Socio-Spatial Analysis of
Haringey's Warehouse Community

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The *Socio-Spatial Analysis of Haringey's Warehouse Community* has been led and developed by an independent group of MSc students from London School of Economics. The research is independent and only aligned with what we consider to be good practices of social analysis and urban design.

CONTENTS

Presentation of Team

We are an interdisciplinary team of master's students from the LSE Cities Programme and the Sociology department at the London School of Economics that share a passion for urban studies and inclusive design.

Riad Azar

is an MSc candidate in political sociology, with a focus on qualitative and ethnographic research methods. After undergraduate studies in honours political science at William Paterson University of New Jersey, he worked as a freelance journalist in Peru, Chile, Argentina and Brazil covering urban issues and social movements. His current research in the sociology of work and migration in London is informed by his international experience.

Liz DeWolf

is a sociologist with a research focus on urban development and governance. She studied urban sociology and visual studies at Trinity College in Hartford, CT, and subsequently moved to Istanbul where she taught English to members of the municipality, conducted research on grassroots urban activism, and participated in the Making City Istanbul project for the 2012 Design Biennial. She is currently finishing her MSc in City Design and Social Science at LSE, where she researches the effect of urban activism in Istanbul on planning negotiations between government and civil society.

Serena Girani

holds a MArch from the Milan Polytechnic University, where she also taught as a teaching assistant, on an 'Urban and regional analysis' course. She studied and worked in Milan and Barcelona, initially as a freelancer and since the end of 2011, as a consultant in transport and urban planning at Systematica S.r.l. based in Milan. She has been part of several significant projects such as The Strategic city Plan for Parma (Italy), Istanbul Public Hospital Regeneration, Susa High Speed Railway Station International Competition and Historic City Centre World Bank Research among many others. She is passionate about urban design and socio-political aspects of the built environment.

Drew Malmuth

is completing his MSc in political sociology, with a focus on urban sociology, community activism, and environmental racism. He received a B.A in honours political science from McGill University. After leaving Montreal, Drew taught English in South Korea and, since living in London, he has continued to engage with local tutorial centres, LSE mentoring projects, and youth development charities. His research at LSE is focused on the intersection of social activism and discriminatory land use policies.

Claudia Sinatra

graduated in Architecture with honors (MArch, University of Ferrara) with an urban design thesis on the application of urban renewal strategies in Ilford, London. She studied in Italy and Germany, and she is currently analysing alternative planning mechanisms, processes and strategies in Palermo within her MSc at the LSE. She worked as a project assistant at DV Architekten in Munich and since 2009 she has been collaborating with the news magazine Internazionale as a photo-reporter. Her work is guided by an interest in how physical and non-physical networks interact in cities of the contemporary age, both at a local and global scale.

Paula Szejnfeld Sirkis

graduated in Architecture from the University of Buenos Aires. Her passion and main area of expertise is in Urban Design and Planning. She worked as an Urban Designer since 2010 at Halcrow in Argentina and the UK, participating in projects in the Latin American region, UK, China and Middle East. Some of her most relevant work experience is on strategical inclusive master-planning for deprived areas of Buenos Aires and regeneration for the insertion of new adaptable industries in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. The MSc at LSE has helped her to develop her own vision on how to approach planning and urban design from a non-traditional way.

Introduction

In an effort to provide in-depth data about the living and working spaces in Haringey's warehouse community, an interdisciplinary team of master's students from the LSE Cities Programme at the London School of Economics has carried out an independent research project. Our primary methods include an investigation of the area's spatial elements and an analysis of interviews with the warehouse residents. The six-person team is composed of three professional architects and three sociological researchers.

Introduction

Background

The Manor House warehouses have been the site of an expanding creative and artistic community that organically formed in the early 2000s. The area is comprised of converted industrial sites that serve as live/work spaces. These spaces are referred to by the residents as: Arena Design Centre, Overbury Road, Catwalk Place, and Omega Works. The warehouses offer living and workspace typologies that are not traditionally acknowledged in current planning and policy frameworks, and this study's findings will provide a new vocabulary for this type of mixed-use space and a detailed description of the social networks operating within it.

Objectives

Research-led spatial and policy design leads to more efficient and precise physical interventions and policy development. More specifically, a multidisciplinary (socio-spatial) methodology is essential to build strategies to improve quality of life while designing physical spaces (LSE Cities, 2004). Within Haringey's warehouse community are complex social and professional networks that rely on particular spaces for cohabitation and co-working. Through our study we aim to improve our understanding of the relationships between these spatial and social realms.

We believe that these complex social networks create a great deal of unique human capital - a stock of knowledge and characteristics that contribute to social and economic productivity - that could be valuable to the Council if properly understood. Upon completion of the study, the warehouse structures and their residents will be more properly contextualized. This context needs to be considered before any succesful intervention can potentially take place.

In accordance with the aims explained above, the study is structured into two sections: a detailed spatial study of the area's living spaces and how they are used, and a qualitative exploration of the social dynamics of the warehouses that are particularly characteristic of this type of environment. Below is a more detailed discussion of our methodology.

Methodology

The spatial analysis is necessary to illustrate how the live/work arrangement functions within the warehouse space. The analysis provides a quantifiable picture of the value of the warehouses' physical space for its tenants and introduces new criteria to evaluate living/work arrangements in non-conventional residential/working spaces. A different approach to reading the spatial organisation and functioning of the warehouses is of great importance for understanding its reinvented physical dimension and lifestyle. The spatial analysis can orient the formal reconversion and reuse of the urban industrial shells, and can set a standard for similar live/work environments elsewhere in London.

The architects are responsible for the spatial analysis, which will focus on the relations between the physical spaces, the proportions of individual and collective space, and the impacts on uses and regulation. The analysis is structured across two scales: the unit scale (covered by an in-depth analysis of one warehouse unit) and the typological scale (covered by a comparative analysis of three case-studies of other forms of collective living). On the unit scale, the team will investigate the physical features and ratios of individual and collective space, in order to define the spatial order and use of the warehouses. The comparative typological study will consider the spatial and regulatory frameworks of HMO, Student Residence, and traditional

multi-unit housing typologies in order to define how life is accommodated in conventional and non-conventional typologies.

The sociological team will take an ethnographic approach, which entails a focused, in-depth analysis of a particular group through interviews and participant observation. Ethnography requires the researcher to ask open-ended questions, allowing the interviewees to describe processes, relationships, and values that cannot be captured by observation alone. This method contributes a social component to demographic data, providing insight into why and how social phenomena take place. In the case of Haringey's warehouses, ethnography is required to understand what exactly drives tenants to reside in the space and how their live/work arrangement creates value for the Borough of Haringey. In accordance with this approach, the sociological team performed 12 open-ended interviews in July, 2012 and observed the site regularly during that period.

A statistical analysis of the warehouse tenants provides a sense of quantity and type of activity, but it cannot illustrate the supportive linkages and collaborative activities that occur between tenants. The sociologists on the team are thus tasked with performing interviews and analysing the resulting data, which will give a more complete social background to the numbers that the Council has requested in

their census. For example, while the survey can accurately show the percentage of self-employed residents who run their businesses out of the warehouses, the sociological team intends to discover why the warehouse spaces are a necessary component in the creative and productive process. An initial finding is that many of the small businesses are able to boost economic viability through resource and skills sharing. Other early findings not addressed by the census survey suggest that tenant desires, such as greater social integration between warehouse tenants and residents of the surrounding area, could be equally beneficial for the Council. Ethnography is designed to capture these social complexities.

In conclusion, statistical data collection is not a sufficient method for understanding the value and functions of the warehouse spaces for their tenants. Our multidisciplinary analysis will provide interested parties with the necessary tools to implement design and policies that protect the value of the warehouse spaces and utilise the concentration of human capital in its regeneration strategies.

Socio-spatial Analysis

This socio-spatial section leads with a breakdown of London planning regulations regarding residences shared by multiple households, and it follows by comparing spatial case studies of non-warehouse typologies that fall under this residential category, providing a point of reference for understanding the unique function of warehouse live/work spaces. Finally, we present our socio-spatial analysis of the Haringey's warehouse community, which includes an ethnographic study of how residents use and benefit from the space as well as a study of the live/work spaces themselves.

Socio-spatial Analysis

Regulatory Framework for Spatial Element

The economic and demographic demands in relation to land use in London change more rapidly than the rate at which the regulations of land use are adapted and revised. Therefore, understanding the regulatory framework and its implications for Haringey's warehouse community is necessary to analyse the strengths and fragilities of its live/work arrangements. The process of repurposing industrial spaces, if approached properly, can be a key strategy for policy design in the context of progressive urban (re)development.

While adaptive reuse is typically driven by developers -- as in the case of the Tate Modern and Battersea Power Station -- other factors influence whether a building is converted, reused or demolished for use of its land. In the case of Haringey one must account for:

• the social value of the warehouses
• the importance of the new uses to the local community
• the value of non-conventional live/work arrangements.

Under the current regulatory system, different classes of land use require different planning approaches. As a consequence of the passage of 2010 planning legislation, 'the erection, extension or alteration of an industrial building or warehouse is considered to be a permitted development, not requiring an application for planning permission,' certain quantitative limits and conditions not withstanding (Planningportal.gov.uk, 2014b, para. 1).

However under the Town and Country Planning (Use Classes) Order, the conversion of general industrial or warehouse (B2 and B8) buildings to residential use classes (C3 and C4) is still likely to require approval under normal planning application procedures. This is to ensure that the updated warehouses adhere to current building regulation standards. Although the current live/work uses of Haringey's warehouses demonstrate the potential for successful reconversion and adaptation, the government's view is generally that industrial or warehouse (B2 and B8) buildings are often unsuited for adaptation and would generally require rebuilding, thereby triggering a full planning application (Morris et al., 2011).

There are many possible impediments in repurposing these types of buildings, but the possibility of reconversion presents social and economic opportunities that have, up to this point, not been fully understood. For these reasons, this research project focuses on the features characterising Haringey's warehouse community in the context of the current planning standards while proposing a more comprehensive framework for community living.

In accordance with current planning categories, Haringey's warehouse community most closely resemble the C4 Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMOs) categorisation of use, defined as follows:

'C4 Houses in multiple occupation - small shared houses occupied by between three and six unrelated individuals, as their only or main residence, who share basic amenities such as a kitchen or bathroom or cooking facilities.' (Planningportal.gov.uk, 2014a, para. 18).

HMOs typically encompass residential properties where 'common areas' exist and are shared by more than one household. While the legislation that defines the licensing of such units exists at the national level, authority is devolved to the local level for management and enforcement. The local council therefore has an ability to create manage-

ment orders regarding non licensable HMOs, with power to control for overcrowding (Haringey Council, 2011a).

According to the Housing Act 2004, Part 2, Haringey's warehouse community does not fall into the mandatory licensing framework, as this applies only if the HMOs a) comprise 3 or more stories, b) are occupied by 5 or more persons living in 2 or more households and c) are not fully converted into self-contained units of accommodation (Haringey Council, 2013). However Haringey's warehouse community faces an uncertain future following the publication of a report on behalf of the council entitled *Tackling Unauthorised Living in Industrial Areas.* The possibility may exist for the local council and planning authority to inscribe the warehouse district into additional HMO licensing and formalise the hitherto 'unauthorised' residential and live/work uses. Yet the report states that 'regularisation and management of existing uses on site was considered but was felt to be inappropriate, due to the complex planning and housing issues that present themselves, in particular with regard to the safety of occupants and departures from planning policy' (Haringey Council, 2013, para 4.1).

The current analysis and its related case studies bring to the fore the need for different considerations regarding Haringey's warehouse community. The point is not to prove that the subject matter are reasonably suited for HMO licensing, but that for their particular characteristics they require non-traditional standards to evaluate opportunities, quality conversions and community value, and to regulate change of use. The limited language of the current regulatory framework for collective housing/live/work is not a suitable means for the investigation of the reinvented socio-spatial features of Haringey's warehouse community.

The planning standards surrounding HMOs do not explicitly account for a community element, such as the collective use and self-management of shared spaces, which strongly characterises Haringey's warehouse community and sets it apart from other residential typologies.The closest allusion to any communal living dimension is found in a residential subcategory definition of the C3 Use Class:

'C3(c) allows for groups of people (up to six) to live together as a single household. This allows for

those groups that do not fall within the C4 HMO definition, but which fall within the previous C3 use class, to be provided for i.e. a small religious community may fall into this section as could a homeowner who lives with lodgers' (Planningportal.gov.uk, 2014a, para. 17).

However, the residential structure of Haringey's warehouse community does not fit the relatively low maximum number of occupants allowed for this category, and this restriction limits the potential social and economic benefits that larger live/work households produce.

In light of these current stipulations, any attempt to use the HMO classification for the Haringey warehouses would require a clearer definition of HMOs that encompasses a wider spectrum of social and spatial arrangements. This doesn't necessarily mean the establishment of new categories, but, if there is an effort to make current use designation viable for the warehouse spaces, it indicates the necessity of developing different lenses through which to interpret HMO arrangements.

The subsequent spatial analysis of significant case studies demonstrates regulated collective living arrangements in place in London. The aim of the comparative analysis is to focus on the multi-faceted, and in some cases limited, approaches to industrial/non-residential space conversion. These cases highlight some of the possible paths for planning policy in terms of a response to the desire for converted living/work uses. Existing approaches can then be evaluated alongside the spatial and social dynamics that exist in the Manor House community.
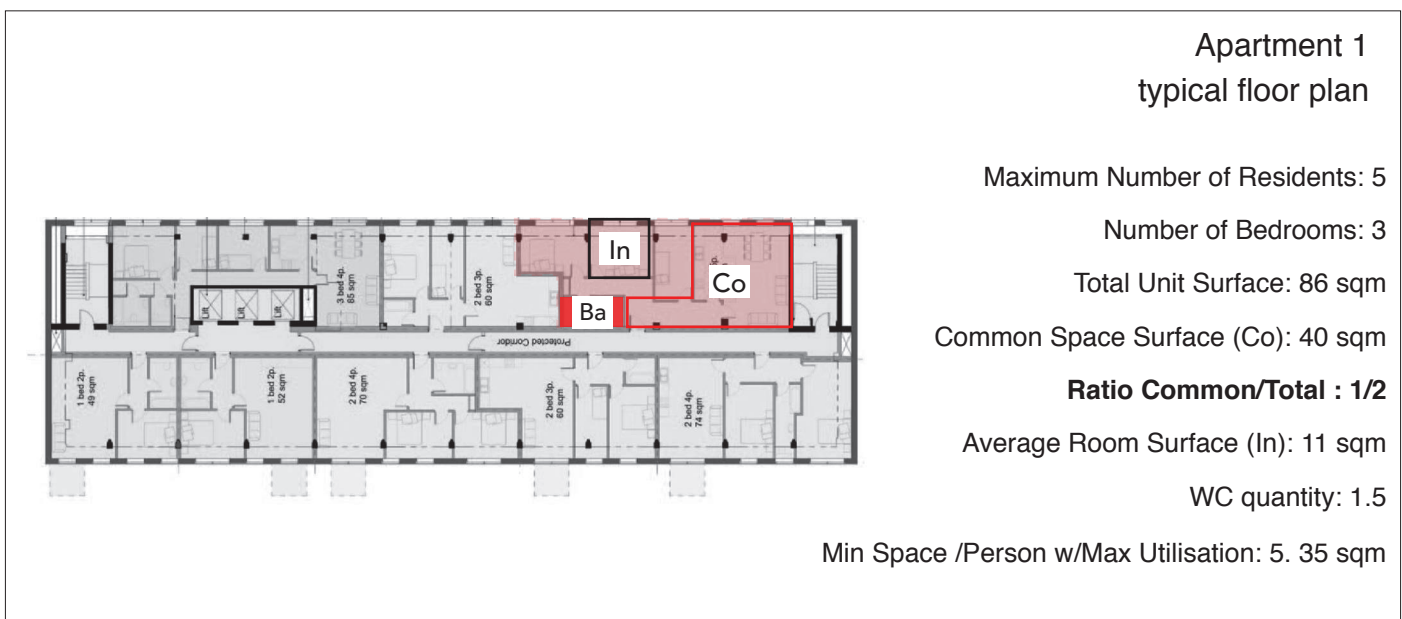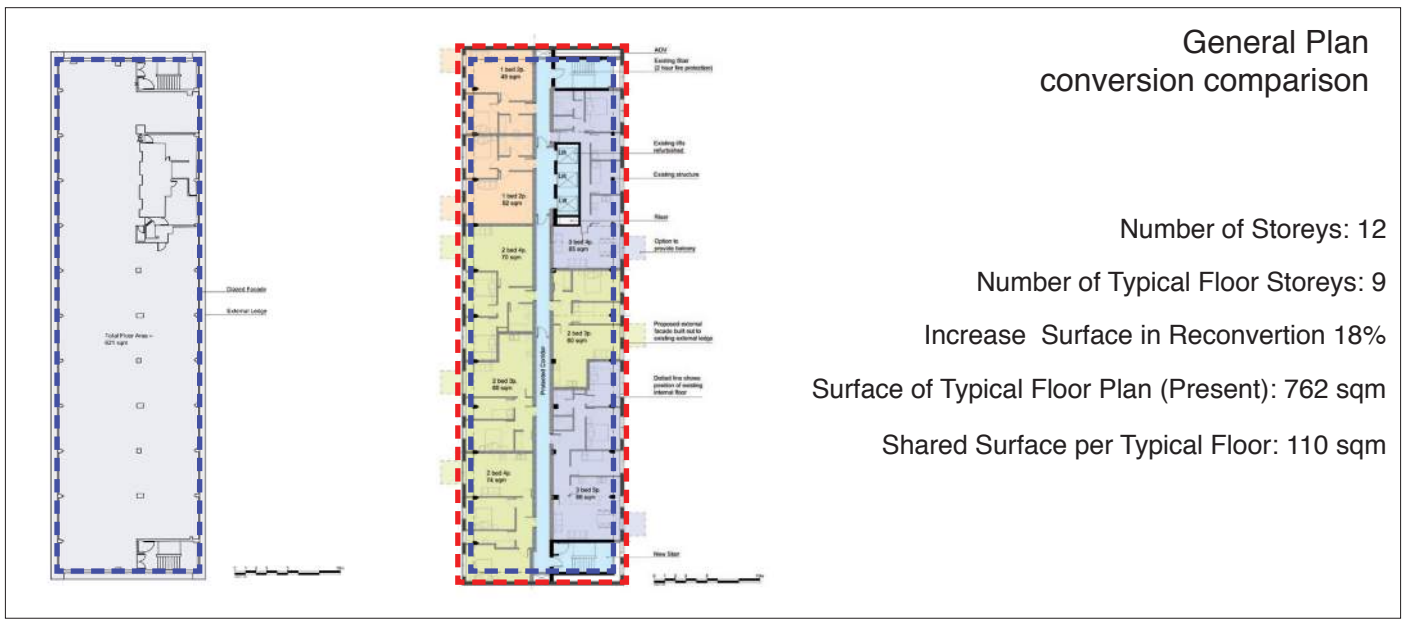
Case Studies

The case studies selected for this analysis detail the conversion of an office building to residential use and the arrangement of a typical student residence. Both case studies are located in London. The analysis measures number of occupants, as well as common and private space, ultimately leading to a calculation of the 'ratio' of collective living. The 'ratio' is considered to be a suitable criteria to evaluate the quality conversion characterising Haringey's warehouses community. By using the ratio measurement one can begin to assess the character of a living space, and rule out the extent to which it is 'inappropriate and poor' (Haringey Council, 2013). The same analysis will be conducted in relation to Haringey's warehouse community units in order to give a sense of the unique spatial makeup of the community and establish a foundation of information that should be taken into account when considering future use designation and planning decisions.

Case Study 1:
Office Building Converted to Residential
Hillingdon, London

Hillingdon is the conversion of a 12-storey office building into one residential building with 108 flats of different dimensions, 35% of affordable housing, a parking facility and 20-30 sqm of shared amenity space per dwellings.

General Plan
conversion comparison

Number of Storeys: 12

Number of Typical Floor Storeys: 9

Increase Surface in Reconvertion 18%

Surface of Typical Floor Plan (Present): 762 sqm

Shared Surface per Typical Floor: 110 sqm

Apartment 1
typical floor plan

Maximum Number of Residents: 5

Number of Bedrooms: 3
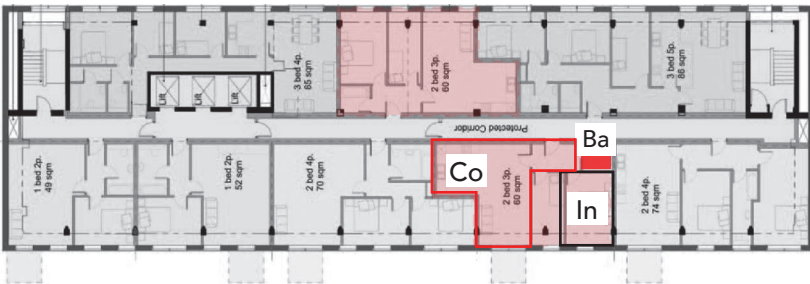
Total Unit Surface: 86 sqm

Common Space Surface (Co): 40 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 1/2

Average Room Surface (In): 11 sqm

WC quantity: 1.5

Min Space /Person w/Max Utilisation: 5. 35 sqm

Apartment 2
typical floor plan

Maximum Number of Residents: 4

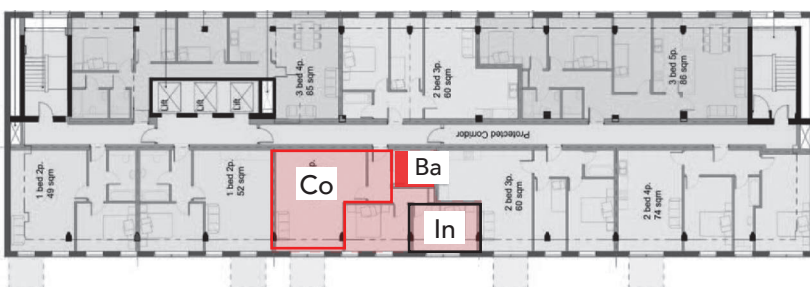Number of Bedrooms: 2

Total Unit Surface: 74 sqm

Common Space Surface (Co): 30 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 2/5

Average Room Surface (In): 15.3 sqm

WC quantity: 1

Min Space /Person w/Max Utilisation: 6. 35 sqm

Apartment 3 (x2)
typical floor plan

Maximum Number of Residents: 3

Number of Bedrooms: 2

Total Unit Surface: 60 sqm

Common Space Surface (Co): 40 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 2/3

Average Room Surface (In): 10 sqm

WC quantity: 1

Min Space /Person w/Max Utilisation: 5. 75 sqm

Apartment 4
typical floor plan

Maximum Number of Residents: 4

Number of Bedrooms: 2

Total Unit Surface: 70 sqm

Common Space Surface (Co): 47.8 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 2/3

Average Room Surface (In): 11.1 sqm

WC quantity: 1

Min Space /Person w/Max Utilisation: 5. 5 sqm

Apartment 5 (x2)
typical floor plan

Maximum Number of Residents: 2

Number of Bedrooms: 1

Total Unit Surface: 50 sqm
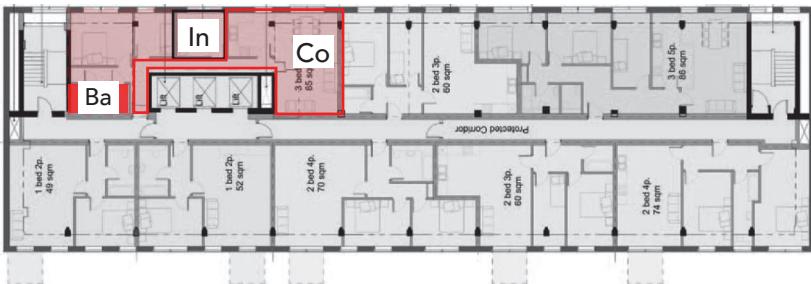
Common Space Surface (Co): 40 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 4/5

Average Room Surface (In): 11 sqm

WC quantity: 1

Min Space /Person w/Max Utilisation: 5.5 sqm

Apartment 6
typical floor plan

Maximum Number of Residents: 4

Number of Bedrooms: 3

Total Unit Surface: 85 sqm

Common Space Surface (Co): 50 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 2/3
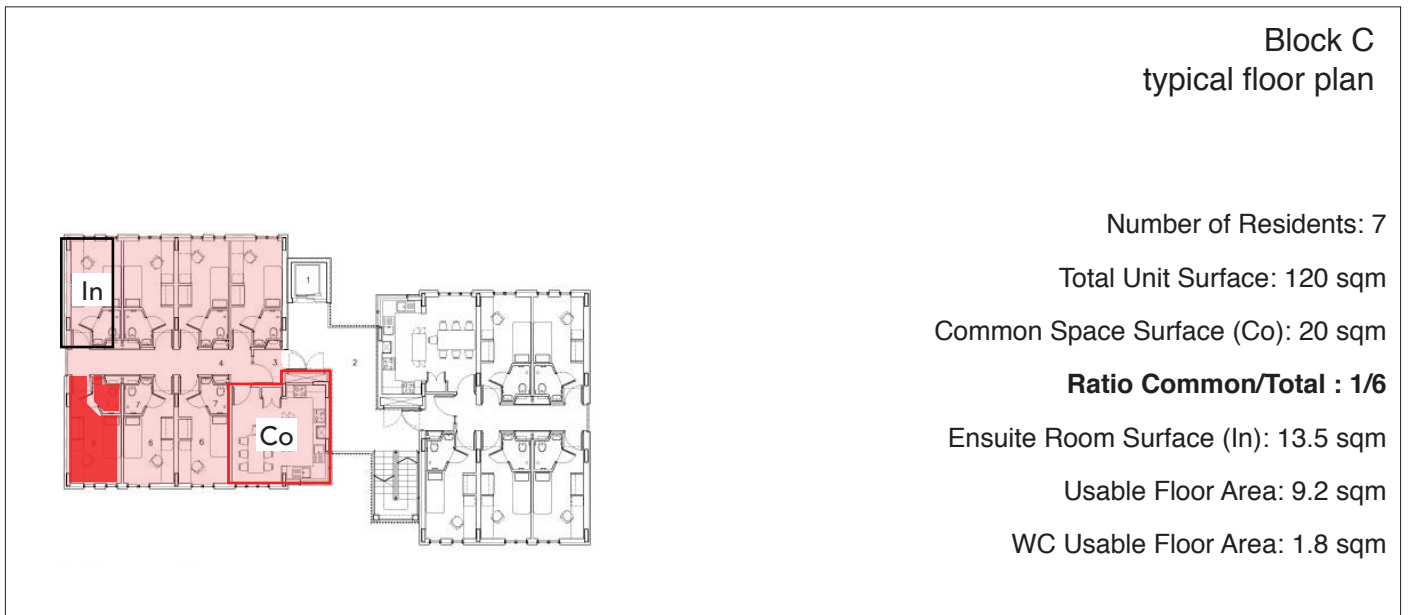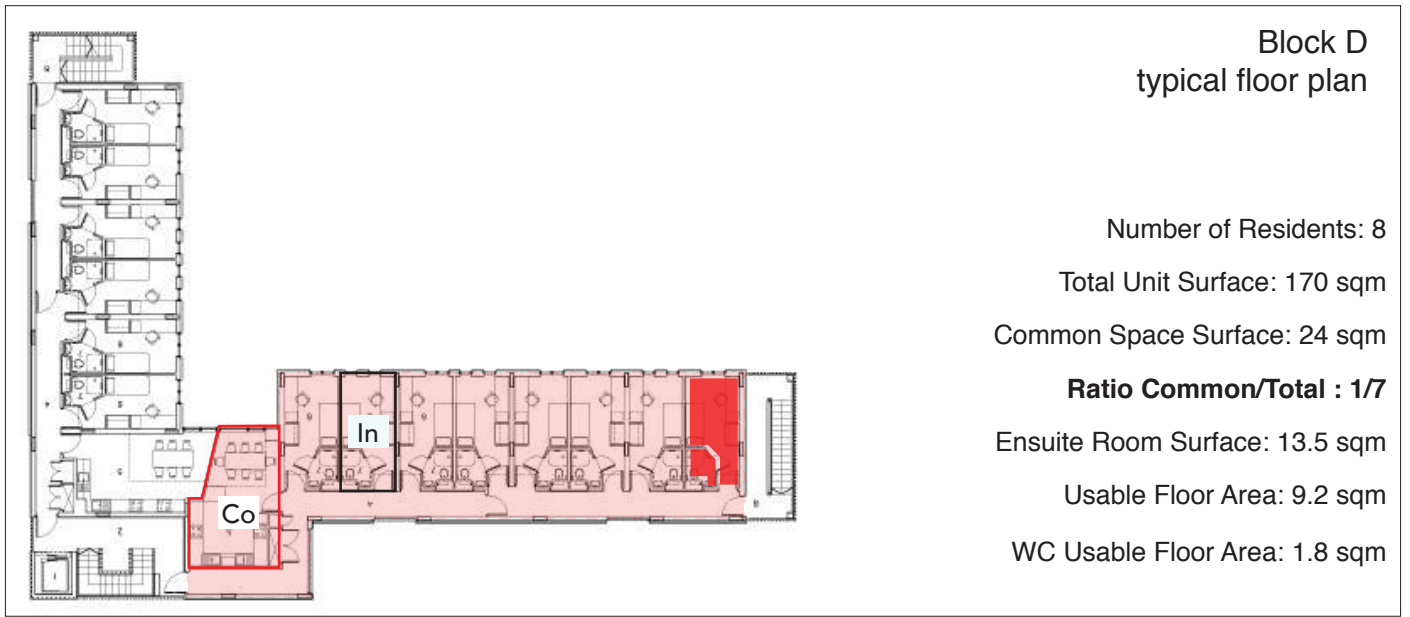
Average Room Surface (In): sqm

WC quantity: 1.5

Min Space /Person w/Max Utilisation: 5. 45 sqm

Case Study 2:
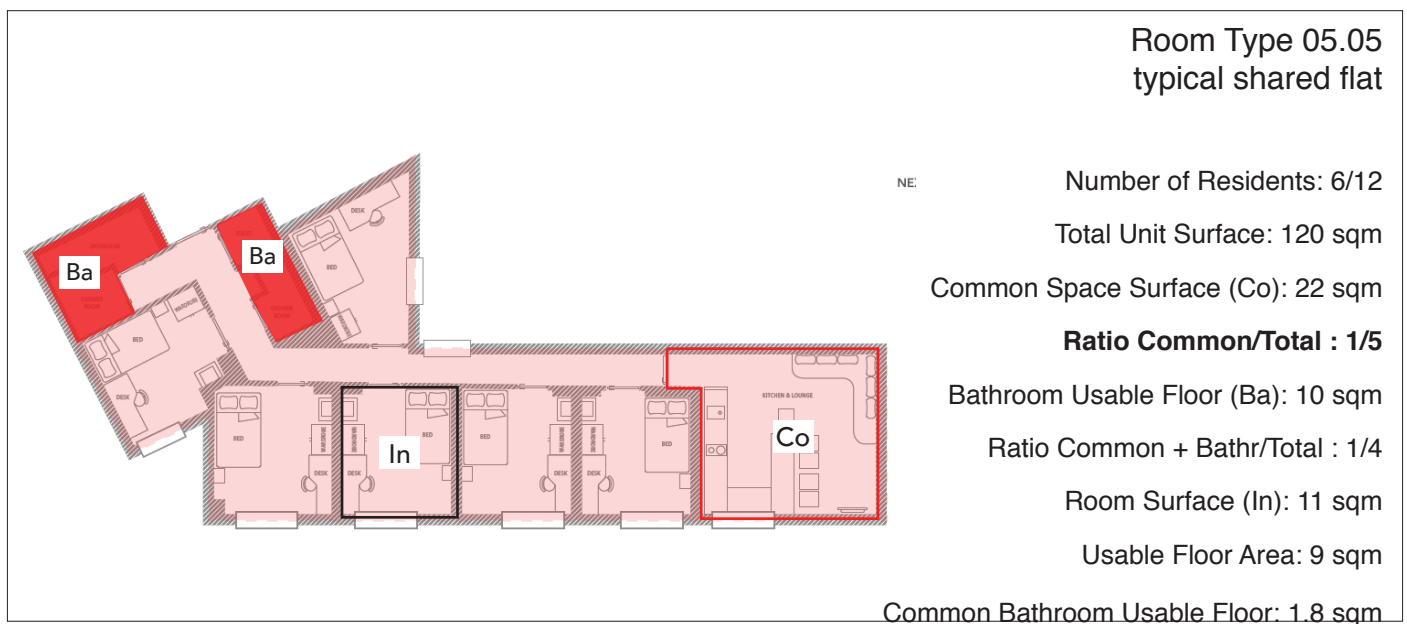## Alliance House

44-45 Newington Green, London

Alliance house has 213 single rooms.
It is composed by four new blocks
and a refurbished one.

Block D
typical floor plan

Number of Residents: 8

Total Unit Surface: 170 sqm

Common Space Surface: 24 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 1/7

Ensuite Room Surface: 13.5 sqm

Usable Floor Area: 9.2 sqm

WC Usable Floor Area: 1.8 sqm

Block C
typical floor plan

Number of Residents: 7

Total Unit Surface: 120 sqm

Common Space Surface (Co): 20 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 1/6

Ensuite Room Surface (In): 13.5 sqm

Usable Floor Area: 9.2 sqm

WC Usable Floor Area: 1.8 sqm

Case Study 3:
Tower Bridge
52, Minories, London

Urbanest Student Accomodation opened this private hall in Tower Bridge. It is an 11-storey building with common facilities at the ground floor.

Room Type 05.05
typical shared flat

Number of Residents: 6/12

Total Unit Surface: 120 sqm

Common Space Surface (Co): 22 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 1/5

Bathroom Usable Floor (Ba): 10 sqm

Ratio Common + Bathr/Total : 1/4

Room Surface (In): 11 sqm

Usable Floor Area: 9 sqm

Common Bathroom Usable Floor: 1.8 sqm

Initial Findings

In case study 1 we observed a top-down reconversion process that was aimed at maximizing profits for the investor. Case studies 2 and 3 demonstrate a living arrangement that is more in kind with the warehouse community in Haringey, considering the number of residents vary between 6 and 12 (while in the Case 1 apartments hold a maximum of 5 people). The ratio of common versus total is divergent in the two different typologies. In case 2 and 3 the average is 1/6 while in case 1 the average of all the different apartments is much higher, consisting of almost 2/3 of the total space.

If common space is the ultimate factor in defining a communal lifestyle then Case study 1 could be seen as a relatively communal environment. However comparisons would need to be drawn in terms of price, character of the space, and types of inhabitants in order to make claims concerning the interconnectivity of the living arrangement.

The study of these typologies is essential to be able to later compare them with the ratios that the warehouses provide. The comparison will help us to further understand the warehoues premises, as compared to other opportunities that exist in London.

Haringey's Warehouse Community Study

The following socio-spatial analysis of the Haringey warehouses illustrates how the warehouses' unique living and working spaces affect individual residents, the resident communities within the warehouses, and potential relationships between the warehouse residents and non-warehouse residents living in the borough. The large common spaces of the warehouse units contribute to social well-being as well as the creative and professional development of individual residents. Since each unit accommodates at least six persons (with some accommodating up to 18), and because the ratio of common space to personal living space is much larger than in typical house shares, residents spend the majority of their time at home in close proximity to others in their unit, aggregating the collaborative activities that contribute to creative capital. Finally, this creative capital has already had a positive impact on the borough through outreach programs initiated by warehouse residents for the benefit of those living in the area. Evidence suggests that warehouse residents see the potential for further borough engagement.

Manor House Warehouses on the Residents Scale

Creative benefit for individual residents

Interviewees reported that this specific style of communal living contributed to their creative productivity because they felt inspired to produce stronger work:

<<I feel most creative when I'm around other creative people that inspire me.>>

<<Being here opens me up to more creative possibilities, so a lot of it feeds into a mindset that I wouldn't necessarily be in if I wasn't here.>>

<<I was looking for this contact with different people interested in and doing different things because I think it's the best way to stimulate yourself, to get you to think, and try new things and challenge yourself.>>

<<The fact that I live with different people means that I have more windows onto the world and a lot of stuff always happens; there are more stories for my films.>>

<<I find it inspiring that there are really good talented people around. It gives you a kick up the arse to, you know, do your own thing and make it the best you can.>>

Personal benefit for individual residents

Others see a productive benefit to sharing a communal living space generally, even if their housemates do not share any professional interests. Many report that the constant proximity to others and the sharing culture they have developed allows them to experience a type of social fulfillment they are unable to find in traditional housing arrangements. This social fulfillment allows a seamless psychological transition in and out of the workday, making residents more productive during working hours.

<<I do a job that is not connected in any way with the heart. But that doesn't mean I don't need heart in my life, or that I don't need this kind of stimulation. So, and that's why I live in here because I want to have something else apart from my job.>>

<<It's hard to build a community [in a traditional work environment] when everyone goes home at night.>>

Benefits of adaptable space

On the physical side, the unfinished nature of the common spaces that is unique to live/work warehouses means they are able to be adapted to the needs of the users to suit their creative or productive needs.

<<Things get adapted to fulfill purposes that they were never meant to fulfill. And often they end up kind of being modified to be better than they would have been had they been designed for that purpose originally.>>

<<Our space in our studio is like an open plan space where we've all carved off little sections of it. My office actually has three walls, but all the rest of it is open plan.>>

Practical use of warehouse spaces for small businesses

The warehouses also provide an abundance of space that individuals can use in ways that benefit their businesses:

<<Having this space means that I can store all my equipment in a garage, and I can park both my vans here and they're safe. Where I used to park they would get broken into a lot.>>

<<Shooting films means you frequently need to store equipment, and that can be quite big, you need to store props - I like to have lots of space to be able to do that and not impinge on other peoples living space. Most days from 9:30 until 5 or 6, and we work through the day, and we actually have like a set office area in our warehouse.>>

<<In film we have meetings all the time, like heads of department meetings. We have meetings here that we wouldn't be able to have any other place. In fact, one of my camera operators from London Film School actually moved in next door to me. And so he's working on this film as well and he lives just next door.>>

<<For a start I use the common space for my theatre group to rehearse in.>>

<<[Having a full edit suite] is something I couldn't do were I in a smaller, regular shared house and so I have my edit suite set up but then I've also got a large client monitor where a client is able to sit back and actually view the thing with professional audio monitoring equipment. So they can be quite confident with the setup I've got specifically that they can broadcast what I am doing, whereas if I were just on a laptop they would have to go elsewhere for that.>>

Manor House Warehouses and the Internal Community

Tangible skill sharing

Sharing personal spaces amongst themselves, Manor House warehouse residents are in a unique position to cluster their skills, which form connections in both tangible and immaterial skill shares. By tangible, we mean connections in the warehouse that translate into concrete economic and/or creative gains. The sharing of skills has become a backbone of the community, allowing inhabitants to produce and reproduce their professional capacities in economically sustainable ways.

<<A friend in our house has connections to a lot of people in the art world. So she's sending out emails for me all over the place and using her connections for that. Another friend who's also an artist is doing the same thing for us as well. Another friend made our website and does most of our online presence stuff. We've got someone who does illustrations, so for our vine videos we've done she makes little thank you cards for them and shows them up and she's doing the decorations for our launch party.>>

<<There is a Manor House film makers' group on the facebook group and there's a skills sharing thing on there.>>

<<But that doesn't just happen in the space, the space is part of that. So, for example, I use to live with a guy called S, whose since moved out. Acrobat and a circus performer and we filmed him in the space, put his show reel together and that directly influenced him getting extra paid work and I know for a fact that he got paid work off of the back of the work that we did together in the space.>>

<<So a lot of it sort of...it influences me in ways that I don't really think about. Like, things that couldn't ordinarily happen just kind of happen and I just really take them for granted for being here. So if I need to set up an interview studio with a three light set up I don't have to go and rent a studio space, I don't have to go and rent lighting kit.>>

Immaterial skill sharing

While the clustering of trades allows inhabitants easy access when it comes to the tangible sharing of skills, respondents have also expressed a great interest in what we have termed immaterial skills sharing. Specifically, immaterial skills shares are moments when the social relations that exist in the space influence the respondents' creative potential through conversation, critique, and the exchange of ideas. Respondents have repeatedly stated the importance to them of the social nature of the warehouse, with the sharing of ideas and concepts being central to the community.

<<There's a music producer, who also is just very technical, so he, when I'm thinking about how to use a projection in theatre, he's very literally able to say, you can't use that project for this kind of medium because... and you need this type of card of this type of laptop, which I'm completely naive about.>>

<<As important as the space, for me, is the human capital. There is...there are so many people here who are absolutely at the top of their game in what they do. And so I know as a filmmaker if I need a sound recordist or I wanna do a collaboration with an artist of some kind or I need a lighting director or I just need some advice from somebody in something I am not skilled in, pretty much all of those people are going to be my direct neighbours.>>

<<You've got so much sharing of ideas, and things that you'd have to seek out the knowledge for, you find out that someone else is already working on something, these kind of complementary projects that are running along side.>>

<<This thing I went to today was somebody doing a sort of course in social media and getting creatives in touch with business. It was an incredibly useful thing. It all comes down to meetings generated out of just living together, getting to know people, and sharing. And also this community is showing increasing styles of artistic activity, and putting on stuff. It's all quite, everybody is very active.>>

<<I have met people who I wouldn't have met who have common professions and common interests.>>

Equipment sharing

In a site with a uniquely high concentration of social and human capital, the most basic exchange is the sharing of equipment. Respondents have discussed their ability to conduct equipment exchanges which simply would not be possible if it wasn't for the trust which is embedded within the community. Our interviews have tapped into what appears to be a way of life for the community, which is a common ownership and understanding between creatives and professionals that is materialised through the sharing of equipment.

> <<I have a friend in another unit who's also a photographer, so sometimes we share lenses, and same with our landlords as well, we share lenses and things like that. And yea, just, generally we borrow things off each other...>>

> <<there is a big network and you've got things like the Google groups and the Facebook groups. If you need equipment for a project or if you need help or if someone's heard about a grant that's going around, they'll post that information.>>

> <<I had some screens that I borrowed from a friend of mine, and I've just lent them out to somebody else who's making a film in the room next door.>>

> <<I did a photo shoot on a fashion shoot a few years ago and at the time I didn't have that much equipment of my own so I just knocked on the door of the girl who lived a few doors down, Slinky. And said, "can I borrow thousands of pounds worth of your Canon lenses to go an do this shoot," and she said, "yea, sure." You know. And that would be everybody's answer.>>

> <<there is an almost collective ownership of stuff. Even though everyone belongs to everybody there is this kind of idea that it is this huge pool of stuff. There is trust, that you would trust anybody with your stuff, you know.>>

Manor House Warehouses and the Wider Community

Examples of engagement

The creative community within the warehouses creates professional and social opportunities not only for those inhabiting the space, but also for the Borough of Haringey. In many instances, members of the warehouse community have tried to use their own creative capital to facilitate dynamic public activities and positive relationships with the surrounding population. Residents stress that more work needs to be done in terms of local engagement; however, there is evidence that the connections between Haringey and warehouse residents are productive and uniquely stimulating for all involved:

<< Everyone's really positive when they come here. I hold a monthly script development workshop here, where I work with young writers to help them develop their work, and then we do a kind of public rehearsal reading of the plays, and sort of, give feedback and also it's a really good networking event for people that are in the industry, and everyone always loves the space and it works really all for what I use it for. >>

<< I'm part of a group called Haringey Solidarity Group, which is a community organising group based in the borough, and they are a rich tapestry of people from different class backgrounds, different ages, different jobs, broadly left, and I use the flat quite often to facilitate...>>

<< Someone's working with lots of the garden spaces and doing projects with kids. These other guys have actually just got 100,000 pounds funding from Haringey to do a youth project in the music studios they're building. The other thing is that the council gave a group called Haringey Arts 20,000 pounds of funding maybe 5 or 6 years ago.>>

<<You see events going on over there, and events going on in the studios, and I'm sure they'll be a lot more. I've seen events out of Catwalk Place. And none of them are exclusive, they're all very kind of open and it's going to become infectious. Trying to dial down the alternative nature of

this space is a terrible mistake.>>

<< You know, like, I know Franny and Lauren were doing...can't remember the name of it... but basically running free dance and movement classes for young people. And free community classes and I think that sort of stuff goes on all over the place. So, those connections...the council may not know about them but if they removed them they would certainly feel it, I think.>>

<<"I've just been part of a performance about sex workers that was held in the courtyard, and it was aimed at putting the record straight about misinformation about sex workers. It was an interesting demo and it was by sex workers and there were a lot of allies there, and I met people who lived very nearby who knew about this community. So people come from outside this community as well who know about us and want to come and see what's going on. So in that one instance I can see its spreading out. There's nothing gated about this community at all. It's the antithesis of gated. >>

Limits and potential for deeper engagement

These reflections make clear that while people are aware of certain instances of engagement there is confusion about who instigates the engagement and how often it occurs. Numerous interviewees touched on these issues of organization and potentiality when discussing community projects. There is a sense among residents that the warehouses are an excellent resource in terms of potential community initiatives. Yet there are a number of current barriers – proper public space, financial support, free time, etc. – and many residents are unsure as to how potential connections can be realised. It seems clear, however, that there is a willingness to engage more deeply with Haringey – if given the proper opportunities to do so.

<< I think part of what excites me about theatre is the opportunity of kind of, I don't know, doing workshops in local communities, something I've spoken to beth about because she has her women's group in Haringey, and there's a lot of theatre programmes that work with, like they're boroughs,

and I'd love to set something up like that, but again, funding and time and all that kind of stuff is something that I need to look at properly. >>

<< I mean I think one person actually suggested maybe as a community volunteering for completely un...you know, for local projects. Specifically not things to do with the warehouses, as a way, that might be a positive in terms of actually hopefully bringing some benefit to outsiders. >>

<< Yes, I'd very much like to do some painting on some walls on Ashfield Road and Hermitage Road. And I would like to approach those people about doing that but I'll do that after October...I'm used to councils overlooking artists and the wealth of their resources.>>

<< There's the Haringey Arts, which is the, sort of Manor House arts group, which does art installations and works more with the community. I would say there's definitely scope to do more with the wider community...>>

Ex-Fed - Harringey Warehouse

199a Eade Rd., London N41 DN
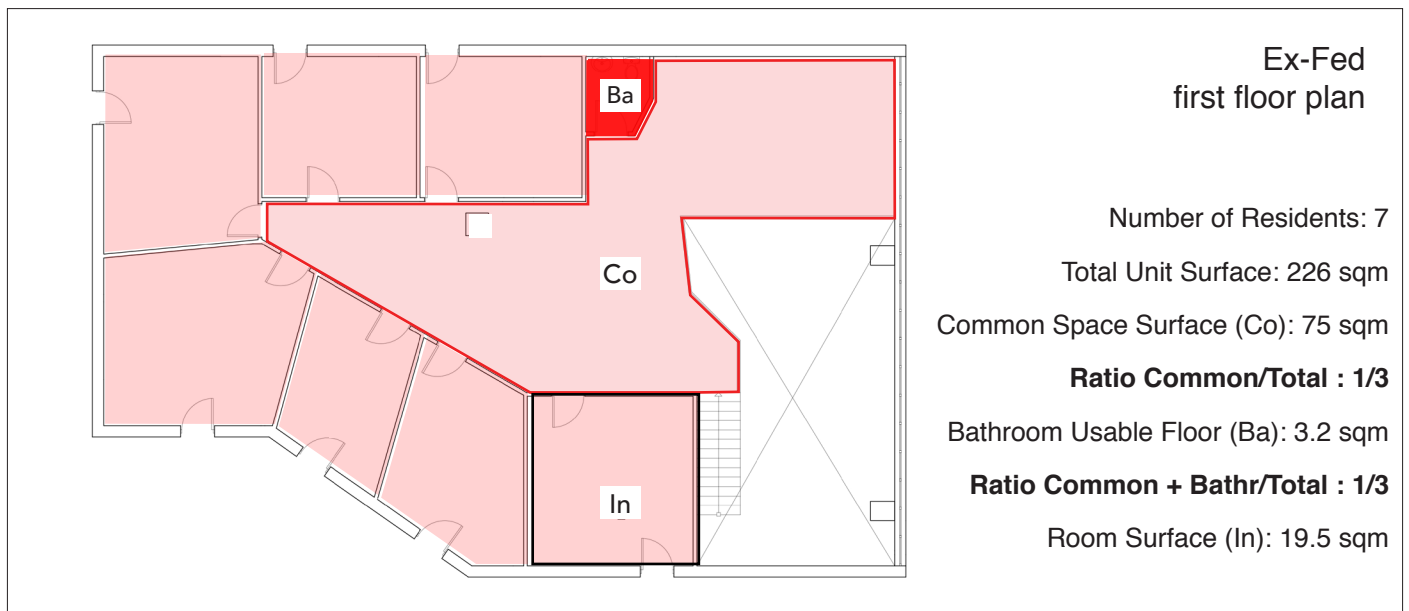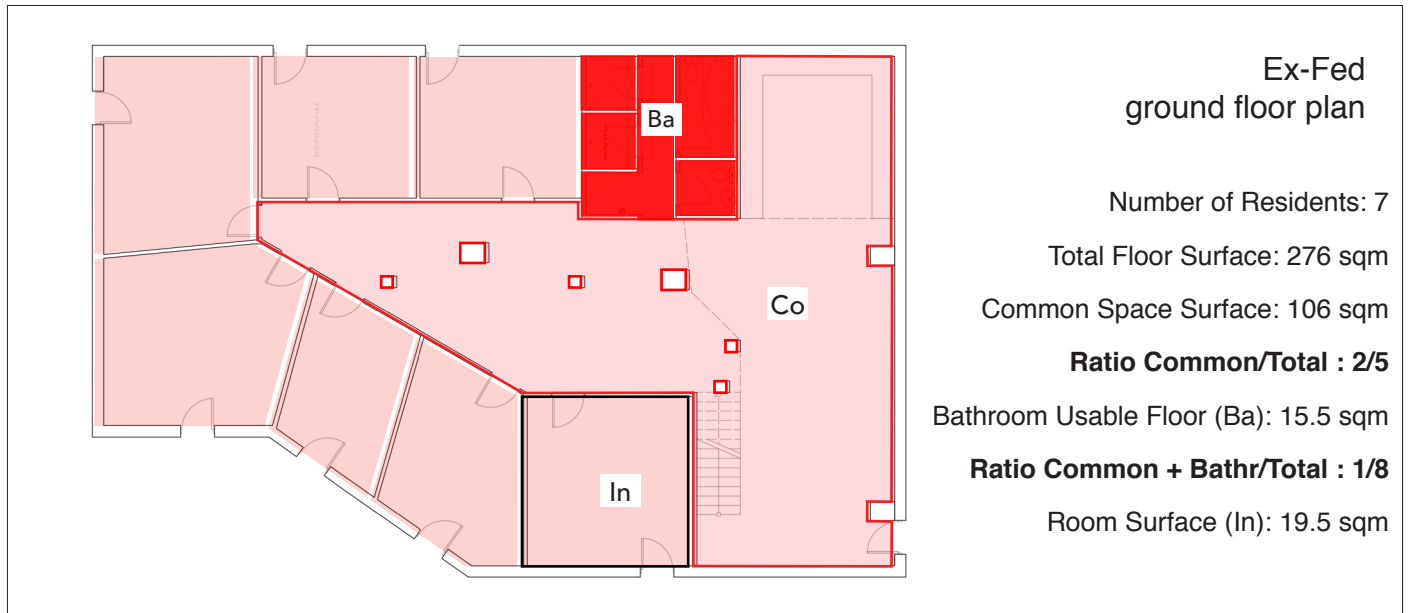
TOTAL

Number of Residents: 14

Total Floor Surface: 502 sqm

Common Space Surface: 181 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 1/3

Bathroom Usable Floor (Ba): 18.7 sqm

**Ratio Common + Bathr/Total : 1/3**

Ex-Fed 2

Ex-Fed
ground floor plan

Number of Residents: 7

Total Floor Surface: 276 sqm

Common Space Surface: 106 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 2/5

Bathroom Usable Floor (Ba): 15.5 sqm

Ratio Common + Bathr/Total : 1/8

Room Surface (In): 19.5 sqm

Ex-Fed
first floor plan

Number of Residents: 7

Total Unit Surface: 226 sqm

Common Space Surface (Co): 75 sqm

Ratio Common/Total : 1/3

Bathroom Usable Floor (Ba): 3.2 sqm

Ratio Common + Bathr/Total : 1/3

Room Surface (In): 19.5 sqm

Spatial Recognition

Utility Space - Services and Facilities

The utility space is used by residents with particular professional requirements. The site provides parking, amenity and storage space for cycles, refuse and equipment. In some cases the presence of gates provides the opportune level of security for stored materials. Internal facilities, such as shared kitchens and bathrooms, are sized to the number of occupants and are therefore spatious.
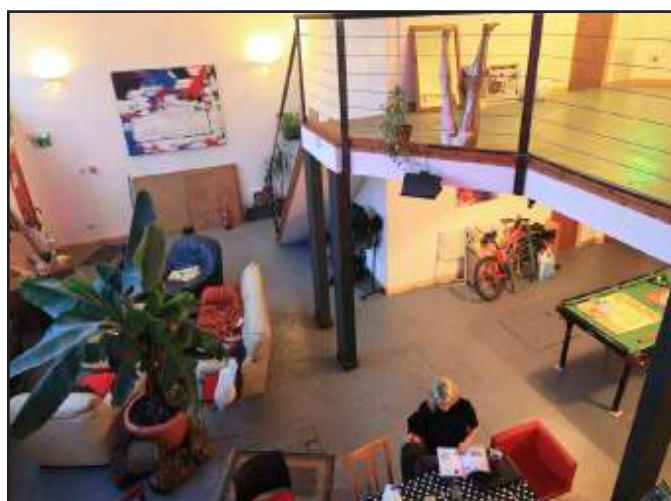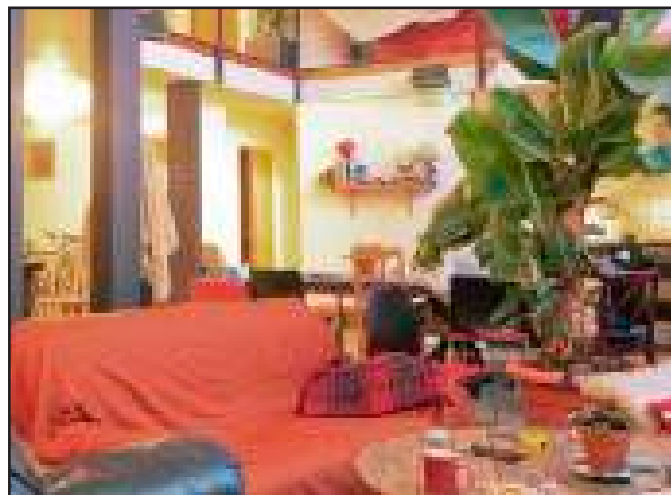
Amenity Space - Shared Indoor

In Ex-Fed, as in the majority of the units, the core is a common space in which social gatherings represent the fil rouge of all the activities that the residents can undertake. Large kitchens with long tables suggest the pleasure of eating together, comfortable sofas that of chatting and working. Finally, undefined areas and corners, filled with artistic materials and/or void, are the spatial frames of common (or at least shared) projects. Often, these common areas are the ones in which natural light, wisely directed or filtered according to position, is searched and investigated. As a living room would in the home of a traditional family, here the common space becomes a room where encounters, games and rituals occur together with work, craft and creation. It is a place that, without losing intimacy, reformulates the concept of the fireplace for a new social unit, which is not a family, but as a family learns everyday to live and work together.

Amenity Space - Shared Outdoor

There are a plethora of uses that take place in the extensive external spaces. The relatively large site provides the opportunity for outdoor parking as well as collective gathering spaces, with different degrees of public access. Yet, due to the need for physical continuity, the uses would need to be considered under a regulatory system.

Private Space - Bedrooms

There is a variation of private space within and among units. Bedrooms conform to minimum space standards and accommodate from 1 to 2 persons. Some units would require relatively significant interventions, both to benefit from technical features improvement, such as ventilation, lighting and fire safety, and to meet Building Regulation requirements. However the public/private space ratio makes them attractive for different users.
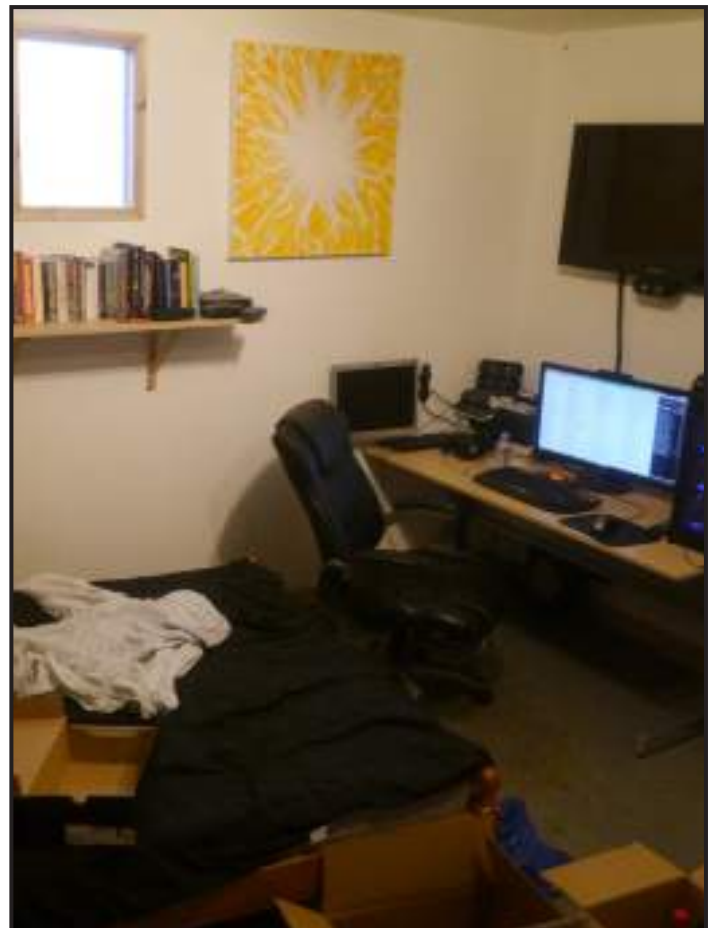
Conclusion

As global economic forces contribute to the standardization and sterilization of urban environments, urban planners, community leaders, and residents are increasingly looking for ways to make cities work, first and foremost, for those who inhabit them. There is no universal template for carrying out this process. However, students of urban issues have identified various trends of resistance – processes whereby citizens have been able to foster liveable city spaces that promote community alongside productivity. An area of particular interest has been the role that artistic communities can play in promoting vibrant city spaces, for both internal and external populations. With this context in mind, our research team hopes to add to two important, timely conversations: the role of spatial dynamics in promoting sociability and creativity, and the broader possibilities for urban space that accompany rich artistic communities.

Our research looked at the Haringey's warehouse community from both a spatial and sociological perspective. These complementary approaches allow for an assessment of the unique material dimensions of the warehouses – such as the ratios and communal areas – while at the same time taking into account what these physical spaces mean -- both symbolically and practically -- for the community residents. The spatial investigation suggests that the warehouses represent the formalisation of a new typology of living, housing and working. Born from many parents, from student halls to squatter settlements, from artist lofts to craftwork laboratories, they are in an experimental stage. The shapes of the houses and the measure of their spaces, far away from being a corroborated plan with attested proportions, are engaged in an ongoing process of definition. Technical features of the warehouses would benefit from improvement, such as ventilation, lighting and fire safey.

The team's sociological research illustrates that the communal, live-work makeup of the warehouses has an identifiable impact within various levels of analysis: the personal inhabitants, the warehouse community, and the Borough of Haringey. On the personal level, interviews suggest that the spacious floor plan provides some residents with a sense of community and well-being while for others the added space is a requisite element of their productive capacity. The integrated living environment has spurred creative development and allowed for economic and artistic production that would have otherwise gone unrealised. Within the warehouse community itself, our research identified an extensive process of skill sharing, involving both material and immaterial skills. Residents swap equipment (e.g lights for interview setups, lenses for photography projects) but, perhaps more importantly, they are also able to create a free flow of ideas between diverse creative professions that normally remain isolated. FInally, the progressive internal community has thus far created promising relationships with local Haringey residents. Still, most residents admit that connectivity has been limited and there is a significant amount of work to be done.

Ultimately, the socio-spatial analysis indicates that the living and working spaces in the warehouses are conducive for a communal lifestyle involving sharing and exchange. This lifestyle builds trust

and a sense of identity within the locality, two outcomes that many planners strive for in 'place-making' strategies. These spaces are also highly valuable to the formation and productivity of SMEs, particularly those in the creative sector that rely on pooling skills and equipment. It is likely that many of the businesses run out of the warehouses would not be as successful without the space in which they operate.

The warehouse residents have used the space to generate a new unitarian typology for living and working, and these innovations should lead any interventions. Even if a comparison with other standardized typologies and law requirements shows below-standard safety conditions, a reconsideration of these housing units should not abandon the legacy of experimentation in attempting to implement regulation. The substance of the warehouses are their laboratories of living within a new urban context -- denying this freedom of experimentation in order to accomodate existing planning rules would mean the loss of economic potential as well as a flourishing architectural reality. It is in the best interest of both the residents and the Council to preserve the sense of place and creative capacity of the warehouses. To this end, both parties should experiment together with incremental strategies that emphasize safety alongside the preservation of place.

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