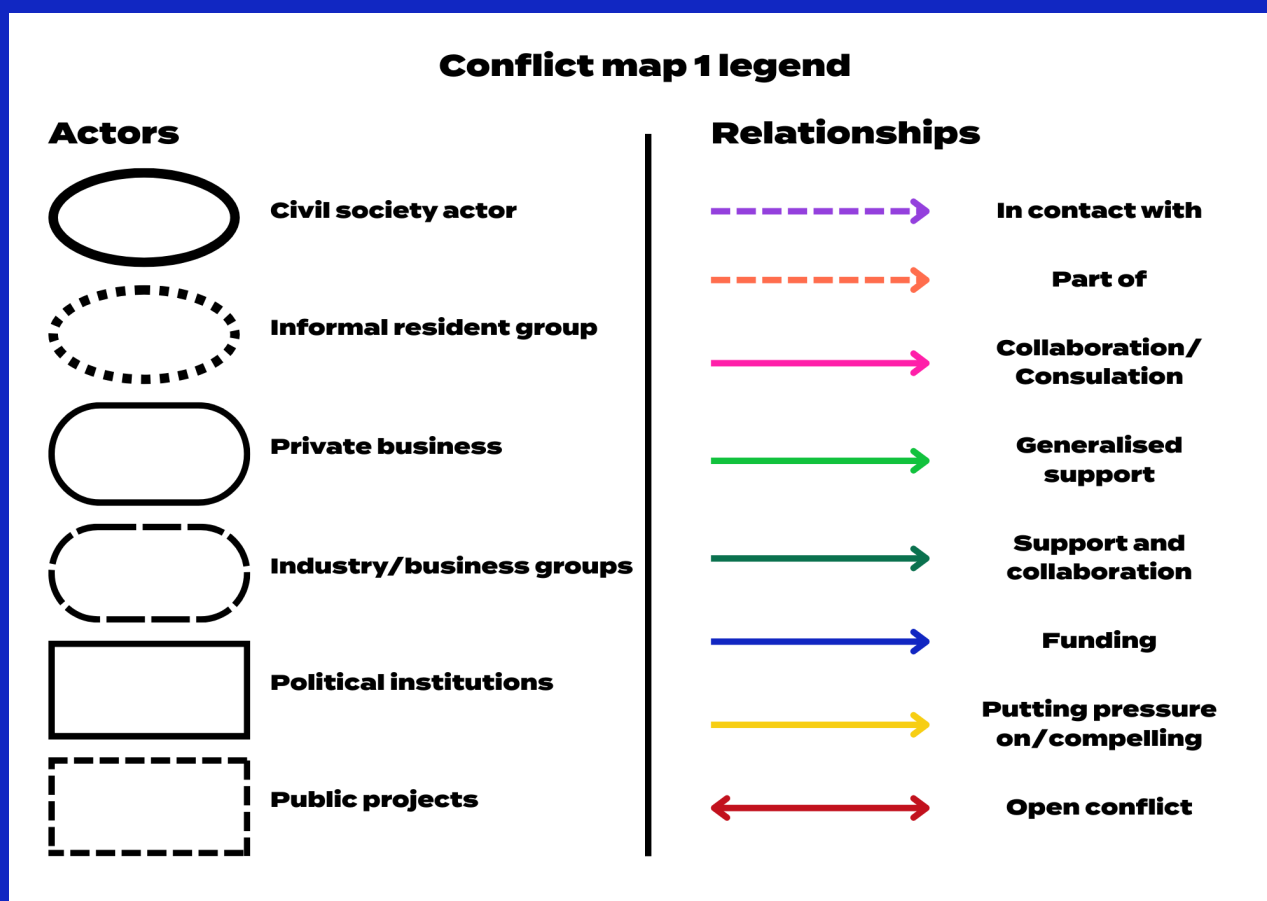


Figure 10: Legend for Conflict Map 1 (Author's own, 2025)

as some journalists who reported on the case are also local residents. Lastly there are the political actors: the Council of Haringey, the Greater London Authority and Creative Enterprise Zones, and MP David Lammy.

The first significant observation is that the ability of STW to build a network of connections with several social actors, a necessary feature to resist the neoliberal co-optation of art (Hollands, 2019; Miles, 2015). The collaborations between Save the Warehouses and the historians Hugh Flouch and Andrew Gillers is also important to highlight, as knowledge of the local history is a prerequisite to construct heritage narratives (Lu, 2016). Regarding the narrative of heritage constructed by STW, as it has already been highlighted the communitarian aspect of warehouses living has been given more importance than the industrial heritage of Omega Works, to avoid separating the warehouse from the rest of the district. The creative aspect has also played a significant role, although the focus was solely on art production, which is a narrative less likely to be co-opted by neoliberal actors than narratives on art consumption (Jewesbury, 2022; Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). However, foregrounding the artistic aspects risks to other the non-creative members of the warehouses' community (Carman, 2014; L. Smith, 2006).

A similar narrative has been put forward by the press. While STW had a significant influence on the narrative constructed in the press, the case of Phoebe Hennel, who

refused to change her article to the wishes of STW, demonstrates that this influence had its limits. Furthermore, the desire of STW to not be associated with raves, a significant element for the past of the warehouses which led the way to their transformation into live/work spaces, once again risks leading to the othering of some members of the warehouses' community. This frame raises questions regarding the narrative constructed around the communitarian values of the area and who is represented by these values. Furthermore, some of the articles and reports about the case presented an idyllic version of reality, at the risk of obscuring the material and systemic issues behind the proposed redevelopment of Omega Works. Although this form of coverage can have the benefit of engaging a wider audience than a more neutral narrative, the intrinsic danger is that it separates the creative struggle from the class struggle, creating opportunities for art to become a catalyst of gentrification (Hanquinet, 2011; Valli, 2022). Having looked at how narratives of heritage were constructed around the Omega Works warehouses, the next chapter will focus on their effects.



Inside courtyard shared by several units inside the Omega Works warehouses complex
(Author's own, 2025)

EFFECTS AND POTENTIALITIES OF NARRATIVES OF HERITAGE

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the effects of the narratives of heritage constructed by Save the Warehouses both on other actors and on the movement itself, as well as the potentialities of heritage by appropriation for the warehouses. The first section looks at the issues and problematics that arose as a direct result of the media attention on the case of Omega Works. In fact, these problematics tend to be overlooked when discussing social movements in favour of the benefits of media attention. The following section analyses how the narrative of heritage constructed by Save the Warehouses has been perceived by and influenced other actors, namely the residents of Haringey, the residents of the warehouses district and the political actors involved in this case. The section on the political actors also looks at how the future direction of local policies could directly affect the warehouses district. These two sections thus answer to SQ2: *In what ways are these narratives of heritage influencing the activities of other actors linked to the anti-gentrification struggle – such as the residents of the area, the Council of Haringey and the owners of the warehouses?*

Lastly, I discuss the implications of this case for the wider issue of heritage protection and resistance to gentrification, answering the RQ: *What are the potentialities and limits of constructing heritage narratives around the Omega Works warehouses for the anti-gentrification struggle brought forward by Save the Warehouses?*

1. MEDIA ATTENTION VS EVERYDAY FORMS OF RESISTANCE

As already mentioned above, the press activities of STW stopped in June 2023, after an outspoken member of the movement was threatened to be evicted by the landlords. The eviction threat came the day after the publication of the BBC article and television report on Omega Works (Hayes, 2023; @savethewarehouses, 2023j). This issue raises questions regarding media attention as a tactic to resist gentrification, as well as the interconnection between active and everyday forms of resistance (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2022). While resistance to the redevelopment did not stop completely, after the facts of June 2023 STW changed its own tactics. The social media presence of the movement did not decline immediately, however, Save the Warehouses decided to not engage with the press anymore and to soften their stance against Majorlink:

“We were contacted by the NYT because they were writing an article about alternative living in London. But we decided not to talk with them because we don’t want to draw too much attention anymore. After what happened with the BBC, we realised we had to be careful. Before we thought that the best course of action was to raise as much attention, make as much noise as possible. Now we’re trying not to be too antagonistic. Things got very heated with the landlords before, and we’re trying to avoid that.” (STW 4, Interview 2025)

Thus, instead of focusing on gaining regional and national attention, STW concentrated

solely on strengthening relations with the local residents to avoid further negative reactions by the landlords (STW 4, Interview 2025). Lees et al. (2018) highlight the significance of less antagonistic tactics to produce innovative forms of resistance in face of gentrification while simultaneously guaranteeing the survivability of the residents. These tactics need to rely on identities and practices rooted in the everyday, that is forms of heritage by appropriation (Dupagne et al., 2004; Lees et al., 2018). These everyday forms of resistance might be more difficult to detect but play nevertheless a significant role in the lives of the residents threatened by displacement (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018, 2020; Crossa, 2013). Thus, the decision of STW to practice invisibility should not be seen as a retreat of the movement, rather as a way for the residents to stay put and keep the struggle alive through other means (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2020). In fact, active resistance might not always be feasible nor the best possibility in the face of displacement.

However, after December 2023, date by which the Council was supposed to have a decision, many members of STW reported to feel burned out from the struggle:

“A lot of people got campaign fatigue, people got directly threatened. That makes it harder to organize. The fact that we don’t have residential contracts also makes it harder to organize because we have less securities.” (STW 1, Interview 2024)

While the fact that the Council still has not ruled a decision is seen as a partial success of STW, as the residents have been able to keep on living in Omega Works, the residents have been stressing over the uncertainty of the situation, unable to know whether they will have to move out or not. At this point, the activities of STW stopped almost completely, with the exclusion of internal meetings and occasional relations with the authorities to understand the evolvement of the situation (STW 1, Interview 2024). In this case, the residents were practicing temporalities as a form of resistance (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018, 2020). Temporalities indicate the moment in which actors decide to act and resist, but temporalities can change as the perception of the future of the actors change (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2020). In fact, while these redevelopment process can be a long-term issue for the redevelopers, as they can wait years to receive an answer from the Council while simultaneously working on other projects, for the residents such an issue is a short-term problem, as they are at risk of losing their homes (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018).

Everyday forms of resistance are not less important than active forms, although they are more difficult to study as they are less obvious and their focus is at the individual scale, rather than the collective one (Lees et al., 2018). However, the relationship between survivability and everyday resistance raises questions regarding the long-term feasibility of heritage narratives as a tactic to resist gentrification. In fact, like all other forms of counternarratives, narratives of heritage are a form of active resistance to gentrification (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018). Whenever social movements need to replace active forms of resistance with everyday form, they cannot sustain their narratives of heritages. As survivability is not a linear nor a continuous process, there is no possibility for a movement to foresee this (Lees et al., 2018). Nevertheless, because, as discussed above, everyday resistance relies on the same practices as heritage by appropriation, heritage

is still being constructed, although not always in visible forms. Furthermore, the effects of narratives of heritage do not necessarily disappear the moment the narrative construction stops, as they might have a long-lasting effect on the decisions of other actors involved in the process. Even when they are not being actively constructed, narratives of heritage can still represent a form of resistance to gentrification. Thus, the next section focuses on how the narrative constructed by STW until 2023 influenced the local perceptions of the Omega Works warehouse as well as the Manor House warehouses district.

2. PERCEPTIONS OF HERITAGE

The first part of this section focuses on the residents' perception of heritage, while the second part focuses on the perceptions of political actors. In both sections, the perceptions of the actors are linked to how they have (or have not) changed their position regarding the case of Save the Warehouses. The findings are summarised at the end of second section through a second conflict map.

Residents' perceptions of heritage

This section analyses how the perception of Haringey and warehouses residents regarding the Manor House warehouses district has changed following the campaign of Save the Warehouses and the implications of such perceptions for the struggle against gentrification.

First of all, it is significant to notice all five residents agreed on the fact that the warehouses district represents a culturally significant area (Haringey Resident 1, Interview 2025; Haringey Resident 2, Interview 2025; Haringey Resident 3, Interview 2025; Haringey Resident 4, Interview 2025; Haringey Resident 5, Interview 2025). For example, one of the residents reported that:

"It'd be very easy to cliché and stereotype it as a space filled with artsy and lefty people from the middle class and there's a sub truth to it, but a lot of cultural activities occur in the warehouse. There is one building associated with musicians and they put gigs on inside the warehouse, and there was another warehouse who put on a fundraiser yoga event for Palestine. It's definitely a microcosm." (Haringey Resident 4, Interview 2025)

Another resident defined the warehouses district as the 'soul' of the area and thought that their presence has a generally good effect on the rest of Haringey (Haringey Resident 3, Interview 2025). Furthermore, out of five residents, four of them were aware of the activities of STW (Haringey Resident 1, Interview 2025; Haringey Resident 2, Interview 2025; Haringey Resident 3, Interview 2025; Haringey Resident 5, Interview 2025). The only resident who was not aware of the movement had only recently moved to the area (Haringey Resident 4, Interview 2025). However, it is also important to note that all five residents interviewed live in close proximity to the warehouses district. It is possible that this perception might not be widespread to the whole Borough, but solely to the neighbourhoods adjacent to Manor House, as those are also the areas where the

activities of STW focalised.

It is important to also note that Haringey residents perceived as significant the communitarian aspect of the warehouses. For example, as already discussed above, one of the Haringey residents was applying to live in a warehouse at the time of the interview and he particularly mentioned the opportunity to create social connections within the warehouses as one of the main reasons to move there (Haringey Resident 4, Interview 2025). However, he also added that the selection process to be accepted as a warehouses resident made him feel uncomfortable due to the way the warehouses are advertised, and the potential residents are selected:

“A lot of these posts made me a bit uncomfortable, a lot of them say you have to be this type of person or this type of person. For example, they would say ‘We are looking for queer aligned or queer friendly people’ or ‘We are looking for artistic and creative people.’ And I fit into all of those boxes, but I feel that it’s not an explicit part of my identity in the way that those posts were sort of asking for.” (Haringey Resident 4, Interview 2025)

While this is not directly related to the activities of Save the Warehouses, such selection once again raises questions regarding who is included in the identities and heritage constructed around the Manor House warehouses district (Carman, 2014; L. Smith, 2006). However, it should also be noted that despite this unease regarding the selection process, the resident still intended to keep looking for a room in a warehouse unit, indicating that the positive aspects of the warehouses still outweigh the negatives for him (Haringey Resident 4, Interview 2025). While it can be difficult to assess to what extent the residents’ perception of the warehouses district has been influenced by the activities of STW, it is significant that the view of the residents, specifically about the creative and communitarian aspects of the district, aligns with the narrative constructed by the movement.

It is interesting to note that while the Haringey residents perceive the cultural aspect of the warehouses as significant for the whole area, the warehouses’ residents perceive their own community as separate, or at least independent, from the rest of the neighbourhood. For example, a warehouses’ resident reported that the district:

“I guess it probably influences who lives here a bit, makes it more appealing to young people. But I don’t believe it influences what’s visible on the street. It feels self-contained socially.” (WH Resident 1, Interview 2025)

However, another resident had a different view, asserting that interactions between the two groups exist to at least some extent:

“In my experience, there is definitely a degree of integration between the warehouse community [and the surrounding areas]. This is why Haringey doesn’t feel completely separate. There could be more integration, but I think it’s definitely not separate.” (WH Resident 3, Interview 2025)

While perceptions regarding the degree of integration vary, both warehouses and Haringey residents have noted differences in the demographics of the two areas. For example, two participants reported on the presence of a strong Turkish community in Haringey, while the community of the warehouses is generally whiter, although international:

"The warehouse community is a very white community, while in Haringey there is a large Turkish community, there are many people who are not white British, and this is not reflected in the warehouses." (WH Resident 4, Interview 2025)

"I know Green Lanes* gets called Little Turkey because of the density of the Turkish population and all the Turkish shops and restaurants. [...] Whereas the warehouses, obviously it's very white, at least from my experience." (Haringey Resident 4, Interview 2025)

Overall, it appears that the warehouses' residents have a more critical outlook on the role of the warehouses district on the surrounding areas. However, one resident reported that in his opinion the warehouses district has a strongly positive effect on the presence of visibly queer people in Haringey and on their perceived safety:

"Because the warehouses district is such an established presence in the wider area and everyone who lives in Haringey is aware of it, regardless of how much they engage with it, that means that there's a deeply established presence of creative and visibly queer people in the area. Even if you're going about your day in central Haringey, like if you're shopping, you feel safer in a sense." (WH Resident 3, Interview 2025)

Regarding the perceptions of the warehouses district itself, long-time residents reported that the population of the warehouses has changed over time but saw these changes as an inherent effect of warehouses living. For example, Haringey Resident 5, who now lives close to Finsbury Park but who has lived in the warehouses between 2007 and 2017, asserted that:

"Initially we were nearly all artists, circus people or people were making very little money. And now it has become sort of trendy, so the clientele changed a lot, not necessarily in a bad way" (Haringey Resident 5, Interview 2025)

Furthermore, one of the warehouses residents reported that there was a particularly strong turnover in her unit following the Covid-19 pandemic, but she also asserted to feel closer with her housemates now than before the pandemic (WH Resident 2, Interview 2025). A newly arrived resident even framed the presence of non-creatives positively, seeing the diversity of the population as an added value of warehouses living:

"There's a ton of artists, musicians and creatives. But there are also students, writers, editors, doctors and people that work for charities. It's just a good variety of people

* High street close to the warehouses district

from different places.” (WH Resident 5, Interview 2025)

Almost all residents reported to be extremely satisfied with the communal aspects of the warehouses. For example, residents reported that

“There is the stereotypical element of living communally. Lots of communal food. Lots of social opportunities. It’s nice. You can plan your life a little bit less, and it stays quite stimulating and interesting.” (WH Resident 1, Interview 2025)

“I just wanted somewhere that really felt like a community and so I started looking and eventually found the warehouses. And then, as soon as I found them, I was like ‘Oh, this is exactly what I want.’” (WH Resident 5, Interview 2025)

Only one resident felt disappointed by the communal aspect of the warehouses, reporting that his expectations were not met completely:

“I think I brought an expectation that people would want to live communally, to share the space in a way that doesn’t feel individualistic or atomised. [...] That’s the way in which my expectations were not met entirely. So far I have encountered people who still have very individualistic mindset and who want to control their environment and who struggle to embody these communal values.” (WH Resident 3, Interview 2025)

However, this issue does not seem to necessarily be connected with the changing population of the area, as the resident himself had only moved into the warehouses just a few months prior to the interview and he did not notice any difference in behaviour between the older and newer residents. Furthermore, as all other residents interviewed reported to be satisfied with the communality of the warehouses, the unsatisfaction of WH Resident 3 should be noted as more of an exception than a structural issue.

Interestingly, three of the warehouses’ residents interviewed had recently moved into the area and only had a ‘pretty limited’ knowledge of STW, as the movement has not been active for the past two years (WH Resident 3, Interview 2025). Nevertheless, they all shared the values brought forward by the movement:

“I’ve seen it happen other places and in other communities before. And as a relatively recent addition to it [the warehouse] I know I can’t feel loved in here forever. But it’s still important to me. I’m very passionate about it. And I’m protecting it.” (WH Resident 5, Interview 2025)

“I feel motivated to be a part of that [Save the Warehouses]. I haven’t really thought about myself as affected by it because our warehouse hasn’t been impacted directly, but politically I’m on the same page.” (WH Resident 1, Interview 2025)

Residents also addressed how the gentrification of the warehouses district is the symptom of a wider social issue:

"It just feels like part of the mosaic of the housing crisis that is forcing out anyone who's living in marginal situations." (WH Resident 1, Interview 2025)

"I don't have much hope because it's something that's happening everywhere" (WH Resident 4, Interview 2025)

"I've unfortunately seen some places go because of rising rent prices, [...] it's what's going on everywhere else." (WH Resident 5, Interview 2025)

As the research process for this thesis started after STW had already ceased their main activities, it is difficult to assess to what extent the perceptions of both residents' groups have been impacted by the movement. Nevertheless, some generalisations can still be drawn by the results presented here. First, it is interesting to note that no one, except for one participant mentioned the history of the warehouses in the interviews, and even when it was mentioned it only referred to the more recent history of the warehouses district and not to its industrial past:

"I know that it became communal living roughly about 20 years ago. [...] . I don't know what our warehouse used to be, for example." (WH Resident 1, Interview 2025)

The past of the Omega Works as a piano factory does not seem to be of relevance for the residents. On the other hand, the residents of Haringey share the same idea promoted by STW regarding the positive effect on the cultural life of the area of the warehouses district.

Residents of the warehouses had a more critical outlook on their relations with the surrounding area and put instead more importance on the aspect of communal living, although the cultural aspect plays a role for them as well. Changes in the population of the warehouses over the last two decades are seen as natural due to the relatively fast turnover of resident within the warehouses, and the new warehouses' residents were not indicated as the bearers of gentrification by the long-time residents, although it was indicated that they tend to be relatively wealthier. A former warehouses resident indicated how the landlords have been profiting from the progressive popularisation and commercialisation of the district:

"I don't think it was an intentional plan. [...] When I first moved in, there were maybe two units that were converted, very informally, there was no plan set. When they realized that there was such a market for it, they've certainly made a hell of a lot of money out of out of this idea of an artist's community." (Haringey Resident 5, Interview 2025)

Thus, overall, the point of view of the residents coincides with the narrative promoted by STW. While these beliefs predated the campaign of the movement, it is possible that the activities of STW might have strengthened them, especially regarding how the residents of Haringey perceive the warehouses. The everyday practices of the warehouses' residents, which can be interpreted both as forms of everyday resistance and as forms of

heritage by appropriation, have possibly contributed to these perceptions (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2020; Dupagne et al., 2004). This indicates that the ties constructed by STW with the local population are strong and could be mobilised again if their resistance were to turn active once again. The strength of local communities, which can be achieved through forms of heritage by appropriation, can stop movements from imploding in the face of difficulties (Thurber et al., 2021). The support which STW still receives from the residents of the area, despite their inactivity, demonstrates their ability to build strong ties with other groups through urban narratives (Basso et al., 2023; De Cesari & Dimova, 2019).

Political actors and perceptions of heritage

This section focuses on how the political actors directly involved in the struggle of the Omega Works redevelopment have changed or adapted their position following the struggle of Save the Warehouses. It also explores the potentialities for change brought forward by the narrative of heritage constructed by STW.

First of all, at the Borough level the most significant achievement of STW so far has been to delay the Council decision regarding the redevelopment project. Although members of STW and the other residents of Omega Works have found themselves stuck in a limbo, several participants have pointed out how uncommon it is for such a redevelopment to not be immediately approved (Hennell, Interview 2025; WH Resident 2, Interview 2025). Members of Save the Warehouses also recognised their partial victory:

"If they'd [the developers] gone through with their plans, the whole place would have been demolished by now and everybody would have been evicted. We managed to avoid that. We've managed to get the Council to look at things properly. It's kind of a win in that way" (STW 3, Interview 2025)

The main reason why the Council still has not reached a decision regarding the redevelopment is because, following the struggle of STW, they presented additional questions to the developers, who had time until April 30th, 2025, to answer them (STW 4, Interview 2025). As members of the Council cannot comment on cases that are still under consultation, it is not possible to know what were the points of concern over the redevelopment (Solomon, Interview 2025). Residents of Omega Works have had no further news from the landlord (STW 2, Interview 2024; STW 4, Interview 2025). However, as the redevelopment has been stalled for so long now, they have started to feel more optimistic:

"Right now, it's less stressful. When I moved in there was a real sense that we were going to lose our homes, now it's much better than before. [...] But no one wants to cheer yet, we're trying not to jinx this." (STW 4, Interview 2025)

Thus, STW has obtained at least some partial success.

In the meantime, members of STW have kept in touch with some parts of the Council,

namely the elected Councillors for the Ward of Hermitage and Gardens, the Planning Department and the Conservation Department (Solomon, Interview 2025; STW 1, Interview 2024; STW 3, Interview 2025). The Council of Haringey is a large political body, with both elected and non-elected members. The way the movement and the Council relate to and perceive each other is not always the same, depending on which body of the Council is involved:

“Sometimes it feels like parts of the Council understand the value of it [the warehouses], but other parts of the Council don’t, and they don’t necessarily communicate to each other.” (STW 2, Interview 2024)

Members of STW reported that the departments of the Council they were in contact with have been supportive of their cause and have provided them useful information regarding the possibility of a counter proposal for redevelopment:

“The plan was to put forward a counter argument of planning with the community and not chuck people out of their homes and improve the community rather than destroying it. We spent time talking to the planning officers about that and what could be done, and they were very helpful.” (STW 3, Interview 2025)

Furthermore, negotiating ambiguities with institutional actors while building opposing narratives is often a strategy of anti-gentrification movements (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018, 2020). Overall, however, it is difficult to assess the influence of Save the Warehouses on the political actors, due to the slow and cyclical pace of planning policies changes. Nevertheless, it is still possible to examine how the Council and actors within the Council have positioned themselves for the last two years. Furthermore, it can be interesting to analyse what are the policies over which Save the Warehouses could have the biggest impact on.

The first element to consider is Policy DM39, which regulates warehouses living in the Borough of Haringey. The policy explicitly seeks to regularise and legitimise warehouses living as they ‘lend particular support to the creative industries sector’, while also limiting its existence to already existing sites (Haringey Council, 2017a, p. 69).

However, despite the existence of such policy, warehouses living still do not have any legal status as residential spaces, and the policy is only recognised at the Borough level, not at the regional or national level:

“Live/work is complicated as it is, and it’s technically not legal. Although Haringey is the one Council that has attempted and is attempting to create a live/work policy.” (Decker, Interview 2025)

Following the activities of STW, two members of the movement have collaborated with the Council to redraft the policy by putting the community of the warehouses at the centre, in line with the narrative that they have constructed (STW 1, Interview 2024; STW 3, Interview 2025). Members of STW had already collaborated with the Council

within the framework of the Council's application to become Borough of Culture 2027 (STW 1, Interview 2024). However, Policy DM39 cannot just be redrafted by itself, but an updated version will be included in the upcoming Local Plan, which is not expected to be published until 2027 (Solomon, Interview 2025). Furthermore, Council employees cannot comment on the upcoming Local Plan until it has been made public (Solomon, Interview 2025). Even if the Council will modify the policy according to the suggestions of STW, current warehouses residents might not necessarily benefit from them.

The same problem applies to any policy modification of the London Plan concerning the Creative Enterprise Zones. In fact, when discussing the future role of the CEZs, Decker said that she hopes creative communities will have more decision-making power in the future:

"Ideally, the creative community would be put in the driving seat. They could also become key consultees, on any development plan that comes through." (Decker, Interview 2025)

However, the upcoming London Plan will be adopted in 2027, the same year as the upcoming Haringey Local Plan. Thus, the policies of the 2027 London Plan will not be taken into account for the drafting of the new Haringey Local Plan (Decker, Interview 2025; Solomon, Interview 2025). Furthermore, the GLA, as already discussed above, has very little influence on how Councils manage their CEZ, despite providing funding for them.

Furthermore, housing targets will increase in the upcoming years, , both at the regional and local level. In fact, the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) recently set higher housing targets for local authorities (Solomon, Interview 2025). Furthermore, the NPPF generally favours redevelopment, especially over brownfields (Brill & Raco, 2021). This push to increase housing numbers is due to the current housing crisis:

"Hopefully, developers are much more invested in making sure that this [the creative community] is part of their story, because we can't stop the development from happening. We have too much housing crisis." (Decker, Interview 2025)

"You have so many different competing demands on land in London. [...] The NPPF has recently been updated and set higher targets for local authorities in England. So we're anticipating that our housing numbers will increase quite substantially." (Solomon, Interview 2025)

This pressure for redevelopment does not exclude historically significant areas (West, Interview 2025). However, the crisis narrative is often exploited by developers to further push their interests, aggravating the situation they claim to be the solution for (Brill & Raco, 2021). As discussed above, members of STW have denied that redevelopment of Omega Works would help in the relief of the housing crisis, highlighting that the proposed plans would transform the warehouse into luxury flats (PoliticsJOE, 2023). Rampant redevelopment further pushes the commodification and financialization of housing, which is at the core of the housing crisis to begin with:

"Property prices are very high. In England, people have to invest in houses rather than shares." (Carr, Interview 2025)

Additionally, while developers technically need to provide a certain percentage of affordable housing, this percentage can be negotiated with the local authorities:

"What happens is a negotiation. There are so many different things. You want your affordable housing. You want some affordable workspace. You want community space or infrastructure as part of your project, public realm improvements, new green infrastructure or to meet certain sustainability standards. You're not going to get everything." (Solomon, Interview 2025)

Thus, in this context, preserving existing buildings which provide affordable rent, as is the case for Omega Works, could effectively guarantee affordable housing. However, STW seems to have little short-term potential to impact local and regional planning policies, despite their consultation work with the Council. In this context, it is important to remember that the protection of heritage has often proved to be stronger than the right to housing (Chen & Zhang, 2021). This opens alternative paths to STW to protect Omega Works from redevelopment.

The last administrative level to be considered is the national level. In 2023, in fact, Save the Warehouses had been able to mobilize the support of MP David Lammy, who had personally written to the Council to show his concern. However, mobilising political actors at such scale is no longer possible without active forms of resistance to gentrification (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018). Furthermore, since July 2024 Lammy is Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Keir Starmer's government (GOV.UK, n.d.). As Lammy is now in a higher position of power, it is more difficult for the movement to reach him, and less likely that he would concern himself with local level issues.

Narratives of heritage do not seem to be the best approach to tackle policy issues. In fact, although such tactic can be successful in mobilising political actors, as it happened with Lammy in 2023, the long-term commitment required to successfully affect policies at both the regional and national levels in the UK could not be sustained by STW. While it is still possible that the actions of the movement might impact future policies in favour of the warehouses district, current residents might not necessarily be able to reap their benefits. This shortcoming also needs to be linked to the narrative constructed by the press. In fact, as discussed above, journalists gave little attention to wider social issue for housing rights and to the role of political authorities in the management of the warehouses district. Political projects such as the CEZ and Policy DM39 were rarely mentioned. The inability of some journalists to address the systemic problems which lie behind the proposed redevelopment of Omega Works left space for the political actors to free themselves from their own responsibilities (Hanquinet, 2011).

Conflict Map 2 (see Figure 11 below) illustrates the relations between the various actors involved in the case from December 2023 to today and summarises what has been discussed so far in this chapter. By comparing Conflict Map 2 to Conflict Map 1, it is possible to understand how the various actors were affected by the narrative of heritage

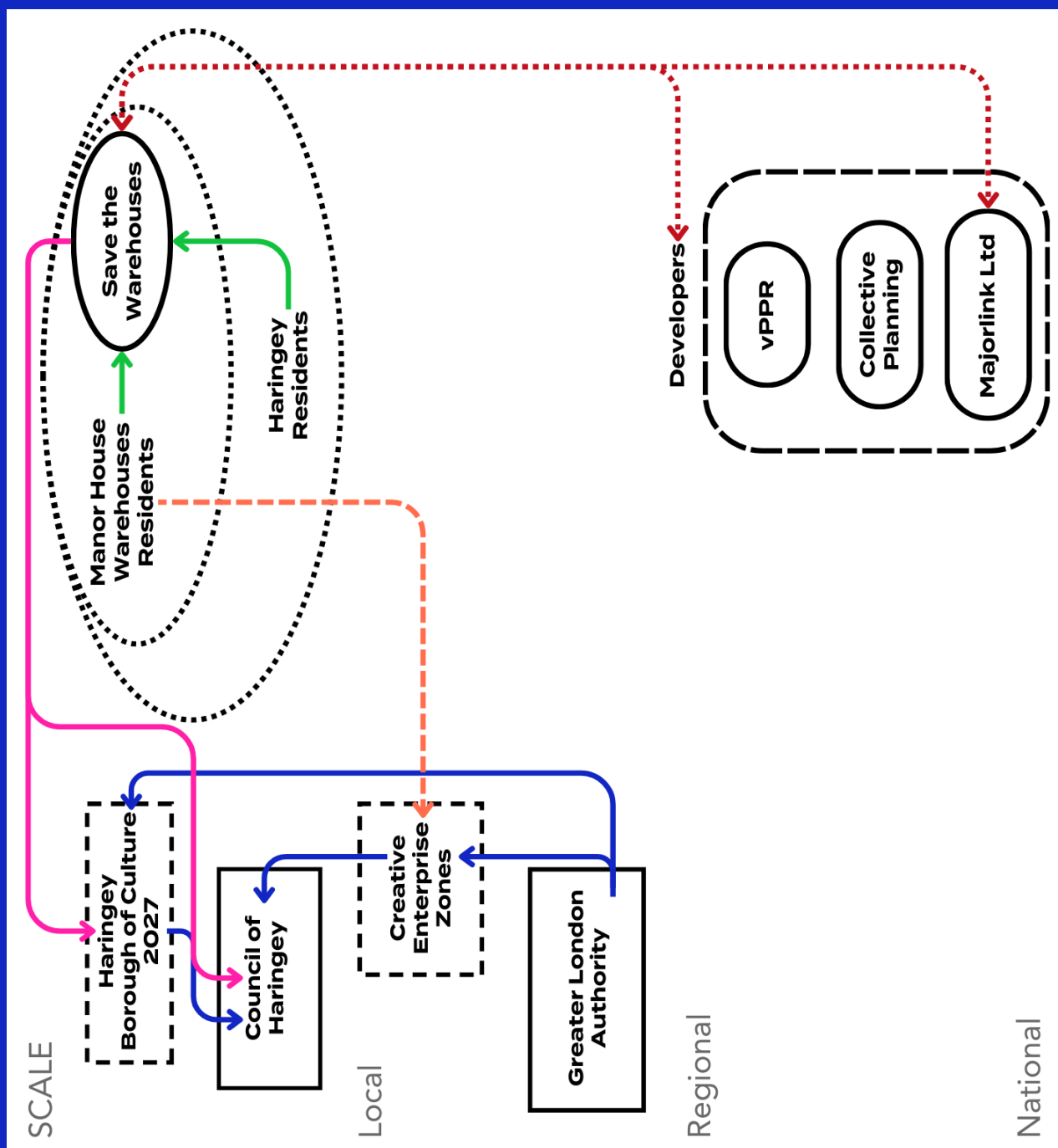


Figure 11: Conflict Map 2 (Author's own, 2025)

constructed by STW.

As it can be seen, the actors still involved in the case are fewer than they were in 2023. Today, STW is no longer involved with other civil society organizations as they were two years prior. They are also no longer actively collaborating with the historians Hugh Flouch and Andrew Giller and, most importantly, they no longer have any contact with the press. Local residents, both inside and outside the warehouses district, still support and agree with the cause of STW. While the relationship between STW and the developers, especially with the landlord Majorlink, is still a conflictual relationship, the members of

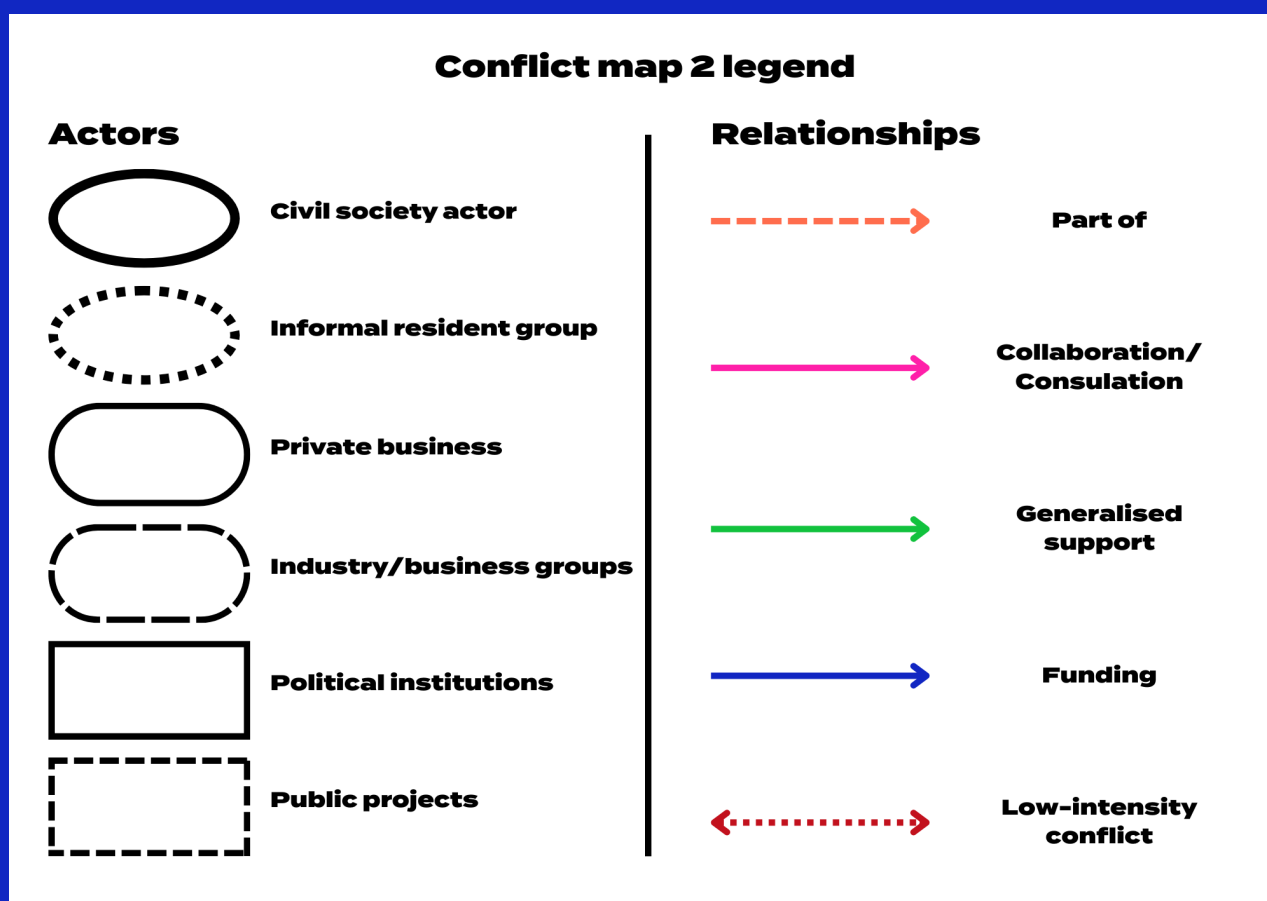


Figure 12: Conflict Map 2 (Author's own, 2025)

the movement have tried to subdue the hostilities to avoid serious consequences, such as eviction. Additionally, due to the slow pace of policies change, STW has not managed to influence any policy change, in spite of their close collaboration with the Council of Haringey. While the GLA is directly funding the CEZ programme under which the warehouses residents also fall, their ability to influence the case in the short-term is null.

Thus, STW has not been able to influence any policies in the short-term through its narrative of heritage. The Council of Haringey seems unable to properly protect its cultural heritage, risking to ultimately destroying it through co-optation, as they take advantage of the warehouses district to receive funding for cultural initiatives (Bertacchini & Santagata, 2012; Della Lucia & Trunfio, 2018; Gu et al., 2024; Jewesbury, 2022). In fact, even when local authorities attempt to promote the continuity of art production in their territory, they often extract the cultural capital and ultimately drive out the resident artists (Rich, 2019). Furthermore, current narratives around the housing crisis are favouring redevelopment which ultimately aggravates it. STW has not been able to construct a sound counternarrative to this argument due to the little attention given to systemic social issues in the wider discussion born around Omega Works. On the other hand, the sustained support for STW among the residents of the area demonstrates the movement ability to maintain the struggle alive even through everyday forms of resistance.

In this context, other forms of protection might help the warehouses community to survive

the risk of displacement. Thus, the next section analyses the potentialities of heritage protection as a strategy to resist gentrification.

3. PROTECTION OF HERITAGE

The first part of this section looks at the protection of tangible heritage, while the second part focuses on the protection of intangible heritage. Lastly, the results are discussed in the context of the anti-gentrification struggle, highlighting what are the limits and potentialities of such tactic.

Protection of Tangible Heritage

This first section explores the potentialities regarding the protection of tangible heritage for Save the Warehouses. Protection of Omega Works as a listed building could help to prevent the redevelopment from happening. Furthermore, members of STW have pointed out that, even if the redevelopment proposal were to be denied by the Council, they fear that the landlord would begin a managed decline of the building:

“I think the landlords will do what they call managed decline. They will draw the building into the ground, they won’t do repairs, they will make it inhabitable. It will get closed down by environmental health.” (STW 3, Interview 2025)

However, if Omega Works were to be successfully listed as a heritage building in the future, that would prevent such scenario from happening. Thus, heritage listing could potentially support both the present and the future warehouses community.

When discussing urban heritage, first it should be noted that not all heritage buildings are granted the same level of protection. Several heritage lists exist, as well as several grades of significance even within the same list. Nevertheless, all heritage lists focus on three values to assess whether a building can or cannot be included: historic, architectural and community value (Franklin, Interview 2025). All redevelopment applications regarding listed buildings have to undergo a stricter process, although the level of protection is proportionally related to the hierarchy of listing levels (Langham, Interview 2025).

The lowest level of protection is local protection. While not all Boroughs of London have a local heritage list, Haringey has its own (Solomon, Interview 2025). Although local listing guarantees solely low levels of protection, in the past it has had significant influence over planning decisions (Haringay Online, 2014). Buildings can be listed either by themselves or as part of a conservation area. Conservation areas usually guarantee higher levels of protection:

“If it’s [a building] in a conservation area, it’s got more power because you can’t get rid of it. [...] There’s nothing to stop someone demolishing a locally listed building if it’s outside a conservation area.” (Solomon, Interview 2025)

The main advantage of the local list is that it gives more consideration to the community value than national lists usually do, allowing buildings that do not have strong historic or architectural value to still be considered for listing (Solomon, Interview 2025). However, the local list is not constantly updated, and buildings and conservation areas cannot be simply submitted to be added on the list (Solomon, Interview 2025). The current plan of the Council of Haringey is to update the heritage list in the future, in consultation with the residents and communities of Haringey. However, this will not happen until the upcoming Local Plan is completed in 2027 (Solomon, Interview 2025). Thus, even if the warehouses district were to be considered, the temporalities of the local heritage list are not in favour of STW.

While there were plans to put forward Omega Works for other heritage lists, these plans were halted when the principal activities of the movement stopped due to the threats of the landlords (Flouch, Interview 2025; Giller, Interview 2025; STW 1, Interview 2024; STW 3, Interview 2025). The historian Andrew Giller was aiding STW in drafting a proposal, which, according to him, was almost ready to be submitted:

“Yes, we were on the verge of pulling that together. Unfortunately, I just don’t know now, because they were fighting with the landlord and all sorts.” (Giller, Interview 2025)

Furthermore, according to Giller, Omega Works would be able to satisfy all three criteria to be listed as a heritage landmark:

“It was a phenomenal piece of English piano history. You can still see the uniqueness of the layout of the building, you can see how they would have loaded the trucks, reverse truck into loading bay. And all these massive, great hoists, they’re all still there, all the steel work and the hoisting equipment. [...] It was a renowned architect who designed the building in the mid-30s. His work is very widely known in London, if not internationally. Pew would have been the name.” (Giller, Interview 2025)

However, Robert Carr of the Greater London Industrial Archaeology Society (GLIAS) remarked that industrial heritage in London is often overlooked, as it is assumed to not be part of the history of the city. This view not only affects which buildings are considered to be of significance for the history of the city, but also how current areas of the city are not taken into account in the mainstream narration:

“There is an establishment view that London was not an industrial city, where, in fact, the reverse is true. London has always been the most industrial city, but it’s a fairly high-end industry. We don’t have things like coal mines and large cotton mills and steelworks and so on. But there’s a lot of industrial production.” (Carr, Interview 2025)

The perception of London as a non-industrial city raises questions regarding the ease for industrial and formerly industrial buildings to be recognised as historically significant (Harris, 2012; Lees & Rozena, 2025; L. Smith, 2006). Furthermore, heritage associations do not always necessarily see gentrification and the displacement of less wealthy residents as an issue. In fact, Ian West from the Association for Industrial Archaeology (AIA) has

admitted that they often work in gentrified areas. In fact, the arrival of wealthier residents allows them to collect more funding for the protection and repurposing of industrial buildings:

“At one level, gentrification generates money which can be used for the preservation of industrial features. [...] If you have money available you can throw it at things like preserving the remains of a gas holder.” (West, Interview 2025)

He has also admitted that the AIA does not necessarily see the community value of the building as significant:

“It’s not about the loss of the community facility necessarily, it is more the loss of the buildings. We like these buildings.” (West, Interview 2025)

Although other heritage experts interviewed explicitly disagreed with this view, the fact that the existing community is not always at the centre of heritage protection raises questions regarding whether heritage by designation can actually empower urban residents (Ripp & Rodwell, 2015). This issue is also linked with the problem of housing commodification discussed above, and the protection of few historical landmarks comes at the cost of the loss of bigger parts of history, not deemed to be included within the Authorized Heritage Discourse:

“London is being redeveloped in a way which completely obliterates any thought of the past or the heritage.” (Carr, Interview 2025)

Furthermore, even if Omega Works were to be recognised as a heritage landmark, the same protection would not necessarily be granted to the totality of the Manor House warehouses district, once again raising the issue of the relations between heritage by designation and gentrification (Bertacchini & Santagata, 2012; Della Lucia & Trunfio, 2018; Ferro et al., 2024; Gu et al., 2024; Hammami et al., 2022; Hammami & Uzer, 2018). In fact, local historian Hugh Flouch asserted that in his opinion Omega Works is the only warehouse worthy of some form of protection:

“There’s enough remaining and there’s enough importance to that building [Omega Works] to suggest that it should be listed. I don’t think anybody will ever protect all the warehouses. A lot of the buildings are not interesting, not really worth protecting. But there is space to protect that one building.” (Flouch, Interview 2025)

Such a statement came as a surprise, especially as Flouch recognises the significance of the entirety of the warehouses district for the local area:

“Currently here, you have a great, fuzzy, vibrant, creative community. My argument would be not to lose this great fuzzy vibe.” (Flouch, Interview 2025)

However, the risk is that, if the warehouses community is not granted any residential protection, the ‘fuzzy vibe’ and the aesthetics of the area could be easily co-opted by

neo-liberal actors to 'artwash' gentrification (Jewesbury, 2022; Sterling, 2020; Valli, 2022). This issue will be further developed below.

Thus, the protection of the historical industrial heritage of Omega Works presents several limitations. In fact, not only it has proven to be dangerous as a tactic for the survivability of the residents, it also would present several fallacies if such tactic could be successful. If only Omega Works were to be recognised as historically significant, without any consideration for the rest of the warehouses district, the narrative constructed by Save the Warehouses would transform into a form of 'gentrification from within' (Arkaraprasertkul, 2016). In fact, while successfully protecting Omega Works, such circumstance would put the Manor House warehouses district under the spotlight, ultimately attracting more redevelopment. While not home-owners, the residents of Omega Works would be the only ones to benefit from such narrative, jeopardizing the survivability of other residents and of the warehouses community as it is today (Arkaraprasertkul, 2016; Newman & Ashton, 2004).

Nevertheless, tangible heritage is not the sole form of heritage which can be protected. A significant part of the narrative constructed by STW revolved around the importance of the warehouses' community for Haringey. Thus, the next section focuses on the potentialities to protect the intangible heritage of the Manor House warehouses district.

Protection of Intangible Heritage

Firstly, when discussing intangible heritage, it is necessary to highlight that intangible heritage is often harder to define, and thus to protect. Traditionally, intangible heritage was not seen as part of AHD, and as such as always been a form of heritage by appropriation (Dupagne et al., 2004; L. Smith, 2006). Today, while intangible heritage can be guaranteed official heritage status, the guidelines to define it are still unclear, making it hard to preserve it (Franklin, Interview 2025; Langham, Interview 2025). For this reason, intangible heritage can easily be co-opted and used to extract capital value through redevelopment (Sterling, 2020). This happens also in cases of protection of tangible heritage:

"With a lot of factories developments, the developers are required to put in money for the local community. And they tend to spend this on works of art, which are very expensive. The local community doesn't get very much out of them. The works of art are to attract richer people to move in and buy property." (Carr, Interview 2025)

Nevertheless, conventional approaches to intangible heritage have been changing, with some organisations now specifically focusing on its protection. There are heritage organisations which understand the potentiality of narratives of heritage and work with them. For example, Eric Langham from the Association for Heritage Interpretation remarked:

"Intangible heritage is as important as tangible heritage to us. We're storytellers. If we go into a place, we want to uncover the importance and significance of that

place.” (Langham, Interview 2025)

The mention of storytelling highlights how urban heritage can be a powerful tool to understand reality (Björninen et al., 2020). However, Langham continued:

“The most important thing is to change a policy. If they are able to change or add some changes to national legislation protecting [heritage] that could be a really powerful outcome. [...] The heritage industry itself reflects the government policy. [...] A radical shift needs to happen.” (Langham, Interview 2025)

However, as seen in the previous section, there are limits to what residents’ movements can achieve without stronger institutional support. This leads to a vicious cycle, as residents are not able to influence policies in the short-term, but without policy changes institutions do not fully understand how to best protect intangible heritage from neoliberal co-optation. The example of the GLA and its inability to positively influence power relations between creative communities and political authorities despite the creation of the CEZ exemplifies this issue. While the intangible heritage of a place can be instrumental to build resistance, its protection as institutionalised heritage raises the same questions as the protection of tangible heritage does (Hammami & Uzer, 2018).

The last section summarises and discusses the findings of this chapter.

4. DISCUSSION

To sum up, this chapter has analysed the effects of the narratives of heritage constructed by Save the Warehouses over the other actors. While STW has managed to positively mobilise and maintain the support of local residents, it was unable to positively influence political powers, although the delay in any decision regarding the redevelopment should be seen as a partial victory of STW. This difference is probably due to two main issues. The first regards the shift of STW from tactics of active to everyday resistance. While residents were still in contact with the practices of everyday resistance and heritage by appropriation brought forward by the warehouses’ residents, political authorities were no longer urged once the active resistance of the movement stopped. The second issue regards the framing of the case in the press discussed in the chapter above. The role of political powers was given little attention in the discussion constructed by the press. In this context, political authorities have been able to ignore their responsibilities in the management of the warehouses district (Hanquinet, 2011). For example, the press never questioned the fact that warehouses residents lack the security of residential contracts despite the existence of the Policy DM39.

Strategies of heritage narratives to counter gentrification remain at the mercy of neoliberal co-optation. The limits of active forms of resistance for the survivability of the residents are linked to the limits of heritage narratives to mobilise the support of external actors (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018, 2020). Nevertheless, heritage by appropriation can still be constructed through everyday forms of resistance (Dupagne et al., 2004; Hammami & Uzer, 2018). Although such narratives and practices are not visible, they can still support the movement and aid it in building relations with local

communities (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2020; Thurber et al., 2021). On the other hand, appealing to heritage by designation to protect threatened buildings still risks to create narratives of 'gentrification from within' (Arkaraprasertkul, 2016). The focus of STW on the warehouses as creative hubs and as both places of art production and consumption might lead to ambiguities which can ultimately be exploited for redevelopment (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). Attempting to institutionalise cultural heritage narratives opens to the possibilities of *artwashing* gentrification, as such narratives could be appropriated by neoliberal actors to create contrasting representations of space (Gainza, 2017; Karlström, 2020; Miles, 2015; Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). Institutionalized heritage also crystallises identities, while heritage by appropriation allows for everchanging practices, allowing urban communities to adapt and change without risking being excluded (Dupagne et al., 2004; L. Smith, 2006).

The issue of the current housing crisis and its use to justify redevelopment which does not necessarily guarantee affordable housing demonstrates that narratives can be powerful instruments to transform the urban landscape (Björninen et al., 2020; Brill & Raco, 2021; Lu, 2016; Martens, 2022; Rivero Moreno, 2020). In this context, the little attention given by the press to the wider societal issues behind the Omega Works redevelopment weakened the counternarrative constructed by STW (Hanquinet, 2011). Ultimately, this allowed the political actors involved to not acknowledge their own responsibility in the management of the case, and to continue to employ the narrative of the housing crisis to justify redevelopment of affordable areas.



Garden of the E2Left unit within the Arena Design Centre warehouses complex (Author's own, 2024)

CONCLUSIONS

As residents and urban communities struggle to have a say over the way cities are being transformed, narratives of heritage seem to offer the possibility to protect both the built environment and already existing communities. In fact, what is happening in Haringey is not exclusive to the area, nor to London. Through the analysis of how narratives of heritage were constructed around Omega Works and their effects, this thesis concludes that such narratives can hold potential for anti-gentrification struggles but need to be appropriately employed.

Firstly, narratives need to be able to discuss the wider societal issues which lie behind gentrification to be able to properly affect political actors (Hanquinet, 2011). Narratives over culture tend to treat it as an absolute element, forgetting that culture and creativity are influenced by socio-economic and political factors (Pratt, 2010). The role of political actors needs to be taken into consideration and questioned. Movements also need to avoid transforming narratives of heritage by appropriation into narratives of heritage by designation, as the main risk is the co-optation of aesthetics and identities of resistance by developers and other neoliberal actors (Jewesbury, 2022).

It also needs to be recognised that the construction of counternarratives is not always feasible, as movements might need to avoid active forms of resistance to guarantee their own survivability (Annunziata & Rivas-Alonso, 2018, 2020, 2022). Changes in temporalities of resistance can also make narrative building unsustainable for the residents in the long term. Everyday practices can nevertheless still be identified with heritage by appropriation, and they can still foster support that movements can later mobilise if needed (Dupagne et al., 2004; Hammami & Uzer, 2018; Thurber et al., 2021).

Overall, narratives of heritage can be partially successful, as demonstrated by the fact that residents of Omega Works have at least managed to significantly delay any potential redevelopment. Nevertheless, narratives of heritage by appropriation cannot be the sole strategy to resist gentrification. Their inability to influence political change in the short term represents the most problematic issue, although it is possible that if the narratives had been better constructed, this shortcoming might have been solved. Narratives of heritage can still represent one of the many tools that residents and anti-gentrification movements can employ, as gentrification and neoliberal co-optation attack them on all fronts.

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this research were limited in several aspects. The first one regards the temporality of the research: findings regarding residents' perceptions of narratives of heritage were limited by the impossibility of comparing them to those before the STW campaign. Similarly, as the Council still has not reached a decision on the case, the findings on the perceptions of political actors are incomplete.

There are also limitations concerning the participants involved in the research. I was

unable to get in touch with anyone from the developers' side. I have tried to contact Majorlink, vPPR and Collective Planning; however, in all cases, I have received negative or no answers. This did not come as a surprise, as these actors also rarely spoke with the press. Nevertheless, the inability to understand the point of view of the developers does limit the scope of this research. Furthermore, Council employees cannot comment on the redevelopment proposal, as it is still under consultation, and I did not manage to get an interview with anyone from the culture department of the Council.

The last limitation concerns the generalizability limitation of a singular case study (Meyer, 2001). This is a common problem in studies regarding creative urban spaces, as the particularities of a particular space and the general trend are often difficult to untangle (Hollands, 2019). For this reason, before carrying out field research, it has been necessary to analyse the socio-demographic characteristics of Manor House and the Borough of Haringey. Nevertheless, what is happening in Haringey is clearly not an isolated process. Thus, it is still possible to draw some generalizations from this case.

Future research should keep on exploring how narratives of heritage can aid anti-gentrification movements and how such narratives can be best constructed (e.g. how to address the role of political actors). More research should also explore the downsides of media attention in gentrifying contexts. While visibility is usually sought after by anti-gentrification movements, the case of STW demonstrates that the struggle over visibility might also carry negative outcomes for the residents, threatening their survivability. Research should also focus on how heritage institutions can best support non-traditional forms of heritage and residents' movements without risking them being co-opted by neoliberal narratives of culture. While the literature about heritage has evolved past its traditional definition, parts of the heritage industry still have not overcome this limitation.

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APPENDIX I

SOCIAL MEDIA POSTS OF SAVE THE WAREHOUSES

Date (GMT)	Caption	Post URL
Thu, 18 Apr 2024 20:07:44 GMT	🕒 let's check back in! ✓ we have successfully stalled the development plans, thanks to hundreds of objections from our community 🏠 the developers under-reported the resident count by almost 50% and as of today, April 18th 2024, they have failed to provide accurate data and remain under investigation 🤝 we've been community building with events, outreach, and advocacy like our open houses and public workshops 📰 we've received nation wide media coverage from the likes of BBC News, the Guardian, Evening Standard, Vice and more 🗣️ we're honoring and opening up the cultural hotspot that is the warehouses from drag nights, markers markets, exhibitions, and a short film 💬 we continue to work with the community and council on warehouse issues. All across London warehouse tenants are at risk for targeted evictions, rent gouging and housing insecurity #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/C56mjLbo0kV/
Mon, 22 May 2023 14:55:47 GMT	We've taken some days over here to reflect and celebrate the campaign so far, but are back online! Newest update to share: The official consultation period has ended for the planning application but that doesn't mean we're done. We are still allowed to submit objections up until it goes up for consultation by the committee. So, if haven't had a chance to submit your objections, you still can! View the pinned post for a how-to guide. #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsjK75br63/
Sun, 12 Mar 2023 19:59:59 GMT	We have been campaigning to save the warehouses for over a year - can you believe it? Planning applications take time and so does fighting then. It takes all of us to invest time, alongside our work, and campaign fatigue is very real. Thank you @viceuk and @_simon_doherty_ for the write up, reminding us of the importance of not just fighting this development but advocating for greater reform and protective policies for these communities. The proposed development is a threat to our homes, our community, and our livelihood - most of us work and create in these spaces, too. We have been fortunate enough to speak to @_simon_doherty_ from @vice about the planned development to turn our culturally vivid live / work warehouses into bleak towers of gentrification. He highlights not only the wider implications for us, the community which will be displaced, but also the fact that the erosion of such spaces is changing the face of London forever, and not for the better. Thank you to all who have supported us and fought with us so far, and welcome to those new to the campaign ! All slides reposted from @viceuk. #savethewarehouses #omegaworkstogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cps5Tz-vljdk/

Sat, 23 Dec 2023 18:05:46 GMT	As the year wraps up let's have a check in! 🏠 We've been working on Save The Warehouses since October 2021. 👂 Since the planning application to develop Omega Works went in April 2022, we have collectively submitted over 300 objections and comments which has made the council look through it with a very close eye, leading to postponement in the decision date. 🏠 They were meant to tear down our homes and start building these luxury flats three months ago. As of today, the development has not gone through! We are still awaiting the councils decision. !! We're now also working with Haringey council on their local plan for the borough to recognize the warehouse district as an asset, on resident terms. ⚠️ Through it all we did this together and get to spend the holidays in our dear Omega Works. 💖 It's been an incredible year working together on this. We'll close out sharing out photos from @unit2projectspace exhibition and other warehouse happenings and then see you all in the new year! #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/C1NFm_Lv93T/
Sat, 02 Dec 2023 10:41:09 GMT	@n4makersmarket Our favorite local market with over 120 stalls, live DJs and music, street food, drinks and more! TODAY and tomorrow 🎉 Support your local makers all around. Florentia Village N4 1TD 12-6pm	https://www.instagram.com/p/C0W-PvWT18iW/
Thu, 23 Nov 2023 21:41:46 GMT	Omega Works Together is live! We are so proud of the team that put this beautiful film telling the animated history of Omega Works. Created by a group of residents and funded by #HaringeyCouncil and #MayorofLondon for Haringey Feast 2023, it is a piece of our heart and true work of art. Bringing history, research, collaboration and the arts together through the medium of shadow puppetry. The film premiered at Haringey Feast on 19 November 2023 at Alexandra Palace and is now online for all to see! Big credit to the individuals below who made this happen. Directed by @caitlinstrongarm Written by @caitlinstrongarm, @ataberkaksit, Sarah Emm Puppeteers: @_sundress @alex_e_gomar @caitlinstrongarm Composed by @d6ire Sound design @danstkes Mixed by @amberrmezzo Puppet and background design by @caitlinstrongarm, @cinematopoeia_ and @kateasto Edited by @caitlinstrongarm Lighting @stephenallwright Featuring voices from @ataberkaksit @_aislinna @bifmode @cinematopoeia_ @alex_e_gomar @chantalisgolden @d6ire @amberrmezzo @higia.laina @nathanlanguage www.savethewarehouses.org/art-and-heritage @haringeycouncil #HaringeyFeast #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/C0AQLvQophr/

Sat, 04 Nov 2023 14:18:42 GMT	Reposting artwork from the incredibly talented @blleubelles, a resident of Omega Works who has sketched our dear @3karthouse. Spot one of our Save The Warehouse stickers drawn in on the laptop! 🎨 You can see more of Kat's works next Thursday, 9 November, at @brushwrk.art Autumn Exhibition. The exhibition celebrates "the works of emerging artists blurring the lines between truthful and fictional realities in their work. ... there will be free drinks, great music and great people. All around good vibes!" Check the link in their bio for tickets.	https://www.instagram.com/p/CzOip-c9IRjM/
Thu, 19 Oct 2023 15:28:29 GMT	Join @unit2projectspace for their exhibition, "Tethered" this weekend, opening tomorrow 🗓️ "Artists Unite in Face of Redevelopment Threats- Exhibition Spotlights Thriving But Threatened Arts District. "Tethered" showcases the diverse artistic expressions that have been flourishing in the Haringey and Hackney Warehouse districts through vivid visual narratives and personal testimonials. The exhibition serves as a testament to the collaborative, close-knit warehouse community and the transformative power of these spaces as hubs of creativity and resilience even in the face of looming gentrification and redevelopment threats" Artist information on @unit2projectspace page and ticket link available through their bio. See you there !	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cyld6p-KtcPb/
Sat, 30 Sep 2023 13:18:19 GMT	🏠 🏠 3K ART HOUSE - OMEGA WORKS EVICTION 🏠 🏠 30th Sept 2023: 3K Art House, the radical home and community hub in the threatened Omega Works warehouses, has been issued an eviction notice. The residents of 3K, among the Omega Works community and people of the wider Haringay Warehouse District, have been publicly advocating for the protection of warehouse communities and spaces in light of plans to redevelop our homes into luxury flats. Earlier this year we appeared on BBC news on behalf of Save The Warehouses to share the story of our home, why it shouldn't be demolished and how our community is at risk. The very next day, we received a 'notice to immediately vacate'. Our eviction date has been set for this weekend. We're challenging this eviction; for starters, we're not sure that proper protocols have been followed in order to issue it. But more importantly, residents (warehouse or otherwise) shouldn't be punished for speaking up when their homes and livelihoods are at risk. 3K Art House provides key services to our community; safe space, connection, resource sharing, community arts workshops, and have done a lot of work to demystify the planning process and facilitate democratic participation for 'seldom heard' groups. If 3K is evicted, not only will we lose our home and studio during a housing and cost of living crisis, but Omega will lose an important part of its social fabric; Haringey will lose an important grass-roots community hub and venue; and democracy will be silenced by the power imbalance of landlord/tenants. If you've ever been to 3K, you'll know how special it is. We're asking anyone who believes 3K should stay to share a short testimony - we'd like to nicely ask our landlords to change their minds. Until further notice, 3K will be here. 🏠 #3Kshouldstay @3karthouse @savethewarehouses @haringeycouncil @mayorofldn #cultureatrisk #omegaworkstogether #savethewarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cx0T6oeI0dY/

Thu, 28 Sep 2023 13:20:56 GMT	★ Shadow Puppetry community arts workshops complete! Thank you to everyone who stopped by! @savethewarehouses is making a shadow puppet film about the history of Omega Works and the warehouse district. Thank you to @haringeycouncil and @mayorofldn for your support in commissioning this work. Catch us at #HaringeyFeast this November! #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses Photos by @sianherbert	https://www.instagram.com/p/CxvKo-DLIt5N/
Thu, 28 Sep 2023 12:31:23 GMT	Shadow puppetry community arts workshop ✨ @savethewarehouses is making a film about the history of Omega Works and the Haringey Warehouse District: commissioned by @haringeycouncil for the enormous, borough-wide cultural event Haringey Feast! This week we held two workshops in @3karthouse for community to get involved, making shadow puppets to feature in the film. It was beautiful, intergenerational art and play, all about these special warehouse spaces. This is community-empowering placemaking art in action ❤️ 🏠 #haringeyfeast #placemaking #warehouses #omegaworkstogether #radicalhome #resistanceart #london 📷 Pictures taken by the unreal @sianherbert	https://www.instagram.com/p/CxvE-9H4tRmE/
Tue, 26 Sep 2023 18:03:48 GMT	One workshop down, one to go! We're making a shadow puppetry film about the history of warehouses, all the way from giant piano factory to creative hub of today! Come and make a shadow puppet of yourself, or something you love about the warehouses, and be a part of the story! ★ Join us TOMORROW Wednesday 27th September 3.30-6.30PM FREE EVENT, register in bio / stories Photo credit: @sianherbert #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether #HaringeyFeast	https://www.instagram.com/p/CxqhaBTodJr/
Sat, 23 Sep 2023 07:57:17 GMT	We went to the North London Community House this week where we watched a screening of Everything Must Change made by @ReelNewsLondon after a short talk about Save The Warehouses. Thank you to our comrades at Reel News for giving us the spotlight. Everything Must Change is an inspiring film that not only exposes the affect of corporate greed in the context of food and land poverty, but also presents communities that stand up to this extraction of wealth and thrive. Packed full of information about resistance movements across the world, we left the screening with several new leads to follow in our struggle to secure dignified housing rights and an alternative living model for the warehouse communities across London. Everything Must Change is touring across the UK and Europe all Autumn. You can see their schedule for screenings with details at @ReelNewsLondon 🗣️	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cxhtn-NLI19D/

Mon, 18 Sep 2023 08:33:10 GMT	@savethewarehouses has been commissioned by @haringeycouncil to make a film for #HaringeyFeast this coming November. Through the medium of shadow puppets, we'll retell the history of our beloved Omega Works from the piano factory it once was to the creative hub it is today. We'll be hosting two workshops at @3karthouse to make the shadow puppets. Come stop by to learn how to make one, then create a shadow puppet version of yourself or something that represents the Omega Works story! WHEN: Sunday 24 September and Wednesday 27 September WHERE: @3karthouse Omega Works N41LZ WHO: open to all!! ★ FREE EVENT ★ Please book through the link on our stories and in our bio. Stay tuned for more information on #haringeyfeast #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CxU5vq2I70W/
Wed, 13 Sep 2023 07:51:57 GMT	Last week Save The Warehouse members met with Hugh Flouch, Haringey historian, and Andrew Giller, piano restorer, to discuss the Challen piano. Prior to being live/work warehouse spaces, Omega Works was once a piano factory where the largest piano in the world, CHALLENGE 11' 8" Concert grand piano No. 2, was built for the Silver Jubilee in 1935. Giller said that this factory was incredibly important; it basically saved the British piano trade. More on the history and piano itself to come! #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CxH9DZ_oTuc/
Thu, 31 Aug 2023 20:01:32 GMT	Join us in celebrating five years of stopping the Haringey Development Vehicle. Save The Warehouses will be there talking and sharing resistance art 🖤 Details below, shared from their team: "Saturday 2nd September, 1-5pm, Lordship Lane Recreation Ground Hub, Haringey · Celebrate the 5 year anniversary of stopping HDV · The Haringey Development Vehicle (HDV) was a nightmarish £2 billion property redevelopment project that was successfully overturned by grassroots campaigning. Five years on and it's time to revisit the campaign by having a party. There'll be a mix of performing arts and talks from across the housing justice/anti-gentrification movement. All free, all welcome! More info here: https://www.eventbrite.com/e/stopping-hdv-5-year-anniversary-celebration-tickets-679260284797"	https://www.instagram.com/p/CwnyNI_INNH/
Thu, 31 Aug 2023 12:56:11 GMT	!! What's this?! The same landlords with more applications for redevelopment of local icons?! Never!!! 🤨 ⚠️ ALGHA WORKS IS UNDER THREAT - go write your objections NOW and #fightforfishland !!!! Links in bio ⚠️	https://www.instagram.com/p/CwnBiS-loFgl/
Mon, 28 Aug 2023 20:11:07 GMT	Save The Warehouse members Ata, Caito, and See led a resistance art workshop at Housing Rebellion's Action Workshop this weekend highlighting housing justice and how campaigns are uniting people to stand up. PICKET FENCE is a collaborative, expanding resistance artwork: we've all been sold the housing dream of white picket fences, but the only way we'll ever get close is with a picket line. #housingrebellion #housingforneednotgreed @housingrebellion	https://www.instagram.com/p/CwgE7I-WIRd0/

Mon, 21 Aug 2023 10:01:33 GMT	@caitlinstrongarm has been one of twelve artists, architects, and designers at School SOS for their month long development program. Caito's work is centered around @savethewarehouses and featured in SLG gallery until August 26! "We'll take what we've generated from the consultation at OMEGA SOS to create a brief for a resident-led design for the warehouses. Working in partnership with architects, lawyers, campaign groups, local authorities and our community, Save The Warehouses is creating a model for empowering communities in the planning process to take control of the future of their areas." ★ Come by SOS23 exhibition at South London Gallery open to see more! Where: 82 Peckham Rd, London SE15 5LQ When: August 11 - 26 #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CwM-9mZ7oEBX/
Sat, 19 Aug 2023 15:04:43 GMT	We're out the front of Omega doing some sunny street painting ☀️ Our OMEGA WORKS sign getting some finishing touches after being started off at Omega SOS as a community place-making artwork 🎨 Soon it'll be ready to brighten up Hermitage Road, but if you're down our way this afternoon come and help us make some collective art 🌟 #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CwIWt-NlInVJ/
Thu, 17 Aug 2023 09:45:25 GMT	Unit 2 Project Space (@unit2projectspace) is issuing a special OPEN CALL for artists from the Haringey Warehouse Community and Hackney Wick Warehouse Community who have firsthand experience creating work within the warehouses. Their open call and exhibition aims at highlighting the voices of people living in those greatly creative but at risk communities. The selected artists will be taking part in the second edition of Unit 2 Project Space yearly show at the end of October. The call is open for all art practices, from sculpture and photography to performance and sound art. ALL INFORMATION ON HOW TO APPLY CAN BE FOUND ON @unit2projectspace PAGE 💖	https://www.instagram.com/p/CwCo-kOUot6H/
Mon, 14 Aug 2023 14:39:56 GMT	We feel so inspired 🌟 Still life drawing workshop at Unit 2 Space facilitated by @tasalla.tabasom in support of @savethewarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cv7b1hNqVa7/
Fri, 11 Aug 2023 12:03:19 GMT	Our community of Omega Works, the culture within the warehouses and the plans to destroy our amazing spaces (and community that rely on them) are all on exhibition at South London Gallery 🏠 🗑️ @savethewarehouses has received support from @sch_sos and will be sharing our story at @southlondongallery til August 26th! Here's a door to door from the site that inspired the campaign all the way to where you can see it in the gallery! Tagging @vppr_architects and @the_dhaus_company because it's your plans that inspired it all, and our community haven't heard from you! Come and talk with us about Saving The Warehouses and working WITH communities 🏠 #savethewarehouses #omegaworkstogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cvza-jYXNwWW/

Tue, 08 Aug 2023 12:06:11 GMT	@savethewarehouses stands in support with @fishislandcommunitynetwork. Warehouses are a uniquely special and distinctive way of living which are continually at threat for development into flats. Join them in the fight. "Tonight!! Bring food and come and place an objection and meet other members of the community! All welcome- family friendly event :)" 🗑️ OBJECTIONS ON THEIR APPLICATION ARE DUE TOMORROW, 9 AUGUST 2023. #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cvrth-3CITe/
Mon, 07 Aug 2023 21:13:19 GMT	🙌 Thank you to all who came to OMEGA SOS!!! We loved opening our homes to you, talking about the campaign, hopes and dreams for this community, and getting to know everyone better. Thank you to all the performers, artists, workshop facilitators, makers and vendors who gave their time and energy. Highlighting here @alison.gardiner.art in her live drawings of our spaces. We ❤️ them! We can't wait to share more photos and videos with you. #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CvqHWUpIDzH/
Sat, 05 Aug 2023 09:02:43 GMT	★ TODAY IS OMEGA SOS ★ Come get your portrait taken and join us for our community event, OMEGA SOS. Listen to live music, see some art, stop by local stalls and enjoy some BBQ with us :) Everyone is welcome. #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CvjQEpQoCz_/
Fri, 04 Aug 2023 21:19:05 GMT	Saturday, August 5 at OMEGA SOS – still life drawing session at @unit2projectspace, 2:30PM. At the event there will also be custom T-shirts, screen printing, BBQ, CBD stall, collage / zine workshop, hand made wooden items, second hand clothes, children's clothes, jewelry, as well as educational stalls on how to start a business, uni help / questions and more !! ★ SEE YOU THERE ★ #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouse	https://www.instagram.com/p/CviZn-7oUrb/
Fri, 04 Aug 2023 09:38:29 GMT	★ ONE DAY TO OMEGA SOS ★ Learn more about our performers here. We are so excited to welcome back warehouse residents, past performers from the street party, performers from local jams and new artists ! TOMORROW, Saturday August 5th 12 - 8PM N41LZ Check our Instagram stories for the time table. *lineup subject to change #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CvhJc-nOoFLW/
Thu, 03 Aug 2023 19:43:31 GMT	We ❤️ ice cream. Here is the ice cream truck we communally painted last event, at the street party. Join us this time for more ice cream and to paint the OMEGA WORKS letters together! THIS SATURDAY, August 5th 12PM - 8PM N41LZ #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cvfp5I-CoL7L/

Thu, 03 Aug 2023 09:41:18 GMT	★ 2 DAYS TO OMEGA SOS ★ Omega Resident & @the_real_joints founder Mike has been busy making giant letters spelling out OMEGA WORKS for us to decorate at the event!! These will be painted by all who come and then fixed to our fence or all to see :) We love walking home and still seeing the flags hung up from our last community event. These will now become a new staple of our walk home too. SEE YOU IN TWO DAYS FOR OMEGA SOS!!! #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cvek-VPIFhb/
Tue, 01 Aug 2023 10:20:46 GMT	See you there!!! Save The Warehouses is inviting the community into the warehouses at Omega Works on Saturday, August 5th for a day-time festival celebrating creativity and community! From 12pm to 8pm experience local talent with live music, stand-up comedy, market stalls and art exhibitions, engage in inspiring workshops and be part of creative discussions that will shape the future of this historic site. Together we are saving Omega Works from being replaced by luxury flats; so show your support by getting your portrait taken by a professional photographer, and sharing your connection to the area. Add your voice to the discussion on shaping our neighbourhoods future, together. Come to OMEGA SOS to help protect the warehouse communities that make London's artistic landscape thrive, and Save The Warehouses! WHEN: Saturday 5th August, 2023 TIME: 12PM - 8PM WHERE: Omega Works, 167 Hermitage Road, N41LZ ⚡ ⚡ #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CvZf5u-KoQnv/
Sat, 29 Jul 2023 20:18:13 GMT	📢 📢 📢 We're seeing the same development attempt in Fish Island by the same person!!! We must protect these creative communities being threatened over London. We will share more information on how to object as soon as we can. #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CvS146ooVXg/
Sat, 29 Jul 2023 08:30:21 GMT	Have you seen our flyers around the community? Catch our event posters on local streets around Ashfield Road, Overbury Road, Catwalk Place, and of course Hermitage Road. Unite with your neighbours in the fight to preserve the creative heart of Haringey! WHEN: Saturday 5th August, 2023 TIME: 12PM - 8PM WHERE: Omega Works, 167 Hermitage Road, N41LZ See you there. Schedule to come. #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CvRk4V1obTr/

Wed, 26 Jul 2023 07:39:52 GMT	OMEGA SOS A @savethewarehouses community event. Come see incredible performances in our lovely homes, buy from local artists and makers, listen to some live tunes and eat as much ice cream as your heart desires. We can't wait to see you there ! 5 August 2023 12PM-8PM N4 1LZ Schedule and performance information to come. #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CvJwuCDo91s/
Wed, 19 Jul 2023 09:35:19 GMT	OMEGA SOS info meeting ! Thank you to all who came to talk about our next community event and thank you to all who have filled out our collaborator call out form. We are blown away with the response from our local creatives ! We are at capacity for photographer interest but still have space for makers/stall holders, performers/workshop facilitators, or visual artists who would like to capture the space. The form has been extended ONE WEEK until 26 July 🌟 Link in bio and on stories. #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cu38X-b9IZPL/
Fri, 14 Jul 2023 15:18:20 GMT	👤 👤 👤 We're planning a big event and looking for all kinds of local artists, creatives, makers, facilitators and collaborators. Want to showcase a performance? Take some photos? Read your poems? Have a stall for your ceramics? Host a skill based workshop? Something entirely different we haven't even thought of?? Link in bio and linked on stories to fill out our collaboration call out form. #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/Curppb-dowYO/
Sun, 18 Jun 2023 09:23:45 GMT	Thank you to the BBC London for covering our story. Save The Warehouses campaign was started by and is led by residents who are fighting for their homes and advocating for greater policies that protect this way of living. While formal consultation period has been closed, the council is still accepting comments on the application. If you have not yet submitted an objection, it's not too late! Check out our how to guide for writing an effective personal objection and get yours in today! Corresponding article on the BBC website. #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CtoF-6DooT5q/
Thu, 15 Jun 2023 19:33:30 GMT	⚡ Round 2 ! Highlighting more small businesses and freelancers that rely on Omega Works for their residence and work spaces. Featuring: Adam Fidler Creations @problems_with_fid Frances de Havas @francesdehavas Tasalla Tabasom @tasalla.tabasom 3K Art House @3karthouse Kat Easto @billeubelles @kateastodesign Reallynice www.thisisreallynice.org Disorder Printz @disorderprintz #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cthdy-4NI_a6/

Sat, 10 Jun 2023 08:42:45 GMT	Omega Works is an iconic site of London's cultural history – from the artists who live here as residents, to those visiting to record in SNAP! studios, like Kate Bush and Coldplay, all the way back to the warehouse's start as an industrial site. Hear Ata talk about its time as a piano factory and how they built the world's largest piano in 1935. Interview clip from @evening.standard @eshomesproperty #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CtTajp-JIHb-/
Fri, 09 Jun 2023 17:31:22 GMT	"A Haringey warehouse complex has been home to artists, performers and other creatives for more than 20 years. Now their way of living is under threat." Thank you to The Evening Standard for your coverage and support of our campaign. The full video can be found on their YouTube or the write up on their website. Video by @evening.standard @eshomesproperty #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CtRySMfllzX/
Mon, 05 Jun 2023 10:03:49 GMT	Omega Works isn't the only warehouse in Haringey, nor all of London. 🗣️ Let's take a moment to hear from three different warehouse residents on why they choose to live here and what they love about it. In the files submitted by the developers, it shows the long term plan for the area – including this current application and future developments which bleed into Arena Design Centre. That's why this campaign is called Save The Warehouses, it extends beyond Omega Works with concern for the future and protection of warehouse living. #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CtGspqslKU7/
Thu, 01 Jun 2023 15:07:35 GMT	The campaign has been long, over a year and a half since we started, and it's important to reflect and celebrate. One of our favorite things about the warehouses is the community. We love knowing our neighbours and this video is to celebrate some of them 🥰 Keep on submitting your objections and signing the petition to fight for these spaces! #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether Video by Omega Works resident @klaus_indas_haus	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cs876jUoXEJ/
Wed, 31 May 2023 16:08:53 GMT	Meet the London warehouse residents fighting back against gentrification	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cs6e-W5ho-1W/
Mon, 29 May 2023 13:50:20 GMT	Big thank you to Voices Radio and Holly Smith for hosting campaign members Ata and Caito on the show! Take a listen via the link on our stories if you missed it. Remember: there's still time to submit objections! We have until the council begins consulting on the application. #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cs1FAn-gllas/
Wed, 24 May 2023 17:30:42 GMT	Spotlight feature up on The Guardian. Thank you Mabel Banfield-Nwachi for writing about this fight and our campaign! Check out the full feature on their website, linked in our stories. #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsomQTKp5GZ/
Wed, 24 May 2023 07:15:00 GMT	Tune into Voices Radio tomorrow to hear Omega Works Residents & Save The Warehouses campaign members Caitlin Strongarm and Ata Berk Aksit, hosted by Holly Smith. @voices_radio Thursday, 25 May 4-5PM ! #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/Csnf1fTMBgh/

Tue, 23 May 2023 19:23:10 GMT	Let's take a moment to check in ~ On the planning application: With over 44 pages, we currently have 217 objections submitted! On the petition: We have just under 6,000 signatures. At 5,937 will you share it out and help us reach 6k? On the campaign: We started this back in October 2021 as a response to the development. Over a year and a half in, we're still going strong, building momentum, and working together for something we believe in. This goes far beyond Omega Work's 100+ residents and speaks to the value of the warehouses. Thank you for supporting this creative community and helping us fight for our home. #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether All content by Omega Works Residents Photo by @okkyata Video by @klaus_indas_haus Graffiti art by @dieguitodelanoche	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsmOV-lyvtNo/
Fri, 19 May 2023 06:43:38 GMT	While nowhere near an exhaustive list of the small businesses, creators, artists and freelancers that reside in Omega Works, we wanted to take a moment to highlight a couple. Featured here: @snapstudios joints, Carpentry Commissions @monolith_studio_london @graciebarraharingeyuk @zaftig_london Max Prus, Artist Zen's Electronics Workshop Beyond Omega, the Haringey Warehouse District has an incredibly high density of creatives - even recognised by the Mayor of London as Creative Enterprise Zone to attract artists and business to the area. Now it seems that once enticed here, people who have made a home in the North London warehouses could soon be thrown out in favour of unaffordable flats built under the guise of 'warehouse-inspired living'. #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsakOk7u9XW/
Wed, 17 May 2023 19:46:38 GMT	Thank you to Haringey Community Press for writing about our campaign! "Historic former piano factory Omega Works, in Hermitage Road, is now home to more than 100 residents and businesses after being converted into a mixed living and creative studio space over the past two decades. But plans by developer Majorlink would see the warehouses demolished to make way for blocks of flats up to seven storeys high, providing 36 flats for private sale and "warehouse living units" that existing tenants say they would be unable to afford." Find the article linked in our stories. #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsWOPvkPYd8/
Wed, 17 May 2023 16:33:56 GMT	As we get closer and closer to our initial deadline of May 19th, we wanted to take a moment to thank everyone for their support and actions. Due to everyone's efforts throughout the campaign, we are seeing excellent and numerous objections to the application from residents, neighbours, and now MPs!! Rt. Hon David Lammy MP has officially submitted an objection to the redevelopment of Omega Works. The full objection letter can be viewed and downloaded under the "Files" section of the application site. Thank you for your support! ⚡ Let's keep it up!! See our pinned post for a how-to guide on writing an effective objection. #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsWemyUJ9KW/

Tue, 16 May 2023 19:39:53 GMT	🗣️ You heard earlier from 3 out of over 100 Omega residents why they live in the warehouses. Now let's go back to those three and hear how this development would impact them. 🏠 We love Omega Works. As tenants we put care, creativity, innovation, renovation and love into these spaces. They are our homes, our work spaces, our community, and a large part of our professional networks. ⚡ With the cost of living crisis it is imperative to keep these spaces affordable. The plans have rooms going at £1k, which is significantly higher (a 25-50% increase) than the current rents. CBRE conducted research to understand the local market characteristics and based the viability calculations on a rent of £750 per room per calendar month plus bills at £250 = £1,000 per room per calendar month, inclusive of bills. (Warehouse Living Management Plan - Rental Price 3.3 from the Planning Application) #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsUOrY-mPrH4/
Tue, 16 May 2023 01:12:46 GMT	⚡ 4 DAYS LEFT TO SUBMIT OBJECTIONS! We're in the final push to let the council know our objections against the planning application. This is our time to come together as a community and fight. If you have any questions on how to submit an objection please send us a DM. The warehouses are such a special space that cannot be turned into luxury flats. Hear Omega Works resident Caitlin Strongarm speak more to that here in this video made by fellow warehouser @hollysm1th #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsRqn-JUvI9s/
Sun, 14 May 2023 09:58:22 GMT	Signed the petition, submitted your objection (you superstar), came to an event or workshop and looking for next steps to help support the campaign? ~ SEND A COPY TO PHILIP ELLIOTT (Everyone) Philip Elliott, the planning officer in charge of our case, has requested commenters email him a copy of your objection, in addition to submitting it officially online. This allows him to see them straight away and may help in putting the case together. This can simply be copied and pasted over. *Objections MUST be submitted through the website in order to count. Objections submitted through Philip's email only will not be an official objection to the redevelopment.* ~ SEND AN EMAIL TO DAVID LAMMY (Haringey residents only) David Lammy is Haringey's Labour MP. We know that Omega's over 100 residents and surrounding neighbours do not want this development. Send him a copy of your objection, and feel free to add some more personal portions than the site would allow, to draw his attention to our planning application and campaign! He would not be checking the application objections so let's show him the sheet number of people who disapprove of this. #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsOCig-ZumNy/
Sat, 13 May 2023 21:06:52 GMT	Hear from three (out of over 100) Omega Works residents on why they choose to live in the warehouses. Spoiler alert - it is unanimously for the community 🗣️ The warehouses are a unique set-up which allows for creative freedom while fostering genuine community connections. True warehouse living is not possible to replicate with 6.5 stories of flats above it. Live in a warehouse and want to share a testimonial? Go to the form in our stories to submit your answers on why you live in the warehouses, what you love about it, and how this potential redevelopment would impact you ⚡ #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses All background images taken by Omega Works resident @okkyata, of Omega exterior or units interior	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsMqPOAyaCh/

Fri, 12 May 2023 22:26:08 GMT	Resharing Councillor Mike Hakata, Deputy Leader Haringey Council, Twitter post from the OMEGA WORKS STREET PARTY. It was an honour to have him in attendance alongside our neighbours, friends and families. Following the street party, Councillor Hakata spoke with campaign members on the redevelopment application, our community, and warehouses as a cultural asset. Thank you for your engagement and support! Be sure to check out our most recent reel to see video clips from our community celebration 🎥 #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsKOhl-Yvm9z/
Fri, 12 May 2023 07:15:00 GMT	Monday, May 8 has been one of our favourite days in awhile. ★ Thank you to all the residents, neighbours, friends and families who came to the OMEGA WORKS STREET PARTY and all behind the scenes who helped put this spectacular day on! It's been such a big few weeks over here, fighting to save our home and the community it encapsulates, all while working other jobs and projects. This incredible show of support reminded us what this community is made of and how truly special it is. It was joyous to meet so many new faces and celebrate the Haringey Warehouse District. We stand together and continue on, signing and sharing the petition while submitting objections until the 19th of May against this planning application. #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses Video by Omega Works Resident @klaus_indas_haus	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsImULiOpGI/
Thu, 11 May 2023 00:01:37 GMT	Catch BBC Radio London's Salma El-Wardany interviewing Omega Works resident Caitlin Strongarm as they discuss our Save The Warehouses Campaign and the redevelopment plans of the Haringey Warehouse District. Enjoyed the segment and wondering how to help the campaign from here? Take these two actions: ✍ SIGN Sign the petition in our bio, joining more than 5,000 signatures in support of the campaign. ✉ OBJECT Submit an official objection to the council on the planning application. See our post on how to write an effective objection. Together we can help save the Haringey Warehouses! #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsFOWoDvfyX/
Tue, 09 May 2023 20:02:43 GMT	TEN DAYS LEFT TO SUBMIT OBJECTIONS! This is one of the most helpful actions you can take in the fight to save the warehouses. Check out our last post for a how-to guide on writing effective objection letters to the council. ✉ DEADLINE MAY 19! Photo is from our last objection writing workshop in Unit RAD, a beautiful unit within Omega Works where residents and neighbours gathered to craft personal submissions. #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsCPu-fUPTNw/
Sun, 07 May 2023 13:29:31 GMT	HOW TO WRITE YOUR OBJECTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT PLANS Here is a step by step guide to writing an effective objection. Choose a few points that you feel particularly passionate about - we want the objections to be factual and succinct, but also personal and real to you.	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cr8ZI81oEB7/

Fri, 05 May 2023 12:20:07 GMT	🌟 3 day count down to OMEGA WORKS STREET PARTY! Let's take a look back to Omega Works jumble sale in August featuring secondhand clothes, household items, books, and sweet treats made by our neighbours. Part of Omega Works Community Day will include a jumble sale, alongside live music, BBQ, circus performances, zine workshop, face painting, live ice cream van painting, spoken word and poetry. Can't wait to see you all there! Date - MONDAY 8TH MAY Time - 12PM-6PM Location - OMEGA WORKS, N4 1LZ Video by Omega Works Resident @klaus_indas_haus	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cr3Fp-fkgXxp/
Thu, 04 May 2023 16:09:03 GMT	🌟 4 day count down to OMEGA WORKS STREET PARTY 🌟 Join us for a street party with a cause! As we bring together our community to pause. The sizzle of the BBQ, The thrill of circus acts, And maybe you'll even find some treasures at our jumble sale packed with warehouse artefacts.... But that's not all, we have workshops too! And a live local ice cream van being painted for you! Please join us for a day of fun, And help save our community, one by one ♡ Date- MONDAY 8TH MAY Time- 12PM - 6PM Location- OMEGA WORKS, N4 1LZ Looking forward to seeing you beautiful people there!	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cr09AwdlWXc/
Thu, 04 May 2023 11:25:21 GMT	@thesweetsundays will kindly be supporting our campaign at their community open mic night this Sunday. Come on down to Hackney Wick for an evening of food and culture. Expect a relaxed atmosphere which also highlights local campaigns and charities. This months event is dedicated to Save The Warehouses. Chill out and enjoy some Chai, cakes and Dhal ♡ Please get in touch if you would like to support our campaign too!	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cr0ci-0mo__V/
Mon, 01 May 2023 12:10:56 GMT	👊 JOIN US IN TAKING ACTION TO SAVE THE WAREHOUSES! ✍️✉️ 📄 Our petition has gathered tremendous support, with over 3600 signatures and counting. Now, we need to take our fight to the next level. 🔗 The upcoming objection writing workshop is a crucial step in stopping the proposed development. We need to flood the planning application with compelling objections that dismantle key points in their submission, using language that speaks to the council. 🗣️ Join us at the workshop where we'll teach you how to craft a submission that truly resonates with the council, conveying why this development is a disastrous idea. 📍 Location: Unit Rad, Omega Works 🕒 Date & Time: 7:45pm, May 3rd 📋🍲 Bring your flatmates, something to write on, and a bowl for homemade soup. ✉️ Message us for more information and to secure your spot. Don't miss this opportunity to make a difference! ✍️✉️ Together, we can protect our community and preserve the warehouses we hold dear. #SaveTheWarehouses #ObjectionWritingWorkshop #CommunityAction	https://www.instagram.com/p/CrszY-GUo-sn/

Fri, 28 Apr 2023 17:53:08 GMT	🚨 URGENT: OUR HOMES AND COMMUNITY ARE AT RISK! 🚨 🕒 Time is running out! We have until May 19 to make a stand and save what's truly important to us. The developer's plans are on the table, and they pose a threat to our cherished warehouses—the heart and soul of our community. 🔗 But we won't give up without a fight! We need your support now more than ever. 📝 SIGN the petition: Every signature counts. Let's show the decision-makers that we refuse to let our heritage be demolished. 📢 SHARE this post: Spread the word far and wide. Together, our voices can't be ignored! 🤝 CONNECT us with anyone who can help: Do you know someone who can make a difference? We need all the allies we can get. ✉️ WRITE to the council: Let them know that preserving our homes and community is non-negotiable. They need to hear our collective plea! ★ Every action you take matters. Stand with us to ensure our community's future. #SaveTheWarehouses #CommunityMatters #StandStrong	https://www.instagram.com/p/CrlsJ1YoX3f/
Thu, 16 Mar 2023 10:24:02 GMT	Every penny from the first quarter of my latest release, 'fast fashion.' will be donated to support the Haringey Warehouse District residents group, @savethewarehouses. I know it seems novel, but every stream makes a difference 💖 Many of my closest friends are at risk of losing not only their homes, but a hub for the betterment of community, culture and art to greedy developers, for no other purpose than profit. This community is where new cultural material is grown, and together, we can save it. Thanks for listening. #droz #savethewarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cp2Kk-1pocel/
Fri, 10 Mar 2023 14:46:21 GMT	In November 2022, 3K Art House and Save The Warehouses held a gig to bring together our community for a night of phenomenal tunes. Not only was this an opportunity to highlight some of our incredible local artists and friends, but it also allowed us to raise £1,600. The raised funds go towards supporting the @savethewarehouses campaign and maintaining @3kart-house as a space for community events in the future. Have a look at artist, activist, and 3K Art House resident @caitlinstrongarm speaking about our unique space and the threat of its potential redevelopment! The room was buzzing with the bond and passion of our community 💖🎧 Stay tuned on @3karthouse for photos recapping the night and artist set videos - and follow @savethewarehouses for updates on the campaign! Video by Nick Charity #savethewarehouses #omegaworkstogether #haringeywarehousedistrict	https://www.instagram.com/p/CpnLsrLoNE1/

Fri, 11 Nov 2022 19:05:21 GMT	🌟 Just one day to go!! 🌟 Doors open tomorrow night at 8PM, with music starting from 8:30pm and going until 1:30am. Catch your favorite new artist or discover another! 🍹 Thanks to our temporary alcohol license, drinks are being sold all night during the sets and inbetween for £5 (cash or card). 💖 All funds raised throughout the night go to maintaining @3karthouse as a community space and resourcing our @savethewarehouses campaign. 🌟 The warehouses are a truly special space. Its brought all of these enormously talented artists together and we're excited to share it with you. We're fighting to save spaces like these where we can live, work, gather, and celebrate, changing the physical space to meet each need. 🙏 Please enjoy yourself, have a drink and dance, but please also respect one another and the artists performing. Our living room. N4 1LZ. Tomorrow night. See you there.	https://www.instagram.com/p/Ck1O3rdl9ZZ/
Fri, 11 Nov 2022 16:21:14 GMT	We also want to take a moment to shoutout these incredible artists who will be sharing their music with us. Each artist brings their own distinct sound ranging from blues, r&b, soul, house, dream pop, afrobeats and house to round out the night. Between the group, some have lived in Omega Works or in a warehouse nearby, have come to these creative spaces for jams or are connected to someone from our warehouse community. Come show out and show support for them tomorrow night! Doors open 8PM, £5 entry. #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses #livemusic #localartists #haringey	https://www.instagram.com/p/Ck08FsyowER/
Fri, 11 Nov 2022 14:16:52 GMT	We are so proud to be putting on this community fundraiser gig with @3karthouse tomorrow night 💖 As the developers move forward, we do too. We continue to fight against the development application and advocate for policies that protect the communities here. It's extra important we take time to gather, celebrate the community we have and support one another. Come out for a night of music - both live acts and DJs - have a dance and share a drink! The funds raised will go towards resourcing our campaign and maintaining @3karthouse as a community hub. See the next post for information about the artists 🙏	https://www.instagram.com/p/Ck0t21SIH02/
Mon, 29 Aug 2022 09:43:12 GMT	Warehouse living spaces turned into art exhibitions! ~ This past weekend four talented artists in residence of Unit 2 at Omega Works shared their multidisciplinary artwork at 'Unruly Spaces.' This show is the first to showcase the talents of resident artists who have been living and creating work in the space. The artwork explores diverse themes through paintings, video and sounds unique to the individual perspective. The artists: Tasala @tslla Tyla Scott @tyla.scott Edward Sogunro @ednofedery Balint Takacs @x_i.w.i_x 💖 There are so many incredible artists of all mediums living within Omega Works, we loved seeing the community come out to support these four this past weekend! #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses #artexhibition #northlondon	https://www.instagram.com/p/Ch1qt-9I3jg/

Thu, 25 Aug 2022 09:31:01 GMT	This Friday and Saturday – Art Exhibit: Unruled Spaces, hosted by Unit 2 in Omega Works! The exhibit will be open to the public on Friday 26th of August from 6pm-10pm and Sat 27th from 12pm-10pm. ⚡ This show is the first to showcase the talents of resident artists who have been living and creating in the warehouse space. 📧 To support the artists, there will be a donation box and prints to purchase. Seating is available and drinks are provided. Event link on story ! See you there :) #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses #artexhibition #northlondon #artistsinresidence	https://www.instagram.com/p/ChrX-B4OoXZw/
Mon, 22 Aug 2022 12:33:31 GMT	Thanks to everyone who came by our first-ever Omega Works Yard Sale! We had such a great day with our neighbours and friends. Among the wares of the warehouses, we got to showcase the talents of Omega residents: @indigogo_ldn, exclusive streetwear @hapticult, non-binary queer skate brand @billeubelles, fine art & prints @3karthouse, a jumble of reclaimed finds and clothes @_sinfluenced, kink creations @branebohemia, independent design & our neighbours along Hermitage Road who donated homemade cakes, plants and other items for us to sell in support of the Save The Warehouses campaign! If you missed this one, don't worry - we're planning another and there are local warehouse events every week. #OmegaWorksTogether #SaveTheWarehouses #shopsecondhand #smallbusinessuk #northlondon	https://www.instagram.com/p/Chj6qt8l5pT/
Fri, 19 Aug 2022 14:21:33 GMT	Want to know more about the warehouse community we're fighting to save? Come chat, shop and listen to live music with us this weekend at 2 local events! 💎 Buy secondhand! Omega Works is having a yard sale THIS Sunday, 21 August, from 11AM-6PM. There will be clothes, household items, books and nibbles for sale! Hosted in the warehouse car park you can find us at 167 Hermitage Road, N41LZ. Poster design by Omega resident @branebohemia ! 💎 Have a knees up! Catch us the day before, 20 August, for Jamborino - Car Park Takeover at our local, favorite bar @newriverstudios. Starting at 2PM and going until late, the lineup features both live acts and DJs. A community filled weekend of shopping, dancing, and meeting one another. See you there! #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/Chcb-noFoZ4I/
Wed, 17 Aug 2022 21:13:48 GMT	On Sunday we started the petition to save our warehouses and today we hit 1,000 signatures. We are so grateful to everyone who has signed and reposted it. Please continue to share the link on your stories. Stay on this page for more updates and community events! #SaveTheWarehouses #OmegaWorksTogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/ChYBN-RiITs9/
Wed, 17 Aug 2022 11:29:01 GMT	Our petition has gained so much support so quickly, and we are so grateful. Thank you so much to everyone who has shown support so far by signing and sharing! Link in our bio/our story - keep it going ❤️ #savethewarehouses #omegaworkstogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/ChW-SMCoSgJ/

Sun, 14 Aug 2022 14:32:11 GMT	!! OMEGA WORKS WAREHOUSE COMMUNITY IS UNDER THREAT AND WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT! SIGN AND SHARE OUR PETITION - LINK IN BIO 🗣️🏠 Omega Works, home to over 100 residents and businesses in the iconic Haringey Warehouse District is under threat of development. If it goes ahead, all of the people who live and work here will lose their homes, their income, their community... everything. Please support our campaign to stop this development and protect our community! Read all about us, and sign and share our petition by following the link in our bio #london #gentrification #campaign #community #savethewarehouses @savethewarehouses @3karthouse #omegaworkstogether	https://www.instagram.com/p/ChPk3LZoziP/
Sat, 02 Jul 2022 12:55:26 GMT	Quilted warehouse made @quilt_club_7sisters - beautiful community art in, around and on our warehomes. #savethewarehouses #quilt #publicart #radicalhomemaking #northlondon #haringey #manorhouse #warehouse #community	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cfgrm-4PMIQy/
Tue, 15 Mar 2022 13:08:48 GMT	PT. 1 - Join SAVE THE WAREHOUSES in fighting adverse development of the Haringey Warehouse District. Hundreds of residents face losing their homes and community - visit our page for more info on how to help stop this NOW! #savethewarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CbICfb-vM3ox/
Tue, 15 Mar 2022 13:03:36 GMT	PT 2. - A beautiful, spontaneous poem written by Omega Works Warehouse resident Sarah Arnold (@_suuunny) 💕 #SaveTheWarehouses	https://www.instagram.com/p/CbIB5X-5MiKy/
Wed, 16 Feb 2022 17:17:41 GMT	🗣️ The developers said only 4 of us were allowed at the "consultation" on the proposed demolition of Omega Works. THIS is what happens when developers try to exclude us - the residents and the warehouse community - from the conversation 🗣️ We are strong, we are organised and we are already moving on the next steps to stop this development 🌑👊 Tenants united will never be defeated 🗣️🗣️🗣️	https://www.instagram.com/p/CaC8u-Fiqf5R/
Fri, 08 Oct 2021 12:33:08 GMT	!! Revealed! Taken from the architect's drawings, here are three shots from the developer's proposed plans: 1. The proposed view from Crusader Estate (behind Omega); 2. The proposed view from the Embankment (on the left as you look at Omega Works from Hermitage Road); and... 3. Their 'Courtyard impression'. Developers are co-opting buzz phrases such as 'warehouse living' to make it easier to knock-down the homes that have been built by the residents and for the residents, only to replace them with (even more) over-priced, soulless studio flats. None of the current tenants support being kicked-out. This is gentrification in action. It's happening all across London, we've seen it happen in Hackney Wick and we won't let it happen here 📍 We've been busy organising, listening to the concerns of other residents in the area and we have an exciting, creative strategy in place. If you haven't already, join our WhatsApp announcements group by following the link in our bio 🔗 #savethewarehouses #gentrification #nopasaran	https://www.instagram.com/p/CUxI-z42MRmF/

Mon, 04 Oct 2021 10:24:15 GMT	We had an incredible turnout for yesterday's launch meeting for Save the Warehouses - thanks to all who came and showed support against the demolition of the Omega Works Manor House warehouses! We've set the ball rolling and will announce further actions soon. In the meantime, here are 3 steps you can take to support the campaign right now: 1) Give us a like and follow our notifications!  2) Tell your friends and housemates! We need the word spread far and wide - the developers are coming and we're not going to go quietly!  3) Stay up to date by joining our WhatsApp announcements group! One-way announcements only so you won't get a million notifications ;) Link in bio   @newriverstudios @acorn_uk #savethewarehouses #london #community #peoplepower	https://www.instagram.com/p/CUmm4bTlJrb/
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APPENDIX II

ORIGINAL QUOTES FROM INTERVIEW 21

C'è stato un evento mi sembra lo scorso aprile per che era specificamente per far vedere alla comunità del Council di Haringey cosa volesse dire vivere in una warehouse [...] E quindi hanno fatto questa giornata di eventi in cui c'erano un paio di warehouse che erano proprio aperte al pubblico, per cui si poteva andare e vedere, c'erano dei laboratori e anche delle mostre di artisti che vivono lì. Poi c'erano dei food stalls, delle performance sia musical sia di persone che fanno circo, e anche degli incontri dove si parlava di cosa vuol dire vivere nelle warehouses e c'erano anche delle famiglie con dei bambini, che erano venuti a vedere come fosse.

Oltretutto la comunità delle warehouses è una comunità molto bianca, mentre a Haringey, il Council, c'è una grossa comunità turca, ci sono molte persone che non sono white British, e questo non è riflesso nelle warehouse.

Non ho molte speranze. È una cosa che sta succedendo ovunque.