

P.O.P PROTECT OUR PLACES

SAVE
TRIDLEY
ROAD

HANDS OFF
OUR
MARKET

WARDS
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COMING TOGETHER TO DEMAND MORE
RACIALLY-JUST URBAN PLANNING IN
LONDON

LOVE THE ELEPHANT



PROTECT OUR PLACES (POP)

COMING TOGETHER TO DEMAND MORE RACIALLY-JUST URBAN PLANNING IN LONDON

April 2026



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With support from:
Latin Elephant
Catford Against Social Cleansing
Fight the Tower/Save International House
Friends of Queen's Market
Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market
Plush SE16
Save Brick Lane
Save Deptford High Street
Save Ridley Road
Ward's Corner CBS
Emerging grassroots campaign at Tooting Market

Report designed by:
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THE
TOWER**

SAVE BRICK LANE

LOVE THE ELEPHANT



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents reflections from the first two years of the Protect Our Places coalition (POP). Coordinated by Latin Elephant, POP brings together 11 campaigns and community groups from across London, each resisting the gentrification and displacement of affordable retail spaces in their respective communities. In coming together, the coalition has provided participating groups the opportunity to recognise how our respective struggles are tied together by systemic, London-wide development patterns and how, accordingly, they must be addressed collectively and not only at the local level.

This report answers three research questions: first, how might building solidarity between, and supporting collective action by, London's diverse working class communities facilitate more racially-just urban planning? Next, what do our collective and individual experiences reveal about the disproportionate, negative impact of planning decisions on racialised, migrant and other marginalised communities? Finally, where and how might this inequitable, racialised impact be more critically considered within the planning process? What should the future of planning look like?

Answering these questions, the report offers six collective learnings:



4.

There are significant obstacles and resource limitations that impact the success of local communities and campaigns.

5.

The coalition has been one helpful avenue for overcoming resource and knowledge disparities, and it has been a key site of collective resistance over the last couple of years. It has the potential to support more racially-just urban planning.

6.

Coalition spaces need funding.

Ultimately, this report contributes to ongoing work by diverse communities across London to centre their lived experiences and knowledge, to support the economic empowerment of our communities who are systemically rendered invisible and disempowered, and to question the systems and structures that create and enforce/reinforce such racial and economic injustice.



1.0 INTRODUCING PROTECT OUR
PLACES (POP)

1.1 WHAT IS PROTECT OUR PLACES?

Protect our Places (POP) is a London-based coalition of 11 campaigns and organisations, each fighting against the gentrification and displacement of the markets, high streets, shopping centres and other affordable retail spaces that Londoners rely upon. It was developed and is facilitated by Latin Elephant, and has been meeting since 2023. The coalition is funded by Trust for London under their Racial Justice Fund.¹

The retail spaces at the centre of our campaigns are especially important to London's migrant, Black and minoritised, and diverse working class communities.² They provide affordable and culturally-specific foods and goods, as well as opportunities for local and cultural identities to flourish. They are spaces where our communities can come together. The coalition is building a collective narrative and vision for London, and is addressing how racialisation, racism and other forms of structural oppression emerge within and through the planning process. Our Manifesto can be found in **Appendix 1**.

Funding has allowed Latin Elephant to not only convene participating groups but also to compensate them to reflect their time contribution and support their ongoing, urgent campaigning work across the city. Between 2023–2025, the coalition has met for ten member meetings, in which we have come together for peer-to-peer learning and knowledge exchange. We have discussed urgent updates to each of our respective battles and amplified each others' local actions, bringing greater attention to each struggle.

Importantly, we have also called attention to the ways in which our context-specific fights are linked by London-wide patterns of speculative development that risks destroying the spaces that are the cores of our communities in service of great profits for developers. Through our discussions in these meetings, we have also collectively responded to consultations around the new London Plan,³ objected to a concerning town centre regeneration project in Peckham,⁴ supported the development of an alternative plan for London,⁵ and contributed to a London Assembly report on Social Value in Planning and Regeneration.⁶

The latter exemplifies how POP has begun to actively shape London-wide discussions about regeneration, gentrification and displacement. As one coalition member shared,

‘THE SOCIAL VALUE REPORT WAS QUITE GROUND BREAKING IN SOME RESPECTS BECAUSE IT GAVE A BIT OF WEIGHT TO [OUR ARGUMENT] AND ITSELF SAID THAT IT’S NOT ALL ABOUT THE MONEY. THERE ARE OTHER THINGS GOING ON IN LONDON THAT, IF WE DISREGARD THEM, WE WILL NOT GET BACK. WE’LL HAVE OBLITERATED SOMETHING WHICH IS THE BEATING HEART OF OUR CITY.’

1 'Funding for racial justice', Trust for London, accessed 18 February 2026, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/funding/social-justice/racial-justice/>.

2 We acknowledge that individuals and communities may identify as being part of more than one of these categories, but have included them all to establish that the disproportionate impact of the displacement of these affordable retail spaces falls along intersections of nationality and migration status, racialisation and ethnicity, and class.

3 Protect Our Places, 'Protect Our Places (POP) Evidence in Response to Towards a New London Plan: Consultation on the Next London Plan' (consultation response, 22 June 2025), <https://latinelephant.org/pop-response-toward-a-new-london-plan/>.

4 Protect Our Places, 'Objection to 24/AP/2074 Berkeley Homes Application for Aylesham Development Scheme' (planning application objection, 22 April 2025), <https://latinelephant.org/pop-objection-aylesham-centre-redevelopment/>.

5 Just Space, 'Alternative Plan for a Caring City' (forthcoming).

6 London Assembly Planning and Regeneration Committee, Social value in planning and regeneration: Knowing the price of everything and the value of nothing' (policy report, April 2025), <https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/2025-04/Social%20value%20in%20planning%20and%20regeneration%20report%20April%202025.pdf>. See also: POP members contribution to the written evidence base: <https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/2025-04/Social%20Value%20written%20evidence%20-%20April%202025.pdf>.

7 A POP member in discussion with the author, 18 August 2025.

The coalition has also hosted five workshops for representatives, local campaigns, traders and others in order to help democratise access to knowledge and resources that can support of ongoing fights against gentrification and an exclusionary planning process. These have included a workshop on consultation law and lease basics with barristers from Landmark Chambers,⁸ a ‘Know your rights’ training for traders and community members by Southwark Law Centre,⁹ a workshop on Social Value with Unit 38, and a workshop series with Stour Trust and New Economics Foundation on Assets of Community Value and Community Asset Transfer.



8 Video recordings are available on Latin Elephant's Youtube page, or at the following link: <https://latinelephant.org/landmark-chambers-lease-workshop/>.

9 Video recordings are available on Latin Elephant's Youtube page, or at the following link: <https://latinelephant.org/know-your-rights-training-market-traders-community-members/>.

1.2 WHO IS POP?

The 11 POP coalition members come from nine different boroughs, as illustrated in Figure 1.1 below. Some of our member campaigns have been active in their respective communities for over a decade. Campaigns fighting to protect Queen's Market (London Borough of Newham) and Seven Sister's Indoor Market (London Borough of Haringey) have been actively contesting displacement and gentrification for nearly 25 years. Other coalition members are newly emergent, having formed in response to more recently proposed developments and/or gentrification projects. POP includes:

1. Latin Elephant (facilitator/convener)
2. Catford Against Social Cleansing
3. Fight the Tower/Save International House
4. Friends of Queen's Market
5. Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market
6. Plush SE16
7. Save Brick Lane
8. Save Deptford High Street
9. Save Ridley Road
10. Ward's Corner CBS
11. Emerging grassroots campaign at Tooting Market

We note that the campaigns in our coalition are not the only active fights against this form of gentrification in London, and there are many other affordable retail spaces under threat across the city (**see Appendix 3**).

We hope that our coalition continues to grow, and we invite other London communities and campaigns who are fighting against retail gentrification to join Protect Our Places.

Figure 1.1

Member campaigns location map



SAVE RIDLEY ROAD



plushse16 X NOPRICEON™ CULTURE



1.3 WHY NOW?

Since its conceptualisation, a purpose of POP has been to highlight the racialised impact of planning in London, and to urgently demand that the disproportionate, violent and systemic consequences of planning are seriously and specifically addressed, both in policy and in practice. In the London context, this means we must address how certain spatial designations within planning have meant that racialised and working class communities are disproportionately impacted by substantial urban transformation that threatens the spaces they care about.

These problematic spatial designations are 'Areas for Regeneration' and 'Opportunity Areas' (**OAs**), both delineated by the Mayor of London in the London Plan (London's main strategic planning policy document) and further detailed in local planning policy. OAs are purported to have the potential to support at least 5,000 new jobs, 2,500 new homes or some combination of the two.¹⁰ Accordingly, they become sites of intensified development. Their frequent overlap with 'Strategic and Local Areas for Regeneration'¹¹ is not coincidental;¹² this occurs because development in these places allegedly has 'the potential to promote inclusive growth that increases opportunity for all Londoners.'¹³ The significant overlap between the markets, shopping centres and retail spaces that our member campaigns are rallying around, and the designated Areas for Regeneration or Opportunity Areas that threaten them, can be seen in **Figures 1.2-1.4**.

¹⁰ 'London's Opportunity Areas', Greater London Authority, accessed 4 February 2026, <https://www.london.gov.uk/programmes-strategies/planning/implementing-london-plan/londons-opportunity-areas>. From this web page, you can view a map of all Opportunity Areas and find out more information about each one.

¹¹ Greater London Authority, The London Plan 2021 (2021), 475-501, <https://www.london.gov.uk/programmes-strategies/planning/london-plan/london-plan-2021>.

¹² Greater London Authority, The London Plan 2021 (2021), 99.

¹³ Greater London Authority, The London Plan 2021, 32

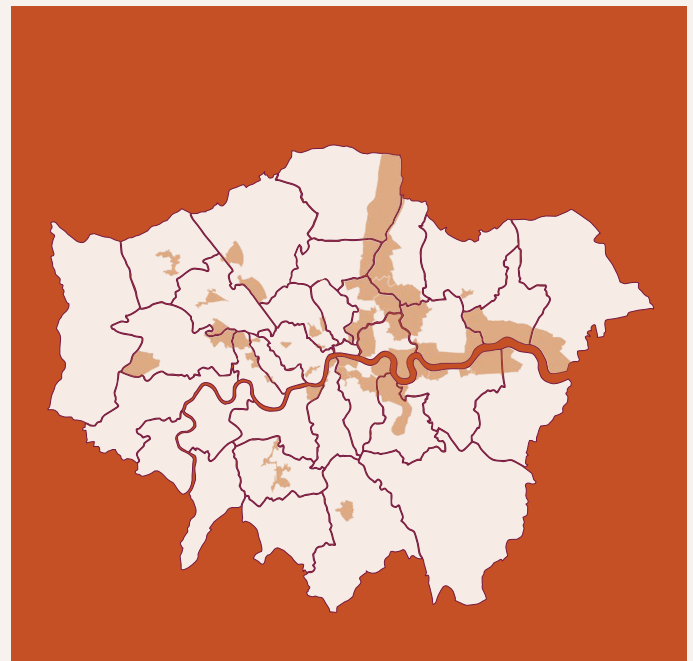


Figure 1.2
London Opportunity Area Map



Figure 1.3
Strategic Areas for Regeneration Map

COALITION RETAIL SPACES AND THE PLANNING DESIGNATIONS THAT THREATEN THEM

Figure 1.4

Visual representation of our coalition member's locations mapped against London's Opportunity Areas and Strategic Areas for Regeneration.

WARDS CORNER/SEVEN SISTERS INDOOR MARKET

Wards Corner CBS

Lee Valley

West Green Road/Seven Sisters

RIDLEY ROAD MARKET

Save Ridley Road

City Fringe/Tech City

Dalston

PLUSHSE16

PLUSH SE16/No Price on Culture

Canada Water

Immediately bordering Canada Water*

*maps highlighting strategic areas of regeneration within the London Plan are not clear enough to make out the borders

BRICK LANE

Save Brick Lane

City Fringe/Tech City

Brick Lane

QUEEN'S MARKET

Friends of Queen's Market

Olympic Legacy, Poplar Riverside, Royal Thames & Beckton Riverside), London

Riverside

Green Street

SHEPHERD'S BUSH MARKET

Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market

White City

Shepherd's Bush

ELEPHANT AND CASTLE SHOPPING CENTRE

Latin Elephant

Elephant and Castle

Elephant & Castle

DEPTFORD HIGH STREET

Save Deptford High Street

Deptford Creek/

Greenwich Riverside

Deptford

CATFORD TOWN CENTRE

Catford Against Social Cleansing

New Cross/Lewisham/Catford

Catford

TOOTING MARKET

Emerging Grassroots Campaign

Not In OA

Tooting

BRIXTON MARKET

Fight the Tower/Save International

House

Not In OA

Brixton

Text Key:

THREATENED RETAIL SPACE

Coalition name

Opportunity Area / Bordering Opportunity Area

Strategic Area for Regeneration

Map Key:

● Opportunity Area (OA)

● Strategic Area for Regeneration

1.3 WHY NOW?

As Latin Elephant has published elsewhere,¹⁴ and as a result of the planning designations explained above, regeneration predominantly takes place in parts of London where there are higher proportions of Black, migrant and racialised communities. In part, this is due to the ways in which poverty and other forms of ‘deprivation’ in London intersect with structural and systemic forms of oppression, notably racialisation. This has clear consequences for the spaces that our campaigns are fighting to protect.

The experiences of POP members and our communities suggests that, despite claims to the contrary, regeneration has not resulted in ‘inclusive growth’ that benefits markets and affordable retail spaces, or the communities that rely upon them. Rather, these communities, including the Black, migrant and culturally-diverse businesses that serve them, have been disproportionately, negatively impacted.

Understanding the impact of planning on traditional retail markets and affordable retail spaces requires understanding who is reliant upon them and who operates the stalls and businesses that constitute them:

‘LONDON IS A MULTICULTURAL PLACE. CLASS AND ‘RACE’ ARE A HUGE FACTOR IN WHERE STREET MARKETS AND RETAIL SPACES ARE AND HOW THEY ARE USED.’¹⁵

These markets and retail spaces quite literally enable diverse London communities’ social and cultural lives. As a representative from a member campaign has shared,

‘[THEY] ARE PART AND PARCEL OF THE HERITAGE OF WORKING CLASS COMMUNITIES WHO WANT TO CONTINUE EATING IN THIS WAY AND WHO HAVE THE OPTION TO DO SO.’¹⁶

Where these retail spaces are threatened by lease and licensing changes (e.g., in the cases of Ridley Road Market, Shepherd’s Bush Market, Tooting Market) or by new landlords seeking to curate a different shopping experience for wealthier, often whiter, future residents and consumers (as in the cases of Elephant and Castle, Brick Lane and Brixton Market), a clear pattern emerges: regeneration of these spaces and communities is directly causing violent displacement. We explore the particular context of each of our member campaigns in **Appendix 2**.

¹⁴ Patria Román-Velázquez and Nicola Hill, The Case for London’s Latin Quarter: Retention, Growth and Sustainability (Latin Elephant, 2016), 10.

¹⁵ A POP representative in discussion with the author, 18 August 2025.

¹⁶ A POP representative in discussion with the author, 18 August 2025.

1.4 REPORT AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this report, we aim to evidence how our work has supported the main objectives of Trust for London's Racial Justice Fund. We address (1) how our work supports the economic empowerment of London's Black and minoritised communities and (2) how our work addresses or tackles the systems and structures that create and enforce racial and economic injustice. Specifically, we aim to explore how our coalition supports pan-London and collective contestation of a planning process with racially-disproportionate, negative outcomes, and supports local economies and Black and minoritised traders across the city to contest displacement and continue supporting themselves and their communities.

In doing so, we are guided by the following research questions:

1.

How might building solidarity between, and supporting collective action by, London's diverse working class communities facilitate more racially-just urban planning?

2.

What do our collective and individual experiences reveal about the disproportionate, negative impact of planning decisions on racialised, migrant and other marginalised communities?

3.

What do our collective and individual experiences reveal about the disproportionate, negative impact of planning decisions on racialised, migrant and other marginalised communities?

1.5 REPORT METHODOLOGY

This report brings together desk-based research about POP participating campaigns and their communities, background data gathered through coalition meetings, and qualitative data gained through semi-structured interviews.

Interviews were carried out after two years of consistent coalition meetings. Members were invited to reflect on the above research questions and on their experiences over the last couple of years as part of the coalition. Representatives were asked to consider what the coalition has made evident to them about the state of planning in London and what participation in the coalition has allowed campaigns to accomplish locally.

Although all groups were invited to participate in the interview process, these interviews were neither required nor demanded of them. It was very important to us that this report did not impose further obligations on member groups, as we are all time- and resource-impooverished (although to varying degrees), and often addressing urgent local challenges. For this reason, some POP coalition members/representatives opted to not participate in the interview portion of the research for this report. All campaigns have had the opportunity to review and edit this report, and have approved the final draft.

Our learnings are explored in **Section 2.0**.

1.6 REPORT STRUCTURE

Our evidence, experiences and affirmative visions are detailed in the remainder of this report. In **Section 2.0**, we discuss learnings and takeaways from our coalition work, speaking in greater detail about the common challenges and barriers we have faced and the lessons we've collectively learned. We isolate some examples of how the planning process in London is systemically unjust, and how the coalition has supported and can continue to support more racially-just urban planning. In **Section 3.0**, we reflect on the importance of funding coalition spaces, and speak briefly to those with the means to do so. Finally, we conclude with a note about where we hope our coalition work will take us next.

In our appendices, you can find a copy of our manifesto (**Appendix 1**), also available on our webpage;¹⁷ details about participating campaigns and their contexts (**Appendix 2**); and a short discussion of additional retail spaces in London threatened by displacement, but not yet involved in POP (**Appendix 3**).

¹⁷ 'Protect Our Places', Latin Elephant, accessed 4 February 2026, <https://latinel-ephant.org/protect-our-places>.



2.0 OUR LEARNINGS

All of the coalition representatives interviewed for this report shared that the coalition made clear how the challenges facing our communities and local areas are not separate or unique, but are rather intrinsically connected through structural forces. As one representative remarked,

'IT'S THE INTERCONNECTEDNESS OF THE ISSUES THAT ALL THE CAMPAIGNS ARE WORKING AROUND... I DEFINITELY SEE THESE SORTS OF DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGES ACROSS LONDON AS ONE THING.'

Being in coalition helped to enable this shared thinking. As another representative expressed,

'A DIFFERENT SET OF CONNECTIONS WERE BEING MADE BETWEEN THE GROUP BECAUSE YOU COULD SEE THAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING WE'RE EXPERIENCING THAT BUT IN A DIFFERENT WAY.'

Throughout this report, we detail some of the main, collective learnings arrived at by coalition members, significantly through participation in POP.

2.1 LEARNING 1: BLACK, MIGRANT AND OTHER MINORITISED AND DIVERSE WORKING CLASS COMMUNITIES DISPROPORTIONATELY BEAR THE COST OF URBAN CHANGE IN LONDON.

Importantly, this is not a new learning, and in many ways this premise was a main motivation for developing this coalition. However, through our work together, we've been able to compare and collate our lived experience and evidence. As laid out above (**Section 1.3**) the Londoners whose retail spaces are most intensely under threat come from diverse working class communities, and, in particular, from Black, racialised and migrant backgrounds. This is not coincidental, but rather a systemic and avoidable outcome of our planning process. Even where the planning system might purport to address inequity and inequality, this is seen as not only ineffective but largely disingenuous. We explore how this manifests in each coalition member context in **Appendix 2**.



'[PLANNING] IS, IN LONDON, A VERY RACIALISED PROCESS. BECAUSE CLASS AND RACE ARE HEAVILY INTERSECTED IN LONDON. WE CAN SEE IT VERY CLEARLY IN THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF OUR MARKETS, CAN'T WE? IT'S EVIDENT WHO THE STALL HOLDERS ARE AND WHO ARE THE PEOPLE SHOPPING IN OUR MARKETS. THEY ARE PREDOMINANTLY FROM MARGINALISED AND RACIALISED BACKGROUNDS.'

'THE THING ABOUT "PROTECTED CHARACTERISTICS" IN PLANNING IS THAT IT HAS ALMOST BECOME SOMETHING OF A JOKE UNLESS IT IS SERVING LAND ACQUISITIONS OR THE PRIVATISATION OF LAND. OFTEN, COMMUNITIES AREN'T ASKING FOR MUCH.'



'WHAT'S HAPPENED IS THAT THE MOST VULNERABLE [TO THE CORPORATE CAPTURE OF PLANNING] ARE THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE THE VERY LEAST, WHICH IN OUR SOCIETY ARE THE WORKING CLASS, AND WHICH IN LONDON IS VERY RACIALISED. THE WORKING CLASS ARE THE MOST MARGINALISED VOICE IN OUR SOCIETY AND IN TERMS OF PLANNING, THEIR VOICE HAS BEEN COMPLETELY SIDELINED.'



2.2 LEARNING 2: THE PLANNING PROCESS CURRENTLY PRIORITISES PROFITS FOR DEVELOPERS OVER ENSURING OUR REVERED SHOPPING AND COMMUNITY SPACES HAVE LONGEVITY, MEET OUR NEEDS, AND ARE WELL-MAINTAINED.

As introduced in **Section 1.3**, the racialised nature of the planning process, its inability to meet and provide for community needs, and its failure to genuinely engage people, are all fundamentally the result of structural issues. The goal of the planning process is to prioritise profit. Reflecting on trends across London, POP representatives shared,

'I DON'T THINK THAT PEOPLE HAVE REALLY UNDERSTOOD THE NEEDS OF MINORITISED LONDONERS FULLY. LONDON IS POORER FOR NOT UNDERSTANDING THEM BECAUSE OUR SPACES BRING IN SO MUCH MONEY FOR THE LOCAL COMMUNITY. BUT FOR JUST A LITTLE BIT MORE, YOU ARE DESTROYING IT AND TURNING IT INTO A PLACE FULL OF OFFICES. YOU ARE LOSING OUT A LOT MORE ON THE CULTURAL ASPECT OF A NEIGHBOURHOOD THAN YOU CAN EVER GAIN THROUGH THE EXCLUSIONARY DEVELOPMENT OF AN AREA.'

'IN [ONE COALITION] MEETING, THERE WAS TALK ABOUT LOOKING AT THE FINANCIALISATION OF THE CITY. THAT'S A TOPIC THAT HAS INCREASINGLY COME UP: HOW DOES FINANCE DICTATE THINGS? AND WHY IS IT THAT CERTAIN COMMUNITIES, IN CERTAIN SETTINGS AND PARTS OF THE CITY OR THE EDGE OF THE CITY, HAVE REALLY BEEN IMPACTED?'

'THE WHOLE FRAMING OF THE [CAMPAIGNS'/COMMUNITIES'] STRUGGLES IS ESSENTIALLY THAT THERE HAS BEEN CORPORATE CAPTURE OF PLANNING IN THIS COUNTRY, AND VERY MUCH SO IN PLACES WHERE THERE ARE HIGH LAND VALUES LIKE LONDON.'



Banner for Shepherd's Bush Market © Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market

2.3 LEARNING 3: CLAIMS THAT THE PLANNING PROCESS IS 'DEMOCRATIC' OR 'REPRESENTATIVE' DO NOT REFLECT THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF MOST IN OUR COMMUNITIES AND CITY.

That diverse working class communities are repeatedly at the sharp end of an inaccessible and exclusionary planning process is exacerbated by the planning process's failure to adequately understand and address their needs. This has meant that there is widespread distrust in planning's claims of representation, and of any consultation process. Consultation is widely viewed as a tick-box exercise, and not a way for communities to share their concerns and see them reflected in outcomes. As a result, planning is seen as another site of oppression, co-option and misrepresentation.

REPRESENTATION

'THERE IS BASICALLY ZERO TRUST IN THE CONSULTATION PROCESS.'

'A LOT OF THE BODIES WHICH ARE SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT OUR COMMUNITIES' INTERESTS ARE CURRENTLY FAILING TO DO THAT. THEY FAIL TO REPRESENT OUR VOICE.'

'REPRESENTATION IS, IN MY OPINION, QUESTIONABLE, ESPECIALLY WHEN YOU LOOK AT HOW PLANNING IS ATTACHED TO POLITICS.'

'I THINK THAT DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION IS BEING MASSIVELY QUESTIONED BY LONDONERS WHO ARE SEEING WHAT IS GETTING RUINED IN THIS MASSIVE INTERNATIONAL LAND GRAB.'

INACCESSIBILITY AND EXCLUSION

'THE PLANNING PROCESS IS NOT ACCESSIBLE. IT CAN BE VERY HARD TO ACCESS AND FIND PLANNING APPLICATIONS, LET ALONE RESPOND TO THEM.'

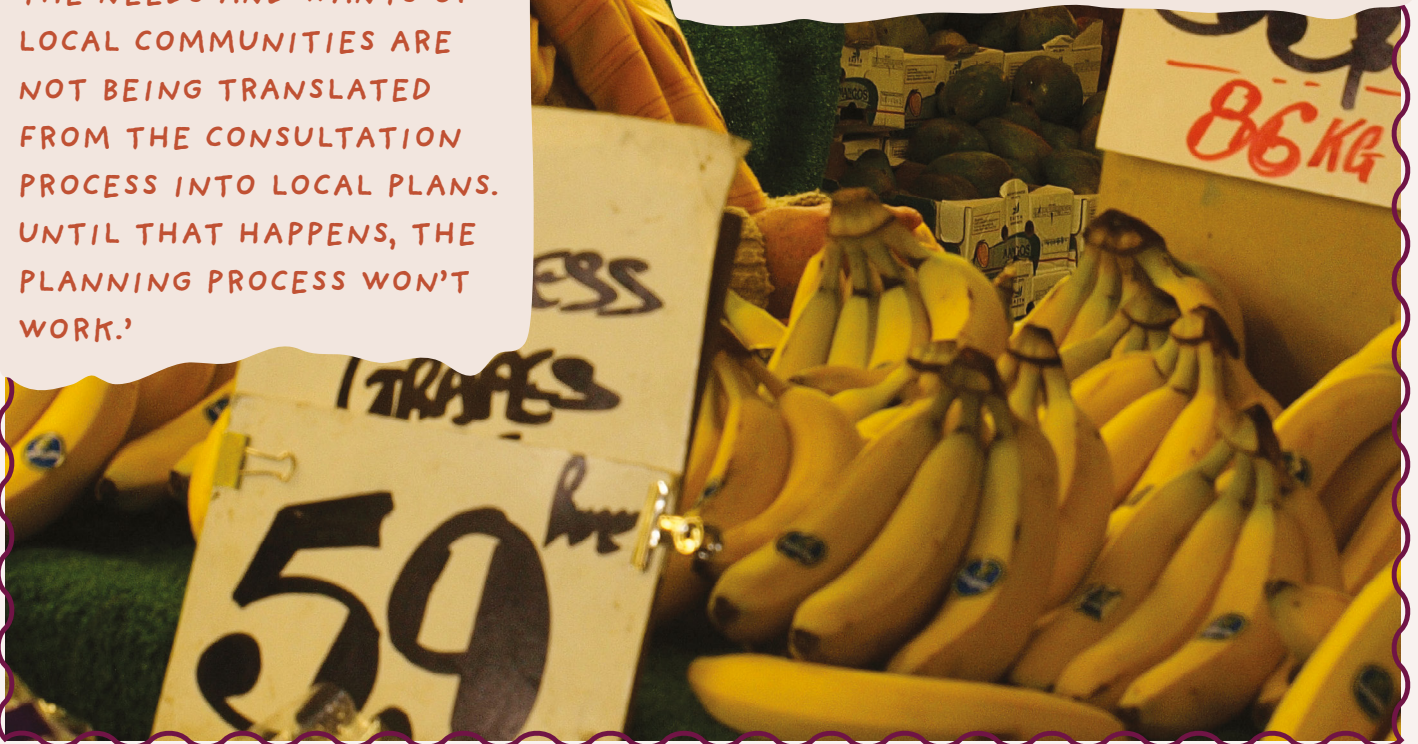
CONSULTATION

'THERE IS A RIDICULOUS PANTOMIME PERFORMANCE, WHICH TICKS THE BOXES OF WHAT A CONSULTATION IS. IT IS NOT MEANINGFUL IN ANY WAY, SHAPE OR FORM. AND IT DOESN'T ACTUALLY GIVE ANY VOICE TO PEOPLE. IT GIVES THE APPEARANCE OF BEING DEMOCRATIC WHEN I WOULD SAY IT NO LONGER IS SO.'



'SOCIAL HOUSING AND AFFORDABLE SPACES FOR BUSINESSES TO GROW ARE SUCH A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF WHAT IS BEING PROVIDED. THE NEEDS AND WANTS OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES ARE NOT BEING TRANSLATED FROM THE CONSULTATION PROCESS INTO LOCAL PLANS. UNTIL THAT HAPPENS, THE PLANNING PROCESS WON'T WORK.'

'EVEN IF COMMUNITIES ARE INCLUDED IN CONSULTATIONS, HOW THEY ACTUALLY FEEL ABOUT THINGS IS NOT BEING TRANSLATED INTO POLICY NOR IS IT EVEN THE DESIRED IMPACT OF THE PLANNING PROCESS.'



2.4 LEARNING 4: THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCE LIMITATIONS THAT IMPACT THE SUCCESS OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND CAMPAIGNS.

Countering speculative development is really challenging because diverse working class communities and Black, racialised and migrant Londoners lack access to the necessary resources, including avenues for legal and planning-related expertise (e.g., surveyors, architects, planners).

‘WE’RE UP AGAINST HUGE, POWERFUL FORCES. MOST DEVELOPMENT IS BEING BROUGHT BY PEOPLE WITH COMPLETELY DIFFERENT INTERESTS TO THOSE OF OUR LOCAL COMMUNITIES. IT’S ALMOST STRUCTURALLY BUILT IN – THE DISADVANTAGE, THAT WE WILL LOSE. AND THERE IS NO FUNDING IN THIS COUNTRY TO BALANCE IT OUT.’

‘AT OUR LOCAL AUTHORITY, THERE IS NO ONE WITH THE RELEVANT PLANNING EXPERTISE, SO THEY BECOME RELIANT ON THE DEVELOPERS AND EXTERNAL CONSULTANTS TO PROVIDE SUBJECTIVE, DECISION-SHAPING INFORMATION. OUR CAMPAIGNS HAVE THE BURDEN OF CONTESTING THIS WITH LIMITED RESOURCES.’



Save Brick Lane demonstration © Sarah Ainslie

2.5 LEARNING 5: THE COALITION HAS BEEN ONE HELPFUL AVENUE FOR OVERCOMING RESOURCE AND KNOWLEDGE DISPARITIES, AND IT HAS BEEN A KEY SITE OF COLLECTIVE RESISTANCE OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS. IT HAS THE POTENTIAL TO SUPPORT MORE RACIALLY-JUST URBAN PLANNING.

By linking local fights to a larger, collective story, being in coalition has helped us overcome resource gaps and build solidarity despite time poverty.

'A FEATURE OF COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNING IS PEOPLE HAVING TO DIP IN AND OUT BECAUSE IT IS VOLUNTARY. YOU NEED TO BE ABLE TO PASS THAT INFORMATION ON SO YOU ARE NOT CONSTANTLY GOING OVER OLD GROUND. AND THAT IS PART OF WHAT THE COALITION IS ABOUT. WE'RE NOT STARTING FROM SCRATCH.'

'I THINK THAT WHAT POP ALLOWED US TO DO WAS TO MEET MORE REGULARLY WITHIN A PARTICULAR, CLOSED SETTING, WHICH WAS ACTUALLY QUITE HELPFUL IN TERMS OF GETTING UPDATES ABOUT WHERE WE ALL WERE. WE WERE ALSO ABLE TO SHARE INFORMATION THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA. THERE WAS SOLIDARITY. AND THE TRADERS FELT IT TOO. IT'S BEEN UPLIFTING. IT'S WEIRD TO KIND OF SAY EXACTLY WHY TRADERS SUDDENLY FEEL MORE VOCAL, BUT SOMETIMES WHEN THEY FEEL LIKE THERE IS WIDER SUPPORT, THEY CAN RAISE THEIR HEAD. FOR THAT, [POP] HAS BEEN REALLY GOOD: OUR DIALOGUE WITH TRADERS HAS THEM ACTUALLY SAYING, 'WELL, IF THEY CAN DO IT IN THIS PART OF LONDON, WHY CAN'T WE DO IT HERE?'

‘[THE POTENTIAL OF THE COALITION IS] DEFINITELY EXCHANGE, AND LEARNING FROM EACH OTHER — SHARING RESOURCES AND AMPLIFYING EACH OTHER’S CAMPAIGNS... HAVING A SHARED POOL OF KNOWLEDGE AND RESOURCES IS INVALUABLE. THE EXCHANGE OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN INVALUABLE.’

Caribbean Takeaway

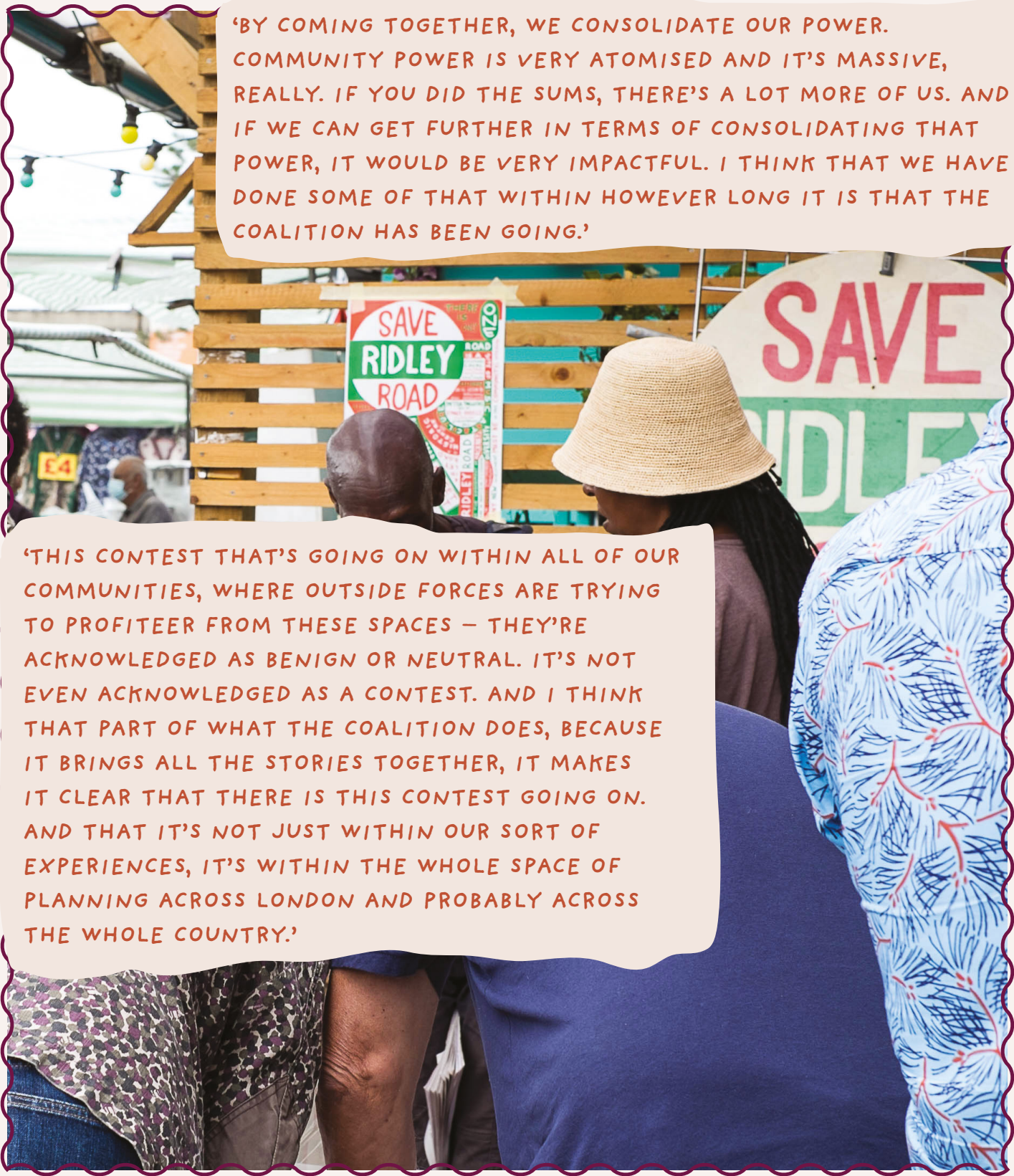
‘IT HAS BEEN HELPFUL TO HAVE THE PERSPECTIVES AND EXPERIENCES OF WHAT IS BEING DONE OR WORKING ELSEWHERE TO PUSH BACK WITHIN OUR OWN SITUATION. WITHOUT THE COALITION, WE WOULDN’T HAVE MADE THE LINKS TO PILC AND THEIR GENTRIFICATION PROJECT, WHICH HAS GIVEN US A COMMUNICATION CHANNEL THROUGH TO THE LOCAL AUTHORITY.’¹⁸

¹⁸ PILC stands for Public Interest Law Centre, <https://www.pilc.org.uk/>. You can find out about their ‘Gentrification Project’ here: <https://www.pilc.org.uk/gentrification-project/>.

The coalition has allowed us to think systemically where it was previously difficult to do so, connecting planning struggles to the systemic forces of oppression which shape it.


'I THINK THAT FORMING LINKS NOWADAYS MEANS THAT YOU EMBED YOUR HISTORY WITH OTHERS' HISTORIES. AND YOU FIND THE COMMONALITIES. I WOULD SAY THAT THE TOP THING IN TERMS OF THE COALITION IS THAT WE HAVE REALLY DISCOVERED OUR COMMONALITIES VERY QUICKLY. THEY WERE BLINDINGLY OBVIOUS BUT THAT IS PART OF GETTING POWER AND STRENGTH.'

'WHAT IS REALLY IMPORTANT ABOUT THE COALITION IS THAT IT'S ABOUT UNDERSTANDING THE POWER DYNAMICS THAT ARE INVOLVED IN THESE SORTS OF STRUGGLES. BECAUSE PLANNING ISSUES AND PLANNING STRUGGLES IN GENERAL ARE SO COMPLEX. THERE ARE SO MANY LAYERS OF REALLY ENTRENCHED POWER THAT ARE BIG AND SYSTEMIC.'




'BY COMING TOGETHER, WE CONSOLIDATE OUR POWER. COMMUNITY POWER IS VERY ATOMISED AND IT'S MASSIVE, REALLY. IF YOU DID THE SUMS, THERE'S A LOT MORE OF US. AND IF WE CAN GET FURTHER IN TERMS OF CONSOLIDATING THAT POWER, IT WOULD BE VERY IMPACTFUL. I THINK THAT WE HAVE DONE SOME OF THAT WITHIN HOWEVER LONG IT IS THAT THE COALITION HAS BEEN GOING.'

'THIS CONTEST THAT'S GOING ON WITHIN ALL OF OUR COMMUNITIES, WHERE OUTSIDE FORCES ARE TRYING TO PROFITEER FROM THESE SPACES – THEY'RE ACKNOWLEDGED AS BENIGN OR NEUTRAL. IT'S NOT EVEN ACKNOWLEDGED AS A CONTEST. AND I THINK THAT PART OF WHAT THE COALITION DOES, BECAUSE IT BRINGS ALL THE STORIES TOGETHER, IT MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THERE IS THIS CONTEST GOING ON. AND THAT IT'S NOT JUST WITHIN OUR SORT OF EXPERIENCES, IT'S WITHIN THE WHOLE SPACE OF PLANNING ACROSS LONDON AND PROBABLY ACROSS THE WHOLE COUNTRY.'



'I THINK THAT THE INDIVIDUAL WAY THAT CAMPAIGNS CAN SOMETIMES WORK STARTED TO [CHANGE] AND WE STARTED TO SEE THAT THIS IS A CITY WIDE ISSUE.'



'WITH SOME OF THE FUNDS [FROM POP] WE WERE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE THIS YEAR IN THE LAND JUSTICE FAIR AND I WAS ABLE TO GO BACK TO THE CAMPAIGN AND CAMPAIGNERS TO SAY, "LOOK, WE CAN USE THIS FUNDING TO HELP WITH WIDER AWARENESS AND GOING TO MEET OTHER CAMPAIGNS." AND WE WANT TO DO MORE OF THAT, WHERE WE ARE BUILDING STRONGER LINKS AND LOOKING AT SOLIDARITY AS A WHOLE AND SEEING THAT THERE IS SUPPORT AMONGST OTHER LONDON GROUPS.'

'I THINK IT'S ABOUT SHARED LIVED EXPERIENCES, SHARING HISTORIES, SHARING WHAT SORTS OF THINGS WORK AND WHAT THINGS DON'T WORK. [SHARING] PRACTICAL METHODOLOGIES, KNOWLEDGE. BUT ALSO GIVING EACH OTHER SOLIDARITY THAT GIVES US ALL STRENGTH AND HELPS US BUILD OUR POWER. IT'S ABOUT GIVING VOICE, BUT WITHIN THE PLANNING SYSTEM, COMMUNITIES DON'T REALLY HAVE A VOICE.'



There is widespread interest in expanding upon our work over the past several years and to create a full repository of resources for others who are threatened with displacement under a racialised planning system. To this end, our members are looking forward to:

‘SHARING RESOURCES WITH GROUPS OF PEOPLE WHO MIGHT BE FACING GENTRIFICATION. THERE ARE ALREADY MATERIALS FROM CAMPAIGNS WHO HAVE GONE THROUGH THAT AND WHO HAVE BEEN FIGHTING AGAINST IT.’

‘CONTINUING THE EXCHANGE BETWEEN DIFFERENT CAMPAIGNS.’

‘TURNING WORKSHOPS INTO MATERIALS THAT CAN BE SHARED OR ACCESSED LATER.’

Ultimately,

‘WE HAVE TO KEEP FIGHTING.’





3.0 CONCLUSION

3.1 BONUS LEARNING (LEARNING 6): COALITION SPACES NEED FUNDING

This coalition has been made possible because Latin Elephant received funding from Trust for London to bring people together and to support individual campaigns. Specifically, this funding came under the Trust's Racial Justice Fund,¹⁹ which is supporting organisations who are working towards economic empowerment of Black and racialised Londoners. As the co-ordinating organisation for POP, our experience has evidenced the importance of not only working in coalition with others with whom we share goals and visions for a more just city, but also of working with outside organisations to continue to bridge knowledge and resource gaps. For example, we were connected with Stour Trust (with whom we held a workshop series) because they too are being funded under this same initiative.

POP has also demonstrated to us that while building this type of coalition is important, there remain challenges and limitations to connecting around systemic issues. All of our communities are under threat of displacement and gentrification, and it can be challenging to think beyond our respective campaign when we are having to be reactive at the local level. Responding to the live and violent consequences of the planning process has occasionally challenged our abilities to look beyond what are truly urgent moments of campaigning. Although thinking locally and across London is important and often complimentary, it can spread us thin. Funding has substantially helped to bridge some of this time-poverty, but it cannot fully overcome the systemic disparities in access to time, resources and expertise between communities/campaigns and developers. With that said, however, we encourage other funders and those with means who are interested in

financing groups working to overcome systemic resource impoverishment to consider ways in which they might, too, support coalition work and knowledge sharing.

This is also a message to (relatively) better resourced groups to ensure there are avenues for compensating and recognising the contribution of the other groups with whom you are in coalition. We encourage others to redirect resources where they can, and to build such possibilities into any grant applications.

¹⁹ 'Funding for racial justice', Trust for London, accessed 9 February, 2026, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/funding/social-justice/racial-justice/>.

3.2 OUR NEXT STEPS

Over the next five years, we are hoping to continue building power across London, including by expanding the coalition to include more groups and building out a resource library and archive, which collates our coalition's collective knowledge and our communities' experiences. We feel strongly that a key component in our collective fight against speculative development, gentrification and displacement is supporting each other, including by sharing our successes and failures, and actively making interpersonal connections across our networks. By doing so, we hope that others, whether in London or beyond, and whether collectivising around displacement or something else, are better equipped to fight systemic injustice.

If you are a community or campaign interested in joining us, get in touch with Latin Elephant (info@latinelephant.org).



POP representatives from five member groups: Plush SE16, Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market, Latin Elephant, Friends of Queen's Market, Save Brick Lane

3.3 SOME REMAINING CONCERNS

Briefly, we want to finish with recognition of our remaining concerns, speaking to the current directions of planning in London and nationally (as of early 2026). Since October 2025, there have been two inquiries into proposed developments, in Brick Lane and in Peckahm, that would severely impact affordable retail spaces used by and serving Black, migrant and racialised communities. In these cases, we have seen developers anticipate changes to national planning policy and drafted, but not-yet-consulted upon planning guidance (i.e. the Support for Housebuilding LPG) in support of developments that residents and businesses have made clear will have disastrous impacts on their ways of life and their livelihoods.

In Elephant and Castle, we have watched as relocated shopping centre businesses face further rounds of displacement and evictions, despite long-identified failures by the developer (Delancey/Get Living/Elephant and Castle Properties Co. Limited) to sufficiently support their relocation, worsened by reluctance towards scrutiny of the s106 agreement by the London Borough of Southwark. On the other side of the city, the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham has refused to grant Asset of Community Value status to Shepherd's Bush Market, despite its essential role in sustaining community life for diverse working class communities in the area. We know from Freedom of Information Act requests that their position directly echoes the developer's own representations, which are motivated by their desire to profit from major development. In Hackney, Ridley Road traders are at risk again, this time from changes to licensing rules which traders and allies anticipate will make it more expensive for traders to run their businesses. Ultimately, we remain concerned about the intensification of systemic racialised displacement.

Gentrification, though it may manifest in specific moments of displacement (e.g., the demolition of the Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre), is often slow violence. The full consequences of planning decisions may not be fully apparent until moments when local councillors have limited power, and they have no leverage to demand more of developers. Alternatively, the extended timelines of some transformations create opportunities for those in decision making positions to walk back or alter what traders and communities have taken as assurances of a sustainable future in these spaces. This leads not only to distrust with the planning process, but has devastating and irreparable consequences. Without opportunities for greater and ongoing scrutiny, and without more substantive, anti-displacement policies and procedures put in place, the spaces that serve and support Black and minoritised communities across London will continue to be sold out in the name of developer profit.

Within this context, we continue our individual and collective work to advocate for policy and procedural changes within planning, which actively address racial inequity and systemic displacement. We support fundamental reimagining of consultation practices so that those who are already most systematically marginalised and oppressed can actively shape the spaces they rely upon and the places in which they live. Finally, we are excited as more of our campaigns and communities are pursuing new forms of community stewardship, management and even ownership of our threatened retail spaces, inspired by the journey of one of our coalition members, Wards Corner CBS, and the work of Stour Trust.

4.0 APPENDIX

**SAVE
RIDLEY
ROAD**

**HANDS OFF
OUR
MARKET**

**FIGHT
THE
TOWER**

SAVE BRICK LANE

LOVE THE ELEPHANT



POP MANIFESTO

Emerging in July 2023, Protect our Places (POP) is a coalition of nine campaigns and organisations based across London. Each of us is dedicated to preserving the vibrant essence of our beloved town centres and markets, and to protecting these diverse spaces from gentrification. London's true richness lies not in the coffers of offshore and speculative developers and investors, but in the mosaic of people, places, heritage and cultures that define us.

The markets and retail sites at the centre of our campaigns are some of our communities' important social and cultural spaces, especially for those facing ongoing and insidious marginalisation, racialisation and exclusion. They are proudly Black and racially diverse; working-class; diasporic and intergenerational. In each of these spaces, we can gather together in strength, unity and compassion.

Our work is, thus, an act of collective care and solidarity, both within our respective communities and across London. Although we face distinct challenges and contexts, we share a common goal: to develop an alternative, community-led approach to urban change in London – one which protects our town centres, markets, high streets and key community spaces from speculative development, and protects our communities from displacement, erasure and further marginalisation. Together, we strive to create a London where the voices of its communities are prioritised over those of commercial interests.

**SAVE
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APPENDIX 2: COALITION CAMPAIGNS AND CONTEXTS

LATIN ELEPHANT – ELEPHANT AND CASTLE, SOUTHWARK

Context: Elephant and Castle

Elephant and Castle, in the London Borough of Southwark, has been the centre of mass displacement resulting from a substantial, multi-phase regeneration scheme that has included the demolition of the Heygate estate and subsequent construction of unaffordable housing, and the replacement of the eponymic Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre with a large, mixed-use development.²⁰ Opened to the public in 1965, the shopping centre was the first indoor 'US-style' shopping mall in Europe. Beginning in the early 1990s, the mall became an epicentre of Latin American and other migrant-owned businesses. When Delancey (developer) filed a planning application, there were over 120 small, independent businesses (including sole traders) officially recognised as operating from inside the centre, from the outdoor market stalls (nicknamed 'the moat') surrounding it and in the immediate area (including from nearby railway arches).²¹ As we've indicated elsewhere, 'the Shopping Centre was an ecosystem operating via symbiosis', where anchor businesses, small and independent businesses and sole traders shared customers and where regular and occasional customers could purchase affordable and specialty goods and services.²²

Plans to demolish and rebuild the Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre had been proposed for many years, culminating in a planning application by Delancey/Get Living, formally submitted in 2017. Following a strong and collective campaign called 'Up the Elephant' – of which Latin Elephant was a key member – the developer agreed to relocate some of the displaced traders. This demanded the additional construction of relocation spaces,

including one temporary space (Castle Square) and a more permanent trading space in a converted garage at the unused garages of a council housing building (Elephant Arcade).²³ Traders moved into the spaces immediately following the closure of the Shopping Centre on 20th September, 2025. As is well documented in our past reports, relocation is seen by many as an ongoing process of displacement.²⁴

Black, minoritised and migrant traders and small business owners have been disproportionately impacted by the regeneration of Elephant and Castle. Our past research shows that, at the time of the closure of the Shopping Centre, over 40% of businesses in the Centre and surrounding area were female-led – higher than the average for small and medium enterprises across London.²⁵ Meanwhile, 80% of traders came from Black, Latin American or other racialised and minoritised backgrounds and spoke 26 different languages. Traders from these backgrounds continue to disproportionately bear the brunt of regeneration and displacement in the area. About 38 businesses were relocated immediately to retail units provided as part of the Elephant and Castle regeneration project. However, over the last five years, seventeen of these relocated traders have been forced out.²⁶ Two additional, independent

20 London Borough of Southwark, 'The London Borough of Southwark (Elephant and Castle No.1) Compulsory Purchase Order 2012: Statement of Reasons', 2012, <https://www.35percent.org/img/SoR.pdf>; See also, 'A vision for the future', Elephant and Castle Town Centre, accessed 11 February, 2026, <https://elephantandcastletowncentre.co.uk/looking-to-the-future/>.

21 petit elephant and Santiago Peluffo Soneyra, 'petit elephant Map', 17 April 2019, <https://latinelephant.org/map/>.

22 Latin Elephant, Migrant and Ethnic Economies in Times of Crisis: Displacement, Brexit, COVID and Cost of Living (2022), 6. <https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Migrant-Economies-in-time-of-crisis-LE.pdf>

23 Latin Elephant, Supporting Migrant and Ethnic Economies through Regeneration in London, (2021), <https://latinelephant.org/publications/>.

24 Latin Elephant, Migrant and Ethnic Economies in Times of Crisis: Latin Elephant, Relocation Impact Assessment (2025), <https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Relocation-Impact-Assessment-Current-State-of-Play-for-Elephant-Castle-Traders-by-Latin-Elephant.pdf>

25 Román-Velázquez & Hill, Case for London's Latin Quarter, 18.

26 We use the 'terminology' forced out, following traders' own accounts. Some traders have been forcibly evicted due to arrears following years of poor footfall and mismanagement of the relocation process and sites; other traders have chosen to leave, after finding business nearly non-existent and the new sites were not fit-for-purpose. Ten relocated, Black and minoritised traders were further displaced from Elephant Arcade between September 2020 and September 2025. Five of these traders were evicted in 2025, alongside three additional traders who moved into units previously vacated by former Shopping Centre traders. This occurred following a decision by Southwark Council and the selected intermediary management company (Meanwhile Space) to shut down most of the relocation site, and offer it up for alternative community use. As of February 2026, the expected tenants will no longer take on the space, and the units remain empty. Nine relocated, Black and minoritised traders were further displaced from Castle Square between September 2020 and September 2025. One trader left during the first year of trading in the relocation space, three more were evicted in late 2024 and one trader was evicted in August 2025. Four more traders were evicted in October 2025 following a denial of their lease renewal and their conversion to 'tenants at will'. As of November 2025 and following a big campaigning push, two of these four traders have been able to return to their units.

businesses – some of the largest operating within the Shopping Centre, and both owned by Black and minoritised business owners – were promised relocation but was never successfully accomplished.

Between 2010 and 2016, Elephant and Castle experienced some of the highest levels of population churn and displacement: 72% of households in the Southwark 014F Lower Super Output Area (LSOA) changed residency over this period.²⁷ As of 2025, Elephant and Castle is surrounded by some of the most deprived LSOAs in London.²⁸ 40% of children in Southwark are formerly considered to be in poverty, and it has some of the worst median income deprivation of all the boroughs in London.²⁹

²⁷ Adam Almeida, Pushed to the Margins: A Quantitative Analysis of Gentrification in London in the 2010s (The Runnymede Trust, 2021), 12. https://cdn.prod.website-files.com/61488f992b58e687f1108c7c/61d6fc536143d6219ea19fa4_Pushed-to-the-Margins-Gentrification-Report-min.pdf. It is challenging to identify which residents have been most impacted by regeneration in Elephant and Castle, although we know that the customers seeking the culturally-specific goods and services in the area have been most impacted. This is largely because the area has undergone significant change since its regeneration was first proposed, and this has significantly skewed the demographics of the area. The first phase of the regeneration process in this neighbourhood included the total demolition and near total displacement of over 3,000 residents from the Heygate Estate. Residents from the nearby Aylesbury Estate, whose residents were also Shopping Centre traders' customers, have also been largely expelled from the area. According to the Pushed to the Margins report, Southwark has been found to have 'gentrified the most' during 2010-2016. This means that Census 2021 data does not accurately reflect which residential communities have most impacted by the retail gentrification in Elephant and Castle. This is only compounded by a lack of 'Latin American' or related identifiers in the national census.

²⁸ 'English Index of Multiple Deprivation, rebased for London (2025); Living standards and poverty, Trust for London, accessed 4 February 2026, https://trustforlondon.org.uk/data/topics/living-standards/?gad_source=1&gad_campaignid=18338778433&gbraid=0AAAAADPdc5lcaHw76snZsbq7KJ0N4VoRI&gclid=CjwKCAiAlrXJBhBAEiWA-5pgwuUcibUQ46FTrY8Gz3MB7ZFIN_7TZ5TMNss8MNGZb4Ev7QJ-4hc4JBoCyNcQAvD_BwE&tab=index-multiple-deprivation-2019-rebased-london.

²⁹ 'Southwark', London's Poverty Profile, Trust for London, accessed 4 February 2026, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/data/boroughs/southwark-poverty-and-inequality-indicators/>.



Figure 4.1

Signs in protest of trader evictions from Castle Square, October 2025 © Latin Elephant

Campaign/Group: Latin Elephant

Emerging from a blog of the same name, Latin Elephant became a registered CIO in 2014.³⁰ Over the last eleven years, Latin Elephant has directly supported local Black, Latin American and other migrant and minoritised traders and community members to engage in processes of urban change in Elephant and Castle and beyond. Through its research and policy work, business support and community engagement, the organisation is calling attention to racialisation within the planning process and is actively contesting ongoing displacement in Elephant and Castle, in Southwark, and across London.

Informed by its engagement with local traders, Latin Elephant has developed both locally-specific and general planning expertise as evidenced by the organisation's objections to Delancey's planning applications for Elephant and Castle Town Centre and LCC Campus,³¹ and to the Elephant and Castle CPO,³² by its objections, comments on and contributions to Elephant and Castle trader support and relocation strategy,³³ in its feedback to consultations on the New Southwark Plan,³⁴ in its feedback to the London

Plan;³⁵ in its response to the Wards Corner CPO;³⁶ and in its response to the London Enterprise Panel on Economic Development.³⁷

It has supported traders beyond Elephant and Castle, including by contributing research findings and lessons learned to support traders impacted by two Berkeley Homes proposed developments elsewhere in the borough.³⁸ In late October 2025, the organisation participated in the Public Inquiry about the proposed Aylesham Centre redevelopment in Peckham, sharing its lived knowledge experience to speak about the inadequacy of proposed trader relocation. The organisation remains actively involved in borough-wide networks, including SHAPE, Southwark Planning Network, Southwark Law Centre's Planning Voice, Southwark Latin American Network (SLAN) and the Burgess Park BBQs working group.

Additionally, Latin Elephant has also participated in panels hosted by the GLA Planning Committee, including on the Mayor's call in process (November 2021), on what London needs from the upcoming review of the London Plan and from the wider planning system (September 2022) and on the importance of social value in planning (October 2024).

Latin Elephant coordinates Protect Our Places.

30 Latin Elephant, <https://latinelephant.org/>. Unless otherwise noted, all information about Latin Elephant comes from the organisation's website or from the author's lived experience.

31 Latin Elephant, 'Objection to Planning Application: Elephant and Castle Town Centre and LCC Campus at the EC (ref: 16/AP/4458)', 2017, https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/LE-Objection-to-Planning-Application-16_AP_4458.pdf; Latin Elephant, 'Objection to Elephant and Castle Town Centre Application (16/AP/4458)', 2018, <https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/2018-03-09-LE-Objection-Deferred-Appl.pdf>.

32 Latin Elephant and Southwark Law Centre, 'The London Borough of Southwark (Elephant and Castle Town Centre) Compulsory Purchase Order (No. 2) 2023: Statement of Case Latin Elephant', 2024, <https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/Arches-CPO-Latin-Elephant-Statement-of-Case-17.07.24.docx.pdf>.

33 UCL Development Planning Unit and Latin Elephant, Participatory workshop in the context of the Elephant and Castle Town Centre Regeneration plan, 2016, https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Relocation%20Alternatives-EC%20Report_-_April2016-lowres.pdf; Latin Elephant, 'Objection to Draft Local Business Support & Relocation Strategy Update In support of Application Elephant and Castle Town Centre and LCC Campus at the EC (ref: 16/AP/4458)', 2017, <https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/2017-11-25-LE-comments-on-Relocation-Strategy-Update.pdf>; Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre traders and Latin Elephant, 'Traders' comments on Delancey's proposal for relocation', 2017, <https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/2017-11-28-Traders-Response-with-Signatures.pdf>; Latin Elephant and Up the Elephant, Elephant and Castle Trader Relocation Proposal, 2020, <https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Elephant-and-Castle-Trader-Reloaction-Proposal-Aug2020-2.pdf>.

34 Latin Elephant, 'Latin Elephant's Feedback to New Southwark Plan Preferred Options Consultation', 2016, <https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Latin-Elephant-Response-Evidence-Preferred-Options-Low-Res.pdf>; Latin Elephant, 'Latin Elephant's Feedback New Southwark Plan Preferred Options Consultation & Area Vision for Elephant and Castle', 2016, https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Proposed-modification-to-NSP-SP-and-DM-30_11_2016.pdf.

35 'Latin Elephant Gains Change in London Plan 2015', Latin Elephant, 2015, <https://latinelephant.org/latin-elephant-gains-change-in-london-plan-2015/>; Patria Román-Velázquez, 'Latin Elephant's Feedback to "A city for all Londoners"', Latin Elephant, 2016, <https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Latin-Elephants-Response-to-A-city-for-all-Londoners-Dec-2016.pdf>; Latin Elephant, 'Submission of Evidence to the GLA London Plan Programme', 2022, https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/2022-Latin-Elephant_Evidence-for-GLA-London-Plan-Program.pdf.

36 Latin Elephant, 'Latin Elephant's Response to Seven Sisters CPO/Wards Corner Regeneration Project', 2016, <https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/2018-01-16-Plannig-Commmittee-Objection-LE.pdf>.

37 Latin Elephant, 'Latin Elephant's Response to Emerging themes and actions: LEP's economic development plan for London', (2014), https://latinelephant.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/LEP_EmergingThemesSubmission_LatinElephant_FINAL-WEB.pdf.

38 Borough Triangle (Mercato Metropolitan) and Aylesham Centre, Peckham.

Context: Brixton Market and the surrounding area

Brixton sits at the centre of the London Borough of Lambeth. It has a well-established African-Caribbean diasporic community, as well as large Portuguese and Latino communities, and a long history of grassroots activism, DIY culture and a thriving arts and music scene.³⁹ Brixton has, over the last half century, shaped a broader discussion of racialisation, identity, and urban change in London and the UK, and it is widely considered the crucible and capital of Black British culture.⁴⁰

Brixton Market includes both an interconnected network of street markets and three indoor shopping arcades: Reliance Arcade and what is now called 'Brixton Village' (formerly, Granville Arcade and Market Row).⁴¹ Despite being predominantly privately-owned since emerging in the late 19th century, the market has long served the local community, and has historically drawn visitors from across London.

The area surrounding Brixton market includes some of the most deprived LSOAs in London including Lambeth 011B, 011A and 011C (all in the most deprived quintile),⁴² as well as Lambeth 011E, 011F and 018C (second most deprived quintile). It provides an essential source for affordable, nutritious food and space for local community and culture, despite ongoing attempts to constrain its ability to do so. Recent data published suggests that Lambeth has a nearly 40% childhood poverty rate, although this data masks an astounding loss of young people across

39 'The history of Brixton', BLAM UK, <https://blamuk.org/2022/09/01/the-history-of-brixton/>; 'Latin American identity and belonging in a gentrifying London', CLAUk, accessed 18 February 2026, 'Our history', About us, IRMO, accessed 18 February 2026, <https://irmo.org.uk/about-us/#history>; <https://clauk.org.uk/latin-american-identity-and-belonging-in-a-gentrifying-london/>; Maria-Joao Melo Nogueira, David Porteous and Sandra Guerreiro, 'The Portuguese-speaking Community in Lambeth: A Scoping Study', https://repository.mdx.ac.uk/download/5d5991c1b-67c39a58ce0c35ff4168371687eae17b58c3fbab26a7b61c6b84743/1099201/The%20Portuguese%20speaking%20Community%20in%20Lambeth%20A%20Scoping%20Study_dataprotectedversion.pdf.

40 BLAM, 'History of Brixton'.

41 Yasmin Rufo, 'Brixton village: How the 'Oxford Street of South London' evolved', BBC, 30 October 2023, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-67161026>.

42 Trust for London, 'English IMD, rebased for London'.

the borough.⁴³ The borough has seen one of the most significant drops in school applications of any borough,⁴⁴ a phenomenon in London which is widely understood as connected to places becoming increasingly unaffordable due to and further facilitating gentrification.⁴⁵ This comes as no surprise looking at past findings: according to a Runnymede report, Lambeth saw the fourth highest rates of gentrification between 2010 and 2016,⁴⁶ with rates of gentrification considered higher than average across most LSOAs in the borough.⁴⁷ Many schools across Lambeth have either amalgamated or shut their doors entirely, and a number of former school buildings nearby are becoming dangerously derelict.⁴⁸

Lambeth currently has the tenth highest rough sleeping counts (by outreach workers) in London.⁴⁹ Median rent is, on average, over half of median pay.⁵⁰ As of 1 January 2026, Lambeth claims there are 28,500 people on the borough's housing registrar.⁵¹

43 'Lambeth', London's Poverty Profile, Trust for London, accessed 18 February 2026, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/data/boroughs/lambeth-poverty-and-inequality-indicators/?tab=housing-and-homelessness>.

44 Trust for London, 'Lambeth'.

45 Anna Minton, 'A new kind of gentrification is spreading through London – and emptying out schools', The Guardian, 26 May 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2025/may/26/placemaking-gentrification-london-luxury-apartments-expensive-restaurants-schools>.

46 Almeida, Pushed to the Margins, 10.

47 Almeida, Pushed to the Margins, 48.

48 Katy Morton, 'Future of three maintained nursery schools in Lambeth at risk', Nursery World, 19 February 2026, <https://www.nurseryworld.co.uk/content/news/future-of-three-maintained-nursery-schools-in-lambeth-at-risk>; Jacob Phillips, 'Three south London schools saved from closure by government watchdog', The London Standard, 22 July 2025, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/south-london-schools-saved-closure-lambeth-bl239320.html>.

49 Trust for London, 'Lambeth'.

50 Trust for London, 'Lambeth'.

51 'Apply for a council or housing association home', London Borough of Lambeth, accessed 18 February 2026, <https://www.lambeth.gov.uk/housing/finding-home/council-housing-association-homes/apply-council-or-housing-association-home>.

Campaign: Fight the Tower/Save International House

The Fight the Tower campaign emerged in 2020 to fight back against the ‘monopolisation’ of Brixton by an American property developer (Hondo).⁵² Campaigners came together to protect local businesses, centre local health and livelihoods, and fight for the nearly 8,000 residents whose objections had been ignored in favour of facilitating private profit and land speculation.⁵³ Originally called Save Nour, after a cash and carry in the market that was facing eviction, the campaign successfully resisted this eviction, and then successfully contested Hondo’s proposed plans for a 20-storey office block adjacent to the market.

Brixton has been under attack by developers for the past 30 years, due to its location in Zone 2, its position on the Victoria Line and its history of Black political activism and squatting.⁵⁴ Over the past few decades, rents have, on average, only increased.⁵⁵ The borough’s pro-development stance is intrinsically financially-focused,⁵⁶ and LB Lambeth has been recognised for its coercive and ‘closed door’ decision making in the face of community dissent.⁵⁷ The Fight The Tower campaign has proved that there is a way to resist and stop this devastation. Local Brixtonians are not inherently against development, or the improvement of their streets and safety; however, they have made clear that the ways in which Lambeth and developers are going about urban

transformation in the borough is untenable, and will leave most residents, including the boroughs long standing Black and diverse working class communities, behind.

52 ‘Save Nour Campaign in Brixton Market’, Brixton Gentrification Struggles 1993-2021: A Timeline, accessed 18 February 2026, <https://brixton-timeline.maydayrooms.org/#save-nour>.

53 Save Nour, <https://www.savenour.com/>. Unless otherwise cited, all information in this section comes from this webpage or from campaign representatives in discussion with the author.

54 Brixton Gentrification Struggles, 1993-2021: A Timeline, accessed 18 February 2026, <https://brixton-timeline.maydayrooms.org/>.

55 ‘Housing prices in Lambeth’, Office for National Statistics, 18 February 2026, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/visualisations/housingpriceslocal/E09000022/>.

56 See Cllr Claire Holland, Leader of Lambeth and Chair of London Councils, speaking to Oli Lowrie and Jon Ackroyd, hosts of the ‘Urban Forecast Podcast’, 23 June 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UznEV9fWYS0>.

57 Joe Penny, ‘Between coercion and consent: the politics of “Cooperative Governance” at a time of “Austerity Localism” in London’, *Urban Geography* 38, no. 9 (2017), 1352-1373, https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/1532747/1/Penny_Between_coercion_consent.pdf.



Figure 4.3

Rally in Brixton © Fight the Tower/Save International House

Context: Catford Town Centre

Catford Town Centre is located in the London Borough of Lewisham, along the South Circular Road. The proposed scheme will likely include the mass decanting of communities and the demolition of homes, as well as the bulldozing of the places and spaces that meet their economic, social and cultural needs.⁵⁸ This includes Milford Towers which houses more than 200 residents, as well as Catford Broadway shops including Tesco, Iceland, and the Black Cat pub. Only one building – the Broadway Theatre – appears to be protected.⁵⁹

Lewisham has become a hotbed of ‘regeneration’ in the last several years, in part because of the considerable concentration of land within the borough that has been designated as part of an Opportunity Area. There are currently two active Opportunity Areas within the borough: New Cross/Lewisham/Catford and Deptford Creek/Greenwich Riverside. The former is linked to desired transportation developments in London, and in particular to the Bakerloo Line extension.

Catford’s proximity to the South Circular Road means that residents disproportionately suffer air pollution, causing lung and respiratory issues including asthma, and even leading to avoidable death.⁶⁰ According to Trust for London, the town centre is also located in one of the LSOAs (Lewisham 020B) with some of the highest Health Deprivation in London.⁶¹ This data also shows that this LSOA falls within the highest quintile of multiple deprivation generally, and many of the surrounding LSOAs are also in the most or second most deprived quintiles of London LSOAs.⁶²

Campaign/Group: Catford Against Social Cleansing

Catford Against Social Cleansing is a campaign group made up of local residents who are concerned about the gentrification and social cleansing of their area from the regeneration of Catford Town Centre.⁶³ The campaign aims to highlight how the proposed development does not serve local needs, and they are instead demanding that Lewisham Council build more social rented homes that do not come at the expense of the environment. This stands in stark relief to some of the proposed 20-storey buildings in the current plans.

In particular, Catford Against Social Cleansing demands that:

1. A minimum of 50% of any units built are designated as Social Rent homes.
2. Public land is used for public benefit, not private profit.
3. There are ballots for any regeneration scheme, and that every effort is made to ensure they are accessible, fair and transparent, plus that there are avenues for scrutiny and monitoring of the ballot process.
4. Buildings will be environmentally friendly and that no tower blocks are taller than 10 storeys.

58 ‘Stop the Social Cleansing of Catford’, Catford Against Social Cleansing (Change.org petition, 2022), <https://www.change.org/p/lewisham-council-stop-the-social-cleansing-of-catford>.

59 ‘Stop the Social Cleansing of Catford’.

60 Pius Bentgens, ‘Air quality around South Circular asthma death site in Lewisham “improving”’, East London Lines, 13 December 2023, <https://www.eastlondonlines.co.uk/2023/12/air-quality-around-south-circular-asthma-death-site-in-lewisham-improving/>.

61 Trust for London, ‘English IMD, rebased for London’.

62 Trust for London, ‘English IMD, rebased for London’.

63 ‘Stop the Social Cleansing of Catford’. Unless otherwise cited, all information about the campaign comes from this web page, and has been approved by the Catford Against Social Cleansing’s coalition representatives.



Figure 4.2

Community organising © Catford Against Social Cleansing

Context: Upton Park and Queen's Market

Queen's Market is a publicly-owned, traditional retail market located in Upton Park, London Borough of Newham.⁶⁴ It has been in its current location for over 120 years, after moving from the nearby high street, Green Street. For this reason, it has sometimes been called 'Green Street Market'. Queen's Market has continuously adapted to meet the needs of the many communities who have called London, and Newham in particular, their home. Queen's Market serves many important roles for the local community, providing nutritious, affordable, and culturally-appropriate food; jobs; and an important social space for many Londoners.⁶⁵

This is especially important in a borough that is facing as many challenges as Newham. Newham has some of the worst poverty in London, with one of the highest childhood poverty rates (45%) and some of the highest overall poverty (39%).⁶⁶ Newham residents are particularly vulnerable to loss of housing and homelessness, with the highest number of repossessions and evictions per 1,000 people of any borough and the highest proportion of households in temporary accommodation (56.5 households for every 1,000).⁶⁷ The boroughs with the next worst temporary accommodation situation have around half that (Westminster and Southwark).

Newham is one of the most deprived boroughs in London, and the LSOAs including and surrounding the market are in the highest and second highest quintiles.⁶⁸

The borough's employment and worklessness situation is similarly upsetting. The borough has

the highest unemployment rate of any other borough in London (7.9%).⁶⁹ Nearly a quarter of the borough's residents work in 'low paid' jobs, and are thus especially reliant on affordable retail like Queen's Market to feed their families and meet their other needs. The market acts as a lifeline for many.

Campaign/group: Friends of Queen's Market

Friends of Queen's Market was formed in 2003 in direct opposition to development pressures impacting Queen's Market in Upton Park, London Borough of Newham. After seeing an advertisement in the local paper presenting the market as a 'redevelopment opportunity, local shoppers, traders and other community members joined together to protect the market. Their goal is clear: 'to ensure the market stays under public control and continues to serve Newham's diverse communities first and foremost, and not the profits of already rich private developers'.⁷⁰

As the longest-standing, continuous campaign group or organisation in the coalition, Friends of Queen's Market brings invaluable knowledge and experience.

64 Friends of Queen's Market, <https://friendsofqueensmarket.org.uk/>. Unless otherwise noted, all information about Latin Elephant comes from the organisation's website or from POP representatives' lived experience.

65 Friends of Queen's Market; Nick Dines, 'The Experience of Diversity in an Era of Urban Regeneration: The Case of Queens Market, East London', EURODIV Working Paper 48. Milan: Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM). <https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/3743618>.

66 'Poverty rates by London Borough', London's Poverty Profile, Trust for London, June 2025, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/data/poverty-borough/>.

67 Trust for London, 'Poverty Rates by London Borough'.

68 Trust for London, 'English IMD, rebased for London'.

69 'Newham', London's Poverty Profile, Trust for London, accessed 10 February 2026, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/data/boroughs/newham-poverty-and-inequality-indicators/?tab=work-worklessness-and-benefits>.

70 Friends of Queen's Market.



Figure 4.4

Friends of Queen's Market © Friends of Queen's Market

FRIENDS OF SHEPHERD'S BUSH MARKET – SHEPHERD'S BUSH, HAMMERSMITH & FULHAM

Context: Shepherd's Bush Market (and Shepherd's Bush)

Shepherd's Bush Market is a 'traditional retail market'⁷¹ in the Shepherd's Bush neighbourhood of Hammersmith & Fulham in West London. It officially opened in 1914, although traders have been operating since even earlier.⁷²

The market first came under threat of redevelopment in the early 2010s, when Orion Land and Leisure was granted outline planning permission to redevelop the market with 200 luxury flats.⁷³ The London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham (LBHF) used a CPO to facilitate land transfer.⁷⁴ Although traders asked for repairs, security of tenure and rent caps, the developer stated that it was 'there to make a profit'.⁷⁵ In 2014, Transport for London took part in an additional land sale to developer Orion.⁷⁶ The market traders brought a legal challenge against the CPO, resulting in a four-year legal battle. The traders were successful at the Court of Appeals in 2016.⁷⁷

In 2020, Yoo Capital became the majority owner of Shepherd's Bush Market and the surrounding site. They proposed a similarly disruptive plan, which included a nine-storey commercial building. Despite significant community resistance,

the proposed plans were approved by LBHF in December 2023, in a 3:2 Yes vote.⁷⁸ The plans were referred to the Mayor of London, who ignored community and trader concerns and refused to intervene despite having the power to do so. While the campaign launched a legal challenge with the help of PILC – introduced through the campaign's involvement in POP – there were no strong grounds to seek judicial review.

There is a stipulation to planning approval, however, that 60% of 'legacy traders' sign new leases before the developer can break ground. This means that traders still have power over whether this development goes ahead.

In September 2025, Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market submitted an application for the market to be listed as an asset of community value. This application was rejected by LBHF, who argued that the application fails to demonstrate how the market is 'considered to be "social interests" and not standard retail',⁷⁹ despite the recently published GLA Social Value report and supplementary evidence produced in three reports from the 2025 Bartlett School of Planning Participatory Urban Planning Project.

71 Sara Gonzales and Paul Waley, 'Traditional Retail Markets: The New Gentrification Frontier?', *Antipode* 45, no. 4, (2013), <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.01040.x>.

72 'Historical Black landmarks in H&F', Celebrating H&F, London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham, accessed 10 February, 2026. <https://www.lbhf.gov.uk/celebrating-hf/celebrating-our-history/black-history-365/historical-black-landmarks-hf>.

73 Unless otherwise cited, all information in this section comes from a Friends of Shepherd Bush Market presentation at a FoSBM General Meeting on 12 April 2025, or from POP representatives in discussion with the author.

74 'Decision details: Shepherds Bush Market regeneration – Compulsory Purchase Order', London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham, 17 October 2012, <https://democracy.lbhf.gov.uk/ieDecisionDetails.aspx?id=1641>.

75 London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham Planning Applications Committee Meeting, 11 January 2012, <https://democracy.lbhf.gov.uk/documents/g1957/Public%20reports%20pack,%2008th-Feb-2012%2019.00,%20Planning%20Applications%20Committee.pdf?T=10>.

76 'TfL, Shepherd's Bush Market & business rents', Mayor's Question Time, London Assembly, 25 September 2021, <https://www.london.gov.uk/who-we-are/what-london-assembly-does/questions-mayor/find-an-answer/tfl-shepherds-bush-market-business-rents>.

77 *Horada & Ors v Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government & Ors* [2016] EWCA Civ 169 (EWCA (Civ) 18 March 2016), <https://www.baillii.org/ew/cases/EWCA/Civ/2016/169.html>.

78 Ben Lynch, 'Shepherd's Bush Market to be redeveloped with new homes, stalls and a 9-storey building', MyLondon, 20 December 2023, <https://www.mylondon.news/news/west-london-news/shepherds-bush-market-redevelopment-approved-28323824>.

79 London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham in communication with Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market, in response to the group's application for Asset of Community Value status for Shepherd's Bush Market, 2025. This correspondence was shared with the author.



Figure 4.5

Fruit for sale at Shepherd's Bush Market © Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market

Campaign/Group: Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market

Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market is a community campaign that has brought together traders, community members and allies to oppose gentrifying development that would price out and displace traders, erode traders' legal rights and damage the market's unique, multicultural and working class nature.⁸⁰

Despite years of campaigning by traders and community members to protect Shepherd's Bush Market from previous developer Orion, the struggle has continued with new developers Yoo Capital. Members of West London Resistance Collective – an abolitionist group addressing state violence through locally-centred practices, anti-raids work and responses to border regime violence, gentrification and displacement – hoped to strengthen the campaign to protect the market. Their focus has been on advancing core demands shared by traders and local community members, while building solidarity between these groups. The creation of Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market was established to address the urgency of this new context, while building on the existing history of organising in the market.

Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market brings together traders, community members and market users who are concerned about the future of the market and much relied upon local traders. They are concerned about the affordability of future rent levels for traders, the security of their leases, the loss of the market's culture, the loss of the diversity of the traders, a failure to secure much needed council and social rent homes, and a glaring lack of transparency and communication

by the developers and local authority. Friends of Shepherd's Bush Market has always highlighted the intersection between planned displacement and ongoing processes of racialisation and exclusion in London.

⁸⁰ Unless otherwise cited, all information in this section comes from a Friends of Shepherd Bush Market presentation at a FoSBM General Meeting on 12 April 2025, or from POP representatives in discussion with the author.

Context: Brick Lane

Brick Lane is a historical street in the 'East End' of Tower Hamlets, near the border with the City of London. It falls within the City Fringe Opportunity Area. Brick Lane and its neighbouring streets constitute the area of 'Spitalfields' and Banglatown, home to a large Bengali population. Once the home of the Jewish 'rag trade' in London, this area has become a centre of the Bengali community in London from the 1970s onwards.⁸¹

There are a diverse range of independent eateries and shops: local, multi-generational curry house, cash and carry's and leather goods stores employing local residents continue to trade alongside new, independent boutiques.

Save Brick Lane has estimated that in 2021, approximately 90% of the businesses along the street were 'independently-owned', which the campaign interprets as when one can walk in and ask to speak to the owner.⁸² They are very concerned that these shops and restaurants will not survive the developments proposed by the Truman Brewery: subsequent increases in rent will force them out and customers from the to-be-built luxury developments will not shop from them.

The burden of these developments will disproportionately be borne by local working class communities, including the Bengali community, whose economic livelihoods, social networks and cultural reproduction depends, in part, upon Brick Lane's thriving independent businesses.

Tower Hamlets is an incredibly diverse but also very unequal borough. According to Trust for London's research,⁸³ the borough has the third highest poverty rate (40%) and the worst

childhood poverty rate (47%) and income deprivation amongst all the 32 boroughs and the City of London. According to ONS data, Tower Hamlets is the most densely populated local authority in the UK,⁸⁴ and is expected to have the fastest population growth between 2022 and 2032.⁸⁵ The borough has the highest concentration of those identifying as (British) Bangladeshi within London and, according to Census 2021, the highest rate of self-identification as such anywhere in London (34.7%).⁸⁶ The (British) Bangladeshi community is disproportionately impoverished, with 62% of Bangladeshi Londoners living in poverty.⁸⁷ The threat to local retail will compound these inequalities; and the resulting gentrification, displacement and loss of economic and cultural spaces along Brick Lane will have devastating consequences for this community.

In recent months, Truman Brewery has submitted three further applications for other sites around Brick Lane, comprising principally offices and a data centre.⁸⁸ These applications would be in violation of the new Local plan, which calls for housing-led development, but were submitted before it went into effect. Save Brick Lane and the local community have been very vocal in their opposition.⁸⁹ The campaign group petitioned the local authority, Tower Hamlets Council, to object to the Truman Brewery Plans. Instead of

81 Meena Venkataraman, "A Safe Haven": Huguenots, Jews, and Bangladeshis in Brick Lane, London', Public Books, 17 April 2025, <https://www.publicbooks.org/a-safe-haven-huguenots-jews-and-bangladeshis-in-brick-lane-london/>.

82 POP representative in discussion with the author, 20 August 2025.

83 'Tower Hamlets', Trust for London, accessed 10 February 2026, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/data/boroughs/tower-hamlets-poverty-and-inequality-indicators/?tab=poverty-and-living-standards/>

84 'Local Indicators for Tower Hamlets; Office for National Statistics, accessed 13 April 2026, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/explore-local-statistics/areas/E09000030-tower-hamlets/indicators>

85 'Sub-national population projections for England: 2022-based', Office for National Statistics, accessed 13 April 2026, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationprojections/bulletins/subnationalpopulationprojectionsforengland/2022based>

86 Marc Brazzill, 'Census 2021 deep dive: ethnicity and deprivation in London', Trust for London, 26 July 2023, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/news/census-2021-deep-dive-ethnicity-and-deprivation-in-london/?tab=british-bangladeshi>.

87 'Poverty and Ethnicity', Trust for London, accessed 10 February 2026, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/data/poverty-and-ethnicity/>.

88 Josh Gabert-Doyon and Amy Borrett, 'Data centre plan provokes anger over future of former Truman Brewery', Financial Times, 7 January 2026, https://www.ft.com/content/836e66f9-ba71-41f0-988a-61350f433c23?accessToken=zWAAAZu_ycDkdODbmb5unFB8NOYimEID0M8lw.MEUCIC4WbyBlrKpA73d46KLtjsHZa49agY5Ow-WdtTiv90JQIAIEArGvYiUjqEtGeTgfeaSj-UlIt4ZSOlBkqCA6Huk2OVA&segmentid=e95a9ae7-622c-6235-5f87-51e412b47e97&shareType=enterprise&shareId=a7390fbf-3ec2-4098-9a6b-5abe3461e4a1.

89 'Save Brick Lane, 'Press Release: Secretary of State Steps In: Truman Brewery Inquiry Called In Mid-Hearing', 14 November 2025, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1rU5QnW9iGjDRS-jxxU8LnLa5cOdxHeKwA/view>.

respecting local democracy, Truman Brewery made a pre-emptive appeal directly to the Planning Inspectorate for a public inquiry, taking decision-making powers away from elected councillors in the local authority, and ignoring local communities' needs. The decision now rests with the Secretary of State, Steve Reed.

Campaign/group: Save Brick Lane

Save Brick Lane is a coalition of several local groups, who have been contesting the redevelopment of large areas along Brick Lane by the Truman Brewery.⁹⁰ Since it was launched in 2020, the campaign has been highlighting the devastating consequences that such development will have on local communities, and specifically on the diasporic Bengali community which lives around Brick Lane and within Tower Hamlets generally.⁹¹

Their campaign emerged following the Truman Brewery's application to build a shopping mall in the midst of the many independent businesses lining the street, including historic Bengali businesses. This application threatened significant harm to the local character and had distinctly and disproportionate racialised consequences, including displacement. Despite mobilising more than 7,000 letters of objection, two councillors approved the planning application during a Planning committee meeting with only three councillors present.⁹² Concerns relating to the legality of this decision spurred the campaign's push for judicial review. The case went all the way to the Supreme Court.

The campaign has actively supported the London Borough of Tower Hamlets to produce a Master Plan for the site, which is more reflective

of community interests. This plan prioritises community needs: genuinely affordable homes and workspaces.

90 Save Brick Lane, <https://sites.google.com/view/savebricklane>.

91 'The Battle for Brick Lane', The Spitalfields Trust, accessed 10 February 2026, <https://battleforbricklane.com/>

92 'Save Brick Lane - timeline of consultation activities 2020-2025', Save Brick Lane, accessed 10 February 2026, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1CCAhApUMUtr17ujke-bl5xdXP8AOpQG/view>.



Figure 4.7

Save Brick Lane signs © Sarah Ainslie

Context: Surrey Quays

Surrey Quays sits in the north-east corner of the London Borough of Southwark, bordering Lewisham. The PLUSHSE16 site was located within LSOA Southwark 007E, which falls within the second most deprived quintile in London and is surrounded by areas ranked in the first and second most deprived quintile.⁹³

While Southwark is no longer classified overall as one of London's most deprived boroughs, this shift does not necessarily reflect equitable improvement in living conditions. Instead, it is widely understood as a consequence of displacement, the influx of higher-income residents, and the growth of luxury developments that long-standing communities cannot afford. Research from the Runnymede Trust identifies Canada Water and Surrey Quays as areas that experienced significant gentrification between 2010 and 2016.⁹⁴ Southwark continues to experience some of the highest levels of in-work poverty in London, and approximately 40% of children in the borough are considered to be living in poverty.

Within this context, PLUSHSE16 emerged as a rare and vital community anchor. It functioned as a cultural and social hub for Black and racialised communities across Southwark, Lewisham, and beyond, in an area where there is a clear shortage of culturally relevant and community-serving spaces. Its loss continues to be deeply felt by those who relied on this space for over 20 years.

Community Campaign: PLUSHSE16/HUBSE16

PLUSHSE16 (also known as HUBSE16) brought together five Black-owned businesses: a barbershop, a hand car wash, a Caribbean takeaway, a youth music studio, and a salon.⁹⁵ Collectively, these businesses served the SE16 community for over 20 years, providing employment, mentorship, informal social support, and culturally rooted services.

PLUSHSE16 was forcibly displaced by a private landlord seeking to redevelop the site for predominantly unaffordable housing. Despite local planning policies requiring relocation strategies for displaced businesses,⁹⁶ the developer declined to deliver a meaningful strategy. Southwark Council ultimately refused full planning permission in part due to the failure to secure relocation.

Although the businesses have been displaced and remain in limbo regarding relocation, the PLUSHSE16 collective continues to advocate for communities facing similar pressures across London. Through the #NoPriceOnCulture campaign,⁹⁷ PLUSHSE16 challenges forms of regeneration that erase culture, displace local economies, and undervalue community spaces. These spaces are not merely commercial units; they are sites of belonging, cultural continuity, and everyday social infrastructure.

93 Trust for London, 'English IMD, rebased for London'.

94 Almeida, *Pushed to the Margins*, II.

95 Plush SE16, <https://www.plushse16.com/>. Unless otherwise cited, all information in this section comes from the PlushSE16 website.

96 See Southwark Plan 22 P32 and P33 (161-163).

97 #NoPriceOnCulture, <https://www.nopriceonculture.com/>.



Figure 4.6

PlushSE16 Barbershop © Carmen Gowie Clinkett

Context: Deptford

Deptford High Street is a vibrant high street and street market, located in the London Borough of Lewisham. At present, the high street is closed to street traffic three days a week: Wednesday, Friday and Saturday.⁹⁸ Some businesses and market traders have traded on the street for generations. Since 2023 at least, Lewisham Council has been considering the full pedestrianisation of the street for several hours a day, seven days a week.

Deptford High Street is located within the Deptford Creek/Greenwich Riverside Opportunity Area, one of two within the London Borough of Lewisham. Deptford High Street crosses several LSOA boundaries, and spans Lewisham 002E, Lewisham 039D and Lewisham 039E. According to data published by Trust for London, the former is considered in the top most deprived quintile of LSOAs in London; the latter two fall within the second most deprived.⁹⁹ One surrounding LSOA, Lewisham 039C, is also considered one of the most deprived in London. The remaining surrounding LSOAs fall in the second most deprived quintile of LSOAs.

Deptford High Street also crosses two MSOAs: Deptford North - Lewisham and New Cross & Deptford South - Lewisham. According to data from Census 2021, these MSOAs fall within the top 10% most deprived neighbourhoods in London.¹⁰⁰

98 Josef Al Shemary, "It's going to kill our high street": Traders outraged at council's plans to pedestrianise one of London's oldest markets, LBC, 5 Jul 2025, https://www.lbc.co.uk/article/kill-high-street-traders-outraged-pedestrianisation-5Hjd6pp_2/.

99 Trust for London, 'English IMD, rebased for London'.

100 'London's population by ethnicity', London's Poverty Profile, Trust for London, accessed 10 February 2025, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/data/ethnic-diversity/>.



Figure 4.8
Save Deptford High Street © Darren Halsey

Campaign/group: Save Deptford High Street

Save Deptford High Street formed in 2025 to address local residents' and independent businesses' concerns that pedestrianisation proposals by Lewisham Council would amount to widespread displacement and ultimately social cleansing. Bringing together residents, independent businesses and market traders, and others, Save Deptford High Street coalesced around an urgent response timeline to successfully defeat concerning proposals.¹⁰¹ This campaign highlighted that proposals were likely to result in loss of livelihood, wellbeing and health concerns, accessibility and mobility issues for elderly and disabled customers and community members — especially given previous diversion of key bus routes — and, ultimately, displacement of local working-class residents and traders.¹⁰² They made clear that 'biased and manipulative "consultation" (sic) techniques',¹⁰³ with leading questions, few options and limited accessibility-focused alternatives; 'flippant' and even adversarial engagement with community members by Lewisham Council officers; potentially biased consultants and contractors (Project Centre); and manipulation and biased interpretation of consultation data.¹⁰⁴

Within this context, the campaign demanded that Lewisham Council:¹⁰⁵

1. 'Immediately scrap[s] plans for full-time pedestrianisation and 'transformation' of Deptford High Street'
2. 'Cease[s] and retract their dishonest interpretations of consultation data'

3. 'Ceases to delegate public duties to private firms with financial interests in plans going ahead'
- 'Provides accessible parking, rent controls for businesses, and genuine consultation with local workers to improve conditions and affordability'

4. 'Takes clear and concrete steps to protect [their] market and [their] shops'

5. 'Introduces increased regulation of contracted parking and enforcement services and an end to the targeting of families and vulnerable residents for private financial gain'.

Following this petition, Lewisham Council decided against proposed pedestrianisation plans.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Ruby Gregory, 'South London council scraps high street pedestrianisation plans after backlash', The London Standard, 8 September 2026, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/south-london-lewisham-council-pedestrianisation-plans-b1246617.html>.

¹⁰² 'Lewisham locals: NO to the pedestrianisation and "transformation" of Deptford High Street', Change.org, accessed 10 February 2026, <https://www.change.org/p/lewisham-locals-no-to-the-pedestrianisation-and-transformation-of-deptford-high-street>.

¹⁰³ 'Lewisham locals'.

¹⁰⁴ 'Lewisham locals'.

¹⁰⁵ 'Lewisham locals'.

¹⁰⁶ Gregory, 'South London'.

SAVE RIDLEY ROAD MARKET – DALSTON, HACKNEY

Context: Ridley Road and Dalston, Hackney

The historic Ridley Road Market is located in Dalston, in the London Borough of Hackney. The market has been officially operating on Ridley Road for nearly a century (since 1927) but it has been in the area since the 1880s.¹⁰⁷ Over the years, its traders and clientele have changed, reflecting wider shifts in Hackney as new communities made the borough their home. Yet, the market has consistently remained an important shopping location, cultural epicentre and community space for each of the diverse working class communities who have relied upon it.

Over the years, the 'market' has expanded beyond the pitches along the lane, and is now widely considered to include the shops on either side, the stores on St. Marks Rise, and the Ridley Road Shopping Village.¹⁰⁸ The latter included affordable artists' and makers' studios. In 2019, the importance of this multi-purpose was formally recognised through an Asset of Community Value designation, however this designation has yet to be extended to the rest of the market despite the importance of each of these individual spaces to local residents and Dalston's Black and racialised communities. As the Save Ridley Road campaign makes clear, 'Ridley Road is the embodiment of Hackney's diversity and in particular it is essential to the London Afro-Caribbean community... We believe [the Asset of Community Value] recognition should extend to the whole of Ridley Road.'

The market is located in a rapidly-gentrifying part of London. Between 2010 and 2016, Hackney had one of the highest mean gentrification

scores of any borough in London.¹⁰⁹ Notably, this gentrification was not distributed across the borough as areas which operate as 'outliers',¹¹⁰ and the Overground stops – such as those in Dalston – even catalysed such exclusionary urban transformation.¹¹¹ Despite these changes, which have distorted deprivation rates in the LSOAs to the south of the market (Hackney O20G), the remainder of the LSOAs in the area, including the market itself, remain in the second most deprived quintiles in London.¹¹² Hackney also has some of the highest childhood poverty rates (45%) and income deprivation in all of London.¹¹³ It has some of the worst housing affordability and median rent is 57.6% of median pay. Within this context, Ridley Road is a lifeline for Hackney residents who need access to culturally-relevant and affordable food, goods and services.

¹⁰⁷ Emma Bartholemew, 'Hunt for the missing history of Dalston's famous Ridley Road Market', Hackney Gazette, 26 May 2017, <https://www.hackneygazette.co.uk/news/22938902.hunt-missing-history-dalstons-famous-ridley-road-market/>; 'Ridley Road Market', London Borough of Hackney, accessed 12 February 2026, <https://hackney.gov.uk/ridley-road-market>.

¹⁰⁸ Save Ridley Road, <https://saveridleyroad.com/>.

¹⁰⁹ Almeida, Pushed to the Margins, 10.

¹¹⁰ Almeida, Pushed to the Margins, 22.

¹¹¹ Marion Lagadic, 'Along the London Overground: Transport Improvements, Gentrification, and Symbolic Ownership along London's Trendiest Line', City and Community 18, no. 3 (2019), <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/cico.12414>; Almeida, Pushed to the Margins, 43.

¹¹² Trust for London, 'English IMD, rebased for London'.

¹¹³ 'Hackney', London's Poverty Profile, Trust for London, accessed 12 February 2026, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/data/boroughs/hackney-poverty-and-inequality-indicators/>.

Campaign/group: Save Ridley Road

Save Ridley Road emerged in 2018 in response to the forced evictions by an off-shore real estate developer (Larochette Real Estate, Inc.) of 25 traders and 60 artists working from the Ridley Road Shopping Village (Indoor Market).¹¹⁴ Bringing together traders, artists and makers, local residents, market users and other community members, the campaign successfully fought back against both the evictions and the development. In 2019, Hackney Council granted the Shopping Village Asset of Community Value status because of its social and cultural benefits to local people. However, despite this recognition, traders and artists remained under threat. Following refurbishment of the building by its landlord, Hackney agreed to take on a long lease of the upper floors for 'for profit' rentals to traders and for market storage, as well as for offices for its Market Services team. In 2022, the more-than-60 artists in the upper storeys of the indoor market were evicted for the refurbishment of the building. The artists negotiated their return at an affordable rate; however, the planning 6-month refurbishment turned into a three-year project. Some artists have returned, and studios have remained affordable due to the work of the Ridley Road campaign.

Shortly thereafter, traders were served eviction notices for building refurbishments, without any provision of relocation spaces to continue trading, or storage space to store their stock. The campaign responded: through public protest, Save Ridley Road successfully won temporary trading space at 50% rent until refurbishments are completed.

The campaign has continued to collectively resist

gentrification and displacement. In 2023, Hackney presented traders with 250 regulations for their future trading, which included glaring lack of security of tenure, no fault evictions, rent increases of 80% and no avenues for traders to shape the design of their shops or input into when, what and how goods are sold there. The campaign, including impacted traders, came together again to protest these propositions. In 2023, following a police raid by a minimum of 50 officers on the Indoor Market – which included handcuffing and searching traders and customers and the confiscation of large sums of money – the campaign continued to hold Hackney Council to account.

Meanwhile, Hackney's Dalston Area Action Plan has continued to threaten the local area, including plans for mostly unaffordable residences and the implementation of racialised 'designing out crime' policies. The offshore developer-landlord, Larochette Real Estate Inc, continues to propose the conversion of the former artists studios into luxury flats. New licensing rules by Hackney, which include fees for trading, threaten to put market traders out of business. The campaign remains steadfast in its opposition to racialised and classed displacement, and in its celebration of the Ridley Road community.

At the time of publishing, traders at the Ridley Road Shopping Village are facing ongoing threat of eviction. There is a stewardship model being developed by the campaign to ensure the longevity of their presence at the market.

¹¹⁴ 'Ridley Road Shopping Village', Save Ridley Road, <https://saveridleyroad.com/get-in-touch/>. Unless otherwise cited, all information in this section comes from this webpage.



Figure 4.9
Inside a shop at Ridley Road © Save Ridley Road

Context: Seven Sisters/Tottenham

Wards Corner, or the Seven Sisters Indoor Market, is located in Tottenham, in the London Borough of Haringey. For most of the 20th century (1901–1972), the site was home to Wards Department Store, from which it borrows its name. After Transport for London acquired the site via Compulsory Purchase Order in 1973, it began leasing out the ground floor to independent businesses who turned it into an indoor market. Originally, this market supported traders and customers from the local African and Caribbean communities, and it has continued to evolve to meet the needs of Seven Sisters' Black, racialised and migrant communities. Today, it largely caters to the local Colombian and wider Latin American community, and remains an important resource for other racialised and migrant communities in the area. Since 2014, the Market has been listed as an Asset of Community Value by Haringey Council.

The fight to save the market from demolition began in 2002, in response to a 'conditional development agreement' that Haringey Council entered into with property developer Grainger PLC.¹¹⁵ Proposed plans included displacing the existing market and its traders, and replacing it with 200 unaffordable flats and retail space.¹¹⁶ Recognising the threat, market traders, customers and the wider community fought back, producing the first version of the Community Plan (2007). In the years since, there have been three more iterations of the Plan, responding to ongoing development pressure by the developer, who ultimately withdrew in 2021 after years of sustained, local resistance. The current version of the Community Plan has received planning permission, thus paving the way for a community-

led development.

The market is located in one of the most deprived LSOAs in London (Haringey 024B) and is nearly entirely surrounded by neighbourhoods considered in the most deprived quintile in London.¹¹⁷ It falls in the Lee Valley Opportunity Area, which remains one of the most deprived areas in London despite decades of 'regeneration'.¹¹⁸ Haringey has some of the highest unemployment rates in all of London, and the market's and wider business community's role in providing dignified livelihoods for local residents remains vital.¹¹⁹

115 'Haringey: things the Guardian hasn't told you about the Seven Sisters Latin Village regeneration scheme', OnLondon, 19 October 2018, <https://www.onlondon.co.uk/haringey-things-the-guardian-hasnt-told-you-about-the-seven-sisters-lat-in-village-regeneration-scheme/>

116 Charlotte Gray, 'Wards Corner Battle Lost', The Tottenham Independent, 18 November 2008, <https://www.thetottenhamindependent.co.uk/news/3857641.wards-corner-battle-lost/>

117 Trust for London, 'English IMD, rebased for London'.

118 Trust for London, 'English IMD, rebased for London'.

119 'Haringey', London's Poverty Profile, Trust for London, accessed 12 February 2026, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/data/boroughs/haringey-poverty-and-inequality-indicators/?tab=work-worklessness-and-benefits>.



Figure 4.10
Rally for Wards Corner Latin Village © Mario Washington

Campaign/Group: Wards Corner Community Benefit Society

The Wards Corner Community Benefit Society (CBS) was founded in 2022 by a coalition of Tottenham-based campaigns and grassroots groups, who had been fighting – some for over two decades – to save the Seven Sisters Indoor Market and surrounding buildings from demolition.¹²⁰ The CBS includes market traders, local residents and workers, and it will restore and manage the building.

The CBS's vision for the market is based on the Wards Corner Community Plan, which reflects nearly 20 years of engagement with market traders, local residents and other community organisations to ensure that the space reflects the needs and priorities of those who have used and relied upon the market for years. The Plan aims to ensure that there is improved trading space for all existing traders, as well as for new small businesses; that the unique identity and culture of the market – including its importance to the local Latin American community – is celebrated and sustained; that the physical heritage of the market, the Wards Corner building and the integrity of the high street is protected and maintained; that the market is self-managed by the community; and, finally, that Seven Sisters becomes the 'community gateway' to Tottenham.¹²¹

Wards Corner is widely recognised as a success story: one in which the community has resisted speculative displacement, not only to protect the retail spaces that serve their needs from immediate displacement, but also to develop a Community Plan that supports their restoration

and longevity. In doing so, it has positioned traders and the wider community as the authoritative voice in determining how urban transformation can and will take place by meeting local needs first and foremost.

¹²⁰ 'Our history', Wards Corner Community Benefit Society, accessed 12 February 2026, <https://wardscorner.org/ourhistory>. Unless otherwise cited, all information in this section comes from the Wards Corner CBS website.

¹²¹ 'The Wards Corner Community Plan', Wards Corner Community Benefit Society, accessed 12 February 2026, <https://wardscorner.org/the-plan>.

Context: Tooting Market

Located around the corner from Tooting Broadway station in Wandsworth, the privately-owned Tooting Market is an indoor market that has been an essential part of local life in Tooting since it was built in 1930.¹²² It is home to traders and stallholders from diverse working class, including Black, racialised and migrant backgrounds, reflecting the wider Tooting community. Following the dissolution of the British Empire, many families settled in Tooting after migrating to London from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nigeria and Kenya.¹²³ In recent years, several Black traders have been evicted, resulting in increasing public scrutiny and attention. In 2020, two Black traders were served eviction notices after wrongful police raids; one of these evictions was reversed after public pressure.¹²⁴ In early 2025, more Black and racialised traders have been forced out of the market as a result of inequitable rent increases.¹²⁵ This is an evolving situation.

Tooting Market is located in the Wandsworth O35A LSOA, which puts it in the second most deprived quintile of LSOAs in London. Although some of the surrounding area is relatively less-deprived, several nearby LSOAs are in the first and second most deprived quintiles in London (e.g, Wandsworth O35D, Wandsworth O33D, Wandsworth O34B, Wandsworth O37D).¹²⁶ This inequality is characteristic of the wider borough, which has some of the worst pay inequality in London (4th worst; 2.74 80:20 ratio of earnings).¹²⁷

Campaign/Group: Emerging campaign

The grassroots campaign at Tooting Market has brought together several traders to share experiences of unfair eviction and to build mutual support. The group has sought legal assistance, engaging local legal centres and pro bono lawyers, and has attempted to open dialogue with market management. However, securing constructive engagement has been challenging. Rather than exploring collaborative solutions, market managers have remained primarily focused on removing traders, with limited willingness to come to the table to address concerns or work towards fair outcomes. As the campaign moves into the new year, there is a renewed focus on building momentum and pursuing a formal legal challenge. Efforts are underway to identify appropriate legal avenues, secure pro bono representation, and mobilise financial and community support to enable traders to collectively assert their rights and seek fair treatment.

¹²² 'Tooting Stall Stories', digital:works and Furzedown Primary School Year 6 students, October 2021, <https://www.stallstories.org.uk/tooting/index.html>.

¹²³ Crean, Rosabel, 'Tooting's multiculturalism: something to celebrate', SW Londoner, 16 November 2023, <https://www.swlondoner.co.uk/news/16112023-tootings-multiculturalism-something-to-celebrate>.

¹²⁴ Ilayda McIntosh, 'Tooting Market reverses eviction decision of black-owned food business after wrongful police drug raid', The Voice, <https://www.voice-online.co.uk/news/community/2020/09/15/tooting-market-reverses-eviction-decision-of-black-owned-food-business-after-wrongful-police-drug-raid/>.

¹²⁵ Claudia Lee, 'Tooting Market traders fear being "pushed out" by rent rises', South London Press, 2 April 2025, https://londonnewsonline.co.uk/news/___trashed-5/.

¹²⁶ Trust for London, 'English IMD, rebased for London'.

¹²⁷ 'Wandsworth', London's Poverty Profile, Trust for London, accessed 18 February 2026, <https://trustforlondon.org.uk/data/boroughs/wandsworth-poverty-and-inequality-indicators/?tab=housing-and-homelessness>.

APPENDIX 3: OTHER THREATENED RETAIL SPACES

As indicated in the report, the affordable retail spaces being fought for by POP campaigns are not the only retail spaces being threatened or displaced by development in London. We have been marking these threats as we are made aware of them, in an online map of affordable retail displacement (see **Figure 4.11**). This resource is not exhaustive and we are frequently updating it, which itself highlights the pervasiveness of both retail gentrification across London and the supremacy of speculative and displacement-inducing development. We hope that, going forward, we can continue to expand our coalition to include many of these campaigns as members. We invite those with knowledge of un-mapped displacement to email us, and we encourage any community campaigns fighting retail gentrification to reach out if they are interested in joining POP.

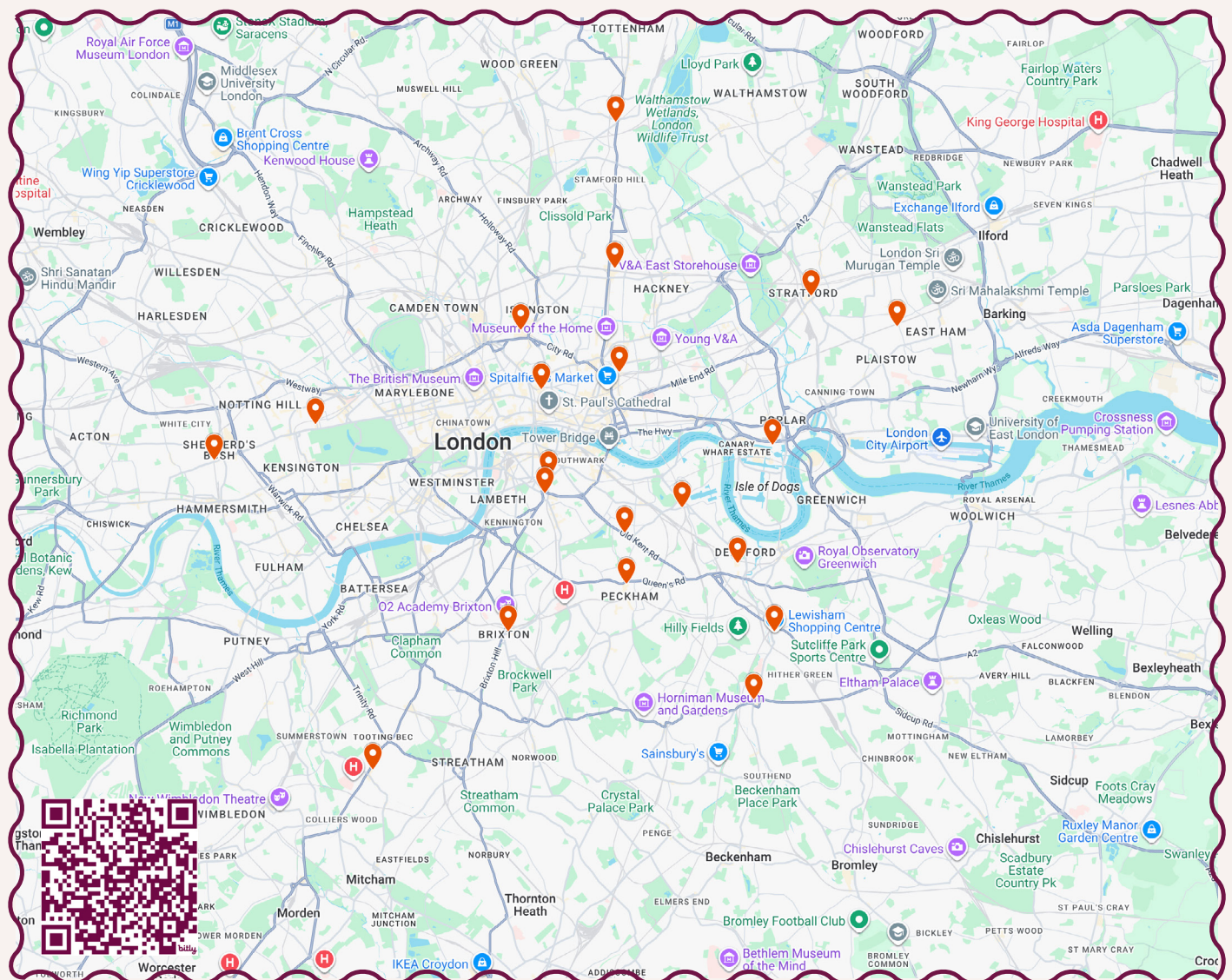


Figure 4.11 Map (not exhaustive) of displaced and displacement-threatened affordable retail spaces (e.g. markets, town centres, shopping centres) in London. You can view the most up-to-date version here: <https://bit.ly/POPdisplacementmap>

