Crisis and the Common(s):

Understanding Urban Community Land Trust Activism

Martha Mingay

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Abstract

This thesis is an examination, through a single case study, of urban campaigns to establish Community Land Trusts (CLTs) as a form of social movement and resistant political activism. It analyses the trajectory of a CLT campaign within the (sub)urban political economic context of a housing crisis, typical of contemporary conditions in cities in the Global North. It follows StART, a Trust lobbying for community ownership of assets in the "opportunity of privatisation" (Hodkinson 2010: 252) posed by public land disposal in North London, identifying both their external influence and the politics of trust internal to the group, amid a highly contentious context of the urban and housing political.

Conceptually, the thesis seeks to develop engagement between English CLT studies and autonomist strands of the urban common(s). It constructs a model of an urban social movement as assemblage, scaling up to achieve influence of policy and state economic behaviour, through a dialectic between enclosure and the urban commons. In this organisation of a movement and power by scale, three key components of a CLT emerge, community formation, land acquisition and trust as the "lubricant of co-operation" (Arrow 1974). Such an approach attempts to capture the dual temporalities present in analysis, both the genealogy of becoming and a teleology of failure, in the group's institutional difficulties in managing 'the political' in internal decision making.

The thesis is also informed by Hardt and Negri's epistemological prescription of "militant" research, as itself commoning, verb and attempted praxis, through twenty-two months of participant observation based on an ethic of contribution and consent as reciprocity. Such an approach enables an emphasis on subjectivity and the presentation of the research and researcher as components of the movement as assemblage, positioned within the group and empowered by the patterning of trust.

As a single case study focused on an outlier, where a CLT influenced public land tender processes, the group had significant impacts on both the affordable tenures and community-led housing offer planned for the site. Nonetheless, activists largely reflected on the group through a lens of failure. The thesis therefore fulfils a relatively rare research opportunity, to document both the influence of a CLT on state development practices and the importance of trust, affect and the micropolitical to enabling, and disabling, strategic and successful activism.

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List of Abbreviations

ACV: Asset of Community Value

AGM: Annual General Meeting

BEHMHT: Barnet, Enfield and Haringey NHS Mental Health Trust

CBS: Community Benefit Society

CCH: Centre for Co-Operative Housing

CLG/DCLG/MHCLG/DLUHC: The Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, formerly (until 2019) the Department of Communities and Local Government and from 2021 the Department for Levelling Up, Homes and Communities. DCLG and MHCLG are most commonly used in this thesis as the appropriate nomenclature during the period under discussion (2015-2020)

CLT: Community Land Trust

CPR: Common Property Regime

DH: Department of Health

EP: English Partnerships

HaNSA: Haringey Needs St Ann's Hospital Campaign

HCA: Homes and Communities Agency

HDV: the Haringey Development Vehicle

HIC: Haringey Independent Cinema

GLA: Greater London Authority

GLAP: Greater London Authority Land and Partnerships Plc (the private land holding arm of the GLA, established in 2011)

LBH: London Borough of Haringey

LCC: London County Council (1889 - 1965)

LDA: London Development Agency

LDP: London Development Panel (Boris Johnson's Mayoralty: 2013 - 17)

LDP2: London Development Panel Two (Sadiq Khan's Mayoralty 2017 -)

L&G: Legal and General Plc.

LTGDC: London Thames Gateway Development Corporation

MAB: Metropolitan Asylums Board (1867 - 1930)

MAJ: Mary-Ann Johnson Co-Operative, Tottenham

MBW: Metropolitan Board of Works (1855 - 1889)

MoU: Memorandum of Understanding

NDA: Non-Disclosure Agreement

NEF: New Economics Foundation

NHS: National Health Service

ODPM: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (under Tony Blair's government, precursor to DCLG, which oversaw English Partnerships 1997 - 2006)

OJEU: Official Journal of the European Union: European Journal used by the UK Government until 2021 to publish large public sector contract tenders and opportunities, as per EU law.

PTALS: Public Transport Access Level Score

RICS: Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors

SPG: Supplementary Planning Guidance

StART: St Ann's Redevelopment Trust

STCDG: South Tottenham Community Development Group

StopHDV: the community campaign against the Haringey Development Vehicle (HDV)

1. Introduction

This thesis is an examination, through a single case study, of urban campaigns to establish Community Land Trusts (CLTs) as a form of social movement and resistant political activism. CLTs are a model of collective land ownership to facilitate affordable housing, usually for ownership but often for rent. The model emerged amid the 1960s Civil Rights Movement in the rural American South and transferred to the UK in predominantly rural contexts in Scotland and then England. As a result, the nascent field of CLT studies in the U.K. often seek to identify success factors, and normatively fix and diffuse these as knowledge sharing and best practice. This thesis instead advocates an examination of a CLT as an ontology of radical movement, of components in motion, to learn from both its perceived successes and failures. It is an analytical narrative of an 'outlier' case study, in both the metropolitan context of London and high ambitions of affordability and scale, St Ann's Redevelopment Trust (StART), a campaign for an 800 unit rent CLT on a hospital site in South Tottenham, within the north London borough of Haringey, existing between 2013 and 2022. It is a report from longitudinal participant observation and contribution, seeking to epistemologically develop such methodology as itself commoning. It is not an ethnography, but an account from the field that attempts to balance the genealogy of becoming inherent to the temporality of a CLT as a political campaign, with a retrospective teleology from failure, that of a CLT that did not secure its desired land asset.

In this introductory section, I explain the emergence and trajectory of my interest in this case study and topic, describe the key theoretical orientations of the project and give a brief outline of the chapter structure of the thesis.

My interest in CLTs in urban contexts long predates this research project. In 2008, coincidentally the year CLTs were legislatively established in England, I began working in London's regional government, the Greater London Authority (GLA), as a Labour Group scrutiny officer at the London Assembly. In this position I watched the sector's development with interest, in particular the London CLT campaign for a CLT on the

Olympic Park, a project that was diverted to St Clements' Hospital, a site I had lived opposite in 2009. Aware of both CLTs and the NHS disposal agenda, I began to follow StART closely, on another site I had previously lived close to, as a cousin and a friend, both living in Haringey, began to participate. I attended a fundraising event with them privately, while attending meetings professionally, as StART sought to lobby the regional scale politicians I worked for into persuading the GLA to buy the site from the National Health Service (NHS).

In early 2018, I left the GLA and saw the University of Sheffield's call for doctoral proposals seeking to understand urban CLT activism. Given StART's progress by this point, aware the GLA was now intent in buying the site, I felt I knew of the perfect research opportunity in StART, from which to problematise the lag in urban CLT success and explore their potential political influence. I approached the group with the proposition of PhD research, to contribute to the group as participant, in a spirit of reciprocity StART had already established as an expectation from participant action researchers. From July 2018, I began to attend StART's meetings regularly, with formal note recording beginning after ethical approval that November.

Clearly, I was not the first academic researcher embedded in, working with and learning from StART. Although this is not an ethnography, there is one project of StART's in that summer of 2018 that remains in my mind. After the AGM, held at a local Primary School, members of StART crossed the street and entered the hospital grounds, to plant a tree on site, in memoriam to a young member who had tragically died in an accident abroad the previous summer. Jyoti Pillai was an architecture student whose contribution to StART in its early years of masterplanning was considerable. Alongside this affecting tribute to a young member, what was clear to me here was StART, as an aspiring CLT, already revealed three components of community, land and trust in action. The community of members not only successfully gained the landowner's agreement for the memorial tree, but demonstrated trust in each other and the project's future, planning the tree's maintenance. The tree both acknowledged StART's past contributors and symbolised an expected long future on the site, but the ceremony also underlined the clearly established emotional bonds of activism.

Four years later, from a teleology of retrospect that does not orient from the position StART expected to achieve, these components of community, land and trust remain the opportunity of research in StART. Twenty-two months of participant action and observation was indeed an opportunity to research numerous problematics of urban development, housing delivery and regeneration policies, and community attempts to influence them. However, beyond this 'external' interaction with the state, the research experience quickly confirmed the primacy of the 'internal' politics, of community and trust, as equally generative of the group's trajectory and influence. By May 2020, StART's public Director's meetings, now held online as COVID-19 demanded distancing, were held privately, amid legal action accusing racial discrimination. With this dispirited collapse of co-operation, my participation in StART ended and within a year, StART chose not to pursue ownership of the community led homes their activism secured in the tender and plans for the site, closing the organisation in 2022.

Genealogically, this thesis was equally developed in response to the conceptual opportunity to acknowledge, problematise and explore an emerging 'urban lag' in CLT development in English cities, by furthering the engagement of the CLT field with urban critical theory, namely the commons. It seeks to understand the dynamics of emergent CLTs, before they have secured land assets, as a community formation into an urban social movement, as assemblage (Tilly 1993, DeLanda 2021). Central to this formation is an ontology of practices, of and constituting the commons. Autonomist Marxist approaches propose a material dialectic between practices of commoning and enclosure (Hardt and Negri 2009), the latter a metaphoric descriptor that contextualises both the site and the wider context of public land disposal in the political economy of London's contemporary planning, regeneration and housing development. The synthesis of such a framework, as either 'alterity', the achievement of alternative results, or co-option and a 'commons fix' (De Angelis 2007; 2013) for the state, provides a valuable guide to assess the outcomes and degree of StART's influence over the redevelopment of the St Ann's Hospital site.

However, the retrospective need to examine the internal also provides a further

conceptual opportunity to develop the engagement of CLT research with wider commons research. Fundamentally, practices of commoning, but also enclosure, are embodied. Enclosure also impacts embodied capacities of resistance. This thesis proposes an embodied ontology of the housing crisis in London, policy execution as practiced apparatus of enclosure, and practices of commoning as social, economic, strategic and political. As a result, it proposes the commons as assemblage, a model that can encompass internal and political transmissions of power "through the organising device of scale" (Rose 1997: 310).

Image 1: Aerial photograph (from the North) of St Ann's Hospital, South Tottenham.

Comprehending the CLT campaign as an assemblage, a flowing constellation rather than fixed institution, is analytically structured by the three empirically observed components: community, land and trust. Where community discusses the social, the structures of practices formed in an ontology of becoming a CLT, land examines StART's commoning practices as economic, seeking to influence the state disposal of land to the market. Finally, Trust, usually referent to the legal form CLTs take, also describes the political, trust the "lubricant of co-operation" (Arrow 1974). Furthermore, the assemblage, as an ontology of movement captures both temporal qualities of StART, the genealogy of becoming, and the retrospective teleology from a "here" (Ahmed 2007:

151) regarded by most contributing to the group as demise or failure.

This thesis also seeks to develop the ontology of the commons as practice as epistemology and method, pursuing research through a strategy of contribution to the group's work, in line with StART's ethic of reciprocity. As a result, these findings make no claim at objectivity, but a subjectivity that demands a methodology of observation through co-operation, supplemented by interviews that provide a "critical provisional analysis based on a plurality of (temporally and spatially) situated voices and silences" (Peake and Trotz 1999: 37 in Sultana 2007: 376), acknowledging the significance of silence. Commoning as proposed methodology requires and enables a high degree of self-reflexivity, beyond positionality and ethics to understanding research as an attempted re-constitution of the self through co-operative research, as an always embodied, empowered and political act, itself likely liable to failure.

The chapters of this thesis are structured as follows. Chapter Two reviews the conceptual frustrations of the CLT field before Chapter Three develops promising autonomist approaches to the common as a conceptual framework towards the critical component themes of community, land and trust, advocating an ontology that combines assemblage with the autonomous dialectic between the common and enclosure. Chapter Four then frames the Research Questions. Chapter Five poses commoning as a radical epistemology of participant observation and action methods, demonstrating its valuable ground for self-reflexivity and subjectivity amid social relations of co-operation, intimacy, trust, and power. Chapter Six then theorises and introduces the dynamics of the case's urban and metropolitan context, amid the acute and specific land and housing pressures, party politics and housing policies active in Tottenham and the wider London Borough of Haringey during the research period. Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine then present a critical analysis of StART's trajectory, the empirical findings against the component themes of Community, Land and Trust respectively. These empirical chapters, which also present a rough and overlapping chronological order, each contain complex narrative chronologies of events that are summarised for ease in Appendix A. Finally, Chapter Ten presents a conclusive discussion of the theoretical, methodological and empirical implications of this study, before identifying key strands for further research, and

evaluating potential practical directions for CLT campaigning and other forms of urban

commoning as activism.

2. Literature Review

While definitions of Community Land Trusts (CLTs) have been developed, "conceptually, they are difficult to categorise" (Engelsman, Rowe and Southern 2018: 104). Multiple approaches to do so have emerged in recent years, centring around a categorical debate of whether CLTs are reformist or radical (Rowe, Engelsman and Southern 2016), in alignment with the positions of Henry George (1881) and Friedrich Engels (1872) in their solutions to their land and housing questions respectively (ibid.). Largely, this debate, complicated by differing emphases on empowerment or affordability as the purpose and potential of CLTs, has attempted to fix a categorical understanding, where arguably the reformist or radical politics of CLTs varies greatly with groups, between individuals engaged in them and over time. This research project seeks to offer an analysis tracing StART's development and to assist this it is valuable to recognise complexities arising from the dynamic, 'Janus-faced' nature of the phenomenon of CLTs, that apparently simultaneously "seek to work within structures of private home ownership" (Engelsman, Rowe and Southern 2018: 104) yet also often claim to offer "narratives of urban resistance" (Engelsman, Rowe and Southern 2016) as a "transition pathway…beyond the capitalist present" (Chatterton 2016: 403). Given the diverse ideologies of actually existing CLTs, it is this ambiguity of function, purpose and strategic promise that has resulted in their ambiguous categorisation.

Alongside, and usually aligned to this central 'Janus-faced' ontological debate as to the political economic orientations and potentialities of CLTs, epistemological research strategies towards CLTs, particularly in the UK, have diverged, especially following codification of the model in English law in 2008. This literature review will advocate for a particularly thick theoretical approach, with radical origins, for its focus on the commons and the theoretical alignment this brings with critical urban studies. It begins by justifying this through highlighting the constraints of empirical research into urban CLTs in the UK, before reviewing the limited yet potential-laden examples of CLT as *urban housing commons* research.

The conceptual framework will then assemble and advocate a particular approach

towards the *common* as developed by autonomist Marxism, based on its dialectical explanatory potential and the valuable critiques presented to it by radical democracy, and other engagements. From this discussion, the research questions are introduced, before the epistemological consequences of the common(s), posed as it is as epistemological, embodied praxis by autonomist Marxism, are elucidated in terms of their connections to methodology and research design.

The Bifurcation of CLT Studies

As a result of this Janus face, academic analyses of CLTs are somewhat bifurcated between roughly empirical and theoretical approaches. The tension between reformism and radicalism is present in this divergence, perhaps unsurprisingly as it is one that haunts urban academic disciplines and their normative predilections of purpose much more widely than CLT studies. Following the relatively recent codification of CLTs in English legislation in 2008, much empirical scholarship emerged with the normative goal of building an applied knowledge base in partnership with, and to support, the nascent and growing CLT movement. This empirical work has provided valuable intra- and international comparative surveys (Moore and McKee 2012) identifying the focused priorities of research agendas into governance, decision making and partnerships with housing associations (Moore 2018, Mullins and Moore 2018), to support an agenda of 'upscaling' CLT delivery. While most of this research has been published in journals of housing studies, much of it has been conducted in close collaboration with the UK's emergent policy network surrounding forms of *Community Led Housing*, resulting in policy reports and recommendations with and for support organisations, activists, lenders and regional support hubs. In this mode of networking, within a small professional specialism, CLT research has effectively sought normative impact through policymaking and institutional influence, dissipating best practice.

Contrastingly, the theory-heavy framing of the commons onto UK CLTs emerged later, centred around self-proclaimed radical journal of geography, *Antipode* (Bunce 2016, Thompson 2015). Geography, in its radical or specifically autonomous and autonomist (Pickerill and Chatterton 2006, Gray and Clare 2022) forms, is a discipline of urban studies

that overtly engages with critical political economy and often views its social contribution as one primarily directed to and as activism (Ward 2007), in a discursively formed repertoire of radical praxis.

This bifurcation perhaps presents an oversimplified choice of research strategy enabled by interdisciplinarity, as in examining CLT academia it is clear an opportunity for subjective identification with a reformist or radical academia immediately emerges for the researcher. In the belief this binary is never static within CLT practice, the choice of *a priori* research strategy is rejected in favour of an attempted analytical and epistemological playfulness between empiricism, theory and subjectivity, as is discussed further in the methodology chapter. Instead, this research seeks to enhance empirical research by addressing its conceptual limitations with autonomist Marxism. While the conceptual framework will discuss the limitations of theory below, the limitations of empiricism present in the recently established "collaborative housing as sub-field within housing studies" (Lang, Carriou and Czischke 2018: 29) will now be reviewed, before the justification of the critical embrace of the commons for its potentiality in engaging with urban political economy, with resonances for understanding CLTs, the case study and its context.

The Limits to Empirical Approaches

It would be an oversimplification to state reformist, empirically led research ignores theory altogether, having assessed CLTs through a variety of frames, including social capital (DeFilippis 2001), Habermasian communicative rationality (Griffin 2018) or at its simplest, a "social market invention" (Meehan 2014). Furthermore, empirical approaches have provided valuable research within and across contexts of CLTs and more widely, its cousins within the field of collaborative housing, across the contexts of the U.K., Europe, North America and increasingly the Global South (Midhaeme and Moulaert 2013). However, arguably this work failed to advance categorical understanding of CLTs and related forms of housing provision, due to several conceptual issues that raise difficulties for this research project. Here, some frustration has arisen that "studies of CLTs… often remain under-conceptualised, practice-led (Rowe Engelsman and Southern 2016), and

over-reliant on single iconic or exemplar case studies" (Durose, Richardson et al 2021: 292).

Firstly, empirical work is obviously determined by the actual existence of potential case studies. Empirical approaches to urban CLTs in the U.K., as the narrowest comparative field, have been held back by the lack of successfully established projects from which to glean best practice. Since English codification, the CLT movement has seen greatest growth on peri-urban and rural sites in the Southwest of England, with a nascent support infrastructure first emerging there. While CLTs have progressed further in Scotland, following earlier experimentation and recognition in 2003, these are predominantly rural. A result of this geography of success is the tendency to research the rural (Moore 2020), but "for every successful project there are also a number of stranded or halted initiatives…some go unrecorded" (Tummers 2015; 2036). There is a relative paucity of CLT research focused on English urban policy contexts, beyond individual case studies that form "a specific and fascinating case of 'success' in a form of organisation for which failure is the general rule" (Richardson, Durose and Perry 2019: 272).

Nonetheless, while empirical CLT research recognises "context matters" (Peck 2011: 791, Ferrari and Vidal 2021: 12, Lang, Carriou and Czischke 2018), it cannot reconcile this with operative relevance, into a theoretical, deployable model of structure and agency. Context is almost always discussed in terms of local economic and planning conditions and the evolution of tenures, and CLTs "cannot be adequately understood unless these contexts are taken into account" (Tummers 2016: 76). Gallent (2009) agrees CLTs in England have proved appealing to "difficult to reach communities where planning constraint and high external demand combine to displace lower income households" (Moore and McKee 2012: 284), identifying the local housing market as a key driver, whereas Paterson and Dunn (2009) posed CLTs as a response to gentrification. More widely, some studies contextualise neoliberal housing market and spatial contexts as generative of collaborative housing (Larsen and Lund Hansen 2015), while Mullins and Moore (2018: 10) traced connections to a resurgence of civil society participation emerging since the 2007 global financial crisis. Questions of group politics are often answered by description at the local scale, tracing projects' diverse historical origins,

connections to voluntary networks and the critical discourses of activists observed during research, particularly in relation to local housing conditions and perceptions of failures by other actors, the market and the state. Where this has so far failed to provide a stable or comparative model of the role of political economic context in CLTs and their successful development, the problem of context is particularly critical in attempting to theorise the contribution of the urban to such located groups and potentially, their lag in development as a subcategory of CLTs.

Secondly, and partly the consequence of the inability to generalise about CLTs' relationship to context, amid a desire to compare at scale, empirical work has been unable to situate CLTs, as a specific legal model within a fixed terminology of a wider conceptual categorisation of "self-organised housing" (Mullins and Moore 2018: 1). This burgeoning subfield has almost endlessly typologised these forms, although they differ with the variation of "context-specific drivers and definitions for these initiatives, as well as varied forms and purposes" (ibid.). English research tends to use the "policy-oriented" (ibid.) term *Community Led Housing,* again underlining the avowed impact agenda, while European academia has increasingly used the cross-form umbrella term *collaborative housing* (ibid.), replacing the disputed values of *co-housing, self-help* or generalisations on the specific form of *co-operative housing.* While this remains a research agenda in the belief *"*planning criteria can contribute a closer definition that does justice to local and national circumstances and is able to identify similarities in impact" (Tummers 2015: 76), this unstable, evolving categorisation, with differing emphasis according to the location, scale, research question and ultimately policy context, renders collaborative housing an endlessly contested categorical terrain, shifting according to the focus of enquiry. As a result, arguably "the field remains thematically fragmented, with literature on different forms and models spread across disciplines and conceptual classifications…This…limits the possibilities of conceptual and methodological development of the field" (Lang, Carriou and Czischke 2018: 11).

The lack of a fixed categorisation of collaborative housing more widely, and the evasive importance of political-economic context, has resulted in the third, significant issue with empirical research, the heavily disputed existential social purpose of CLTs:

citizen empowerment, through ownership, or affordable housing supply, in perpetuity. The result is definitions that attempt to straddle both, as "a method of delivering affordable housing that empowers local communities" (Moore and McKee 2012: 280), or even "unique locally oriented, place-based governance structures...to operationalise de-commodified community land holding mechanisms" (Mullins and Moore 2018: 6). But two emergent conversations, with internal debates of their own, have arisen from this divergence of emphasis and prove difficult to reconcile.

In the UK, the policy emergence of CLTs "as an innovative way of addressing the affordable housing crisis in England" (Moore 2016: 1) has set the emphasis on affordability, amid its increasingly rapid disappearance since the 2008 crisis. CLTs have increasingly excitedly been touted as "the most prominent alternative tenure today" (Madden and Marcuse 2016: 209). Nonetheless, with under 0.1% of social housing in the United States, where they first emerged, provided by CLTs (Engelsman, Rowe and Southern 2016a: 1), CLTs anywhere are currently "too small to significantly impinge on economic rent" (Ryan-Collins, Lloyd and Macfarlane 2017: 221). As a result, research has sought to support and grow potential delivery, supporting the agenda, network and infrastructure development for 'upscaling' with partners within the English Community Led Housing sector. The upscaling agenda has brought attention to the question of and incentives towards partnerships for community-led housing with housing associations (Moore 2016, Mullins and Moore 2018), particularly in the context of the requirement of Registered Social Landlord status for affordable and social housing capital funding. From the perspective of a contribution to affordable supply, particularly in perpetuity, partnership appears an unequivocally benign agenda. However, the affordability agenda often ignores the geography of England and the U.K.'s housing crisis and the land market underpinning it. Affordability is most acutely pressured in London (Edwards 2016: 223), Britain's poorest city after housing costs.

The debate surrounding CLTs as primarily a vehicle for community empowerment and development is equally contentious. Within England, empowerment aligns with longstanding efforts to boost participation (Raco and Flint 2001), coalescing into the 'Big Society' agenda that accompanied the austerity budgeting of the coalition government of

2010-2015, during which English CLTs saw the extensive development of central government policy support (Mullins 2018: 146). In the US, DeFilippis, Stromberg and Williams mourn the loss of "the radical politics of community control" (2018: 755) CLTs face as they "grow dramatically, at significant cost" (ibid). From this perspective, partnerships threaten the "soul" (ibid.) and identity of CLTs, with Mullins noting the tensions "help from without" (2018: 144) pose for some groups in the UK. As a generalisation, empirical research's failure to categorise the purpose of CLTs often results in an ambiguity of judgement of the policy and partnership opportunities, or threats, the CLT movement faces. While DeFilippis et al observe this process as "the expulsion of radical politics" (2018: 763) from representations of the CLT movement, this was a necessity Moore identified in East London more pragmatically as a "more tempered vision for a CLT that would gain political acceptance" (2018: 83). This notion of an acceptable "tempered vision" within the London policy and development context is highly pertinent to StART's trajectory.

Nonetheless, with many, conceptually incomplete, overlapping and occasionally contradictory strands emerging around the empirical agenda, the critique of the sub-field as "under-conceptualised and practice-led" (Durose, Richardson et al 2021: 292) is valid. Increasingly, radical theory-led ontologies have been embraced to develop CLT research not only as a sub-field of collaborative housing, but as scholarship of the commons, particularly in urban contexts.

CLTs and the Commons

Beyond empirical housing studies, an alternative, theory-led paradigm has emerged as "urban commons scholars increasingly present CLTs as a model to manage housing commons" (Aernouts and Ryckewaert 2017: 1). In its "innovative yet strenuous logic" (ibid.), the commons offers a potentially valuable further conceptualisation of CLTs and other forms within the umbrella of Community Led Housing. This rests on the paradigm's key ontology of socio-spatiality.

There are two particular articles that have emerged using the commons to assess

emerging CLTs within the English urban policy contexts of London and Liverpool (Bunce 2016, Thompson 2015), currently constituting the most highly developed academic research projects into English "urban-activist" (Durose, Richardson et al 2021: 301) CLTs. Both emphasise the socio-spatiality of the commons in their definition, most simply as "collective action for building shared and equitable spaces" (Bunce 2016: 135) and "simultaneously material resource and social practice" (Thompson 2015: 1025), an emphasis on housing as a social production, or most neatly, "a verb" (Linebaugh 2014), a terminology of the commons explicitly deployed in the Belgian CLT context by Aernouts and Ryckewaert (2017: 1). This focus on group practices, alongside space, allows for fruitful examinations of decision-making as "democratic practice" (Jarvis 2015) in the co-production of collaborative housing, either within the group (Thompson 2015) or commoning with external partners as "help from without" (Mullins 2018: 144), in Bunce's study of the East London CLT (2016). This study, tracing a campaign "pursuing urban commons" (ibid.) in its complex relations with the GLA and London's public land disposal on a former NHS Mental Health hospital site in Tower Hamlets again serves as an extremely relevant and valuable precursor to researching this case. As such, it suggests value to the commons in assessing the structures of regional state power StART navigated.

Furthermore, in this naked socio-spatial ontology, the commons provides a theoretical grounding for the wider categorisation of forms of *co-and collaborative housing*, themselves framed by the same emphasis on participation as much as space, "where the underlying concept is essentially socio-spatial rather than specifying a legal of financial model of land purchase and construction" (Jarvis 2015: 95). Housing commons, and specifically the urban housing commons, provides an umbrella term that not only provides for established collaborative forms such as co-ops and co-housing, but expands the continuum to include more informal practices of communal living, including squats (Nonini 2017). Of particular value is the perspective's inclusion of campaigns pursuing commons, including occupations (Gillespie Hardy and Watt 2018) and other forms of housing activism that arguably expand urban CLTs into a wider understanding of urban social movements (Castells 1992) as emergent campaigns for not yet realised commons. Given the narrow base of successful urban CLT examples this expanded yet tightly

defined continuum is very valuable, locating CLT campaigning within a wider frame of housing activism. Commoning is also useful in tracing empirical connections between housing commons and other commoning practices, Thompson noting the importance of guerrilla gardening to community in the Granby CLT project as benefits commoning "yield beyond the sphere of housing" (2015: 16).

The connections between differing forms of urban housing commons are enabled by the commons' inherent criticality of the contemporary urban context, as "commons must be wrenched from the capitalist landscape of cities" (Huron 2015: 969). While Huron identifies specific socio-spatial features of urban commoning, with "strangers in saturated space" (2015), most CLT specific analysis instead identified the form as "interesting cases for the exploration of the commons as a grounded form of resistance to land commodification practices" (Bunce 2016: 135) or noted "commons are not only studies in terms of effectiveness but seen in relationship to larger challenges in the world's political economy – where public goods such as social housing are increasingly put under market regimes" (Aernouts and Ryckewaert 2019: 98). While the theoretical underpinning of this antagonistic, prefigurative criticality, autonomist Marxism, is explored below, it is important to note this conception of CLTs as an "emancipatory project of the commons" (ibid.) is immediately appealing in bypassing the empirical debate of purpose polarised between affordability and empowerment. Instead, the commons identifies a materialist underpinning to disempowerment and its contemporary cause in the "recognisable villain" (Latham 2008: 183) of capital, neoliberalism, be that in the competitive land value inflation of the global city creating unaffordable housing (Bunce 2015) or the "wicked housing problems…of post-industrial inner city decline" in Liverpool (Thompson 2015: 1021). In providing a connection between global political economy, a local spatiality of context and the sociality of CLT practices, the commons provides a nuanced understanding of the inherently critical, antithetical politics of urban CLTs, whether capital is flowing in or out. As such, their radical representation creeps back into view.

Urban Housing Commons: The Dominance of the Institutionalist Approach

Despite this potentiality, there are concerns the emancipatory emphasis of autonomist approaches "tends to abstract the commons by idealizing the notion and by blurring the way it is translated into practice" (Aernouts and Ryckewaert 2019: 98). As a response, much of the work on CLTs has followed in the institutionalist tradition of Elinor Ostrom, first emerging with her 1990 Nobel Economics Prizewinning *Governing the Commons* (1990), an ethnography of rural environmental governances as 'Common Property Regimes' (CPRs) advancing the possibility of preserving resources successfully beyond the state or market. However, it is important to note Ostrom's rural research has a historiography intertwined with neoliberalism's emergence. Ostrom's research is a direct refutation of Hardin's identification of an ever present "tragedy of the commons" (1968). First published in 1968, Hardin's thesis is almost as fundamental to the development of neoliberal thought as that of Friedman and Hayek and historiographically, Hardin and Ostrom's publications parenthesise the era within which neoliberalism established itself within policy, through the influence of Thatcher in the U.K. As a result, the project of Ostrom's institutional paradigm is quietly radical, inherently one disputing the neoliberal assertion 'there is no alternative' to privatisation by offering evidence of third governance frameworks to neoliberalism's sole proclamation of the market and discrediting of the state.

As a result, the institutionalist agenda dominates commons' analyses of CLTs (Bunce 2016, Thompson 2015, Aernouts and Ryckewaert 2017), seeking to identify decision-making practices within, and partnerships as, common property regimes. However, the alternative 'institutional fix' that is sought in the very language of 'common property *regimes*' poses a larger issue for the urban housing commons approach to CLTs, one of ontological/epistemological slipperiness. In short, while the urban context is well furnished, it is unclear if the approach endeavours to further knowledge on housing or urban commoning; if commoning is an epistemology to further our ontological understanding of community-led housing or such forms provide an epistemology to further understand the urban and its commons. This slipperiness is present in all institutionalist approaches to CLTs. While some endeavour to maximise their prescriptive

relevance to housing studies by using the commons as an epistemological "lens" (Bunce 2016: 135; Aernouts and Ryckewaert 2017: 1) they also admit "CLTs are interesting cases for the exploration of the commons as a grounded form of resistance to land commodification practices." (Bunce 2016: 135) Others have been stronger in their rationale for viewing CLTs as an "institutional articulation" (Thompson 2015: 1024) of commoning, Aernouts and Ryckewaert (2017: 13) most explicitly justifying their ontological shift towards the commons as subject, arguing the marginal delivery of CLTs in Belgium makes it "less pertinent to focus on Community Land Trust Brussels' quantitative contribution in combating the housing crisis than its potential transformative capacity".

Arguably, this does not matter, but the retained institutionalist imperative of "translation into practice" (Aernouts and Ryckewaert 2019: 98) within the CLT field can lose sight of this "potential transformative capacity" (Aernouts and Ryckewaert 2017: 13), the urban commons proclaims. While the institutionalist 'property regime' approach is valuably structural and focused on decision-making, StART as case study presents an opportunity to further develop explicitly autonomist ontologies of emergent CLT campaigns to understand the values and discursive politics of an actually existing CLT as "an emancipatory project of the commons" (Aernouts and Ryckewaert 2019: 98), externally engaged and even generated by context. This potentially offers a paradigm to analyse why individuals participate, the critical negotiations of CLTs with external partners and ultimately, their impact on urban housing conditions, even and particularly where they fail to secure their desired land asset. For these reasons of causality, culture and agency, the institutional approaches need to be rebalanced with the "new literature" (ibid.) of autonomist engagement with the commons, itself descended from Marxist analyses of housing, the contemporary city and the origins of housing and urban crises in the ever-present capitalist conditions of "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2003a: 144). Developing a framework heavily influenced by this "new literature" begins where autonomist Marxists understand the city did, with enclosure.

3. Conceptual Framework

As the review of CLT literature above demonstrates, this thesis seeks to build on an emerging and elementary engagement of urban English CLT studies that categorise and analyse CLTs as forms of commoning. Such an approach is promising in both its willingness to engage with questions of context, and its focus on practice, in an ontology of human agency struggling to secure assets. Nonetheless, this work remains elementary in its engagement with the full literature of the commons. This thesis now requires the development of a conceptual framework of commoning, with regard to two arenas.

Firstly, it will develop a framework to assess StART's impact on the site's proposed development. Autonomist Marxism poses commoning as "enclosure's antonym" (Linebaugh 2014: 142, Ferreri and Vidal 2021: 3), locked into a productive dialectical struggle. With both "repertoires of practices" (Tilly 1993) of commoning and enclosing, being visible at St Ann's, Hardt and Negri (2009) assert this dialectic determines the outcome of the development pathway and parameters and it is this understanding of the commons that particularly connects to StART, it's external struggles with the state and genealogical emergence towards becoming a CLT. As a result, the observation of this dialectic, and the outcomes of its synthesis, provides the case specific grounding in autonomist Marxist theory, particularly Hardt and Negri's *Commonwealth* (2009).

Nonetheless, the internal became the teleological emphasis of this thesis, as contributing to StART's dissolution. Therefore, the conceptual framework also requires an understanding of the commons not solely as a co-operative economic form, but "a sphere of politics that is always agonistic" (Deleixhe 2018: 59). The framework will therefore also review theories of dissent, politics and the political within the common using contributions from both autonomist Marxism and radical democracy, to examine both the question of *who* forms the community, or multitude, of commoners, and how institutional arrangements reconcile dissent. In examining both the external engagement with enclosure, and the internal sphere of the common as the political, the framework successfully captures what Hardt and Negri identify as "the two primary dangers facing

the common: the repression of the ruling power and internally, the destructive conflicts among singularities within the multitude" (2009: 359). In an analysis of these dangers, the teleological, an analysis towards StART's collapse, can be balanced with the genealogical analysis of its emergence and intent.

Having reviewed these spheres, it is then possible to lay these debates across the three conceptual themes that frame the research questions and structure this thesis, Community, Land and Trust. These conceptual elements will be defined and extended into a comprehension of StART as a complex urban social movement formed by an assemblage of commoning practices. Once ontologically framed, Chapter Four will introduce the research questions, before logics of commoning as epistemology, and therefore as participatory methodology, are explored.

3.1 Urban Enclosure(s)

Autonomous Marxist approaches to the common build on Marxian understandings of enclosure as the primary mechanism and metaphor not only generative of capitalism and its ever-ongoing expansion, but of urbanisation and the city. Hardt and Negri's analysis of the urban, and in particular the metropolis, as the locus of an ever existing and re-emerging common, locked in a spatial and subjectivity battle with the logics of capital relies heavily on the foundational analysis of Marx's political economy and the urban geography that has emerged from it. Marx viewed the privatisation of rural common land in England as the generative and original process of "primitive accumulation" engendering capital's evolution, dominance and the production of its liberal urban modernity. What Polanyi (2001) termed "The Great Transformation" saw the enclosure of English common lands, the generation of rural to urban migration in the nineteenth century. As a result, enclosure is the "midwife of the capitalist city" (Hodkinson 2010: 500) in both the origins of the urban proletariat and the urban spatial form around the factory, "determined by the industrial city" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 154), Manchester where Engels witnessed the housing question.

For Marxists, therefore, the acts of land enclosure of the nineteenth century generated simultaneous economic, social and spatial transformation, yet political frustration in the evolution of institutional liberalism. The expansion of liberal democratic government that accompanied capitalist development in nineteenth century Europe, following England, is not democracy in any 'true' sense of managing the common, but a false ideological apparatus of a 'public sphere' to maintain the result of enclosure, private property rights:

> "What is central for our purposes here is that the concept of property and the defence of property remain the foundation of every modern political constitution. This is the sense in which the republic, from the great bourgeois revolutions to today, is a republic of property" (2009: 15).

Here, Hardt and Negri not only furnish a critique of the liberal city as a spatialisation of private property, but begin to provide a vital differentiation between the public and the common that foregrounds the distinction between state and community. Nonetheless, enclosure remains a critical spatial metaphor of state power in Marxist geography, grounding power in land, that requires a differentiation of its uses.

'New Enclosure': Public Land Disposal

Enclosure's recent terminological resurgence enables Christophers' (2018) application of the term to the phenomenon of public land disposal, its sale to private owners, in Britain. Christophers maintains this land sale has been Britain's biggest privatisation, both obscured by its opaque land ownership records and the evident spatial consequence of the conscious disassembling of the public sector and welfare state retraction as a distinctly neoliberal project. Christophers highlights

> "the word 'enclosure', so often invoked with reference to landownership, specifically evokes closure and constraint, and that is the reason I use it. My argument is that the privatisation of British public land since the early 1980s has actively closed down and constrained practices and possibilities of social,

economic and political development…Enclosure is precisely the negative operationalisation of landed power" (2018: 29)

Christophers then details the result of this land sell off in terms of ambitious policy and complex place governance, as a failed response to the housing supply crisis and a major cause of inefficiency in the British economy, land disposal ultimately to the gain of rentier capitalism and a resultant social dislocation based heavily on Polanyi's analysis of land and social unrest where "Britain's is a deteriorating and dispirited socioeconomy and historic trends in landownership during the neoliberal era are plainly integral to this sorry state of affairs" (2018: 324). Christophers consciously centres the UK's housing crisis as a question of land supply, and poses CLTs as "one of the most promising ideas in circulation…an alternative that is potentially more healthy than knee-jerk [land] privatisation" (2018: 346).

However, the enthusiasm for autonomist analysis of this case as commons is particularly encouraged by Christophers' explicit and optimistic discussing the case study at hand, using the metaphor of enclosure and StART as its resistance:

"Even in these benighted times, one occasionally catches glimpses of the public sector attempting to work against the grain of the prevailing neoliberal logic. London Mayor Sadiq Khan's 2017 planning guidance, which proposed that residential developments on public land in the capital should deliver at least 50 per cent affordable housing to be eligible for fast tracking was arguably one example. The following year, Khan showed he could walk the walk as well as talk the talk, buying two-thirds (the 'surplus' portion) of an eleven hectare NHS site in Haringey, London, to provide redeveloped mental health facilities alongside hundreds of new homes of which half will be affordable, and committing moreover to involve in the development process local community groups that had drawn up their own alternative proposals for the site in protest at the original (2015) planning permission and its allowance for 14 per cent affordable homes. (2018: 338-9)

While this research argues the commons/enclosure dynamic at the St Ann's site has been much more complex, the direct mention of the case study, StART's campaign and its impact on the public sector in the Mayoral actions of Sadiq Khan, confirms the value of applying the framing to an unequivocally important contemporary case study of community influence over public land's private future.

Enclosure as Practice: Primitive Accumulation

To an extent, the 'new' of Christophers' thesis is misleading, and better understood as a returned focus to land, in its disposal, within wider and almost metaphorical Marxist uses of the term *enclosure.* As Hardt and Negri maintain, enclosure is synonymous with continuous primitive accumulation:

> "there is no linear historical relation between such mechanisms of primitive accumulation and capitalist production processes, no progressive history of development…but rather a constant back and forth movement in which primitive accumulation continually reappears and coexists with capitalist production. And in so far as today's neoliberal economy increasingly favours accumulation through expropriation of the common, the concept of primitive accumulation becomes an even more central analytical tool" (2009: 138).

This is a terminology of Anglo-American Marxist urban geography and its observance of continued "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2003a: 144), as not only generator of economic change, but now "the modus operandi of neoliberal urbanism" (Hodkinson 2010: 500), including the privatisation of public land disposal. Neoliberalism can prove difficult to define amid a ""broad body of 'neoliberal studies" (LeGalès 2016: 154), yet LeGalès distinguishes neo-liberalism from its liberal predecessor as where liberalism acknowledged market failure:

> "[Neoliberalism] values market exchange as an ethic in itself…It holds that the social good will be maximised by maximising the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market." Harvey (2005: 3).

It is this therefore continued but now unrelenting "enclosing logic" (Hodkinson 2010: 500) of the market that is central to definitions of neoliberalism, and a valuable focus in discussions of the common. While liberalism, the market and capital's emergence are foundational to the spatiality of Marxist geography, not only in the genesis of the industrial city but geographies of extraction and colonisation, analyses of neoliberalism as primitive accumulation increasingly acknowledge an ever existing and re-emerging commons. Where Harvey attributed the emergence of neoliberalism to an internal crisis of over accumulated capital in the 1970s, autonomist Marxism instead blurs this distinction, arguing contemporary enclosure is the "normal, day-to-day functioning of capital accumulation and the reproduction of capitalist social relations" (Hodkinson 2012a: 507), a "constituent element of capitalist relations and accumulation . . . characteristic of capital's strategies at whatever level of capitalist development" (De Angelis 2007: 145).

This is a perspective Harvey has heavily engaged with, most notably in *Rebel Cities* (2013), where he accepts the common as ever existing, re-emerging and brimming with potentiality, as "the spaces for transformational politics are there because capital can never afford to close them down" (2013: 111). As a result, autonomist Marxism has become discursively intertwined with Anglo-American urban Marxism through the metaphor of a struggle between the enclosing spatiality of capital and the socio-spatiality of the common as a battle for urban subjectivity, a debate often framed as emerging from the Paris Commune of 1871 (Harvey 2003b). For Harvey, the common forms the basis for a renewed call for the Right to the City (LeFebvre 1968), including the right to produce it. Here, the Right to the City resonates with urban CLTs as potential emancipatory mechanisms to secure inhabitance.

Stavrides (2016) has identified the political consequences of the privatising, enclosing tendencies of urban public space governance, yet housing undoubtedly plays a key role in subjectification, particularly as the locus of social reproduction but also consumption in late capitalism. Here, this 'New Enclosure' approach has proved fruitful in narratives of the contemporary British housing system. Hodkinson's study, again of "new enclosures", identifies state-owned Council housing as "a historically necessary but deeply imperfect

form of housing commons praxis" (2010: 259), now lost to the state's capture by the neoliberal, enclosing logic of capital in Right to Buy and stock transfer. Here, enclosure is a valuable contemporary metaphor in its spatiality of privatisation and subjectification in not only studying the loss of public land but housing in London and campaigns against it as commons, but provocatively reframing Council housing as a stage in progress towards resolutely solving Engels' housing crisis. Nonetheless, as Hodkinson acknowledges (2010), the abandonment of liberal democratic provision in housing market failure matches the experience of London's welfare state retrenchment and transition to neo-liberalism, with Londoners increasingly dispossessed of social housing eligibility, forced into reliance on the private rental sector.

However, Marxist metaphors of enclosure beyond land are also valuable, in identifying practices of enclosure of bodies as biopolitical power, often underlying the ongoing enclosures of land and space. Hodkinson (2012: 508) identifies three realms of practices of contemporary enclosure, privatisation, dispossession and finally

> "capitalist subjectification, the encapturing of people, place, space and culture within the commodifying and alienating logic of capital accumulation and the competitive, marketizing logic of neoliberal rationality. To be ex-closed from the means of life means to be en-closed within the accumulation process, and the particular logic and rationale of capital. Here we can think of enclosure as imprisonment, as the enclosure of our minds and bodies. (2012: 508).

Enclosure as not solely spatial but also socio-political, a range of logics and practices including political *foreclosure,* the subordination of people to further expansions of capital is therefore an important consideration that was visible in this research, namely operating through logics of risk and practices of its management. These underpinning logics are further discussed in the framing of the Land Chapter.

Enclosure and Embodiment

Furthermore, it is also worth noting that an understanding of enclosure as metaphor for processes and logics of capitalist subjectification, as equally biopolitical as spatial,

further grounds the theoretical engagement with the dialectic of autonomist Marxism in the spatiality of the chosen case study. Once rural common land, originally developed as a fever isolation hospital and used as mental health in-patient facility prior to and rejuvenated by the disposal of surplus land, St Ann's Hospital is a spatial manifestation of state biopolitical power.

Hardt and Negri (2009: 119) are indebted to Foucault in their "entry of the phenomenology of bodies into Marxist theory" (2009: 25), asserting

> "power pushes forward central elements not in abstract but the concrete reality of bodies and their alterity, there is only a myriad of micro powers that are exercised in capillary forms in the practices and disciplinary regimes" (2009: 31).

Central to this thesis was Foucault's historicism of the asylum in *Madness and Civilisation* (2001), where nineteenth century asylums the social institutionalisation of madness, are framed as a "development that had deep material roots in the changes of economic organisation and urban spatial structure prompted by a growing industrial capitalism" (Philo 1997: 81). Thus, the Great Transformation was accompanied by 'the Great Confinement', the enclosure of threatening bodies and their displacement from the urban.

> "Foucault is alert to a tangle of medico-moral therapeutics that sanctioned the siting of asylums in the 'purity' of the countryside, albeit less the brutal nature of wilderness and more its domesticated cousin in agricultural milieux, allegedly brimful with curative potential. He duly conjoins a critical sense of mad people being banished from the urban, a crude 'out of sight, out of mind' logic, with a more mannered inquiry into how lunacy experts of the 1700s–1800s enlisted a 'retreat' to the rural within their project of securing mastery over the mad" (Philo 2012: 172).

St Ann's, as a late nineteenth century asylum built beyond the London boundary and then subsumed, has a particular urban spatiality as both a site of continued public

ownership, developed by the proto-municipal Metropolitan Asylums Board and now owned by the NHS, and yet also provides a political function of enclosing particular bodies in confinement and care.

While the particular socio-spatial practices of care and control in the site's past and present uses has engendered activists, as will be explored in this research, there is a historical connection of the site's suburban spatiality of power and an ontology of the common(s) long resistance to enclosure. This research will attempt to explore these connections, which in themselves reaffirm the value of the grounded ontology of enclosure as acts and practices, engaged by an urban CLT in an embodied value struggle to defend the common use of public land against disposal as enclosure in private property.

3.2 The Autonomist Common(s)

As the Literature Review discussed, CLTs are increasingly classed as a "model to manage housing commons" (Hodkinson 2012b: 423), a categorisation that provides both a useful ontology of practices, commoning as a verb, but equally an engagement with the urban as a generative context, through the causal mechanism of enclosure. This section will elaborate on these strengths in common(s) approaches to CLTs in developing a theoretical framework grounded in autonomist understanding of the common.

Contra to the institutional approach and its framing of commons as fixable 'common property regimes', the autonomist Marxist ontology of the commons views CLTs primarily as "value struggles between capital and the social body" (Hodkinson 2010: 253), a paradigm of potential social transformation through socio-spatial conflict between CLTs and their material contexts, as capitalist enclosure, to develop "transition pathways to post-capitalism" (Chatterton 2016: 403), or at the least, varying forms of "alterity" (Hodkinson 2010). This approach to causality, grounded in the specific academia of Italian Marxism and communist praxis of the 1970s develops numerous layers of Marxist thought to offer a socio-spatial Hegelian dialectic of potentiality of the common. As a result, the autonomist perspective offers a model of causation and movement that

reconciles structure and agency, a refined, material understanding of urban conditions and the paradigmatic framing of the result of this struggle as altermodernity.

This section will highlight the particular framings, resonances and value of adopting autonomist thinking towards CLTs in their external engagement with enclosure, particularly advocating the dialectical ontology between the commons as "enclosure's antonym" (Linebaugh 2014: 142, Ferreri and Vidal 2022: 3) and capital proclaimed by Hardt and Negri's *Commonwealth* (2009) in the development of this research's conceptual framework*.*

Resistant Practices

To an extent, one effect of the political historiography of the commons is the institutionalist focus on the effective management of commons as alternatives to property. Instead, autonomist approaches focus on the generation of alternative forms of resistance to property as enclosing practice, ever predictably appearing as Polanyi-esque counter-movements to the Great Transformations (2001) of the "republic of property" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 3). While the primary value of this ontology of resistance is the model of causality discussed below, it does furnish the commons with a Marxian historicism, valuable to understanding both urban context and commoning practices and returning to an existing criticality in housing studies often grounded in Engels' analysis of 1871. Beyond the immediate appeal of historical materialism, a long explanation of capitalism that provides fertile connections to the suburban historical geography of a Western European, formerly Imperial Metropolis, this model of causality, with a switched dialectic so that property stands secondary to and in antithesis to the pre-urban, evolving and ever existing common, presents a complex socio-spatial paradigm that emphasises radical potentiality in its framing of urban CLTs, autonomist epistemologies as "transcendental critique" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 6).

Hardt and Negri view the common, and use the term in the singular, as more than values and practices defined in opposition to dominant capital, but the participatory management of "the Commonwealth of the material world – the inheritance of humanity

as a whole" (2009: viii). Crucially, for Hardt and Negri, this all-encompassing social realm also now includes the immaterial, the "artificial common, that resides in languages, images, knowledges, affects, codes, habits and practices" (2009: 250). Here, the common widely encompasses all that is not exchanged by the market and embodies not just a "diverse economy" (Gibson-Graham 2008) but a pre-existing and ever re-emerging anarcho-communism, locked into a dialectical struggle with the dominating "enclosing logics" (Hodkinson 2010: 253) of "the rule of property", liberal capitalism, Hardt and Negri argue defines modernity (2009: 9).

Beyond the Marxian historical framing of the common(s) as the ever-present resistance of the social and communal to enclosure by the market and capital, the model of dialectic resistance, and Hegelian, synthetic outcome, provides a highly grounded ontology, framing StART as a counter-movement to development plans triggered by NHS land asset disposal to the market. In this simple resistance to 'new' enclosure, it is this potential to observe StART's influence upon the development's final planning parameters as synthesis that determined the ontology of the autonomist common as the theoretical framework to support this thesis.

Dialectical Outcomes: Altermodernity or Co-Option?

Hardt and Negri maintain that where this pre, ever existing and immaterial common successfully resists the "capitalist totality" (2009: 117) of the rule of property, a state of 'altermodernity', "its basis in the common" (2009: 111) emerges. Hardt and Negri do not pose altermodernity as a socialist project oppositional to the modernity of the rule of property, but instead one that "cuts diagonally across these false alternatives" (2009: ix) "not simply opposing all that is modern and rational but inventing new rationalities and new forms of liberation" (2009: 94). This 'diagonal dialectic' presents the altermodern political result of the common as a blended model of reformism, radicalism and retrospect, in a model of causality "within and against…that cuts through" (ibid.), an ontological synthetic goal found elsewhere in radical approaches to the common (Mould 2021: 20) and other utopic strategies (Bell and Pahl 2018: 105).

Alterity, perhaps best understood as altermodern outcomes on smaller scales, also provides a key framework common to radical understandings of the values and goals of commons struggles. As a term heavily influenced by Gibson-Graham's (2006) critique of capitalo-centric political economy and its tendency to obscure alternative forms of economic possibility, alterity can be widely defined and often non-material. Within housing studies, Hodkinson raises Engels' solution to the perennial Marxist housing question and materialises housing alterity as strategies *alternative to* "those supposedly dominant under capitalism and its current neoliberal direction" (2010: 251). As the state retreats and fails to "lock land assets for the community's benefit" (2010: 252), CLTs under the "opportunity of privatisation" (ibid.) offer a "potential to create a more horizontal praxis of housing commons" (2010: 260) than Council housing. While highlighting CLTs as a pre-eminent, 'true' vehicle of the housing commons, offering affordability through empowerment, analyses of alterity within the urban housing commons are fundamentally antithetical to context, providing a dialectico-material explanation of the generation of unaffordable, disempowering conditions, by capitalism.

Closely applying the dialectical analytical frame of alterity to CLT's impact on public land disposal therefore continues this within radical housing studies, further developing the theoretical model in the prefiguration of alterity's generation, where commoning campaigns seek to secure assets in and from a development process, than previous narratives of similar practices, namely Bunce's analysis of St Clements' (2015).

While a tight reading of autonomist Marxism offers the "common's optimism" (Tummers and MacGregor 2019: 63) of altermodernity, secured through effective, propositional resistance, De Angelis warns the commons as "outsides, if given an organizational form, might then well be later co-opted and made to work for capital when articulated to its reproduction" (2010: 969). In later work, De Angelis argued this co-option to be increasingly likely, as capitalism strategically seeks a "commons fix" (2013) as crises of social and ecological reproduction threaten continued growth through primitive accumulation:

"all the strategies and fixes available for capital to pursue growth in the world system, will only intensify the crisis of social and ecological reproduction, amplifying and widening the range of resistance even if there is no focal, programmatic point. The 'fix' needed by capital in conditions of crisis of social stability cannot rely only on the usual fixes to adopt in times of cyclical recessions, localized devaluation of assets and labour power (De Angelis, 2007: 270) or spatial fix (Harvey, 1999), that is, the creation of the built environment to displace crisis. To solve or at least to address this impasse capital needs the commons, or at least specific, domesticated versions of them. It needs a *commons fix,* especially in order to deal with the devastation of the social fabric as a result of the current crisis of reproduction" (De Angelis 2013: 605).

Therefore, the optimism of the commons must be tempered by the potentiality of two pathways, utopic altermodernity, or the warnings of co-option to enable further primitive accumulation amid welfare retraction in the Global North. As De Angelis informs us, analysis of such a result is not only dependent on the internal, but must be observed:

"The social contingencies of this struggle mean that questions of whether a commons can be co-opted cannot be addressed *ideologically*. The question of co-optation is a strategic field of possibilities, one that requires situated judgments based on context and scale." (2013: 610)

Therefore, this research is framed by a central ontological concern, a situated judgement of either alterity or co-option as the analysis of StART's impact on the "strategic field of possibilities" of development of the St Ann's hospital site. The potentiality of these two pathways, in fact potentially simultaneous outcomes, provides the analytical framework of the Land Chapter, as elaborated in the Research Questions below.

Synthesis, Subjectivity and Scale

In observing a struggle between the common and continued practices of enclosure, the terrain of that struggle must be clarified. Historically, and in regard to this case study, this is primarily conceptualised as land, the spatial within a socio-spatial epistemology of practices. Nonetheless, Hardt and Negri's primacy of practices frames commoning as embodied struggle, and so unfolds a simultaneous social terrain of subjectivity.

To a degree, the dialectic also recentres the socio-spatial by furnishing the 'socio', the focus on commons as co-operative practices with a particular analysis of the biopolitical. Hardt and Negri critique Althusserian concepts of biopower as unidirectional ideological state apparatuses, noting this "does not allow for the productivity of bodies that is central to biopolitics - the production of subjectivities" (2009: 31). Instead, Hardt and Negri see subjectivities as the result of the dialectic between *dispositifs* of the common and the apparatus of the rule of property "a biopolitical struggle that produces at once a new reality and a new truth." (2009: 121).

In this critique and this interest in subjectivity as connection between base and super structure, the developments of 'late' Marxist thought of Italy in the 1970s is clear. This conscious "entry of the phenomenology of bodies into Marxist theory" (2009: 25) is not only influenced by postmodern strands of sophisticated understandings of power, gained in French exile, but an analytical recognition of the shift of actually existing capitalism, now where "immaterial production is predominant in the biopolitical economy" (2009: 266), and so fundamentally subjectivity becomes the object of production. This productive process, as are all, is always held in dialectical tension between dominant commodified forces of the 'rule of property' and resistance enclosed in the common, its "affects, codes..." (Hardt and Negri 2009: 250) on an "ambiguous and conflictive terrain" (2009: 59) of subjectivity where "being is made in the event" (2009: 62). While this presents a complex ontology of the production of subjectivity, through the Deleuzian understanding of the *dispositif,* the epistemological consequences of which are discussed in the Methodology, it frames commoning practices as labours that produce subjectivity and as such are inherently biopolitical.

"Corporeal resistance produces subjectivity, not in an isolated or independent way but in the complex dynamic with the resistance of other bodies. The production of subjectivity is central not only to the subversion of the existing forms of power but also to the constitution of alternative institutions of liberation." (2009: 31).

This framing details the focus on socio-spatial practices as embodied resistance to the processes of capitalist subjectification discussed in the previous section. However, this then raises the ontological questions as to how resistance practices simultaneously produce resistant subjectivities and alter material processes producing urban space. Here, as Hardt and Negri note, "the complex dynamic with the resistance of other bodies" (ibid.) highlights the centrality of co-operation in resistance, but also requires the reconciliation of subjectivity and spatial transformations, which this thesis proposes to do through an ontology of scale. Similarly, the "resistance of other bodies" raises the question of who participates in group formations of the commons, related as community. This critical understanding of group formation is further explored in the framing of the Community Research Question.

However, Hardt and Negri's conceptualisation of a 'diagonal dialectic' as both horizontally practiced and moving vertically upwards across scales, the urban as particular scale, as context with agency, reappears in view. Hardt and Negri locate the potentiality of altermodernity within the specific spatiality of the metropolis, as determined by the liberal "rule of property", so providing the common(s) with a historical materialist paradigm conscious of the genesis of cities.

The City, the Urban, the Metropolis and the Multitude

While the generative process of enclosure somewhat justifies the specificity awarded to the urban scale within the urban commons, Hardt and Negri's analysis also frames the city, which they discuss at the scale of the metropolis, as the "vast reservoir of the spectre of the common" (2009: 153). While they recognise liberal capitalism's fix in the

formation of cities, the urban produced by enclosure, Hardt and Negri deploy riverine metaphors of the common-as-flow to ascribe a totality of the urban:

> "The city of course is not just a built environment constituting of buildings and streets and subways and parks and waste systems and communication cables but also a living dynamic of cultural practices, affective networks and social institutions. These elements of the common contained in the city are not only the prerequisite for biopolitical production but also its result: the city is the source of the common and the receptacle into which it flows" (2009: 154).

Furthermore, they argue the shift to immaterial labour of the late twentieth century entails a shift from an industrial to a biopolitical city, inclusive of the 'artificial common':

> "The metropolis is the site of…the "artificial common" that resides in languages, images, knowledges, affects, codes, habits and practices. This artificial common runs throughout metropolitan territory and constitutes the metropolis". (2009: 250)

Framing the city as the scale of flow, through which subjectivity is formed with "strangers in saturated space" (Huron 2015: 963) in what they determine to be the late form of capitalism, resonates with categorisations of the urban as the particularly potential scale of emancipation (Amin and Thrift 2004; Harvey 2013). Hardt and Negri align with urban Marxism's insistence of the shift from the factory to the city as the terrain of synthesis, including the ongoing appropriation of the common by capital, the rule of property, through rent, which "operates through a desocialisation of the common, privatizing in the hands of the rich the common wealth produced and consolidated in the metropolis" (2009: 250), where locational externalities impact most greatly upon rent levels and land values. Hardt and Negri here provide a model of the urban as the scale of the "social factory" (Tronti 2019), inclusive of housing, that distinctly centres rent as the exploitation of a common wealth, but one of particular value to urban housing studies in this connection between rent and the city, beyond the factory, and with it housing as a central site of the contest of subjectivity production, itself economic (Federici 2012).

For where the factory created the proletariat for Marx, Hardt and Negri view the city, in the era of immaterial production, as the site upon which the common and property struggle to shape the subjectivity of the exploited. For Hardt and Negri, this is the key terrain, for the biopolitical co-operative practices of the urban commons have the potential to unleash a not yet realised politically organised social strata, "the multitude of the poor is a political body without distinction of property – a mixed body that is unbounded" (2009: 41) and one that can only be understood as a unified subject through an act of representation, as the "people" or a class. Hardt and Negri claim rule by the multitude, "composed of a set of singularities and based on practices of self-determination" (2009: 110) represents a true and yet unrealised democratic form of the common, given "the concept and the defence of property remain the foundation of every modern constitution" (2009: 15).

Hardt and Negri here explicitly identify the propertyless urban subject, and their resistant co-operative organisational practices as the process of potentialising an altermodernity with a meta-narrative of liberation from rent exploitations, secured by a false institutionalised liberal democracy. It is here where theory proves most explicitly radical, criticising liberal democracy as a defunct con and framing the potentiality of the co-operative as transformational. While this may stand contra to the dominant reformist strand of CLT research, the primary understanding of the urban as scale of revolt, generated within a Marxist understanding of the genesis of contemporary metropolises of the Global North, is one that provides a framing with valuable potential to return to the question of and excavate an understanding of the causal agency of the urban as context to a contemporary London CLT, amid the symptoms of the city's housing crisis.

Autopoiesis

Autonomous Marxism therefore understands the urban to be the product of the parallel practices of enclosure and commons. Furthermore, De Angelis reminds us the synthesis of external dialectical engagement with each other is not wholly determined by the external characteristics of either:

"The relation between commons and capital is necessarily ambiguous, since their co-dependence and co-evolution makes it difficult to point out which of the two systems uses the other. In other words, the relation between the commons and capital is a relation between two autopoietic social systems of production whose mutual interlocking and metabolic flows are regulated by the internal dynamic in each system." (De Angelis 2013: 910)

In identifying this process of autopoiesis, the potential causality of the internal scaled spheres of capital and commons upon the supposedly external synthesis must be acknowledged, revealing a porosity of internal and external relational politics as one of scale. Where theories of the common have been critiqued for ignoring the politics internal to the common, particularly from radical democracy, this research seeks to not only discuss the group's implosion on its own terms, but demonstrate this scalar porosity meant the internal politics of StART impacted the supposedly external conflict with state practices of spatial enclosure, and vice versa. It is therefore vital to examine key theoretical approaches to the political as "the internal sphere of the common, which can only ever be contentious" (Rancière 1999: 14).

3.3 The Internal: Scales of the Political

Regardless of autopoiesis, the internal proved the key scales for this thesis' teleological exploration of StART's implosion. It is also the internal realm where commons theory has received sustained engagement, from several directions, not least the critique that the commons ignores agonism and dissent radical democracy maintains is constitutive of politics within activist and urban social movements. As Deleixhe provokes:

"In their political proposition, conflict is absent from the commons. Conflict is entirely associated with resistance to the enclosure movements (Harvey 2011, Klein 2001), while commons are assumed to be harmoniously self- governed through spontaneously cooperative practices" (2018: 71).

Furthermore, critiques of the commons follow critique from post-modern pedagogies of Marxism. Nonetheless, it is inaccurate to state the autonomist common(s), as field, ignores the agonistic "politics of the common" (Rancière 1999: 14), identifying "two primary dangers facing the multitude: the repression of the ruling power and internally, the destructive conflicts among singularities within the multitude" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 357). This section will examine critical discussions of the 'internal' of the common, the social beyond enclosure, and crucially for radical democrats, the realm of politics as "the sphere of activity of a common that can only ever be contentious" (Rancière 1999: 14). It will then discuss "blind spots" (Tola and Rossi 2019: 261) of the common, notably that

> "the identification of the common with the creative force of living labour carries a universalising impetus that misses the ways in which the ongoing histories of radicalised, gendered and environmental violence have increased the potentialities of some bodies and reduced others" (ibid.)

Finally, Hardt and Negri's response to both the critiques from post-modern perspectives of identity and those of radical democracy are then discussed in their assertion "love gone bad creates obstacles that destroy the common" (2009: 195), framing the commons as a political project of love. This then sets the conceptual foundation for an exploration of trust, and its antonym, distrust, in the governing of the common(s) as the realm of the political, and generative of StART's dissolution.

Dissensus

Before outlining these research questions, it is important to note that while Hardt and Negri offer a value, love, and demand its "education" in commoning vehicles, the potentiality of doing so under liberal capitalism remains highly contested. The critique of radical democracy is powerful in noting the common "postulates a conception of multiplicity free from negativity and antagonism which doesn't make room for the necessarily hegemonic nature of the social order" (Mouffe 2018: 55) and so ignores the powerful and remaining *dispositifs* that shape the disagreement the political institutions of the common must manage. In this engagement with radical democracy, the "politics of

the common", as the political, amid contemporary (neo-)liberal democratic governance as administrative "post-politics" (Mouffe 2018) that shapes, represses and attempts to co-opt it, *dissensus* is exposed in a way that does not feature so prominently in either the empirical or institutional approaches to CLTs as the commons. Where Ostrom (1990), and arguably, the English CLT literature view internal conflict as a threat to "harmonious self-governing schemes of co-operation" (Deleixhe 2018: 66), radical democracy frames the political, in contrast to politics, as the management of antagonisms within the multitude, crucial to the "struggle to democratize democracy" (Deleixhe 2018: 67). Deleixhe maintains

> "if we want to elaborate a democratic principle of the common further, we must turn our attention to the socio-political dynamism of those internal divisions and investigate whether limited conflicts play a role in sustaining a vibrant democracy in the existing commons" (2018: 76).

The contribution of radical democracy therefore introduces an ambivalence towards conflict within the common, as constitutive of its reproduction. This research proceeded with a neutral opinion on the role of conflict within a CLT, to be assessed solely by consequences. Arguably, an expectation and focus on dissensus is particularly vital when considering the urban context. As discussed in the context chapter, Haringey is a borough of economic and ethnic "superdiversity" (Vertovec 2012) and presumably, with it a superdiversity of identities, potential singularities, economic exclusions, affects and perspectives on the housing crisis and StART's progress.

Furthermore, the focus on internal conflict within the common contributes perspectives to questions posed by empirical CLT research. Mouffe argues there are scalar limits to the "fashionable idea of the common, inappropriate as a general organising principle of society" (2018: 69). This suspicion of a scalar threshold of commoning raises a potentially valuable perspective on the question of upscaling within the CLT field. Here, alongside the questions of institutional decision-making form and representation, the autonomous approach of the common appears to return to the quintessential contemporary concerns of the empirical CLT strand. Despite its promise of

potential transformation of subjectivity and the abolition of all structures of oppression, it is here where the highly theoretical ontology of the autonomous common demonstrates its continued relevance to studying the decision-making forms of CLT groups as commons. It is not so much the radical ambition of the paradigm of the common, but the painful experiences that generate radical democracy's suspicion of consensus, that legitimate the emphasis on dissent.

A Universalising Impetus

Within this nascent approach various perspectives have raised important observations of dynamics within the common, particularly in terms of embodied differences of the subjectivities of the multitude. Here, Hardt and Negri's terminology of the multitude recognises the consequences of "entry of the phenomenology of bodies into Marxist theory" (2009: 25), engaging with post-modernity's pedagogies of feminism and anti-racism alongside autonomous Marxist contributions focused on class. But while the 'multitude' as terminology seeks to signify difference and diversity, "blind spots" (Tola and Rossi 2019: 261) of commons literature, towards race, gender, class and other historical social constructions that empower and disempower some bodies more than others have been identified. The question of asymmetry, and inequality of power within the multitude, has emerged from particular observations on these within studies of commoning regimes. While Hardt and Negri describe liberal capitalism's governmentality of bodies as racialised, a "modernity-coloniality-racism complex, each a support for the others" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 79), there is a recognition these differences generated under and integral to capitalism will not necessarily be demolished with the utopic arrival of the common, but the transition to altermodernity requires a resubjectification of singularities, where "the self-abolition of identity is key to understanding how revolutionary politics can begin with identity but not end up there" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 329).

As the practice of the common(s) is thus supposed to form a process of transformational re-subjectification, these observations of the politics internal to the common form an important focus for the research of CLT activism before assets, as the

commons is "already contested: a space brimming with differences and contradictions but also possibilities: an actually existing commons is both actualized and yet to be actualized" (Noterman 2016: 448). As a social alongside economic set of practices, the critical observations of scholars from within the commons as field, along the cleavages of the multitude between gender, race and class as property ownership, provide valuable observations of their asymmetries, and their destructive potential.

Feminist Autonomous Marxism

As an autonomous Marxist, Federici's feminist work on historical enclosure and its required reframing of gendered social relations, established often through violence, particularly that of the witch-hunt (2004), is vital to understanding the embodied nature of power and its relation to property. Federici's career observation is arguably the ignorance of socially reproductive labour by Marxism, because it is usually carried out by women. As a result, Federici argues women as the "primary subjects of reproductive work… have depended more than men on access to communal resources and have been more committed to their defence." (2012: 143) but also asserts that although autonomist Marxism has shifted to an understanding of immaterial labour in late capitalism, this continues a "capitalo-centrism" (Gibson-Graham 2008) which ignores social reproduction. This feminism should be of particular interest to housing political economy and particularly that engaging with the question of 'alter-' subjectivity production. Federici maintains "the house is the *oikos* on which the economy is built" (2012: 147), providing a nuanced understanding of the home, family structure and dwelling as the primary site of enclosure as practices of liberal capitalist subjectification. By highlighting the reproduction of labourers as key to the reproduction of capitalism, Federici provides a further reason to "centre housing within political economy" (Aalbers and Christophers 2014).

Federici also observed the tendency to ignore socially reproductive labour as an already existing commons and the "bedrock of society" (2012: 139), calling for the common as the "unifying concept prefiguring the cooperative society the Left is striving to create" (ibid) to collectivise housework and place reproductive work as central to the

resistance of capitalism. While this perspective, calling for the abolition of the single-family dwelling as the site of isolated, reproductive female labour, is particularly valuable to examining co-living communities as commons, socially reproductive labour is valuable to revealing the operation, and everyday functioning, of activism and campaign groups. The tasks of administration and maintenance of the group, can be classed as reproductive labour and it has been noted elsewhere that failure to maintain, equalise or appreciate administrative labour has been key to the collapse of urban social movements and commoning groups (Halvorsen 2015). Other feminists of the commons (Noterman 2016) have called for the neutral analysis of "differential commoning" to highlight asymmetrical forms of co-production by residents participating in a mobile home co-operative and the resultant differential subjectivities this produced, with potential for both conflict and new positive possibilities emerging. This research therefore proceeded with a keen eye to identify StART's "differential" forms of participation, including socially reproductive labour and its division within the group.

The 'Undercommons': Black Radical Contributions

Questions of difference within the multitude have also been raised by indigenous and Black Radical traditions, accusing the commons of a "gloss over race" (Tola and Rossi 2019: 262). This universalising narrative not only ignores the Black experience of Empire as enclosure into property and embodied subjectification, but equally historical appropriations of Black managed common resources on smaller scales. Hardt and Negri by no means deny the gendered and racialised nature of capitalism in their Marxist "phenomenology of bodies" (2009: 25) but view the identities generated by capitalism's differing embodied power strategies as temporary, arguably betraying a Marxist disdain, accusing postmodernism of a resultant identity politics that ignores its relation to property, as "it is inevitable that identity should become a primary vehicle for struggle within and against the republic of property since identity itself is based on property and sovereignty" (2009: 326).

Harney and Moten (2013), to a large extent in conversation with Hardt and Negri, proclaimed an "undercommons", in the segregated subjectification of black and white

labour by capital, vulnerable to appropriation by white commoning. However, in framing "whiteness as a property, which has accorded its holders benefits" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 326), the autonomist approach to the common(s) logically recognises imbalances of power established under racialised capitalism can operate within the common. How these imbalances of power are actively abolished by commoning regimes remains obscure, nonetheless acknowledging "whiteness as property", after Harris (1993), not only recognises their historical intertwining under capitalism, but welcomingly introduces whiteness into discussions of race, and identity, in the common.

Nonetheless, here, race and identity remain a major weakness of autonomist thinking. Understanding anti-racism as a "parallel struggle" and proclaiming the need for gendered and race thinking "to identify oppression" (2009: 336), Hardt and Negri argue identity politics is an "initial task of insubordination" (2009: 326) within racist post-imperial societies of Western Europe where, "discourses of national integration have not eliminated racial subordination but have only made the continuing colonization less visible and thus more difficult to combat" (2009: 328), warning that despite the subordination of othering in identity formation, "identity is regarded as a possession and defended as property" (2009: 329). As a result, Hardt and Negri argue the common as revolutionary objective then requires the "self-abolition of identity", where "you have to lose who you are to discover what you can become." (2009: 340). This shifting "perspective from identity to singularity clarifies especially the revolutionary moment of the process…what identity is to property, singularity is to the common" (2009: 339). However, this envisioned entwined process of parallel emancipations "are not automatic and have to be achieved" (2009: 340), returning to the question of ideology and institutionalism, the design of governance.

While this has its own problematics, discussed below, it is worth noting the engagement of the common with questions of embodied structures of oppression is valuable to the study of CLTs and StART in particular. CLTs in the U.S. "can be traced back to the 1960s Civil Rights Movement" (Engelsman, Rowe and Southern 2018, Meehan 2014), touted as a solution to the racial economic injustice of the South, where the landownership patterns of the sharecropping agricultural economy maintained and

reinforced the economic exploitation and discrimination against African Americans established by slavery. Histories of urban CLTs in the U.S. have eclipsed these origins in racial justice in arguably a wider process of appropriation, generating concerns American CLTs risk losing their "radicality" or "soul" (DeFilippis et al 2019: 817). By the time the CLT model was legally codified in England, arguably connections to racial equality had been obscured and given the dominance of CLT success case studies in the contexts of rural Southwest England and Scotland, few studies have overtly considered questions of representation of communities, in a plural of diversity, understanding representation rather as a question of stakeholder power within governance arrangements. This ontological geographical divide is also common in European collaborative housing studies. Only Aernouts and Ryckewaert's study of CLT Brussels in Molenbeek (2017) avoids the "blind spot" of race, highlighting the racialised socio-spatial layers of the neighbourhood's housing crisis, where scarcity and landlord discrimination exacerbate the crisis for immigrants largely from North Africa. The CLT emerged as a response for "better living conditions for minorities but also aimed to give them a voice and a political conscience" (Aernouts and Ryckewaert 2017: 3). An awareness of the embodied nature of CLT practice, and the unequal impacts of the housing crisis, provides a valuable lens upon English urban CLTs in particular, as potential vehicles of "parallel liberation" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 339).

Furthermore, as this research explores, race is an important issue within the history of StART, a group where accusations of racism arose and where race figures heavily in representations of the local, spatially bound community of Tottenham, as discussed in the context chapter. Here, race forms an integral primer of the need to examining commoning practices internal to StART, amid the observation of actually existing terrains of difference and conflict, in discussions towards the third theme, Trust.

The Party of Movement?

Hardt and Negri's insistence on the required "abolition of identity" and transition to singularities of the multitude raises the "problematic of subjectivity" (De Angelis 2010: 956). As the "ultimate core of biopolitical production, not the production of objects but

the production of subjectivity itself" (Hardt and Negri 2009: x), subjectivity in the age of immaterial labour is, for autonomists, the terrain for the contest between the 'rule of property' and the common, constantly in motion, "the multitude itself author of perpetual becoming other" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 173). In this transition process, of becoming, subjectivity is not free from the market's embodied and governmental "discipline of subjectivities" (De Angelis 2010: 955).

But while race was a key concern in StART, so was the intermodal issue of class, and so as to whiteness, the middle-class as subjectivity is a key area of discussion within the internal politics of the common. Furthermore, perspectives on the multitude as propertyless raise the problematic of existent propertied activism, that of the middle-class as propertied. De Angelis has employed a classically Marxist framing of the production of bourgeois subjectivity by liberal capitalism, the middle-classes the "social subject that social practices produce normalization to the system and therefore is a condition for the reproduction of the system itself" (2010: 960), the "political subject of the end of history" (2010: 967). This reading of hegemonic middle-class subjectivity rests heavily on a Marxist analysis of Western European history, particularly the urban bourgeois shift from the "party of movement" to the "party of order" (Hobsbawm 1977; Sperber 1994) with their co-option in the constitutional settlements that followed the Revolutions of 1848, arguably the key European events dissipating and consecrating the liberal "republic of property". De Angelis maintains 'outsides' to this hegemonic culture, within which urban life is now constituent, can appear:

> "Pass[ing] through middle class subjects themselves, through all, to varying degrees, and is expressed in atomic re-appropriations of labor time and its products, and space away from capital, or in molecular communities reproducing commons and their defense in factories, offices, neighborhoods, homes, streets, and cyberspace. It is the frontline of value struggle passing through the bodies of laboring subjects" (2010: 968).

This provides a valuable model to understand subjectivity and its potential transformation through activism as a *dispositif*. Yet as De Angelis warns, "these outsides, if given an organizational form, might then well be later co-opted and made to work for

capital when articulated to its reproduction" (2010: 969), connecting to alter-modernity as a utopic destination threatened not just by the external dominance of capital but the internal obstacles to subjective transformation. De Angelis also notes the party of order's role in producing an excluded outside, synonymous with Moten and Harney's Undercommons:

> "the social constitution of the middle class is predicated on a particular social production of "order" and "betterment". These are both predicated on the construction of "the other": the other as a foreign alien or the other as the *poor*, the unwaged, the waged at the bottom of the scale (who cannot access "our" rights and entitlements, but who can be forced into migration by "our" rights to capital movements seeking valorisation; who can clean "our" office toilets and subways, but who cannot speak to the world about the conditions and remuneration of this because of the threat of detention; who cannot follow the swings of their existential needs and desires, but who must endure the swings of pervasive and never ending capitalist restructuring" (2010: 970).

From this, a model to frame commoning within capitalism as one of borders, boundaries and thresholds, both policed and transgressable by the middle-class emerges, here urban commoning appears as potentially transformational to some and simultaneously potentially exclusionary to others. This resonates with a valuable critical perspective on urban 'community', as practiced precisely through exclusion:

> "The elementary question about community is therefore where it ends, or where exclusion comes into play: we need to understand boundary work in order to understand what community, conceived of as some sort of imaginary entity, may be in the first place" (Blokland 2017: 138).

Love: The Institutional Fix?

The contributions of radical democracy, postmodern perspectives and critical autonomist scholars of the commons are valuable in highlighting particular and important dynamics within the commons as not only the economic, or the social defined as what is excluded from the economic, but the political, "the sphere of activity of a common that

can only ever be contentious" (Rancière 1999: 14), "endowed with equal measures of social solidarity and aggressiveness" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 167). Here, the autonomist approach arrives at the pre-occupation of Ostrom, the institutionalisation of the commons, but in a form that manages resources yet recognises and "does not negate the social rupture created by revolt but extends and develops it" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 357) and "provides a mechanism of protection against the two primary dangers facing the multitude: the repression of the ruling power and internally, the destructive conflicts among singularities within the multitude" (ibid.). The recognition of these dual potentialities, and the response of institutional design, form the three pillars around which the research questions have emerged from autonomist approaches to the common.

The importance of the institutional fix is therefore universally recognised, and here the model and questions of its inherent reformism and radicalism are partially addressed. Harvey notes the "truly contradictory situation…some sort of enclosure is often the best way to preserve certain kinds of valued commons" (2013: 70). Encased in the laws and property ownership system of liberal capitalism, CLTs themselves form enclosures, using the reformist means of law to secure radical 'alterity' and, as the autonomous approach maintains, potentially transformative and emancipatory spaces of subjectification, focused within the powerful *oikos* of the home.

For Hardt and Negri, these institutions must take on the "multitude form, a form of political organisation that emphasises the multiplicity of the social singularities and on the other seeks to coordinate their common actions and maintain their equality in horizontal organisational structures" (2009: 110). StART's horizontal decision-making structure and proclaimed ethos somewhat confirms it as a commoning regime, despite the absence of a collective discursive politics of commoning. The dual risks of co-option and failure to manage conflicts within the common raise important questions both of the political and those specific to the development progress of CLTs. Harvey's observation of enclosure raises the question of the practices of "boundary work" (Blokland 2017: 8), and so who is included in governing the commons. Therefore, institutional design, so as to

effectively manage internal conflict, returns as the key question that is often obscured by the universalising tendency of commons analysis.

The "politics of the common" is, according to Hardt and Negri, best mediated by institutions that value love, "really the living heart of the project" (2009: 180). Hardt and Negri maintain "love is the power of the common in a double sense: the power that the commons exerts and the power to constitute the common" (2009: 189) and as a result, "love consolidates these institutions" (2009: 193). As a result, "the institution corresponds to 'training in love': continually transformed by the singularities that compose them." (2009: 357). However, Hardt and Negri also warn of "love gone bad" (2009: 195), evil,

> "Love is thus not only an ontological motor, but also an open field of battle – the struggle to combat evil therefore involves a training or education in love. Love gone bad creates obstacles that destroy the common: identity, unity and imposing hierarchies within common relations. The power of love must be a force to combat evil." (2009: 195)

While love is under conceptualised in urban planning as a social science, it is, at the least, an ethic (hooks 2000, Hardt 2011, Berlant 2011, Wilkinson 2017, Mould 2021) or inter-subjective value that enables co-operation. This view of love as the primary, yet potently ambiguous radical capital, exchanged within and running through the common, provides a value against which to assess the institutional design of CLTs as successful. From this question of love and the institutionalisation of values, a framing of the third research question begins to emerge, around the related, affectual, arguably synonymous and certainly more theorised concept in urban planning, trust. Having examined the external and internal dynamics of commoning organisations in theories of the common and its critics, it is possible to introduce the research questions and themes to the empirical chapters.

4. Research Questions

4.1 Elements

This thesis proceeds along three themes, framed around the components of community, land and trust as the "elements that are inherent in the concept and common to the various forms of CLT" (Engelsman, Rowe and Southern 2016: 596). It presents the CLT model as itself an assemblage of interlocking concepts, all vital to a CLT's success. While this thematic emerged and aligned with research questions in retrospection, empirically grounded by the research experience, these paradigms have also been used with some conceptual success (Engelsman, Rowe and Southern 2016, Williams et al 2020, Kruger et al 2020), with each linking to a wider, well-developed conceptual field. The elements of community, land and trust therefore still require extensive conceptual consideration, including definition, reconciliation with the field of the common(s) and as the ontological orientations framing the research questions. Furthermore, the triad also allows a rough chronology, framing an analytical narrative of movement through the formation of community, influence over land, and the evaporation of trust, capturing both the genealogy of StART's emergence and the teleology of the group's collapse.

This section will therefore approach each concept before introducing the related research questions, and any further theoretical framings to the specific ontologies of the three empirical chapters.

Community

Within the CLT field, "the C in CLT" and its "production" (Kruger et al 2020: 638) has increasingly become a focus. However, these studies have largely researched communities of residents in existing, built CLTs, rather than orienting towards earlier phases of campaigning and becoming. These studies note "community is an ambiguous concept, with a myriad of meanings, understandings, and ways in which it is invoked and mobilized...the history of social science and social theory research is rife with a theme of

lost community" (Kruger et al 2020: 641). Given this frustration, ontologies of 'community' or "alternative languages" (Gilbert 2013: 163) to it provide an ontology of community emergence, becoming and formation, as assemblage.

Indeed, Gilbert's outlining of the ambivalence of commons theory towards community notes the sense of loss itself is grounded in enclosure into the market, "the lack of it is the most obviously negative and widely regretted feature of neoliberal culture" (2013: 163). For Gilbert,

> "the danger of the idea of community is that it too often implies a form of collectivity which is dependent upon a shared, but static and homogeneous identity, and that it is often evoked in order to neutralise any possible criticism of the power relations *within* 'communities'" (2014: 164).

It is this wide recognition of internal difference within groupings of community that enthuses Gilbert in Hardt and Negri's terminology of the multitude and to an extent, this discursive alterity and epistemological emphasis on practice bypasses the fraught question of defining community as a theoretically operational term. For some commons scholars, the terminology of community has been retained, again understood primarily to be formed though practices, where "the community that commons is not pregiven; rather, communities are constituted through the process of commoning" (Gibson-Graham, Cameron and Healy 2016: 5)

At the least, the commons provides an ontology of community, if not the multitude, formed by social practice and performance, particularly in urban contexts (Fischer 1982, Blokland 2017). It is this ontology of community as formed in practice which framed the first research question:

1. **How did StART foster commoning practices in a diverse, deprived and rapidly gentrifying community?**

Problematically here, community becomes almost synonymous with group, organisation or movement without identifying connections to place based conceptions of community, nor how embodied practices of commoning, and with it community, are organised, nor how these organised practices begin to engage with dialectical processes of enclosure. Here it is valuable to employ an ontology of StART as a loose, porous activist formation emergent from a wider assemblage of place bound community. This ontology, of assemblage, aligns with the Deleuzian influence to Negri's thinking and presents "a describable product of emergent social relations" (Marcus and Saka 2006: 102).

Assemblage has been successfully applied to urban social movements, particularly in its characterisation of them as emergent, dynamic *events*, temporally limited but ever upscaling in organisational form (DeLanda 2021). It is this model which frames the ontology and structure of the first empirical chapter. Here, four widely agreed epistemological characteristics of assemblage are used as analytical qualities, to assess StART's formation in line with DeLanda's "peculiarly but provocatively scalar" (McFarlane 2009: 562) ontology. These characteristics, emergence, constellation, exteriority and territorialisation, are further introduced in the Community empirical chapter, but a model of upscaling, to the point of influence in a dialectic with enclosure, raises questions of structure and agency familiar to ontological debates surrounding assemblage (Brenner, Madden and Wachsmuth 2011, Russell, Chatterton and Pusey 2011) and its ability to recognise constraint. Presenting the commons as an assemblage of practices, "repertoires of contention" (Tilly 1993), invites a mirrored ontology onto the enclosures they dialectically contend, as constellations of practices, across several forms, including mechanisms of attempted subjectification. From here, a model of assemblage, 'scaling up' to meet a dialectical tussle with the state reconciles the agency of commoning practices with agencies constraining their possibilities. As discourses of assemblage have themselves noted, this returns to the Deleuzian interest in "defect[ing] from dialectical thinking in an attempted furthering of a political project" (Russell, Pusey and Chatterton 2011: 579).

Nonetheless, a critical ontology of community does not necessarily in itself identify the internal dynamics or politics of the common where "love's gone bad". Here,

territorialisation is crucial, as synonym for homogenisation. Within collaborative housing studies, it is increasingly recognised "co-housing projects in Europe are not necessarily able to deliver inclusivity and diversity…all four projects were inhabited primarily by white, middle-class residents" (Tummers and McGregor 2019: 74). Autonomist Marxism too identifies this issue "historically many commons were not organized in an egalitarian manner and that there is the danger of a "new form of enclosure, [of] the commons being constructed on the basis of the homogeneity of its members" (Caffentzis and Federici 2014: 102–103 in Bodirsky 2018: 124). Where ontologies of urban community often focus on exclusionary practices, territorialisation allows a dual understanding of both exclusionary practices coupled with an understanding of CLT participation as offering a self-selecting alternative identity attractive to white middle classes, in England. Using the Boudieusian frame of alterity as distinction (Bourdieu 1984) Arbell's (2021: 5) work on CLT diversity in England demonstrates the value of both considerations.

Land

Having described the formation of StART as activist movement, scaled up to a position of influence with regional government, the Land Chapter returns to dialectical thinking, focused on the spatial outcomes decided for the site and the power struggle that produced them. It is the dialectic between enclosure and commoning which framed the second research question:

2. **How did StART's commoning practices secure alternative development at the St Ann's site?**

Alongside the social element of community, CLTs remain spatial and "land acquisition…is the second element of the CLT. In practice this means the initial injection of capital, the public subsidy or philanthropic imbursement becomes a very important component" (Engelsman, Rowe and Southern 2016: 597). The second chapter of findings in the thesis focuses on StART's attempts to alter the development path, housing mix and spatial outcomes at the St Ann's site, admittedly stretching 'land' to include all spatial aspects of StART's Masterplan. It will use the theoretical framework of the diagonal

dialectic, to assess StART's endeavours as ever upscaling commoning against the state's practices of enclosure through disposal to achieve an "altermodernity", "within, against, that cuts through" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 94) the dominant logics of development in London, or a result of co-option and extraction of the "commons fix" De Angelis (2013) maintains capital seeks to reinforce primitive accumulation, here through further urban land enclosure.

Here, a case-specific judgement between alterity and co-option must be made of StART's influence, amid

"the 'ambiguity' between commons-within-and-for-capital and commoning-beyond-capital…a razor edge that both capital and social movements must attempt to negotiate" (De Angelis and Harvie 2013: 291).

But despite the prime focus on spatiality, as is discussed in the Enclosure section above, Hodkinson (2010) identifies enclosing logics and practices of capitalist subjectification, raising the importance of inter-institutional dynamics, between StART and the GLA, to spatial outcomes. The last section of the Land chapter therefore examines non-spatial enclosure practices towards StART, into a matrix of risk. As the empirical data suggests, the GLA's approach to trusting StART was one based on calculating risks to commercial activity, attempting to enclose them in risk as the GLA sought to protect both the disposal process and any consequences its compromise could have for the GLA's market led housing delivery programme, or it's delicate inter-scalar politics with central government. Giddens (1998) Beck (1992) and Lupton (2013) all identify risk as a key logic of governance, not least neoliberal (Lupton 2013: 6) and one mediated by perceptions of trust. The empirical chapter therefore examines trust, at the inter-institutional *external* scale, before inter-personal, *internal* trust, and its importance to StART's internal governance, is discussed.

Trust

Arguably it is the 'T', trust, that has received the least attention in CLT studies, despite wide and multi-disciplinary resurgent interest in the concept. In recent years, trust has become an increasing focus within the urban commons (Berlant 2016, Feinberg, Ghorbani and Herder 2021: 10) as an "affective infrastructure" (Zielke et al 2021: 10) critical to effective governance. Trust has proven a valuable lens on conflict and failure (Zielke et al 2021), demonstrating the value of a sleight of terminology away from trust as legal form of property ownership, as the T in CLT derives from. Here, it is valuable to note trust as legal form emerged in English during the Crusades, to allow aristocrats at war, both knights and landowners, to assign stewardship to another, reclaimable should they return. Trust as legal form therefore has its origins in conflict, both of war, proto-imperial conquering, and the management of property claims of the returning thirteenth century English aristocracy.

Contrastingly, trust as inter-subjective affect and normative value is understood as integral to co-operation, and therefore transmissions of power, with causal potency. Trust has been approached by a number of disciplines, including urban planning and simultaneously sociology, the economics of rational choice theory and political science. Within urban planning, trust has been identified as

> "a central element of planning practice because the profession is positioned at the nexus of public and private interests, has a crucial role in the contested management of space, and seeks to promote democratic governance and public participation in local decision making" (Laurian 2009: 369),

 yet also declining in a crisis of its own as distrust in institutions and expertise grows (Swain and Tait 2007: 230). Others have identified the restoration of trust as integral to the discipline's "communicative" and "participatory" (Innes 1995, Healey 1992) turns, an absence of trust a problematic for the planning system's co-operative and consensus building functioning.

It is valuable to note here urban planning and sociological understandings of trust as intersubjective "transmission acts" (Misztal 1992: 10) are often inflected with the liberal perspective of societal loss, echoing that in narratives of community. Sociology has produced a number of macro narratives of trust's decline in the late twentieth century, through narratives of social capital (Putnam 1993) or plurality (Etzioni 1993, Swain and Tait 2007: 9). However, of particular interest is Beck's (1992) and Giddens' (1998) narrative of the global scale "risk society" as generator of the crisis of trust. Given the empirical identification of the importance of risk as state logic in the disposal of St Ann's, the relationship between trust, risk, enclosure and globalised modernity is particularly pertinent.

However, as Lupton (2013) reminds us, the logic of risk and its management is key to speculative neoliberal governance. The question of trust to governance raises interest in institutional design around the value of trust, and its efficacy. Here, the division between external and internal maps onto that of inter-institutional and inter-personal trust (Swain and Tait 2007: 244) allowing a divided focus on trust between StART and the GLA, and internal to StART. To a certain extent, this is an ontological fallacy, as autopoietic assemblage invites us to view trust as operative on scales, rather than a structure or agency opposition. Yet given the handy division of the binary from this perspective, the third research question, focused on trust within and integral to the decision-making of StART, at the 'internal' scales of activist constellation, can emerge:

3. **How effective were StART's institutional practices at 'governing the commons'?**

Within institutional approaches to common property regimes and co-operative economics, a demonstration of trust in systems theory as the "lubricant of co-operation" (Arrow 1974, Luhmann 1988) provides a valuable metaphor as to the function of trust in co-operation. Valuably, autonomous approaches collide with this machinic metaphor, itself common to assemblage, in viewing "love as the engine of the common" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 193). Here trust forms community, renders commoning practices effective and transforms subjectivity, all simultaneously, providing a synonymous value to love.

It therefore stands to reason distrust, and/or mistrust (Zielke et al 2021) forms an antonymic substance, a desiccant to the internal operations of cooperative practices. Arguably, distrust is a substance and force of deterritorialisation to an activist assemblage, (DeLanda 2021: 19), again potentially active at any scale and able to jump scales, through autopoiesis. Such a conceptual model of trust, and its active absence, frame the theoretical underpinning to the affective sense of failure evident in this empirical research.

Nonetheless, it remains important to explore causality of the evaporation of trust within StART and its resultant crisis. Here, the dynamic of deterritorialisation was introduced by distrust akin to and compatible with autonomous understandings of "love gone bad", as a result of the obstacles to the common, identity, unity and hierarchy. The third empirical chapter follows a structure exploring each obstacle, in reverse order. The obstacle of hierarchy speaks to challenges of horizontality in decision-making, while unity an ethic of consensus, and its problematics are unpicked through the frame of radical democracy. Finally, identity is examined as resistance to the prescribed and predicted subjective transformation by the common.

As was discussed in the previous section, collaborative housing studies increasingly admits its various forms appeal narrowly to a white middle-class 'alterity' (Arbell 2021: 442). Furthermore, commons studies have warned of the risk of majoritarian ethics of the functioning of the common (Mould 2021: 81). It is therefore logical to focus discussion of resistance to identity transformation onto whiteness, particularly because it is a racial identity largely categorised by its refusal to recognise itself as one. Furthermore, whiteness is an area where Hardt and Negri's "re-entry of the phenomenology of bodies into Marxism" is particularly successful, acknowledging, after Harris (1993), "whiteness as a property, which accords it's holders benefits" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 326). Through these benefits, whiteness must be understood to operate through hierarchy, and unity, as power, as much as identity.

This framing of whiteness, as property, hegemonic and potent, gives it a greater degree of agency, as cultural "orientation" (Ahmed 2007: 151) to decision making, where

"whiteness could be described as an ongoing and unfinished history, which orientates bodies in specific directions, affecting how they 'take up' space" (Ahmed 2007: 150). This is a conception of whiteness generally unattended to in urban planning, where whiteness often continues to function as an "unmarked marker" (Garner 2007: 42), in a British discipline where

> "the complexities of colonial history creates significant barriers to understanding how race and ethnic difference emerge dialogically within urban space. The valorization of British expertise, and its embodied whiteness, occurred in a context where other racial identities were devalued within structural and institutional hierarchies." (Beebeejaun 2022a: 253).

Where the participatory, pluralistic, collaborative and communicative turns (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002) in the cosmopolitan city (Sandercock 2005) have furnished urban planning with an ontology of participation as a normative, positive tool for boosting diversity of public engagement and equality in outcomes in the production of cities, critical studies of the "dark side" (Yiftachel 1998, Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002) of planning and participation identify the potential of participation for legitimation, discrimination, segregation or state control. Recognitions of the asymmetrical societal distribution of power in shaping participation patterns, in non-state settings, have been slower to emerge within studies of planning in Global Northern cities. Where political scientists have identified participatory experiments, such as those within the 1970s SNCC, that "became white" (Polletta 2005), identified and abandoned as formations of whiteness themselves, urban planning, particularly in the British contexts, has been relatively inattentive to the question as to whether participation in planning systems or movements is itself particularly racialised, alongside classed, privileged or even exclusionary, solely engaged with by narrow stratum of society who have planning knowledge. As a result, this thesis seeks to contextualise participation in urban planning in London as an issue of a discipline practiced amid and largely blind to its imperial origins. As Beebeejaun notes,

"As planning theorist Ambe Njoh (2010) emphasizes, the insufficiently problematized narrative of European colonial planning misrepresents expertise as neutral and obscures its position within an 'encompassing effort to universalize Western culture' (p. 375). Of course colonialism is not a solely European phenomenon but British planning has a unique position given its own positioning as the originator of the modern discipline." (Beebeejaun 2022a: 252).

As this dissertation explores, the societal construction and distribution of fundamentally relational expertise, and its operative relevance to trust and perceptions of risk (Lupton 2013: 165), is a key discursive techné through which whiteness operates in the metropolitan context of London, as "the framing of expertise reaffirms the problematic notion that it is embodied within Eurocentric knowledge." (Beebeejaun 2022a: 259). Where an asymmetry of expertise, with implications for trust, is usually envisioned between professional planner and the public, the construction and asymmetrical distribution of expertise within an urban, metropolitan social movement requires a critical focus in the operation of expertise, whiteness and its impact upon internal trust dynamics that is relatively rare in studies of participatory planning or urban social movements. Furthermore, it must do so critically aware of the construction of expertise within the post-imperial metropolis (Massey 2007). Whiteness as the "orientation from here" (Ahmed 2007: 151) proves valuable in understanding StART's normative efforts at diversification, representation, recruitment and internal conflict as a process of desired becoming, interrupted by whiteness as a hegemonic force of the republic of property, as metropolitan *doxa* (Bourdieu 1977).

Similarly, the agency of whiteness is also proposed through a phenomenology of discomfort as affect (Ahmed 2007: 163) within the group, and reflexively, towards the research project and between researcher and researched. As this thesis aims to trace in greater detail, the relationship of discomfort to distrust was vital, and to prove integral to StART's collapse. Discomfort, distrust and race form a particularly British doxa to explore that enables the location of the ongoing contemporary construction of metropolitan whiteness within a radical urban social movement, seeking to divert the neo-liberal

accumulative processes of the entrepreneurial-austerity state, at an unequivocally urban frontier, albeit one within in the Metropolitan core of London.

Doing so returns us to the teleological question of failure. While "love gone bad" poses a theoretical conceptualisation of failure, within this thesis it is largely driven by empirical events and the perceptions of activists in interviews, of both StART's constrained and co-opted external influence and internal irreconciliations. The conclusion of this thesis will advocate learning from failure, not only given the compromising difficulties specifically urban CLTs in England face, but for the production of future urban planning knowledge in a discipline itself failing to acknowledge the consequences of its positional origins as "here".

4.2 Commons as Epistemology

In short, the autonomist common(s) of Hardt and Negri, in its identification of "obstacles", tempers the optimism of the ontology of commoning towards altermodernity with the knowledge failure is common, in the face of hostile external co-option and internal divisions of subjectivity. This provides it with the ability to provide a conceptual underpinning of StART as a CLT-in-becoming, and one that didn't become, balancing both tendencies of proposition and opposition within StART, and the genealogical and teleological frameworks of becoming and failure.

However, of further attraction to an ontology generated in Italian autonomous Marxism is its close relationship with epistemology as praxis, research as verb. Using a terminology now critically politicised by this conceptual framework, Hardt and Negri demand researchers

> "put their expertise at the service of social movements and to enrich their research by learning from the movements and participating in the production of knowledge developed there. Such militant research is conceived not only as community service – as a sacrifice of scholarly value – but as superior in scholarly

terms because it opens a greater power of knowledge production." (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128).

The methodology will now establish an epistemological, reflexive and attemptive ethical framework for approaching "militant" research-as-commoning, situating action research as both an assemblage in itself, and, along with its researcher and their subjectivity, as a moving component, with specific agential practices, within the larger dynamic assemblage of StART.

5. Methodology

As the above Conceptual Framework has introduced, autonomist approaches to the common also appeal in their epistemological logic, advocating action research as participation within urban social movements as "strategic investigation is really something you cannot talk about without doing it" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128). While qualitative researchers acknowledge "method creates relationships in research" (Mercieca and Mercieca 2013: 228), Hardt and Negri approach research as 'the collective practice of biopolitical reason" (2009: 125), ultimately a production of knowledge through the productive transformation of (inter-)subjectivity. Applying commoning as the epistemological framing of action research, collaboration requires a particularly reflexive approach to positionality and the (re)production of the researcher's own subjectivity as unstable, relative and transformable by the acts of investigation, upon a component and distinct trajectory of becoming of its own that itself escapes fixity (Beebeejaun 2022b: 5) and necessarily involves failure (Rose 1997).

Having already introduced the thematic Research Questions, this chapter will first elaborate on the Methodology of commoning-as-epistemology, conducted by the researcher as a co-existent component of the larger assemblage of the social movement, discussing the methods deployed as action research, accompanied by other qualitative research methods and strategies for data analysis.

However, the disintegration of trust within StART generated the teleological focus in this thesis, further inflecting the positionality of the researcher and raising significant questions of reflexivity and ethics in questions of narration, power and privileging. While the theoretical implications of this desiccation of trust as the "lubricant of co-operation" are discussed in the Trust chapter, this Methodology discusses research ethics, values and assumptions before reflecting on methods when witnessing harm and in response to participant withdrawal. Furthermore, the focus on trust raises significant and complex epistemological issues of my own positionality to these events, alongside the difficulties of longitudinal research as part of an activist group experiencing instability, uncertainty

and ultimately, self-ascribed failure.

5.1 Research Strategy and Design

Although autonomist approaches to the common identify "militant" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128) research strategies, it is worth first noting this research equally proceeds within the post-positivist tradition in planning, embracing a constructionist epistemology and seeking to "uncover multiple forms of knowledge and combine the analysis of actors, knowledge systems, values, cultures, institutions." (Van Den Broeck 2015: 135).   A qualitative case study research design provides the most effective strategy to observe action on the micro-scale of embodied practice, as this research project hypothesises is key to StART's progress as a CLT campaign.

To an extent, qualitative approaches to CLTs dominate, certainly in European contexts, and as a result, the "literature tends to focus on the dynamics of participatory decision-making and alliances between residents, the state and other actors" (DeFilippis et al 2019: 5). This warrants an ontology and epistemology of practices of power, with CLTs "both an institutional object that allows for shared ownership and/or management of scarce resource in cities as well as a process of creating and enacting the commons through social interaction" (DeFilippis et al 2019:4)". This is, perhaps, the clearest alignment to the use of *commoning* to denote practice, as verb. Equally, established practices of participant action research must be acknowledged, particularly in the CLT field, where activist-research is common (Richardson, Durose and Perry 2019: 275).

This thesis seeks to adopt and develop commoning-as-epistemology, following the epistemological prescriptions of Hardt and Negri (2009: 31), themselves grounded in the Italian Marxist praxis of the 1970s. While this prescribes a particular approach to epistemology, method and subjectivity, discussed below, the adoption of the commons-as-epistemology is itself a "performative ontological project" (Gibson-Graham 2008: 616) of understanding the social practices and interactions that epistemic boundaries typically exclude from 'economic knowledge' and the *economy*. Gibson-Graham (ibid.) call for a research agenda of diverse economies to "make [hidden or alternative economic

activities that contribute to social wellbeing or environmental regeneration] the focus of our research, to make them more 'real' and more credible." (ibid.). Having identified such practices as economic, "within and against…that cuts through" (Hardt and Negri 2009:94) delineations of the economy, action research renders these highly visible. Therefore, while Hardt and Negri prescribe a particularly "militant" approach to knowledge formation, requiring a critical attention to subjectivity and its formation over the research periods, the epistemology described by "militancy" logically employ methods common to qualitative social science research.

"Militant Research": Immaterial Labour and The Strategic Praxis of the Common

This focus on practice as the terrain of contest is one not only shared by the epistemological biopolitics of Hardt and Negri but for them, the exclusive site of the struggle between capital and common in late capitalism is now, in the age of immaterial labour, that over the production of subjectivity. From this, an understanding of power follows as

> "there is only a myriad of micro powers that are exercised in capillary forms across the surfaces of bodies in the practices and disciplinary regimes" (2009: 31).

With the body therefore the key terrain of conflict, and potential causality, between capital and common, Hardt and Negri maintain "epistemology has to be grounded on the terrain of struggle" (2009: 121), the biopolitical:

> "Corporeal resistance produces subjectivity, not in an isolated or independent way but in the complex dynamic with the resistance of other bodies. The production of subjectivity is central not only to the subversion of the existing forms of power but also to the constitution of alternative institutions of liberation" (2009: 121)

As such, the ontology of the common provides the strong epistemological prescription that it is the practices of resistance on the micro, individual corporeal scale that reveal, produce and emancipate the subjectivities whose labour engenders social, economic and

political macro alternatives that expand political notions of the economy. It is these practices of commoning and the networked subjectivities that maintain and are reproduced by them that are the main object to be observed in research.

However, the ontology of the common within Italian autonomist thought particularly prescribes a research strategy focused on action, inherited from the autonomous research praxis of *operaismo,* Negri practicing knowledge co-production amid the shift from the material factory to the immaterial "social factory" (Tronti 2019) of everyday urban life in the 1970s. As a result, it is integral to the epistemology of autonomia and Negri's work on the common that "the collective practice of biopolitical reason has to take the form of strategic investigation, a form of militancy…" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 125) of joint or participant action research focused on altering *real world* outcomes. Hardt and Negri define strategic investigation as:

> "always the production of knowledge through *dispositifs.* It is active engagement with the production of subjectivity in order to transform reality" (2009: 127).

While the consequences of this epistemology for selecting methods are discussed accordingly below, it is vital to note the significance of viewing research as an intervention in the production of subjectivities. As Hardt and Negri remind us:

> "the "artificial common" …resides in languages, images, knowledges, affects, codes, habits and practices." (2009: 250)

As a result, the contribution of academic research to StART's knowledge through the practice of participant action research strategies formed a further process of commoning in itself, producing, transmitting and altering subjectivities and inter-subjectivities between researcher and researched. While this has important consequences for reflections on positionality, discussed below, understanding subjectivities as built upon mutable and shifting *dispositifs,* open to alteration through interactions of research, is a key epistemological characteristic of the research strategy. Participant action research and the wider research strategy were designed and progressed in line with the belief of

Hardt and Negri that producing knowledge within the context, and for the empowering of, vehicles of the commons is not only ethical through a lens of reciprocity with the researched, but also that action provides superior insight and "a greater power of knowledge production" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128).

It was this prescription which guided attempts at careful, iterative and reflexive methods selection.

Objectivity, Subjectivity, Positionality and the Dispositif

As an "active engagement with the production of subjectivity", (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128) research-as-commoning, through participation in group practices of commoning, poses a significant rejection of claims of objectivity common to planning, a discipline that has "long prioritized traditional ideas regarding objective knowledge as a basis for perceived rational and technical decision-making based on forms of expertise" (Beebeejaun 2022b: 3). In this thesis, where the politics of expertise and its social construction were visible, this is resisted, requiring an ongoing critical engagement with affectations of expertise the researcher had or may acquire when contributing to knowledges of the group. This thesis proceeds with suspicion of objectivity, grounded in critiques from feminist geography and planning (Cahill 2007b: 267) and instead seeks to engage with the production of subjectivity both prior to research and through research as *dispositif.*

It is therefore important to situate the "here" (Ahmed 2007: 151) from which the research gaze originates. Far from the planning cliché of modernity's monocled male staring down upon a map with visions of rational reconstruction, the autonomist prescription to resist with other bodies organised in resistance placed the researcher as a component herself, among the assemblage of the urban social movement. Here, attendance during a particular time, and contribution to particular subgroups, shaped what was directly visible to the researcher, alongside pre-acquired knowledges brought to the encounter, which were, in parts, related to as expertise. Crucially, both the researched and researcher-as-component are on connected yet distinct trajectories of

becoming, as subjectivity is subject to alteration over time; the event and experience of research, if successful in its proclaimed goal of learning, is inevitably itself a subjectivity shaping *dispositif.* As a result, the subjectivity of the researcher-as-component, while grounded in certain static relative and relational social characteristics, is itself tumbling through the assemblage and has mutability itself. This renders the perspective from "here" partial, dynamic and itself subject to transformation by the collective and embodied affectual experience.

Such an ontology of epistemology, the production of subjectivity through collective embodied practices, requires a constant self-scrutiny by the researcher of both their own analysis and contributions to and within the group, arguably to the point of self-distrust. While this thesis therefore centres subjectivity in its discussions of inter-personal trust, the clear rejection of claims of objectivity also firstly informed research design, in methods selection and data analysis, before the parameters of my own subjective positionality, and its alterations through the actions of research, are discussed in relation to ethics, values and reflexivity below.

5.2 Methods

Single Case Study

The emphasis on research as methodological praxis inherited from Negri offers strong directions and with it, practical constraints for methods selection. Namely, it was evident as research commenced the depth of engagement, "at the service of social movements" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128) required significant resources, particularly time, in both group engagements and carrying out work for StART, that could not be duplicated equally in or for another CLT group. Given the longitudinal and resource intensive requirements of participating in a CLT, single case-studies are common to the recent wave of campaign research (Thompson 2015; Bunce 2016; Aernouts and Ryckewaert 2017) and were selected here.

Furthermore, a single case study approach is also advocated for planning research

focused on values and power, characterised by Flyvbjerg as *phronetic* planning research, orientated towards action and concerned "with deliberation about (including the questioning of) values and interests in planning" (2004: 287). Flyvbjerg further embraces the single case study for its ability to examine these in depth through *the primacy of context*, maintaining this:

> "follows from the observation that in the history of science, human action has shown itself to be irreducible to predefined elements and rules unconnected to interpretation. Therefore, it has been impossible to derive praxis from first principles and theory. Praxis has always been contingent on context-dependent judgement, on situational ethics" (2004: 298).

Furthermore, Yin has argued the single case study is particularly valuable where "the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (1981: 98). This resonates with the research's project's Marxian hypothesis of StART as a manifestation of practices generated by local, structural psycho-social pressures of market-led regeneration plans and practices in Tottenham, alongside the desire to test a hypothesis, observing actions of StART and their influence on wider structures of decision-making determining the future of the site and the locale, "testing relationships between processes and outcomes" (Yin 1981: 124). Such a primacy of context, and outcome, was enabled only by a single case study, allowing for the deep exploration and operationalizing of the local required by the research hypothesis.

Nonetheless, a single case study presents unavoidable limitations. Its primacy of context limits the generalisations that can be extracted from one group to the wider CLT field, as single case studies arguably present a situation where "the number of datapoints will be far outstripped by the number of variables under study – because of the complexity of the case as well as the embracing of the contextual conditions." (Yin 2013: 321) However, arguably given the relatively small number of, particularly urban, CLT projects in the UK and the large number of wildly varying longitudinal and situational complexities CLTs face, this cannot necessarily be overcome by examining multiple cases. On balance, a single case study presents the best strategy to operationalise context

despite the risk of limited generalisation, which would not necessarily be overcome in comparison. Nonetheless, to address the loss of potential generalisation, the research questions have been framed around StART's agency, rather than a generalised term such as 'urban CLT campaigns'. Yet the *crisis* conditions of Tottenham's housing market, and the rent gap of its land market, are familiar to global cities of the Global North, and so the case was also identified as a particularly valuable context to develop CLT knowledge that may prove applicable elsewhere. While London's metropolitan specificities are emphasised in this analysis, the urban is the scale of comparison envisaged.

StART: Case-Led Selection

It is vital to note the case study was 'of interest' to the researcher prior to research design and so implicitly the research project was designed around the case study. Beyond the questions of positionality which informed this interest, discussed below, a case-led approach has important implications for theoretical exploration, ontological assumptions and correspondingly, the research design, process and outcome. StART struck the researcher as a valuable 'outlier' case with which to explore urban CLT activism in the UK, given most successful examples are rural or peri-urban and small scale. Furthermore, as discussed within the Context Chapter, Haringey was at the acute, highly politicised end of London's severe housing crisis and the site of a rent gap of global significance, with large scale state-led regeneration programmes in place at numerous locations within the borough at case selection in 2018. It struck the researcher that knowledge gained within such a context may prove valuable to activists in other geographies of high land values as the result of the contemporary global housing crisis (Madden and Marcuse 2016). Similarly, Haringey's demographic hyper-diversity also provides a valuable case study of commoning in and across the boundaries of a complex multicultural community that perhaps may appear a typical urban area facing unequal displacement, and so a valuable context for a case study.

However, it is important to note that a frame of analysis rooted in the soft theories of neoliberalism envisioned by Gibson-Graham view outlier cases as potential "dislocations" (2006: xi), situations defined by temporal and spatial specifics that allow the revelation of

both the nature of and potentials for alternatives to hegemonic practices of political economy. As the context chapter attempts to demonstrate, the highly conflictual politics of social housing provision in Haringey in 2017, the time of research design, suggests the categorisation of *outlier* both drove case study selection and yet it does not fully and necessarily embrace the contextual richness, openness or uncertainty of the case study. The particular issues of participating reflexively in a live, dynamic and highly political urban development campaign are discussed further below.

The research strategy and case selection were also realistically informed by the paucity of direct comparisons and the risks of loss of nuance through including other cases. While there were both other 'live' CLT campaigns and campaigns around public land disposal, including estate regeneration schemes, in London, there was a lack of a direct comparison fulfilling these two categorisations, at similar scale. Furthermore, beyond variations in local spatial, market and policy contexts, it was impossible to identify a CLT campaign at a similar point of temporal progress to StART, on central government public land, during 2018-2020. Nonetheless, in selecting a single case research strategy, it is important to fully acknowledge the immediate difficulties, necessary exclusions and limited generalisations this process of selection required within the relatively small but wildly varied field of actually existing CLT campaigns in England.

Participant Action Research

A single case study strategy enabled intensive action research. The "anthropological/ sociological tradition emphasises long term participant observation of, usually, a single setting" (Stark and Torrance 2011: 33) and the laborious and longitudinal requirements of such an approach rendered comparative study extensively difficult. Furthermore, comparison between two *embedded* perspectives arguably produces distinct *dispositifs* to the subjectivity of the researcher that may alter participant action contributions and form a transfer of specific knowledge between the researched groups, perhaps producing otherwise absent consequences of reactivity.

While action research is theoretically rooted in the autonomist epistemology of Hardt

and Negri, it was also selected by StART's protocol of reciprocity for their acceptance as research object, alongside the interest in participant action in CLT and housing activism research. Nonetheless, the autonomist imperative framing a CLT as "the collective practice of biopolitical reason" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 125) demanded an active and explicit contribution, along the "participant as observer" model (Robson and McCartan 2016: 325) where the task of research is made explicit to a group within which the observer attempts to build close relationships. This particular strain of action research advises researchers "to take advantage of the roles ascribed to one in a situation in a more active fashion" (Robson and McCartan 2016: 326) and was chosen for its intentional alignment with both reciprocity and the autonomist ideal of effective contribution to the movement's work as participation. Here, the emphasis on the biopolitical production of subjectivity in autonomist research aligns with participant observation's belief that "the social world involves subjective meanings and experiences constructed by participants in social situations. The task of interpreting this can only be achieved by participation with those involved." (Robson and McCartan 2016: 323).

Participation was therefore the first research activity, beginning in July 2018, as I started attending the open Directors meetings of StART. From these, research unfolded iteratively as through StART's identification of skills related to my previous career experiences, I was delegated to the Publicity Group of StART. From January 2019, I attended and joined StART's Strategy Group, with the view of coordinating publicity and strategy. Throughout the research period I attended meetings of StART's Meanwhile Use and Community Led Homes subgroups and this patterning of participation, and its implications for positionality, are discussed further in the thesis.

As discussed above, research unfolded in an iterative way, with the ambition to escalate methods to co-production techniques, as prefigurative "utopian strategy" (Bell and Pahl 2019: 106) where opportunities arose. As with many of StART's ambitions discussed in the thesis, the envisioned meanwhile use of Mayfield House provided a "cruel optimism" (Berlant 2011) a suitable opportunity would emerge. However, throughout the research period, there were extreme time pressures within StART's general ('Directors') and Strategy meetings. The pace of negotiations with the GLA and

growing internal issues placed extreme pressure on StART's collective time during the first year of research and the work capacity of volunteers. Aware of an opportunity cost to other priorities of the group, this research also chose to align with action research over co-production given Hardt and Negri's emphasis on researchers' "expertise *at the service of* social movements" (2009:128), noting the potentially distractive and resource absorbing nature of seeking consensus for the dedicated research activities co-production required during a limited time frame. As StART's expectation of 'meanwhile' space on the site became delayed, the aspiration of co-production diminshed.

Furthermore, given the command to "put their expertise at the service of social movements and to enrich their research by learning from the movements and participating in the production of knowledge developed there" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128), the research proceeded in the belief observation amid the contribution of labour, skills and knowledges situated in experience to the group production of knowledge provided a method that responded most effectively to this prescription. While this did generate a particular and personal politics of expertise, discussed in the Trust Chapter, the researcher's identity as a postgraduate within a higher education institution also enabled work contributions that informed StART's knowledge base. For example, many of the statistics discussed in the context chapter were shared with StART colleagues in preparing press, conference and meeting materials detailing housing inequality in Haringey. As a result, the researcher contributed both academic work specific to their contemporary position, and experiences from their own past positionalities, discussed below.

Participation in StART's activist meetings ceased in May 2020, following events discussed in this thesis.

Semi-Structured Interviews

An applied research project focused on practices must also enquire into the values and perspectives that underpin said actions. Interviews "allow the researcher to seek explanations from participants of what was happening in any situation" (Farthing 2016:

128) and so provided a valuable research method to examine the values, perspectives, and opinions both driving participation in StART and reflection upon this participation.

In terms of selection, research identified a rough typology of agents in and around StART to be interviewed. This, alongside the method of contact is summarised in Appendix B.

Interviews were conducted with twenty of StART's most active members, identified by their regular attendance at the Directors' general and subgroup meetings. Interviews were offered to all regular active participants, resulting in a relatively high sample size despite some refusals, enabled by the extended time of longitudinal postgraduate research and generosity of activists. Efforts were made to ensure interviews were carried out with members of all subgroups and questions explored participation in subgroups. In the interest of diversity, plurality and confidentiality, interviews with members were held on a semi-formal, individual and face to face basis with open-ended semi-structured questions. Interviews began in Autumn 2019 and continued throughout 2020. As the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown took hold in March 2020, interviews resumed via online meeting software in June 2020 and were completed that November.

Ten interviewees across the other categories identified in Appendix B also agreed to semi-structured interviews, which were conducted in Summer 2020 (Appendix C). The longitudinal nature of research raised particular questions of timing and the positioning of knowledge gleaned from interviews within an unfolding context, particularly among activists. While this was a complication with direct implications for interview data foreseeable from the beginning of research, given the development path and internal distrust, longitudinal variation in attitudes were impossible to control through research design. As a result, analysis and evaluation paid close attention to the temporal relation to political and development events within and against which each interview took place, contextualising comments when comparing data. All participants were emailed at the end of research for quote approval. The interviews, and the impact of COVID-19, are further discussed in the Reflexivity section.

Document Analysis

Document analysis has also been employed, viewing documents as a key terrain of social construction that reveal commoning practices in their text and their construction. This is rooted in a 'linguistic turn' by the social sciences (Rorty, 1992) and geography and planning in particular. Spatial disciplines have emphasised the role of language in "the making of place" (Tuan 1991), the production of the built environment an ever communicative and discursive process. Plans as documents have a central role in placemaking. Policy and plan documents reify desired social outcomes identified by actors and so provide a rich source of archive material of intention for analysis. In the particular case of StART, the crowdfunded and community-consulted masterplan, by Macreanor Lavington Architects in 2016, provided a direct vision of an alternative to the parameters of development established in the GLA's purchase and tender documents. While plans may be fundamentally visual, analysis focused on the language accompanying it, as the linguistic-material and equally co-operatively produced. As discussed above, this focus on language as an artificial common is integral to the epistemology of Negri in "the new situation of post-modern production, where language emerges as the fundamental means of production and productive cooperation" (Negri 2003: 5).

Approaching documentary evidence within a research project focused on the praxis of activism requires not only an analysis of content, but the labours of their production: "a suite of epistemological commitments associated with assemblage thinking, including an emphasis on multiplicity, processuality, labour and uncertainty" (Baker and McGuirk 2017:425). The observation of "sites and situations" (ibid) of document production within StART, as part of the wider participant action strategy, was therefore a vital co-informant of the analysis of documents. Foucauldian analysis sought to "emphasise the material and economic factors that shape discourses and the recursive relationship between language and power" (Jacobs 2006: 45). In this analysis, the intended audience and the reception of documents is equally important, bearing in mind "policy documents are used as a way of regulating social interaction, in that they define rules and parameters of policy interaction" (Jacobs 2006: 47).

To assess the contextual factors surrounding the development, numerous external and policy documents were analysed, selected for their relevance to the site's development, as they emerged. A full list and the rationale of their selection is found in Appendix D. This desk-based research was carried out iteratively and informed further research design, namely interviews were used to discuss the "revealing labours of assembling" (Baker and McGuirk 2017: 425) StART's Masterplan and other documents from the perspective of activists, their architect and others.

Field Diaries

In an investigation into subjectivity and its practices "on the terrain of the biopolitical" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 127) field diaries, with their long tradition of use in urban anthropology and sociology's use of observational methods (Whyte 1979), were an important tool as research progressed.

From November 2018, I recorded and analysed my thoughts soon after research encounters, as consolidated membership of the group began to have emotional and affectual impacts on the researcher, "subject to the same emotions and mental operations as casual observers" (Altrichter and Holly 2011: 28). Aware of the importance of mapping subjectivity upon shifting *dispositifs,* a research diary became an asset not only to "capture interpretations along the way" (Altrichter and Holly 2011: 27) but to inform later the data analysis of self-reflection by capturing embodied data and "increas[ing] self-understanding, becoming aware of self-delusions and articulating and reducing pain" (Altrichter and Holly 2011: 24). As a result, the research diaries were vital to ongoing critical self-reflexivity in a research strategy that recognised the primacy and shifting nature of subjectivity. While this renders some suspicious of research diaries and the miscellaneous nature of their entries, "what we fail to acknowledge clearly enough is that all field texts are constructed representations of experience" (Clanindin and Connelly 1998: 169).

From April 2019, the field diaries process was formalised to follow established

protocol within social research methods (Bogdan and Biklen 1982). Research diaries did not focus on research events alone but included reflexive theoretical notes "making connections between data and understanding on them" (Altrichter and Holly 2011: 25).

Explicit referencing of research diaries is a common data presentation method in covert research studies. As highly subjective and potentially sensitive documents within the context of an open and transparent research project, diaries were reserved to be used privately, the research diaries were not discussed with members, nor are they directly reproduced in this thesis. Nonetheless, they provided a valuable source for reflexive analysis of other data and in particular, the dynamic nature of positionality in long research.

5.3 Data Analysis

Active research concluded in November 2020, producing a sizeable archive of meeting notes, interview tapes, internal and external documents, and field diaries. Meeting notes and internal documents were coded thematically using NVivo for the purposes of identifying causal relationships and narrative structures. Interviews were transcribed and hand coded thematically, alongside a critical discourse analysis focusing on "how participants made sense of the world" (Farthing 2016: 166), particularly in their analysis of London and local housing conditions, StART's agenda, effectiveness and internal issues.

The tentative findings from coding then allowed an interpretation that was 'grounded' in the findings and organised by the component themes, Community, Land and Trust. Interpretation is always an "artful, political process" (Denzin 1998: 313). The researcher made conscious decisions to focus on practices and the site as key indicators of commoning practices and perspectives. Participants' criticality of the housing crisis, behaviour of state and private development partners and their views on their individual benefits of participation were vital to constructing a paradigm of identifying commoning practices at St Ann's and enclosing practices by the state. Participants were asked their views on internal issues, from which further open questions allowed interviewees to

frame this in their own terms.

For reasons of both brevity and ethics, the latter discussed further below, this thesis presents its results in distinctly less of an ethnography that was first envisaged, including a minimal number of direct quotes from StART's meetings, alongside the refusal to include notes from field diaries. As a result, much of the primary data included is interview data, and as a result the particular patterning of interview participation, discussed below, remains of problematic significance to the claims of this thesis.

It is vital to remember here that commons theory denotes CLTs as a commoning form but does not attempt to isolate particular commoning practices that could be understood as *effective* in terms of the success of the campaign in altering the development path. Instead, it is the praxis of research, and research as praxis, as advocated by Negri, that sharpens the researcher's subjectivity and thus empirical judgement as to what has benefitted the social movement. It is this inherent theoretical trust in subjective situated judgement that required a closely reflexive and self-critical attitude, not only to actions and interactions within the field, but to potential shifts of subjectivity within the data analysis process. These are now reflected on.

5.4 Ethics

The research project approached institutional ethical approval iteratively, and in line with the University of Sheffield's guidelines for Participant Action Research. Firstly, ethical approval for participant observation was agreed with StART in a collective consent with individual opt out. This was discussed at StART's general meeting on 7/11/2018 and a permission letter sent by StART. Ethical approval for interviews followed an individual opt-in, written consent procedure and was discussed and agreed with StART in the 10/07/2019 meeting. Extensions to consent for observation and interview were sought on 29/04/2020 covering the period beyond observation, as StART's meetings, now on Zoom, closed to the public, in May 2020.

Nonetheless, at the point of research design, it was recognised institutional ethics

approval is a minimal framework of ethical research, particularly in regard to "one of the participatory methods" (Askins 2016: 1283) which instead requires attention to the ethics of the relational (Cahill 2007a) and everyday (Banks et al: 2013) in research encounters. While participatory research is often considered an ethic in itself, often of care (Cahill 2007a: 361, Askins and Pain 2011: 818), where "access is love" (Guasco 2022), equally it is a commitment to working with communities and destabilising "traditional hierarchical relations between researcher and researched" (Askins and Pain 2011: 807), yet it can easily reinforce them. Arguably, as ever situated and relational, the ethical status of action research can therefore only be evaluated a posteriori. Nonetheless, this was generally approached from the beginning as an ethic of care, the practices of which would necessarily iteratively unfold in situ.

Care demands trust, and where trust is an object of research, so it is the medium (Huchler and Sauer 2015), with a "systemic relationship between the theoretical concept of trust and application-oriented and participatory methods for empirical research: both depend on each other" (Huchler and Sauer 2015: 148). While trust was not pursued as a conscious capital for research in itself, trust was certainly sought as a "lubricant of co-operation" (Arrow 1974) of working in and as part of StART. Action research in urban social movements implicitly requires an ethic seeking trust, as

> "emotional and embodied working is crucial in building trust; while gaining trust facilitates emotional and embodied research. While less explicitly unpacked, trust emerges as an emotional bond that requires constant labour (as all relationships do) and speaks to concerns around interdependence and reciprocity among all involved in PAR." (Askins 2018:1289).

Equally, trust is a capital with the power to shape subjectivity, not least in the patterning of trust that engendered interview participation. While trust of the researcher is considered as a component of the wider collapse of StART in the Trust Chapter, this Methodology will now critically examine the values and assumptions present in research design alongside trust as sites of "reflexivity, positionality and power relations" (Sultana 2007: 374), generating significant critique of personal subjectivity, under the lens of

research failure.

5.5 Values and Assumptions

Situated Subjectivity and its Shifting (Re)Production

As highlighted above, a close reading of Hardt and Negri's view of knowledge-as-commoned provides a prescription for an epistemology with considerable and complex implications for considering the researcher's subjectivity, championing the praxis of participant action research as a "greater form of knowledge production" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128). The autonomist shift from material production to the biopolitical, from the factory to the city, recognises the fundamental economic shift to late capitalism where now "the ultimate core of biopolitical production [is] not the production of objects for subjects but the production of subjectivity itself" (2009: x). Hardt and Negri adopt a Deleuzian conception of the *dispositif* (1992) as the material foundations of subjectivity:

> "the material, social, affective and cognitive mechanisms active in the production of subjectivity, but also that are always open to the constitution of the common, internal, one might say, to history and life and engaged in the process of revolutionising them" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 126-7)

At its simplest, considering subjectivity "on the terrain of the biopolitical" (ibid.) within a framework considering the production and identification of *dispositifs* somewhat de-personalises and re-socialises subjectivity, emphasising the role of inter-subjective social experiences in shaping it. Subjectivity is not the choice or design of the subject but deposited upon them by past socialising experience.

A framework of the "material, social, affective and cognitive" (ibid.) provides a valuable framework within which to examine the *dispositifs* of the researcher prior to the project. As a white middle class female mortgage holder, who benefited from the temporal and spatial specific place privilege of a childhood within the neighbouring borough of Camden, I have a particular critical positionality towards post-industrial

London and the changing social composition of my hometown through gentrification, state-led regeneration and displacement.

These early *dispositifs* led me to pursue research work as a scrutiny officer for the Labour Group at the London Assembly of the Greater London Authority, through the years of Boris Johnson's Mayoralty until 2017, departing six weeks after the Grenfell disaster. Having accumulated a decade of professional knowledge of London's development system through its extreme years of market-led regeneration, and several skills related to public life and political pressure, my subjectivity upon entering research contained several *dispositifs* in regard to my understanding of London's development, the GLA as political and planning authority and political campaigning strategies. These formed "tacit knowledges" (Denzin and Lincoln 1998: 297) and skills I had gained in a waged, professional arena, which StART activists were prone to identify as specialised expertise.

This positionality and mutual identification of value between StART and myself requires a reflexive analysis of their introduction. In my previous role, I knew about the group, attending fundraisers and had informal conversations with my friends who were members. As a result, my experience, skills and tacit knowledges were identified by StART; upon early discussions around the practice of reciprocity a particular request was put to me to assist in boosting StART's publicity capacity. As such, these *dispositifs* have shaped my participation path within the group and the group's work as much as they did my conceptualisation of research, selection of case study, theory and method and so their impact on the project cannot be isolated or unacknowledged. Ultimately, it is because of my experience in regional politics that this project identified and coagulated around my calculated anticipation of StART's potential power.

External and Internal Ethics

The naivety of the researcher should be emphasised here in believing this was ethical enough. At the beginning of research, I did not consider the scalar coverage required of a prefigurative ethic. Nonetheless, this remained a compass for me through internal

disputes, as I allied my decision-making to my analysis of what would maximise the number of affordable, community owned homes on site. Where these required compromise, I would lean towards maximising affordability in units and cheapest tenures, over community ownership.

However, although I had almost a decade of experience meeting and working with activists and campaigners at the GLA, I had no direct experience of sustained organised activism prior to joining StART, and 'activist' is not a term I identified with, given most 'political' practices I had undertaken were within the realm of paid employment. As a result, I had remarkably little forethought as to a prefigurative ethic for internal disputes, nor did I imagine they could become protractedly unresolved. Here, arguably the affectual conditioning of a civil servant waiting for a party political group of elected members to decide a position among themselves provided me with a patience and tendency to remove myself, albeit gained in hierarchy, others may not have had or felt appropriate. Nonetheless, this inherited disposition was not transferred with any conscious thought or design. However, passivity in the face of internal dispute was also informed by the tensions inherent within the identity of 'activist-researcher', discussed in the Reflexivity section, guided by theories of praxis that were not explicitly espoused by the group. With little *a priori* identification as 'activist', I was wont to lean towards research, and the passive observational position of 'researcher' in such moments. The value, impact and consequences of such a position are discussed below.

Race

Given the teleological discussion of race in this thesis, it is important to reflect on my assumptions around this issue at the time of research design and development, in 2018. Frankly, as a result of both my own whiteness, and the *dispositif* of scrutiny research of policy, my understanding of racism in contemporary Britain was indirect, and largely connoted in terms of the state, in forms of overt institutional state racism and unequal policy impacts across a range of areas, not least housing. This was particularly my thinking in 2018, after Grenfell, where the nexus of race, class and social housing in contemporary London was soon emerging as actually and plainly, to me, necropolitical

(Mbembe 2019, Danewid 2020). A key component of my naivety around internal disputes and an ethical position towards them as the "parallel struggles" Hardt and Negri (2009: 336) identify, was my own whiteness, alongside my lack of experience in activist formations and research focus upon spatial contestations. These combined to produce an ignorance that I might *require* any contextually bound normative anti-racist ethic, as activist-researcher, "within, against and cutting through" the distribution of power within StART, as a project against displacement in Tottenham. This was, in retrospect, a distinctly unconsidered individual prefiguration.

5.6 Reflexivity

Furthermore, as the *dispositifs* of biopolitical subjectivity are "always open to the constitution of the common, internal, one might say, to history and life and engaged in the process of revolutionising them" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128) they are fundamentally dynamic. As 'fieldwork' does not take place beyond or outside the biopolitical terrain, research changes the subjectivity of the researcher, depositing *dispositifs* in the unfolding of the "history and life" of the research project. It is this potential for shifts through practices of commoning as "active engagement with the production of subjectivity, which ultimately involves the production of new truths" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128).

Reflexivity in such an epistemology therefore requires an attempt at an account of shifting subjectivity, primarily the researcher's but equally monitoring the impact of time across the action research period. However, situated and relational action research requires researchers "to reflect on how one is inserted in grids of power relations and how that influences methods, interpretations, and knowledge production (cf. Kobayashi 2003)" (Sultana 2007: 376) in a process of re-materialising research (Askins and Pain 2011).

Within StART, as this thesis discusses, the key "power relation" was trust, and so the researcher's dynamic positioning within this grid is discussed in that empirical chapter. However, the asymmetric patterning of trust, as a "lubricant of co-operation" (Arrow 1974) with the researcher and research, also had significant consequences for "methods,

interpretations and knowledge production" (Sultana 2007: 376) that arguably reverberate with wider sentiments of failure amid distrust in StART. These are now reflected upon against the two main methods, action research and the semi-structured interviews in an attempt to ethically "make visible" the relationships between researcher and researched (Gilbert 1994: 90 in Rose 1997: 309).

Action Research

Action research was, at the beginning, successfully 'embedded' within StART in that although it took a while to accustom myself to StART's complex agenda, I felt able to identify and make contributions to the group, generally confidently, within two months. This was largely the result of StART's established protocol of reciprocity, and experience with previous activist-researchers, rendering the group with a culture where research was accepted. Nonetheless, trust in research was not automatic, as I witnessed in relation to concerns raised with other research projects. It was put to me I was accepted by my expertise and their value to StART. This is discussed in the Trust section but confirms the importance of attention to "how others constructed my identity" (Sultana 2007: 382). It is pertinent to say I felt comfortable in a group where a majority of people held similar characteristics, being white and largely middle-class, with shared critical interests or experience in London's development. While such ease may be a result of the welcoming structure of StART, and shared characteristics, ease in itself is a characteristic of whiteness (Ahmed 2007: 12). It should be deduced that while I do not feel my status as a white middle-class woman enabled my research, my pathway delivered *dispositifs* of trust which rendered me comfortable within the group, which others would not have possessed.

Furthermore, I was comfortable and confident enough to envisage my research evolving with StART's planned trajectory, excited at the potential of meanwhile use on site for both observation and opportunities to experiment with co-production, focused on the site's future. But, as optimism and capacity drained from StART, my subjectivity, research practices, priorities and focus of analysis shifted.

It was in an attempt to document the shifting and dynamic nature of subjectivity, 'field' diaries were kept throughout the action research period in an attempt to provide material of "biopolitical reason" (ibid) and the becoming of a "different academic subjects" (Gibson-Graham 2008: 618) as I gained more knowledges, skills and experiences within and from interacting with the group. From mid-2019, they increasingly express concern StART will not survive. As disputes grew, and several members of StART discussed the mental and physical impacts participation was having on their health, I made an early decision to turn away from explorations of embodied methods of research, as my field diaries were wont to note. While the complexity of issues in StART and the development plan made it clear this thesis would have little space for embodied ethnographies, interviews confirmed discomfort was clearly not exclusively active, nor of analytical primacy, as the impact of research on the individual scale of the researcher.

As is discussed in the thesis, the sole StART Directors meeting I missed in twenty-two months was the one where StART decided to withdraw from the GLA's proposed tender framework. This is a significant omission in observation, in that I remain unaware of who took which position, and what posed most convincing, nor the pressures under which consensus was reached. While this did not impact methods, and many shared their views in interview, this absent data of affect felt significantly rich to be regretted, particularly in analysis of autopoiesis.

Nonetheless, regrets relating to external ethics and data capture are insignificant as reflections in comparison to the researcher's orientation towards internal issues. Clearly, trust was not maintained with all, in the withdrawal of one participant from group observation. The maintenance of trust with all is discussed in the Trust Chapter, and as discussed above, raised ethical dilemmas between activism as intervention and research as observation. I often considered research as purpose within the group to offer a protective affective layer, guiding my decision making. I believe I would have participated differently if attending as an activist. Whether this would have meant active attempts at challenge, or dropping attendance from the group, as I witnessed many do in 2019, I am unable to know.

Nonetheless, this patterning of trust and consent to use spoken words has impacted my analysis and knowledge production. While I was present and witness to exchanges, I have minimised ethnographic accounts in this thesis, with minimal direct quotations from StART's meetings, to ensure an ethic of care to all. The only exception to this is pivotal quotes, particularly where the language used itself was reacted to and discussed in StART. Despite turning away from more linguistic possibilities enabled by attention to speech in meetings, this thesis is not silent on racism or the presence and withdrawal of non-participants, who, crucially, among others, made that accusation, where arguably ethical research could demand the participant, and their contribution to this critical debate within StART, would not be mentioned at all. However, the implications of silence, and its boundaries between individual contribution and common resource, guided by collective consent, were not firm. It is no doubt a failing of this research's collective consent structure for action research in its inability to preconceive or demarcate boundaries between individual contribution and common, collective resources, guided by group consent. Yet as this thesis details, these were never static or fixed within the group, and arguably StART's collapse formed an immaterial 'tragedy of the commons' (Hardin 1968) as common resources retreated unto individual properties as trust evaporated. While the writing up of collective meetings therefore, and regrettably, does not contain the comments of the withdrawn, withdrawal does not constrain the subjective narration of directly experienced events, or silence others' participants' thoughts on these and debated issues within StART, including interviews.

Interviews

While there is a "paucity of discussion surrounding researchers' methodological approaches to the research interview" (Beebeejaun 2022b: 2), it was clear agreement to 'opt in' to interview research was an act of trust in the researcher and research itself. For this reason, I was reluctant to be trust-seeking as an ethic, rather trustworthy, as I did not want any potential participant, either within StART or beyond, to feel coerced to participate. In line with this understanding of the interview as trust, the patterning of participation in interviews is revelatory of trust and should be declared.

Appendix E provides some monitoring data of StART's activists. While this is largely representative of the membership, it is notable and poignant no black female participants agreed to be interviewed for the project. At least three were approached, and while they had a number of perspectives shared informally, differing between each other of course, none were willing to undertake an interview. This remains a considerable regret and limitation to the qualitative research presented in this project, as it did not capture a representative sample of StART's active membership. Furthermore, neither participant who led internal criticism of StART wished to be interviewed by me, and while this revelatory of trust patterning, these views within StART are also and regrettably missing from interview data.

The interview script was open ended, semi-structured questions covering both external and internal issues, alongside personal motivations for participation and perspectives on both the housing crisis and community led housing. Interview transcripts also denote a loss of hope between November 2019 and those with activists taken up to September 2020, some months after StART's meetings 'went private', and so shift from ideas to rejuvenate StART to retrospective analysis and regret, a prompt to the genealogical and teleological dynamics of analysis in this thesis.

Over time, it became increasingly clear interviews were proving "cathartic" to some members who participated. This felt like a particular responsibility of care I was untrained for, best met by general ethic of care to all participants to the best of one's human abilities. All transcripts have been returned to interviewees for clearance and adjustment, as has a final document of quotes used.

Nonetheless, interviews, in both the trust required for their participation, and the acceptance of refusal as distrust in the research project highlighted the very real personal impact and upset participation in StART caused many. I am equally grateful to those who participated in interview as I am respectful of the choice not to.

In regard to interviews with external stakeholders, these were impacted not only

presumably by the increasing tensions between StART and local and regional authorities, but also the COVID 19 pandemic. For example, the former Deputy Mayor for Housing, by then a Member of Parliament, had agreed to be interviewed, this date was cancelled as the COVID lockdown occurred and was unable to be rescheduled. After some months of delay, I am grateful to those external partners who undertook interviews. Appendix C details the external stakeholders who were approached and arguably, trust and perhaps a perception of risk, around a very politically sensitive development for some, reveals a valuable pattern of research participation.

Nonetheless, the limited participation in interviews, of both a full range of activist views, and withdrawal from participant observation as a statement of distrust, should also be assessed in terms of research limitation.

5.7 Conclusion

In its attempt to bring trust into focus, this thesis has sought to explicitly situate itself in the patterns and grids of trust in StART, as they dissolved. Researching trust in an increasingly distrustful organisation however, replicated the "tyrannies of participation" (Engelsman, Rowe and Southern 2017: 586) in research, failing to capture the diversity of StART's communities of activists and stakeholders, as StART felt they did Haringey's. Here, patterns of distrust as object also imbued the medium of research.

As a result, the researcher herself, with her *dispositifs* of positionality before and within the group, and without an ethic towards the internal as truly "the sphere of the political, which can only ever be contentious" (Rancière 1999: 14), does not believe this research successfully "destabilised power relations in knowledge production" (Sultana 2007:10) within a Metropolis of the Global North.

The question then remains as to the public value of such scholarship, particularly where it repeats harm and assesses failure. The researcher has been hearted by a growing literature on the difficulties and failures within "slow scholarship" (Mountz et al 2015) within the neo-liberal university (Ferrari and Glucksberg 2016) and particularly in

regard to researching the Commons. In a field often loud with activist perspectives and optimistic tales of success from "talking pig" (Durose and Perry 2019: 269) case studies, the research proceeds in the belief there is a value in bringing distrust as failure into focus, and a moral imperative to discuss the intra-group harm that although unforeseen, was witnessed.

Yet there remains a paradox. Twenty-two months of participation is rarely institutionally supported beyond Doctorate level, rendering the PhD the likely possible period in academic life for sustained action research. I therefore wish to make distrust in myself, and my naivety visible as arguably these are particularly a risk for junior academics, those likely to practice intensive action research, but who may be inexperienced in housing activism directly. Commoning-as-method as attempt to scale up to contributions to commoning should heed Mould's advice that "to think of the commons ethically is to articulate those commoning practices that foreground its most radically emancipatory potential" (2021: 30). As this thesis demonstrates, within StART radical emancipation was perceived exclusively from poor rental and market housing, through reformist influence over the site's future. Nonetheless, although demanded prefiguratively, both reformism and radicality, alongside the primary task of evaluating 'potential emancipation', can only be situationally defined and determined by context.

6. Context

As the Conceptual Framework and Methodology chapters have discussed, the *dispositif* is the scale where autonomist Marxism reconciles its focus on agency, practices and bodies with classically Marxian materialist, structural determinism. Here, autonomist Marxism offers a model that can, in a single case study, reconcile the context problem in CLT studies, where the task is not only to describe local conditions, but theorise their generative connection to action, through affect. As this thesis maintains, reconciling context remains imperative to understandings of specifically urban CLTs in a widely discursively recognised housing crisis. Here, the complex Marxist spatiality of the city is matched by a complex temporality, the typically exceptional event of "crisis" instead not just both a "perennial" (Robbins 2018) condition of housing under contemporary capitalism, but itself a structural, embodied and discursive conditioner of action.

This context chapter will first present an analytical framework of the multi-dimensional nature of crisis as context in contemporary London. This will then frame a historically grounded analysis of the hospital's site and situation within suburban Haringey, an institution and locality whose forms were shaped by their context within Global Northern metropolitan modernity, and the habitual crises that have emerged, and been constructed around, this now suburban transition zone. The Chapter will then discuss the local contours and extremities of Haringey's contemporary housing crisis as embodied experience, before discussing the complex inter-scalar governance networks that drive planning and regeneration practices in London. From here, it will build a causal understanding of the context of crisis as producing a specific, spatially and temporally bounded *dispositif* of regeneration as immanent, generating activist responses through affect, the structure of context therefore embodied and operative at this micro-scale.

6.1 Crisis

Crisis appears to be a context so serious yet contemporaneously ubiquitous as to be indistinguishable, "an existential term of analysis" (Koselleck and Richter 2006: 358). This thesis will construct an understanding of crisis focused on local context, yet the ubiquity

of crisis as analytical framework renders the analysis of generative factors difficult, as crisis must be understood as not only 'structure', as *dispostif,* but simultaneously post-structurally, as a reactive, discursive narrative formation that itself shapes agency.

This should be recognised in the resurgent interest in the Commons as ontology as a historiographical symptom itself of crisis. As Berlant denotes "the recently ''resuscitated'' fantasy of the commons articulates many desires for a social world unbound by structural antagonism" (2016: 396) a utopic determined by contemporary conditions of crises. Furthermore, Gray's recent return to autonomous analyses of their contemporary "spatial composition" (2022) situates *autonomia*'s emergence firmly within crises created by the structural shifts of capital in the contemporaneous urbanisation of Italy, as capital, and production, shifted from the factory to the city. Contextualising the production of theory within a Marxian historiography of the urban spatial fix of the 1970s, when "capital turned towards urbanisation and housing" (Klein 2018: 73), begins to reveal the multiple transmissions of 'crisis' relevant to an analysis of local spatial and temporal conditions.

Firstly, as discussed above, autonomist Marxism reconciles the structural with the agential emphasis of an ontology of practices at the scale of the *dispositif.* Here, arguably structural and spatial understandings of crisis, remain valuable. As Gray discusses, contemporaneous to *operaismo* strategies within the rapidly changing Italian city, LeFebvre was theorising largely European urbanisation as "increasingly central to capital accumulation strategies… capital switching as intimately bound up with socio-economic crisis." (2022: 808). The LeFebrvian (1991) model of historical capital switching, seeking fixity in its crises of reproduction, provides a fundamentally structural, spatial and urbanised Marxist determinism to the urban and housing crises of Haringey and London, explored below.

Yet deep, structuralist conceptions of crisis provide little understanding of its discursive transmission mechanisms. Here, etymological tracings of 'crisis' reveal "the medical origins of the term clearly continue to be preserved in the usage of political language" (Koselleck and Richter 2006: 370) as the medical gained metaphorical power,

connective to embodied similes of the "body politic" or "economic disease" (Koselleck and Richter 2006: 390). Nonetheless, the medical origins of the term denote the potential to connect supposedly deterministic understandings of economic structure to the "entry of the phenomenology of bodies into Marxist theory" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 25). Here, crisis as *dispositif*, an affect, connects to much work approaching the contemporary housing crisis in England as a "structure-of-feeling" (Harris, Nowicki and Brickell 2019) where structural crises of capital are felt as the anxiety, and other health impacts, of precarious and poor housing. This analysis affirms a long existing welfare ontology of housing as a determinant of physical and in particular mental health, connections that were themselves affirmed by StART.

Yet crisis as *dispositif* fails to encompass the discursive potencies of crisis, which themselves are laden with practices and locations of power and agency. In London, Heslop and Ormerod (2020) have traced how "dominant narratives…those espoused by the government, the media and think tanks" (2020: 146) are "put to work through regressive policy measures" (2020: 160) while Brill and Raco's examination of private sector actors in London contributes an understanding of its contemporary housing crisis as displaying "the oscillation between crisis as an emergency with the potential to create instability and crisis as a condition that justified new approaches to development." (2021: 2). Brill and Raco trace the reactive discursive impact of policy narrations of crisis within the commercial development sector, particularly through perceptions of risk. While they identify "this serves to stimulate a wider spatiality of the crisis" (2021: 7), this does not fully encompass the degree to which crisis shapes the urban as political-economic space. As Christophers (2014) and Robinson and Attuyer (2021) have identified, financialised models and state conceptions of risk managed through them directly determine urban and architectural form in London, particularly of density, through the viability model and industry that emerged in response to the return of regional planning in London since 2000.

Arguably, here discursive understandings align with Marxist understandings of the production of space (LeFebvre 1991). Operating through these mechanisms, the structural, affective and discursive, arguably aligning with Harvey's absolute, relative and

relational space (2006), crisis shapes urban space, materially, emotionally and socially. Thus, in its ubiquity, crisis as a "perennial" (Robbins 2018) condition and signifier of the urban and its housing has been historically instrumental in shaping London as context, from its Victorian suburban patterning by isolation hospitals and asylums to repeated eruptions of a housing crisis, most recently again declared after 2008. This chapter will now introduce the local, spatial and temporal context with emphases of the structural, embodied and discursive potency socially constructed crises have displayed in producing Haringey's form, governance, regeneration strategies and activist counter-movements. Such an approach aims not only to demonstrate crisis as generative context but seeks to understand StART as an urban social movement within Haringey as "the urban political", to capture "the urbanity of city-located contestations" by "specifying their constitution within this context" (Enright 2017: 560).

6.2 Site and Situation

Site: St Ann's Hospital

> "There is, perhaps, no better-established fact in British society than that of the corresponding growth of modern wealth and pauperism. Curiously enough, the same law seems to hold good with respect to lunacy" (Marx 1858).

Again, we begin with enclosure, in the early nineteenth century, in the adjacent parishes of Hornsey and Tottenham, southern Middlesex, beyond North London's contemporary urban boundary. In 1813, late acts of enclosure took place in Hornsey, amid the rapid urbanisation of the industrialising imperial metropolitan fringe (Neeson 1993, Frith 2021). In 1826, such was the alarm at an emergent crisis of peri-urban 'Pauper Lunacy' that a Parliamentary Inquiry into its causes in Middlesex was founded, establishing the first state asylum at Hanwell.

Within London, the Metropolitan Poor Act of 1867 reformed the Poor Laws, separating medical functions from poor relief and placing them under a new Metropolitan Asylums Board (MAB), London's second layer of proto-municipal

government after the Board of Works. Beside the rapid urbanisation of London and its affectual consequences for an increasingly Metropolitan mental life (Simmel 1903, Fitzgerald, Rose and Singh 2016), regular epidemics within late Victorian London saw the MAB acquire sites for isolation facilities beyond the London boundary. In 1892, amid a scarlet fever epidemic, the MAB acquired the St Ann's site, in rapidly urbanising south-western Tottenham, still rural lands held for centuries by the Knights Hospitaller, an organisation with origins in the Crusades. Nonetheless, both the mental health crises of enclosure, and the epidemics of an increasingly dense, poor metropolis confirm the nineteenth century urbanisation of the site to be one generated by crisis.
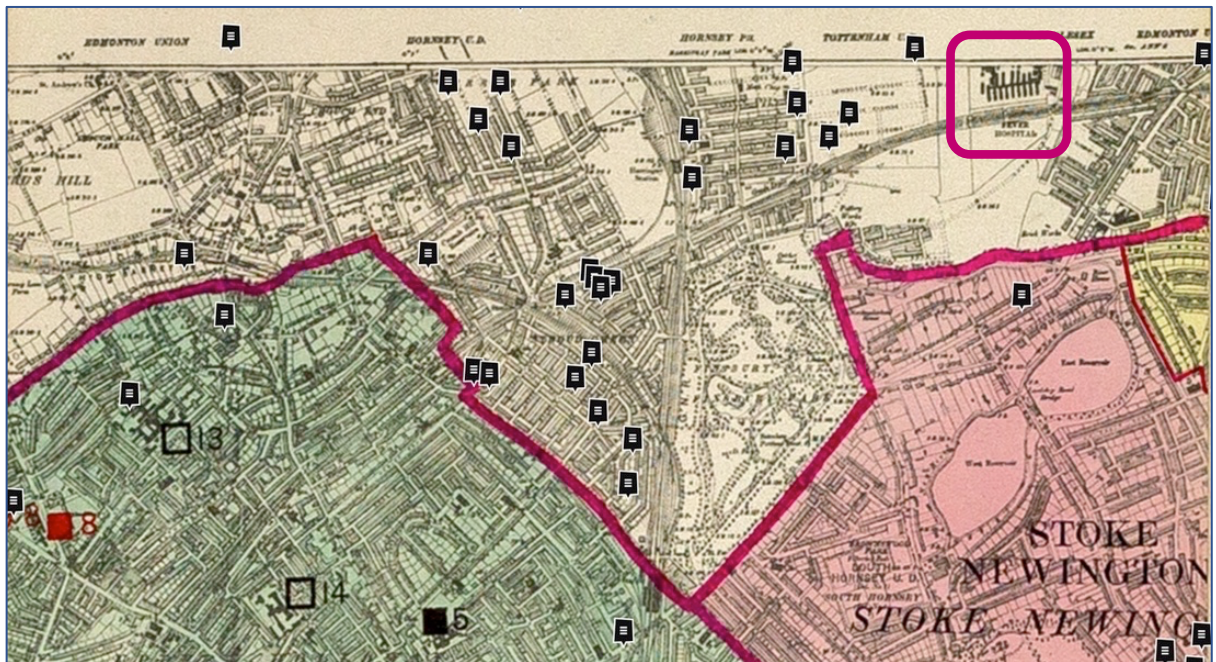
Image 2: St Ann's Hospital, Middlesex (highlighted) 1895

The site largely remained in use as a hospital ever since, with therapeutic gardens laid out in the 1920s reportedly by a former Kew Gardens employee. The hospital was later run by the London County Council (LCC), commissioned in wartime, becoming NHS property at its creation in 1948. While the site, now the only hospital in Haringey, continues to provide small scale community health services, it became the asset of the local Mental Health Trust in the 1990s, increasing the focus of its long-established role as major mental health institution within North London.

Architecturally, St Ann's expansion was iterative, without a comprehensive hospital redevelopment, and so hosts a range of buildings, from Victorian brick to post war pre-fabs and later facilities at low density. As the study interviewees discussed, the closure of the increasingly dilapidated hospital was long rumoured locally:

Activist: *I knew St Ann's was going to be closed, ever since I've been living in the area, since 1983. People have been talking about closing St Ann's forever. Literally forever.*

Situation: Haringey

As Image 2 reveals, these parishes were rapidly urbanising, as train and tram enabled worker mobility and working-class suburbs, bolstered by growing light industrial uses of the Lea Valley that form the eastern border of Tottenham. In 1894, both Hornsey and Tottenham became urban boroughs of Middlesex. In 1900, the LCC used new powers to buy land beyond its borders to purchase 177 acres for its first Garden Suburb, in Tottenham, now the Tower Gardens Estate, assisted by the private philanthropy of the former Liberal MP for Whitechapel. Again, the very suburban form of Hornsey and particularly Tottenham were shaped not only by the flows of capital and labour into London but late Victorian discourses of utopic urbanism that emerged in responsive and philanthropic attempts to manage the resultant urban crisis of squalor that urban, factory, immigrant labour generated, particularly in the horrors of the East End as slum (Fishman 2009, White 2008a). As a result of this early social housebuilding beyond central London, both Tottenham and Hornsey have significant Council housing stocks, akin to an Inner London borough.

Image 3: Location of the London Borough of Haringey within the London region

In 1965 the districts were merged into the new London Borough of Haringey, as London's boundary expanded to include 'Outer London'. But as the inner, transitional area of suburbia perhaps best encompassed in the London Transport designation 'Zone Three', Haringey retains a transitional and complex urbanity, of late Victorian urbanism in its South, to inter-war semi-detachment at its northern Enfield border. Furthermore, the merger created geographical wealth polarisation in what would become London's most spatially polarised borough by income. The Western parts of Haringey include the "alpha" (Atkinson 2020) territory of Highgate alongside the wealthy middle-class suburbs of Muswell Hill and Crouch End, transitioning continuously, across the East Coast Main Line, towards one of the most deprived wards in Britain, in north-eastern Leaside Tottenham, Northumberland Park.

Haringey also emerged as one of London's most diverse boroughs. Alongside a history of Jewish immigrants escaping the East End, post-imperial immigration to London brought former colonial subjects to work in public services and light industry, firstly the West Indian Windrush migrants and later Cyprus, Turkey and Africa, to Haringey, particularly its more affordable eastern areas. As a result, Haringey is established as "super-diverse" (Vertovec 2007, Raco 2018), the 2011 census identifying a 22.3% White British population, historically dominantly Black African and Caribbean (27.7%), but increasingly home to Turkish and Eastern European communities (27.7% 'White Other') since the 1970s (ONS 2012). Yet this does not capture "super-diversity" within these communities, including a significantly diverse smaller Latin American population. Here again, alongside Commonwealth labour, Haringey has been historically shaped by economic migration and asylum, often ultimately in response to labour and other crises here and elsewhere, fundamentally shaping the borough's form.

Tottenham

Given its post war history, the contemporary housing crisis is not the first dominant discursive crisis to be applied to Haringey and in particular, Tottenham. As an industrial, manufacturing, working class, diverse and relatively affordable arterial extension of the 'Inner City' up the Lea Valley, the eastern half of Haringey acquired that "territorial

stigmatisation" (Wacquant, Slater and Pereira 2014) as it discursively emerged in Britain by the early 1970s. Romyn has traced the import of the American term 'ghetto' to "denote the clustering of particular migrant communities, areas of single class concentration, and areas of multiple deprivation" (2019: 137) in London. Within the British Press, the inner city was discussed in a pathological metaphor of 'urban crisis', the Illustrated London News stating in 1980 "If London faces a crisis it is in the black spots or ghettos of deprivation in the inner city, the sores undermining the health of and threatening to disease the whole capital'" (ibid.). This racialised language was conscious, as

> "From the 1970s onwards, black communities, and particularly young West Indian males, were officially, and often explicitly identified as a social problem, prone to criminality and unrest. With great media assistance, they became a locus of public anxiety; a symbol of urban wickedness" (Romyn 2019: 140).

While representations of the inner cities were imported and constructed in the 1970s, they also resulted from the spatial settlement of immigrants in London, that emerged with the Windrush generation onwards. In the 1950s immigrants faced "almost universal discrimination in London's housing market" (White 2008b: 146), housing the key spatial form of racism on metropolitan land. Amid the notorious exploitation of the Rachmanism of the private sector, length of residency requirements for social housing and social tensions rising through the 1950s, West Indian and other 'Black and Minority Ethnic' housing providers, co-operatives and eventually associations began to emerge (Stott and Fava 2020: 320). As the 'BME' housing sector grew, encouraged by the Housing Corporation's reforms of the 1980s and the establishment of the Federation of Black Housing Organisations at a national scale, Black housing associations became key organisational models for co-operation and self-help, often as praxis of anti-racism, Black Liberation and Pan-Africanism. Stott and Fava found BME housing associations were "particularly vulnerable to market and policy shifts….in a landscape of accelerating mergers since 2000" (2020: 327), with some early West Indian associations now amalgamated into London's major 'G15' housing associations. Furthermore, despite the whiteness of the CLH sector emphasised in the Conceptual Framework, London saw the

emergence of Black self-build and other co-operative models, most notably at Nubia Way, Lewisham in the 1990s, guided by principles of Black self-help. Nonetheless, people of non-White backgrounds remain disproportionately over-represented in homelessness in London and Haringey, compromising 37% of the borough's residents in temporary accommodation, itself heavily concentrated in the northeast of the borough (Haringey Council 2019).

Historically, the result of persistent practices of housing discrimination was concentration, deprivation, segregation (Phillips and Harrison 2010: 224) and construction of and in the 'inner city'. And so they provided the spatial context of the politics of British race relations in the 1980s, with Tottenham consolidated as a key space in racialised, negative imaginations. Alongside Brixton, Peckham and Liverpool's Toxteth, Tottenham was stigmatised after riots in 1985, following the death of an elder black female resident of the Broadwater Farm following a Metropolitan Police raid on her home. The death of a policeman in the reaction of violence, and community disinterest in co-operating with investigations led "not only to draconian police operations but intensive and frequent hostile media interest" (Levidov 1987: 78) around the Estate and neighbourhood, driving a particular local persistence of territorial stigmatisation.

As Romyn effectively traces, these representations of British inner cities as a threatening crisis resulted in "a political commitment to market-led redevelopment — to 'taking back' and 'tearing down' — that persisted undiminished." (2019: 144). As is discussed extensively below, the political construction of their crisis enabled the rhetoric and structures of their solution, can be traced across Thatcherite policy responses, from Right to Buy, enthusiasm for Alice Coleman's 'Secure by Design' environmental determinism (Severs 2010: 486) and the emergence of state enabled property-led post-industrial regeneration, pioneered at the Docklands.

However, determined by market opportunity, and ultimately potential land value uplift, regeneration in London has always been targeted. Instead, Tottenham retained its notoriety and stigmatisation, with perceptions active in policing (Newburn et al 2018: 213) and community engagement (Dillon and Fanning 2012) that furthered distance

between the Black community and state. As a result, much sociological history of the British inner city has been conducted in Tottenham, revealing both resistance (Elliott-Cooper 2021) and reactive affects to stigmatisation. Visser (2017) identified a sense of separation between Tottenham and London as a whole, particularly in the impact of postcode on employment opportunities, for its residents and so "a feeling of belonging to Tottenham functioned as an alternative to expressing a sense of being part of wider British society" for teens from immigrant backgrounds (Visser 2017: 7).

In 2011, following the Metropolitan Police's shooting of another Broadwater Farm resident, Mark Duggan, riots followed protest in Tottenham, and quickly spread to other locations across England. Again, property-led regeneration as the discursive political response "persisted undiminished" (Romyn 2019: 144), and this time, the perceived uplift opportunity in Tottenham was significant. Nonetheless, by 2011, Tottenham had long been understood as a place constructed by dominant narratives of urban crisis, with affectual, material, biopolitical and racialised consequences for generations of its residents.

Housing Need

As a borough comprising the extended inner city of its east and leafy wealthy suburbs in its west, Haringey's housing stock is extensively varied. In relation to the rest of London, the fourth most deprived borough had relatively high levels of households in private and social rented accommodation.

2016: Households by tenure type (ONS 2017b)	Own Outright	Buying with mortgage	Rented from Local Authority or Housing Association	Rented from Private landlord	Total
Haringey	21,000	22,000	28,700	26,000	97,800
%	21.5	22.5	29.3	26.6	100
London	765,100	947,300	774,600	855,300	3,342,300
%	22.9	28.3	23.2	25.6	100

Table 1: Households by Tenure Type 2016 (Number of Households and Percentages)

Office of National Statistics

Nonetheless, with extremely high prices in the west, and a borough wide ASHE ratio of 15.93: 1 compared to London's 13.2:1 in 2017 (ONS 2018) it is widely recognised Haringey comprises both housing wealth and income poverty, and so "inequalities are reinforced by the way different kinds of housing are distributed across the borough" (Haringey Housing Strategy 2017, Raco 2018: 153).
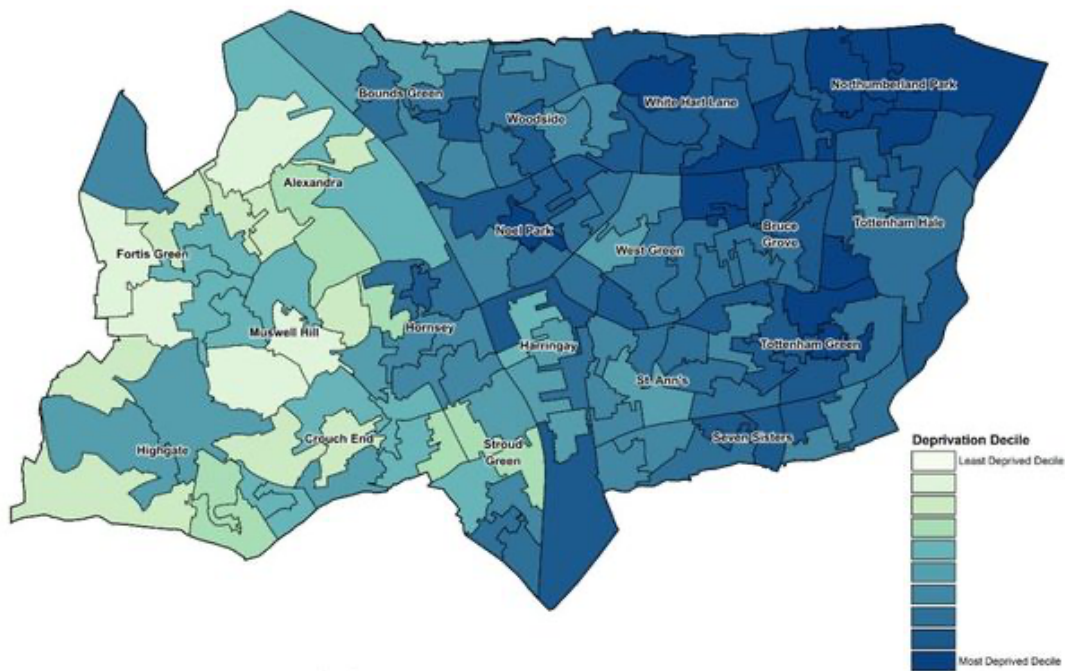
Image 4: Haringey Deprivation 2019

Since the Global Financial Crisis of 2008, housing crises in metropolitan contexts of the Global North are particularly ubiquitous and "represents the experiences of middle-class homeowners and investors" (Madden and Marcuse 2016: 10). Yet of course, Marxist analyses of the city regard the housing struggle as one materially determined by class struggle and political economic power and therefore for the exploited, usually ever "perennial" (Robbins 2018).

It is valuable here to recognise housing's directly embodied quality, as the prime habitus (Bourdieu 1977) of lived experience. It is here where medical and embodied

understandings of crises are particularly valuable to framing crisis as context. From rough sleeping to overcrowding and temporary accommodation, the housing crisis, as one of domestic space is inescapably an embodied experience. As the St Ann's ward Councillor discussed in interview:

Cllr Mike Hakata: *Really, housing is a major portion of my casework on a weekly basis. And it's either people who are actually homeless, those that are in danger of becoming homeless and then there are those that are homeless families that are in temporary accommodation. And just to give you an idea, we're about 10,000 people on our waiting list, half of those are children that live in temporary accommodation.*

I find it almost impossible on an emotional level, to be honest, where there's a young family or single parent living in a studio with their baby or toddler. And there is just this tiny little square of lino where the kid is meant to grow and expand.

And now the tragedy of this is that Haringey, as with a lot of Councils, because of such pressure on housing need, they don't count children under twelve. You've got this toddler running around, needing much more space than an adult would, but their need for space isn't actually counted. So, I mean, it is a crisis, but that doesn't really describe the level that we're actually dealing with, I mean, it is horrendous.

Furthermore, these pressures in demand for Council Housing at social rent were exacerbated by unfolding crises in other tenures in London, particularly since the 2008 Financial Crisis. UK house prices have grown faster than any other OECD country since 1970 (Edwards 2016: 229) but London's house prices have diverged to increase more rapidly since the mid 1990s, with London increasingly being the dominant driver of this national growth. The introduction of buy-to-let mortgages in 1996 furthered encouraged property asset ownership as "UK households have been given strong incentives to maximise the ownership of housing as the core strategy of family saving and wealth accumulation" (Edwards 2016: 225). As a result house price growth has seen not only the growth of the private rental sector, now home to 25% of London's households (ibid.) but multiple home ownership extend to a large cadre of non-professional landlords rather

than institutional ones, with 78% of landlords in 2011 owning just one unit as "housing has been imbued with a function that extends beyond shelter: the expectation of positive investment return, above that attainable from other assets" (Beswick et al 2016: 331). As a result, as Edwards points out, "so many UK households now have a personal interest in the maintenance and further growth of prices which in turn has made it very difficult for politicians even to contemplate strategies which would undermine this complex dynamic by bringing prices down." (Edwards 2016: 225). Here, policy produces a "republic of property" as a hegemonic governmentality.

Nonetheless, the housing crisis that followed the mortgaging crisis of 2008 was largely felt in the rental sector. Between 2011 and 2017, private sector rents jumped in London by 33.2% (VOA 2017). At the periphery of the now more heated core markets of Inner London, Haringey's private sector rents increased by 30.7% during this time (ibid). A comparative table of key statistics is below:

	London	Haringey
Ratio of House Prices to Average Earnings (ASHE) (ONS 2018)	13.2: 1	15.93: 1
Decline in number of households renting from a local authority 2006-2016 (ONS 2017b)	20,100	3,900
Local Authority Waiting List: Total Households 2017 (ONS 2017a)	243,668	9,194
Households in Temporary Accommodation 2017 (per 1,000 households) (GLA 2018)	14.93	25.16
Growth of Private Rental Sector 2006-16 (% of number of units) (ONS 2017b)	6.8%	10.3%
Growth in Private Sector Rents 2011-17 (%) (VOA 2017)	33.2%	30.7%

Table 2: Summary Comparative Table of London and Haringey statistics mentioned in this discussion

At first, Haringey and Tottenham particularly functioned as a reception zone, absorbing populations displaced from Inner London boroughs through private rent increases or the loss of social stock, as practices of regeneration, described below, expanded in London. Yet as Madden and Marcuse note (2016: 10), increasingly the housing crisis impacted middle-class owners and investors after 2008, those seeking central locations. As of 2019, house prices in Tottenham remained 26.5% below the London average (Foxtons, 2019), attracting wealthier, now 'displaced' gentrification from Inner London. While this generated an affect of immanent change in itself, discussed below, such sharp increases in rent, and the lived experience of statutory homelessness confirm the housing crisis to be the embodied experience, the "structure-of-feeling" of precarity (Harris, Nowicki and Brickell 2019), and one unequally distributed between ethnicities. In 2017, the embodied and disproportionately racialised consequences of London's housing inequality became indisputable, at Grenfell.

Mental Health Need

From the Garden City to the mass Council Housing programme of the twentieth century Welfare State, the embodied and "character" impacts of poor housing were recognised and determinant of both policy and design. Indeed, over one hundred and forty years after Marx traced the correlation between rising wealth inequality in enclosing England and 'pauper lunacy', public health data reveals persistent connections of deprivation to mental health (Curtis et al 2006), acutely focused on Northeast London's inner periphery by the 1990s.

Equally, Curtis et al (2006) found those admitted to mental health institutions tend to be residentially concentrated around such institutions. Although the causal connections here are unclear, these geographies would suggest complex connections with housing as the habitus of deprivation and its crisis as determinant of mental health beyond a 'structure-of-feeling'. Again, this is an embodied form of crisis unequally distributed in Haringey, with the highest prevalence of depression in deprived areas and serious mental illness in Black, Black British and mixed ethnic men (Haringey CCG 2015). This data

confirms Tottenham and the borough's east as an area of concentrated mental health need, a discourse HaNSA and StART would themselves apply

Key

Mental Health Admissions

- Extreme Low (<30% below average)
- Low (<10% below average)
- Average
- High (>10% above average)
- Extreme High (>30% above average)
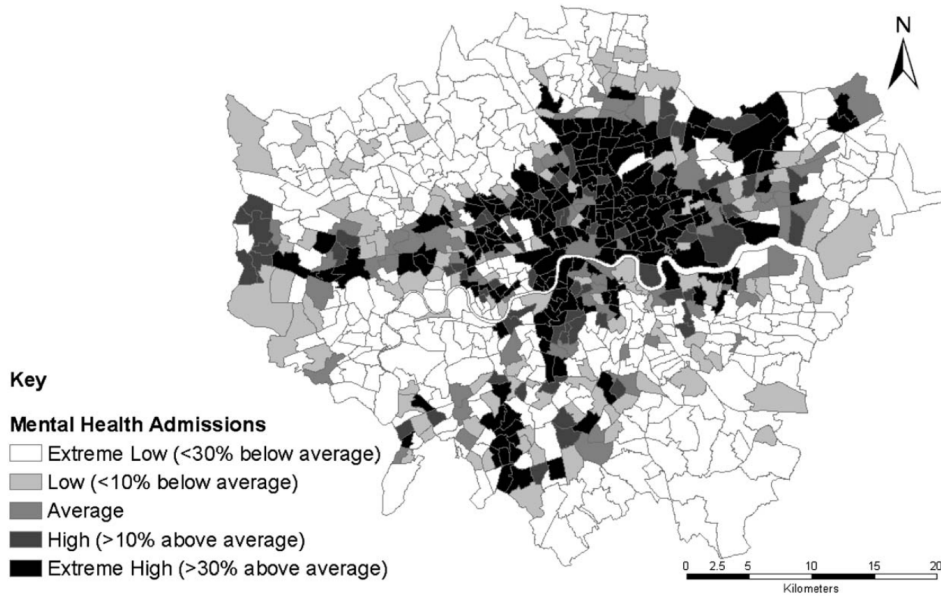
Image 5: Mental Health Admissions London 1996 – 1999 Curtis et al (2006)
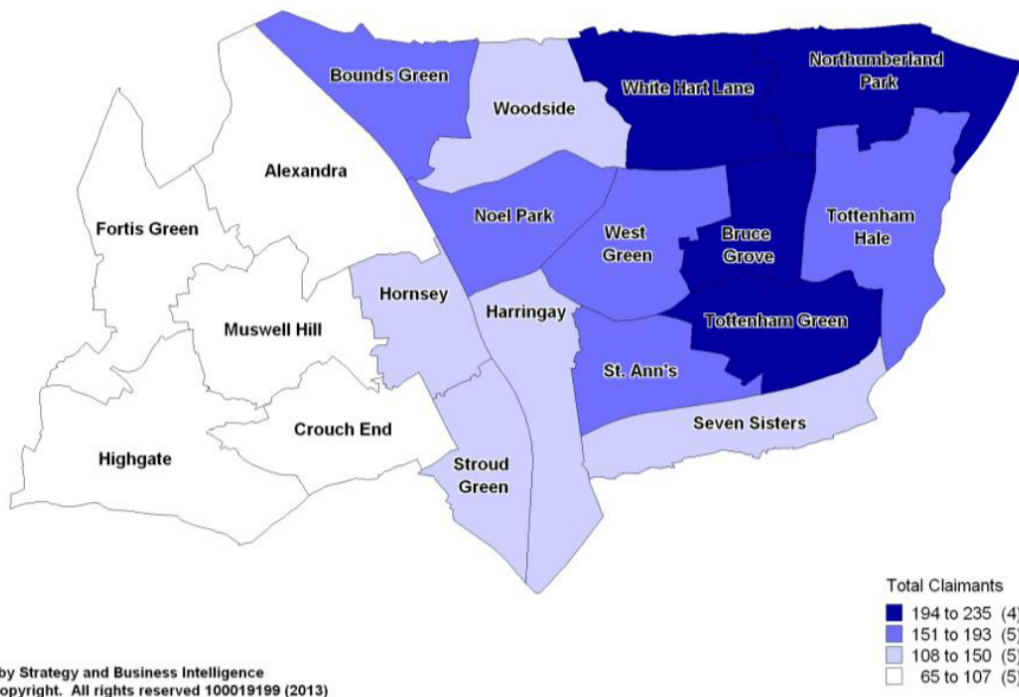
Total Claimants

- 194 to 235 (4)
- 151 to 193 (5)
- 108 to 150 (5)
- 65 to 107 (5)

Image 6: Haringey Employment and Support Allowance claimants whose condition is "mental and behavioural disorders" 2013

6.3 Governance and Representation

As much as crisis is the embodied experience of material precarity, so it is a practices policy narrative that shapes not only space, but state institutions and their powers. This section will trace the complex inter-scalar evolution of state institutions and imperatives to property-led development as practices of enclosure, between local and regional actors, conditioned by central restrictions, discussing the London Borough of Haringey, the GLA and in particular, the emergent governance practices surrounding public land disposal.

London Borough of Haringey

Born in 1965, Haringey Council has been in Labour or Liberal control since, with Liberal support historically concentrated in the borough's west. From its inception, Haringey had a long history of progressive and experimental borough housebuilding, as Stephen Hill a CLH consultant to StART could personally attest to its own experiments with horizontality:

Stephen Hill: *I found myself running the Council's housebuilding programme in Haringey, back in 1975, and '76. Somebody asked me to draw the organisational diagram of the housing delivery programme. Very amazingly, it was an entirely horizontal structure. We had the Housing Implementation Team, chaired by the then Borough Surveyor, but the Housing Department was clearly the client. But the client was one amongst a series of departmental people, where we had Social Services, we had different bits of Housing. My job was to set up proper client-side function, planning, evaluation, and architecture and engineering. And it was incredibly effective. And, because there was no hierarchy, you really regarded yourself as a team of players, you just call on anybody you needed for help and advice, it was extremely productive.*

In the 1980s, discursive constructions of the Inner City by the Conservative government and right-wing media equally problematised their local authorities as negligent, symptomatic or even generative of spatial decline. Most famously, in London,

this inter-scalar conflict led to the abolition of the Greater London Council (GLC) in events emerging from the rate-capping rebellion of 1985. Here, a number of urban authorities under Labour administrations refused to set annual budgets in response to new central government restrictions on council spending. These restrictions were later accompanied by direct restrictions on council borrowing for housebuilding, and directly frustrated Council housebuilding in the UK.

Image 7: Bernie Grant

Amid the rates rebellion in Haringey, Bernie Grant, the UK's first Black local authority leader, was elected. Grant progressed to Parliament two years later, one of the 'Gang of Four' black Labour politicians London elected. Grant became famous, and loathed by the right, for his public sympathies towards the community after the 1985 riots. The events further spurred the Council into experimentation in its 'Building Design Service', experimenting with housing delivery with the New Architecture Movement (Haringey Council n.d.) and community engagement in regeneration funding, particularly focused on Broadwater Farm (Levidov 1987), with the GLC and its Enterprise Board. As Thatcher clamped down on or abolished institutions and restricted local authority metropolitan

rebellion, Haringey had become a key space of the "Loony Left" constructed by dominant and critical narrations, later cemented by Poll Tax activism.

Between 1987 and 2009, Haringey experienced remarkable political stability under the leadership of George Meehan. With the Blair government of 1997 came the rhetoric of inner-city regeneration, most notably in Richard Rogers' Urban Task Force, accompanied by considerable funds for inner cities and in particular their problematised housing stock. Pioneering new patterns of inter-scalar collaboration, the emergent New Deal for Communities funding required Councils identify a targeted area and organise a local partnership to ensure community participation.

Haringey formed such a partnership for southern Tottenham, around Seven Sisters, in 1999. Here community engagement work stuttered in contrast to the mid 1980s. Here Dillon and Fanning identified a "considerable deficit in community capacity in Tottenham compared with the well-to-do west of the borough" (2012: 584), the Labour Party instead providing "institutional advocacy on behalf of the borough's most deprived wards" (2012: 577):

> "The west of the borough contained a number of well-organised, long established amenity groups that monitored and contested planning issues on an on-going basis. The membership of this 'community-planning elite' typically included architects, lawyers and planning officials whose professional expertise often matched that of planning officials. Without exaggeration, it could be said that these groups were feared and respected by Council officials. In contrast, community activists in Tottenham generally lacked the skills to engage in planning processes without assistance from officials. An added complication was the dominance of the Labour Party in Tottenham and its antipathy to consultation outside its membership. As explained by a senior planning officer:
>
>> In Tottenham groups other than the Labour Party do not exist. It is as if to consult the public in Tottenham is to consult the Party. It seems that Labour Councillors are very hostile to participation by other groups in

Tottenham. This makes it difficult to encourage participation in that part of the borough. Any community participation in Tottenham is seen as political opposition." (quoted in Dillon and Fanning 2012: 578)

This historical patterning, and Labour dominance of community representation remains an important political component of local context.

In 2009, a central government investigation into Haringey's Social Services Department after the second death of a child locally, in the 'Baby P' case that became notorious in the UK, led to a crisis of Haringey Council. The central Labour government demanded resignations of senior officers and the political leadership as the borough's Children's Services were put under special measures. From this crisis of the local authority, emerged the Leadership of Claire Kober, and the borough's first engagement with property-led regeneration, spurred further by cuts under the austerity agenda of central government (Dillon and Fanning 2015: 191). Nonetheless, and despite the 'Big Society', suspicions of community participation remained:

Stephen Hill: *I would say the way that Haringey, old Haringey managed this was exemplified by Claire Kober's conversation with a Citizens Haringey organiser. She said, "I really don't get this community organising thing. Why didn't you just join the Labour Party?"*

Greater London Authority

From Thatcher's abolition of the GLC in 1986, amid constraints placed on local authorities and the emergence of Urban Development Corporations (UDCs), London was without formal regional government until 2000 and New Labour's establishment of the GLA under the Mayor of London. The GLA entered a different landscape "crowded with agencies that operate more fluidly and tactically" (Tewdwr-Jones 2009: 70) but with strategic planning powers and metropolitan oversight of the London Development Agency, which received significant public ex-industrial landholdings from central government.

From the outset, the GLA's London Plans and supportive strategies emphasised

London's accelerating population growth as predicating housing demand, setting a 50% affordable housing target for new development. Given few command powers over the boroughs, the GLA began to focus delivery on its Opportunity Areas, large parcels expected to deliver a high proportion of needed housing, forming a "particular fragmentation of urban space and its informal governance of great significance for the emerging form of the city." (Robinson and Attuyer 2021: 314). Furthermore, these have had market forming consequences, not only in encouraging the emergence of determinant viability testing at the metropolitan scale (Christophers 2014), with significant impacts for London's 50% target, but the preparation of large sites itself consolidated economies of scale, resulting in consolidation to large providers in London's construction sector(s) and housing associations.

But while the GLA was designed as a regional facilitator of regeneration, actively engaged in land value uplift and housing pipeline construction, the acceleration of housing price and rent rises in London since the Financial Crisis of 2008 has forced metropolitan discursive politics onto the terrain of crisis. From 2012 onwards, the housing crisis framed both Conservative and Labour manifestos, albeit framing largely property-led solutions, fostering home ownership. As Heslop and Ormerod note, "there is an irony that over-extended finance and deregulation were at the root of the financial crisis, yet these "solutions" are still offered as the antidote to its consequential (and politically moulded) housing crisis." (2020: 156).

While state intervention in the housing market of London operated at three scales, and with differing party emphasis on ownership and rented property, a consensus has emerged around the next "exceptional spaces", public land.

Public Land Disposal: Apparatus of Enclosure

Throughout its history, the GLA and Mayoralty has experienced adjustments to its powers, both alone and as part of wider planning reforms. By 2016, the GLA had long been the pre-eminent disposer of land in London, assembling, remediating and selling land through the London Development Agency, and from 2011, Greater London

Authority Land and Partnerships (GLAP), the GLA's private landholding vehicle, totalling 600 hectares. By 2016, 99% of its landholdings devolved from English Partnerships (EP) and the London Thames Gateway Development Corporation (LTGDC) had "either been developed, is in the course of development, is contractually committed or actively being marketed" (GLA 2016b).

The genesis of the austerity agenda with the election of the coalition government in 2010 spurred further land disposal efforts, in line with central government. In its second term, the Mayoralty of Boris Johnson identified and disposed of surplus holdings within the Metropolitan Police and London Fire Brigade estate, resulting in the closure of sixty-five police stations and bases and ten fire stations. These sites were disposed of at prices 'for best consideration reasonably obtainable" (DCLG 2006) in purely financial terms, a political choice not to impose specific planning conditions to encourage affordable housing development.

Simultaneously, the Mayor established the London Development Panel (LDP) in April 2013, a London version of the Homes and Communities Agency (HCA)'s Delivery Partner Panel, containing twenty-five house builders, developers and housing associations appointed through an OJEU public tender process. The panel was designed to bypass this process per tender, accelerating developer selection, disposal and development. The Panel was framed by the Mayor as a "one-stop shop for public landowners in the capital, making it quicker, easier and cheaper for them to bring their land forward for development" (Gardiner 2013). With the LDP, the GLA fostered public land disposal by enabling and streamlining both its supply and demand, reducing the costs of purchase for major developers. It is noteworthy the private sector was here discursively positioned as assistant to the public sector in its duty to dispose of surplus land. Furthermore, criticism grew during the years of the LDP that it also was promoting an oligopolistic housing sector in London.

With experience and expertise of creating a pipeline of public land, the GLA was well positioned to assist central and local government in the disposal of potential surplus landholdings in London. In 2015, the Mayor and Housing Minister established the London

Land Commission, appointing Savills to assess potentially surplus public sector land from central, regional and local authority landholdings. This estimated "a minimum of 130,000 homes built for Londoners on public sites potentially surplus, a volume of homes which will continue to grow" (ibid).

Simultaneously, the Infrastructure Act 2015 established greater powers for the GLA to assemble land for disposal, through purchase from other public bodies. As Johnson's Mayoralty came to an end, and StART was emerging, the GLA was gearing up for a second wave of land disposal, consolidating its shifted focus of established practices from ex-industrial land in need of remediation to sites of now surplus government functions, as the city's welfare state retreated.

Working with local authorities, so too the GLA's developmental "spaces of exception" (Robinson and Attuyer 2021: 314) adapted to the discourse of the Housing Crisis. Opportunity Areas as the locations for development were rebranded as 'Housing Zones', including two in Tottenham. Once structurally established, practices of regeneration focused on the inner city, determined by the patterning of land with the greatest potential land value uplift.

By the 2010s, the austerity programme of the coalition government increasingly responded to the discursive emergence of the housing crisis by actively reforming central and regional government to accelerate public land disposal, while simultaneously constraining local budgets to force speculative "austerity localism" (Penny 2017). As this shift "from managerialism to entrepreneurialism" (Harvey 1989) was consolidated, structures and agents of regeneration attained a multi-scalar immanence in eastern Haringey, accelerated by the repetition of riots.

6.4 Regeneration: Suburban Immanence

Activist: *I don't want to see poor people living in crap housing but when you have crap housing, poor people can live there. What you've got now, developers or the council do it up, increase the rents and then poor people haven't even got crap housing, they've got no*

housing.

Gentrification

From the mid 1960s, the population changes in de-industrialising Inner London formed the field where gentrification was first observed (Glass 1964, Butler and Lees 2006, Verlaan and Hochstenbach 2022), the gaze of the "professional" (Butler 2003) classes spurred contemporary media coverage of the inner city in crisis. The private house price pressures Haringey now faces are the result of "the gentrification of Inner London becoming more spatially extensive over time" (Butler et al 2008: 84) since their beginnings in the 1980s, reaching a point of saturation by 2010 – 2015 and now "spatially displaced demand from the expensive boroughs may help to explain price rises in the cheaper boroughs" (Holmes et al 2018: 2661.) Given the gentrification and regeneration of Inner London over time, and new territories of interest to regional and private actors, eastern Haringey in the 2010s was shaped by a growing suburban rent gap time lag. The perception of incoming spatial and class change, as had been witnessed in London's more central boroughs, gave rise to an effectual condition of suburban immanence for existing residents in Haringey, as plans for a number of large-scale sites emerged simultaneously.
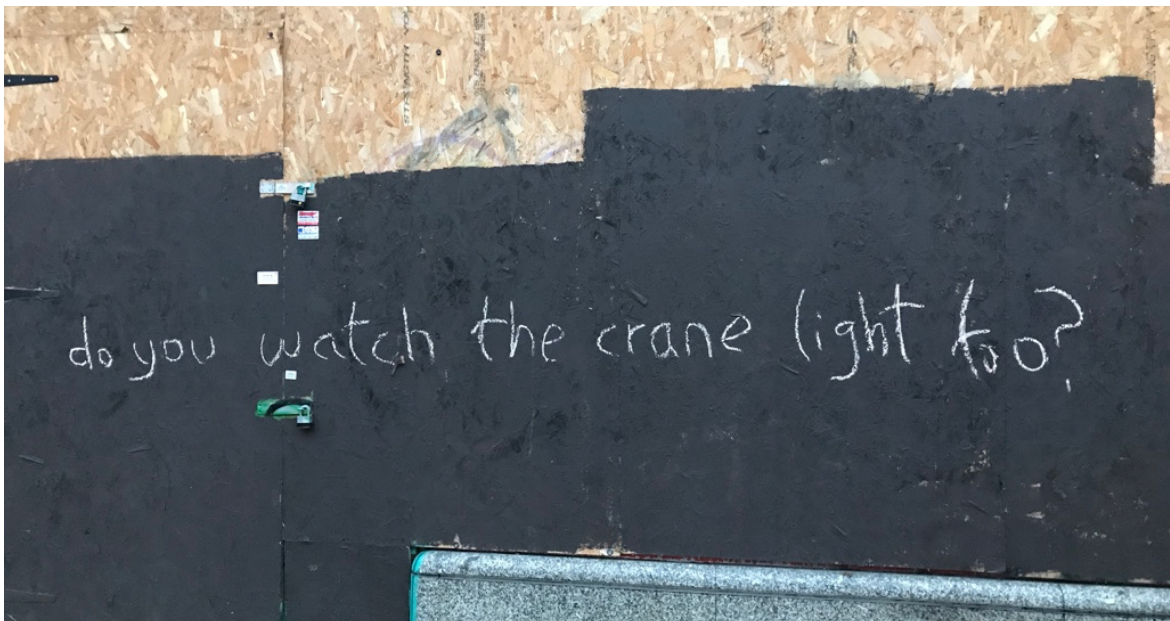
Image 8: Graffiti on abandoned Post Office, Harringay Green Lanes 2020

In post-war and contemporary Britain "race is the modality in which class is lived"

(Hall et al 1978: 394). While Tottenham functioned as a part of London absorbing displacement from inner London, an incoming threat of displacement, as gentrification's ever-present counterpart (Elliott-Cooper, Hubbard and Lees 2020), it now faced displacement itself. Although displacement is always a racialised process (Lees and Hubbard 2022), this is explicitly the case in Tottenham, as a "super-diverse" and the last relatively affordable part of peripheral inner London. Furthermore, after the 2011 riots, Tottenham and eastern Haringey's spatial and demographic composition became the discursive reasoning for state intervention.

"It Took Another Riot"

The institutional responses to the 2011 disorder in Tottenham were again inter-scalar and property led. The then Conservative Mayor of London Boris Johnson rapidly allocated £28m of regeneration funding to Tottenham, commissioning an investigation by property developer Sir Stuart Lipton. Published in 2012, *It Took Another Riot* called for urban property-led regeneration to be co-ordinated by a Mayoral Development Corporation (MDC), regionally fostered growth and coordinated capturing of the rent gap. In terms of housing, the Lipton report was explicitly critical of the of diversity of tenure in Tottenham, calling for 'state-led gentrification' to boost property ownership: "there needs to be a greater proportion of owner-occupied homes in the housing mix" (GLA 2012: 81). In the face of the recommendations for an MDC, and the "diversification" (ibid.) of property wealth and ownership in Tottenham, gentrification, the report also contained scathing condemnation of the previous Council leadership and praise for the new leadership. As a result, an MDC, with significant power and planning gain losses for Haringey Council, was not pursued, the borough instead leading regeneration through the Tottenham Plan.

Given its large stock of industrial land, property-led regeneration continued and accelerated in Tottenham with the active state support of the regeneration funding, across a range of sites as policy developed. Tottenham as Opportunity Area was upgraded to two Housing Zones by the GLA, ongoing identification as a major site of delivery. Alongside development at Tottenham Hale, arguably the flagship

redevelopment of the borough in the last decade has been the rebuilding of the Tottenham Hotspur stadium. This had and continues to threaten a wide range of businesses and social housing around the stadium. As Panton and Walters have detailed, the Stadium "was perceived by many in the local community as a Trojan horse for the gentrification of Tottenham" (2018: 180). At Seven Sisters an ex-department store that was now the commercial market home to London's Latin American community has been threatened with eviction and redevelopment since 2003 (Taylor 2020: 1051).

The HDV

The rhizomatic nature of development in eastern Haringey in the years after the riots and Olympics was joined by the Council's flagship plans to redevelop Council sites across the borough. In 2014, Haringey Council launched a 'Future of Housing Review' ahead of the expiration of their ALMO contract with Homes for Haringey. The report concluded that a Public Private Partnership, focused on the borough's land and other holdings, was necessary to meet its growth targets. The review proposed a 50:50 joint venture with the private sector to redevelop council land in Wood Green, Northumberland Park and smaller sites across the borough, including the council's commercial holdings. In 2015, Haringey Council approved the policy and in July 2017 announced Lend Lease as the "Preferred Bidder of the Competitive Dialogue Procedure" (Haringey Council 2017). Lend Lease by this point was well known in London's housing activism networks as the private partner at Southwark's regeneration of the prominent and high profile Heygate Estate at Elephant and Castle, involving the demolition of council stock and reneged promises of replacement, critically considered an egregious example of state-led gentrification (Lees and Ferreri 2016) in the city. The 'Haringey Development Vehicle' (HDV) posed the largest property-led estate regeneration scheme, and public land disposal, as "austerity localism" (Penny 2017) London had yet seen.

Public Land

As a result, by the 2010s, Tottenham and the eastern half of Haringey faced unprecedented immanent change. As gentrification accelerated, so did plans for large

scale redevelopment. Furthermore, the state sought a particularly active role, with particular discourses of regeneration for Tottenham framed with an urgency as response to the crisis of 2011. Furthermore, as an area of considerable industrial land, council housing and other welfare sites, the state, in a variety of bodies, were at least partial landholders at all sites mentioned above. While Haringey Council's holdings formed the assets for the HDV, the Love Lane estate was remarked for demolition to expand access to the new stadium, alongside much industrial land, some of which was council owned. The market at 'Ward's Corner' was partially owned by Transport for London alongside the Council. In 2013, the NHS plans to dispose of St Ann's hospital emerged simultaneously. Nonetheless, the high degree of state land ownership in the borough was crucial to the scale of envisioned plan-led change. As a result, wide scale opposition erupted, and combined with the contemporary politics within the Labour Party, Haringey's regeneration and housing politics quickly rose to national prominence.

Image 9: Build to Rent development on the site of the former Haringey Housing Office, Seven Sisters, Tottenham.

Image(s) 10: Residential conversion of St Ann's Police Station (sold 2013)

Counter-Movements and Party Politics

Opposition within the community galvanised rapidly. The two major coalitions, Our Tottenham, from which StART emerged, and the StopHDV campaign are discussed extensively in the Community Chapter. Nonetheless, by the time research began, Haringey was an extremely high-profile location of housing politics within the UK. While the scale of the HDV plans galvanised opposition, ideological divisions around the plans began to mirror those opening up within the national Labour Party.

StopHDV soon emerged as a strong coalition of local housing campaigns, trade unions, backbench Labour councillors and leftist activists, while the scheme was also opposed by the two local Members of Parliament, David Lammy (Tottenham) and Catherine Wood (Hornsey and Wood Green). The campaign opposed the policy through a number of strategies, including public demonstrations, protests at Council meetings, judicial review, and dispute within the Haringey Labour Group. In 2016, Jeremy Corbyn was elected Leader of the national Labour Party, buoyed by the Momentum movement which consolidated to support his leadership within a largely hostile party establishment. While the leadership was quietly uncritical of Labour boroughs for the first year, the Grenfell Fire of July 2017 intensified the politics of social housing in London. At the September 2017 Labour Party conference, a couple of months before the local selections in Haringey, Corbyn condemned private-led regeneration schemes on public land and called for ballots on estates facing them, a policy Sadiq Khan's 2016 manifesto has sought to "explore", alongside a commitment from Corbyn to the right to return. As the Guardian's Aditya Chakrabortty (2016) wrote that September:

> *"But Corbyn's words also matter now – because the leader is taking sides against hisown municipal leaders. In Haringey, the Labour leadership is pushing ahead with a plan to shunt housing estates, school buildings, libraries and other public property into a £2bn private fund - despite the opposition – of local Labour MPs, the local trade unions, constituency parties and even many Labour councillors. The plan has sent the local Labour movement into a bitter civil war. Corbyn has effectively taken sides in that war – and it is against council leader Claire Kober…"*

By January 2018, the Labour selections had provided the anti HDV, now 'Corbynite' councillors with a majority. The Leader, Claire Kober, resigned citing bullying, sexism and ideological dogma (Crerar 2018) from what was now hailed as England's first Momentum dominated Council Labour Group by a press hostile to Corbyn. In the first few years of StART's campaign, Haringey became the crucible for ideological and inter-scalar division within the Labour Party and criticism of the regeneration strategies of Labour boroughs in London that fuelled a nascent and unusually united local housing movement, just as research began.

After the Kober resignation, a Haringey Labour administration led by Cllr Joe Ejiofor, Haringey's second Black leader, rose to power, promising to build 1000 homes on public land. It was against this complex inter scalar internal party politics that the then Labour Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, agreed to buy the St Ann's site. Simply, in Haringey, by 2018, extremely organised housing opposition was directly influencing policymaking by Labour leaderships at local, regional and national scales.

6.5 Conclusion

This context has sought to demonstrate crisis, in both housing and the urban, is not only a "perennial" (Robbins 2018) condition of cities, but a generative context, of space, subjectivity and therefore activism and its influence. Crisis has long been a discursive tool for spatial intervention, a discourse that has accompanied British practices of property-led regeneration, and their partnering with the "rollback" of welfare under neoliberalism and austerity, but it is simultaneously the material, embodied and lived reality as consequences of these policy decisions, and so acts upon processes of subjectification.

This chapter has attempted to move beyond simple, heavily structural understandings of enclosure, from the proto-municipal to 'network governance' (Davies 2012) forced by austerity (Penny 2017) as crudely determining subjectivity. Instead, it has attempted to capture Haringey as the frontier of London's emerging "(sub)urban political" Enright (2017: 564) observed in Tottenham after the riots. Here, political topography offers "a perspective that maintains a balance between a material emphasis

on local historical change and more universal subjectifications of political action" (Enright 2017: 558) in its understanding of spatiality, scale and connections to not only the material forces of the market, but the planning decisions of governance.

Here, a dialectic, at the smallest scale, the *dispositif*, can be theorised, between the structural nature of the local as spatialised and scaled, and the subjectivities of its residents. The immanent nature of wide and large-scale spatial transformation in Haringey, of which all scales of government took an active interest in, generated an unprecedented patterning of urban social movements. This thesis now proceeds to explore the CLT as a component within that wider oppositional constellation, as strategy of urban political action, against gentrification, displacement, the dispersion of super-diversity and simultaneously as a propositional vehicle for highly contextually conditioned imaginaries of just spatial change.

7. Community

As discussed in the Literature Review, 'community' is a term troublesome to discourses of the common(s). Instead, the conception of the multitude employs an epistemology of community groups, organisations and movements as assemblages of practices, both always emergent (McFarlane 2009: 562) and to a degree, ever switching between and (re)producing scales (DeLanda 2021: 40). Given both these dynamic properties of StART, upscaling from group to organisation, this chapter will examine the emergence and formation of StART into an activist constellation of the commons, or social movement, against the assemblage as analytical methodology of its formation of, and within, 'community'.

Following a narrative chronology of StART's organisational development, this Chapter uses assemblage in its observation of four key qualities. Firstly, a section on Emergence will discuss StART's origins, unfolding from encounters between propositional and oppositional activists. The second section, Constellation, examines the convergence of activists into a group, where institutional formations of practices and processes produce an internally scaled "describable product of emergent social relations" (Marcus and Saka 2006: 102). The third section, Exteriority, examines the Deleuzian motif of the 'diagram', StART's social "space of possibility" (DeLanda 2021:30) and the external societal connections and directions StART made and moved in as it upscaled. The final section, Territorialisation, discusses the practices that acted to "sharpen the borders or increase the homogeneity" (DeLanda 2021:13) of StART. While these processes are also present in earlier sections, this final part examines the arrival of the politics of the common within StART, which particularly manifested itself as a critical politics of homogeneity, in terms of racial diversity, inclusion, equality and representations, discourses that were themselves both place based and racialising.

In examining these four analytical qualities, a critical narrative of StART's emergence and direction of travel demonstrates the value of assemblage as an ontology of practices that generate the formation of urban social movements, "a hybrid of interpersonal

networks and institutional organisations" (DeLanda 2021: 34). Such an analysis is effective in capturing the trajectory by which StART successfully positioned and implicated itself in regional governance and its plans for the development of the site. Furthermore, it demonstrates not only how commoning practices developed in Tottenham and more widely Haringey as a diverse, deprived and gentrifying community, but were also problematised within the organisation, to the point of crisis.

Image 11: *Because Community Matters* **Painting, Chestnuts Community Centre**

7.1 Chronology

Origins

Activist: *I can't remember exactly what the timing was, but it was apparent that the Mental Health Trust were working on the planning permission for the site, we organised a lot around that, did petitions, made a deputation to the local Council, all this sort of stuff at the Planning meeting, but weren't successful. The planning application went through, the NHS one. We knew it wasn't over then but HaNSA went through a little period of reflection, you know, what do we do now?*

Communities often starkly emerge, form and crystallise to reveal themselves in their strength of opposition to proposed changes to the built environment or local welfare services. Between 2011 to 2013, the Barnet, Enfield and Haringey Mental Health Trust (BEHMHT), the NHS Trust landowner of St Ann's hospital, held numerous consultations regarding the future of their mental health service delivery across their two sites in North London, St Ann's and Chase Farm, Enfield. In 2013, the Trust submitted a planning application, to lift the St Ann's site's value ahead of an open market sale to a private developer. While these plans for the site are discussed further in the next chapter, Land, they were consistently opposed by a group active in Defend Haringey Health Services who splintered off to form Haringey Needs St Ann's Hospital (HaNSA) in the perception of a need to focus on opposing the disposal and planning processes in both the NHS led consultation and public campaigning.

Activist: *It's often very hard to find the energy to fight against hospital closures. So that was a difficult campaign and it was kind of coming to the point where they were thinking of judicially reviewing the decision to sell off the land or the planning permission that would allow the NHS to sell off the land.*

There was also distinct disappointment with the affordable housing offer of 14% affordable housing in Mayor Boris Johnson's tenure definition of affordable, 80% market rent. 70% of this total would be shared ownership.

Activist: *But this thing that has become part of our rhetoric, 14%, we can do better than that. When that emerged, we all strongly felt… this is shit, you know what I mean? That can't be the end of it…So, organised a meeting with some MAJ people…*

In this same period, a local small anarchist housing co-operative, the Mary Ann Johnson Co-op (MAJ) had long been seeking to expand to house more members within the co-operative:

Activist: *And actually, the idea about making the housing co-op bigger and putting the*

equity in, that was sort of sparked off by a reading group discussion that we had with Colin Ward's book 'Talking to Architects' which is essays about how people know how they need to live and they often get missed out of the discussion.

This search had begun in 2006, with a frustrating experience with a medium sized housing association:

Activist: *We tried to buy a bit of land, there's a supermarket called Espa down the bottom of the road. Behind that Peabody owned a bit of land, and they were going to sell it and then another housing association, Network said, 'oh we work with small co-ops, we'll help you.' So, I'll always remember it. 2006. So we sat with Network and an architect and a builder in their offices and started designing the layout, we were going to have a small community space and about eight or ten flats…we had this wonderful meeting and there were all these plans and then in January Network said to us 'we're going to do it without you'. And we'd found the land, we'd convinced Peabody to sell it to us, we'd done all the work, Network had come in and said, 'we work with small co-ops' and then Network said, 'we're going to do it without you. And we're going to build them and take people off the Council Waiting List.'*

Since this disappointment, the co-op had continued to explore growth. Exasperated by low levels of ethical lending on co-operative assets and having explored the equity held by larger co-operatives in London as a source of borrowing, MAJ was seeking to expand through including allies who owned homes selling them to invest in an expanded co-operative space to house both them and other members, potentially in a co-housing project. However, some individual members of MAJ, who undertook much anarchist activism, including migrant support work and direct action housing casework, among other community projects locally, were also increasingly involved or interested in the St Ann's anti-closure campaign.

In July 2015, Haringey Council approved the Trust's planning applications for St Ann's. In interviews, members of MAJ noted a delicate moment of community politics as HaNSA considered a judicial review of the NHS's planning permission as a tactic to stop it.

Activist: *So we didn't want to go to someone and say we want a bit of the land because there was a campaign saving the hospital, but when the planning permission went through, a few of us in the housing co-op, we chatted to [HaNSA members] and said 'look, you've lost the campaign what we should do now is maybe look at how we can get the most genuinely affordable housing on the site and our housing co-op is interested in potentially buying some of the homes to keep them community-led.'*

On this personal and group scale, there was significant proximity and overlap between the hospital campaign HaNSA and the co-op. Members of both had previously been involved in other local campaigns together, particularly through Our Tottenham, a network of affiliated groups concerned with community leadership, power and influence within and often in opposition to established local regeneration projects. In July 2013, Our Tottenham created a Community Charter whose aims were explicitly to defend community facilities from regeneration and to "stand up for decent and affordable housing for all: to ensure that new developments provide the secure, affordable housing that people need, and that 'gentrification' doesn't force thousands of local residents out of our borough" (Our Tottenham n.d.).

With an interest in community ownership and the site, members of MAJ reached out to contacts within the co-operative development sector who had been involved in St Clements', a CLT established as part of the redevelopment of a Mental Health Hospital in Tower Hamlets. The nascent grouping was put in touch with Stephen Hill, a retired civil servant, chartered surveyor and consultant with a long record of establishing community empowerment in regeneration policy and Land Trust projects since the 1990s, who not only had involvement securing the site for East London CLT but set up both the National Community Land Trust Network and influenced the legislative framework. Such external relationships are further discussed in 7.4.

From here, the co-op and anti-hospital closure campaign within the Our Tottenham grouping agreed to work together under the name of the South Tottenham Community Development Group (STCDG). MAJ registered the site as an Asset of Community Value, a

five-year status approved by Haringey Council in December 2014.

Activist: *I think at that point we (MAJ) had already registered, or we were about to register the St Ann's site as an Asset of Community Value. Because you can only do that if you are a local community group and the co-op fit that.*

A Transition Period

Activist: *So, there was a kind of transition period where we consulted the community. There was still quite a contingent of people, local, community, that hadn't accepted the battle for the hospital had been lost. So that was quite difficult, saying we've lost that battle, we've got a new project.*

Following the first meeting of STCDG, a core group continued to meet and work together. By 2015, STCDG had established mechanisms through which to consult more members of the community. Aware of the delicate politics of opposition to the site's proposed future, one of STCDG's first actions was a questionnaire as to what development locals would wish to see on site, funded by angel lenders, donors and the national CLT network's seed funding:

Activist: *But [the Community Development Society (CDS)] also sat down with us and so we raised, two people lent us money, one person lent us ten grand that we know, and one person gave us ten grand and then we got four grand out of the CLT network. And [CDS] sat down with us and worked out a questionnaire.*

And we took it round all the groups we knew and individuals we knew, we got about 350 replies and then [CDS] helped us put a viability or feasibility study together from the replies from people, what people wanted.

"Taking the questionnaire around all the groups we knew" represented an emergent outreach practice that not only gathered wider input but attracted and recruited some community members into a more active level of involvement. While "the groups we

knew" refers to both groups engaged in left-wing political activity in the borough alongside community amenity societies, STCDG/StART also sought opportunities at events organised by others locally to set up a stall and engage local people about the development, both during the period of the questionnaire and more generally, afterwards. Gradually, capacity grew as outreach activities attracted active supporters, whose participation became more institutionalised in processes described in 7.3.

Attending community events was also accompanied by establishing an online presence for STCDG. The group posted information about its meetings and events on local websites, most notably *Harringay Online,* a forum focused on Green Lanes and the Harringay Ladders, the neighbourhood immediately to the west of the site. STCDG also established a presence on Twitter and Facebook, alongside their own website.

From STCDG to StART

Simultaneously during the six months of early consultative activity in 2014 and 2015, StART also formalised its institutional structure, working with CDS.

Activist: *So [CDS] gave us a list of about ten options from limited company to a community benefit society and you know, a CLT isn't a legally constituted entity, so [CDS] also said you could be a CLT which means the land is locked even more, you have to put these terms in your Community Benefit Society (CBS) constitution and it locks the land even more. So we weren't really, we had no preference for a CLT when we first started, it was what was the best form for StART, and that to us seemed to be a CBS, with certain paragraphs in the constitution that made us a CLT as well. And it was as basic as that.*

This quote also confirms the CLT as not the goal but the strategic mechanism for StART's aims. At the same time, StART also agreed to change its name, and a complex, non-legal internal structure of membership and decision-making emerged in StART's meeting practices. These processes, and StART as an institution-like structure, are discussed in 7.3.

External Networks

From the outset, StART sought advice, funding, expertise and connections from a number of external organisations, from the co-operative housing sector, benevolent funds alongside London's emergent CLT hub and networks and other projects, culminating in an international conference hosted by StART in April 2018 at the Royal College of Art. Alongside this, StART also pursued development connections, particularly of architects and developers involved in the St Clements' site as an important precedent. Through these connections a propositional strategy emerged, as is discussed in 7.4.

Activist: *2017, before that, we were very much 'we are a Community Land Trust and we are going to build and manage homes on the site' and 'how do we get to do that?' whereas they* [StART's consultants] *were well aware of the East London CLT and the problems they had being on the outside of the process. So we heard this and arrived at this through our own processes, we need to be on the inside shaping the development, rather than on the outside trying to get in.*

It was the belief the CLT model offered the potentiality to do so and maximise community influence that confirmed StART's enthusiasm for the model.

Haringey Housing Politics

StART's strategy to be "inside" required a high profile to the campaign. StART was successful in securing publicity for the project but in 2017 it accelerated, as opposition rose to Haringey Council's proposed estate regeneration programme. The emergence of the HDV, and StopHDV, the community campaign against the joint venture, forced a dilemma between the balanced propositional strategy towards an "inside" and a critical "outside" oppositional stance. This triggered critical internal discussions for StART, who not only lost active members but faced external consequences, as both representatives of the community and in future relations with the new political leadership of Haringey Council, that emerged from the success of StopHDV.

Participation and Porosity

Concurrent to StART's dilemmas around publicly supporting StopHDV, the group were also concerned with the diversity of people participating in the group and with it, the degree to which the plans formulated by StART would be representative of all of Haringey's communities, and specifically those in housing need. By 2017, boosting inclusion and diverse participation was an active concern:

Activist: *Yeah. You know, we had to try and diversify StART. And that was both, StART has always had at least equal numbers of women involved. You know there was very few people with disabilities, there are very few people with, we are all of a, there is an age skew within StART, there is a class skew, or there used to be a class skew within StART, there is obviously a skew towards white people and StART recognised that and was trying to look at ways to deal with it.*

StART's recognition was primarily in the form of the Inclusion and Engagement subgroup(s), tasked with attracting a wider demographic. By 2019, diversity and inclusion practices and equality in StART were subject to rife internal discursive conflict, disintegrating into the distrust discussed in the Trust chapter. However, it is first necessary, in this Community chapter, to understand StART's coagulating and sustained homogeneity as a group largely sustained by middle class and white participants, as processes of territorialisation along its trajectory. This is discussed further in Section 7.5.

7.2 Emergence: From Encounters to Practices

Understanding social movements as assemblages with "emergent" qualities focuses analysis on the (re)production of the group, rather than ascribing fixity to a reified object. This provides a valuable dynamic and upscaling model focused around becoming, towards an objective, furthered through practices. As this section demonstrates, emergence and other qualities of the assemblage provide a valuable analytical framework to discuss not only "the historical birth of a particular assemblage…[but] the processes behind the original emergence of its identity" (DeLanda 2021: 38).

Assemblage theories dictate social movements begin with the events of an encounter. As the Chronology discusses, StART, then STCDG, emerged in long and delicate discussions between an anti- hospital closure campaign and a local housing co-op seeking to expand, parallel to the NHS seeking planning permission for the St Ann's site. In interviews, participants described this coming together as a "confluence".

Activist: *So I guess it was a confluence of various things, there was the MAJ project, there was the St Ann's hospital campaign*

Confluence: Encounters and Components

Members of HaNSA and MAJ knew each other interpersonally and institutionally through a larger local activist constellation, Our Tottenham.

Activist: *Our Tottenham is largely about community leadership in regeneration basically, and trying to unify and bring together various, different campaigns…Anyway one of the Our Tottenham subgroups was Community Ownership of Public Resources or something like that and so we were involved in that group…with various other people actually who have been associated with StART, actually, interestingly.*

As DeLanda notes, "assemblages can be component parts of other assemblages" (2021: 21) and indeed, STCDG's emergence as an increasingly autonomous sub-project of Our Tottenham confirms both such a model of genesis and social movements as "a hybrid of interpersonal networks and institutional organisations" (DeLanda 2021: 41). These groupings, and the individuals that comprised them, were effectively brought together and unified by a critical interest in the future of the site. Within this emergent formation, both groups coalesced around a criticality of both the loss of services and the proposed affordable housing percentage and split heavily weighted towards shared ownership. The ever present oppositional nature of StART to state-led policies, particularly of land disposal, confirm StART as a Polanyi-esque "counter-movement" (Peredo and McLean 2020: 821), emerging in critical response to enclosure, as did

StopHDV. Nonetheless, both oppositional and propositional forces within StART were present within this nascent period, in the forms of its original component organisations. While members describe a difficult transition period, the presence of a housing co-operative, with a history of experience of the difficulties of expansion locally, meant StART always contained a kernel of the propositional of an alternative:

Activist: *And then we called a meeting and about forty-nine people attended, erm obviously we've got quite a lot of contacts because a lot of us have been doing stuff locally, and we had that meeting and apart from two or three older people who had been involved in the hospital campaign that thought it wouldn't work, the general feeling is we should buy the land and we should be the developers (laughs).*

Even in these stages of formation, key elements, characteristics and dynamics within STCDG that would remain within StART throughout were evident. As a partnership between an anti-hospital closure campaign and a political co-operative seeking to expand, the group were critical of health policy, alongside housing delivery and the interest in alternative housing delivery. As Lev Kerimol, Chair of the London Hub espoused, this wide ranging criticality gave StART it's relatively unique balance within community led housing:

Lev Kerimol: *I think StART occupied an interesting space between that end of purely oppositional to something propositional. That's exactly the words I used to use, oppositional versus propositional.*

As this thesis maintains, the oppositional and propositional were forces that remained ever active within StART, and considerations of balancing the tensions that emerged between them were key to the group's strategic trajectory. In this respect, opposition and proposition were continuous discursive and organisational components, key to both the "original emergence" and "maintaining…identity between its birth and its death" (DeLanda 2006: 38) of StART.

Nonetheless, this was a successful hybrid in both a vision which saw continued and

improved mental health facilities on site by members of StART who emerged from MAJ:

Activist: *But it was essentially to try and, it was an attempt to, it's a piece of public land, it was used for the benefit of the community, whatever happens on the land, and you know the way the financial models of the NHS work, well I felt that the NHS could make money out of selling some of that site, make a better facility and remain there.*

And a developing synergy of an interest in decent and affordable housing as a determinant of physical and mental health, as discussed by a member originally of the HaNSA campaign:

Activist: *My passion really was around health and so the key question for me at that time and still is, and it's fantastic in a way, you know, my knowledge and awareness of broader determinants of health, this felt like a really practical way to apply that knowledge if you like. And motivation. I really wanted to do something that had a direct impact here. I didn't believe the NHS. The NHS use this phrase "surplus to requirements" when they need to get rid of an asset, so that was a big thing for me, I don't think it is surplus to requirements, there are significant health inequalities here and how are you going to use the resource to actually improve health? And I think that's what StART is for me, morphing, using that resource, not in an NHS healthservicey way, but in a way that genuinely addresses determinants of health. And especially around housing, which is so key. So, housing policy is health policy.*

While some primarily opposed the closure and relocation of mental health services in an area of mental health need, the planning permission and degree of affordability on site engendered first a criticism of gentrification, displacement and the perception Tottenham was changing at a speed that was soon to accelerate. The politics of affordability, health and empowerment were therefore intertwined, for most, not least the anarchists, building on an existing critical perception of the role of the state in both housing and health service delivery. Within StART's early discussions, this coalesced into a 'hybrid' opposition, of the NHS planning permission, poor housing and the movement of services out of the borough as a likely exacerbator of local inequality and social

exclusion. Achievable through community ownership of land, empowerment was framed as the achievement of affordable housing as a bulwark against the rent pressures on Tottenham and Haringey's existing residents as preventative, alongside pioneering alternative rehabilitative spaces and practices of 'care in the community'.

The CLT as Policy Object

StART's origins confirm the site was a key component of the assemblage from inception. Amid the developing formation opposed to closure and low affordability, the propositional element, the CLT model, took longer to 'fix'. As discussed, MAJ used its contacts within co-operative housing, not least CDS, to reach out to agents around the St Clements' development, and organised a meeting with Stephen Hill, a retired civil servant with a significant role developing the CLT model in England, then a CLH advisor connected to the emerging London support infrastructure, discussed in the Land Chapter:

Activist: *We organised a meeting with some MAJ people, some HANSA people and some outliers with Stephen Hill at Chestnuts. This must have been 2014 and that was the first time I heard about Community Land Trusts again, the thing that I really remember from that meeting is Stephen Hill saying "this is how you destroy land value" and everybody in the room, literally was like, "what? How you do what?"*

"Now, you get an asset, you bake it into sort of constitution, you prevent that, no one can get hold of that asset you know, you use it for the benefit of the community in the long term".

If it's land, bang! And so really, I think that is the moment at which everyone, we all thought, this is a goer, wow. I'd never heard of that, I didn't know that was possible, let's go for it.

As an outside suggestion, received through StART's contacts, the CLT was a form that promised affordability and empowerment, as the mechanism of community land ownership that "destroyed land value". These aligned with utopics, including improved

and community co-created mental health facilities, environmental stewardship and not least, community-led and affordable housing. While the tenure and spatial characteristics of StART's proposals are discussed in the Land chapter, the CLT as ownership model therefore primarily appealed to StART as a policy object that presented the opportunity of a strategic mechanism to deliver alternatives, rather than the object of alterity itself. As McCann identifies, the CLT therefore formed a key motif of the emergent quality of assemblage, as the "process of inventing alternative visions of future and innovative ways of achieving other possible worlds" (2011: 144).

Embodied Practices: Capacity Growth

Alongside the twin critical and propositional policy dynamics, the two distinct campaigns that formed STCDG brought a range of skills, knowledges, experiences, contacts and networks, from campaigning to exploring co-development with a housing association, presenting a rich set of resources to generate a campaign. From the granting of the Asset of Community Value (ACV) in 2014 and the planning permission in mid 2015, STCDG/StART developed its vision for the site through participation, rapidly and concurrently with its growing organisational form and support network.

These propositional practices focused around planning the spatial object that was to be the CLT on site. In the early stages, the CLT as idea generated the consultative questionnaire, fundraising and consultation events developing into the planning processes discussed in the Land Chapter. While these were focused on the site, these immediate and generative practices were enabled by the CLT as idea, a graspable legal entity and policy mechanism, as key component of the nascent assemblage. To this, the CLT as legally codified policy model formed an ambition and locus around which immediate co-operative practices could develop, as the "work of the group based on forms of group exchange" (McFarlane 2009: 566).

Furthermore, StART's planning processes were simultaneously ones of outreach, embodying relations of exteriority. The questionnaire and StART's active engagement with "the groups we knew" around it grew into attendance at community events. As a

number of interviewees testified, these outreach activities attracted supporters who became more actively involved:

Activist: *And then StART appeared. A member came to one of our meetings to publicise, fundraise, and persuade the [residents association] to become members. And later on, I started coming to meetings.*

Activist: *I heard about StART probably 2015, 2016. We had a street party on the road I live on, and [member] had come down actually to hold a stall in the street, so, and they were doing the Housing Survey, so obviously there was lots to talk about that. And because she seemed just really nice and approachable, you just end up having a conversation and it was her who said 'I think you should come and join us, you'd be a real asset in the environment group. There are lots of different subgroups you can be involved with, why don't you come down and get involved?' And I thought OK, I'll go to a meeting and see what's going on.*

Activist: *Yeah I think I saw a call out for one of the consultations. And I went to it at a school, on one of the Saturdays. The architects had presented their initial idea, it must not have been the full Masterplan, because I was involved in that afterwards, but I remember just thinking "fucking hell, this is unbelievable!". And I remember saying this is so inspiring. And then I started showing up, going to meetings after that. I think StART had been going a year then, maybe a touch longer, so yeah I started…showing up.*

Interviews with members active in 2019 revealed the number of pathways into actively contributing to the group at this time were vital to increasingly the numbers of local people actively participating, taking on tasks to further the group's ambitions, as the only means of an increasing capacity. As will be discussed in 7.3, some of this capacity was dedicated to formalising the group into an organisation and establishing its presence, but these processes did serve to further attract those with particular knowledges, skills, and experiences, combinedly producing a group with specifically acknowledged 'expertise' and external connections. The latent politics of this expertise will be discussed throughout this thesis, but as with the oppositional/propositional

components and their tensions, this politics was seeded at the genesis and early phases of StART.

Becoming

In examining StART's historical origins, the particular value of the assemblage as methodology is its capture of dynamic processes of emergence and becoming. As a hybrid emerging from propositional and oppositional components, interpersonal and institutional connections, a desire for an alternative, centred on the component of the hospital site, emerged. The CLT as a policy model brought the legal component, and a teleology from community ownership in perpetuity, furnishing a particular narrative of becoming. As is discussed in the next section, the formation of StART as a CLT before assets were secured gave StART an 'already existent' discursive temporality, a CLT discussed as the present identity of the organisation, not just a future one.

Secondly, the motifs of upscaling and becoming capture the motion of StART, as embodied encounters grew, so developed embodied practices focussed around the Masterplan as object resultant from process. From its genesis STCDG/StART would continue to upscale its practices: from group to Trust as organisational form, in forms of outreach and ultimately, before engaging with state agencies and proposing co-operative governance to develop the future of the site. From StART's emergence to its end, this movement of practices switching up scales remained observable.

As a result, becoming not only captures the temporal and scalar movement of StART throughout its existence, but the early processes of confluence, hybridity and synthesis that formed a campaign for an urban CLT of 800 homes in London, "within and against" future plans for the site, of state disposal. While the micro-practices of StART are rendered visible by assemblage theory, the oppositional nature of StART's origins also confirm 'macro' structural understandings of the origins of commons as "counter-movements" to enclosure, while capturing the 'micro' practices that constitute commoning. Within the assemblage, these emergent micro practices would constitute the practices that would later dictate upscaling to the politics of the macro, as

experienced by activists. They would also develop StART's governance structures, as discussed in the next section.

7.3 Constellation

"An assemblage *[is] every constellation of singularities and traits deducted from the flow – selected, organized, stratified – in such a way as to converge . . . artificially and naturally; an assemblage, in this sense, is a veritable invention."* (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 406)

While the common and assemblage theory are practice focused epistemologies, both acknowledge or recognise activist practices form "structure-like formations as describable product of emergent social relations" (Marcus and Saka 2006: 102), where "structure is conceived as consisting of behavioural procedures and routines, and of material and symbolic resources, neither one of which possesses a separate existence outside of their instantiation in actual practice" (DeLanda 2021: 10). This section examines the practice of StART's mechanisms of participation in terms of membership and decision-making as "a frame of specific complexity around a vision of an unstable heterogeneous structure" (Ong and Collier 2004: 104). As StART scaled up from a group to a registered organisation, the group scaled its arenas for participation in membership and decision making, from practices to processes. In analysing this loose, complicated and scaled power structure, which sought to make decisions both horizontally and consensually, using the machinic metaphors particularly common to assemblage theory (Marcus and Saka 2006: 103), the section reveals the importance of trust to StART's functioning, as a "lubricant" (Arrow 1974) of internal mechanisms.

Organisational Form

Once the strategic goal of a CLT was identified, StART's emergence continued with registration as legal entity, primarily so it could receive charitable donations:

Activist: *then we started having kind of like more organising meetings and choosing the*

name and looking into, I guess I got involved partly because of my experience in other places, I got involved in the registration of the organisation and that kind of bit. I think we got some funds from the Community Land Trust network, but it was somebody from the CDS came and met us and explained the different organisational models we could set up and we chose a Community Benefit Society, and we chose our rules and we did all of that process over about six to nine months. And in that time, we were also doing a survey and consultation stuff…2015 is when it got registered, I think.

The particular legal form of a CBS was chosen primarily for its advantageous delivery of the group's goal, in offering an asset lock. While the perceived necessity of a strong asset lock in terms of the site are discussed in the next chapter, in terms of the politics of the site as public land amid a wider politics of sustainable social housing and the Right to Buy, arguably this asset lock also responded to the group's views around ideal participation in the organisation, with consequences in terms of the practices of participation and commoning StART undertook. A CBS is a new terminology under the Co-operative and Community Benefit Societies Act 2014, replacing industrial and provident societies. Unlike co-operatives, community benefit societies "reflect commitment to the wider community, with profits being ploughed back into the business, rather than being distributed to members" (Wrigleys Solicitors 2017) and so provided StART with a legal form that countered a common criticism of self-interest co-op members were aware of.

The choice of a CBS provides a demonstration of a commitment to a wider community beyond the immediate group of founders that was also evident in StART's early participatory events. It somewhat aligns with the nominal shift from Group to Trust. St Ann's Redevelopment Trust (StART) was chosen to replace South Tottenham Community Development Group (STCDG) and while the focus on St Ann's Hospital specified the site, the transition from a Community Development Group to a Redevelopment Trust is itself significant, symbolising the upscaling from group to organisation. Furthermore, even before StART held any assets, 'trust' as legal entity confirmed their commitment to an asset lock, yet, as is discussed below, it also accurately described StART's loose institutional formation.

Membership

As StART steadily grew, layered patterns of participation and membership emerged within and around the organisation. At the most passive level of participation, supporters could sign up to the email mailing list, which informed them of upcoming consultation meetings and the project's progress. Community Benefit Societies can issue shares. StART used share issuing as the basis of membership with a £1 joining fee, which awarded the individual member a voting stake at StART's Annual General Meeting. Here, the CBS model, in demonstrating its commitment to community allowed a low level, passive or minimal democratic participation within the organisation.

Membership was open to anyone who lived or worked in Haringey, but this was not enforced and throughout my time with StART, some who had moved out of the borough or didn't live there commuted and contributed actively.

Membership was heavily promoted as the means to get involved at StART's consultation events and outreach. By 2020, StART had nearly six hundred supporters on this list. Over ten per cent of this number attended the 2018, 2019 and 2020 Annual General Meetings, as required to make them quorate.

Alongside individual members, StART was open to group or organisational membership. Through the existing contacts of members and attending community events, StART invited groups to join. Group members were awarded singular membership of StART, with one vote at the AGM. This form of affiliation recruited a wide range of organisations, from place-based amenity societies and ethnic minority associations to private businesses and pub quiz teams, as detailed in Appendix F. While these group members were not observed to participate more widely than this nominal membership, the network of organisational supporters enabled interested members of these groups to contribute and participate. As is discussed in 7.5, this layer was also integral to StART's outreach strategy.

As StART developed through its early months, organisational meetings continued on a fortnightly basis. With the adoption of the CBS, these became the Directors Meetings, and remained the nucleus of active participation. Adapted from the co-operative's anarchist structures, these meetings emphasised horizontal decision-making between members, to be reached by consensus. Furthermore, from the Directors meetings, subgroups soon evolved, with their own work agendas, delegated decision-making and protocols of inter-scalar reporting back to the Directors or Main meetings. This complex structure of active membership, attempting to reconcile legal obligations with anarchist praxis is now explored.

Directors Meetings and Horizontality

Activist: *Their stated politics is anarchist and what they would like to work towards, the way they think communities should work is through local community decision making, local, non-hierarchic organisations, co-operation, all of those they are espousing as the political ideals they are working with.*

As STCDG/StART evolved, it was structured by an ethic of horizontality between participants. The CBS form, while crystallising layers of passive and active participation, legally required StART to have at least three directors, a Chair, Secretary and Treasurer, to be reported by name to the Financial Conduct Authority. While the law and StART's adopted rules required three Directors, they usually numbered eight in total, until events in late 2019, and were elected at the AGMs. This structure presented challenges in terms of StART's proclaimed ethic of horizontality, and the immediate inequality of rights and responsibilities between Directors and other active members attending the main organising meetings, as they transitioned into open 'Directors meetings'. This was an active and attended to concern for members:

Activist: *Well the thing is like, the Directors have always had this, they're allowed to make decisions, it's part of the policy. But we've never enforced that. We never did, we did it as flatly as possible.*

Activist: *I'd never been a Director before, despite being a founder member, because I wanted to ensure the Directors never assumed a traditional Directorship or roles and took power away from the ordinary members of StART.*

To counteract this latent structural valency, StART held its Directors' meetings in public, open to any Member of StART or the public, who were welcomed as not-yet members of StART to attend and actively participate in decision-making. These meetings were held on Wednesday evenings, in Chestnuts Community Centre, opposite the hospital. While for those who identified as anarchists within the group, the principle of horizontality and equality between Directors and ordinary Members in decision-making was the ideal of community decision-making, members of other origins were more sceptical:

Activist: *I suppose one thing I did notice when I first joined was that people were very committed to the concept of having consensus based, flat decision-making processes, in terms of it being something people were quite enthusiastic about holding onto, rather than it being just a tokenistic 'this is the way we do things' thing, people are actually conscious that they want to maintain that way of working. But I'm not sure it works particularly well and if you're going to ask me why I'm going to have to think longer about why exactly that's the case.*

Activist: *So really horizontal decision processes are very confusing to old style Labourites including myself, but my gut feeling is this is bonkers, it won't work.*

Nonetheless, StART functioned using this ethic of open Directors' meetings until May 2020, as significant challenges to horizontality, both external and internal, unfolded.

Consensus

Aligned to this horizontality was a parallel ethic of consensual community-led decision-making. Proposals for decisions would be sent to out on the meeting Agenda two days before the meetings and any attendees would have the right to publicly

demonstrate consensus or doubts. The procedure was governed by Rule 81 of StART's constitution:

81. Questions arising at any meetings of the Board shall be decided by consensus. By consensus means, a situation where all Members participating in the Board meeting are in agreement on an issue, or where those not in agreement agree not to maintain an objection. In the event of consensus not being possible, the matter shall be either (a) deferred to the next scheduled Board meeting, if agreed by those Directors present (including those not present in person) that the matter is non-urgent, or (b) referred to a new Board meeting to be held not more than fourteen Clear Days after the date of the first Board meeting, when if consensus is still not possible, the matter shall be decided by a majority of votes, each Board member present (including those not present in person) having the right to one vote only on the matter to be decided. In the case of an equality of votes the status quo shall be maintained and the Board of Directors may choose to refer the matter to a general meeting of the Society.

In practice, consensus operated through a consensus of process. For 'Ordinary Motions', the everyday decisions of the organisation, if consensus was not achieved, the decision was delayed for two weeks. Interviews with activists throughout late 2019 and 2020 revealed a growing awareness of the vagaries of StART's consensus model. Members were aware of the intense pressure disagreement in such a system presented:

Activist: *We do it on the spot and if after three goes…then the Directors can make a decision. And when you're doing that kind of decision making, I mean anything other than a secret ballot is actually a very difficult environment in which to have your voice because it takes a lot of courage, if you're doing a go-round and it's not clear who is supporting and who isn't, it's quite brave to stand up and say actually 'I want to vote against this, I don't agree with this decision' and being able to articulate why.*

There was some concern the formality of reaching consensual decisions within the groups was ambiguous between members:

Activist: *The fact that the main meetings are actually real decisions, they are decision-making meetings, and I think that people should be more aware, all of us included, me included, that the decisions we're making here are quite serious and binding, to an extent.*

In particular, the significance of blocking consensus was rarely discussed, with some maintaining in meetings in 2019 a block was such a fundamental disagreement it was equivalent to leaving the organisation, a previous gesture which, for some, had crystallised to carry the expectation of convention. The significance of a block, and the absence of structured procedures for resolving disagreement within the group remained a significant issue throughout StART's trajectory.

Subgroups

Activist: *Break down areas, our subgroups, cos it's a big, it's a 'how do you eat an elephant' type thing, isn't it?*

While the Directors' meetings, open to all members, formed the main decision-making forum of StART, these fortnightly, two-hour meetings did not provide the collective capacity to progress StART's agenda and the considerable workload it generated. Early on, subgroup meetings emerged, both tasked for specific actions and by broad topic area. Subgroups met less frequently, aiming to do so on at least a monthly basis. Members attending the Directors meeting were encouraged to participate further in those they felt they could, or were interested in, making a contribution to. This section will briefly discuss each subgroup within StART's wide range, its purpose and my direct engagement with them as researcher to position further discussion of StART's work later in this thesis, before analysing the structural consequences of this model.

A secondary locus of StART's decision-making was the Political Strategy group, by far the most formalised of all the subgroups. The strategy meeting met fortnightly, on the alternate Wednesdays to the Directors meetings and it was the only subgroup for which StART rented meeting space, at a Church Centre on West Green Road, again between Green Lanes and Tottenham. These meetings attracted relatively large numbers for the subgroups, usually around ten or so participants and these were heavily attended by those holding Directorships and founder members. The group was tasked with political strategy to secure its evolving aims, first the purchase of the land and then for the

development of the site as StART met regularly with the GLA. Consultants StART had hired also regularly attended and contributed to the meetings. Here, strategy meetings align with the oppositional component of StART, a relatively distinctive feature within community-led housing.

I started attending Strategy meetings further to establishing myself in the Publicity Group, where it was suggested I contribute. The subgroup was tasked with building StART's press coverage, responding to enquiries and building relationships with journalists, while internal written communications, in the form of a newsletter, was handled separately. The subgroup prepared and sent press releases, attended meetings with journalists and other external partners, including a communication consultant. Usually under five members, it met monthly, and it was decided in December 2018 to send a delegate to the Strategy Meeting to ensure publicity co-ordinated with and did not contradict the strategy for GLA negotiations active at that time.

StART also had a Finance Group, responsible for financial management of StART's budget and accounts as to the requirements of CBS status, alongside identifying, bidding and securing grants.

StART also established an Inclusion Group early on, responsible for increasing participation, and the diversity of participation within StART. Its remit included observing issues and making recommendations for more inclusive working, alongside outreach work. In 2019, this working was revisited and an Outreach and Community Engagement group established separately.

Alongside these subgroups, StART had others focused on areas of the development, which also met monthly. These including Housing, who were carrying out a survey as a basis to develop an allocations policy for the community-owned units on the site as I started attending StART's meetings in July 2018. Many members of this group had professional experience in the housing sector.

Activist: *I think subgroups work well also in terms of representing the fact StART isn't just*

about building homes on a piece of land it's about ensuring legacy and ensuring environmental outcomes, and good health outcomes, so I think it's a good way of addressing all those other issues that we're working towards.
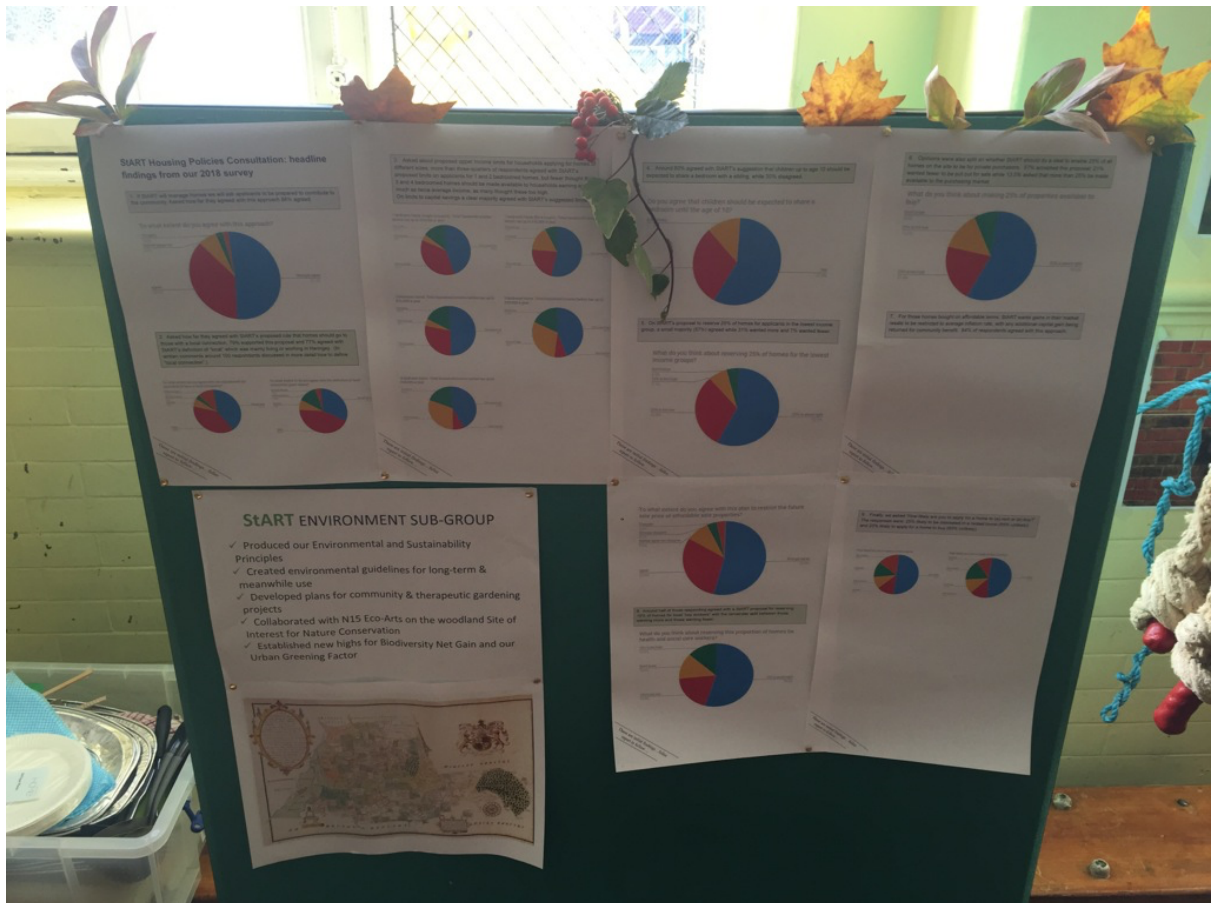
Image 12: StART Housing Subgroup Information Board, AGM 2018

The Health Group was focused on the health legacy of the site, seeking to secure a productive relationship with the NHS Trust once it was to remain on site and to examine, develop and propose rehabilitative ideas for patients and the site. The Health Subgroup was largely led by members of StART who had been active in Defend Haringey Health Services and Haringey Needs St Ann's.

The Health Subgroup's membership and workload, focused on the gardens, overlapped with the Environment Subgroup, who were focused on site biodiversity, as well as pursuing high sustainable development goals within the Masterplan, tender and at other opportunities within the process. The site contains a Site of Importance for Nature Conservation (SINC) along its southern boundary, a railway line. The Environment

Subgroup's work therefore connected StART particularly with improving and maintaining biodiversity. Eventually, in 2019 the Environment and Health group merged, given the personnel overlap and the centrality of nature to StART's rehabilitative vision.

StART also established ad hoc subgroups at various times, for varying periods. These included AGM planning, the '£50 million Subgroup', active in 'Plan B' discussed in the Land Chapter, as is the Meanwhile Use Group. Others include the Decision Making Subgroup, established in mid 2019 as a space to consider and recommend changes to the decision making subgroup and ultimately, the Community Led Homes subgroup replaced the Housing Group, exploring the process of registration as a social landlord and the potential affordability level StART would be able to deliver. Alongside the more permanent groups, these ad hoc groups are discussed as self-evident in purpose at various points in this analysis.

Subgroups provided capacity for StART. Most of its work passed through at least one subgroup, and the structure allowed for detailed work together as StART's evolving work programme required. However, the relationship between subgroups and the Directors meeting was subject to flux. Decision-making was ambiguously delegated from the Directors meeting, with no protocol as to which decisions should be made where, except for financial decisions. Despite the 'sub', subgroups were not necessarily secondary to the main Directors meeting and no hierarchy between them was defined or enforced. Members found it difficult to formalise these processes:

Activist: *And what we should have done was write something down saying these are how decisions in subgroups get made but actually, how do you put a policy in place that says what decisions can be made by subgroups and what decisions can be made by the main group? There's a huge grey area in the middle.*

StART's subgroup model also fostered the politics of expertise that became increasingly operative in discussions of decision-making. The potential formation of silos of expertise was recognised and viewed quite differently in the group, positively by some with professional experience of community engagement:

Activist: *It has been a very good way of giving people who have specific interests, experiences, the opportunity to contribute in a really detailed way in their areas of expertise, so having the opportunity for people who are interested in or know a lot about environmental stuff, to be part of that group, is really good. And that model certainly I've worked with when I'm working with community groups, if you have individuals who have particular interests, I'd always encourage them to come together and work as sub groups in order to really address the things they are interested in.*

Others expressed concern the topic based, more permanent subgroups both reified expertise in particular cohorts:

Activist: *No. I've pretty much always thought they should be tasked and finished groups really...I think the more pernicious fact of the subgroups is they generate their own cohort, that's the polite way of putting it, but it begins to facilitate these separatist groups within StART, they become institutions in themselves. Why are we adding to the bureaucracy, that's my thing, just another unnecessary bureaucratic sort of process that becomes "oh we're the environment group", so let's think of something to do, number one we're the experts, and we're coming up with things just for the sake of coming up with things", rather than being part of a whole.*

As these contemporaneous quotes, both taken in November 2019, demonstrate, these differing perspectives were present within StART. Subgroups were to prove integral to the developing direction of the contentious politics of expertise within StART, explored further in the Trust chapter.

Trust as Praxis

As this section has demonstrated, StART upscaled from a group to an organisation with multiple, scaled yet flat, connected and overlapping decision-making arenas, alongside a scaled model of membership. These complex structures produced a "veritable thing" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:406) of practices, including the writing of a

constitution and orally communicated structurings, that aligns with an understanding of a CLT as an assemblage, as "fixed and mobile pieces of expertise, regulation, institutional capacities are brought together in particular ways, for particular interests and purposes" (McCann and Ward 2012: 328). These 'internal' processes align with both machinic metaphors and the notion of StART as an "open system of intensities under the influence of a force that is external (or heterogeneous) in relation to it" (Marcus and Saka 2006 :103). Nonetheless, key to horizontal arrangements between Directors and active members, consensus building, scaled membership and delegated decision making and actions to subgroups, trust as "the lubricant of co-operation" (Arrow 1974) remained integral to the functioning of this interpersonal-institutional hybrid formation. StART members were clearly aware this was the case:

Activist: *There was trust within the organisation, people were making decisions, coming back and saying these are the decisions we've made. And if anyone thought the subgroups had overstepped the power, they would say oh I'm not sure you can make that decision. Generally what was happening was the subgroups were coming back and saying this is what we want to do, is that ok?*

Activist: *I am in organisations that have fairly robust decision-making processes and a much clearer idea of what consensus does and doesn't mean. I guess we didn't. As much as it was flagged up to us in the early days, we didn't nail down what we meant by consensus. I mean we even had a meeting where we had an external facilitator come in and look at the housing allocation policy and priorities around that. And she said, "you rely a lot on trust in your organisation" and we were like "oh, ok, yeah, that's cool". It was a concern for me, because she came from an organisation that I assumed also relied a lot on trust! But I guess you do need clear procedures…. I don't know, it's hard.*

Therefore, StART's institutional arrangements were not fixed, instead there was a culture open to institutional re-assessment and reform, including a workshop and subgroup tasked specifically with examining StART's decision-making processes in 2019. With this diffusion of power, open membership and openness to examining decision-making, as StART continued its upscaling direction of travel, the reliance on trust fostered

institutional instability that severely impacted StART's ability to 'govern the commons', as forms the discussion of the Trust chapter.

7.4 Exteriority

Another advantage of assemblage as a conceptual framing of a CLT as a "specific complex of ideas" (Gilbert 2014: 150) emergent as a formation from a wider social arrangement, is the emphasis on exteriority of all components. Here, exteriority, already visible between the components of StART is valuable in assessing the organisation's external networks and relationship formations. DeLanda (2021: 30) argues "assemblages are characterised by what Deleuze refers to as a diagram…that would structure the space of possibilities associated with the assemblage" and this provides a dynamic model of StART's network building.

Such an analysis reveals a particular "complex-embeddedness" (Peters 1987 in Whaley 2018: 139) of StART at differing scales of practice. It is here where the oppositional and propositional presented stark strategic choices, with costs, consequences and path dependencies. While StART closed to pursue propositional contacts, the developing local opposition to the wider project of land disposal in the Haringey Development Vehicle fundamentally altered the landscape of StART's "spaces of possibility" (DeLanda 2021). This section will first examine StART's practices of relationship building with propositional partners and the media, before discussing the ambivalent relationship with Haringey's emergent oppositional activism, the Stop the HDV campaign, that eventually determined local political leadership. The experience of StART, embracing development activity while displaying a wariness to connect with local oppositional activism, suggests the strategic paths CLT actors perceive necessary to development can cut through potential allegiances hoped for in theory as the "urban housing commons" (Hodkinson 2012).

The Community Land Trust and Co-Operative Sectors

From its origins, StART used sector connections established by the co-operative to

further their development. Primarily, this furnished StART with existing interpersonal relationships through which advice, support, funding and introductions to expertise were sought.

Activist: *So when we were like 'shit, how do we do all this?' I went and spoke to Confederation of Co-operative Housing and they came and met with us, helped us with where we could get a bit of money, introduced us to…*

Alongside initial contacts in the co-operative sector, the national CLT network also provided ad hoc support and early funding as StART established itself. Simultaneously, StART established relationships with other London CLTs. StART particularly developed connections with London CLT and those with expertise gained in the St Clements' development in Tower Hamlets. Site visits and exchanges were also undertaken, including to RUSS in Lewisham and Waterton and Elgin Community Homes (WECH). These relationships generally provided an informal network of information sharing and introductions.

Activist: *Well it's obviously got a good relationship with the CLT movement in London. So someone in StART knows the person at RUSS or whatever it is you know, which is a potential problem but generally speaking StART is pretty well linked, nationally, and obviously is recognised as being a potential exemplar organisation and has the capacity to achieve something quite significant within the movement.*

Furthermore, London groups came together under umbrella organisation events, collaborating in facilitated knowledge sharing. StART was an active contributor to a Future of London research work stream on the potential of the sector in London and hosted a site tour of St Ann's Hospital in 2018 for Locality's Community Led Housing Network.

Alongside developing these connections, StART took the opportunities of this period as the English and London CLH Sectors actively promoted themselves, buoyed by the government support of the Community Led Housing fund. As a result, StART developed a

strong profile beyond London, with members visiting projects in Belgium and Germany to liaise with *baugruppen,* Belgian CLTs and other models:

Activist: *StART got its credibility because a number of us had spent years working in the local community, you know and had contacts and knew who to go to, and went out and basically opened StART up, we spoke in France, we spoke in Germany, we spoke in Holland I think, Stephen Hill spoke on behalf of us in America, we organised a conference with housing activists, we had people over from Australia and Europe at a two-day conference that StART's name was all over. Because of the contacts that had been built up over years, it had a very good grounding.*

As a result, it is accurate to state StART achieved a high profile positioning within the increasing contemporary profile of the English Community Led Housing (CLH) sector. For some in StART, the aim of this was of strategic importance to both delivering at scale at the St Ann's site and by doing so, improving the perceived potential, capacity and reputation of the sector in England.

To an extent, this ambition was one in keeping with contemporary ambitions for the sector in London. In 2016, Sadiq Khan's manifesto stated:

"As London's population grows it is vital that we look at developing new forms of housing to meet the future needs of the capital, such as community land trusts, co-housing, and housing which allows older Londoners to downsize." (Khan 2016: 25)

In his budget of 2017-8, the now Mayor Sadiq Khan funded a Community Led Housing Hub. As Lev Kerimol, Chair of the Hub denotes, the establishment, structure and funding of the London Hub emerged from a confluence of funding and political support within central government and the Mayor's interest. These years posed a moment of transformation and feet finding for the CLH sector in England and London. Building on their links with existing co-operative organisations, StART had made early contact with Lev Kerimol, who had founded Our London, a consultancy supporting groups and boroughs with CLH aspirations, who was then undertaking a sabbatical at the GLA. As a

result, he was cynical about the scale of ambition and contemporary strategy:

Lev Kerimol: *They got in touch, I met [a member] briefly in a café in Turnpike Lane, he explained it, and that was probably about 2015 and I was like 'you're not going to get a site from…the NHS isn't going to sell it for anything less than market value'.*

As a result of these meetings, the Hub, as it came to be staffed by Lev, was aware of the project as it was formally established:

Lev Kerimol: *When I started at the hub, I put a list together of all the community-led housing in London. StART were already on that list, already active, I think it was someway progressing, the GLA had already bought the site, they were already talking to StART so it was quite progressed, and it felt a bit more like a possibility, but there were still the discussions with GLA and they felt sort of slightly touchy and unclear…*

As described, the years between StART's emergence, and its success in securing the GLA's purchase of the site, were ones paralleled by institutional reorganisation and funding consolidation for the sector in London. Despite shifting and complex institutional relationships, with the Hub coming into existence funded by the GLA, StART enjoyed a steady profile as an example of already existing ambitions, and benefitted from a relationship of informal advice, and eventually funding, from London's Hub.

Funders

Activist: *We've been very successful at getting philanthropic grants!*

Beyond the CLH Sector, StART were routinely successful at gaining grants from other philanthropic organisations, including significant funding from the Oak Foundation and the Tudor Trust. StART's success, in the absence of a failure to achieve significant grants during my research, resulted from awareness of philanthropic providers alongside the willingness and capacity of particular members to apply for grants, confident of their skills following successes achieved in other community settings, including the housing co-

op and other co-operative settings. As a result of this capacity and expertise, and arguably the political attention CLTs, and their government funding, generated, finances did not ever limit capacity during my time in StART. This assessment of their financial health was shared by other participants, including a member who expressed a sense of political discomfort with the amount of funding a CLT could attract:

Activist: *My impression generally in all of this was, we actually have quite a lot of money. I guess it made me a little sceptical really, just because when there are all these groups with a lot of money, giving it out to, you know, someone like StART, who doesn't actually own anything, not the asset, it made me think that maybe this isn't particularly like, a radical thing, activity. If it attracts so much money, the government actually has some problems, and this isn't necessarily the best solution. That's a kind of paradox in my view.*

London's Development Sector

Activist: *I think StART has been very good at bringing in those external experts and those with experience, experience from the legal profession and the housing development profession, so making the most of those contacts.*

Perhaps buoyed by the support, experience and enthusiasm within London's emerging CLT sector, alongside the expertise of individuals, StART sought to develop relationships with the developer who had existing contemporary experience of recent CLT development in London:

I: *So can we talk about how you got from not being taken seriously to maybe being taken a little seriously?*

Activist*: [The consultants] In one word. As I said we approached [him] and said would you come and be our development manager? And at first he was like 'No, after St Clements' I'm not touching a hospital site again' but he said to us 'if you get the GLA interested come back and talk to me'*

As this quote highlights, and is explored in the next chapter, this relationship was fundamental to StART's strategy of engaging the GLA in regard to an NHS site, and then their early contact. However, this relationship proved valuable as StART developed its strategy consciously accommodating the experiences of East London CLT. StART was also acquiring other specialities of external expertise:

Activist: *So yeah, our lawyers, we had lots of resources that we'd use and they'd be encouraging.*

Very early on, StART built a significant relationships of informal *pro bono* and paid for advice with firms considered the UK's leading Housing solicitors. Engaging these law firms furnished StART with not only considerable expertise, but reputation and esteem towards the aim of "being taken seriously" as and by other London development actors, including the GLA.

This aim was partly pursued through StART's Masterplan as strategic object, as is discussed in the next chapter. Furthermore, StART pursued connections with potential sources of alternative, patient capital, building connections through external advisors. In 2016, the UK pensions firm Legal and General were actively seeking to enter Build to Rent, as a source of long term income. Through this friendly relationship, StART achieved a further sectoral interest in their project which was also in discussion with the GLA around emergent market-led agendas diversifying housing supply. Again, a potentially willing source of financing bolstered the agenda of "being taken seriously".

Amid these connections, it is worth noting StART were able to demonstrate a degree of local support in the locations of their meetings. StART held these meetings in the 'greasy spoon' café of Chestnuts Park, directly opposite the hospital. As a member describes:

Activist: *In the park, it was our unofficial office and we dragged all the great and good down to that caff. Which was quite good because I know people who work in the hospital who are often in there and quite often, they have people with mental health coming in*

there begging for money. But I must have had fifty meetings in that caff with the great and the good. So you know there was some, what would be seen as very important people, it's like 'you're coming to this caff to meet us' and I still think that was good. And our meetings would get interrupted by the need. I just remember, twice this meeting got interrupted by different people coming and plonking themselves down and going 'How's it going with StART?'. That made people think 'Shit, there's a lot of people that really care about this'. It had very good PR and political energy because you've got the great and the good coming down to meet us and then people from the caff, the caff owner, people who work in the hospital, whose kids are at school, were just coming in and butting in on meetings and it's like 'Oh this is not just a few nutters'.

The café provided a valuable component of the assemblage from which StART could both tour the site with prospective supporters and a site of community enthusiasm as they built a complex network of relationships within and around London's development sector.

The Media

Throughout StART's existence, the group regarded media coverage and publicity as integral to the project of "being taken seriously" and achieved a good media profile from 2017 onwards. Members pursued connections with journalists and by 2018 StART has established a Publicity Subgroup to furnish permanent capacity in this realm. As I joined, the group was recruiting StART's Administration and Publicity Worker. As StART's first member of staff, the inclusion of publicity in this job description demonstrates the importance given to this task.

StART achieved a range of connections and regular discussions with journalists, resulting in relatively regular and enthusiastic news coverage from 2016 onwards (see Appendix G), including national coverage in The Guardian, alongside local, sector and online coverage. While this was at first largely coverage of StART as a proposition of an alternative form of housing, as the politics of local and London development emerged, particularly in the Haringey Development Vehicle, this press balanced the proposition at

St Ann's with criticality of London's housing development. While this meant much of StART's press coverage was reactive to enquiries, their press profile and enthusiasm for media made some partners nervous, with the London Hub unwilling to fund the Publicity Officer:

Lev Kerimol: Pretty early on when the hub was just set up and had far less money StART put an application in for funding, and it wasn't really one we could fund, because it was really early on and we were checking a lot of things with the GLA, and it wasn't quite clear that there was a project there. The funding was mainly for comms that could potentially badmouth the GLA, using GLA money. So I don't know, maybe they thought we weren't being supportive.

StART's Administration and Publicity Worker was instead funded by the Oak Foundation, but the above quote illustrates awareness StART viewed media coverage as vital to a strategic demonstration of public support. Furthermore, pursuing media coverage of the project at an early stage, as a proposition, effectively included them in opposition to contemporary models, with little effort. StART were so effective at gaining media coverage in this phase that by February 2018, the leader of Haringey Council, defending the HDV in 'Haringey and the Labour Left's war on local government' in the Financial Times, felt it necessary to dismiss CLTs as unscalable alternatives:

"*Community Land Trusts? A great idea, but to date the largest in the capital has delivered just 23 homes*" (Kober 2018).

As this quote demonstrates, StART achieved a significant propositional profile that meant that as opposition grew around the Council's emerging housing policy, a CLT was posed as a model that had to be dismissed. Furthermore, the media profile StART achieved cemented its reputation as a dynamic, exciting and politicised CLT proposing the model as a leading form of alternative development, enticingly free from Right to Buy, that amid a growing local context of opposition to the loss of social housing and public land disposal. From this point on, media remained important to StART's assessment of its power in negotiations with the GLA, and indeed made state agencies

nervous as a perceived risk. Even in the early formation of these propositional partnerships, StART's intention to be a critical and occasionally oppositional partner would test external trust.

Oppositional Spaces of Possibility: Our Tottenham

Activist: *I think we had fairly strong links with quite a lot of groups, I guess because quite a few of us were involved in those groups. Those groups at the time were Our Tottenham, Sustainable Haringey, err what else was StART involved with?*

While the propositional and oppositional were relatively easily balanced in the media, StART's placement between these poles presented difficulties in local network building. Arguably, the opportunity cost of "being taken seriously" was local connections, and co-operation, with oppositional groups.

StART did maintain connections with other groups opposing public land disposal and regeneration in the area, through the Our Tottenham network from which HaNSA emerged. Throughout StART's existence, Our Tottenham provided a connection to other 'component' groups opposing public land disposal and regeneration in Tottenham. The scattered pattern of public land ownership in Tottenham between differing state agencies engendered this propositional group with loose connections, which continued.

Residents

While StART incorporated members from some local residents and amenity organisations, that closest to the site, Warwick Gardens Residents Association, were ambivalent about StART's plans. The Association had opposed the NHS application as fears densification and improved connectivity of the site would increase footfall and anti-social behaviour to its west, through to Green Lanes. These concerns were maintained throughout StART's masterplanning process, intensifying with StART's densification. As a result, the Gardens Association remained a priority and perceived planning risk for StART, concerned they may raise future objections to permission:

Activist: *I think the key group for StART is the Gardens Residents Association, because they were the ones that were most focused on the original planning permission for the site, they were concerned about the access from Stanhope Gardens, Warwick Gardens, there is supposed to be pedestrian and cycle access and they were just very much against it. And I can understand their concerns but yeah, in a sense that is the one group that we need to have on board. We need to have everyone on board, but everyone agrees the site needs to remain to the benefit of the community.*

Members of the Residents Association did participate critically in StART's masterplan and consultation events. Beyond this, StART maintained friendly relations through individual connections:

Activist: *I still get emails from the Gardens Residents Association, with questions they don't email StART, but that's because I've been, I've visited a lot. The face they remember is who they, and also that I answered them, I guess.*

StopHDV Campaign, 2015 - 2018

Consultant: *That's the thing with the StART project, you can't disassociate it from the HDV, even though memories can be quite short. I mean, that's one of the contexts for why this whole thing got so big so quickly, I think.*

As is discussed in the Context Chapter, StART's oppositional local 'space of possibility' shifted with the fate of Haringey Council's Development Vehicle. The plan for a borough wide estate regeneration programme was unprecedented in the scale of the proposed joint venture, gathering considerable press attention. Amid this interest, opposition was led by StopHDV, an emergent critical "counter-movement" of residents, community groups, trade unions, party and other activists. This local context was both vital to StART's profile and fundamentally challenged its balance of critical opposition and proposition, as these positions opposed each other internally for the first time:

Activist: *StART getting involved in any, saying we'll support the anti-HDV movement, and then you get into trouble with your relationship with the Council. We lost a few people in StART then, because they said we should support the anti-HDV, it's about housing, it's not political, yes it is, no it isn't. So there was that argument and it made things really awkward.*

StART itself had emerged as a campaign against low level of affordable housing secured on a public land site, although due to be disposed of by the NHS Trust, rather than the borough. As is discussed further in the next chapter, StART had been meeting Haringey Council from around 2015 seeking support, as planning authority and potentially supporting, or owning, housing on site. Nonetheless, with many in StART having personal activist commitments, several members of StART supported StopHDV on an individual level. For some individuals, this became a delicate balance of roles:

Activist: *Politics is complicated, even local politics is complicated. Yeah, I mean that's one of the reasons why I never wanted to be a Director of StART and why I didn't go to some of the early meetings with the Council, because at that point I was often leafleting or protesting, it just felt ridiculous to have my face in a meeting the next day, and that was actually the case when the HDV was going on.*

Nonetheless, the HDV remained such a crucial issue of local politics and the borough's future housing supply that by 2016, it forced a protracted internal discussion within StART. While many members of StART called for the organisation to publicly support the anti HDV campaign. Those who supported a written statement were of the belief StART was inevitably a "protest group" and political:

Activist: A*n issue arose, we're trying to do something about the housing situation in Haringey, this is the anti HDV campaign, which is concerned about the situation in Haringey and would like to stop the Council, and we're not talking to each other. Anyway the agreement went through, we'll produce a statement which is supportive of the anti-HDV campaign. So that was a little bit of a breakthrough. We were perhaps now taking on board what we were doing was political, or rather it was always political, but now*

what we were talking about was perhaps, for the wider public, being a bit more overtly political, we were going to say something. And so a process was agreed upon whereby an individual was charged with producing a statement and would bring it along to one of our regular StART meetings…And it got delayed and then roundly voted down.

Others felt reluctant to be drawn in, in the belief this would risk damage to StART's propositional, relationship-building strategy:

Activist: *There were quite a few people, of which I was one, who basically said we're in a process of trying to persuade the GLA and Haringey Council to be in a negotiation with us and if we're slagging them off it's not going to help our aim. So there had to be a discussion about what StART's aims were, really articulating getting affordable housing on that site and not against bad housing moves in general, that StART was not a protest group, yeah.*

From here, the discussions around allying with StopHDV also set an institutional precedent for StART. As those who disagreed with the group's decision withdrew from active contribution to the Director's meetings and subgroups. The expectation of dissenters increasingly became one of departure, an expectation that was later confirmed in other disagreements:

Activist: *There were two people who left StART because we were going to knock two of the buildings down, they wanted all the buildings kept. And when we got the architects to do the plans and we were only going to keep six, they were disgusted and left.*

The decision not to offer organisational support to StopHDV presented StART with a number of lasting external consequences. Firstly, the choice of proposition created distance from the wider nascent oppositional housing activism movement that emerged in Haringey in 2015. While this seeded distance from many organisations involved in StopHDV, elected Councillors who supported it toppled the leader and became the next leadership of Haringey Council, under Cllr Joe Ejiofor. As is discussed in the next chapter, the new, municipal socialist leadership were as unconvinced of the CLT model as a

solution to the housing crisis as the last. But as a form of oppositional activism, as Defend Council Housing Haringey (DCH), a partner in StopHDV understood, the CLT model was a compromised strategy:

DCH: They didn't oppose the HDV. Yeah, it speaks for itself really. So, many individuals did. I'm sure many individuals did. And the other thing we should go into now is that the Community Land Trust model actually relies on state support, effectively, the GLA, the government. So whether you're anarchists or not, you end up you end up having to cut your cut your policies to their policies. That's been the story all the way through really. And that's a big problem, I think.

Secondly, members of StART at the time perceived that the refusal to support the campaign limited participation within StART.

Activist: *I argued the case, not only on the basis of it being important for us to place ourselves politically as housing activists, in this borough. But ever since our inception, we have been forever concerned about inclusivity. And here we have an anti HDV campaign which is thick with Council tenants and where are our Council tenants? We don't have any. We are middle class professionals who know what we're doing but we struggle to reach out. So for me, it wasn't just about making this political statement saying 'yahboo sucks, we think this', it was also about saying to the wider community 'we're alongside you on this, it's rubbish what the Council is doing'. And hopefully then reach out to a much wider audience, so it was very very important to me.*

As is discussed in the next section, this "struggle to reach out" to wider communities was emerging internally as an active discussion.

The Urban Housing Commons?

StART's experience was one of a delicate balance between opposition to housing policies resulting in displacement, and a proposition based around one site. This resulted in a perception StART's strategy had to prioritise propositional network building to boost

StART's reputation and influence, which was largely successful in gaining StART influence and profile, regionally and beyond.

However, there was opportunity cost of this reluctance to display organisational solidarity to the emerging local movement opposing many of the policies StART members were themselves critical of and motivated by was wider community support. While Hodkinson (2010: 258) highlighted the friction between campaigns against demunicipalisation and CLTs as potential recipients of transferred stock, the division between opposition and proposition emerged in Haringey where a CLT sought only the transfer of land from the NHS, without housing stock on it amid a wider delicate politics of land disposal. While StART's perception openly opposing demunicipalisation and the redevelopment of Council land would not benefit their proposition, amid a wider critical contextual politics of land disposal, and its resultant local Labour leadership change, it would have persistent consequences and path dependencies.

7.5 Territorialisation: Race and Class

Assemblage theory observes processes of territorialisation, "through more or less permanent articulations produced by this process, a whole emerges from its part and maintains its identity once it has emerged" (DeLanda 2021: 14). This chapter has so far identified territorialisations in the institutional forms agreed by StART and the strategic balance of propositional before oppositional "repertoires of contention" (Tilly 1993; DeLanda 2021: 61) that guided its external network building. However, these also contributed to a wider territorialisation of StART in terms of the relative homogeneity of participants in terms of class, race and ethnicity that was problematised within the group. This section will discuss StART's territorialisation in terms of the diversity of participants, and StART's practices to boost inclusion. It will first discuss the organisation's class and race make up, before revealing perceptions of diversity as a discursive politics within the group. It will then discuss StART's perceived homogeneity as a white and middle class group in terms of material barriers to participation the group perceived in Haringey and the practices they created attempting to overcome them. Finally, the section poses CLTs as a specific form affectual and reproductive "white and

middle class space" (Arbell 2021: 17), as observed in collaborative housing, as an account for StART's lack of diversity. Nonetheless, affect has theoretical causality, and the politics of whiteness within StART ultimately had deterritorialising consequences, as the Trust chapter will elucidate.

Bodies of the Multitude

Activist: *So we started off majority white-led….*

Capturing the diversity of participants in StART is not a simple task, complicated by the long temporality of both the group and longitudinal research, while active membership and other participation opportunities were in dynamic flux. Furthermore, the scales of participation reflected and reified the patterning of community participation in StART, with a greater degree of ethnic homogeneity visible at the more active level:

Activist: *And in the membership, it was [representative]. Among the volunteers, it was not.*

Furthermore, as is discussed in the Methodology, the characteristics of interviewees recorded in Appendix E is equally a partial picture of participation, determined by trust in the research process. These self-identified characteristics, confirmed between November 2019 and 2020, confirm StART remained majority white-led throughout its existence, yet they would also confirm the viewpoint of StART's consultant:

Consultant: *I think there's there was quite a bit of hidden diversity there. Yeah, though in terms of a purely looking at people and seeing what, you know, race they were and possibly what sort of what class they are, if you want to put it that way, or what kind of income levels they would be used to, or educational attainment, it was quite easy to say yes, they're definitely all a bit older, and they're all very white, and they're probably got, you know, a middle-class kind of standpoint. But I don't necessarily think that was entirely true.*

This quote also highlights the inter-modality of race in StART's problematisation of participation, with many active interviewees stating that the issue of StART's diversity was equally or predominantly one of class:

Activist: *And so, class I think, is huge…I think that, I think there is a race issue, but the race issue is linked to class. And if you, you know there were plenty of people there with, I'm an ethnic minority, and plenty of people of colour, but they were all middle class and educated. So, it definitely is a class issue.*

Activist: *Gender seems to be pretty even. The age tends to be an older group although there is a significant minority of people still of working age.*

It was in this dual modality of race and class that StART recognised absence and identified material barriers to participation it sought to overcome. In the developing politics of StART's representativeness, boosting diversity was understood to be important as both a normative aim and one with consequences for perception, the social and political capital of community legitimacy, of the group.

In normative terms, interviewees revealed they believed participation was a good thing in itself, a privilege unevenly distributed:

Activist: *Who actually has the privilege, shall we say, of being able to be involved in something like this because I feel, at times I have felt great, I've felt empowered, I've felt I was righteous, doing the right thing… but I'm white and middle class. And you know, great, but…*

For others, it felt crucial StART included those in housing need, as those StART sought to eventually affordably house. Some felt this posed problems for inputs to the project:

Activist: *We've talked to representatives of groups locally, but I have to admit the active members of StART don't reflect the local community in many ways. If nothing else because the active members are not in housing poverty. So we're attempting to*

understand what that means for people, but we can't say that we are there.

For some members of StART, while the normative aim of representation was important, the goals of development, combating displacement and housing poverty provided a longer temporality to realise social justice:

Activist: *It would be nice if it was [representative of the community]. Because that is what you should try and move towards. I'm not sure that it has caused a problem because it is a long-term project to try and provide much needed housing for the most needy in the community. And the most needy in the community is probably a different mix than what we have in the activists.*

However, for outside observers Defend Council Housing Haringey, the relative absence of council tenants in StART particularly manifested in StART's rent policy:

DCH: *I think that there's a tendency to be internalised, a tendency not to be aware of wider issues. So, you know, things like StART's rent policy are really problematic. And this is why , for two reasons, one it's written by people who are not aware of social, social housing rent levels, there's no reason why they should be aware of social rent levels, by the way, but if you're going to get involved in affordable housing as it were, you would want to be aware of them.*

This point also confirms external expectations of the rhetoric of community matched the internal, that diverse participation would bring diverse perspectives and inputs. As a result, improving diversity in participation was a normative aim to 'move towards', and actively discussed:

Activist: *There was a number of discussions two years ago [2017] where it's like we knew the consultation events were mainly, 70% of the people who were coming along were white educated people. We knew the people coming to meetings were of a specific type of person and it's like…we have to do something about this.*

While StART recognised these absences and their implications for participation, in theoretical terms, arguably StART was not of the multitude, as identified by autonomous Marxism, those excluded from property. It is therefore of considerable significance in itself that council tenants were largely absent from StART's decision making, despite the spring of housing activism locally, against the HDV. Such patterning of participation again challenges Hodkinson's potential political coalition envisioned as the "urban housing commons" (2010).

Nonetheless, StART's belief "we have to do something about this" was also determined by the exterior politics of community, participatory representation and place. This rhetorical politics of diversity is discussed below.

The C in CLT: Diversity as Community Capital

This exterior politics of diversity was perceived by StART as operative and necessary across scales. Not least, there was an awareness and normative belief that in a locality as ethnically diverse as Haringey, participatory organisations should enable participation from all in the local population:

Activist: *But I think the key issue with StART's representativeness was ethnic minority groups. And in a borough like Haringey, it shouldn't be as white as it's proved to be in StART.*

Arguably, StART were also aware this was a perception held by external partners of a CLT as a participatory form of planning and housing management. This fuelled a normative aim to boost the diversity of its participants as a claim to local legitimacy. This was often comparative or in competition with the state, with members of StART proved critical of state practices of inclusion in consultation:

Activist: *The statutory authorities use the term 'hard to reach' to describe people who don't want to operate on their terms, with them, in order to tick a box. The struggle is between representative and participatory democracy, and it's not been able to reconcile*

the two.

As StART pursued diverse participation through consultative and community engagement practices, this perception of suspicion from strategic partners, namely Haringey Council, was also a key driver of StART's desire to be diverse and representative of the borough's population, particularly its east. This perception became a particularly fraught competitive politics with Haringey Council, whose community engagement members of StART were critical of:

Activist: *I think Haringey generally doesn't have a lot of community engagement going on. When we did the survey, one of the big things for us was like Haringey [Council] did its borough wide Housing Strategy and got 300 replies. We as a community group, with not much money, got 350 replies for StART's Masterplan.*

This competition for legitimacy was returned by the Council. Anecdotally, I was told that when StART discussed its outlines for an allocation strategy for the Community-Led homes on site it was consulting on, in 2017, Haringey's reaction was defensive and assumed the "allocations strategy" StART wished to consult on referred to its own Council housing stock. StART internally made much of its achievement of 600 responses to the allocations consultation, almost double that of the council. This echoes a hostility of the municipal leadership to community led housing that was repeated to StART after the change in leadership in 2017:

Activist: *But you know Joe Ejiofor said to me 'the community don't build housing, the Council build housing', and that was his line.*

While the unfolding of Haringey Council's hostile ambivalence will be discussed further, the politics of legitimate representation render it important to consider how the racial diversity of participation was crucial to StART's interpretation of its position within the development process, aware community led housing provided a political capital of participation, and with it, diversity, to local, regional state and other powerful actors.

This was also based on an awareness in StART the CLT sector in England was perceived as white, given its geography of predominantly rural success:

Stephen Hill: *So I think that, to me that is a very important way to bring different people together to work together, and certainly in the States, the people behind Community Land Trusts have a much more diverse background than they do here. But you've also got to think, quite obviously, a remote village in Gloucestershire or somewhere, what is the population going to be?*

This is to an extent recognised by the national CLT network, who in 2018 announced funding focused on inclusion, which StART successfully accessed:

Stephen Hill: *But in urban areas clearly, there's a lot of work based on a commitment to diversity. And the CLT Network have been very conscious of that as well. And rather remarkably they got this pot of money from L&G the insurers, with which they've set up an Inclusive Communities Fund specifically to fight this.*

To an extent, the perception of privilege is relatively widespread amid the CLT sector in England:

Frances Northrop, NEF: *And I think this is having been involved in you know, kind of knowing of many colleagues who are involved in Community Land Trusts, who I dearly love, and they are all privileged. They really are, you know.*

While this was recognised as a particular reputational problem, resulting in an active funding agenda for the sector, this commitment felt magnified to StART participants amid the superdiversity of Haringey. StART also reflexively perceived local and pre-existing suspicions related to the co-operative sector as predominantly interested in "housing themselves" which wished to combat, not least by the scale of the proposed development:

Activist: *I have no sense from the vast majority of people I've met that they are doing this*

for their own benefit. Except they want to live in a community that is fairer and more just and more mixed.

Furthermore, with many active members already property owners:

Activist: *On the contrary, I think most of the active members aren't going to live there.*

But beyond this generalised assumption of the benefits and necessity of diversity, and StART as an opportunity to boost the diversity of participation in Haringey, some members carried a contrasting ontological geography of CLTs, inspired by their success in the American South as a model of land ownership pioneered within the Civil Rights Movement:

Activist: *Well, I'll tell you where I get my specific interest in Community Land Trusts, Martin Luther King's cousin was interested in housing policy. And he led a delegation in '58, '59, to Israel, the kibbutz movement, among other things, was generating interests in the legalities of how you hold land for a common project. And the original model for Community Land Trust as a legal form is strongly influenced by Israeli experience, and Martin Luther King's cousin brought it back to America. And the Community Land Trust movement was just bubbling at a very low level for twenty or thirty years. I was for, just out of interest, as a visitor to New York I discovered the Community Land Trust model. And I learnt that now there are three or four hundred, across the United States.*

Activist: *So, I was quite inspired by the example of a CLT in Puerto Rico, which was in an informal settlement and is in a post-disaster context and it's about, yeah, how people were trying to secure their housing given slum gentrification, which is happening in multiple, multiple areas in the Global South. So, I was quite interested in that and also the examples in the US, which are led predominantly by black communities and historically, it's also a baby of the civil rights movement.*

Awareness of these origins in the Black radical tradition of the U.S. further fuelled an

integral belief in racial inclusion for these participants as an integral component of a CLT as housing justice technology. Yet for the majority of StART's white members, their knowledge of the model was transferred from successful examples, albeit largely in less diverse rural geographies of England. Contrastingly, these members did not foreground racial justice in their understanding of the CLT model.

Material Barriers

Given StART's skew towards white, middle class and older membership, particularly in the higher layers of participation, material barriers were central to StART's perception of the patterning of participation and were therefore the basis for their practices of inclusion. Of these, the largest barrier was perceived to be time, as resource unequally distributed:

Stephen Hill: *And I think it is true that many, many forms of community led housing are accessible to those with time. And well, to over-characterise, but BAME communities have much less time.*

Certainly, a more active participation in StART required a considerable contribution, from Directors' meetings every fortnight, to further subgroup meetings either fortnightly or monthly, meaning many were dedicating an evening a week to StART. Actions arising from meetings were taken on by individuals and meetings with stakeholders among the group's propositional, professional networks usually occurred during the day, rendering this level of work difficult to combine with full time employment. Many of these tasks were taken on by founder members, who worked part time to support their activism, were self-employed, not working or enjoyed flexibility from their employer, including those in workers' co-ops. It was estimated that by 2017, particular members were carrying out forty hours a week of work for StART beyond meetings. Housing security certainly underlined these patterns of working and StART and its advisors overtly connected the two:

Activist: *Well, I mean there are various things. There is just the general fact that if you're*

hierarchy of needs, the Maslow thing, that if you're having to do several jobs and you know higher housing costs in proportion to your salary then you're not necessarily going to have the time to look over the parapet to be active in the community. And so that's one of the starting points why, both class and ethnicity wise, you've got different people being involved in different ways.

Furthermore, evening meetings presented a particular challenge to those with care responsibilities, the burden of which usually fell on people on people younger than StART's core membership. Some members explicitly connected this to ethnicity, as non-white populations in the borough tended to be younger.

Activist: *I think people's lives are tough. Most of the people there [StART], a surprisingly large number there don't have the full burden of young families and full-time jobs. And if you put all of that on people, the idea that they are going to have the bandwidth…*

Activist: *People in those communities do not turn out for evening meetings. There's lots of possible reasons, one might be they tend to have families with children and old people to care for. But there clearly is a massive challenge about getting a representative participation. And StART has not cracked it!*

While the commitment and timing of meetings were an area StART attempted to develop flexibility around, some interviewees also believed participation both required and then multiplied, a pre-existing sense and expectation of social empowerment, even institutional trust, which they believed social and material conditions unequally distributed.

Inclusive Practices

Cllr Mike Hakata: *So engaging the local working class, and, you know, important for me, the black working class, is essential. And, you know, I know, StART have been really desperate to do that from the beginning.*

StART's perception of the material barrier of time determined their efforts to boost inclusion and diversity. StART's practices of visibility within the community were pursued to grow its active participants, through visual materials, posters and leaflets, which StART had translated into key local languages. Alongside stalls at community events, which most members viewed as highly successful at growing participation, StART also operated street stalls, aware attendance at community festivals and events required a degree of free time and social capital. StART built on these fast conversations to provide longer, deeper opportunities to consult, a form of participation discussed in Section 7.2. However, again this revealed the structural distribution of time:

Activist: *Hundreds of people attended those events, and people joined and became active in StART as a result of all those activities. Certainly the street stalls and the group events enabled people to see how porous we were, and you can come and join, we're not exclusive, we are you and you are us, that was very much the ethos there, so very very good. But obviously limited in who you reach, the street stuff yeah maybe you're more likely to meet people who are maybe in housing need or have the issues but sort of like, as soon as you get into the event based stuff there's a self-selection process. So, going on there, who has the time?*

At StART's more formal consultation events, barriers to participation were identified and strategies to mitigate them were organised. Consultation events were repeated, and informal comments treated as feedback:

Activist: *But we made efforts, you know when we've had consultation exercises before, we would run them at different times of the day and have like you know, four different consultation events as well the opportunity to feedback online and on paper. And even when you're just on the streets talking to people you get a feel of what people are saying and if people weren't filling out forms but were saying something, at meetings you'd feedback the specific things you'd heard.*

StART also sought to enable attendance at these events through the provision of a crèche for consultations and the AGMs. As the latter required a quorate attendance, food

was also served to widen the appeal of a two-hour Saturday afternoon meeting. By these socially reproductive practices StART sought to enable the attendance of those who could not otherwise participate in their major, legitimating events.

Nonetheless, even at the scale of street engagement, some in StART believed a degree of social capital was a pre-requisite to those who stopped and engaged in the issue:

Activist: *Nevertheless, even in that situation by and large the people who stop, read them and want to chat, are educated, political, middle-class people. Only occasionally would someone at the lower end of the income scale, the housing market, would they stop and show their interest. For them it's just another middle-class pastime, just emblematic of the stratification of society and individuation and all the rest of it.*

StART's Group Membership strategy was designed to secure diversity of participation. StART actively contacted groups to engage with, visiting them to discuss housing locally, the plans and opportunities for involvement, requesting organisations join StART. This proved effective in not only its success at that aim, but providing channels to further consultation, particularly in the translation and distribution of StART's surveys, including the Housing Allocation Survey in 2018. StART also gained their help, alongside that of more active bilingual members, in translating leaflets and documents explaining the site into key local languages, Turkish, Greek, Kurdish French and Spanish. Nonetheless, this strategy did not yield particularly active engagement from the groups listed in Appendix F. While StART was able to make these connections, there was also a general concern StART did not have the capacity to sustain and develop them, feeding into discussions in the Inclusion Group:

Activist: *So I think maybe yes it was quite good in the first instance at making those connections, but it hasn't been quite so good at sustaining them over the last couple of years, I don't know.*

Activist: *From a conversation with another StART member, I understood that there was*

not enough effort, not enough initiative from StART to maintain and build those relations. So, they were possibly like very loose kind of ties. We tried to map them out at some point. I questioned the exercise.

Despite the barrier of evening time, the fortnightly Wednesday Directors meetings continued to be held at 7.30-9.30pm. As some members recognised, this inevitably proved prohibitive to the participation of some:

Activist: *There is a wider social justice work, but it's about time, what time of day, you're not going to get a babysitter to put your children to sleep so you can go to a meeting. So I think it's about being flexible, about finding a balance between enabling…it's about compromise, isn't it? It was very convenient to meet on a Wednesday evening for some and would have been less convenient for them to meet at other times, we might not have got this far if we hadn't.*

Capacity

Alongside the need to compromise for convenience, members in interviews recognised outreach was also a question of capacity within the group:

Activist: *But these things need, it's that thing also about an organisation growing, is that you, it's very hard to do everything, you know, and the reality of StART is there was a small handful of people who are doing the work, and that's the thing that never really gets acknowledged enough and in the kind of conflicts, it's easy for people to criticise but actually, who is doing the minutes and doing all the grunt work, it's a lot. Making those phone calls, there's probably about twelve, fifteen people who are really doing the work. And that is the reality of whether things happen or not and where the priorities are.*

For that reason, diversifying was perhaps identified as a 'peripheral' priority for StART, its core function identified as securing and developing the land. StART's consultants understood outreach as such:

Consultant: *I would say that as a sort of, on the periphery, StART were really actively trying to look in, you know, really look inside their organisation and find ways to support opening up of the organisation and encouraging diversity.*

Other in the group were concerned this 'peripherality' was embodied by the delegation to the subgroup:

Activist: *So, silos. Where it is of critical importance, obviously, Inclusion and Diversity and Outreach, that affects everything. So by creating the Inclusion or now the Outreach group, we disassociate ourselves from responsibility. I'm overegging it, I know, a little bit.*

Nonetheless, the Inclusion Group's criticism of StART's inclusion would become an active politics within itself. This is further discussed in the Trust Chapter.

Lines of Flight

Although Berlant (2011) discusses 'cruel optimism' as a conditionality of the effectual, socially constructed present, it provides a valuable frame with which to understand StART's attitudes towards inclusive practices as 'peripheral'. These were themselves subject to a temporal practice, delayed from the present core priority of negotiations with the GLA, and a question of diversity managed in a "technology of patience, that enables a concept of the *later* to suspend questions about the cruelty of the *now*" (Berlant 2011: 28). As a result, much of the discussions of diversity within the group took on a quality of immanence, relegated to an imagined future where StART had greater autonomy, capacity, including space on site.

The recruitment of a paid community engagement worker was identified by StART as an early priority and remained so during my time in the group. StART ringfenced some money for this role from fundraising and in 2019, the group successfully applied for the National CLT network's Diversity Fund. A Community Engagement worker was seen as key capacity towards the goal of diversification:

Activist: *I think that probably it does come back to resources and so I don't think it's reasonable to expect voluntary members of StART to you know, strike up and then maintain relationships with the local Mosque or the elders group. And that's why I think we need to put resources into employing people to help us do that.*

However, the recruitment of the community engagement worker was protracted by concerns within the Inclusion Group. With the worker appointed in November 2019, COVID-19 severely protracted StART's ability to facilitate community engagement shortly after.

Another future repository of planned inclusive practices were StART's evolving plans for meanwhile use on site, referring to the 'meanwhile' of construction. The interest in meanwhile use was established early on and by the time I joined StART in 2018, the group had multiple and overlapping purposes to their ambitions around involvement in the site's medium term use, developed by what was at that time the Community Engagement group, that became the Inclusion Group. This group developed and established and produced a *Principles of Meanwhile Use* document in 2018, presented at StART's AGM that year, to the Council and GLA. StART's stewardship did not materialise, for reasons discussed later.

Meanwhile use was seen as vital to both boosting community connections to the site and widening engagement opportunities, while some also saw meanwhile use as an opportunity to demonstrate StART's propositions in practice:

Activist: *We're well aware that people don't want to come to boring old meetings. They'd much rather be drawing, painting, cooking, having somewhere to put their child, all the while an opportunity for us to address the reasons why people don't get involved through meanwhile activities. Also we're aware, in other areas, meanwhile activities are the agents of gentrification. We wanted to do it in a different way, all our meanwhile activities should contribute in some way to the long run goals of StART which are obviously participation, a healthy environment, affordability.*

While StART's vision for meanwhile use was not realised in large part, some prototypical activities did take place, namely through the Drawing Group, led by one dedicated member:

Activist: *The Drawing Group was open to whoever came. Some people were community members, some were patients, and some were staff. And part of the reason was that NHS staff are stressed, so I thought this is a nice thing to offer. A fair number of them are Haringey residents, so it seemed obvious. And getting patients involved, it seemed an obvious thing to do if staff had a nice time, they could recommend it. I thought the other thing was the patients are going to be most difficult to reach, and they are the ones most likely to be in need of the support, but they wouldn't know about it, so I do have to go and reach out to them directly, in a very low key way, make it very obvious the session is being sponsored by StART, but not hector them. I'd always have StART leaflets available with whatever materials I'd brought, and I'd always introduce myself as being part of a community volunteer group, because what you're doing promotionally, people won't come down until they have heard about it three or four times.*

While spaces and permissions were an area of lengthy negotiation with the GLA, and eventually withheld, the Drawing Group demonstrated StART's interest in meanwhile use for developing opportunities along principles of community development, offered potential.

Nonetheless, the GLA's withholding rendered meanwhile use perpetually immanent but never realised, intentions of community engagement that became lodged in ever near cruel optimism for future space, capacity and practices.

A White Space?

Beyond the material barriers of the housing crisis to exclusion, and despite StART's efforts to boost the diversity of participation, StART maintained a whiteness that suggests the community that formed as an assemblage territorialised by a specific and selective pattern of inclusion. As will be discussed in the Trust Chapter, this became an

active critique within StART. Nonetheless, StART's internal practices and affects, alongside their external strategic goal, patterned a "structure of feeling" (Williams 2015: 23) that welcomed people with particular knowledges, cultures and subjectivities. As one participant observed, StART's origins in "Haringey's activist community" meant many founder members had knowledge and experience of either organising and decision making within social movements or housing production in London:

Activist: *The community it emerged from, and communities, let's sort of break it down, the community StART emerged from was Haringey's activist community, so in that way it is 100% representative of Haringey's activist community, i.e. white, you know, I think StART might be slightly more middle class than the rest of the groups.*

Activist: *Well, any group of policy wonks is going to attract people with better than average education.*

Activist: *And it does require quite a high level of education, I think, to grapple with the GLA, people who are trying to tell you no, and you've got to try and negotiate with them.*

Furthermore, interviewees acknowledged the technical, "coding" (DeLanda 2021: 15) language and long term temporality of CLT projects as a particularly off putting:

Activist: *I think affordable housing is technical. It's complex, there's spreadsheets, assumptions, the different types of affordable housing, even if you get through the meetings, the governance and so on, just the straight housing, it's not easy and that's a turn off for people. The other thing of course about housing is that it's hellishly long term. You know, you start working on a site, I don't know, StART was set up four years ago or something, and we're not going to do any construction for, two years, and that's a killer for most people.*

Nonetheless, StART was clearly a welcome habitus for some more than others. While this was a territorialising force of racial and class homogeneity, and identified as key to boosting diversity by some, others also recognised a developing politics of expertise, and

with it 'newcomers', the difficulties those who joined active participation later encountered in StART.

Activist*: And having been together for a number of years, whether you are black, white or whatever, trying to break into that group is difficult. Although they are very welcoming, there is all sorts of language used which is shorthand and all sorts of cliques and I don't use that term pejoratively, just pre-existing relationships that are established. They don't want to go back over old ground and so it is very difficult for a new person to come and break in. Over the time I've seen both black and white people come to one meeting and never come back again., I was talking in the Inclusion Group about it, I was saying to them why don't we find ten people who have come to one meeting and never come back, ask them if they are willing to be interviewed and get some evidence about what the barriers or enablers were.*

In my own participation, it took around three months before I was confident I fully understood StART's main agenda. Other later members also recalled their difficulty in penetrating the agenda in active group participation, as members had clearly gathered knowledge, experience and social bonds:

Activist: *So that was a little difficult. I felt a bit behind those going on all the time. It was hard to keep track of what was being discussed. And there wasn't really a comprehensive way of finding out everything that was going on, then you just have to keep trying, going to meetings. And eventually I kind of picked up most of it. And I didn't feel very, confident enough to join any subgroups.*

Activist: *So, I know this sounds really stupid, I still feel like I don't have a grasp of StART that well. I know they wanted soft borders for the hospital and stuff like that but there's so many things that are just like vaguely referred to in meetings. I still don't really have a grasp of the original aims, of what StART was set up to be.*

As a result, StART was not only a group that became increasingly difficult, but a dynamic white habitus, where particular hierarchies of emergent and accumulated

expertise not only reinforced the boundaries of participation with intimidating barriers to late entry, but threatened its espousal of horizontal decision-making:

Activist: *If you're not part of that, how these people get to hold and exercise power is unexamined. It really needs looking at, because as I say, the gap between rhetoric and reality, and a couple of people have said about new people coming into StART, and why don't we hold on to them, because I feel like how we look on the website and our publicity looks really good and exciting and liberating. You come to a meeting, a couple of people have said to me, "it took me one, two three meetings but I can see how things work here. And I don't trust it."*

This assessment of the features determining StART's participation patterning would confirm processes of material and cultural territorialisation, where StART "reproduced as a white and middle class space due to mechanisms of cultural capital and habitus in this field, while affordability was an important but secondary filter" (Arbell 2021: 17). Nonetheless, this white space also contained practices of whiteness that were to have active, affective and ultimately damaging consequences for StART.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has used an epistemology of assemblage to discuss StART's emergence, consecration and direction as a urban social movement within Haringey, campaigning for a CLT. But while StART fostered effective, scaled opportunities for participation, this engendered a selective patterning of engagement, particularly at the most active level, of namely white middle class homeowners and younger, white middle-class people renting in the borough, strictly speaking the gentrifying classes and those who benefit from house price rises. These observations of StART's territorialisation as a white space confirm the value of an epistemology of a social movement as an assemblage, primarily in its ability to reveal both movement and fixity. Assemblage emphasises movement in the emergence and "diagram" of exteriority of StART in its origins and networks, yet also captures the crystallisation and fixity of its institutional power constellation and the patterning of participation in terms of age, race and class.

The patterning of such a participation in a borough of acute housing need, alongside ethnic and class diversity, suggests CLTS are particularly classed, racialised spaces, in spite of urban context, yet members of other organisations recognised "StART was not alone in this!":

Cllr Mike Hakata: *And we see it in the Labour Party. I mean, it's not people saying 'oh', but actually the Labour Party branch meeting, so they were in the room next to StART and they were full of white middle class people. I mean, you know, in a hugely diverse borough, and a predominantly working-class borough actually, certainly the east.*

DCH: *Defend Council Housing is a lobby group, there is a whole coalition of groups which we work with, locally, nationally, online, offline. And the number of them that are really representative groups in terms of being representative of everybody is not that great. I think sometimes it's a bit of a, I mean, we'd love it if we did a lobby of the Civic Centre and there were five hundred tenants outside on the road. But it doesn't happen basically. That's a deeper issue, possibly, in terms of working-class communities, which have actually been battered, they have had their expectations systematically reduced over a long period of time.*

Nonetheless, assemblage provides a critical framework to assess social movements and CLTs as of the 'community', and the alternative language of the common (Gilbert 2014: 164). While StART's co-operative practices formed a community in itself, this was problematised by the group as 'unrepresentative' of the many communities participants understood as Haringey. While this was particularly understood in racial terms, it was also class based, and StART was aware it did not represent that which theory would determine as "the multitude of the poor…a political body without distinction of property" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 41). As a result, the absence of those in housing need was reinforced by territorialising, homogenising and to a degree exclusionary tendencies in StART's practices.

As to whether this was a CLT specific issue, or one facing most urban social

movements under contemporary conditions in metropolises of the Global North, is moot. It is here where another value of the ontology of the common as assemblage is valuable. As StART territorialised into a white homogeneous group, so it developed effectual currencies and values of co-operative exchange, namely expertise and with these, power relations. Not only does the assemblage highlight unconscious practices of "boundary work" and exclusivity, but as the common should be "open to encounters with all other bodies and its political life depends on the qualities of these encounters" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 43), so it reveals the sowed seeds of StART's deterritorialisation and disintegration as the affective glue of trust became selectively adherent. Here, not only does assemblage capture the genealogical emergence of a CLT as a dynamic urban social movement, but opens up a teleological perspective, upon trust, its evaporation and StART's eventual demise. It is this deterritorialisation which is the focus of the Trust Chapter.

8. Land

As discussed in the Literature Review, autonomist Marxism offers a dialectic, as a paradigm of commoning and enclosure, that provides a valuable theoretical framework to assess the interactions and synthesis of these two logics over time, a dynamic that fits StART's lobbying discussions with the GLA as the latter purchased two-thirds of the land at the St Ann's site. This chapter describes and evaluates StART's impact on the planning and spatial development of the St Ann's Hospital site between 2015 and 2021, through processes of masterplanning, tactical positioning and negotiations with the GLA's tender to private developers, having purchased it from the NHS in 2017.

The dialectical paradigm fits this processual and complex bargaining, providing the structure to the chapter. Section 8.1 first provides a chronology, narrating these complex discussions and negotiations as practiced by StART as commoning, as verb, and regional government as enclosure. Section 8.2 identifies the Commons as noun, in the critical, utopic object that was StART's masterplan. 8.3 analyses public land disposal policy and practice in London, alongside the GLA's decision to buy the St Ann's site and subsequent actions during discussions with StART as enclosure. These dynamics are then brought together in dialectical synthesis. 8.4 focuses on the output of this phase, the tender as it went to market, analysing the synthesis of the commoned proposals and enclosing logics of StART and the GLA respectively, against the theoretically informed framework of alterity or co-option.

As co-operation deteriorated, as it did in Summer 2019, growing tensions between the two organisations and their visions increased, leading to a dissolution of their working relationship amid growing distrust. Section 8.5 discusses this inter-institutional trust and its dissolution, on this highest scale of co-operative practices, with the state. The chapter then concludes with a discussion of the coercion of StART into a role within an enclosed governance structure, effectively contributing to land value uplift. This raises an important paradox for the future of urban CLTs in the UK, where despite their complex ambiguous politics of affordability, their supposedly inherent

radicality rests on their de-commodification of land.

8.1 Chronology

Commoning: The Masterplan 2015 - 6

As discussed in the Community chapter, StART's masterplanning began with a consultation event in July 2015 launching the process, followed by a questionnaire seeking wide views on the priorities for the site. The survey received over 350 responses (StART, 2016) and StART undertook seven consultation events, the last three with architects present. The masterplan was funded initially from grants from Locality and Lush, totalling £11,000, alongside two private donations, enabling them to engage architects. A crowdfunding effort was then launched in the Autumn of 2016, attracting numerous small donations, with £25,000 raised from over five hundred donors (ibid.) For many, this was the beginning of their participation:

Activist: *I wasn't that involved in StART when they were fundraising for that. I was aware of fundraising, I think I put twenty-five quid in, something like that.*

The process concluded with a referendum on the draft Plan, which received affirmative support of 79% of those who voted. By initiating a "community-led and transparent process for a housing development, which puts local people in control" (ibid.), this participatory process and the proclamation of community control was itself a critical statement of mainstream consultation processes of private sector led or local authority planning typical to London's housing delivery. As a propositional document built on opposition to proposed development, and practices of community involvement, the masterplan was a statement of intent.

StART as Client: 2016-7

StART first approached the architecture firm 6a, through existing contacts, including active participants in the group during the masterplanning process. 6a then approached

Macreanor Lavington as a firm with wider housing, and specifically London's only CLT to date, experience. As Kevin Logan of Macreanor Lavington explained:

Kevin Logan: *So, my colleague spoke to me about it because I had already been involved with the East London Community Land Trust and had done St Clements in Tower Hamlets, so I had got a history of working with Land Trusts.*

For the architects working with StART, a deliberative and participatory process - led group made for an enjoyably direct and professionally engaging client:

Kevin Logan: *So, the beauty … was we sidestep [developers as] that intermediary, we still weren't talking directly to users, but there was a much more direct relationship around the community who were likely to inhabit the same space.*

The Plan's Afterlife: 2016-

The masterplan work concluded in 2016, despite disagreements and dissent over density, height and access features within and beyond StART discussed in Section 8.2. In the immediate term, these were managed by the presentation of the masterplan as "just a vision" by the group and architects, despite the high degree of detail the plan responded to in the architect's brief:

Activist: *And so, all of that was great, but it didn't mean that that had to be the plan. And I think the architects very clear about that, this is just a vision. Yeah.*

Nonetheless, a position was established, and ratified by referendum, giving StART and its proposition an ethic of community legitimacy. However, the masterplan's viability relied on the assumption that the land would be given to StART, or held by the state, at zero cost. The absence of land costs determined the total affordability of the scheme, the proviso that underwrote feasibility.

Despite this conditionality of its affordability offer, the Masterplan was undoubtedly

an influential document, due to the density it proposed. As Bringelly, later StART's consultants, also clarified, a proposal more than doubling density was particularly of interest to the state, confronted by the unusual situation where a community group campaigned for a density uplift significantly beyond that the local authority modelling suggested:

Consultant: *And what it also did was show that the Land Trust wasn't afraid of density, of large-scale development, which I think is often a solid supposition or an assumption Councils make about community groups. The masterplan, I think, was quite powerful in dismissing that as an issue, it was actually the opposite to what you might normally expect, where the masterplan was showing something denser than the local authority was suggesting will be acceptable. So, I think it was actually quite a powerful tool. I mean, it was put together before we were involved, it had a long life…*

The masterplan indeed had a long life, remaining an object of influence through the GLA's purchase, tender and response by the successful bidder and the basis of StART's position. As StART's discussions with these actors progressed, the plan, as detailed proposition, formed the basis for the group's ongoing balance of criticality and compromise.

2016: Sadiq Khan, Land and the 'Housing Crisis' Mayoralty

Activist: *Maybe also because it was Sadiq Khan's Office, you know there's this big, massive thing in his pledge about housing so he was absolutely under a political knife to deliver…Yes. And it was at the centre of his manifesto.*

As discussed in the Context Chapter, the early 2010s saw such house price and rent pressures that by 2016, the London Mayoral election was framed by and won by the Labour candidate, Sadiq Khan, on the grounds of 'solving' the housing crisis, by boosting delivery and simultaneously, percentages of affordable housing. Within the manifesto, there were a number of signals that chimed with StART's goals and emerging strategies. Firstly, to deliver increased affordability, the manifesto envisioned the Mayor "taking the

lead in developing public land" (Khan 2016: 21), outlining a strategy to bid for central government land sites, "with a proportion of homes on the capital's NHS sites aimed at health service workers" (Khan 2016: 25) The Manifesto also declared an intention to "look at developing new forms of housing to meet the future needs of the capital, such as Community Land Trusts…" (ibid.)

Once elected, the early housing policies emerging from the GLA delivered more encouraging signs. Released in 2017, the Mayor's Affordable Housing and Viability Supplementary Planning Guidance (SPG) established higher policy expectations of affordable housing, incentivised by the removal of upper density limits in the GLA's regional planning policies. The SPG required fifty per cent affordable housing without subsidy for applications on public land, in contrast to a thirty-five per cent expectation on private land (GLA 2017a: 14). This was further encouraged by a *threshold approach,* waiving the sharing of viability assessments with the GLA and local authorities upon reaching these targets, alongside grant for additional units. These expectations became immediately binding as emerging planning policy, consecrated in the Draft London Plan published in December 2017.

The policy orientations towards higher affordable housing delivery through densification, and attempted positioning of the GLA as key driver of public land disposal, signalled a Mayoralty keen to accelerate and densify delivery on public land to deliver fifty per cent affordable housing across London's new development by 2020 (Khan 2016). Further to this, a new London Development Panel, the 'LDP2' OJEU process was enacted, again to bypass the need for OJEU procurement processes per site, to which many of the same large house builders, developers and housing associations were appointed, in a number of consortia. Again, the LDP2 was discursively presented as assistance to dutiful public landowners seeking to dispose of their sites:

"The release of surplus, publicly owned land for residential development has a key role to play in meeting targets. Recognising this, a new London Development Panel has been established and is an efficient means of accelerating the delivery of new homes on public land." (GLA 2017b: 76)

Furthermore, the previous Mayoralty had been granted powers for a revolving land fund but had not used it. Khan's Mayoralty negotiated a revolving fund, totalling £736m, £250m from GLA holdings and £486m from central government, to enable land purchase, assembly and accelerated delivery through greater intervention in the land market by the GLA.

This potentiality of state activism in land supply was accompanied by a new regional focus on smaller sites, under 0.25 hectares, to encourage small developers to remain within the London market and deliver additional housing. This 'Small Sites, Small Builders' programme explicitly aimed to develop sites "likely to be less attractive to larger construction firms, which tend to focus on larger schemes" (GLA 2017b: 77). Furthermore, the Draft London Housing Strategy emphasised small public land sites as suitable locations for "covenants restricting use of the site to affordable and/or community-led housing" (GLA 2017b: 77)

Complementing this programme, the Mayoralty sought to encourage the community-led sector's development. The budget of 2017-8 established a London hub, funded by, but at arms-length from, the GLA as a "sustainable and long-term support mechanism for community led housing groups in London" (GLA 2017b: 153) alongside efforts to "link the Hub with initiatives to make more small sites available for small scale housing developments through his Small Sites, Small Builders initiative" (GLA 2017b:151). While these presented encouraging policy re-orientations for StART, critically, emerging policy did not contain any ambition to deliver or support community-led housing on a large site, at the scale of 800 homes.

Lobbying: 2016 -7

By the consultation publication of the Draft London Housing Strategy in September 2017, StART were firmly in discussions with the GLA, lobbying them to buy the land and support the ambitions of the masterplan as vision. Simultaneously, StART had been gaining media coverage in 2016 and 2017, as detailed in Appendix G. As national press

scrutiny of the HDV and local opposition grew, StART sought to approach the new Mayoralty:

Activist: *And then we set up meetings with the GLA Housing and Land people I guess, to tell them about what we were doing, tell them about the land, try and encourage them to [support us], and at first it was "oh yeah that's very interesting, well done" you know, keep talking to us little people, slightly kind of patronising but not, they couldn't send us away entirely, after all.*

StART sought further opportunities to engage with the GLA, including applying to its new housing Innovation Fund. The fund's guidelines somewhat precluded community-led housing, specifying applicants should have land "that has been acquired or lined up to enable early delivery" and "a track record of delivering homes at scale" (GLA 2016c). Nonetheless, StART's application, publicity and capital of support from its network of development professionals consolidated elementary lobbying into action.

Activist: *We didn't hear anything from them for a while and then we got an invitation. And they were like "we're not giving you the Innovation Fund, but we'd like to talk to you."*

The Purchase: December 2017

By 2017, the government's Naylor Review of NHS landholdings identified the scale of potentially surplus NHS sites as delivering 10,000 homes in London. Nonetheless, the GLA did not yet have a strategy in place for NHS and wider landholdings.

Activist: *the kind of the liaison, they hadn't spoken to the NHS at all at that point. As far as we knew, [our consultant] was the one who brokered the conversation between the NHS and the GLA.*

As these conversations continued, StART, having registered the site as an Asset of Community Value (ACV), were notified of the NHS Trust's intention to sell in October

2017. As the six-month moratorium, to allow any Community Right to Buy bids kicked in, StART notified and attempted to hurry the GLA:

Activist: And we'd kicked in the moratorium, but that was going to run out in February 2018. And so we knew that the land, that that process was going on and that thing where they have to put it out to the public sector… Yeah that was happening, so we nudged the GLA to go, you know "if you're going to do this you've got to do it now." And so, they got their Mayoral Decision to buy the land in December.

While the GLA's purchase of a portion of the site, and the resultant retention and redevelopment of NHS services on site, was not announced until after the local elections in May 2018, StART were informed in December 2017 (GLA 2017d). In retrospective interviews, for many in StART the purchase was the high point of the organisation's influence:

Activist: *For the GLA to do that, and there is video of some Scrutiny meeting and the Land and Property team admit they did not have a strategy for buying land at that time. They didn't even know about the land; I suspect they wouldn't have bought it without StART. I think they bought it and didn't know what their strategy was, so for all that I have said before, massively impressed with them.*

Tender Development: December 2017 - September 2019

From the Directors' Decision in December 2017 to July 2018, the GLA developed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) and Terms of Reference for a Steering Group for the St Ann's site. This framework envisioned three phases of cooperation: drawing up a tender for the site's disposal to the market, judging bids; and then working with the selected developer towards a new outline application.

Image 13: Land purchased by the GLA, St Ann's Hospital

The GLA's Parameters

The Director's Decision Notice contained the GLA's rationale and parameters for the planned development pathway, to dispose of the land to the private sector, and declared intention to tender the site through the LDP2. It noted the plans to do so as per the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors (RICS) Red Book valuation process. The Directors Decision emphasised StART's plans had acknowledged the need for densification, and that this would be pursued by the GLA.

The GLA acknowledged StART's ambitions of "exploring whether they can raise finance to purchase the site themselves and other models of intervention" (ibid). The decision notice states "having explored options, it is proposed that alongside others (such as the Borough and [NHS] Trust) StART are recognised as a key stakeholder entity in the future development process" (ibid.)

Activist: *And with the MoU, we just, there was just a bit of to and fro, this really kind of a bizarre thing where we would put something in there about it being community-led, then*

they'd change it to community-influenced. And when we said 'community led' I remember in a meeting a couple of them brisked and said "no we're not ready for that kind of thing".

By the time the MoU was agreed, in July 2018, the GLA referred to the project as "community-influenced" rather than community led. The three outlined outcomes within the Directors Decision and MoU bound StART into fifteen months of discussion and attempted community-influence. While this would be both a limited and unprecedented amount of influence upon a public tender, the site would not become a total CLT, with land donated by the state to be held exclusively in trust by StART.

Tense Negotiation: 2018 - 2019

StART's reaction to the GLA's proposed disposal to a private developer was mixed, again containing a balance of the group's oppositional and propositional tendencies. This decision provoked as many responses as there were singularities on StART, from acceptance, to disappointment:

Activist: *I was aware that ambitious projects like the St Ann's one, would have to be contained within whatever the London Development Panel was offering, and I think that was always going to be a bit of a dampener for StART's ambitions. Because I'm reasonably sure Sadiq Khan has to do it this way, because the financial pressures, the history of how it's been done before, there's all sorts of reasons why he has to have this panel of 25-30 quite seasoned developers.*

Activist: *No. I think the GLA were extraordinarily unimaginative, and I think it is pathetic for a Labour administration with such an opportunity to have stuck so slavishly to an existing model of housing. I think they could have done far better.*

However, as this process began, the group faced an immediate issue with their consultants. The existing firm's consultancy was entering into a consortium for the purpose of joining the LDP2, which the GLA was simultaneously vetting. Membership of

the LDP2 alone presented a conflict of interest:

Activist: *As soon as the GLA bought the land they said you can't have [the consultant] involved, and we lost that experience. So then we found Bringelly which knew community development and housing really well but weren't sort of so connected politically within the GLA. And in some ways, it wasn't that easy, working with [the previous consultant] because you never really knew what he was up to…The GLA then said you can't have [them].*

The establishment of the steering group for joint working also required delegation within StART, who appointed a 'GLA4' team of negotiators to attend meetings and communicate with the GLA on StART's behalf. While four members was roughly the maximum size of StART's previous delegations to meetings, the formalisation of the GLA4 compounded internal challenges, discussed in the Trust Chapter. Nonetheless:

Activist: *It wasn't quite as much community involvement as we wanted, but at least we got in there. I thought StART was in a good place at that time.*

StART understood the process of the tender would be dominated by the GLA's financial position. Increasingly, the group, realising the financial constraints a disposal process would pose to the amount of affordable housing on site, lobbied the GLA to either take a loss on the land and gift it to StART, or retain and develop it in public ownership.

To this, the GLA proposed a solution. While the Directors Decision and MoU had discussed the disposal of 'the site' in general terms, in the summer of 2018 the GLA proposed maintaining public ownership of the freehold by GLAP and disposing of a 999-year lease to a LDP2 member. This leasehold innovation in financialised public ownership is discussed in section 8.3.

Given the disappointment and frustration within the group about an LDP2 disposal pathway, StART continued bifurcated approach, balancing its propositional and

oppositional tendencies. StART would continue to work to seek to influence the LDP2 tender in a 'Plan A', as "key stakeholder" (ibid.), but would also pursue an alternative buyer to develop the site with, beyond an LDP2 process, as a 'Plan B'. These two processes were pursued simultaneously until summer 2019.

Plan A: the Pass/Fails

In Autumn 2018, StART began a process of prioritising and "distilling the key elements" of its vision for the site into principles for the tender. This process had multiple organisational purposes. Firstly, it provided a process of legitimation for the GLA4's delegated position, and boundaries for their negotiations to operate within. Secondly, as a process of propositional compromise with the GLA's tender process, it also offered a moment of collective compromise and acceptance StART's vision would not be followed in totality.

In November 2018, StART organised a public workshop to define these parameters. The exercise revolved around small group discussion of various elements of the vision, and as to whether these should be awarded a 'Pass/Fail' status as key to StART's endorsement of the project. These factors were discussed as weighting, each key criteria allocated a percentage to inform StART's judgement of the tenders, the exercise clearly designed to feed through and mandate the GLA4's negotiation parameters.

Emerging from this workshop became what was known as six agreed 'Pass/Fails'. Briefly, these objectives were, in wording finalised by the StART strategy group and Bringelly in November 2018:

StART: Plan A's Pass/Fails

1. Genuinely affordable housing in perpetuity – The development shall provide a minimum of 65% genuinely affordable homes in perpetuity. Housing on the site should be affordable for local people to rent or buy, with prices based on local incomes, not market rates. Shared ownership is not deemed to be genuinely affordable in the local area.

2. Land and property ownership and control - The site freehold shall be owned by a local development company (StART or similarly constituted) providing community control of the freehold and management in perpetuity

3. Housing for local people and local need – The tender shall prevent Right to Buy, Buy to Let, Buy to Leave and bulk sale of homes to private purchasers/investors.

4. Working with StART – The selected developer shall work with StART throughout the planning, construction and management/in-use stages, including collaborating on the Design Brief which shall be based on StART's Masterplan.

5. Exemplar quality, green space and sustainability – The development shall provide an exemplar standard of design and construction quality and sustainability of all housing, communal spaces, other buildings and open spaces.

6. Community-led homes – The development shall include at least 150 (or 18% whichever is greater) of the new homes being transferred to a community-led housing organisation such as StART. (Bringelly, 2019)
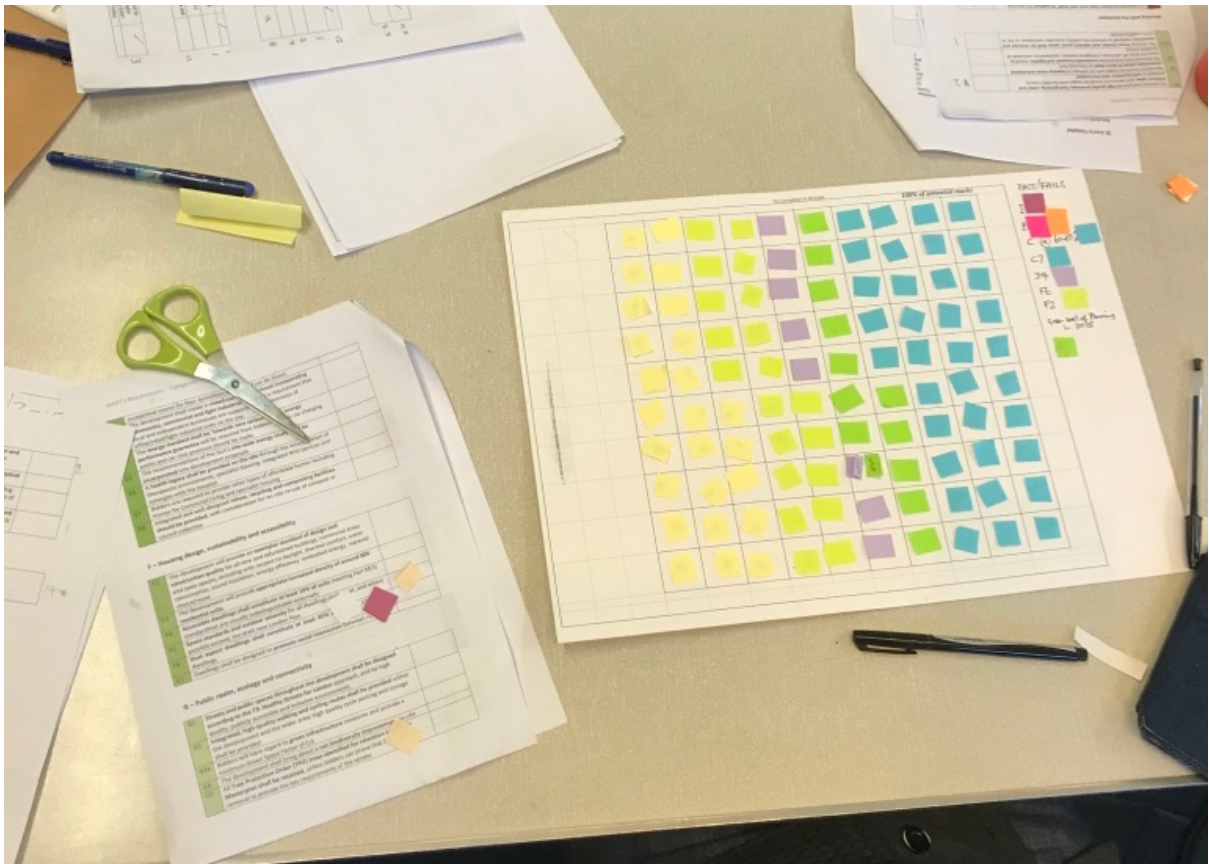
Image 14: The Pass/Fails Workshop

These principles were then presented to the GLA as the basis of 'What StART wants'. As parameters for the tender and development, the Pass/Fails represented both significant compromises of StART's vision with market-led development and a hierarchy of priorities, placing a total of "genuinely affordable housing in perpetuity" fifteen per cent above policy levels for public land as its first 'ask'. This retained something exemplary about the site, as did the 150 Community Land Trust homes presented as the second priority, a quantified compromise at a level that represented significantly upscaled delivery in London. Furthermore, wording around perpetuity, locality and the prevention of investment ownership were to place significant expectations of the policy mechanisms available to the GLA under a Mayoralty previously critical of right to buy and investment ownership. While the wording placed expectations on the GLA and developer, it was also remarkably resilient in serving the group and its delegates throughout the negotiation period. StART successfully "distilled key elements" of its plan for the tender process, developing the Pass/Fails as parameters.

Plan B: Alternative Ownership

StART believed an alternative model of ownership and development, ideally led by them, would provide the ability to achieve more affordable housing in perpetuity, and other goals. Until summer 2019, StART explored a range of potential options, discussed in 8.4. Largely this tactic was ineffective, attracting little interest from potential purchasers willing to cross the GLA as regional planning authority. Nonetheless, some close to StART felt it employed delaying tactics to the tender in the hope such a new path to development may arise, and comfort to members doubting 'Plan A' and by 2019, beginning to argue StART should cease discussions with the GLA and move towards a position of opposition:

Consultant: *I don't think that everybody in StART wanted the alternative thing to happen. I think very much became more and more divisive as time went on about whether they could achieve Plan B. They were trying to delay the tender process, and people were trying to delay it for different reasons. Some people tried to delay it so that they could raise fifty million on the open market and get and get the tender process to stop, others*

were trying to delay it so that the StART masterplan became the GLA's tender document. And so, they became slightly, the more the aims slightly diverged, we never had those objectives very clear as an organisation, which made it difficult. And I suppose the other thing was that, you know, we had strategic advice from different people, which was a testament really [StART activist's] ability to get big hitters in the sector and outside the sector to actually speak on behalf of StART. And that was really interesting and useful in lots of ways. But fundamentally, the GLA, they just stonewalled that kind of approach.

Ultimately, the search of Plan B, including and beyond patient and municipal capital, was 'stonewalled' by Plan A's progress, a possibility until the GLA prepared to launch the tender. Nonetheless, Plan B was key in providing a task to saturate StART's doubts, and oppositional tendencies within its loose coalitional structure.

Deteriorating Relations: 2019

Activist: *So, again why did we fall out of, why did the GLA fall out of love with us, so extremely…there were various things that had gone on.*

StART's discussions were difficult in both their expectations of the productive relationship and the parameters of the resultant tender. Over this same period, the relationship between the GLA and StART became increasingly frustrated and distrustful in designing a future working relationship. As StART balanced its internal tendencies, a key concern for the GLA remained balancing community influence with concerns of commercial risk, seeking to enclose StART and Plan A within a commercial risk management framework StART felt would further constrain their influence. This relationship is assessed in 8.4 and 8.5.

Meanwhile Use

StART saw meanwhile use as integral to developing the community of the site, boosting engagement with StART and its diversity, seeding of the community of residents that would eventually inhabit the CLT housing through prefigurative stewardship

practices on the site.

These plans were well developed by May 2018, where a presentation with the GLA and Haringey's Regeneration Department led to an agreement of meanwhile use as aspiration, before the public announcement of its purchase. At this point, the GLA made clear the organisation's support followed three logics; financial, creating revenue for maintenance and releasing funds for other purposes, security, to reduce the chance of squatting, and political/reputational, where the site was referred to as the "Mayor's flagship, with a strong political element to the development" (Interim Use Meeting Minutes 20/8/18). The GLA and StART then continued to regularly discuss meanwhile use in progress meetings.

However, StART's plans were stalled by the GLA through the Spring. This began with limitations of the space available to StART, delimited by risk and insurance, and a requirement of GLA permission for all events. By June 2019, StART had de-prioritised meanwhile use, recognising coercion in the 'carrot and stick' strategy from the GLA, who StART believed saw it as a route to manage the group into acquiescence, while also recognising the capacity it would require. Despite frustration at the GLA's obfuscation, consensus in recognising the value of meanwhile use and the precedent of the successful drawing club, StART abandoned 'pushing' to establish meanwhile use on the site.

The Final Tender: July 2019

By April 2019, the GLA began to provide details as to the proposed tender's parameters. These final parameters are assessed against StART's Pass/Fails in Section 8.4. The GLA attended a StART consultation event that month, at which the message of community disappointment was clearly expressed. StART then spent that summer seeking to exert pressure before the tender was finalised in September 2019.

As the bidding process neared preparation for launch by the GLA, StART pulled in two directions, with increasingly unpredictable behaviour. Questions of commercial confidentiality and appropriate behaviour re-emerged as priorities of risk limitation if

StART were to view the final tender, the bids against it and to play a role in judging them. The GLA proposed individual StART members sign Non-Disclosure Agreements (NDAs) from meeting and lobbying bidding developers, either before or after shortlisting, to protect the integrity of the LDP2 process from legal challenge. But meeting to lobby bidders during the tender was developing in StART's internal discussions as an integral idea to their nascent propositional strategy to boost affordable housing, perpetuity and other goals not yet secured in the tender:

Activist: *I think there was also the feeling, which I supported, that by stepping away from that inner working group, we would then have much more flexibility to talk to developers once the invitation to tender has actually gone out and the sifting and the shortlist has happened. And I just think that is going to be a better way of us, well firstly getting a sense of what different developers, consortia, have as their views of what the site can produce, but obviously it gives us more influence, potentially.*

In August 2019, the GLA presented StART with two options in response to their communicated desire to lobby bidders directly: either to remain within the Steering Group arrangement, sign the NDA, view and judge the tender and bids; or to withdraw from the tender process, with no access to, judgement of, or influence over, its detail.

Withdrawal: September 2019

Consultant: *They didn't want to be seen to be using a certain tactic to get as far as they could along GLA lines, because fundamentally, if they modified them, then they wouldn't get what they really wanted, which was for the GLA not to do this tender process, and then to actually do it themselves. So it was really hard."*

It is a particular irony of 'activist-scholarship' that my attendance at an academic conference in Italy meant the hastily needed decision on these options was taken at the one Director's meeting I was unable to attend throughout my entire research period. As the minutes note, the Strategy Group recommended StART withdraw from the tender, advised by their external stakeholders an opportunity to influence remained in lobbying

developers directly during the bidding period. Option B was communicated to the Deputy Mayor for Housing, James Murray.

September 2019 was equally a critical month internally for StART, the month as the AGM. As is discussed in the Trust Chapter, arguably the strain of negotiations with the GLA contributed to StART's growing internal distrust, now public and spiralling.

Post-Tender Influence: The Feasibility Study

Concurrently, StART was also shifting its priorities to positioning itself as a contender for the stewardship of the fifty community-led homes on site, convening a Community Led Homes (CLH) Subgroup in March 2019 that began meeting frequently in June. The subgroup successfully applied for funding from London's Hub to commission a feasibility study into the viability and affordable housing offer any provider would be able to make and a grant of £23,000, in two portions, was rapidly agreed by October, the Hub's largest grant to date. The study was also briefed to examine institutional transformations required for StART in order to manage the homes on site. From outside the tender process, StART also saw the feasibility study and interest in the fifty homes as strategic, seeking to maximise influence across the whole site by occupying a partnership position on site and in institutional relationships, interest in the fifty homes providing the basis for StART to meet bidders and attempt to do so. In accordance with this plan, on November 18 a member tweeted:

Image 15: StART's Tweet 18/11/19

As this Feasibility Study was being tendered by StART, a recently resigned member, Chair and GLA4 delegate received a letter in December 2019 from the GLA informing them the MoU StART had signed "no longer applied" (GLA, 2019) The letter stated:

As discussed with my team previously, the GLA is no longer able to continue to adhere to the terms of the MoU, as if StART were to engage in partnership with one of the organisations invited to tender for the opportunity this would represent a significant conflict of interest. It is understood from recent social media activity that StART is actively pursuing opportunities of this kind. Once the procurement process has completed, we are happy to look again at how best to work with StART and other community groups to help deliver this site.[1]

In the meantime, I will ask my team to continue to work with StART to finalise the future vision for Mayfield House and get the building back in to use as soon as possible. (GLA 2019)

The member who sent the tweet was adamant, and concurred with within StART, that the above tweet made no explicit request to form partnerships, but the introductory meetings the GLA were aware StART would seek. Nonetheless, by the end of 2019 the GLA had formally responded to withdrawal by cancelling agreed future mutual

obligations and expectations. This was to be a lasting diminishment of the group's influence.

StART's banishment from influence by the GLA was to an extent masked by their intensive engagement with the Hub during this period. Internal discussions had turned to the appointment of consultants to undertake the feasibility study. Bringelly had been involved in developing the brief for it with the CLH Subgroup. Several members, including the 'GLA4' were keen to appoint Bringelly to undertake it, but there were objections to this within StART and a full procurement process went ahead.

Bringelly bid for a longer project and some members of the CLH Group demanded Bringelly were not shortlisted for interview. This triggered a wave of resignations from the CLH Group, a key precursor to the wider resignations from StART in November 2019. As distrust grew within StART, and capacity diminished, distrust spilled out into its relationship with consultants. In retrospect, Bringelly also discussed their diminishing trust in StART's effective working:

Consultant: *And I think in retrospect, we're glad we did because they hadn't sorted out the strategic direction, how on earth are they going to sort out the Community Housing allocation? So actually, we took a tactical step quite quickly, when we realised things were going very badly.*

Results and Reactions

As the tender proceeded, the appointed consultants, Campbell Tickell, had little more success than StART in acquiring information from the GLA:

Consultant: *Unfortunately, probably because of the procurement process, the GLA were not that forthcoming, which is totally understandable. From a practical perspective, it was challenging to get real, decent information. So as these things sometimes happen, we ended up gleaning information from different sources, including the fact that with a lead developer, the likely delivery route for StART or the community led homes would*

probably be by acquisition.

Ex-closed by the GLA, Campbell Tickell focused on modelling a range of viable affordable rent splits to fund the borrowing and purchase of the homes from the developer. They iteratively presented their research to StART, in a presentation to members in March, a draft report in May and the final report in July 2020. As became clear, a viable affordability split would require a high proportion intermediate rent, the London Living Rent tenure, with any more affordable rents likely to be subsidised by shared ownership. StART was left considering a vastly reduced number of units, limited input into a design and build construction contract, to manage homes at rents StART did not consider to be affordable locally.

Lev Kerimol: *Yeah, the Campbell Tickell work probably says the same thing Bringelly would have said. It's an objective thing based on the numbers and the reality of how affordable you can make things. And this is why it goes back to the point that CLTs aren't a way of magically making housing affordable, they're more about community control, community empowerment and the value lies elsewhere. If StART or some other CLH organisation didn't have those fifty units, they probably would still be intermediate rent. And the loss would be in the level of control from residents would have in a big housing association, with no real connection to their residents.*

Furthermore, calculations assumed StART would become a Registered Social Provider (RSP) to access grant funding. Private funding would expect the organisation to be "investor ready", requiring a structured hierarchy of delegated responsibilities. As the rent, power, spatial, capacity and institutional realities of such positioning within a market led development continued to dawn on StART, it was clear RSP status required institutional formalisations of the organisation that appalled many, not least against the context of internal distrust, little incentivised by fifty homes at intermediate rent.

Dissolution

While reactions to the market realities the report confirmed began to be discussed in

May, group discussion of the report and Registered Provider registration were severely proscribed. In March 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic and lockdown saw StART shift to online meetings. Internal issues continued to grow to dominate the agenda, with many remaining members' disappointment at the viability report tempered by the belief StART was unfit to manage tenants. In June, Directors made the decision to take Directors' Meetings private, as will be discussed in the Trust Chapter. With this enclosure of StART's business, my active participation in the group largely ended.

However, this issue was then consulted on in four online events prior to September 2020 AGM with wider members and in February 2021, the Directors announced their intention not to pursue stewardship of the fifty homes, by email (StART 2020), for these reasons:

The directors of StART have now taken a view that StART should not bid to take on the option of the 50 Community Led Homes on the St Ann's site. This is based on a number of considerations:

- *We do not consider that StART possesses sufficient capacity and skills to deliver these homes. We would need to put in place a large number of policies and procedures and take on the challenging task of forming StART into a registered provider; StART would in effect become a landlord.*

- *StART has faced difficult times in the past 18 months for various reasons, which has made it harder to address these gaps and move forward.*

- *The financial appraisal shows that it would be very hard for StART to make the finances stack up with all the homes rented at affordable rents, and some of the homes would have to be sold, which was not part of StART's vision. It's possible there are other financing options but StART's capacity to identify and assess them is limited.*

- *If StART did take on the 50 homes it would be difficult to also focus on the wider site and ensuring that the pledges made in the tender brief are not watered down, and that there is community involvement in the whole site's development, not just the 50 community homes.*

- *Views similar to these were voiced at a presentation of the feasibility study to members, and in the online consultation events held in the run up to the 2020 AGM.*

At this point, with StART functioning in private, the vision and proposition of community stewardship by the organisation, now proscribed to a small proportion of homes and enclosed in policy definitions of affordability, was over. Developed over several years, culminating in sixteen intense months of negotiation with the GLA and dissolving over weeks, these phases reveal the trajectory of StART's influence over the development process. These will now be discussed against the components of practices that form the dialectic.

8.2 Commons: Masterplan as Critical Object

The practices of co-operation and collaboration that scaled StART as a community group also produced the commoned object, the masterplan. However, the plan was also an object of the commons in that it envisioned an alternative spatial development to that of the NHS's planning application, "contesting enclosure in public space" (Hopkinson 2012: 514). This section demonstrates how StART's masterplan contested the maximisation of exchange value, embodied in the NHS's disposal plans, with a spatial vision of community determined use values. As one interviewee put it:

Activist: *So I feel like the community's role was to re-engage government with principles around housing, with the humanity around housing, the basic social aspects and needs around housing, I guess that we were trying to hold them to account on something, you know, more about values than profit.*

Nonetheless, as this chapter demonstrates, StART's vision was led by greater density and while this was controversial within the group and by other community organisations, it was densification that would provide the masterplan with influence throughout StART's long engagement with the GLA. This section discusses StART's masterplan as commoned object, highlighting the key elements of the alterity it proposed. Firstly, the housing 'split' of the plan is discussed; its aspiration of 100% affordability, in perpetuity, alongside StART's navigation of state funding and its determination of tenures, amid highly socially contested definitions of affordability. The proposed densification is then discussed,

before the spatial mitigations of issues of density through design. Secondly, the section discusses the environmental commons StART pursued in the plan. The environment and StART's health vision were interlinked, presenting an alternative vision of stewardship that emphasised spaces and practices designed to aid mental health recovery for patients at the facilities that would remain on site. Amid these features, this section demonstrates the proposition of densification was the element that rendered StART's alternative vision, what it shall identify as 'complimentary commoning', compatible with the interests of the neoliberal, enclosing state.

Perpetual Affordability

Fundamentally, the Plan displayed StART's opposition to the privatisation of land and housing assets as the value of a CLT, in opposition to the private sale of land. It therefore operated on the assumption the land was not sold, either held by the state, or transferred to the Land Trust for free, and crucially, viability assumptions and assessments proceeded on this basis, with a minimal degree of housing to be sold, in leasehold, to fund construction costs.

While this was to have lasting implications for negotiations around the total percentage of affordable housing on site, and the degree of affordability throughout negotiations with the GLA, StART proceeded on this basis. Furthermore, the plan contained two other facets that epitomised a value of opposition to housing privatisation. Firstly, community land ownership was promoted as a preferred solution to Right to Buy and the possibility of stock transfer, the asset lock also a lock against a future financialised behaviour possible under local authority leadership and compelled by national policy in England. Secondly, StART maintained a strong opposition to any shared ownership units on site long into negotiations with the GLA, an ethic of perpetual affordability remaining within the group:

Activist: *And of course something I'm really passionate about is in perpetuity, I think what's the point in doing all of this work and getting genuinely affordable homes if it's for*

one generation of tenants, that they are put back on the market, with all the evils? We're only in this position because of the market in the first place. So I think we should be fighting harder for perpetuity.

It was this ethic, formed in opposition to the marketisation of social and affordable housing that convinced many of the advantages of community land ownership over local authority ownership, which tempered the generally widespread enthusiasm of the group for Haringey Council's potential purchase and ownership of social units on site:

Activist: *StART would see the value of the Council being able to build as many social homes on the site as possible, notwithstanding the fact that if they were also council rented homes, they'd have the right to buy, so the perpetuity would be under threat.*

In this respect, StART's vision of a CLT was not one of pure empowerment, but a willingness to collaborate with state actors to maximise affordability on site. As a result of this aim, StART entered the complex politics of London's affordability tenures.

Tenure Troubles

Affordability was also the key driver of StART's opposition to the NHS's proposals, and 100% "genuinely affordable" housing remained a central tenet of StART's critical proposition to the proposed 14% total of the NHS site, of which only 30% was not shared ownership. However, the "genuine" remained a slippery concept and raised the question of "general affordability for whom"? Here, StART was led by both an awareness there were many who fell between council eligibility and an income able to afford private rents within the borough alongside Haringey's most chronic housing need.

Activist: *People had very different understandings of what affordable housing was. A lot of the people there were people that had insecure housing or knew people who had insecure housing but also didn't qualify for social housing. So that was a main issue because, although I know that StART did advocate for social housing at some point, they were also trying to provide housing for this group of people that have insecure housing*

positions but also do not qualify for social housing. So, they were trying to address a more precaritised middle class or yeah, just people who, for particular reasons don't qualify for the social housing, like the local list.

StART's offer of a range of affordable housing was also driven by considerations arising from the viability exercises they were simultaneously conducting. Building costs suggested the need to raise financing precipitated a compromise that 35% of housing on site was to be for sale. StART sought to establish a range of mechanisms that would build in a degree of perpetual affordability for these homes. The plan promised to restrict resale prices, perpetuity guaranteed by the separation of housing and land ownership as is inherent to the traditional CLT model. Secondly, it proposed a range of measures against financialised ownership, through preventing "buy to let or buy to leave investment purchasers" (StART, 2016) proposing clauses in leases against sub-letting. Finally, StART proposed a first refusal on resales for the organisation as a clawback mechanism, which would allow their conversion to rental homes over time, decreasing the percentage for sale and increasing stock for lower incomes. These compromises around homes for sale and the avoidance of market pricing confirm personal home ownership was a necessity of build costs, not the agreed ideal tenure split for the group.

With regard to the 65% of homes immediately for rent, StART maintained a promise of "genuine affordability" amid widespread contemporary dispute of the term. StART's masterplan confirmed their acceptance of Sadiq Khan's new grant-based tenure London Affordable Rent (LAR), calculated against a third of local income level by ward. However, LAR, is considerably higher than existing social tenancy rents collected by local authorities. In Haringey, the discrepancy is between £90 and £150 a week for a one-bedroom flat, a differential of 66% (Appendix H). The argument LAR presented "genuinely affordable rents" was therefore under contemporary challenge from many fighting for social rent across London. For Defend Council Housing Haringey, this acceptance formed a major criticism of StART's position.

For some within the group, the criticism StART was not party to fighting for development at existing social rent remained, although new development at this this

tenure had been constrained under austerity policies in 2010. Building one thousand homes for Council Rents became a backbone policy for the new Leadership of Haringey Council that emerged from the HDV politics of 2017. With this perceived as an opportunity for council owned homes on site, if at lowest possible rents, StART were open to the London Borough of Haringey purchasing a portion of homes on site, to be managed by the Council for social rent, despite the threat of right to buy or stock transfer. This proposal, and other discussions with Haringey Council, are discussed in Section 8.5. Nonetheless, while the politics of genuine rental affordability remained a key area of dispute both within the group and with its partners as negotiations progressed, StART began from a position of maximising affordability, through a range of sale and rental mechanisms, albeit directed to differing pockets of the population struggling to remain in Haringey. This included sections of Specialist and NHS staff housing, envisioned as part of the site's health legacy. Nonetheless, in seeking to maximise low rent, StART used the CLT form to design an envisioned development as a bulwark against the displacement of both the social and private renting poor from Haringey.

Community Led Densification

To enable total affordability, StART were also of the view the site's development could be denser than the 470 approved by Haringey and determined by the London wide Public Transport Access Level Score (PTALS), under which the site achieved a relatively low rating. Viability assessments were premised upon this uplift in the total of units to 800 and confirmed its necessity to boost affordability considerably. In this proposed density increase, StART represented the relatively unusual offer of community-led intensification, in the name of affordability. In interviews, members of StART demonstrated their clear awareness of the affinity with market led development's profit maximisation through density, and the Mayor's emerging logic in pursuit of higher housing totals to achieve high affordability percentages:

Activist: But it's a numbers game, and the funny thing is that StART and the most hard-nosed of the developers actually agree on a top number of 800. StART, because of meeting needs, the developer, because of making profit!
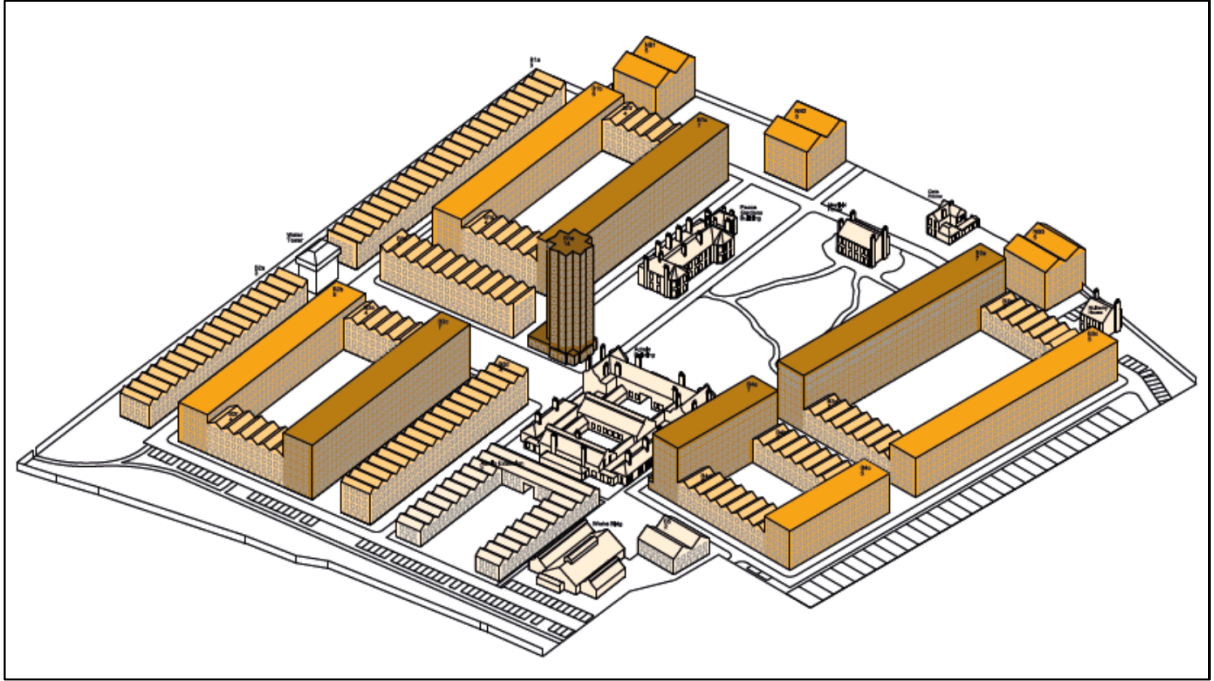
Image 16: StART's Masterplan: Massing

Mitigation through Design

While StART were aware of the appeal to potential partners of their proposal of a density uplift, it faced opposition, from both members of the group and the site's neighbours. At the point of interviews in 2020, differing views around density remained:

Activist: *Well I wanted to see my vision of a model urban village! 600 would be my top number.*

Activist: *I thought it could have been denser! I'm trying to remember, I think they tended to go outwards rather than going upwards, but yeah, that's a fairly superficial comment.*

While this was debated in the group, the neighbouring residents association, immediately to the west of the site, participated in StART's masterplanning, sharing concerns the density uplift would translate into heavy massing, overlooking and an increase in anti-social behaviour, as new access routes and new residents significantly increased footfall through their streets. StART anticipated and understood these problems as risk, of planning refusal:

Activist: *So, you have to make sure that everyone, and that's why I talk about that guy, if*

he can be vocal enough and he has ten people with him, he could stall anything going on that site. So it's really important, just in terms of getting some housing built. It's not just about looking like we have the support of the community, it's not about decoration, there's absolutely no point in consulting the local community if you're not going to listen, because it will get stuck in planning if you haven't listened.

The architects doubted this posed a problem at planning:

Kevin Logan: *He claimed to have categoric reassurances from Haringey planners that nothing more than three stories would ever be built to join his property. And we were proposing a five-storey building offset from the boundary by about 15 metres and his back gardens was like 20 metres deep possibly. And so, you know, we [Macreanor Lavington] didn't really think his assertations were very reasonable in a major metropolitan city. Notwithstanding the fact that planning does not protect your view, it protects your right to sunlight, but it doesn't protect your view.*

Nevertheless, StART's plan ensured there were no blocks over three storeys high along the western boundary to ensure privacy. By offering greater mitigation in the massing of densities than local material planning policy would protect, StART displayed risk minimising logics to potential local objections.

Density was not the only factor in the architects' brief that required mitigative design strategies. The crowdsourced brief also contained aims critical of other disliked features of contemporary housing delivery, including a lack of community facilities, small bedroom sizes, single aspects alongside and a wish to retain as many of the existing buildings as possible. This was done to provide community space, the hospital's existing Victorian architecture of the Works Building to be retained as one, in the centre of the development. The notion of homes "better than policy" was also present in the brief's preference for London Housing Design Guide, "plus ten per cent", as space standards across the site and an explicit ban on single-aspect homes. This presented considerable design challenges and compromises for the group:

Kevin Logan: *So, one of the things that was really challenging for them was, they were pushing hard for this kind of 800-unit figure. And they'd given us a brief around medium*

rise, trying to retain buildings, around large courtyards, working with the existing landscape, and they had certain things that they were really averse to, one of them was height, and our proposal had a tall building. And that caused them huge amounts of kind of consternation. But our argument was that we could have one tall building in there, design wise, a complementary building, but as a means to balance out the numbers. Or we could make everything else slightly taller, a bit more intense, and potentially more costly to build. You shift from walk-ups, to maybe needing lifts and cores. And certainly, that affects affordability and would affect the courtyards in terms of daylight and massing. Or we could have one tall tower. And the other thing, because they had this brief requirement that all units should be dual aspect. So, we argued that the way of doing dual aspect one beds, which is going to be a really inefficient, challenging thing to achieve, the best way to do that was to gather up all the one bedroom and make a tower of one beds. Socially, that might not have been the best thing to do in terms of mix, but it allowed the rest of the scheme to operate to other criteria. But that also gives StART a huge challenge because they were very clear and said "we don't want tall buildings, and you've given us a tall building!

The tower highlighted a contemporary opposition of tall buildings in suburban locations, remaining an issue of contention within StART and compromise was achieved on the basis the masterplan formed a vision, rather than a final design, "to show what's possible". StART progressed with this perspective upon the propositional function of the masterplan, as a demonstration of alternative, in mind.

Legacy: An Exemplary Therapeutic Environment

Alongside its criticality of London's contemporary parameters of housing delivery, the masterplan contained several propositions critical of environmental standards and demonstrating alternatives to NHS policies of disposal and rehabilitative clinical mental health practice. This was particularly clear in StART's high provision of sheltered and supported housing, at 20% of the total. Alongside homes for sheltered need, which StART proposed as two/three storey almshouse-style and mews homes, StART were keen to imagine supported homes for those departing the in-patient facilities at the hospital.

StART also promoted homes on site for NHS staff, a poignant criticism that NHS land disposal policies delivered housing that was unaffordable to NHS nursing salaries, particularly in London, an agenda particularly promoted by the New Economics Foundation (NEF, 2018) at the time. Therefore, not only did StART's propositional provisions again maintain a criticality of public land disposal policy but aligned with agendas highlighting the unsuitability of private housing provision to meet specialist and key worker need.

StART's desire to deliver a rehabilitative environment included a vision of preserved and rehabilitated urban nature, seeking exemplary ratings across a range of environmental and sustainability standards, developed and furthered by the expertise of the Environment Subgroup. The plan also specified homes of the highest rankings under the Code for Sustainable Homes, including renewable energy sources, while sustainable transport options, including minimal car ownership, were promoted. In terms of the landscape, StART sought to boost the site's intense biodiversity, a legacy from the original hospital Victorian plantings, the plan maintaining protections for mature trees and the Site of Important Nature Conservation (SINC) designated along its southern boundary formed by the railway line.

The masterplan used landscape to promote a co-operative community inclusive of mental health patients. Spaces were assigned for activities of rehabilitation and reintegration, including community and therapeutic gardening and food growing to "maintain strong links with St Ann's Hospital services" (StART, 2016). To do so, StART promoted a landscape that undid the institutional enclosure of the historical 'asylum'. The NHS facilities were to meet housing development at a soft border, spaces of community gardening softening the delineation between residents and patients and promoted opportunities for an alternative practices of 'care in the community'. This in itself was a radical criticality towards existing NHS models of mental health rehabilitation and support.

Image 17: The Wall, St Ann's Road

In a further spatial 'dis-enclosure', the architects proposed removing a large section of the Victorian brick exterior boundary wall to the north of the site, along St Ann's Road.

Kevin Logan: *So, kind of the soft interface with a hospital was something to come out, you know, we had a long discussion about how the site is walled. And then we suggested breaking out quite a large chunk of the wall at the front and creating a stronger relationship across the road with the park so that the site was perceived to be part of the park. And interestingly, that was one of the things that came back as planning risk.*

However, as the architects noted, the masterplanning consultations revealed some local acceptance and security with the enclosed nature of the whole site, beyond StART, which also fuelled the concerns around western access points:

Kevin Logan: *So, we very much took the site from the isolated walled state and said there should be certain series of connections into the streets and movement, it should behave as part of the kind of the normal network. So that caused kind of huge challenges because there's a mindset around kind of closed, urban form and it could be a den of iniquity and certainly the location of that site could be something bad and if we've got lots of ways out, then that badness will leak out and filter into our lovely streets. There's a distinct lack of equity or equality around some of the edges, from some of the parties.*

StART's plans therefore revealed a local ambivalence towards spatially dis-enclosing the site, both in the local planning authority's concerns about the removal of the exterior wall and neighbours of the site fearing increased access would result in disorder. Arguably, both revealed an imagined escape of previously institutionalised "badness", and madness, that demonstrates an affective spatial legacy of institutions and walls as enclosures.

Despite conflicts over building retention, density, height and access features in the immediate term, these were managed by the presentation of the masterplan as "just a vision" by the group and architects, despite the high degree of detail the plan responded to in the architect's brief:

Activist: *So I don't think that's a set-in stone masterplan. It was just, it was a way, it was almost a PR stunt, in a sense. That let's do something that looks really nice. And actually, this is a really nice way of doing it to show what's possible.*

The plan was ratified by referendum on that basis. Nonetheless, the plan as object still faced considerable challenges as StART were aware the viability work underpinning it was frail. StART had started investigating viability with the Centre for Co-Operative Housing (CCH), and members of the finance and strategy subgroups had gathered considerable further expertise from London's development sector informally as they

progressed, running various options through private sector models, also at cost. Some members developed a large degree of critical knowledge of the limits financial viability appraisals posed on the possibilities of alternative development and rental models at the work progressed:

Activist: *The viability studies are just skewed. You have a viability study when you sell a house and that whole £300,000 comes into the figures straight away. You have a viability study where you have rents for thirty years, it's never going to be a profitable project, because the rents in thirty years can never meet the initial cost. The income you get from thirty years is never going to match what it costs to build them. So that viability study doesn't work. If you have a viability study that looks at a rented project for one-hundred years, massive profits. But the way banks and developers work at the moment, is if you're going to have a rental scheme you only have a thirty-year viability study. Always always always in the red. Never works. Not viable. Selling the homes, always viable.*

As a result, it was early viability work that led to StART's acceptance of a 35% share of homes for sale, amid the efforts to ensure these remained affordable discussed above, to cover construction costs. It also engendered the intense densification, posing a doubling of units on site:

Kevin Logan: *And so, they actually said, "We'll double the density. And we'll do it entirely as affordable housing." So, they weren't quite realistic in many ways. In terms of understanding the inherent economics of it, given all the detailed economics, but who does? There was just that kind of propositional premise of saying we'll double the density, we'll do more housing as a means to actually pay for this, that I found really interesting.*

Despite the technical non-viability of StART's plan, it was this "propositional premise" that aligned StART's vision with emerging GLA policy, as discussed in the next section. Nonetheless, the plan also posed powerful alternatives, oppositional to permitted plans for the site and wider features of London's development system. Produced through commoning, within a community group, its neighbours, architectural and other expertise, the masterplan, almost equally to the proposition of CLT owned land, presented a

commoned socio-spatial object in the depth of its proposed spatial alterity.

8.3: Enclosure(s)

The value of an ontology of an assemblage of practices is particularly highlighted when mirrored as an ontology of enclosure, led by, but also present in realms beyond, policy. This section will highlight the practices of new urban enclosure evident in state plans for the St Ann's site between 2013 and 2021. Enclosure as the disposal of publicly owned land as spatial privatisation (Christophers 2018) has been evident in policy since 1979, but the GLA's interest, purchase and tender also reveal enclosing logics towards land as the "day to day functioning of capitalist accumulation" (DeAngelis 2007: 140).

However, as Hodkinson reminds us, new urban enclosure also encompasses acts of "capitalist subjectification, enclosure as the imprisonment of our minds and bodies within the capitalist-imperialist-authoritarian machine as factors of capitalist production" (2012: 509). This section then secondly discusses the practices attempting to enclose StART as actor within the logics of neoliberal co-operative governance of the GLA, as it processed the land purchase, negotiations and tender. The analysis reveals the assemblage of land disposal practices was intertwined with continuous secondary practices of discipline within the steering group, to uphold the site's appeal to the market, through imperatives of commercial confidentiality and risk management. These secondary practices confirm logics of enclosure operative on the group as attempted practices of subjectification, into state institutional logics of commercial risk, employed to support the enclosure process of tender.

Activist: *There was interest in the site and they were interested in us, but they weren't like 'How can we enable you to do what you want to do?' It wasn't like that, but they were definitely interested in the site.*

Enclosure as institutional practice and opportunity clearly guided the GLA in purchasing the site. As is discussed in the context chapter, enclosure was the opportunity conditioned by both post-industrial and austerity urbanism, and by the mid

2010s the GLA was the primary disposer of large land sites in London, institutionally primed to intervene in land markets with a new revolving land purchase fund. The St Ann's site was the GLA's first use of this fund. As Sadiq Khan became Mayor in 2016, signals in planning policy confirmed the continued efforts to sell public land, now to achieve higher percentages of affordable housing, would accelerate.

From the Director's Decision authorising the land purchase in December 2017, the GLA's plans were clear, re-disposal to a private developer, procured via the LDP2. With Sadiq Khan's new London Plan in force, a new planning permission would specify no upper density limit, but would expect a minimum of 50% affordable housing on public land. While the Decision notice also emphasised the opportunity to offer specialist accommodation on site as key outcomes justifying the decision, the necessity of density uplift within StART's plans was specifically emphasised:

> "Given that community led models are often less viable when compared to private sector housing, StART has similarly recognised that increasing the density of proposals on the site would be needed to achieve the overall vision" (GLA 2017d).

Even at this elementary stage of GLA involvement, density uplift, was posed as the central opportunity of purchasing and re-tendering of the land. While the commercial part of this decision is not publicly available, an uplift of course significantly increases the site's potential gross development value. This uplift was central to the new Mayor's strategy towards higher affordability percentages, on the St Ann's site as on a regional scale.

Financialised Public Ownership

Throughout the tender, the GLA remained adamant in their plans to dispose of the land to the private sector. While the MoU discussed the disposal of 'the site' in general terms, in the Summer of 2018, facing criticism from StART, the GLA proposed maintaining public ownership of the land by GLAP and disposing of a 999-year leasehold to a LDP2

member.

In discussing the disposal strategy's switch to leasehold, it is first important to observe the operation of the dialectical dynamic, the commons of StART's vision for continued common ownership of the site, as a campaign, forced the enclosing logics driving disposal to find an alternative form. The alterity of the use of leasehold in English common law, itself often used to underwrite CLT ownership, represents a policy and land market innovation that furthers co-option and capture by capital of previously non-monetised state owned freehold, yet now offering a financialised asset, in a leasehold by the private sector. This ownership model could be labelled financialised public ownership.

Furthermore, the GLA used this ownership model particularly where facing community campaigns to maintain public land sites in public ownership and use them for affordable housing. While the GLA has occasionally maintained freeholds on operational lands or where historically constrained, the public retention of the freehold in tendered residential development represented, in 2016, an innovation for a Labour Mayoralty amid community opposition to Conservative disposal plans.

Despite the party political contrasts, an organ of English government used the leasehold system to nominally maintain ownership but simultaneously financialise land assets. This represents a new policy technology of enclosing the commons and expanding capital's reach into state assets. Land can remain a state asset if operationalised towards profit. It reveals a lack of ideological aversion to state ownership per se, austerity's disposal of land driven only by and for capital's expansion. The GLA's policy innovation in leasehold disposal is one that both addresses the opposition to land disposal from public ownership, while allowing the purpose of this disposal, assetisation, to be completed.

Inter-scalar Constraint

As the GLA explained to StART, it was also operating under considerable fiscal, financial political and policy constraints from above, the Treasury and English central

government surrounding both the land fund and policies directing disposal for less than best consideration. The GLA repeatedly told StART members:

Activist: *They said "The market has got to decide what the land is worth. We can't, we would have to go back to government.…"*

Policies surrounding the disposal of public land in England, known as the Treasury Green Book, require land to be disposed of at best consideration, generally applied as the maximum financial return. As Stephen Hill explained, these policies, combined with the price the GLA paid the NHS, left the GLA with significant viability challenges on site. Furthermore, the GLA under Sadiq Khan's leadership did not want to engage specific Secretary of State permission central government's policies require of authorities pursuing less than best consideration in an atmosphere of growing political conflict with the Conservative government, particularly given the central role in London's public land disposal envisioned in his pipeline of sites delivering higher affordable percentages.

Stephen Hill: *So it means that local authorities still feel very constrained by the idea the Treasury says we have to sell for the most money possible. And actually, they really do not say that! And there's quite good guidance that still applies, which says that the consideration should reflect the local authority's responsibilities to society at large, not the financial situation of the local authority. But you also know that many local authorities have been forced to sell assets in order to pay for other stuff. And you can say that the GLA's position in relation to the StART site was a very similar situation. I don't know how much documentation you've got about the transaction between them and the Mental Health Trust but they agreed a set price, I can't quite remember whether there was any overage linked to that. But clearly, it was related to the planning permission the Mental Health Trust already had.*

But having bought it for, £52 odd million pounds, and then working out what they needed to do and looking at the affordable housing demand that would be presented to them by StART, they could see they weren't going to get £52 million. And so they were in a classic stakeout as to what should they do, they would have most certainly had to have gone to

the Secretary of State and given the state of relationships between them that seems
pretty unlikely, they probably wouldn't have wanted to even ask the question.

StART understood the process of the tender would be dominated by the GLA's financial position and the perception of inter-scalar political risk associated with it. Nonetheless, as StART found as the tender discussions progressed, the sustained logic of land enclosure overrode many of their propositions:

Activist: *Yeah. I think it felt like the accountants and lawyers were controlling the process rather than anyone else. Money was their overriding… they kept saying 'we need to get the money back, we need to get the money back'.*

Enclosure as Subjectification

As the discussions progressed, the GLA made clear signals minimising risk to development and financial return required StART to moderate its campaigning practices as now a 'key stakeholder' in the steering group over the tender. This was continuously evident between the MoU and the proposal of Non-Disclosure Agreements (NDAs), as the tender was finalised in the Summer of 2019. As the regular meetings of the Steering Group began, the GLA suggested StART's press and publicity work be done in collaboration with the GLA's Press office, or at least shown to them before publication.

StART's efforts to resist the GLA's enclosing logics in turn met a coercive response. As discussions around meanwhile use became protracted, StART believed the GLA were withholding the site as a 'carrot' to incentivise StART. The GLA also sought to reduce StART's spatial occupation of the site, to the ground floor and garden of Mayfield House, and again insisted on an approval power of all activities and events. This veto power would grant the GLA the ability to limit StART's critical and oppositional politics considerably.

Activist: *I don't know, I might be completely wrong, but I do get the sense that the GLA were being overly sensitive about some aspects of confidentiality and not really rational*

about it, to be frank, but they maybe have very good reason to be. Again, not knowing the details I'm not 100% sure, but I can't believe there weren't some areas where they weren't overly sensitive about confidentiality.

Alongside inter-scalar political risks, it was clear commercial confidentiality management was a prime concern for the GLA, as it was explained litigation around the tender process of one site could threaten a judicial review of the entire LDP2 tender scheme, with the risk of considerable delay to housing delivery citywide, assumably threatening larger scale central government intervention. As the bidding process to come became the focus of discussion and StART pulled in two directions, with increasingly unpredictable behaviour to the GLA, questions of commercial confidentiality and re-emerged as a priority of risk limitation if StART were to view the final tender, the bids against it and to play a role in judging them.

Firstly, in outlining how the bidding process would work, the GLA made it clear StART would be prohibited from meeting and lobbying bidding developers, either before or after shortlisting, to protect the integrity and perceived fairness of the process. Lobbying bidders was developing in StART's internal discussions as an integral idea to their nascent propositional strategy to boost affordable housing, perpetuity and other goals not fully secured to StART's liking by the tender. Secondly, the GLA raised the need for the GLA4 to sign NDAs, to limit risk of litigation from a failed bidder. While they were first mentioned in the Steering Group's Terms of Reference, by summer 2019 the restrictions, and their legal enforcement were seen by many active members as emblematic of the GLA's now consecrated distrust of StART.

Enclosure in Risk: Neoliberal Governmentality

Activist: *It just seemed so risk averse. Which was quite disappointing, really.*

Nonetheless, between 2017 and 2019 the GLA clearly communicated its perceptions of risk and attempted to include or enclose StART within governance structures that would minimise the risk a community participant, could pose to the tender. Risk, itself

constructed and managed through a "risk assemblage" (Lupton 2013: 117) is a key techné of governmentality in a "risk society" (Giddens 1998). That the risks the GLA communicated were those nestled within a wider assemblage, the disposal of public land as property to the private market, highlights the function of these perceptions of risk were to protect the execution of the spatial enclosure into private hands of the site itself.

The attempted enclosure of StART in the logics of risk perceived by the GLA was therefore a further practice of scaled enclosure, seeking capitalist subjectification of the group, or at least its negotiators in the logics of capital. As the GLA used a range of mechanisms to render StART a "factor of capitalist production" (Hodkinson 2012), in the disposal of the site, StART explored strategies of resistance. It was in this dialectic tussle between diametrically opposed assemblages of practices, the commons and enclosure that alternatives, and distrust, emerged. While the synthesis, in terms of the disposal and planned future of the land and site, is discussed in 8.4, StART's resistance to the enclosing "coercion and consent" (Penny 2018) logics of the GLA generated inter-subjective distrust at this, the highest, inter-institutional scale. This affectual inter-institutional tension will be further explored in section 8.5.

Image(s) 18: Canopy walkway and 1937 Graffiti, St Ann's Hospital

8.4 Synthesis: Alterity or Co-Option?

Kevin Logan: *[StART] had very clear ideas of what their ideas were, a very different set of quality metrics, rather than maybe the financial metrics a developer would prefer. And maybe that's part of the challenge as the process proceeded, is how those two worlds came back together…*

With StART's binary origins and tension between its modes of opposition and proposition, the question of what would constitute an acceptable degree of alterity to development, or an unacceptable risk of co-option, were clearly perceived as such. Arguably, both outcomes occurred. The group's efforts to resist enclosure as the disposal of land through the LDP2 were ultimately unsuccessful; yet StART did successfully alter the tender and so gained a significant degree of spatial and housing 'alterity'. This section frames these outcomes of "those two worlds coming back together" as those of the dialectical synthesis between the commons and enclosure. It assesses StART's impact, simultaneously an example illustrating DeAngelis's warning of "outsides, co-opted if given organisational forms" (2010: 969), and Hardt and Negri's insistence commoning produces alternative outcomes, "within, against…that cut through" (2009:94) enclosure into the market. It discusses StART's continued pursuit of a pure alterity, common ownership, a whole site CLT procured as 'Plan B', before examining the group's impact and reaction to the LDP2 tender as it went to market in October 2019, against the group's own generated metrics of acceptable compromise, the Pass/Fails of 'Plan A'. This section then discusses the outcomes of the land deal as 'alterity within enclosure', before highlighting the co-opted value of StART's participation in the tender process to the GLA.

Opposition: Plan B

Despite the GLA's clear preference for disposal in a new proposition of financialised public ownership, StART continued to explore and propose alternative delivery models outside the proposed enclosure of the LDP2 route. While the GLA's Directors decision makes reference to StART "having explored options," (GLA 2017d), in the past tense,

StART continued to pursue 'Plan B' for the entire period of pre-tender discussions with the GLA.

As is discussed in Section 8.5, the very existence and serious pursuit of a Plan B in 2018 to 2019 served an important organisational function as an outlet and mechanism for the oppositional dynamics within the project that allowed StART to simultaneously participate within it in Plan A, without forcing a reconciliation of the group's oppositional and propositional dynamics. Nonetheless, this was primarily grounded in StART's material commitment to affordability through community ownership, and strong feeling remained within StART such an alternative path would ensure maximal affordability outcomes for the development:

Activist: *There was a reasonable idea that we could be gifted the land, I mean this has happened for other CLTs around the country, the land is already public land, we could have given them rental income for a certain period to pay back the land. We had that in our financial plans, the £50m it was worth, we showed that after something like thirty, forty years, if the land had been rented to us on a long term basis, they could have their revenue back. So it wasn't just idealism, I think there were very sound arguments that if someone gave us the land, we could do housing for the local community.*

In discussing StART's potential partners; private capital, municipal and philanthropist, it is notable the pursuit of an assistant to ownership was pragmatic rather than ideologically led. Much of StART's considerations of all models originated in discussion with those with expertise in their propositional network, who provided ideas and written policy papers for StART to share with the GLA as they lobbied for an alternative development path. A particular relationship StART had developed was with the pension fund Legal and General (L&G) as sources of patient capital sought opportunities for Build to Rent affordable housing in London around this time and did secure some policy encouragement, including a GLA SPG. However, as Stephen Hill notes, despite both the GLA and StART's openness to working with Build to Rent, the GLA balked at such a development at St Ann's:

Stephen Hill: *But I think interestingly, the kind of advice that was going into the StART Directors was saying, the market is changing really quickly…All the money is equity, pension funds, private, going into build to rent. And actually, this is something that could then work in your favour, because you could then represent a kind of 100% build to rent scheme as something which has a very wide spectrum of affordable housing projects within it. Things that you want and that investors would pay for. Build to rent is a big resource for people who can no longer afford to buy because they simply can't raise money for the deposit. So this would be another way in which you could counter the effects of gentrification. You can also align that kind of investor with kinds of production to build quickly. That was a great idea, but the GLA… all the advice they were getting was traditional; build, sell, cross-subsidise.*

StART was also exploring, and lobbying for, varying degrees of ownership of the site by Haringey Council. While the Council had agreed to buy a proportion of housing from the developer, StART saw a particular potential in Haringey joining up with patient capital to produce a 100% affordable housing scheme on Council owned land. Efforts to broker a meeting between L&G and the Council leadership were rebuffed and Councillors sympathetic to StART lobbying the Housing Member to explore buying the site were met very defensively:

Activist: *It's like you have one of the biggest pension funds wanting to talk to you about doing a 100% affordable scheme and you keep putting hurdles in the way. You can't even meet and talk to them. There is money. Our local councillors are pushing for the money, for the Council to buy the land and [the Cabinet Member] accuses them of bullying her. [She] says 'I will meet you, if you want to talk about us buying the land the meeting is off'. And it's like, what is happening here? It's just like 'we're {Haringey Council] not doing this. All we're doing is buying some houses off the developer'. I just don't…I think it's really sad that a community group are coming up with ideas and it's like 'we're not talking to you, these aren't our ideas.' And I don't know how you move forward with that.*

By late 2018, it was clear Haringey Council would not deviate and pursue community or their own ownership, beyond the purchase of units through the tender route. In the

absence of local state support for this strategy, some in StART remained keen to explore philanthropic options and organisations who might buy the land and from whom StART could buy it over the long run through rental income. A '£50 million' subgroup was set up to contact philanthropic organisations, and a wide range were contacted, but with limited success. While Plan B was unsuccessful in securing an unenclosed, development of alterity, it provided a release valve for repertoires that could continue StART's oppositional practices, in resistance to enclosure.

Plan A: Alterity within Enclosure

In the absence of a successful Plan B, StART did achieve a significant degree of alterations to the GLA's tender to the LDP, through 'Plan A'. These concessions and the degree to which they were won by StART will now be analysed, with members' views of them, as reactions to StART's six 'Pass/Fails'.

Activist: *So the sense that you know to do more than 50% affordable that that was, I think that was the main issue for StART to have you know, although StART started at 100% you wouldn't get 100% but you know, for it to be visionary it needed to offer something much more, like 70% affordable housing and genuinely affordable, not all the shared ownership and things.*

The first was the compromise at 65% affordable housing, in perpetuity, by which StART was referring to shared ownership. Furthermore, it requested this be genuinely affordable, and "Housing on the site should be affordable for local people to rent or buy, with prices based on local incomes, not market rates." In April 2019, the GLA was offering the 50% affordable housing total the SPG had prescribed for public land, as per now emerging GLA planning policy. That summer, StART's GLA4 pushed back hard on this, arguing a policy compliant total would not be enough to recognise acute local need or StART's work and gain its' continued support. By August, the GLA compromised, willing to push the site's tender parameter up to 60%. StART considered this a partial success, but it did not reach their already compromised target. This uplift would be achieved through a further density uplift, so unencumbering potential profit.

Within the affordability split, StART's demand for perpetuity and an absence of shared ownership was recognised to a degree in a site-specific deviation from the policy minimum of one third each of living rent, affordable rent and shared ownership. The GLA's tender expression of interest specified 60% affordable rent, 20% living rent and 20% shared ownership, a considerable re-weighting towards the cheapest funded rental tenure, with potentially complex financial viability implications for bidders. While this therefore represented a restriction on the market for the GLA, StART remained unhappy with the retention of any shared ownership units on site at all. Therefore, in both the total and split of affordable housing, the site's tender had site-specific expectations above policy compliance. Nonetheless, StART categorised the split to be an area of partial success, but without full recognition of their policy criticality in the tender.

The second of StART's Pass/Fails demanded a degree of community control of land and property on the site. In this regard, the final tender proposed no movement away from the GLA's retention of the freehold and no offer to share ownership with StART. By September 2019, StART's update on the negotiations for their AGM referred to seeking community control to influence community spaces, a considerably scaled down ambition from the pursuit of total site ownership. Nonetheless, the GLA's retention of the freehold represented a compromise with StART's ambitions, as discussed above, in nominally public ownership of the site. To this end, StART considered this a partial success.

The third of StART's Pass/Fails was some wording in the tender to encourage the production and allocation of homes according to local need. Beyond the split, the required interested developers to produce a Local Ownership Strategy in affordability and marketing for the site. The GLA would not use the tender process of its freehold ownership to introduce covenants on resales, as CLTs often operationalise, that could be used to prevent Buy to Let, buy to leave and bulk sales to private investors. Nor would the tender introduce covenants against Right to Buy or Right to Acquire in social stock. For StART, the deadlock against any Right to Buy policy had been a galvanising attractor to the CLT model over Council ownership of the sit, with members disappointed the GLA did not use experimental covenants to restrict the policy on any homes Haringey may

buy:

Activist: *Obviously we all support Haringey building council homes, that's brilliant, but it's still subject to Right to Buy. But there is at least an opportunity to have a campaign, outside of StART, against Right to Buy.*

Nonetheless, members of StART were aware of the pressures upon policy towards home ownership from central government and the GLA's compromises with this in the intermediate rent tenure policies, and so some were understanding state limited preventions of individual acquisition were somewhat theoretical, given material realities:

Activist: *Well my understanding is that all the policies that the GLA are allowed to impose have got to be towards people being able to buy their own home. So, the London Living Rent, they had this thing where you could rent so that you'd be saving up to buy and they had to create artificial things to get around government policies. It says tenants have to save to buy, basically. I think the most encouraging thing is Haringey Council changed and may buy homes and that would be great. So, I think that would probably be the best thing to come out of it is if Haringey builds loads of council housing there, if with a proportion of this weird London Living Rent thing, then it's not such a such a terrible thing. The sad truth is these poor people in Living Rent aren't going to be able to afford it anyway. So, it's just theoretical, as is Shared Ownership, really these models are built around financial lending. So, I suppose at least that means it won't get sold off.*

As for the developer working with StART, the fourth Pass/Fail, the tender stated the successful bidder should undertake full consultation with the local community at all stages of the development process". Once selected, the GLA envisioned the continuation of the Steering Group, with the addition of the developer. StART's masterplan was referred to directly only in regard to which historic buildings should be retained, and there was no instruction to bidders as to how to treat the masterplan or any co-design process expectation established. This expectation of future co-operation was considerably impacted by StART's withdrawal.

With regard to the fifth Pass/Fail - exemplary quality green space and sustainability standards- StART felt the GLA's response on environmental and landscape design represented a substantial success. The tender brief upheld many detailed design features of the masterplan, including the retention of existing buildings and the promotion of social interaction. Building performance, including a maximised number of dual aspect units, also represented expectations above the London Housing Design Guide. In terms of site wide environmental aspirations, StART's ambitious aim of a Green Space Factor of 0.6 was lowered to 0.4 in the tender. However, StART both recognised this victory and acknowledged the discursive arrival of the climate emergency within London policymaking assisted and contextualise StART's achievements:

Activist: *On the environmental side? I think we achieved virtually everything we pushed for. But most of those things also have subsequently become part of the London Plan. I think now it feels more like pushing an open door feeling, in terms of output, but it wasn't, none of these things were adopted at the time. And they weren't definite. But I mean, Extinction Rebellion was just beginning, you know, all sorts of things that have been built up, there wasn't, no one had called a climate emergency, no Councils. So it was all, so as soon as those things started happening, then, we're not going backwards from these things.*

Finally, StART's last Pass/Fail was for 150 units or 18% of the development to be community-led housing, a significant quantified compromise from their original vision for a site-wide CLT. The tender wording saw the GLA commit to fifty homes.

Activist: *I think we all started with an ambition to have a 150 Community Led Homes and it got boiled down from 150 down to 50. And as I understand it, this was partly us making concessions in a rather desperate effort to stay at the table.*

However, this proportion of the total development would be delivered through a design and build contract, delivered by the developer to a community housing provider, who'd sublease the land. Many in the group, particularly those with housing co-operative experience in StART, were disappointed by this scale and pathway, both as a concession

from StART and an arbitrary limitation of the scale urban community led housing could contribute in London:

Activist: *I've had a phone call with someone who used to work for Savills and went into the community led field. And she was like "it will be the biggest CLT in London! And the GLA are not going to go from thirty to 150, they are going up slowly."*

It's not enough homes. And if that is the way that things are going it will take decades for it to be a viable option. Fifty homes it just doesn't appeal to me, too small. Even if it had been 150, there's that bit of me that thinks it's worthwhile compromising some of our principles, but unless you get a big scheme working, unless Camley Street, Brixton Green or StART work, community led housing is always going to be seen as niche and it's never going to be seen as a challenge to the way we run housing.

"Within…against…that cuts through?"

Activist: *I still think StART getting the GLA to buy the land was brilliant, so I think that actually that was a success and I think people underestimate that and think of that as nothing, as if it was a given. It wasn't at all a given, at the start people were like 'there's no way, are you insane?'. Nobody believed that would really happen, so I think that was a tremendous success actually. And whatever goes up there now will at least be better than what was going to be up there if left to the NHS Trust to just sell it off to the developer.*

Despite the failure of resistance to the tender disposal route, StART did influence the GLA and achieve alternative outcomes through 'Plan A'. The Pass/Fails represented an effective articulation of a hierarchy of StART's demands. Affordable housing was formally prioritised above community led housing, and StART's final months of lobbying on this were a particular success, securing a site-specific minimum of 60%, ten per cent above the policy expectation for public land. StART also had significant success impacting factors with lesser direct potential impact on viability, including landscaping, environmental factors and community space and while the limit of fifty community-led homes felt arbitrary to StART, it would be the largest such development in London.

Nonetheless, there was a consensus the LDP2 disposal route, as a market-led means, would and could not lead to a wide variation of market delivered results typical of contemporary London development, a "lost opportunity" to form "a challenge to the way we run housing" somewhat embodied the extraction and constraint that typified the GLA's discussions with StART of their ideals and formed the basis of the parameters for the site's tender.

Activist: *Yeah, but it wasn't, I suppose the thing for me was, it was about the quantum of community-led housing and the model of doing the development in a different way. And that's what we didn't get out of the GLA, substantially they're not doing the development in a different way to normal, they've put more restrictions on the developers, but they haven't changed the relationship of profit to land to whatever, you know.*

StART's analysis of its influence on the tender process as largely a "partial success" is one that disguised a wide range of views on the development's final parameters:

Activist: *But it is disgusting to be going around saying StART has not got anything. The Mental Health Trust was going to sell that land and a developer only had to build 14% affordable housing with none of it being social housing. And the land was going to go from public to private ownership you know, there's 50 CLT homes, 60% have to be genuinely affordable, even though that includes shared ownership, the land is then in private ownership, but the GLA have agreed that all the homes that are rented will be on lifetime tenancies. You know, there's a number of buildings that have to be kept that people wanted kept. There has to be community space, the green space, the SINC and the Peace Garden has to be kept. And also, what StART did with promoting community led housing and people being involved, is worldwide. StART's name is known from America to Australia. And then [member] turns around and says StART has achieved nothing and it's like what? We haven't achieved everything we wanted but...!*

Retrospectively, this was the peak of StART's influence. Although StART's 'Plan B' aimed to secure a development route they believed could secure a high level of

genuinely affordable, community owned homes, StART never had the power to dismiss 'Plan A', the GLA's market led pathway through the LDP2 tender process, nor to be treated as lead or equal partner in what was now a "community-influenced" project by the state landowner. Effectively, the LDP2 route enclosed StART into a market led process they could influence, but not "cut through".

Co-Option?

Activist: *Junior partner. We facilitated the GLA to achieve their objective, rather than the other way around, you know.*

Given the asymmetry of power between the GLA as landholder and StART in the stakeholder group, and the resultant pathway and parameters of the disposal process, it appears clear StART were co-opted and "made to work for capital" (DeAngelis 2010: 969) in a process reprofiling a planned public land enclosure to boost value uplift:

Activist: *Now we have enabled them to up the numbers from 470 to 800 and get their [affordability] stats…The major thing, the material, the thing that matters to Sadiq, is the numbers.*

Nonetheless, StART did achieve significant concessions from the GLA, not least in the public maintenance of the freehold, sixty per cent affordability expectations and encouragements of lower rent levels within the split, all of which had direct market implications. The tender's requirement of fifty community-led homes represented a new urban scale for the sector. But for those motivated by forcing the state to pursue an alternative development route, the constraints upon the successes achieved by Plan A retained a sense of frustration and failure.

The willingness of the GLA to make these significant concessions reveals the value they perceived in including StART in the governance arrangements surrounding the site's disposal. In pursuing the site and adopting StART's density uplift, the GLA guaranteed itself profit and political capital from demonstrating its role accelerating the release of

central government land to the market, particularly to central government. But in working with 'community influence', iteratively, to an unprecedented degree for regional government, the discussions also absorbed organised oppositional capacity to the site's disposal and densification, easing the tender's progress and ideally, a later planning permission, in a borough where campaigns against public land disposal had had significant local political consequences. Given the opportunity of profit, political capital and community acquiescence, the value of "community influence" ensured the GLA persisted in exploring working with StART, until their withdrawal. The dissolution of the proposed and developing partnership, itself the result of the slow evaporation of trust at this the highest, inter-institutional scale, between community group and state authorities, is now discussed.

8.5: Governance: Trust and Distrust

As discussed in the last section, a key disappointment to StART's sense of enclosure and co-option was the refusal of state agencies to approach the St Ann's site as an opportunity, not solely for density uplift and a high affordability percentage, but for pioneering both community involvement and alternative supply models of urban housing delivery. Instead, StART faced the reality of asymmetric power relationships with vertical, electorally mandated institutions of the regional state in inter-scalar partnership.

Activist: *I think StART was successful also, I suppose in making it a conversation between Haringey Council and the GLA and the NHS Trust, that was what it should be.*

Co-operation, on these structured terms, within the steering group, arguably was never likely to generate trust. But by the time the tender was complete, in Summer 2019, these inter-institutional and simultaneously inter-personal relationships had reached a phase of active, behaviour-led distrust. This section will first discuss StART's relationships with the NHS and London Borough of Haringey before incidences with the GLA that resulted in the steadily deteriorations to the planned future governance relationship.

The NHS

Activist: *Right from the start we always wanted to work with the Mental Health Trust, there's another story here but I know the bloke, it was his plan basically to move all of the wards up to Chase Farm. We put a little bit of a spanner in the works of that, because we were so involved in the community reference group. We went from critical friends and maybe me, to enemy. Anyway, always wanted to talk with the NHS about our plans, in particular the environment, nothing nothing nothing.*

Image 19: Construction of new NHS facilities, St Ann's Hospital, Autumn 2019

The simultaneity of the inter-institutional and inter-personal nature of trust was perhaps most evident in StART's dealings with the NHS Trust, as original landowners. StART in its early incarnations attempted to maintain dialogue with the Trust's modernisation plans and believed themselves responsible for the GLA's sale. The Trust was invited to the Steering Group and attended meetings as a "visiting member" according to the Terms of Reference, remaining logistically focused on their construction

schedules. BEHMHT simultaneously sought planning permission for their modernisation project on their retained land on receipt of the GLA's funds, with construction beginning early in 2019.

With regard to StART's proposals for developing a mental health legacy, in partnership with the community in both the common space of the soft border and facilitated community practices of gardening, the NHS Trust was uncooperative:

Consultant: *So, I remember one particular meeting, up in City Hall, where the Chief Executive of the NHS Trust, basically just talked to StART like that they were idiots, said he wasn't going to be doing anything and literally just the contempt was palpable. I was really shocked. But you could tell that the NHS trust thought StART was a pain in their side. They were trying to paint them as sort of hippie loonies, I think, but later things got a little bit better, but they really didn't want to engage properly on the integration stuff, and they certainly didn't want anything to do with that really different differentiated approach to housing. This kind of transition from the hospital back into the community, that understanding of supported housing and mental health. The NHS trust really just didn't want to go there, people come to hospital, as outpatients or inpatients and that's it. Yeah, "we don't want to know about whatever".*

As one member of StART with professional experience on site elaborated:

Activist: *So from the point of view of the hospital, it would be to clearly define the area, because the Mental Health Act is working there, you've got to bear in mind the Mental Health Act requires there to be a very defined area because if a sectioned patient has grounds leave, you need to know where the ground is, exactly, because if they go off the grounds, they are going to have their leave taken off them, and it goes down on record that they couldn't stick to the parameters of the Sectioned Leave. And it's a legal situation.*

The dominance of a legal geography of a necessary hard border to NHS institutions spatially embodies the incompatibility of the NHS's institutional logics of necessary

enclosure with StART's explorations of a commoned, co-operative, participative and rehabilitative vision with the housing development on site. The NHS Trust was therefore a passive and defensive partner in the tender preparations, refusing to see an experimental therapeutic opportunity, defending the clinical as their enclosed realm of expertise. While the drawing group grew amid this impasse, demonstrating a potentiality in such co-operative practices, it was to be only the site-based activity of commoned or community-influenced therapeutics.

Haringey Council

Image 20: Haringey Civic Centre

As is discussed in the local chapter, StART sought the active support of the London Borough of Haringey from early on, throughout the development of their masterplan through to partnership in a 'Plan B' build to rent model. The registration of the ACV ensured they would have notice and opportunity ahead of any sale, and StART began lobbying the Council for support of an alternative plan, meeting regularly:

Activist: *StART's relationship with Haringey was very cool. In the sense that before all this change [of Leadership], it was very much lip service. So we went, I remember the first meeting, we went to Alan Strickland [Cabinet Member for Housing and Regeneration], and he bought everybody in, he had people from every department in, "oh, we're here to help and this is really interesting", but they did nothing. They didn't do anything. It was terrible.*

At this point Haringey Council were simultaneously preparing their own land disposal scheme to the HDV as a joint venture, refusing to express an interest in buying the land at St Ann's:

Activist: *Yeah, so. Well, so we had a meeting with the Council, we had a couple of different meetings with Council people, officers and so on. So then what happened basically the Council told us, if you go around saying you want the whole thing and you're going to develop the whole thing, you've got no credibility, you just look stupid because you can't, it's just not realistic.*

However, some members of StART recognised that the former Haringey leadership were important in legitimating the group to the GLA, as they approached them:

Activist: *So, I think initially they were quite helpful because I think it did take their backing to sort of, get the GLA involved and also for the GLA to be ok with seeing us as the community. I think they were key in that.*

As the GLA's interest developed, that same month, December 2017, the political leadership of Haringey was successfully challenged by Labour Councillors critical of the HDV. As Cllr Ejiofor replaced Cllr Kober's leadership, Haringey Labour committed to building 1000 Council homes on Council land. StART proposed to Haringey the St Ann's site could contribute a significant proportion to this commitment, but efforts and attempts to introduce the Council to potentially interested lenders were rebuffed. At the officer level, Haringey Council, under new political leadership, maintained a passive role

within the steering group. As consultants described:

Consultant: *And the local authority were unbelievably sort of passengerish in the whole process really. Yeah. I mean, they would engage, but my experience of meetings with them being that they've rarely expressed any opinion about what they would want to see happen there, other than in a sort of technocratic way.*

StART remained keen to see the Council either buy the land or a proportion of homes for Council stock. However, despite the leadership change in late 2017, Haringey remained a key borough for delivery for a large volume of the GLA's projected housing targets, the GLA and Haringey Council had a complex and delicate relationship over multiple sites and between multiple departments. StART felt little respect from Haringey during this time:

Activist: *Haringey, the Planning Department, at the beginning showed a willingness, but again their reticence to engage with the community was extremely disappointing. Because my impression was they had this sense of "well, it's nothing really to do with you StART, what we might do on site, or our plans for social housing". Actually more than the GLA. The GLA did feel well, it is the community's business, actually. I mean it's borne out in just how difficult it was to have meetings or get information. It never really went anywhere, that partnership. There was no partnership, and I think that's very telling.*

Indeed, underneath the passivity towards co-operation, StART experienced ideological apathy from both of Haringey's Labour administrations. Where one sought a private sector regeneration partnership, the second sought Council owned homes, for Council rent, on Council land, guided by an ideological ethic of municipal socialism. Community Led Housing fell between both agendas. It is here where local context would prove most politically operative for StART, an empirical finding returned to in the conclusion.

The GLA

Activist: *But, to call it a negotiation, something where there was such a mismatch in the power of the participants, is to fail to recognise the reality of what was happening there. It only becomes a negotiation if both sides have real power. And I think we could have had a bit more power, by using the press more cannily and so on, but it was never really a negotiation.*

Despite the GLA's concerns around commercial risk, StART's perceptions in interviews suggest they were the most open state member of the steering group to community influence. If expertise is "pivotal to governmentality" (Lupton 2013: 117), StART identified their pool of expertise was of perceptible value to the GLA:

Activist: *That's something they started to pick up on, that we had access to very good people, the GLA picked up on the fact we could call in essentially, quite often for free, experts, because we were surrounded by them. There was enough knowledge in the people involved at that point to be able to find these people.*

Undoubtedly, StART's supportive network of experts were key to the GLA's introduction to StART, perception of an opportunity for densification, and willingness to recognise StART as a key stakeholder. While StART effectively minimised the disruption the loss of their original consultants caused, replaced with a respected firm with both community-led and London experience, the group did lose a highly connected, effective and active consultant that was positioned centrally within the GLA's networks of trusted developers, and was key to, co-ordinating the group's proposition and strategy. StART's first experience of the GLA's power was the removal of its consultants for reasons of commercial risk. This limitation, and explanation, were to form a repetitive feature of discussions as they progressed.

For the GLA, meetings with StART still represented a highly unusual degree of transparency to a community organisation. However, decisions regarding the disposal of the site were not made in the stakeholder meetings, which were led by officers with no

power to choose another course. The sense of powerlessness was compounded for StART by the GLA's delays to their own processes and slow responses to StART:

Activist: *The GLA were faffing about for so much of the time and weren't giving us agendas and weren't giving us proper information coming up to meetings, I guess it felt like there was a lot of avoidance on their part. It's just really hard when you're pushing in one direction and they're pushing in another, yeah. Also their hands are tied, I don't know.*

StART were also increasingly frustrated by the GLA's perception that the GLA4 were Directors of StART, both with autonomous decision-making power for the organisation and a degree of liability:

Activist: *And also, they like hierarchy, we don't, I think they distrusted our desire to always come back to the community to make decisions and that form of decision making. They didn't appreciate how much time it took, not that they were any quicker at making decisions, but they thought they were. And they were forever not giving us documents in enough time to even consider them for a meeting let alone take them back. So we were always pushing against that, yeah. And I think if they had been genuinely interested in working with the community, even if they didn't understand it at the beginning, they would have learned and supported us on it, but it felt like a nuisance.*

Here, StART and the GLA presented key organisation differences to each other, between a voluntary, horizontal and consensual organisation and a public sector, vertical, hierarchical one. The GLA showed little reverence to the limited decision-making powers delegated to the GLA4 and their professed need to go back to the community, sharing as much information as possible. StART felt they were dealing with junior officers without the power to consider their alternatives, working in silos and often triangulating their response between their own Department and legal advice. StART also felt the GLA did not understand the demands on their capacities as volunteers, particularly as delays to the tender process set in, protracted over more than a year.

Stephen Hill: *I think timing is an important issue. It took the GLA way longer get the site to market than it was expected. Yeah, probably it played to StART's disadvantage because it's a way of kind of straining effort, and resources. So to me, it just emphasises how difficult it is for voluntary groups to come together and to be an effective agent for change, given the context in which we work, where professional timetables, professional perceptions of how time works, are entirely different, you know. People in City Hall still getting paid, however long it takes. Whereas in StART you may get time off work, but [some] managed to find an extraordinary amount of free time. But really, that's not sustainable.*

As with Haringey Council, StART faced challenges in co-operating with a vertical state organisation led by elected mandate and unwilling to share power to a degree of equal collaboration with a community organisation.

Relational Decline

Activist: *It seems that we didn't really have much power in any of any of those negotiations. It just felt like we, the GLA were just deciding what to do and consulting us, out of the need to keep up appearances rather than anything else.*

In November 2019, the GLA announced the opening of the tender process, publicly, to the LDP2, without informing StART of its plans to do so. While this moment was emblematic of the power sharing between the GLA and StART, it was also revealing of an asymmetry of expectations of public relations. As discussed in the previous chapter, StART had cultivated a healthy degree of press coverage, itself garnering international recognition. After the land purchase, MoU and during the tender preparation, StART's pursuit of publicity and use of the press unsettled the GLA. In February 2019, StART received some coverage of a press release critical of shared ownership and affordability definitions set relative to market rents (Housing Association Magazine, 2019). The GLA team then suggested StART work with GLA Media officers, jointly, in any future communications. StART resisted this and by July 2019, as the tender tussle intensified, a GLA4 delegate gave two critical interviews, discussing the tender process with the

Architects Journal (2019), releasing information while not highly sensitive was so far confidential to the tender. Again, the GLA articulated their displeasure at seeing critical details in the press, reminding StART of the Steering Group's expectations of public conduct. At times, these relations became increasingly inter-personal.
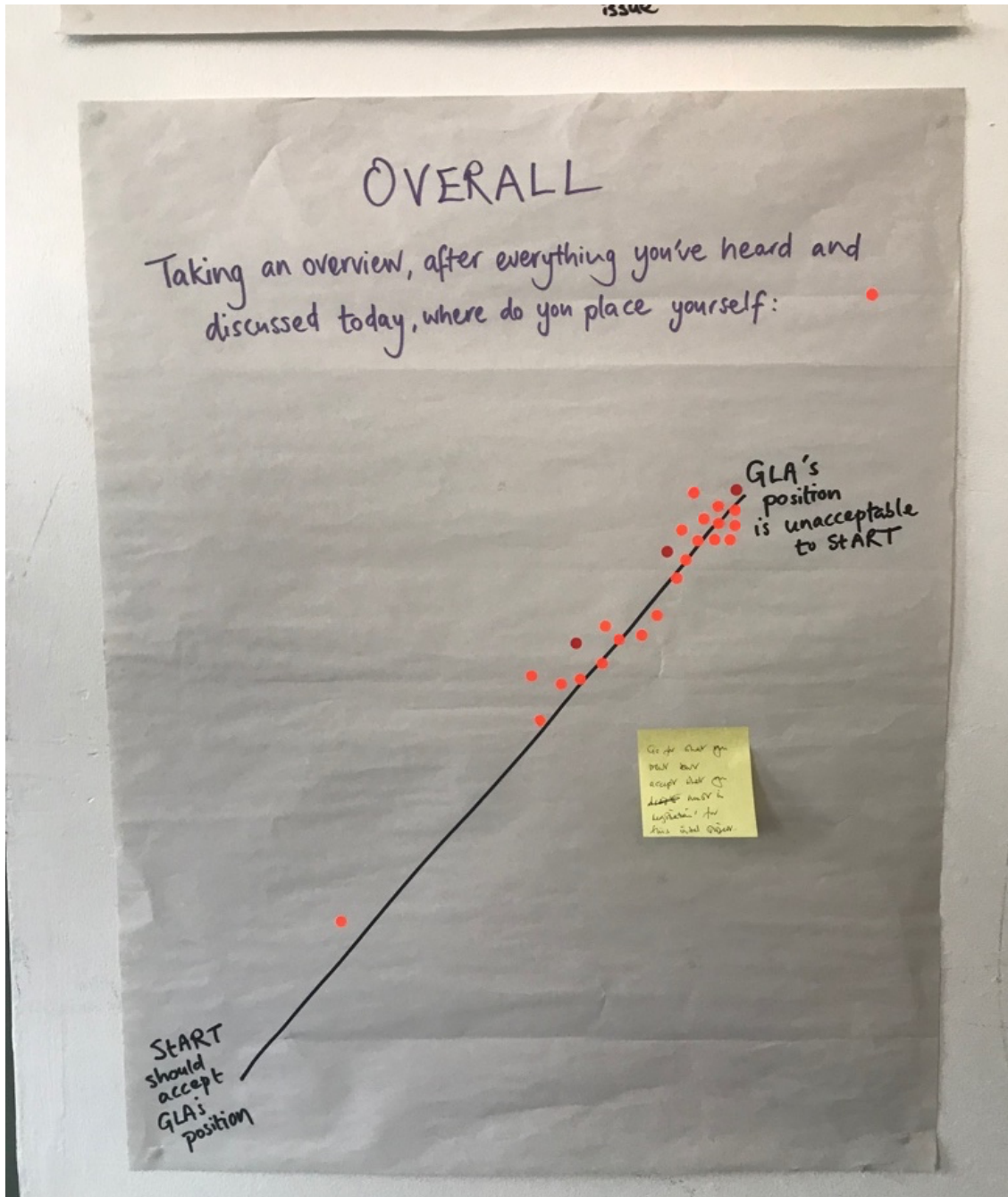

Image 21: Participatory Feedback Diagram, StART Consultation Workshop with the GLA, April 2019

Activist: One person in particular really annoyed the GLA, and they said we don't want to work with this person.

The discussions around meanwhile use were situated within this growing distrust and StART grew increasingly disinterested in the potential of this project, aware of the organisation's capacity required and community events would require GLA pre-approval.

Over the same period, this relationship grew increasingly distrustful and apprehensive as the tender parameters were defined by the GLA and attention turned to future working practices. Reports back to StART through the negotiation period described delays, tensions, conflicts and hostilities in meetings. Many in StART felt this was an area for important improvement in future working:

Activist: *My thing was about looking at the Memorandum of Understanding together, to look at our relationship and where the conflicts had been and how we could develop a working relationship where we wouldn't feel we were the junior partner and been used in an instrumental way to achieve the GLA's objectives, which is pretty much what it is.*

The NDAs

NDAs were the clearest example of the GLA's attempt to enclose StART and its individual members in frameworks of risk management to ensure behaviour upheld commercially confidentiality and did not compromise the tender process and expose it to legal challenge by speaking to and partnering with a development consortia independently. In Summer 2019, as the tender neared the market, the issue arose. To those in the GLA4, this was no surprise, the future need for NDAs mentioned the Steering Group's Terms of Reference but by Summer 2019, the restrictions felt counter-productive to some within StART:

Activist: *I don't know which way would have been best…I think that was a continuation of where in the summer we'd agreed we would go. And then people were even more like you can't do that, but we'd agreed we'd stick with the GLA, what do you think they're going to do? We knew they would want some of us to sign confidentiality agreements.*

Nonetheless, relations by the summer meant the long proposed NDAs were now greeted by many active members as emblematic of the GLA's attitude of distrust and strategy of co-option:

Activist: *I thought the GLA by their actions said to StART we don't trust you. Because they thought that confidential information might escape as a result of StART having more knowledge. So asking individual members who are volunteers to sign non-disclosure agreements with severe penalties to back them up, I thought was quite aggressive and went against the understandings I had been led to believe the GLA were wanting to work with StART to make a big difference, for it to be an exemplar development, a template for future developments elsewhere.*

StART withdrew as a stakeholder from judging the tender because they believed it was key to speak to bidding developers to maximise their influence, outside the GLA's process. While the NDAs prevented this, for some they were in themselves intolerable, emblematic of the GLA's distrust, legalistic practices and an asymmetry of power, and risk, within the proposed legal enclosure of commercial information in the NDA. One interviewee valuably highlighted the asymmetry of risk NDAs presented to London property owners in relation to GLA employees:

Activist: *The NDA was completely outrageous. To ask an ordinary person to put their assets on the line, for anything but let alone this is completely unreasonable. I refused to sign because my assets don't just belong to me, they belong to my family, and I don't want to lose my home. It's not sympathetic to community working. I challenged them at the time, I said 'look you're asking us to put our lives, our assets on the line as individuals, you're not doing that, you're the second party to this' and [a GLA officer] came back with 'well our jobs would be on the line if we leaked', and it's like that's nothing! You can go and get another job. As it happens my assets are worth more than I ever earned in my job. Because of the whole housing market. So you're actually asking me to put much more on the line then you are prepared to.*

NDAs therefore sought to force StART's compliance by enclosing activist members as individuals within risk to individual property assets to render predictable and trustworthy partnership behaviour. With StART was simultaneously embroiled in internal distrust, ultimately the group perceived their role in judging the tender to be of limited external value.

Nonetheless, by StART's refusal of personal enclosure in risk, the GLA would subsequently ensure StART would be excluded from any realm of formal influence once the tender was complete and developer appointed. These arguably by now punitive outcomes are now discussed in the concluding section.

8.6 Conclusion

In December 2020, the GLA announced Catalyst Housing Association had won the tender for St Ann's Hospital. By 2021, Catalyst was undertaking heavy consultation in the immediately local area, ahead of a new planning permission for 924 homes, a further density uplift to enable the 60% StART had negotiated from the GLA in the final months of tender preparation. In July 2022, Catalyst submitted an outline planning application to Haringey for a total up to 995 units. The politics of this density uplift, and potential objections from the site's neighbours StART's design and liaison sought to mitigate, is still to play out. As a large application, it will also again be referred to the GLA for compliance with the London Plan. These uplifts are summarised in Appendix I.

In newsletters from Directors, still meeting in private, StART noted

"We've looked at Catalyst's latest documentation, and we note that it's good on environment, design and processes of consultation. However, council housing and affordable homes do not feature heavily. When in consultation with Catalyst we need to highlight how crucial the issue of affordable housing is to local people: all our public consultations highlighted this. StART directors have communicated this to Catalyst" (StART Members Email 20/5/21)

By July 2021, StART's Directors had met with Catalyst again and raised the possibility of resurrecting the Steering Group as a mode of governance in the since nullified MoU, which was rebuffed. With affordability almost wholly determined by the tender, viability and Haringey Council as planning authority, the decision to leave the tender had permanent consequences for StART. Once ex-closed from this risk through refusal, the GLA refused StART's attempts at formal recognition:

Cllr Mike Hakata: *And, and you know, the GLA is, is a huge, I mean, I work in one, Haringey Council, they're huge organisations and the GLA is a monstrous machine, right? So it's not going to, I mean, Goliath doesn't, you know, take to Davids too easily, and is likely to hit back if you start pinging it with little stones.*

In drawing together the phases of StART's influence on the development of the St Ann's site, it is clear the dialectic does hold. As StART commoned, the GLA continued, intensified and accelerated the enclosure as the sale of the site to private development. StART's activism, in its alternative plan and its regular meetings with the GLA did succeed in establishing limited conditions of alterity in both the sixty per cent affordable housing total, and the fifty community-led homes project. Simultaneously, the GLA secured the enclosure of the site to market-led development.

This simultaneity does indeed confirm the "razor edge" (De Angelis and Harvie 2013: 291) between commoning for and against capital, as alterity was generated in the friction of StART's resistance of enclosure. From the agreement of the steering group, StART found itself in highly asymmetric power relationships with the GLA, and would have done so with eventual developer, as landholders. Any further marginal gains of alterity came at a heavy personal co-option and risk unacceptable to StART, eventually in the Non-Disclosure Agreements that embodied the institutional distrust of the GLA, concerned StART's behaviour could only be constrained by enclosing StART in the logic of neoliberal governance through personal risk.

While the theoretical model holds, StART's demands for the land also reveal the importance of trust as "lubricant of co-operation" (Arrow 1974) at this, the highest scale

of StART's co-operative practices, between the entangled assemblages of the commons and enclosure respectively. Despite the asymmetry of power, distrust was mirrored between the GLA and StART, but it was also growing so significantly within the relationship that the steering group, the discussions and delegations already generating considerable pressures on StART as a functioning organisation and on its individual members. This will be extrapolated in the next chapter.

9. Trust

While the conceptual framework hypothesised trust as synonymous with autonomist comprehensions of love as the "engine of the common", the discussion of trust in the previous chapter, at the inter-institutional scale between StART and the GLA, confirms its integrity to external co-operation, distrust integral to collapse. Equally, at the internal inter-personal scales of co-operations that formed StART, trust was equally empirically identified as not only a discursively crucial term within the group:

Activist: *And trust, as a concept. I think I need to use trust because that was a word that was often used in StART…I know that this was a very used word so analytically, it's important to like, focus on it.*

but also integral to its demise:

Activist: *Especially on a huge project… if you start not having trust in the people you're working alongside, it has to fall apart. And perhaps StART relied too much on trust you know, other organisations are quite hierarchical. They have workers doing stuff, they have Directors doing stuff, StART was trying to say anyone can come and get involved and play a part in it. And that only worked when there's trust there. And we didn't work out how to deal with it when that trust went.*

Therefore, trust as the "lubricant of co-operation" (Arrow 1974) appears the integral part of a conceptual assemblage, a theoretical, causal lubricant and an empirically observed absence by participants. Selecting trust as a lens of analysis of StART's demise remains a privilege of positionality, as this chapter will explore, and that is certainly pertinently the case where the researcher participated in a group that dissolved amid accusations of racism. A focus on trust as an inter-subjective "lubricant" of intersubjective power transmissions brings positionally to the surface where research has been conducted through active participation within the group, the researcher an embedded component within group power dynamics. The trust of the researcher and her

narrative must therefore also be made visible within events.

This thesis does not seek to attribute blame for the collapse of StART, nor adjudicate on the accusations within the group. Nonetheless, an ethic of silence on these events, as a mark of respect and flawed positionally, provides no ethic at all. As a white woman, and included, welcomed member of that group, at the very least the researcher stands as a complicit bystander, if not engaged in simultaneous transmissions of power in the acts of observation as personal extraction. There is no reason the researcher's narrative of events, even where partiality, subjectivity and positionality are declared, should be 'trusted'. Nonetheless, the author believes the most ethical practice requires a task of rendering visible the production of her blind spots, amid an attempted ethic of care to all participants, withdrawn or not.

With that proviso, this chapter begins with a narrative of the deterioration of trust in StART as the group matured, as questions of equality within the organisation's decision-making were raised. This section includes a narrative of trust in research and researchers within StART.

The following three sections then examine the breakdown of trust as "love gone bad" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 195). The three obstacles to the common, "hierarchy, unity and identity" (ibid) are in turn examined as strands to discuss threats to trust within StART. Hierarchy is discussed in terms of the group's espoused principles of horizontality and their disruption across different "faces of power" (Lukes 2005), forced by the production of new scales by external pressures and internal dynamics. Unity is discussed in terms of dissent, complaint (Ahmed 2021) and the critique of the consensus from radical democracy. Finally, identity, a potential obstacle identified by Hardt and Negri's Deleuzian ontology of *becoming,* demands the common(s) provide inter-subjective transformation. This section examines whiteness as the particular silent identity StART failed to transform, tracing its patterning not solely through the lens of identity, but equally hierarchy and unity.

Such an analysis cannot fail to "centre whiteness" (Garner 2007: 43), and to an extent

the patterning of interview data renders this unavoidable. The focus on trust is not selected to minimise the experience of racism in StART, nor excuse harm, but as the researcher understands they cannot understand racism first-hand, nor without an examination of their own "property of whiteness, which accords its holders benefits" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 326). Aware trust is both the "medium and object of research" (Huchler and Sauer 2015: 148), and that the researcher experienced asymmetric, shifting relationships of trust, Section 9.5 therefore focuses on questions of power surrounding the researcher as positioned participant, narrator and analyst within a particularly "fragile and fluid net of connections and gulfs" (Rose 2007: 317) in knowledge amid StART's dynamic of growing distrust and impending organisational collapse.

Finally, a concluding section draws together this reflective with a wider analysis of trust and distrust. StART's experience would suggest a permeability of scale, an autopoiesis of distrust between the interpersonal and inter-institutional that contributed to the almost simultaneous collapse of practices on each plane. The result is logical agreement with a hypothesis of a wider social crisis of trust impacting planning (Swain and Tait 2007) as found not only between state and 'community' but impacting spatial decision making within a community group. The loss of trust appears to present a fundamental narrative challenging the urban housing common(s) as a model of horizontal social radicality effectively operative "within, against… that cuts through" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 94) the hierarchical society within which such radicality is resisting its own enclosure.

9.1 Chronology

StART plainly failed to govern the commons through institutions heavily reliant on trust. One particular partiality emerging from the ever positioned researcher within participant action research is one of temporality. Simply put, the desiccation of the "essential social lubricant" (Arrow 1974) of trust in StART began before I joined the group in July 2018 and started recording data the following November.

As is discussed in the Community chapter, concerns about the diversity of the most

active participants and representation were universal within StART. Over time, these became increasingly introspective, as a critical examination of StART's practices grew into accusations of unequal and racially discriminatory behaviour. By late 2019, this was both evidence of and contributing to a culture of distrust, increasing institutional paralysis and dysfunctionality in decision making, ultimately leading to legal action, the end of StART's public meetings and the conclusion of action research in May 2020.

Others named this social dynamic of exclusion as one of mutual distrust:

Activist: *But there's quite a lot of groupism and then these two people who have been identified as being outside the group really. Or distrusts the group. Yeah.*

As the Land Chapter describes, StART refused to enter into the risk management agreements the GLA required to trust StART, amid distrust that grew over a year of negotiations. Simultaneously, trust was also evaporating at the internal scales of StART, down to the interpersonal and the *dispositifs* of race. Events and explanations of this remain contested between irreconcilable individual positions, with extreme distress undoubtedly experienced by all.

Nonetheless, divisions and patterns of exclusion were not static, nor drawn along clear racial, gender or other characteristics, although tendencies did emerge. Bearing in mind the embedded positionally and partiality of research, this section will attempt to construct a narrative of events, subjective yet trustworthy enough from which to build analysis in later sections. While there is always an expectation of reflexivity in participant research of an awareness of position and ignorance, the particular patterning of StART's disintegration, and the question of trust, and human experience of interpersonal harm, render the presence of the researcher highly visible and the declaration of their subjectivity vital. Given StART's swirling patterns of distrust involved questions of diversity, equality, expertise, power and decision-making, the presence of researcher and research as a practice, defined by external institutional norms, those of the university, within the common(s) enters the domain of co-operation and conflict StART institutionally framed. Therefore, this narrative, remains affected, emotional, subjective,

and always partial, not least in witness but as informed by those who consented to interview. However, it seeks to replicate no further harm to participants, if that is to any extent possible.

Scrutiny, Distrust and Dissent: The Exclusion Group, 2018-9

As testimony of both the Masterplan and HDV dilemma demonstrate, StART had encountered dissent before I began participation in the summer of 2018. By the time official data capture began that November, I was aware of criticisms of power within StART held by some members.

Among those interviewed and from all existing evidence, the earliest fractions within StART, beyond spatial and policy disagreements, emerged within the Inclusion Subgroup during 2017 and 2018. Again, the balance of opposition and proposition emerged, albeit this time internally. While many felt the Inclusion Group's remit was to boost the diversity of participants, members believed it became increasingly internally focused and unconstructively critical:

Activist: *And if you don't have that many people it's really hard, however much you might want to do other things, and that's why we had an Inclusion subgroup. The whole point of that was to find ways of including people who wouldn't normally come to Wednesday meetings. That is what it existed for, and things happened in that group, and nothing happened in that group. And I got so frustrated that I wanted to join it, just sort it out. Because although I'm not that good at doing stalls, I could have organised it, done the logistics. I could have said 'right, we're going to do stalls here, we're going to go to the Turkish thing, this Kurdish thing'. But all I got were people in the Inclusion Group moaning at me, 'You know we're not inclusive.' And I was thinking 'that's what your job is!'*

The purpose of this chronology is not to legitimate this criticism but details its presence among active members beyond the subgroup during this period. Interviews suggested this in turn did impact StART's logistical capacity around inclusion, the number of stalls attended dropped and securing StART volunteers became difficult. Furthermore,

some participants expressed frustrations StART had no mechanism by which to steer the subgroup back to the remit of external recruitment as a strategy of diversification:

Activist: *I found it very, very frustrating. And although don't think StART was good at that. But I think it was because, you know, you're the group, people weren't doing it. The structure was there, you had a group that was supposed to do it. But it just didn't. I think it could have happened.*

Interviews revealed distrust had surrounded the Inclusion Group's previous emergent attempts at group scrutiny and reflection. Two members discussed an Away Day organised by the Inclusion Group in the early summer of 2018 as a key moment where distrust became evident. As StART successfully convinced the GLA to buy the site and achieved a good deal of publicity, it experienced an increase in new members.

Activist: *So, the idea there, was to have a more laid-back context, just a space that was more informal for people to build relations. And I think that is also undervalued.*

Activist: *And I think in hindsight what was clear about it was that there was this sense for people of getting on a moving bus, and it's moving very fast and I can't quite see where it's come from, and I'm being asked to say where should it go, so actually we could have done loads more and a lot better to kind of, to make sure that people could get involved at that point.*

Activist: *And we had the intention of recording it, because we wanted to be able to share it with people who joined. I think one of the things with StART, is that the way you join… I mean, there were intro meetings, but I think there was a moment that were none and then they started again. Generally, though, to get involved with StART, you sent an email and possibly, or possibly not, attended meeting. During the meeting you have to briefly present yourself. If you don't know much about the context, you're pretty much alienated for the whole meeting. There is not even like the spelling out of acronyms. And then you have like a five-minute break where people might come to you, but often it is to get your email. So, it was just a way for people to know who was in this group and why they*

joined. That was the idea.

But there was an issue, one of the participants didn't feel comfortable with recording the activity and there was a really long discussion around that. And this is my perspective, obviously, but I think part of the reason was that there wasn't a lot of trust on how this material was going to be used... and I had conversations with some people after that and they thought that that was a very long discussion and they felt there was an absence of trust or something.

Furthermore, both the organising interviewee and participant revealed a group frustration the day had, as a result, been unproductive:

Activist: *So, people were there wanting to maximise that time. They were there because, 'okay, so what's, what's the purpose of this? We have to get out of here with something.' And I think a lot of people were disappointed with that Away Day, they thought it was a loss of time. So yeah, the purpose of that Away Day was to build relations in an informal way.*

Activist: *I don't want to be the backseat driver here, but they got completely stuck because [a member] didn't want to be recorded and they were kind of really shocked at there being this level of distrust. Erm, so they started the meeting quite not in a good space, and then it just didn't, it was just some ideas about writing up the timeline and things like that. And so you know, I was just quite shocked I've just dedicated five hours to something that doesn't feel like it's achieved anything. And then there wasn't any follow through.*

This Away Day revealed a number of discursive realities that remained throughout my later research period. Beyond the distrust revealed, there was a consensus StART's intake of new members presented a challenge to ensure they felt empowered to contribute to decision making at Directors Meetings. Furthermore, frustrations the day did not result in an agreed agenda of future tasks highlighted StART's concerns for the effective use of its collective time and capacity prioritised developing the organisation,

not relationships.

Nonetheless, representing the diversity of the local community remained an espoused aim of StART, and increasingly inclusion and equality the focus of internal scrutiny from newer members as 2018 drew to a close. However, by late 2018 was increasingly two newer members who would lead a minoritarian ethic of scrutiny and dissent. From here, distrust at this intention grew.

Image 22: Inclusion Subgroup Display, AGM 2018

2019: Upscaling Distrust

Through 2018 and 2019, as discussions around StART's racial make-up grew in frequency, frustrations also grew between the Inclusion Group and the rest of StART, particularly the Strategy Group, over delays to the recruitment of a community engagement worker, which StART first set aside funds for, then successfully bid to the CLT Network's Diversity Fund in 2019. While StART had agreed the need to boost

capacity to this end, one member of the Inclusion Group was strongly opposed to the recruitment of a paid worker.

Activist: *By this time there was also the Inclusion Subgroup being challenged in the idea, because [a member] didn't want anyone to be employed, because they will have too much power. They blocked us having a Community Engagement worker. And it's like ok, you as Inclusion Group, come up with a better job description or way of doing it. They never did it.*

This paralysed requests from StART to the Inclusion Group to finalise the job description for the role, as the Strategy Group deemed community engagement to be of increasingly critical importance, and beyond the volunteer capacity of StART during the GLA negotiation phase. Eventually, a Community Engagement Worker was recruited and began work in November 2019, after the Strategy Group led recruitment. Nonetheless, a lack of structured power between the Strategy Group, Directors Meeting and Inclusion Subgroup meant this sought capacity growth was delayed, the dispute unresolved for over seventeen months. The recruitment example illustrates a lack of demarcation between subgroups and the Directors' and Strategy Meetings. These ambiguities of structured decision making in StART were revealed during the period of participation as discussions of equality increasingly focused on and were discussed in relation to decision making in StART. In this regard, concerned members were successful in upscaling issues of diverse participation and equality within the organisation towards the core of StART's activities, yet distrust grew as capacity growth was frustrated.

Workshops: From the Periphery to the Core?

Simultaneously, equality and power in StART were discussed critically in terms of the general functioning of the organisation. These discussions led to the proposal of a Saturday Away Day, which took place in December 2018. Criticisms of the meeting's facilitation were raised, this time at the meeting itself. Those who facilitated it had invited members of a Tottenham community group fighting estate demolition, who were of colour. Some members of StART discussed their discomfort at the presence of

"outsiders" at this meeting, language which generated a heated discussion revealing the ambiguity of community, as local or practiced. The day finished resolved to continue to pay attention to StART's now agreed will to examine its processes, amid considerable discomfort.

Discussions around equality increasingly focused on StART's practices, rather than accepting it as an anti-racist project given its politics of outcomes, a CLT as an anti-gentrification and buffer to the likely racialised patterns of displacement in Tottenham members of StART were already observing. Increasingly StART began to discuss and examine its decision-making processes through the lens of equality and the recognised problematic practices that posed high barriers to entry to new members. These discussions were organised into a Decision-Making Workshop in April 2019, attended by a large number of active participants.

The Workshop revealed complex concerns and complaints around decision-making, with assertions power operated distinctly separately from decision-making processes loosely understood as 'the rules'. Consensus, and the lack of meaningful dissent mechanisms, were broached. However, as emerged, concerns focused on informal power as influence (Lukes 2005), rather than formal, rule based decision-making power, ultimately who was listened to within StART at decision points, under the pressure for consensus formation.

Asymmetry and Transparency

As discussed in the Land Chapter, a consideration for some members in the withdrawal from the GLA tender was the internal tensions it was placing on StART, with the GLA4 delegation seen as "secret insiders". A discourse of transparency arrived within StART as these negotiations progressed, largely led by another single member. This man was also a relatively new member, having joined after the GLA had agreed the purchase. Therefore, as issues were raised, within a small group of twelve to twenty activists meeting regularly, who raised them mattered. The personal nature of distrust raises ethical problematics for research and narrative which are discussed below. But as

subsequent events revealed, the personal was an undeniable component in StART's collapse.

The AGM 2019

On September 28th 2019, StART held its annual AGM. With the resignation of two Directors after the heavy year of GLA negotiations, others stood, including the two newer members introduced above. After the members standing for election delivered their pitches, the existing directors, the majority of whom had discussed and agreed to this course of action prior to events, urged the audience not to vote for the woman of colour,

Image 23: Sign for the 2019 AGM

arguing this would be detrimental to StART's ability to function. One active member also stated the white male participant was also not ready for the role. The tension was broken by a young woman who left in declared protest, among clear shock, silence and murmurings in the audience.

Perhaps naively, I had agreed to count the votes at the AGM at a Strategy meeting previously, believing this could be a neutral contribution to its organising in an increasingly bifurcated group. While this had consequences for researcher and positional trust, as the voting system and my role in its selection later came under scrutiny, neither dissenting member was elected, achieving less than a simple majority of the votes. It is impossible to gather the impact of the critical statements on the vote and as one marked in protest stated, in some cases it elicited a protest vote against the action.

Nonetheless, these actions at the 2019 AGM presented a significant and irrecoverable turning point for StART, with some active participants lost. The events revealed the core debates of StART's internal dynamics over the last year, perceptions of inequality and racism, and institutional reluctance to address these, and their connection to the central practice of power within StART. By identifying the member behind pleas to consider equality as detrimental to the functioning of StART, in front of the wider membership, the Directors performed a victimisation that perceptibly justified them. Furthermore, as a display of hierarchy and disunity, it contradicted StART's rhetoric around its own structures of power. The emphasis on horizontality and the limited powers of Directors amid active members was contradicted by the suggestion any active member could be inappropriate for a supposedly nominal role. In the months that followed, discussions of both race and power were consecrated onto StART's agenda, eventually fatally, by these events.

Irreconciliations

Activist: *I still look back and think how did we get to that stage? And I don't know. I know we got to the stage where a number of us dreaded going to meetings, a number of us were incredibly frustrated that you have meetings and you're not moving things forward.*

The Directors' meetings immediately followed by the 2019 AGM were very difficult. A meeting on October 2, at which many of the Directors who were party to the decision to speak at the AGM, did not attend. Views were aired by all attending members with the claims of Directors at the AGM that this decision was made for the stability of the organisation, others stating it brought StART into disrepute. The most powerful comment of the meeting came from a newly elected Director, a woman of colour, who stated "it felt like a lynching" (Notes 2/10/19). While some Directors balked at this language as emotive and unnecessary, the language was intentional.

At the next Directors meeting, StART agreed to both a general review of concerns, issues, and elections, and a process of individual redress and reconciliation, to be finalised by the affected parties. Equalities training, which had been agreed to prior to the AGM, was also agreed. At this meeting, a trainer attending stated they believed reconciliation work needed to happen first to ensure training was effective. Nonetheless, while StART agreed to reviews of the AGM, little progress was made as to how this could satisfy all parties before other events overtook the group. As a result, the AGM continued to overshadow StART's functioning and efforts in the months that followed.

Simultaneously, StART was coming to terms with the consequences of withdrawing from the GLA, increasingly frustrated by the limited contact with the organisation, as detailed in the Land Chapter. Beyond the agendas arising from the events of the AGM, StART sought to continue its core work in the Feasibility Study for Community Led Homes. The consultancy for this work soon became both the crux of the group's continuance and another terrain of struggle. The CLH subgroup eventually agreed to tender this work, instead of continuing StART's work with Bringelly, itself revealing distrust of hierarchy. By this point, Bringelly had close relations with the GLA4, and so were seen by some members in terms of personal connections to Directors, rather than assets to StART, to the point some members argued the GLA4 posed a "conflict of interest" and should not score the tenders given their close relationship with Bringelly. Such was the degree of distrust and dispute of procedure in StART by this point that the decision to tender delayed the process by two months.

At the point of shortlisting, conflict again emerged as Bringelly, had bid for a longer period than that specified. While those identified as the 'disruptors' argued that Bringelly should not be shortlisted on these grounds, others, including Directors, became very frustrated by the treatment of StART's consultants:

Activist: *I also felt it was untenable to continue because I felt some of the decisions at the end, certainly in relation to Bringelly, about how they were treated, or how these individuals were questioning the integrity of their work, how they didn't invite them, one subgroup decided they wouldn't invite them to interview for the Feasibility Study. They were very very important decisions that involved large sums of money that had been hard earned and fought for, big grants won and written. And I basically felt that I could not remain if someone like Bringelly who I respected and trusted and liked and worked alongside us for years, were being openly criticised and then undermined in processes that I didn't think were being legitimately carried through. And so, I felt that actually these acts were really bringing, were really bringing StART into disrepute and to really undermine key collaborators. StART works on its capacity to collaborate and communicate with others and for me that was the last straw because I thought well, I'm named as a Director of StART and I completely disrespect this decision and I completely disrespect these behaviours and I felt I cannot stand behind this decision, and they're both really quite big. The whole thing was just really really soul destroying, the process felt really unprofessional and out of control. It just felt then that behaviours and decision-making and protocols and basic respect had completely removed itself.*

Resignations

At the CLH subgroup meeting of November 5, a vote was held and by one vote it was resolved not to shortlist Bringelly for the Feasibility Study. These events spurred StART back to open conflict. At the next Directors meeting, the meeting opened with a discussion of the "paralysis of StART's decision making by disagreement" (Notes 13/11/19) where members discussed the impact of dissent and potential solutions. The long-agreed need for mediation and equalities training was re-iterated, but the meeting

also contained disillusion these processes could be agreed to as binding, with others stating "people need to leave" (ibid.), in reference to the two members perceived as disruptive, and others stating they were on the verge of leaving. Some stated they felt the victimisation was two way, having experienced accusing or critical emails sent to the entire membership. A double departure, of both 'disruptors' and Directors was also proposed. Ultimately, all refused to resign, amid condemnation for the threat of resigning as blackmail.

Furthermore, the meeting contained a more formal conflict as Directors raised concerns the CLH group had unfairly excluded Bringelly from the shortlisting. A discussion as to whether the appointment should be referred to Directors or remain within the CLH group was disputed, as differences crystallised into an institutional dispute as to the autonomy of subgroups. It was agreed the CLH group should finish the process.

However, the future capacity of StART was also limited at this meeting. StART were due to continue recruiting a Development Manager that week, who would lead much of the liaison the GLA4 had undertaken in the last year, after protracted disputing of the job description and recruitment strategy within StART as part of its wider discussions about equality. Having led this process, several members stated they could not "in good conscience" recruit to StART in its current state, and the recruitment was delayed.

As StART left the GLA arrangement and erupted into open internal warfare after the AGM it simultaneously shed capacity, in both its existing consultant relationship and by abandoning a yearlong project to recruit a development manager ahead of the selection of a developer. This meeting ended with little consensus on how to proceed was established, beyond an agreed need for mediation, accompanied by the stated loss of faith many experienced that such external processes could rescue StART.

On November 19 2019, five Directors and ten further active members of StART, including the majority of its remaining founder members, emailed the Main List to resign. The email stated:

But in the last year, StART has been bogged down in an internal conflict which has now come to a head and threatens the future existence of StART.

Basically, we would say, there is a clear split within StART with a number of active members caught in the middle.

For non-hierarchical community-based organisations to work successfully, all the members need to be willing to co-operate, compromise and treat each other with respect, and this has not been happening over the last year.

The conflict has, at times, paralysed decision-making capacities, leading to huge delays or inability to complete work. Active StART members have expressed personal distress, loss of trust, or have withdrawn altogether. Part of this has been due to the persistent making of serious allegations against individuals in public forums without providing evidence or using the grievance processes.

We are spending hours trying to deal with these problems. We are spending even more hours in meetings where we get nowhere, and housing and the site become a bit player in meetings.

We are all exhausted.

We have tried to deal with this as best we can, and we dedicated the StART main meeting on 13th November to discuss these issues. There was a division of opinions, but it seemed to us the meeting didn't even manage to start to address the problems the organisation faces internally.

Many of us are frustrated that all the time we are able to dedicate to StART is used in relation to the internal conflict and we are not doing the work we are passionate about and why we got involved in StART. And we see some individuals in StART who are not putting StART's best interests first and we don't feel they have a genuine wish to collaborate and work through these issues collectively.

We don't feel that our energy and time can be usefully used towards StART's goals at the moment, as it is stuck. So, to try and give the organisation the best chance of managing to succeed in some of its goals we feel we have to withdraw from StART-related activities.

We have concerns for the future of StART, but we truly hope we are proved wrong.

Staggering On: November 2019 – March 2020

The CLH Subgroup met that night. With only two Directors left in the organisation, StART was technically unable to function and make decisions until this was rectified. Internal disagreement paralysed the organisation, at first interpersonally, and finally

institutionally. At the subsequent Directors' meeting, StART sought to co-opt new Directors to enable its functioning. The two members who had been urged to leave as 'disruptors' by those who then resigned stood for Directorship. Amid protracted conversations, with both support and urgings for reconsiderations within the group, the remaining Directors, those elected at the AGM, used StART's blocking and co-option rules to re-appoint a recently stepped down Director, citing their belief Directorship by either of those "involved in the events" would be detrimental to StART. As shall be discussed in Section 9.2, this again revealed a vertical distinction between Directors and active membership that contradicted the espoused commitment to horizontality within StART. While it was clear to those present this meeting to some degree replicated the harm of the public AGM, StART as a group remained verbally committed to examining the events, its equalities policies and wider procedures and decision-making.

StART was held together after the GLA withdrawal by the Feasibility Study project. The immediate implication of the resignations of the Directors and a majority of the active members was a renewed reliance on this as the terrain of practice that continued to barely hold StART together and the implications of the resignations determinedly the path StART would now follow. Ultimately, the feasibility study, and the options around it for StART, offered the continued balancing of proposition and opposition, as StART debated its future and the GLA cancelled the Memorandum of Understanding.

Over the coming months, the feasibility study rendered the Community Led Housing group, working with consultants Campbell Tickell, the lead functioning nuclei within StART, reporting the report's progress back to the main meetings. In doing so, StART experienced a new politics of confidentiality, where the consultants, concerned with the security of commercially confidential assumptions in their model, expressed continued wishes to StART that information be properly governed. This placed members of the subgroup with privileged access to some information, arguably increasingly so from the information asymmetry of the GLA negotiation period, between the GLA4 and the rest of the group, where most information was shared. This resulted in those members who had expressed concerns at lesser asymmetry, and political opposition to the lack of transparency in commercial housing development in general, being in positions

defending the internal confidentiality hierarchies they had recently attacked.

Alongside the CLH Subgroup's work on the fifty homes, the Strategy Group continued and began to explore several organisational recovery projects. Simultaneously, the CLH group tasked itself with organisational scrutiny towards becoming a fit and proper organisation to acquire and lease social housing. These tasks, also undertaken by the Scrutiny subgroup remained largely individually led and irreconciled between the November crisis and May 2020, with various individual members identifying differing spheres of issues as priority and with little consensus, limited progress was made on them. One Director prioritised 'housekeeping', while another prioritised re-examining StART's strategy after the GLA negotiations and internal crises. Another member prioritised both the rules of engagement and equalities procedures. All of these projects faced internal contestation. 'Housekeeping' ran simultaneously to the Finance Group, which brought confusion and contestation over the management of resources, while efforts at refocusing Strategy and the Rules of Engagement often overlapped, and Strategy was posed as dependent on the Feasibility Study, increasingly held as the arbiter of a propositional or oppositional future. Efforts to reconcile these projects proved difficult. Furthermore, StART had not only lost but was unwilling to acknowledge the knowledge built up by founder members, which the organisation had now lost. Conflict avoidance dominated both strategy and Community Led Homes subgroup meetings. It took the main Directors meeting three months to agree a 'Thank You' update email to members, communicating for the first time since the resignation of the Directors and accompanying active members to StART's wider membership.

By March 2020, the Strategy Group had very low number of members attending as it drew up its seventh version of a post-tender strategy document. By this point, the Publicity subgroup was non-functioning. Staff management was increasingly discussed in terms of housekeeping, with the single point of contact proposed to be replaced by a human resources subgroup, to the vocal concern of staff. Although I was not privy to events, I am aware that by April 2020 both staff members had raised complaints against individual members of StART. As a horizontal organisation, this posed a new challenge of agreeing a legitimate reconciliation procedure and a further internal demand of StART's

now significantly reduced active capacity.

Amid discussions of strategic repositioning, housekeeping, and reinvention that were eventually grouped under organisational development, StART struggled with attempts at reconciliation and rehabilitating the organisation towards greater racial equality, an intention that was agreed, but the form of which continually took many strands. As the long internally negotiated and sought out Equalities trainer withdrew after attending a meeting, mediation and arbitration continued to be pursued but weren't finalised. The departure of all but one Director privy to the AGM made reconciliation difficult to imagine, with members who had resigned from active membership and so would not participate. While private internal complaints were also lodged, these too made insufficient progress to provide redress. As the COVID lockdown of March 2020 approached, with both complainants and internal arbitrators lacking confidence in StART's horizontal internal grievance processes, themselves now subject to critique, no redress was formally initiated by this time.

Beyond those who resigned, those who continued to actively participate in StART's meetings agreed a need and willingness to undertake sessions in equalities training and to explore the issues raised by the AGM. Potential session leaders continued to be approached and agreed, but again no progress had been made by the COVID lockdown in March 2020, as StART's meetings moved to online platforms.

Collapse

As these ongoing strands of attempted organisational recovery, development and renewed outreach not only faced new challenges of social distancing. At the March 18 2020 Directors' Meeting Directors informed active members StART had received notice of a legal action in relation to the 2019 AGM and had begun to meet privately to discuss the organisation's response. As the Directors provided minimal updates to the group, it was assumed private meetings meant the action was brought by affected parties still participating.

Through the following two months, the fortnightly public Directors meetings received updates on StART's proposed response to the legal action, though these remained minimal. In April, the decision to seek legal advice beyond that StART's insurance would pay for, was communicated as a use of StART's grant funding. This was disputed, as were requests for childcare so a single-parent Director could have capacity to manage the response. At the subsequent Directors' meeting, on May 13, the three Directors announced the suspension of public meetings, to allow them to focus on the legal action. While the Community Led Homes subgroup met again to finalise the Campbell Tickell report, StART did not reconvene online until the AGM of September 2020. As a result, observation concluded with the end of StART's public meetings, as the "soft power core" of Directors, now certainly formally crystallised by the legal action, stopped meeting in public.

Having observed these events myself, indeed trust was central to the functioning of StART, and distrust bred dissolution. Furthermore, the "obstacles to the common" (2009: 195) Hardt and Negri identify not only clearly presented themselves, they generated the distrust that became central to StART's withdrawal from the tender through autopoiesis, before leading to the group's collapse. These obstacles to the common, and trust as it's lubricant, are now discussed in turn.

9.2 Hierarchy

The potentiality of successful collective and horizontal decision making in resource management is arguably the institutional potentiality of the commons Ostrom (1990) first emphasised. Furthermore, with origins for some in an anarchist housing co-operative, and wider experiences of activism and decision-making relatively common in the group, horizontal decision-making as power sharing was espoused as an aim of StART, institutionally structured to promote horizontal leadership among activists at open Directors' meetings, as is discussed in the Community Chapter.

While Hardt and Negri criticise the imposition of hierarchies upon the common as a consequence of "love gone bad" (2009: 195), arguably the causality was reversed in

StART. Tensions between horizontality and hierarchy were ever present in my time in StART, although new hierarchies emerged, and were imposed in working with the GLA, and internally consolidated. Such an analysis suggests these hierarchical tendencies relied on a high degree of trust, which buckled under scrutiny, rendering StART vulnerable to both a self-identified tyranny of structurelessness (Freeman and Levine 1984) but equally a tyranny of expertise. This section will examine the emergence, imposition and territorialisation of expertise as a particular hierarchy and relational capital within StART as social movement, and its negative impact on the lubricant of trust.

Hierarchical Tendencies

It appears tension first evolved between horizontal decision making and StART's scaled participation structure. This consolidated asymmetrical or "differential commoning" (Noterman 2016: 433) as the workload created by StART was distributed according to availability, and those with free time to dedicate to activism tended to carry out more tasks between meetings.

Some members believed these hierarchies were ever present in StART and consolidated a hierarchy of priorities and expertise:

Activist: *I think that informal leadership always existed within StART for multiple reasons. So, I think that some of it was along the lines of who was there the longest, who had certain kinds of knowledge and skills and also what was valued by the group. And a lot of what was valued was along pretty standard hegemonic lines. So like, understanding finance or understanding how the housing sector works in the UK from certain perspectives, such as from having worked in housing associations or the public sector. Skills such as building relations within the group or cooking, which was a massive task for an AGM, were really undervalued. So, I think that these hierarchies existed within the group already, even before it started working with the GLA.*

Over time, this hierarchy of expertise led to the accumulation of other asymmetries,

namely and ultimately influence within the group. Therefore, while power in StART was structured horizontally, a hierarchy or 'inner circle' of influence, informal power (Lukes 2005: 7) was perceived to exist. By November 2020, as interviews began, some activists felt very strongly about the negative impact both the hierarchies of expertise, experience and resultant influence patterns were perceived to be having in StART:

Activist: *The reality of the way that we work is a divide and rule sectarian approach that is divisive and is destroying StART. There are various networks, but I think there is a significant one that if you are not part of that, group, and it's not defined, it's not a subgroup, it's not the Directors, it's not the CLT housing group it's some sort of different combination of individuals, if you're not part of that group, then your voice is unheard. And it's unwritten, I know who the people are, but basically, I've tested it out, on numerous occasions and that's how it works. How these people get to hold and exercise power is unexamined. It really needs looking at, because as I say, the gap between rhetoric and reality, and a couple of people have said about new people coming into StART and why don't we hold on to them, because I feel like how we look on the website and our publicity looks really good and exciting and liberating. You come to a meeting, a couple of people have said to me, "It took me one, two three meetings but I can see how things work here. And I don't trust it." So what we espouse, our policy, pretty much at the moment it's the Wild West.*

External Pressures

It is important to note all formal hierarchies in StART emerged in response to external demands. The Directors were appointed in accordance with Community Benefit Society law and as is detailed in the Community Chapter, powers reserved for Directors were strenuously shared in open meetings:

Activist: *Well the thing is like, the Directors have always had this, they're allowed to make decisions, it's part of the policy. But we've never enforced that. We never did, we did it as flatly as possible.*

During the research period, the greatest pressure on horizontality arose from the delegation of the 'GLA4' negotiators. The delegation of four members to fortnightly meetings with the GLA created what one member described as an "inner circle" of those meeting the GLA. Interviews around the GLA4 regularly emphasised the trust other active members had in the negotiators, although acknowledging the skew towards hierarchy this structure had:

Activist: *It was making it more pronounced, the inner circle who were negotiating with the GLA, you know. So I guess that's the thing that really began to define a perceived hierarchy, those secret, confidential, they weren't secret, but the confidential conversations with the GLA.*

Interviews also revealed a large degree of trust the delegation relied on:

Activist: *I wasn't there so I have to trust, and I did trust their judgement and how they dealt with it on a face-to-face basis with the GLA. But I don't think they made a decision unilaterally, some people would tell you different, but I think they did consult the wider group.*

Activist: *Well, the process of the last year has been largely secret. It's been our trusted four people, having frank conversations, coming back and telling us as much as they feel able to. I'm happy to go along with that, I want our negotiators to be people of integrity and people of some skill in feeding back as much as they can. I've got a lot of personal admiration for the four people we sent up to be our people.*

Activist: *…but the reality is they told us most of the things, like even though they were confidential, so that's also something people don't really appreciate, their own risk, and somebody had to do them. Again, it's hours of work I was personally delighted not to be doing, and so grateful that they were. And I trusted them, I trusted their capacity to read the room and go, ooh you know, what's your sense?*

Indeed, members of the GLA4 interviewed emphasised this model of delegation from

the main group in their approach to decision-making and cited the frustration of the GLA with this model of reluctant leadership from the delegates to the tender discussions:

Activist: *But I don't think we made a single decision as the GLA4. I think we came back and said this decision needs to be made. This is what we feel you should be doing but every time we said to the GLA 'we can't, you know we have to go back and check that out'. Which frustrated them, even though we could make a decision really quickly and they couldn't, it frustrated them.*

Nonetheless, the GLA4 delegate structure, reliant on trust, placed hierarchical pressures on StART, cascading into impacting the power balance between subgroups and triggering the take up of scrutiny practices by some members of the group. All members of the GLA4 delegation attended Strategy subgroup meetings, which the consultants also regularly attended in 2018-9. This somewhat shifted the locus of decision-making away from the main meetings during this strategy heavy negotiation period, with another GLA4 member noting:

Activist: *I think it got to the point where I guess where once we'd started liaising with the GLA and you know StART had got bigger and meetings were twenty or thirty people, you were no longer really making much of serious effective decisions in those meetings, you were kind of ratifying things that you discussed elsewhere, or you were just making decisions elsewhere.*

But despite the testimonies of trust above, eventually, these internal factors, the impetus for transparency and the sense of internally strained trust, were key factors in StART's withdrawal from the GLA Tender Process and their refusal to sign NDAs. An obligation to transparency in an open group would then conflict with legally enforceable, personal liabilities and obligations to commercial confidentiality, for a number of months, enclosing some members of StART in circuits of information but not others. Although eventually resisted in legal form, commerciality would have required boundary practices of information within StART, creating a clear hierarchy of knowledge. Aware this would require a higher degree of trust to ensure StART's continued functioning, amid its clear

and accelerating desiccation, the perceived likelihood of catastrophic failure of such a formal asymmetrical and hierarchical arrangement was a consideration for some in StART's decision to withdraw from the tender process. Nonetheless, by the summer of 2020, the external process of negotiation had contributed to territorialised informal hierarchies consolidating in StART between individuals.

Trust and Tyranny: Internal Consolidation

There was a clear awareness of informal hierarchies within StART. This was both the focus of discussion in the decision-making workshop of April 2019 and was identified in interviews. Two participants understood this through feminist theory (Freeman and Levine 1984):

Activist: *I really like the idea of non-hierarchic organisations but I'm very aware of the Tyranny of Structurelessness, do you know what I mean by that? There was a paper written by an American woman in the 1980s maybe, whose title was 'The Tyranny of Structurelessness' and what she's basically saying is that you can't get away from power, you may think that you've got a non-hierarchical organisation but there will be people will take power within the group, whether they're doing it benignly or just because they are natural leaders and they've got the energy and whatever, there will emerge people who are leaders.*

Activist: *Yeah, I guess it's, erm, when you've got a lot of informality, there is always that tyranny of structurelessness isn't there?*

As time went on the informal bonds of trust were tested, resulting in perceptions of internal practices as structural *tyranny*, formalising and consolidating hierarchy in demand for resignations and ultimately resulting in the (en)closure of StART's open meetings to Directors only.

A particular challenge to symmetries of knowledge was StART's gain of a new 'wave' of members after the GLA purchase. This created significant hierarchies of knowledge

and experience as project details reached ever growing levels of complexity, alongside the now established conventions of StART's participation and decision making. The difficulty of 'catching up' for new members was a recurrent theme in interviews. One newer member discussed their views of horizontality:

Activist: *Yeah, learned a lot from it really, because I guess I went into it as someone who, had optimism about horizontal networks. And I guess that's been a bit of a romantic mindset. I still think it's really important, but I thought that seemed like a good idea. I guess you get to see the problems. But it's kind of like a microcosm, really, to see some of the problems that emerge when you have a structure like that, which is the issue of soft power more than anything. And it just seemed like normally these meetings were egalitarian and horizontal and everything like that, but if you had asked me you know, who runs StART, I'd be able to tell you who the people who run StART are, you know what I mean?*

Activist: *I think it showed the organisation for what it actually was, what it is, because you can say you have these principles all the time if they're never challenged, but when they're challenged by the conflict that arose, then you can see how quickly they evaporate, and they were never really there. You know, the idea that there was this flat hierarchal structure, that only existed as long as that whole structure worked to the benefit of the most involved.*

The asymmetry with new members was compounded by the accumulated knowledge founders and early participants had accumulated over five years, by the summer of 2018. As was discussed in the Community chapter, some members were contributing thirty hours a week to work for StART beyond meetings, and these individuals built up the majority of StART's knowledge of plans for, and likely planning parameters of, the site and development contacts, others' focus on subgroup work rendered them uncomfortable with the singularity of themselves as a 'node' between StART internally and externally:

Activist: *I became a little bit too much of a key person in the environment group, because*

I was doing more of the work and ended up with more of the connections and it's the phone numbers on my phone. And it's not like someone could just take it from me and carry on.

Individual time, in both length and intensity of contribution and the resultant knowledges built up undeniably provided a vector of hierarchy within the group, as was widely acknowledged in interviews. To many this was benign, because it was mediated by trust, however, it does question as to StART's ability to resist power relations of the external world "within…against…that cuts through". As discussed in the Community Chapter, who had the privilege of time to devote to StART and housing activism within Haringey reproduced existing structural inequalities. As a result, time became a vector of hierarchy within the group, as those who contributed time beyond meetings were often listened to more than those who didn't, and this posed a problematic opening to power relations, as did StART's internalised politics of expertise, often consolidated by length of participation.

Scrutiny as Territorialisation

New members are ultimately a privileged problem of success and upscaling. However, amid widespread awareness and StART's attempts to examine its informal hierarchy, internal practices of questioning were interpreted as scrutiny, and counter-productive, with one interviewee describing this as 'disruption'. This became aligned with individuals many increasingly did not perceive as productively contributing to StART's progress:

Activist: *And I think at that point you could have been just, and we were actually, like how can we make this more effective, how can it change? But we, but the person we came up against at that point just, for whatever reason, a disruptor, in a lot of different ways, that just made things more difficult. And literally my email traffic just doubled, the minute [they] started. You know, that what's it felt like.*

The difficult reaction to such scrutiny lay In the Informality of hierarchy, scrutiny a

practice that recognised a formal leadership and demanded accountability from them. As such, it was viewed as "unhelpful" to StART's work and aims by the majoritarian ethic in StART. This relied on a hierarchy of expertise considered valuable, and attributed co-operative capital, within the group.

A Tyrannical Hierarchy of Expertise

Although informal hierarchies within StART were dynamic and shifting according to the matter being discussed, they were to a degree territorialised by the resultant emergent politics of expertise within StART. This was the most contentious and visible dynamic and determinant of hierarchy; the decision-making workshop of April 2019 ended with a resolution to ban the word expert, yet it returned to the group's discursive vocabulary at the next meeting, as expertise proved difficult to problematise without the word, remaining as it did a critical discussion within StART. This compounded expertise as perceived as a relational individual attribute, a *dispositif,* rather than a common and collectively held resource, and one that coagulated in founder members, Directors and the GLA4, who were often the same individuals. Some interviewees acknowledged hierarchy but believed founder members managed asymmetries of knowledge well:

Activist: *Because they had given their lives to this project and they'd become very very expert, having not known that much about it at the beginning. I think they were also incredibly generous and open and conscious of being holders of this and wanted more people to have the knowledge, so that there was less pressure on them, I think. And so I personally basically looked to them as leaders.*

Interviewees who discussed this topic agreed that while horizontality was skewed in StART, expertise catalysed a difficult politics of distrust surrounding this emerging hierarchy. While time and knowledge accrued established StART's internal perceptions of expertise, some newer members were listened to more than others, and this was largely determined by past development experience, contributed as knowledge. It was this prioritisation of gaining and development knowledge, externally gained, that appeared "hegemonic" in their prioritisation over the social reproduction of the group.

Furthermore, those privileged by this valency tended to be older, white, middle-class men, reflecting London's professional built environment sector. Here, StART served to compound the internal power of influence onto those who had it externally. This was recognised across StART's loyalties:

Activist: Yeah, I think CLTs or StART need to work harder at valuing other kinds of experience and expertise, but you're battling against societal values you know.

To a certain extent, hegemonic societal values shaped a hierarchy of valued expertise determined by StART's core mission, to develop land in London, but community engagement skills were valued, closely following development expertise. No less than six interviewees identified one individual and their street stall contribution as both a personal talent and an asset to StART. Nonetheless, expertise development, was privileged by time allocated to development discussion and within decision making, both by those with them and those contributing other skills.

Activist: *But it's very difficult to find space to value other qualities that are important, like hours you know, even like [activist], when he does outreach, he's very good, he's very good at talking to people in the streets but he doesn't think of that as a useful quality and it takes a while to inevitably convince him that the passion he has for this project is really important.*

As the above quote demonstrates, members recognised the privileging of skills, experience and knowledge already privileged in society with. StART's focus on the development process exacerbating this. While this was an understandable prioritisation during the negotiation phase of StART's envisioned development path, here, Federici's feminist critique of the common, and its tendency to undervalue socially reproductive labour as much as the mainstream economy is a valuable lens. StART had access to a range of material socially reproductive resources, from access to crèche materials and a set aside childcare budget for public events, alongside a number of people willing to provide food and labour for these. Nonetheless, this labour, which was irregular, but vital to maintaining StART's quorate AGMs and consultation attendance, was arguably not

valued to the same degree as that promoting StART's potential influence in the development:

Activist: *When it comes down to getting work done, other than preparing food, she's always disappeared.*

Image 24: Food at the 2018 AGM

But while social reproduction work for public meetings was undervalued, for the 'Main' Directors meetings it was completely absent. One interviewee noted this absent ethic of care, and pondered its impact on the patterning of participation:

Activist: *And do you know what makes me really sad about StART meetings, so I have never brought any biscuits! But just like there's no, like everyone's tired and hungry, and no one brings any biscuits! (Laughs)*

Yeah, my friend runs women's strike meetings and there's always childcare every

meeting, they always provide hot meals so that they can either take it home and feed their family, so they don't have to stress about coming to the meetings or they can just eat it. And they just don't really think, and they make it like times, and I don't mean too long and like, all this stuff is, it's really nice to think about, the community, to get people involved. And yeah, the group should be doing that.

While this comment raises a valid point about enabling activism, it also highlights that socially reproductive practices were materially and ideologically absent from StART's weekly meetings, focused as they were on the work agenda of advancing development. Much like the community engagement it supported, social reproduction was a peripheral supportive agenda to StART, considered to enable wide participation, but absent in the field of deep and sustained participation shaping StART's strategy at fortnightly meetings. To a large extent, StART's hierarchy of expertise followed its priorities, and there followed a choice not to simultaneously "battle against" societal values. As DeLanda (2021: 24) notes, capacity is always a conscious decision of priorities, and subverting hegemonic development practices prioritised development knowledges contributed to StART.

To some this seemed coldly "hegemonic" yet StART existed to seek to maximise its external influence, over hegemonic practices of development planned for St Ann's by the state and market. As the discussion on identity below reveals, experience in organisational reproduction, specifically equalities procedures were less valued, and internal scrutiny questioned as contribution. StART's existential strategy privileged certain professional externally gained expertise, over those gained in realms beyond economic production. As much as hierarchy and the formation of a "soft power core", this was equally the result of issues of unity and identity as it was the identification StART's core mission, at a point where capacity for internal focus was perceived to be absorbed by the GLA discussions.

Nonetheless, what remained crucial was the existence of informal hierarchy at all. StART remained stymied between the proclamation of a horizontal ethic and delegations demanded by the vertically organised GLA, alongside emergent internal hierarchies,

crystallised by the negotiations. Within the acknowledged gap between rhetoric and territorialising reality, as identified by an interviewee, distrust of StART's internal management of power as hypocrisy proliferated among those who felt unrecognised by it.

9.3 Unity

While Hardt and Negri identify unity as the second obstacle to the transformative potential of the common, it is not necessarily clear how unity poses an obstacle to dynamism. Critiques of the commons from radical democracy argue such regimes, governing "the ever contentious sphere of the political" (Rancière 1999: 14) overemphasise unity and consensus, and fail to successfully manage and incorporate dissent. Others emphasise consensus always requires exclusion (Connelly and Richardson 2004: 5). StART, emerging as a loose grouping reliant on trust, a "hybrid of interpersonal networks and institutions" (DeLanda 2021: 34) did not design decision making and conflict management mechanisms that could manage either dissent or acknowledge or diffuse informal power, influence, so breeding mistrust. This section will discuss these as attempted institutionalised practices before reframing the question of unity as one of power and scale.

StART's Directors meetings operated primarily on consensus, with the potentiality to move motions to a vote. Nonetheless, the experience of debating organisational support for the StopHDV campaign established an expectation that if a fundamental disagreement arose, the dissenting member would leave, and stop contributing to StART. One ex-member I interviewed, who left over the HDV, described their decision to withdraw:

Activist: *I mean there are people who dominate. And consensual decision making is just a vehicle that isn't going to work anyway, it doesn't address the real issue for me. So there was consensual decision making around the anti-HDV statement, four people voted with me and my statement, and sixteen voted against. And consensual decision making is irrelevant…In StART it was a case of "right, well we'll continue this discussion next time". I*

wasn't interested in continuing this discussion, I'd lost the argument. And there wasn't really going to be any serious attempt to compromise on that, I was just wasting my time. But that discussion was over. So yes, the olive branch is offered, we'll carry on discussing this because there isn't a consensus, but, for what purpose?

While StART was ill equipped to deal with dissent, this precedent of departure presented a valency towards distrust when others later did not follow it.

Activist: *Yeah, I feel things possibly should have just been healthy majority decisions and that if you were in a small minority and it's such a bad decision for you that you feel you have to leave or something that, then that's when you might leave. I don't know. It's fair. I feel like, I think people blocking things was just sort of a bit weird.*

While participation waned during my research period in StART, I did not witness a member's departure stated as being the result of a particular decision. Instead dissent towards decisions was expressed in discussions as they moved towards consensus, requesting a recorded abstention, or blocking a motion. As time progressed, abstentions were rare and where motions were blocked, an impasse was noted, and the agenda item usually brought back for further discussion at the next meeting. On the two occasions I witnessed, those who had blocked did not attend the next meeting, and so motions were passed in their absence, blocking therefore acting solely as delay. As I did not see StART change course through a blocked decision, blocking served an inter-subjective performance of dissent within the group. Nonetheless, StART did carry out votes on larger strategic issues, both in the Masterplan consultations and in activist meetings. Support for StopHDV had gone to a vote in 2017 and the GLA4's withdrawal was decided by majority in September 2019.

However, as blocking as a demonstration of dissent increased in regularity, arguably itself a demonstration of distrust in StART's informal leadership, there began a majoritarian impulse to ostracise those who repeatedly questioned decisions or dissented, including, but not limited to the white man interested in transparency and the black woman critical of the limitations of StART's equalities and anti-racist agendas. Ill-

managed dissent was problematised as one of persistent dissenters withholding trust from the other members. Furthermore, the emphasis on unity conflicted with the autonomy subgroups were given. StART had no institutional scalar mechanism to deal with conflict within or between subgroups or to takeover 'delayed' decisions. The perceptions that the Inclusion Subgroup ceased to carry out its role are documented above. Eventually, a task deemed of strategic necessity, importance and ultimately urgency, recruiting the Community Engagement Worker, was taken over by the Strategy Group, reinforcing the informal hierarchy of subgroups. Nonetheless, StART contained no institutional mechanisms to deal with distrust within or of a subgroup and as discussed above, the forced hierarchy of subgroups by the Strategy Group's takeover crystallised the distrust of informal power already expressed in the subgroup.

Without institutional mechanisms to diffuse conflict, alongside growing interpersonal disagreement and those dissenting refusing to exclude themselves, interviews revealed a great deal of frustration on the parts of members of StART which held the majoritarian view as to the impact of this persistent dissent, growing distrust and demands to manage it placed on StART's decision-making and therefore, progress:

Activist: *The main difference for me was that it went from an external focus to an internal focus, and I felt then we stopped really talking about our aims, our strategy, or er, housing. And so it felt impossible to counter, StART shifted from an organisation being completely one of trust and collaboration and shared vision to one of these individuals basically questioning everything, distrusting, thinking information was being withheld, that the Directors were running the show.*

There just became an incremental, sowing seeds of discontent, I suppose. And that's not to say that StART didn't need to change or look at stuff, I think everybody was open to that but it felt like it just, after a period that we were, we couldn't even get through three agenda points, because everything was criticised, everything was taken apart, decisions were obstructed, we felt for the sake of winning your point rather than actually what was good for...what was the feel of the room, where was the room going, that all became lost.

As the statements of Directors at the 2019 AGM against the election of the persistent dissenters to Directorship publicly confirmed, this distrust was mutually reinforcing.

At this point, dissent and disunity became disconnected from discursive practices of decision-making and scrutiny, as it transformed to explicitly interpersonal distrust. StART's institutional practices to manage inter-personal complaints were also lacking, problematised by the group's horizontality and emblematic of its form as a "hybrid of interpersonal networks and institutions" (DeLanda 2021:34):

Activist: *It's all kind of based on the idea that people will just be friends with each other and act in good faith. And say, it just that, that like that lack of structure actually means that it becomes way more difficult to resolve. Yeah, if you do open up to a wider community and with the people around each other and part of the same network, you're probably still going to get conflict. And it's going to be harder to resolve if you have that kind of structure, because the people who normally are the ones that resolve the issues are kind of, the soft power core, if that makes sense?*

StART's complaints procedures were individualised, private and largely conducted through email with members who had volunteered to undertake the role. Its practice was challenged about being fit for purpose. Some interviewees questioned the wisdom of segregating complaints from Directors' meetings as the main forum of activist interaction:

Activist: *I think, as I said, that the complaints procedure, was not produced collectively. So, it had a premade model that was devised for, I don't know, a charity. It was just a paper that StART used saying if you have a complaint, this is what you have to do… And then you have to speak to a couple of us who are supposed to take on this labour of dealing with this. There was a question around legitimacy: why did these people have this role? And I think there was also an appreciation that these people were doing a very difficult job, and the question of whether they had emotional support to do that. I think the whole process had issues and the blame, for me, was not on the individuals that took on that role. But it was more about the group trying to find out whether that was an*

appropriate process to start with and the people who were supposed to be listening to the complaints and ensuring accountability had enough understanding and support to do that.

Ultimately, processes did not enjoy enough confidence to serve to reconcile or discipline any breaches of StART's guidelines, nor was it above critique of procedures as practiced. Inter-personal distrust from the "soft power core" was raised in public forums, both the 2019 AGM and the demand dissenters leave at a Directors' meeting in early November. As discussed above, StART also extensively explored outside assistance with internal dispute, agreeing to and seeking first mediation then arbitration. This was not in place ahead of the November resignations, and once the "soft power core" had resigned, StART had lost the personnel on one side of the bifurcation to participate. Without these members, discussions of mediation continued, but reconciliation with those remaining present failed to progress, despite demands, as StART staggered on, eventually resulting in legal action around the distrust performed at the AGM.

When interviewed, external stakeholders to StART conveyed a regretful sentiment StART was not open about the degree of dissent it was experiencing until it was "too late", and the autopoietic, fatal impacts it had on StART's negotiation capacities:

Consultant: *I mean, the point I was trying to make, this idea of strategic view about how you extract the best you can, and then the way that StART organises being quite inextricably linked. A good example of that is I remember going a meeting quite late in the day, and probably it was inevitable that these sorts of breakdowns are happening by then, but I hadn't seen it in person at that point, where most of the meeting was taken up by deciding who should chair the meeting, and people trying to veto one another from chairing it, on the same lines of this general breakdown between people or sects or sides or whatever. And obviously when you get to that point you can't possibly plan ahead, so that the whole mission of the organisation seemed to be going towards trying to neutralise this meltdown rather than actually progress with the objectives. And I think when you get to that stage, it's stating the obvious a little bit, but there was no role for us anymore.*

To an extent, the London Hub echoed the view that institutional structures of trust, and protection from distrust, had to be built before distrust took root:

Lev Kerimol: *I think it's really difficult, and it's a real shame. I don't think any of us can really resolve it externally. There was something about, this going on for the last nine months and maybe if you'd told someone earlier, before people had to resign, you could have brought in some facilitators, you could have worked out the governance a bit better. This kind of thing happens, and not just in community-led housing, it happens in many organisations and there are facilitators, conflict resolution, a whole industry that can be brought into this world. I think it happens a lot, perhaps more than others, with co-ops and there are a bank of people you can call on to do mediation, facilitation, conflict resolution type stuff and there's loads of good practice on governance and I think if it had been flagged a bit earlier, maybe there was something that could have been done about it but who knows, that's all a bit…it's almost a bit too late now I think*

As documented above, StART consistently discussed and sought external assistance in a realm of specialisms, from Equalities training and focused workshops to then mediation and arbitration, with decreasing success in organising them as conflict intensified and members resigned. Given my partial temporality of participation, it remains possible earlier external, institutional design assistance could have helped StART in overcoming conflict in light of its institutional emphasis on consensus. Nonetheless, institutional reliance on trust as a "lubricant of co-operation" and its institutional facilitation ignores the discursive texture, the very politics, of that dissent. In StART, this was a member's experience of racism. This, "the political" (Mouffe 2005, 2022) of internal distrust is now discussed as the "obstacle" to the common of identity.

9.4 Identity

Identity remains the most ambiguous and theoretically complex of the "obstacles that destroy the common" (2009: 195) identified by Hardt and Negri, and this is particularly the case in their perspective on race. Hardt and Negri identify anti-racism as

a "parallel struggle", acknowledging "discourses of national integration have not eliminated racial subordination but have only made the continuing colonization less visible and thus more difficult to combat" (2009: 328). While Hardt and Negri propose the commons as the potential vehicle for this struggle, they assert these envisioned entwined process of parallel emancipations "are not automatic and have to be achieved" (2009: 340) to ensure commoning must ensure the "self-abolition of identity… key to understanding how revolutionary politics can begin with identity but not end up there" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 332). Conversely, it can be assumed commoning regimes, where "love's gone bad", can replicate this subordination, so breeding distrust.

Clearly, StART was not a place "beyond identity", in either its majoritarian concern with the diversity of participation and inclusion, and the strong critique presented to the organisation. Nonetheless, identity is not solely a minoritarian phenomenon of individuals, nor does it necessarily impact trust. This section builds on the discussion of StART as a "white space" (Arbell 2021) in the Community Chapter. It first discusses identity on the scale of the group, revealing differing ontological geographies of CLTs that fundamentally shaped expectations of participants of a "parallel struggle" of anti-racism for some, and a resistance to such politics for others, with discussion of the wider English CLT sector. It will then discuss StART's problematic internal politics of race and identity, before examining StART's resistance to overt anti-racism and its actions at the AGM within a frame of whiteness.

As Hardt and Negri acknowledge, Harris identifies "whiteness as a property, which has accorded its holders benefits" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 326) "regarded as a possession and defended as property" (2009: 329). As a result, a distrust of the form and proponent of anti-racism within StART's majority grew, eventually resulting in the 2019 AGM, subsequent resignations and eventually collapse. In viewing whiteness as a dominant property and "orientation" (Ahmed 2007: 151) of action, this framing suggests StART as a realm of the commons not only resisted the political, "partitioning the sensible" (Rancière 2006 in Panagaia 2010: 99) as strategic choice between propositional reformism over oppositional radicality, but that this resistance to anti-racism was key to the group's eventual collapse, identity indeed an obstacle that destroyed the common.

StART's Group Identity

Critiques of StART's inclusiveness came from several members over time, not all of them of colour, nor did every member of colour raise this criticism. One thread of scrutiny was a critique that StART was not an overtly anti-racist organisation.

Activist: *I don't think StART was openly discussing anti-racism or openly had an anti-racist approach. I think that maybe individuals within the group did, but not as, not as a community group. That didn't seem to be a central tenet. I know that at some point, they started reading, at the start of meetings, a statement, but the language of that statement was not a language of anti-oppression. It was the language that was much more watered down, I guess. So, it was more about inclusion. It said something about how everyone should feel safe to contribute. But it didn't spell out what feeling safe means and what the systems that cause people to feel safe or unsafe are.*

This "boundary work" excluding an emancipatory politics of racial justice amid a changing Tottenham and Haringey context resulted from a number of factors. Firstly, many believed StART's desired outcome, a CLT in the context of predicted and witnessed displacement with unequal racial impact (Lees 2016) itself fulfilled anti-racist aims. Related to this existential mission of StART, to secure the site for the community, calls for anti-racism as an overt core agenda met with StART's unwillingness to embrace a critical "wider politics" than may risk maximising influence over future of the site. This strategy had also guided the decision not to publicly support the HDV:

Activist: *That's how we got the place at the table you know, through very skilful, impeccable and considered and professional behaviour. And you basically think you have to do a job of impressing them to a certain degree, into believing that you are credible. But you're not going to scream your politics at them, you know just criticise them publicly. Negotiation is negotiation, it's very difficult. And we wanted to win. We didn't want to prove a point, we actually wanted to win. Affordable housing, you know, that's the difference.*

Furthermore, to many in StART, including those motivated politically by anarchism or views of public ownership and who viewed themselves as activists, StART featured in a personal portfolio of participation in activist groups. Many of the founder members in StART, and others, were involved in local and democratic political organisations, including those with explicit anti-racist aims, such as solidarity with migrants. This portfolio of groups for different purposes perhaps rendered activists with a narrow perspective as to the purpose and aims of StART, yet also assumed a large individual capacity for activism elsewhere.

Secondly, group capacity was, as the discussion of the Away Day highlights, highly valued and by many, required to be productive. StART was highly aware of its limited capacity, particularly in comparison to private and even public sector development actors surrounding the site, and it was this that guided prioritisation of its "core" mission and practices, with the diversity of participation a secondary concern. Furthermore, it's ontological consciousness of becoming a CLT saw, as is discussed in the Community Chapter, much of this work remained immanent delayed for an optimistic future as StART upscaled and transitioned from group to organisation. The question of capacity raised sympathy from members of the CLT support sector:

Stephen Hill: *I do know it was an issue that they were very exorcised with, but they didn't really have the...the thing is voluntary organisations, taking on an extraordinary task, and having achieved an extraordinary amount, the expectations on them to have a fully functioning policies of inclusion and the capacity to make that happen were unrealistic.*

Nonetheless, StART was the only community group proposing critical alternative plans for the site. Furthermore, as the GLA bought the site, the group became the legitimate, and only, forum for public participation. Expectations of *"fully functioning policies of inclusion and the capacity to make that happen"* raise wider questions for English CLTs and other forms of community-led planning as they develop from group and organisation, and to inhabit a quasi-public authority space. This will be returned to in the conclusions.

The UK Sector as "White Space"

Thirdly, and again of relevance to the wider English CLT movement, StART's identity and positioning was shaped by precedent and engagement with groups within the English and European Land Justice and housing movements, including CLTs. As is discussed in the Literature Review, these have rarely featured a politics of racial justice and the English CLT movement does not emphasise them as a vehicle of abolitionism themselves. Stephen Hill, a civil servant who visited the American South, highlighted the rural as the basis of policy transfer from the United States in the mid 2000s:

Stephen Hill: *It's kind of purest manifestation of that has been in rural CLTs. You know, from the kind of things I've written, like, I'm very persuaded of the value of community organising, in making these things happen, especially the early ones, through the Civil Rights Movement. And it's obviously the model that will drive a lot of what's coming in the years to come, and I think, in a funny way, that rural village CLTs are a particularly English way of community organising.*

From discussions, I was aware this history was a central inspiration to some activists, including some members of colour. Members therefore had different ontologies of justice and ontological geographies or the CLT movement, another member also discussed their interest in the kibbutz in their own politics of land justice.

However for many, the CLT as anti-racist model was grounded in its suitability for a changing Haringey, rather than a historical policy geography, This was particularly clear from a presentation of the history of CLTs emphasising American abolitionist examples, by another scholar-member to a wider gathering of members at the 2018 AGM.

Activist: *When I talked about looking at the CLT history, a lot of people were not aware of it. So, there seemed to be little commitment, I guess, to the history of it being an approach used by Black communities in order to secure land. I don't think there was an ideological commitment or even a lot of awareness about it [in the English CLT*

movement].

Feedback from the audience which was awkwardly relayed at the next meeting was that this was "too academic", yet clearly this history was more than 'academic' for some members. Again, this positioning as a "pragmatic" organisation presented questions returned to in the Concluding Chapter.

Finally, this 'pragmatism' resulted in resistance to anti-racism as a core message through not only a lack of English CLT precedents in doing so, but a perceived pragmatic strategic position defined by the development sector StART knew it would need to work with. The concerns of CLTs with diverse representation and participation, when compared to private sector development was a frustration to London CLT's Director Lev Kerimol.

Lev Kerimol: *I know this topic gets discussed quite a lot in community-led housing circles and there's often a lot of self-flagellation that it's not diverse enough and not representative enough - 'It's just a thing middle-class people want to do', and some co-housing that has that edge to it, but I think it's slightly less the case for CLTs and co-ops and there's a couple of things to bear in mind. One is compare it to the sort of people who are on the LDP? They are probably all middle-aged white men, and you look at any developer, any housing association, it's predominantly that, and anything compared to that is a far greater improvement. That's one thing to state very clearly and I don't know why community-led housing gets hung up on it, because they are miles ahead compared to conventional development.*

To an extent, the sector recognised its own whiteness with the Diversity Funding StART accessed to fund their Outreach officer. Sector professionals recognised the sector's lack of diversity also impacted on the English CLT sector through the focus of the rural in gathered expertise:

Stephen Hill: *At the moment is that in the way in which CLT are growing now, and the particular strength of growth, growth points in rural areas, is that you've got a particular*

cohort of people who were skilled in advising CLTs as you say all, elderly, white, I could go on! But the, what we're now seeing is a new generation of advisors coming through, and other really good people, including from BAME backgrounds, are getting into this work.

Given the whiteness of the London development sector, and a skew towards rurality in the English CLT sector, the absence of an anti-racist politics followed the "conventional development" focus that defined StART as an alternative fundamentally one opposed to land commodification on the site. While StART had a commitment to diverse participation and representation, this was, as discussed in the Community Chapter, a peripheral and secondary agenda. StART, like all English CLTs before it, lacked an anti-racist or emancipatory agenda at its core, despite its location in Tottenham. One member's' solution to this was to develop StART's connections with other local struggles:

Activist: *We're going to find it pretty difficult. That is not to say that it's impossible, but I just think we're beginning to appreciate that now. So personally, my thing is about developing strategic alliances, because in some way, I think the game is over for StART. In order to change the DNA of the organisation as established as it was in Year One, we can't change that now, or changing that is going to take an awful long time, now the best we can do is go back to a sort of Our Tottenham model where we join our struggle with working class struggles, with black struggles, with migrant struggles all of which have housing and security and the determinants of health in the. That's what I see as the common ground between all of us, as is apparent in the Love Lane Peacock Estate, Wards Corner, there's enough work for those groups to do just to fight their own bloody struggles. So that's where I'm going with that, strategic alliances, rather than changing StART.*

Nonetheless, StART's identity, and its "boundary work", for diversity buts against a group identity with a core mission of anti-racism, confirms Negri's assertion that encompassing parallel struggles is "not automatic and has to be achieved" (2009: 341). Without such commitment, StART did not present itself as "against and cutting through" dominant, majoritarian and "hegemonic" power asymmetries of race and class in wider English society and urban development, instead arguably adopting hegemonic discourses

of diversity, with internal consequences. In examining hierarchy, unity and identity, many practices of StART's boundary work betray a metropolitan whiteness.

Internal Discomfort: Whiteness and Unity

In defining anti-racism as a parallel struggle, Hardt and Negri identify the object of that struggle as hegemonic whiteness, a whiteness which operates akin to property (Harris 1993) and "accords its holders benefits" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 326). As scholars of whiteness have noted, it is invisible, the "unmarked marker" (Garner 2007: 42) which reveals itself and its social construction only in "localised" (Frankenburg 1997:2) interactions in time and space. Nonetheless, as an "orientation" (Ahmed 2007: 151) whiteness impacts trust through affect, nor least comfort. Ahmed maintains white bodies within white spaces gain power from their orientation within comfort. "Institutions too involve orientation devices, which keep things in place. The affect of such placement could be described as a form of comfort" (Ahmed 2009: 158).

Discomfort provides a valuable frame to understand the affect distrust generated, leading to the actions of the AGM and afterwards. Furthermore, whiteness as discomfort was visible to those StART activists who identified as white and participated in interviews and reflected on the experiences of racism in the group. Here, it is also notable a generational divide emerged between participants, which younger members identified:

Activist: *So, I think there's, I think there's a massive snowballing, if you want to talk about you know, what actually happened, what the actual cause of the massive snowball effect really? I think, it's people the people who are, they are, that kind of that that sort of that sort of Gen X age range tend to react very defensively when they're called out for being, even for racist actions, I'm talking more generally now but actually sometimes they believe themselves to, fundamentally, not be racist. And so when they're called out on it, they're extremely defensive "I'm no racist, how dare you?". Whereas I guess for people my age most, not everyone but most people, ok a lot of people, especially in London, or areas where there is exposure sort of thing, understand that you can never know, it's not like a personality trait as such, being a racist, not like a hobby.*

Interviews with older members did acknowledge a wider racist society and internalisation, but revealed a higher degree of discomfort with a sense of accusation:

Activist: *I think yeah, there was a definite shock factor and a kind of, I think there's something about the word racist isn't there, it's not, you know if you were talking about this in terms of gender you wouldn't be saying you're a rapist, you'd be saying, you're a misogynist, or sexist and it's everyday sexism or whatever, you've got different words to describe different types of things. Whereas if you've just got the word racism, well you just immediately go 'well I'm not racist, because I don't want to be racist, I can't be racist, because I don't want to be, because that's wrong!' And therefore you're not able to go into that space that acknowledges that actually you are, because you live in a racist society, and a lot of it is unconscious, and all of that.*

Activist: *So, I think, I think we all have to be aware of our own racism, don't we? I got it, then you should be able to, you know, understand it. And I think that we will go through that process. Those of us who won't, I mean, I obviously I am sort of in the middle because I am, I'm not white. So, I've had some of it but not nearly to the extent of many. And, but I think that the difficulty is, there's a difference between, there's a difference between unconscious bias and being racist.*

Comfort is a valuable lens to understand critiques of StART's Inclusion Statement, which was subject to revision in 2020, and it is this discomfort which reveals whiteness at work in StART. Despite fairly opposing views on the issue and subjects in mind, participants revealed a sense of distrust in the perception StART was unable to build a safe space, for black or white people, within which racism or whiteness could be discussed, and within which trust could be built:

Activist: *Everyone should feel safe to contribute to something like that. But didn't spell out what, what feeling safe means like, what are the systems that cause people to feel safe.*

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Activist: *And that was the whole point of you know, if you create the safe space to understand that, but also other forms of privilege as well and all of that then that's a really important thing to do, but that safe space was never there.*

However, alongside these recognitions of StART's and its white participants positioning within a racist society, analyses of events shared in group meetings and interviews were often highly personalised, including doubting the mental health of those who regularly presented dissent to the majoritarian position within StART. While there is no research value, and serious ethical consideration in including this heavily personal material, it is of value to highlight the existence of these explanations. Discussion repeatedly turned to how members felt meetings and certain members had become too "combative", despite their sympathy for the issues of race being discussed:

Activist: *Yeah, I really have an internal struggle, but also there are other women of colour who I think really suffer as a result of her actions. And no that's not her accusing people of racism, not those actions but other, like cruel actions, I mean sometimes. Yeah, I have internal struggles again, in my head about it, because I'm like, that's the thing, she's calling out racism. And it's valid.*

Activist: *So you know I felt in particular it was two individuals who, yeah, you know I think both have psychological and mental difficulties. And even though they were both spoken to separately by members, you know by StART Directors, for want of a better word, and other members about their behaviour, that their behaviour became yeah, obstructive, destructive and domineering.*

Despite their personal nature, these quotes are reproduced as evidence of a discomfort among StART members with the combative tone of discussions around the issues of equality as they were raised. This in itself is a whiteness at work. The above quotes criticise behaviours that went against localised and internally defined norms of respect and respectable behaviour within and on behalf of StART. The orientation towards consensus, and the expectation of individual departure if dissenting indicates a discomfort with dissent. An expectation of unity in itself ignores the multiple

subjectivities of the multitude present within the common, particular relevant where those who were more combative included women of colour. Further, such dismissal in discomfort further racialised complainants (Ahmed 2021), not least towards the trope of the 'Angry Black Woman'.

Nonetheless, in interviews, members in the majoritarian group were aware of the groupism and othering occurring within the group, particularly towards newer members. As a result, a majoritarian ethic itself arose discomfort and distrust for some:

Activist: *"There's something a bit uncomfortable about that in a group, you know, its playground stuff, isn't it? Yeah. I have a feeling that we're the ones that probably, that are the problem, not [them], because I can't really see how two people can be diagnosed as being a problem within a larger group. I mean, if this is something that feels like and we're the ones who are not seeing this right, or not looking right."*

As time went on, discussion moved from the exclusionary nature of StART's practices to overtly exclusionary decisions, including the public exclusion at the AGM. As another female member of colour stated at the next Directors meeting, the AGM "felt like a lynching". Clearly, this action provoked discomfort for both StART's active and passive members, but this selected language, which provoked emotive reactions as "unhelpful" from some white members of StART, clearly displays a racialised politics within which these actions were received by other members of colour within the group.

Nonetheless, these complaints, even before the practiced and personal exclusion of the AGM presented a positive demand for an anti-racist organisation, to and within which those who identified and motivated their activism through Black politics could contribute. While a racialised understanding of community structurally explained the absence of minorities to some members of StART, a reason for their presence, fighting displacement as anti-racist action, was given little accommodation.

Whiteness and Hierarchy

Beyond this discomfort with animated dissent and the impact of othering on unity, whiteness was also "fused into" StART's informal hierarchies of influence and their particular grounding in expertise. StART's core mission, focused on the future development of the site, developed an ontology towards London's development sector, privileging knowledge created within the *doxa* of a white dominated world, where skills, senior experience and expertise within development were distributed heavily towards older, white men. These contributions to were listened to, alongside those with more free time and length of contribution to have built up knowledge through participation in StART. Here, societal structures of inequality in English society not only penetrated but were reproduced by their decision-making processes. Within a realm of inequitably distributed expertise, StART's division of a core and peripheral focus prevented it from working "against and cutting through" power distributions already existent in London's urban development. Although StART worked with development actors seeking alternative investment in affordable rent income, the potentiality of alternative routes, and their barriers, demanded development knowledge. StART's review of decision-making did not report ahead of the resignations, the agenda instead folded into, and lost amid, the 'housekeeping' activities of late 2019 and 2020. Therefore, questions of hierarchy, expertise and its perceived, relational distribution were not successfully collectively discussed or ever resolved before dissolution.

Nonetheless, some of those critical of StART did suggest a long-term goal that identified whiteness and informal leadership within StART's supposed horizontal organisation.

Activist: I still think changing StART needs to happen, but over, it needs to be a longer, planned approach. For example, our governance, our leadership, should, I strongly believe we should set ourselves a strategic objective that within five to ten years this should be an organisation that is led by black, working-class migrant people. We should make that a specific objective. That's within our power to set that.

As this quote notes, by late 2019 a minority in StART had identified the need for specifically non-white leadership, and the advocation of such a strategy confirms the pursuit of any struggle against whiteness was far from "automatic". By mid 2020, StART had collapsed. While some argue an absence of trust is a feature of pluralist and diverse society (Etzioni 1993 in Swain and Tait 2007: 236), perhaps an intrinsic condition of the multitude, it does not follow that the distrust within StART was necessarily "automatic".

Whiteness had a complex interplay with trust and distrust via all three "obstacles that destroy the common" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 195), identity, unity and hierarchy. All of these contributed not only to an absence of trust as the lubricant of co-operation, but an active distrust, grown in discomfort, took hold as a desiccant to it. It is difficult to identify a causal relationship between StART's strategic 'failure' and its failure to challenge hegemonic societal whiteness. Firstly, this was never a codified or explicit aim of the group, the largely rural English CLT movement setting a precedent without racial politics. Secondly, success depended on trust as a lubricant of co-operation at the external scales, in partnership with state authorities in future and planned governance relationships. While this is returned to in the conclusions, this chapter completes its focus on internal trust and distrust in StART by situating this research project, and researcher, within the patterning of whiteness and other privileges.

9.5 Trust and the Researcher

Where trust is the object of research, it is simultaneously the medium of all participatory and action based methods (Huchler and Sauer 2015: 148) and equally the "lubricant of co-operation" (Arrow 1974) such research strategies require. Furthermore, a research project produced within an activist campaign conceptualised as an assemblage then logically frames research practices as a component assemblage of practices itself, within the wider constellation, positioned as an ever unstable, dynamic and partial perspective. Such an understanding frames transmissions of trust, power and agency as central to the re-production of the subjectivity of the academic researcher, herself subject to processes of becoming and territorialisation within the group, through the *dispositifs* of research as encounter, exchanging differing resources of inter-

subjective trust with individual participants, varying over time.

While the Methodology has attempted to reflect on this research project, and its limitations, this section attempts to characterise and contextualise the action research project within StART's trajectory. The variegated patterns of trust placed in research and researcher as practices and agent, myself, is itself mediated by and revelatory of the delicate patterns of trust, its collapse and the rise of distrust within StART. This discussion aims not to problematise this as solely a failure of research but as revealing patterns of "in-group difference" (Levinson 2017: 389) of affectual response to an action research project. This reveals trust as medium to the ethically critical practices of extraction, selection and silencing research is always conducted through. Such an approach attempts a reflexivity that acknowledges the landscape of reflexivity research as a "fragmented space, webbed across gaps in understanding, saturated with power, but also, paradoxically, with uncertainty" (Rose 1997: 317)

"Trust as a medium of research is as multi-dimensional as trust as an object of research" (Huchler and Sauer 2015: 148). This section will first discuss the patterning of trust among StART members revealed by varying forms of non-participation in the research project and what this reveals about trust of the researcher and project. The second section will pose research as an "obstacle" within the group. In recognising both the temporality of a dynamic activist group, and PhD training as the acquisition of an identity as academic researcher, the third section will examine the dynamic foundation of the researcher's positional but ever shifting "here" (Ahmed 2007: 151) as research towards a doctorate served to reposition and re-privilege the researcher both within the group, and societally, gaining new and exclusive *dispositifs* of socially constructed expertise. The final section then further questions such claims by reflecting on writing, individually, according to academic formulations towards claims of objectivity, as a key realm to distrust the researcher as narrator and analyst.

The Researcher as Obstacle: Amid Hierarchy, Unity and Identity

As the Methodology acknowledges, my societal positionality bestowed me with

properties, *dispositifs,* that facilitated my acceptance as member and researcher with the majority of StART members and a degree of belonging, and comfort, within the group. As a 'native' North Londoner, white and middle-class, I shared a degree of social characteristics with many. While I was younger than most, research beginning in my early 30s, this age also meant I had a decade of professional experience, interpreted and relationally constructed as expertise in the GLA, to contribute. Yet as 9.2 discusses, the relational politics of expertise were never neutral, nor static, and trust dynamic. As the inter-subjective "lubricant of co-operation", it is imperative to position the positionality of the researcher amid StART's fluctuating patterns of internal trust and the obstacles to the common that formed amid them, hierarchy, unity and identity.

Hierarchy, informal and at first unrecognised, was reified in StART through the formal delegation of the GLA4, consolidating emerging hierarchies of expertise and contribution. Expertise was recognised either from external experience and the degree and 'length' of service in terms of contribution and gathered experience in StART. Here, the ethic of research reciprocity made clear to me when I first approached StART also furnished me with an individual motivation to contribute to StART's collective work tasks as much as possible, particularly early, before I began commuting to Sheffield and research began. I did this through specific contributions, such as volunteering to be on the interview panel for the administration worker and contributing to the then low-capacity Publicity subgroup. From this degree of non-academic contribution to the group's tasks at the beginning of my participation I gained not only first-hand observation of the group's administrative and decision-making practices but a high degree of interpersonal trust.

Alongside this demonstration of commitment and the affectations of my positioning within English society, my previous professional experience led to the group's general perception I had knowledge beyond academic research capacity to contribute, in turn itself also attracting some distrust. My previous professional experience as a GLA employee, in scrutiny, left me with extensive residual knowledge of the GLA's powers, practices and processes, perceived to be of value to the group and crucially, its core mission of state influence. While this was not necessarily an identification of expertise I pursued, but explanations I could contribute to discussion, this knowledge base provided

me with capital recognisable to StART's emerging hierarchy. I also had experience of 'political' practices, such as writing press releases and developing Party Political 'Lines to Take', formats I reproduced in StART's publicity group. This contribution as expertise was generally recognised in StART, including critical challenge I had positioned myself as an 'expert' on the GLA.

By the time StART ceased meeting in public in May 2020, I had volunteered for twenty-two months. This relatively lengthy contribution also contributed to my median placing within StART's hierarchy. This position particularly shifted after the mass resignations of November 2019, when by default I became one of the relatively longer-standing members of StART, such had been the cumulative effect of volunteer departure in the previous year and the resignations.

In terms of unity, this identification of expertise, and my awareness of my deficit of experience within community activism led me towards an ontological inclination to contributing to external facing discussions of StART, perhaps reflected in the subgroups I participated most in, Publicity and Strategy and discussed in the Ethics section of the Methodology. This was grounded in this perception I had little activist experience in, or security of identity from which to generate a normative stance towards "in group conflict", as is discussed in the methodology. This is perhaps a naive position in a project comprehending CLTs as a vehicle of the common(s), but a nervousness of a normative stance was also generated by concerns around reactivity and increasingly, as time went on, a personal concern that StART's internal discussions would not be reconciled through the group's agreed processes.

This navigation, inclined towards unity, was questioned by others at times. Ahead of the September 2019 AGM, I volunteered to count the votes, and did so with the admin worker. Shortly afterwards, there emerged around group meetings rumours from one member in particular I had been party to a dishonest voting process, and even potentially engineered it, a view that arguably relies on an understanding of my political experience as that in 'dark arts'. This was the closest I came to a personal conflict within StART, as I raised the issue with the member, who had been present in the Strategy meeting where I

both volunteered and requested clarification as to StART's counting method. Here, this performance of distrust was reliant on my previous professional identity, volunteered capacity to a specific, democratic task, and positioning within StART's hierarchy of influence. However, it also reveals the difficulty of maintaining a supposedly neutral ground between two already warring sides, where misinformation was actively created to align those actively seeking positions to construct neutrality 'between' the sides, to the other faction.

After the 2019 AGM the resignations of November, I had little confidence StART's conflict resolution practices, themselves under critical scrutiny, distrusted as unfit for purpose, could resolve the degree of dissent and animosity within the group. The consultancy work of the group in those months was one I was not alone in focusing my contribution, amid dysfunctions. I do not believe I was the sole member of StART to fear the constant emotional cost of ongoing participation, nor the least, given incidence of harm described above.

Activist: *So attending StART meetings recently is so unenjoyable and anxiety inducing.*

Furthermore, many members and by then ex-members of StART discussed using their interviews as a form of personal catharsis. I feel highly aware of the cost of disunity, discomfort and distrust to every single member of StART in 2019 and 2020.

During these final months of participation, a member who withdrew labelled me a bystander, simultaneously, scorning at an attempt at neutrality, and identifying a latent power I was choosing not to use. This raises the clear conclusion that this positioning within ever spiralling distrust could not guarantee the trust of all members. In retrospect, an attempt at internal neutrality is never a neutral practice, and my absence of a minoritarian ethic as a researcher-as-commoner is discussed in the Methodology. Nonetheless, the fear of dissent is arguably not solely one of participant research navigating positionality and the risk of power framed critically as "reactivity", but a property and practice of my own whiteness, as "oppressive concepts may be 'naturalized within our own experiences'" (Kobayashi, 1994: 78 in Rose 1997: 307). As a result, it is

clear my own *dispositifs,* positionalities and orientations contributed as obstacles to co-operation not only with my research project, but to trust in my positioning within StART.

Research as (re)Positioning and (re)Privileging

Examining the position of researcher within a politics of identity as obstacle to trust and the common demands an account of the process of academic research as one that bestows the researcher with both an identity as such and given the societal positioning and "professional status" (Kobayashi 1994: 76) of higher education, expertise.

In action research, where this structured individual gain requires group sanction, trust is the key "medium". I felt trusted by the majority of active participants in StART, who welcomed me and showed a significant degree of interest in the project in both supportive conversations and active support and, for varying reasons, interview participation. This unfolding welcome rather cemented my position within StART and its emerging hierarchies.

Nonetheless, I was increasingly held to an identity as researcher within the group by other members of the group, and this transition to a position of objectivity questioned. Alongside rumours of my efforts around the AGM vote, the concerns at ethical reviews as to my 'objectivity' deeply felt symmetrical to the Decision Making Group's scrutiny of another project amid the group's troubles. When I returned to the subject at the next meeting, to discuss my critical academic suspicions around claims of objectivity, the member who had raised this concern was not attending. Nonetheless, the withdrawal from participation consent was the culmination of this distrust of myself-as-positioned-researcher.

This is a distrust I share myself. It is deducible action research is a process that produces an activist-researcher, amid the group's ongoing trajectory of practices as assemblage. This is a transformation of subjectivity, a becoming, I did not feel automatically, confidently, and one I was particularly aware did not necessarily furnish me with an ethic of action towards the group's internal disputes and distrust. Amid fears

of reactivity, I increasingly perceived the group's disputes to present a dilemma of action or observation. With an undeveloped sense of identity as an activist before joining StART, I felt considerably lacking in knowledge that would assist the situation when compared to the activist experience of other members of the group on both sides of the forming dispute, compounded by the hierarchy of age, as the majority of those in direct conflict were older than me. At the most internally divided times, the identity of researcher as passive witness, observer, as bystander, felt the most legitimate position to conflict in the commons as StART's resolution of it increasingly became the object of research.

And yet, it was also the strategy that maximised my comfort. As a result, I can be accused of a retreat into the benefits of my own whiteness, in that I was both accepted by most StART's activists, and so could continue to actively co-operate with majoritarian priorities, external negotiations, while remaining more passive, and observant, of internal dispute. But as discussed above, of course whiteness was fused into this relation of power.

Perhaps the dynamics of the group's relations contributed to this lack of stable ground for, or between, the roles of the 'activist/researcher'. I began noting when and in which context I referred to StART as 'we' or 'they'. The greater the internal conflict, the greater degree to which I, in this space, distanced myself. This was not a contemporary accuracy of my positioning within the practices of the group and these silences in my field notes testify to a lack of stability in assessing my own position, and contribution, to the group as a researcher.

Nonetheless, I did identify as a *becoming*-researcher in an important, temporal regard, my notes from this time testify of a constant awareness I, in a not-too-distant future, would need to produce a thesis as manuscript narrating and analysing the events I was witnessing, both encompassing "the apparent materiality of writing" (Gilbert, J 2014:114) and "the fact that I have the final power of interpretation" (Gilbert, M 1994:94). This contemporary knowledge of a future, immanent realm of ultimately, power, never felt a privilege at the time, yet asymmetrically, it allowed me to delay my considerations and responses to a future point in time. I had a structured realm to

engage practices of analysis away from the group, the forum to share analysis for other participants. This stood in direct contrast to those who instead reconsidered their participation in StART along the way, along both sides of the dispute, and attempted to rescue the group, indeed, to govern the commons.

The distance of a research identity, and retreat to the constructed position of observer, betrayed me a limited contribution to internal dispute resolution, but it also allowed me an emotional distance that enabled the length of my participation in the group. Nonetheless, a research identity bestowed further privileges on me as a member of StART beyond the ability to disassociate and delay my thoughts to a realm of retrospect. The process of gaining a PhD is inherently privileged, both as a process reifying my previous privileges of social positioning and experience, but a socially recognised practice of gaining expertise through the practices of academic knowledge. Positioning and producing my narrative and analysis as one of an expert is fundamentally challenged by the wholly inter-subjective nature of action research, particularly where the researcher has little more discernible expertise than the researched in the form of academic knowledge or professional experience. Where the politics of expertise became a challenge to the authority that came with it, academic research as gaining social knowledge has no particular claim of a total or gleaned 'expertise' on the unfolding of those events.

The Non-Silence of Writing

An identity as an action researcher, as discussed above, provides a complex grounding upon which to write teleologically about the collapse of the group, itself shifting 'ground'. In fact, it is somewhat rarely considered that the generation of expertise in action research is a contingent but distant process from the action of research, in a long and differentiated temporal phase of 'writing up', as "the institution of Philosophy depends on writing and writings" (Derrida 1976 in Gilbert 2014: 113) That the researcher is one precisely because they are tasked with practices producing a record, account or analysis of events and inter-subjective meaning, generated in a space between ethnography and explicitly writing theory.

The temporal dimension between researching and writing introduces the problematics of writing as the production of history, alongside the contemporary ethics of witnessing. Writing requires selection, of accounts and perspective in always-partial sources, failing to achieve totality and besieged by a politics of memory. Events around the research project conspired to delineate a clear epoch between the research and writing phase, in a number of ways. COVID-19, and the lockdown of March 2020 had distinct, unprecedented spatial impacts on the group's working, and online arguably, individual members enclosed by homes, behind the affect flattening inter-subjective technology of the screen, delineated an acceleration in the demise of public meetings. It generally, immediately created a vast sense of temporal delineation, an epoque between lockdown from the 'before', a period where the sociality of StART's meetings, whatever their temper, suddenly felt historical.

However, prior to this, Boris Johnson's electoral victory, and with it the defeat of Corbynism in December 2019 presented a distinct paradigmatic shift from the politics within which StART had been operating, both locally and nationally. The defeat of Haringey's 'Momentum Council' in September 2021 by internal challenge rather confirmed a temporal coda in political discourse and context, between the eras of participation and writing.

Of particular importance to these discursive shifts was the emergence of the global Black Lives Matter movement in the wake of George Floyd's killing in 2020. This, at least immediately, had arguably forced a more nuanced, localised discussion of racism and its functioning in Britain as former imperial Metropolis, where complex relationships of land, property and race were formed in the global diffusion of liberal modernity from London (Massey 2007: 100). The summer of 2020 presented an opening in discussion of societal racism and white complicity and ignorance on that national scale that presented a very different wider political discursive context to the one StART struggled with race through the previous summer. This was frankly one where Englishness as whiteness could be considered.

As a result, the years of analysis and writing up, 2021 and 2022, stand on the other side of numerous discursive chasms between them and those of research, the 'before' to COVID, Black Lives Matter, Brexit and shifts in the political centres of both the Conservative and Labour Parties in England. While metropolitan Anglo-whiteness perhaps stands as an explanation of the white complicity of bystanding, as I consider the history of my own ignorance, these discursive shifts as post-observation processes of becoming further provide clear reasons to invite the reader to mistrust the analysis.

Firstly, it is clear my understanding of events was filtered through my interest in autonomous approaches to the commons, and the associated problem of dissent. It must be acknowledged that alongside the infinite multiplicity of experience and opinions of those who participated in StART, there remain an infinite number of theoretical, empirical, emotional and affectual explanations of causality for the group's collapse. An engagement with this particular theory contains no logic of the supremacy of its application.

Secondly, as I have attempted to make clear, my positionality within the group, with social capitals of expertise, affectations towards unity and whiteness were trusted by the majoritarian element of the group. I sought to preserve my research project through minimum intervention, and a lack of confidence in my ability to assist experienced activists who had faced internecine difficulties in activist formations before. Again, this stance contains no logic of supremacy in a claim to objectivity, prioritised individual goals over those of the increasingly troubled community and contains obvious partialities the reader is urged to bear in mind. As will be returned to in the Conclusions, the perceived need to preserve my research project, itself now governed by the institutional practices of the university, was a defence of property. By extension my identity as primarily one of researcher, both within the group but legitimated by the practices of the external institutional arrangement fundamentally opposed any practices generating the "self-abolition of identity", where "you have to lose who you are to discover what you can become." (Hardt and Negri 2009: 340).

Finally, the author shares a "mistrust of the slipperiness of writing…because to make

that acknowledgement is to admit the inherent complexity and instability of all communicative situations, and even of all selfhood" (Gilbert 2014: 114-5). While Hardt and Negri demand research-through-commoning as a "superior form of knowledge production" (2009:128) this provides little more than an exposure of the inherent flaws of making, and writing, social science as a reification of social complexity. "The written status of philosophy foregrounds the status of philosophy as a social institution, subject to…complexities and uncertainties" (Gilbert 2014: 114-5) and there is nowhere where this is more acute than in instances of collective failing. It is with this necessary examination of the social conditions of the production of this manuscript, itself an always partial, incomplete, uncertain and somewhat failing exercise. Trust, as with the power whose transmissions it facilitates, cannot be surveyed

"as if we can fully understand, control or redistribute it. What we may be able to do is something rather more modest but, perhaps, rather more radical: to inscribe into our research practices some absences and fallibilities while recognizing that the significance of this does not rest entirely in our own hands" (Rose 1997: 319).

Here, the author acknowledges amid ever present partiality and fracturing of perception the ultimate judgement of the trustworthiness of this narrative and analysis, as ever, can only ever lie with its audience.

9.6 Conclusion

Retrospectively returning to the genealogical research question, it is plainly clear StART failed to "govern the commons". StART territorialised as an organisation heavily reliant on trust, facilitating and legitimating transmissions of power within the organisation. The catastrophic failure as internal trust disintegrated suggests the buckling of trust cascaded into failure at every scale. Furthermore, as this thesis has tried to establish, this included a degree of failure of the research project as a component of the assemblage of StART. At this scale, as with every other, trust could not be maintained, with significant consequences for the partiality of contributions to research as a co-operative yet extractive practice.

Nonetheless, despite critiques the common(s) as theoretical framework fails to address the internal politics of dissent, the ontology of "obstacles that destroy the common" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 195) effectively identifies hierarchy, unity and identity as obstacles of love, and trust, somewhat confirming the interchangeable ontology of these two as the force binding the machinic assemblage of the common, and failure as "love gone bad" (2009: 195). Furthermore, it is this failure in trust that reveal the group's co-operative power transmissions that enabled its functioning, before its dysfunctional collapse.

Therefore, this multi-scalar failure of StART as trust dissolved was the deterritorialisation of the assemblage. With StART withdrawing from the GLA negotiations in the same month as the AGM, distrust caused a simultaneous collapse at both the internal and external scales, yet a temporality of autopoietic causality cascading through these scales is relatively difficult to establish. For while StART's relationship of trust with the GLA centred around risk, internally risk to the project did inform considerations of the priority of equalities work in relation to development success. The autopoietic relationship between these scales operated through StART's concerns about external perceptions of diversity and dispute, while simultaneously the GLA4 negotiation team territorialised already existing informal power hierarchies and asymmetries of knowledge. Given these simultaneous multidirectional configurations of growing distrust, it is its transmission between scales that resulted in both StART's withdrawal and then collapse.

The focus on both external and internal scales, and transmissions between them, is not to dismiss racism as a particular structured manifestation of distrust in subjectification, but to explain how, in the metropolitan context of London, distrust took hold in an activist group predicated on and informally arranged around its antithesis. In particular, Hardt and Negri's willingness to engage with "whiteness as property" (Harris 1993), and their view of identity as a subjective property that must be moved through logically suggest that any project of the common(s) as emancipation must engage in the "parallel struggle" of anti-racism. While StART assumed the CLT model as anti-

displacement mechanism would achieve this end, without practices and processes of equality StART's becoming, focused on its engagement with the state, was unprepared for the racialising nature of capitalism, manifested as both the whiteness of built environment expertise and the deterritorialising destruction of distrust that penetrated the common.

10. Conclusion

This thesis began seeking to understand a perceived emerging lag of urban CLTs in England, behind their rural counterparts. It envisaged this by observing, through participant observation, the external obstacles to land acquisition an emerging and particularly ambitious, in terms of scale, urban CLT campaign faced in a case and institutional context the researcher was familiar with.

Instead, participant action research revealed the complexity of practices of emergent urban CLT activism. Although this thesis sought to further develop engagements with autonomist understandings of the common(s) as the CLT "subfield" increasingly yet tentatively engages with the wider Commons field, it did not foresee the complex conceptual modelling of a CLT formation the urban social movement would reveal. From participant observation, power transmissions were observable "through the organising device of scale" (Rose 1997: 310), from the *dispositifs* of subjectivity, particularly of race, and class, to engagement with the state to contest the future of publicly owned assets, achieving economic influence. As StART's experience demonstrates, these were clearly lubricated by trust.

Amid this resultant conceptual complexity and an affectual sense of failure held by many in the group towards both StART's external influence and internal conflict, this conclusion will attempt to distil and evaluate the multiple yet scattered conceptual, methodological and empirical contributions of this project, the last particularly complicated by the importance and expectations attached to the StART case elsewhere during the years of research. Finally, it will discuss the difficulties of establishing future directions for research from the unstable "here" (Ahmed 2007: 151), an understanding of a CLT as a multi-faceted dynamic thing, cutting across several urban disciplinary fields. Equally this is a question of selection, of audience, which is itself scaled. For whom and how to organise conclusions is itself a question of power, of which concepts we seek relational recognition with as authors of conclusive expertise.

Conceptual

Despite its original empirical intent, the theoretical opportunity of StART's case study was also a determinant factor of research design. This thesis has sought to develop the nascent engagement between CLTs and the urban commons-as-field, in the opportunity of a CLT-in-becoming, in embryonic, campaigning group form, yet to secure land assets. This was an opportunity to deepen the ontological application of autonomist Marxist theories of the common to such as urban social movements.

Retrospectively, the engagement with autonomist Marxism, particularly Hardt and Negri's *Commonwealth*, was productively sustained. Primarily, it is effective in providing a dialectical understanding between continuous liberal and neoliberal imperatives it identifies as and by the practices of enclosure, with the resistance of the common. The dialectic it predicts between enclosure and the common, to produce altermodernity, indeed could be observed in StART's influence in both protest and negotiation, with considerable material alterations between the NHS and Catalyst planning applications respectively.

Yet understanding StART's appeal to the state, particularly as agents of community-led densification, and so uplifts of profits and totals towards targets, renders De Angelis' warnings of co-option, on a "razor edge" (De Angelis and Harvie 2013: 291) perhaps the most prescient contribution of autonomism. As "the question of co-optation is a strategic field of possibilities, one that requires situated judgments based on context and scale" (De Angelis 2013: 610), this thesis has attempted to do this, concluding in the empirical section below.

Secondly, it has effectively demonstrated the value of understanding StART as an urban social movement through the epistemology of assemblage, developing Deleuzian influences to autonomist thought. Assemblage theory is valuable to observe and organise practices of power transmission by and between scale, from the *dispositif* to the state, where, at this highest scale, commoning practices encounter those of enclosure and so generate dialectical transmission. However, assemblage theory proves of particular value

to understanding CLT campaigns in its ease of capturing, albeit partially observed, emergent dynamism, stasis and collapse, over time. Arguably this successfully presents StART in a historical context of English "repertoires of contention" (Tilly 1993) to enclosure, but crucially the assemblage emphasises the fluidity of a movement over the fixity of the institutionalism of the 'common property regime', an ontology apposite to understanding CLTs-in-becoming.

But it is the politics within the 'internal' scales of the common that autonomist Marxism has been critiqued as ignoring, particularly from the lens of radical democracy and its focus on the generative importance of dissent. This complex model of agency, revealing both external and internal scale, has sought to advance the reconciliation between the economic emphasis of the common with both the urban and internal multiplicity. Firstly, this form of agency remains sophisticatedly reconcilable with Marxian structuralist determinisms of history through the *dispositif*, not least enclosure as generative of urbanisation, the housing crisis, subjectivity and contemporary precarity as a recurrence of "pauper lunacy".

Nonetheless, the Marxian heritage retains a degree of capitalo-centrism in its focus on commoning as resistance at capital's frontier. The scaled assemblage, in capturing the internal, perhaps therefore reveals a persistent problematic within the urban commons, the tendency to ignore the simultaneously social, economic, and political modality of both the common and the context of place. Instead, this simultaneity is particularly revealed by deconstructing the Community Land Trust as assemblage into its three constituent elements. The examination of the construction and regulation of the internal realm of the common, observable only through sustained contribution, reveals the common to be simultaneously economic, social, and as radical democracy reminds us, always "the sphere of the political" (Rancière 1999: 14). Again, in grounded historicism and ontologies of the common as a multi-faceted and localised "thing" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:406), the research has illustrated how practices of the common, simultaneously spatial, social and political-economic, can acquire an ontological quality of totality beyond the capitalo-centrism of *alternative economies*.

But while radical democracy's cynicism at the commons, fuelled by its doubt of the emphasis on horizontal consensus, is borne out by StART's experience, this is arguably a blunt criticism against a theoretical model that can both account for and arguably, predict failure. This thesis has attempted to develop autonomist approaches to Hardt and Negri's observation of "obstacles to the common", hierarchy, unity and identity, and ultimately, "whiteness as property" (Harris 1993). This model arguably provides a more nuanced understanding of the tendential directions of dissent itself, while warning of consequential dangers, harm and potential tragedies of the common of individuation. Furthermore, it has sought to demonstrate how the internally grouped scales of trust and power transmission impacted the external through processes of upscaling and autopoiesis.

Beyond the theoretical dexterity of the autonomist Commons this thesis seeks to proclaim, its organisation of scales prompts further engagement with theories of radical democracy, rather than their dismissal, to upscale the theoretical contribution of this thesis from the CLT and commons as fields, to theories of governance and the post-political. The partition of scales between 'external' and 'internal' identified by an ontology of assemblage neatly divides two binary spheres, posing a valuable conceptual observation of development governance. A clear delineation, or threshold, exists between StART, as internal arena of community, multitude and 'the common' as 'the political' (Mouffe 2005, Rancière 1999, Wilson and Swyngedouw 2014) "the dimension of antagonism constitutive of societies" (Mouffe 2005: 9) and StART's external engagement with "politics" practiced by the state, "the technocratic mechanisms and consensual procedures that operate within an unquestioned framework of representative democracy, free market economics and cosmopolitan liberalism" (Wilson and Swyngedouw 2014: 6). Here, StART formed "the meeting ground" (Rancière 1999: 14), the threshold between politics and the political.

The consequential potency of dissent within StART, focused on race, therefore strengthens the case for combining autonomist theories of the common with critical contributions from radical democracy, which together capture both the economic and political of CLTs as alternative political economies. As interest develops in public-

commons partnerships, both enclosure as *foreclosure,* alongside the outsourcing of the political to the commons, such a combination poses a valuable conceptual analysis for CLTs, participatory planning and to the political in other co-operative frameworks of development governance. Within the English context, of austerity's "coercion and control" both of and by constrained local government (Penny 2018) and London's severe material housing crisis, documenting these practices as policy "boundary work" (Blokland 2017), prohibiting prefigurative politics and alternative housing delivery as the "partition of the sensible" (Rancière 2006 in Panagaia 2010: 99), appears the particularly urgent conceptual task.

Methodological

Methodologically, this thesis intended to explore, apply and develop commoning as a conscious epistemological reflection on the production of subjectivity, grounded in the empiricism of praxis in Negri's "militant" history of activism in urban social movements. This provided a valuable epistemology for effective knowledge production, revealing typically invisible power transmissions across scales.

Given the opportunity inherent in StART's unique positioning with the GLA as research began, participation within the group revealed the state practices of consideration, capacity and constraint that shape outline planning for large, multi-phase sites. In short, I gained considerable understanding of the GLA's positioning within urban development that I had not while employed at the London Assembly. This is due to the frankness of the GLA in discussion with StART, and StART's GLA4's tactical discussions within the group. Yet, such positionality, beyond the state, equally revealed it as practiced, in the enclosure of risk as "metabolic flows…regulated by the internal dynamic" (De Angelis 2013: 910).

However, the particular value gained from commoning-as-epistemology and method was the situated knowledge shared between individuals, as participation revealed the diversity and complexities of subjectivities within the group, which both discussions of identity and attempts at written analysis only flatten. In both the internal and external,

participant action engendered a positionality *within* that was "superior in scholarly terms because it opens a greater power of knowledge production." (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128).

Furthermore, contribution as participation means not only are the emotional and affectual knowledges of the group 'extracted', but they are captured and carried themselves as *dispositif,* as the emotional impacts of resistance, compromise and internal dissent. While this thesis has chosen not to focus on the affects experienced by the researcher, to avoid privileging any one body in the collective over the other, participation not only emphasises the bodily toll of resistance and dissent, but the common(s) theorises them. The *dispositif* extends the scales of power below the body as DeLanda's (2021: 47) starting point, and can, to some degree, crudely account for local context as both 'structure' and imperative, alongside framing the individual experience of participation as ever personally consequential, where "being is made in the event" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 62).

From here, commoning-as-epistemology unfolds a valuable framework for reflexivity, situating the researcher not only within a "landscape of power" (Rose 2007: 311) they observe but a mapped network of trust that recognises the intersubjective asymmetries of power within the group, and between individuals and the researcher. As both "medium and object" (Huchler and Sauer 2015: 148) of research, trust infuses all knowledge productions within the group with power. Other forms of power within the co-operative organisation that was StART did exist, not least the pressure of consensus as itself coercive, but the relational nature of trust, and influence as expertise, highlighted a resonance with a 'tragedy' even before assets to be managed were secured. Trust, in its desiccation, revealed the individual *dispositifs* of expertise and knowledges within the group and the relational, conditional politics between them, ultimately "regarded as a possession and defended as property" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 329). As distrust grew, these forms of expertise were valued less and less as a common asset of the group. This process of re-individuation as deterritorialisation revealed this propertied nature of expertise and was arguably only visible through long term participation.

Furthermore, the emphasis on participating as knowledge production positions the activist-researcher within a landscape of power mediated by trust, that raises questions of agency under both identities of activist and researcher, their potential to work *against* arrangements of power as an activist, and related research issues of ethics, reactivity and the power of interpretation. Arguably, the hyphenated roles of activist and researcher conflict here, where researchers may wish to commit the group to further "parallel struggles" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 336) or normative practices as an activist reflex, where the researcher identity demands a fear of reactivity and the priority of observing the group's generation of responses. Therefore, while a framework of the commons-as-epistemology acknowledges researcher power, and demands "parallel struggles" (ibid.) against the "modernity-coloniality-racism complex" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 79), it is unclear as to how researchers might, or should, attempt to *cut through* the internal politics through dissenting practices where these are collectively unclear. While prescribing scholars must "put their expertise at the service of social movements" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 128) this provides little normative direction against or towards dissent, bystanding, or observing failure, or pursuing internal ethics of reasoned less-than-cooperation. Furthermore, it provides little ethical ground for those with limited experience of the internecine conflict activists can endure before the pursuit of a research identity exposes them to this.

Nonetheless, the value of commons-as-epistemology is the revelation of this phenomenon, the dilemmas of research as ever situated, ethical and moral and the acknowledgement of research as itself event, experience, and that which is sought is indeed the transformation of subjectivities. Retrospectively, this is a valuable frame that acknowledges, simply, that the point of research is to learn. Beyond the findings captured in this thesis, research in StART provided me with an exposure to group relations, beyond but between a friendship group and workplace as institution, to which I did not have a comparable scale or function of experience. Beyond that which I observed contained in this thesis, the internal politics of dissent I witnessed were the first prolonged examination of societal and personal whiteness I had sustained, beyond the privileged affectual distance it provides while researching the state and unequal impacts of policy. While this was certainly inter-subjective learning, I would not describe my

trajectory as a transformation of subjectivity from identity to a singularity beyond activist-researcher, within a solidarity filled multitude.

As to whether non-intervention amounts to failure, of research, such a logic determines a research project by the group's outcome. This was never a genealogical design parameter, instead exploring commons-as-epistemology provides a developed framework of reflexivity to identify it. It is here where normativity re-enters the discussion, not of one for the CLT sector, but of commoning-as-ethic. Work published during this thesis confirms love, failure and minoritarianism as key ethical directions for the commons as a normative project (Mould 2021) and indeed StART's experience may confirm the inter-subjective, relational and situational ethics of the common is indeed the trajectory upon which to continue to seek understanding of "the revolutionary moment of the process" (Hardt and Negri 2009: 340).

Within the immediate realities of the academy, again it is here commons-as-epistemology is arguably most valuable, ontologically situating research projects in urban social movements within the networks of the "lubricants of co-operation" that propel them, trust and love. As both trust (Huchler and Sauer 2015) and love (Guasco 2022, Wilkinson 2015) remain valuable frameworks for critical epistemological reflection in questions of access, construction of the field, partnership, participation and co-production. The researcher-as-commoner not only renders visible the relational power of the researcher, not least posed as interpretative expertise, but furnishes the landscape of power the researcher operates within, impacts, and inevitably extracts froms revealing the delicate, inter-subjective and ever dynamic situational complexity of "here" (Ahmed 2007: 151).

Empirical

While such a model suggests the foundations of even so-called grounded research is always unstable, the original empirical purpose of this thesis was an investigation into a perceived lag in urban CLT development. The three chapters have answered questions that derived from this perception in research design, framed around the constituent

elements of Community, Land and Trust. But in retrospect, the conceptual model presents us with a different task, a situated judgement on the "razor edge" (De Angelis and Harvie 2013: 291) between capital and common. Furthermore, this empirical judgement has been complicated by a number of upscaling optimisms of the will attached to potentialities of the StART site. While Christophers (2018) discusses it specifically as an example of potential alternatives to public land disposal, Madden and Marcuse (2016: 209) enthusiastically reference StART as a potential CLT at scale. The outcomes of StART's engagement therefore have a number of potential measures of alterity to be empirically assessed against.

In regard to understanding urban-activist CLTs as a lagging category within England, high land values are patently an a priori condition of the urban, certainly in a metropolis of the Global North, yet the transmission mechanisms between high land values and the challenge to lagging urban CLTs appear largely structurally determined. In examining commoning, and enclosure, as practices of agency, the material obstacles to CLT development, albeit in a single case study, are traceable. Firstly, London's land values are largely maintained by practices of *uplift*, where regional government has been designed, and evolved, to develop large parcels of post-industrial, and then ex-welfare state public land. As a result, governance's perception of risk, and the parameters of trust in StART, and the opportunity at St Ann's, reveal state expertise. These fundamentally different market conditions pose significant challenges for CLTs and community wealth-building, as will be returned to below.

High land values equally conditioned the formation of counter-practices of contention. As the Context and Community Chapters discuss, StART emerged amid a complex local landscape of multiple public land disposal projects, affecting different constituents of Haringey directly, amid 'post-riot' narratives of regeneration for Tottenham. While oppositional activism emerged, StART straddled both discourses of local critique towards urban public land disposal and regeneration, alongside the inherent propositional enthusiasm of CLTs that, within cities, require co-operation, and compromises with "the opportunity of privatisation" (Hodkinson 2010: 252). However, land values equally underline the constellations of community and trust that formed

around and within StART, the investigation confirms the value of an analysis of "strangers in saturated space" (Huron 2015: 963). Given StART's spectrum of opposition, and open thresholds, the case study points to the urban-CLT as absorbing the particularities of urban community, themselves determined by land values, and frankly, who can survive the psycho-material pressures of displacement. High, and immanently higher, land values determine Haringey's resultant housing crisis, and so pattern both the participation and capacity of the urban-activist CLT.

Nonetheless, here, at the "razor edge", StART achieved alterity *within* enclosure. Appendix I details the density and tenure changes, between the NHS and Catalyst Outline Applications that bracket StART and the GLA's involvement. Arguably, it is appropriate to credit the GLA's performance of its practices, it's identification of an opportunity and with willingness to engage with a community led housing proposal advocating density uplift on a site already granted planning permission. As this thesis has demonstrated, the public land disposal agenda, present at all scales of London government, alongside Sadiq Khan's changes to regional planning policy, to boost affordability through density control relaxation, chimed with StART's project. If the GLA's contemporary rent tenures are considered affordable (Appendix H), which StART didn't, StART and the GLA's negotiation achieved 347 more affordable homes, of which 322 will be at a lower, albeit not Council, rent. Furthermore, the GLA's calculation and management of risk, at the threshold of market practices, was proficient. Here, much empirical understanding can be gained of the practices of enclosure, opportunity and participation management as density uplift, risk and commercial confidentiality management by the state in contemporary capitalism as specific practices of power.

Yet, as StART members debated for years, alterity *within* enclosure presented a lost opportunity in public land disposal, that of an alternative pathway of development than commercial tender. Here, state refusal to consider this path reveals practices of the "partitioning of the sensible" (Rancière 2006) as the parameters of the possible, determined by inter-scalar politics, project risk and profit, within which StART could exert influence. As one member put most succinctly, StART could not convince state agencies to adopt an alternative conception of the opportunity to "cut through":

Activist: *I think that's the lost opportunity, the GLA and StART and Haringey Council, it feels like there was a lost opportunity for a majorly different level of collaboration and a kind of new model of delivering housing that could still generate profit, that wouldn't be as it was, that would provide social housing, that would provide houses at market rent, it would also provide affordability. Like, to kind of have a collage of everything. I think there was a tremendous opportunity, but it involved radical collaboration and radical co-operation that delivered things according to certain protocols and models within particular timeframes. I understand it from the GLA's point of view, I don't think they were just like monolithic bastards you know, either, I have some sense of the institutional confines they work under, not least a Tory government. But nevertheless, there's kind of a spectacular lack of vision in Haringey Council, in the GLA and in the NHS Trust to kind of think, to kind of consider this as an opportunity for…for London, for Haringey.*

StART indeed achieved an uplift in CLT size in London, yet one considerably downscaled from a vision that intended to locally "significantly impinge on economic rent" (Ryan-Collins, Lloyd and Macfarlane 2017: 221). As Colenutt noted:

"Under these conditions, the community-led housing sector poses no threat to the finance-housebuilding complex – and that is the way the development sector likes it." (2020: 8)

Furthermore, StART forced an innovation in public land disposal, the public leasehold retention by the GLA. Although nominally kept in public ownership, arguably this governance innovation represents a form of alterity, albeit instead *within, for and consolidating* enclosure.

While the genealogical focus of this project was the external, as conditioning an urban lag, events of participation determined a teleological discussion of the internal, as distrust took hold and group dysfunction increased. Here, empirical conclusions are much more difficult. Clearly, CLT practices towards spatial development are not solely determinant of their organisational trajectory. The racialised inequalities of power in

London as post-imperial metropole punctured StART as enclosed common, to impact its governance by supposedly horizontal decision-making in the emergent hierarchy of expertise, reified by the external task of opposition and resistance.

The focus on a CLT at its emergent activist phase therefore captures not only the institutional design challenges and potential tragedies of consensual, horizontal decision-making in any urban social movement, but also the micro-scale, capturing the practices and dynamics of trust integral to the group's functioning as their influence upscaled to eventually, networks of regional governance and international prominence. Trust is clearly a condition of affect, one that lubricates the inevitable interpersonal transmissions of power that occur in encounters of co-operation, despite proclamations of horizontality. Here, the encounter of subjectivities reminds us that activism demands attention to the corporeal and sub-corporeal scales, the reproduction of subjectivity through activism as *dispositif,* with affective causality. In cases of internal collapse as failure, such as StART's, arguably, "that a power to affect and be affected governs a transition, where a body passes from one state of capacitation to a diminished or augmented state of capacitation" (Massumi 2009: 2), the micro-political is patently obvious. Incorporating the micro-political beyond this case, particularly to those of success, remains a valuable but unexplored strategy for developing understandings of the personal motivations, emotional taxations and elations that determine CLT capacity, and with it very often their fate.

Further Directions

And so, this thesis returns to the normative imperative that has guided the production of English CLT research, "translation into practice" (Aernouts and Ryckewaert 2019: 98). However, given the ontological/epistemological slipperiness between the CLT field and the commons, there are arguably multiple scales upon which to reflexively consider directions for praxis.

One particular *dispositif* formed through participation is the perception the English CLT sector, small yet structured as it is, has faster mechanisms of knowledge transfer than academic analysis. The emergence of the national CLT Diversity Fund during the

research period suggests, it is likely any 'diversity problem' for the sector, here in its largest manifestation in the most "super diverse" context, is one the sector is aware of.

However, of particular interest, is the increasing practical and policy engagements with 'public-commons partnerships' in an emergent agenda of community wealth building in England, the 'Preston Model' now enthused in London by Haringey Council (Hatherley 2020: 218). Here, this thesis, its identification of the internal political and the partition of the sensible between public, as institutions of the state, and the commons, as social movements, hopes to provide ripe theoretical contributions. However, other urban manifestations, particularly in Liverpool (Thompson 2015, 2020) have faced local authorities with very contrasting development roles to London boroughs, components of a city indulged in capital flow, land competition and a "resource curse" (Hatherley 2020: 218). It therefore also empirically details a relatively unusual experiment in community wealth building, amid the competitive private sector-led built environment production of London. This is the hegemonic challenge of high land values, that faces the public of this binary as much as the commons. As Cllr Hakata highlighted, in his discussion of Haringey's own housebuilding:

Cllr Mike Hakata: *There's an interesting contradiction because actually, for us to build social housing, on the model that we're doing it, well the way we've done it in the last 18 to 24 months, has been to buy those houses from the private sector. They're building them, we're buying them at market rates, right. So we're actually paying full price to someone like LendLease, not so far but you know, a company that obviously has a huge contentious history in Haringey, and we're basically saving them from their own Section 106 responsibilities. Affordable housing, we're paying for it ourselves. So there's that contradiction in it, we're actually getting the private sector to do it. And then obviously, even the ones where we're building ourselves, we're going to cross subsidise by selling homes on those sites to the private sector anyway. So that disconnection from the private sector hasn't actually happened as completely as we would like to portray.*

Again, at Wards Corner, Haringey Council has already earned scorn for aiming "to introduce community wealth building but failing at the very first test of it" (Hatherley

2020: 216). The experience of StART would suggest a repeat at the second and consolidate a growing problematic for the practice of public-commons partnerships across the vast regional inequalities of England. While this is namely their necessity and potentiality in high land value areas, this case study also illustrates that the resultant evolution "from managerialism to entrepreneurialism" (Harvey 1989), in London renders the public partner without housebuilding infrastructures, capacities and practices independent from the private sector. This should be a foundational consideration to any proclaimed attempts to develop new municipal, metropolitan socialism.

Yet arguably, the future direction of greatest intrigue from this project lies at the opposite end of its scalar register, in studies of urban affect. The *felt* (Massumi 1995: 94) as the realm of autonomous runs through all aspects of power and its transmission discussed in this thesis. The spatial enclosure of the mental hospital, designed as Victorian rehabilitative environment, through to community resistance to closure and disposal, the elations of masterplanning and influence to the disappointment, doubt, distrust and harm of internal implosion, alongside the conflicts and compromise of negotiation, not only reaffirm the importance of the emotional component of activism, but also the central and inter-scalar analytical value of trust. Trust operates as an inter-subjective lubricant, precisely because trust, and love, are affects, felt, and so condition subsequent actions and practices.

As Berlant reminded us "the commons wants terms in which trust would become more robust" (2016: 409). The penetration of the enclosed common of StART by the political, the racialised inequalities of London suggests, somewhat paradoxically, anti-racist practice remains first an agenda at a societal scale. As a result, this thesis normatively returns to resurgent interests in the urban-psychological, the urban always the complex producer of affect, including trauma (Pain 2019), that rendered the metropolis of modernity "as mental life" (Simmel 2010). The urban-psychological remains of intense contemporary value to understanding the housing crisis, recognising displacement as an affectual process of 'unhoming', (Atkinson 2015: 376, Elliott-Cooper, Hubbard and Lees 2020) and ultimately, of housing as a "structure of feeling" (Williams 2015, Harris, Nowicki and Brickell 2019), always positional, unequally distributed and as

ever, racialised by capital. Here, "enclosing logics" (Hodkinson 2010: 500) not only generate threats to the security of home, community and identity, but distributes agency and obstacles to the subjectivity transformations generating and engendering effective activist resistance, as ever, mediating and constraining solidarity. For normative 'translation into practice' of furthering trust within urban social movements, this thesis suggests value in rescaling our understanding of the urban, here as the post-imperial metropole, to the micro-political, as *dispositif*.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Timeline of Key Events

Organised by Chapter, by no means a complete record of research events.

Date	Context	Community	Land	Trust
2011-2013		NHS consultation on future of St Ann's hospital		
2013		HaNSA form		
April 2013	LDP1 Established			
December 2014		Site registered as ACV		
2014-5		HaNSA becomes StART: growth through outreach		
		StART registered		
July 2015		Haringey Council Approve NHS Application		
			StART launch masterplanning process with consultation event.	
2015-2016	London Land Commission formed	StART Consultation events	StART develop Masterplan with Macreanor Lavington Architects, including consultation events.	

			StART develop externalnetwork of CLH experts and consultants.
4/5/2016	Sadiq Khan elected Mayor of London		StART target the new Mayor of London and lobby him to purchase the site from the NHS.
March 2017			Sadiq Khan funds London CLH Hub.
March 2017	The Naylor Review identifies 10,000 homes could be built on NHS surplus land in London.		
August 2017			Sadiq Khan issues new Affordable Housing & Viability SPG
2017	StopHDV emerges		
October 2017		StART opts not to formally support StopHDV	
December 2017			Sadiq Khan instructs the GLA to buy the site for £50m.
December 2017 – September 2019			StART prepares for discussions with the GLA, which begin in earnest in early 2018.
August 2018			New London Development Panel selected

Late 2017			StART agree strategy of 'Plan A' and 'Plan B':	
2018			GLA & GLA4 negotiations continue	
February 2018	Haringey Council Leader Claire Kober resigns.			
April 2018		StART host Community Led Housing conference at the Royal College of Art.		
May 2018	Cllr Joe Ejiofor becomes Leader of Haringey Council.		Purchase of site announced: Mayor intends to "work with StART to influence development"	New members join as StART's success in the GLA is purchased.
Mid 2018			GLA & StART GLA4 meetings begin in earnest.	Concerns growing in Inclusion Group and beyond as to StART's inclusiveness.
			GLA4 formed	
			StART present Meanwhile Use principles to GLA.	
Summer 2018				Informal Away Day
September 2018	Haringey Council announce the cancellation of the HDV.			
Autumn 2018			StART begins prioritising and distilling its vision in 'Plan A'	

November 2018			Pass/Fails workshop	
February 2019			StART undertakes press briefings to GLA's displeasure	
April 2019				Decision Making Workshop
July 2019			GLA informs StART of its finalised parameters for the tender and inform GLA4 of necessity of NDAs.	
August 2019			StART successfully lobby the GLA for a 60% Affordable Housing baseline	
September 6 2019			StART inform GLA of withdrawal from proposed tender role.	
September 28 2019				StART's 2019 AGM
October 2019			StART agree a feasibility study, and full tender for consultants	Community Engagement worker recruited
October 2 2019				Discussion of AGM
			StART meeting with Haringey Council Planning, discuss densities and Council ambitions for the site.	

			Tender of Feasibility Consultation work	
November 2019			CLH meeting dispute Consultant selection process	
			November 2019: GLA publicly announces tender process, without informing StART.	
November 5 2019			CLH homes vote to award Campbell Tickell	
November 18 2019			Member tweets to seek "chat" with bidding developers.	
November 19 2019				Five Directors and ten further active members resign from StART by email.
November 27 2019				StART co-opt new Directors to continue, in the interim until an EGM.
December 10 2019	General Election: Conservative majority, Corbyn resigns.			
December 4 2019			GLA writes to StART announcing it will no longer adhere to the terms of the MoU.	

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February 2020			Campbell Tickell brief StART on likely AH split in a 50 CLH Design & Build contract.	
March 10 2020			Campbell Tickell present Feasibility Study to active members	
March 18 2020				Directors inform active members of legal action.
March 23 2020	UK COVID 19 Lockdown			
May 13 2020				StART Directors take meetings offline.
July 2020			Directors receive the final Campbell Tickell report: CLH subgroup discussion.	
December 2020			Catalyst announced as GLA's tendered developer.	
September 2021				StART AGM
July 2022				StART EGM to vote for formally closure
Summer 2022			Catalyst Outline Planning Application submitted to LB Haringey	

Appendix B: Stakeholder Interview Typology

2019

Type	Category	Identifying Definition	Perceived Value	Contact Method	Rough Sample Size
StART Members	**A. Active Members**	Regular attendance at StART's open meetings and in particular, engagement and participation within subgroups (ie labours for StART in spare time, beyond meetings).	Direct insight into motivations of activists.	Through personal approach: email and person to person at meetings.	20-30: interview offered to all regular active participants.
	B. Passive Members	Members of StART's mailing list, and/or attend consultation events during research period.	Insight into motivations of those with less time to offer and perception of StART's campaigning/'external commoning'.	With StART's permission I will send out a request for participation through StART's email channel.	5-10
Stakeholders	**C. State Actors**	GLA and LB Haringey officers and politicians as the GLA and LBH will form the steering group with StART that oversees development. Interview requests will be targeted to the below: • *James Murray* London Deputy Mayor for Housing	Insight into how StART's campaign has influenced state planning practices in collaboration.	Direct email approach	5-10

Type	Category	Identifying Definition	Perceived Value	Contact Method	Rough Sample Size
		• *Shadi Brazell,* Area Manager (North East), Housing & Land, GLA • *Andrew Williams,* Senior Area Manager (North East), Housing & Land, GLA • *Cllr Imine Ebrahim,* Executive Member for Housing, LB Haringey • *Cllr Mike Hakata,* Supportive St Ann's Ward Cllr, LB Haringey • *Dan Hawthorn,* Director of Housing, Regeneration and Planning, LB Haringey			
	D. Sector Collaborators	With working links to StART	Perception from experienced CLT sector actors and advisors to StART.	Direct email approach	5-10,
	E. Sector Actors	Employees of CLT support structures in London and national scale. Namely: *Lev Kerimol,* London CLT Hub, National CLT actors Potentially other developing London CLTs and public land campaigns: RUSS, London CLT (formerly ELCLT ie St Clements) Camley St, Camden, Holloway Prison, Islington.	Identifying perception of StART among London's Community Led Housing Sector and campaign groups.	Direct email approach	5.

Appendix C: External Stakeholder Interviews

Name	Role	Relationship to StART	Date of Interview
Lev Kerimol	Director, CLH London	Director of regional community-led housing hub: funded and advised StART	26/5/20
Emma Gittus & Chris Carthy	Bringelly Consultants	Consultants 2017-2019	11/6/20
Danny Kaye	Campbell Tickell Consultant	Consultant for CLH Homes 2019-2020	6/11/21
Paul Burnham	Organiser, Defend Council Housing Haringey	Local Social Housing Campaign	14/9/20
Cllr Mike Hakata	St Ann's Ward Councillor	Local Haringey Council ward councillor and member of StART	8/10/20
Stephen Hill	Retired surveyor and CLH advisor. Ex civil servant with CLT policy and research experience and former Haringey employee.	CLH Advisor to StART,	27/10/20
Kevin Logan	Architect, Macreanor Lavington Architects	Architects to StART's Masterplan	3/11/20
Frances Northrop	Director, New Economics Foundation	CLT Research and Informal Advice to StART.	16/2/21
Glyn Robbins	Campaigner: Community Plan for Holloway	Involvement in comparable North London site: interaction.	21/9/20
Will McMahon	Campaigner: Community Plan for Holloway	Involvement in comparable North London site: interaction.	27/9/20

Appendix D: Documents Analysed

Author	Date	Document	Rationale
Bringelly & StART	4/19	'What StART wants' StART Pass/Fail and Tender Weighting Requirements,	Basis of StART's 'Plan A' negotiations 2018 - 2019
StART	2016	StART's Community Benefit Society Constitution	StART's loose institutional rules
StART	n.d.	StART Masterplan booklet	Explanatory document of Masterplan priorities, publicly available on StART's website
StART Directors	19/11/21	Resignation email to Members.	Documents reasons for resignations.
Community Led Housing		Resource Index https://www.communityledhomes.org.uk/resource-index	Resources used by StART
DCLG	2006	Circular 06/03: Local Government Act 1972 general disposal consent (England) 2003 (Update 2006) disposal of land for less than the best consideration that can reasonably be obtained	Known as 'General Disposal Consent': Central government guidance to local authorities to dispose of assets at less than best consideration without specific consents from the Secretary of State
GLA	2016	Homes for Londoners: Affordable Homes Programme Funding Guidance 2016-21	Funding criteria, negotiated and agreed with DCLG.
GLA	2016	Property Asset Strategy Presentation	Details land assembly and disposal progress
GLA	2017	Homes for Londoners: Affordable Housing and Viability Supplementary Planning Guidance	Planning SPG
GLA	2017	London Draft Housing Strategy	Regional Housing Strategy
GLA	2017	Apply for the Innovation Fund (webpage)	Guidance for applicants, as StART followed.
GLA	2017	Directors Decision DD2187	Purchase of the St Ann's Site
GLA	2017	Draft London Plan	London's regional spatial strategy
GLA	2019	London Community Housing Fund Guidance	Regional funding criteria for Community Led Homes, published by the GLA.
The Lipton Report (GLA)	2012	'It Took Another Riot'	GLA Commissioned Report on Tottenham and Property-Led Regeneration after the 2011 Riots

London Assembly Regeneration Committee	2020	Letter to the Mayor: Regeneration Committee Investigation – Public Land Disposal	Scrutiny report and recommendations for the London Land Commission
London Borough of Haringey Future Housing Review	2015	A Report to the Cabinet of Haringey Council September 2015	Recommendation of the Haringey Development Vehicle
London Borough of Haringey	2017	'Cabinet Meeting 3/7/17 Agenda Item 35: Haringey Development Vehicle – Financial Close and Establishment'	LendLese announced as preffered bidder
London Borough of Haringey	2017	The Tottenham Plan & AAP	The Local Plan
London Borough of Haringey: Libraries, Sport and Leisure Service	n.d.	Haringey Building Design Service: Involvement in Broadwater Farm after 1985	Contextual housing history as presented by the local authority
London Borough of Haringey: Libraries, Sport and Leisure Service	n.d.	Tower Gardens – Tottenham's Garden Suburb	Contextual housing history as presented by the local authority
London Borough of Haringey	2018	State of the Borough 2018	Inequality analysis
London Fire Brigade	2017	Policy 2017 – Disposal of Assets (update)	GLA functional body land disposal structure
The Naylor Review	2017	NHS Property and Estates strategy review	Independent review to central government. NHS Property and Estates strategy, identifying potential housing totals

New Economics Foundation	2018	No Homes for Nurses: How NHS Land is being sold off to build Unaffordable Homes	Think-tank report identifying paucity of affordable housebuilding on NHS Land.
Our Tottenham	n.d.	Aims & Guidelines	Umbrella network
Wrigleys Solicitors	2017	2017 Why become a Community Benefit Society?	Self-explanatory

Appendix E: Activist Interview Monitoring Data 2019 - 2020

Age	Gender	Race (self-identified)	Disability	Professional Occupation	Housing Tenure
58	M	White British	No	Freelance consultation in social housing and community engagement	Homeowner
57	M	White British	No	NHS Public Health, currently not working	Social: Council Housing
59	F	White-Balkan	No	Librarian	Homeowner
64	M	Other	No	Public Health Research & Engagement Officer, Planner by Training.	Homeowner
74	M	White European	No	Roadie & Studio Professional in the Music Industry,	Homeowner
62	M	White British	No	Housing Association Executive	Homeowner
53	F	Eurasian	No	Pharmacist and Singer-Songwriter	Homeowner
77	M	White British	No	Retired Technical College Lecturer, Housing & Planning Campaigner	Homeowner
73	F	Jewish	No	Software Engineer and Adult Education Specialist	Homeowner
60	M	White British	No	Finance Worker and Community Organiser	Co-op
49	F	White British	No	Community Worker and Finance	Homeowner
47	F	White Irish	No	Actor, Theatre Worker and Educator	Homeowner
62	M	British Asian	No	Retired Computer Programmer	Homeowner
48	F	Mixed Asian	No	Bookkeeping and Fuel Poverty Project worker	Co-Op
27	F	White British	No	Housing Association Worker	Private Rental Sector
26	F	White	No	Academic Researcher	Private Rental Sector
66	M	White British	No	Examiner	Homeowner

Age	Gender	Race (self-identified)	Disability	Professional Occupation	Housing Tenure
56	F	Mixed	No	Lawyer	Homeowner
57	M	White European	No	Assignment Designer	Protected Tenancy Renter
24	M	White British	No	Accountant	Private Rental Sector

Appendix F: List of StART Organisational Members and StART endorsements

May 2018 - As listed on StART's website

Barnaby Wild Quiz Team
Chestnuts Café
City News
Clyde Area Residents Association
Council for Asian People
Edible Landscape London
El Cafetal
Family Alteration & Dry Cleaners
Fountain Area Residents Association
Friends of Chestnuts Park
Friends of Lordship Rec
Friends of Marcus Garvey Library
Friends of Railway Fields
Garden Residents Association
H&G Consulting (UK) Ltd
Haringey Federation of Residents' Associations
Haringey Green Party
Haringey Housing Action Group
Haringey Independent Cinema
Haringey Justice for Palestinians
Haringey Migrant Support Centre
Haringey Solidarity Group
Hayd Gunes
Islamic Shakhsiyah Foundation
Ladder Community Safety Partnership
LREH Cooperative (Lordship Hub)
Markfield Project
Mary Ann Johnson Housing Coop
Masjid Ayesha - Islamic Community Centre
Mind in Harinegy
Muswell Hill Sustainability Group
North Haringey Primary School
North London Community House
Obaseki Solicitors
People's World Carnival Band
Pram Depot CIC
Radical History Network of NE London
Refugees Welcome Haringey
Safak Ltd
Satan's Little Helpers Quiz Team
Seven Sisters Primary School

St John Vianney Church
Sustainable Haringey
Tax Payers Against Poverty
The Banc
The Pretty Vacants Quiz Team
Tottenham Wine
Wards Corner Community Coalition
Warehouses of Haringey Association of Tenants
Woodlands Park Residents Association

F.2 StART's Partners

- 6a Architects
- Maccreanor Lavington Architects
- Bringelly Ltd.
- Confederation of Co-operative Housing
- Trowers & Hamlins solicitors
- CoHo Ltd

F.3 "Our Supporters": Testimonies

Rt. Hon. David Lammy (MP for Tottenham) - "I am supportive of the growing role of community land trusts in order to tackle the housing crisis. The new Mayor of London should support community land trusts in accessing affordable capital finance and land to ensure new homes are genuinely affordable for local people now and into the future."

Rt. Hon. Catherine West (MP for Hornsey and Wood Green) - "I support the community in taking the lead in housing and planning projects, for example through cooperatives and community land trust arrangements. In an era when the Tory government seeks to sell off Local Authority and Housing Association properties, it is time to look at new ways of providing affordable housing."

Joanne McCartney (Deputy Mayor of London and London Assembly Member for Enfield and Haringey) - "The need for housing, particularly genuinely affordable housing is one of the important issues that Londoners face. StART is a great example of the community working together to look at alternative ways towards providing genuinely affordable housing for our communities."

Sian Berry (General Assembly Member for the Green Party) - "For months I've been crisscrossing London arguing in my campaign to be Mayor that the solution to our city's housing crisis doesn't lie with the broken model of big developers, but with communities: co-ops, self-builders, local people coming together to plan affordable housing based on their own needs. StART is a perfect example of this kind of initiative and if I'm elected to City Hall in May I'll do everything I can to support this and community homes projects like it. I believe they are how we can solve the housing crisis in the best way possible."

Stephen Hill (Housing Development practitioner, Churchill Fellow) - "From a lifetime's experience in housing development, it's clear that the way that the housing market now

operates is responsible for many of the problems that citizens experience in terms of affordability, displacement and disruption of their communities, and the recent increases in social and economic inequality. It's an uncomfortable truth that many in positions of power are unwilling or unable to acknowledge. The problems may seem beyond the ability of local and national politicians to solve, but the evidence from my recent research in the USA, Canada and villages, towns and cities across the UK, is that if citizens and politicians work together, they can achieve what they could never have done on their own. It's time for councils to work with their citizens as equal partners on redemocratising housing markets. No better place to start than StART, and on what is already the public's land!"

Peter Burke (A Fairer Society) - "With an ongoing housing crisis, people are taking control of their housing needs. StART Haringey are a fine example of the collective approach. AFS are a collective of Community-Led Housing Professionals. We aim to serve as the developer for projects, or wherever possible support projects in the sector. We are fully behind this wonderful project and will provide time and support wherever needed."

Home (Tenant Foundation) - "StART is an inspiring project. One that works to empower and support local people to shape their communities and build environments that support their needs; their wellbeing and the betterment of the environment in which they live. It is a project which aims to build community through the collaboration of Person and Space and, by doing so, gives local residents the opportunity to build a neighbourhood which truly serves the people that live there."

Chris Brown (Chief Executive of Igloo Regeneration) - "Community Land Trusts, and community-led development more widely, achieve much better quality developments, that also deliver much greater benefits to the local community, than speculative development. They manage to make new development popular! As the previous Planning Minister said, 'Every community should have one!'. StART have the potential to be one of the best."

Jenny Line (Building and Social Housing Foundation) - "StART is a great example of a local community mobilising to address one of our most challenging problems – a housing market that is failing to provide affordable, decent housing for people who need it. There are fantastic examples of community-led solutions out there that prove it's possible to do housing differently. It's great to see more and more people taking this step into making their voices heard and acting to keep their neighbourhoods healthy, thriving, affordable, and socially and economically sustainable."

Haringey Green Party - The Haringey Green Party recently voted unanimously to support us. We are also supported by Ronald Stewart, The Green Party candidate for Haringey and Enfield in the recent Greater London Assembly elections.

Henry Dimbleby (Guardian columnist and co-founder of fast-food chain Leon) - "StART is an inspiring initiative. I urge local authorities and government to hear the voices of local people with real vision who not only care deeply about the borough in which they live, but have the energy, organisation and commitment to make affordable housing a reality, not simply a utopia.

Sona Mahtani (Chief executive, Selby Trust) - "At The Selby Trust, we think the idea of a community land trust is simply brilliant and we support StART's efforts to achieve that fantastic goal in St Ann's. Thankfully we live in a society that acknowledges the power of communities to change lives and work together to achieve the seemingly impossible. It can be done and with enough determination it will be done. StART has the strength and we back it 100%."

Reverend Paul Nicolson - "Public land is being deliberately and systematically sold off into private ownership in a London housing market, where rents and prices are already unaffordable for Tottenham residents. A Community Land Trust puts the land under the community's control and takes it out of the market, and ever rising price of land, "in perpetuity". Therefore, the rents or leases charged to Tottenham residents are for the cost and maintenance of the buildings, not the ever rising price of land. The investors in the land are paid a regular interest but they can never, never sell it.

Local families were being priced out of my parish in the Chiltern Hills in the 1990s in just the same way as is happening now in Tottenham. We also created a community land trust so local families can now continue to live in the Chiltern Hills. The St Ann's Community Land Trust is a much needed project here in Tottenham that is gaining committed public support"

Cal Shaw (Head Teacher, Chestnuts Primary School) - "I have been the Head Teacher at Chestnuts for the last 11 years and in that time I have witnessed the local area (N15) going through significant changes.

Some of these changes have been positive like the development of our local park and others have been negative such as the inflation of house prices. The local house prices have risen to such an extent that our families and children are being focused to leave the area for more affordable accommodation. Families that we have worked with for many years are being forced out. There is a major shortfall in affordable housing for families to rent and also a massive problem with key worker housing which makes it really hard to recruit and retain staff (they simply cannot afford to live in our local community).

I would be keen to see the development of the St Ann's Hospital site as an asset for the whole community, with predominately community and key worker housing. I would like to see some retention of open spaces for children to play and explore. I would also like to see accommodation suitable for families so our children can stay in the area and attend their local school"

Ian Scotchbrook (Head Teacher, South Harringay Junior School) - "At our school we have all become aware of how the demographics of the local area are changing. While changes in a city with London's dynamic history are to be expected, we have noticed that a significant number of our economically vulnerable families have needed to move away from the area, due to a combination of changes to benefits and the increase in house prices and rent. We feel it a shame that our inclusive area is changing at such a pace, and that our diverse community is being hollowed out. House price increases, and the lack of availability of affordable rental properties, are also having an impact on our staff. It is becoming increasingly difficult to recruit teachers and to retain staff at all levels. We have had several

staff report real difficulties in finding decent affordable housing, within commutable distance of our school, and this is forcing them to reconsider their positions. We desperately need more affordable housing in this area if we are to keep our community diverse and inclusive, and to ensure schools and locals services can continue to serve our community well."

Sanford Housing Co-Operative

As a co-operative we endorse the StART initiative, which dares to think in a scale appropriate to the scale of housing crisis. We encourage everyone to investigate how new housing developments could serve people by implementing a sustainable ownership. Our tenant-members can testify that the community-oriented model is viable and we hope to see it becoming a part of the St. Ann's hospital redevelopment.

Appendix G: StART Media Coverage

Date	Category	Publication	Author	Title	URL
29/7/16	National/Sector	Guardian Housing Network (online)	Dawn Foster	Finally some good news: a housing plan that meets local needs.	https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/jul/29/good-housing-plan-local-needs-nhs
29/8/16	National	Vice	Dan Hancox	These North London Activists Are a Rare Source of Hope in London's Housing Catastrophe	https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/3bwpe8/st-anns-redevelopment-trust-start-housing-crisis
30/8/16	Online – skate/activism	Huck Magazine	Emma Snaith	The housing activists trying to beat property developers at their own game	http://www.huckmagazine.com/perspectives/activism-2/housing-activists-trying-beat-property-developers-game/
11/2016	Local	Tottenham Community Press	Tom Vine	A Community Land Trust, doing its bit to address the housing crisis	http://tottenhamcommunitypress.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/TCP_Nov_Dec_16_ForWeb.pdf
1/12/16	Online/Specialist	Good News Shared	Mark O'Loughlin	Great news for those seeking affordable housing in Haringey	http://goodnewsshared.com/2016/12/01/great-news-seeking-affordable-housing-haringey/
12/16	NEF Podcast	NEF	Seb Klier & Alice Martin (StART)	Really take control: Housing	https://soundcloud.com/weeklyeconomicspodcast/really-take-control-housing?in=weeklyeconomicspodcast/sets/really-take-control

Date	Category	Publication	Author	Title	URL
16/1/17	Online	Guardian Cities	Oliver Wainwright	The radical model fighting the housing crisis: property prices based on income	https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/jan/16/radical-model-housing-crisis-property-prices-income-community-land-trusts
10/5/17	Freesheet Property Supplement	Evening Standard Homes & Property	Anthea Masey	Living in Harringay: area guide to homes, schools and transport links	https://www.homesandproperty.co.uk/area-guides/haringey-borough/harringay/living-in-harringay-area-guide-to-homes-schools-and-transport-links-a110271.html
7/8/17	Housing Politics Blog	Red Brick Blog	Steve Hilditch	Why Labour needs to get serious about community housing	https://redbrickblog.wordpress.com/2017/08/07/why-labour-needs-to-get-serious-about-community-housing/
3/7/17	National	Guardian Social Housing	Aditya Chakrabortty	How power operates in modern Britain: with absolute contempt	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jul/03/britain-power-contempt-grenfell-labour-haringey-social-housing
31/7/17	Sector	TCPA/NEF	Alice Martin	Making the case for affordable housing on public land	http://neweconomics.org/2017/07/affordable-housing-public-land/
2/8/17	Left/Blog	Left Foot Forward	Josiah Mortimer	Co-op communities: How we can take back control of the housing market	https://leftfootforward.org/2017/08/co-op-communities-how-we-can-take-back-control-of-the-housing-market/
27/9/17	National	Guardian Opinion	Aditya Chakrabortty	Jeremy Corbyn has declared war on Labour councils over housing	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/27/jeremy-corbyn-labour-councils-housing
15/11/17	Housing Specialist	Guardian Housing Network	Kennedy Walker	Politicians aren't going to solve the housing crisis, but people power will	https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2017/nov/15/politicians-not-

Date	Category	Publication	Author	Title	URL
					solve-housing-crisis-only-people-power-will-work
31/1/18	Regional	Evening Standard	Pippa Crerar	Haringey council leader Claire Kober quits with blast at Corbynista 'bullying'	https://www.standard.co.uk/news/politics/haringey-council-leader-claire-kober-quits-in-storm-over-corbynista-bullying-a3753066.html
14/5/18	Property/Land	Estates Gazette	Alexander Peace	City Hall Land Fund Buys St Ann's Hospital in Haringey	https://www.egi.co.uk/news/city-hall-land-fund-buys-st-anns-hospital-in-haringey/
14/5/18	Community	Harringay Online	Hugh Flouch	Mayor Khan Snaps up St Ann's Site with New Land Fund	http://www.harringayonline.com/forum/topics/mayor-khan-snaps-up-st-ann-s-site-with-new-land-fund
15/5/18	Architecture	Architects Journal	Ella Jessel	Boost to Maccreanor Lavington and 6a's crowdfunded masterplan as mayor buys site	https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/boost-to-maccreanor-lavington-and-6as-crowdfunded-masterplan-as-mayor-buys-site/10031030.article
15/5/18	Housing	Inside Housing	Pete Apps	City Hall enters London land market with acquisition of hospital site	https://www.insidehousing.co.uk/news/news/city-hall-enters-london-land-market-with-acquisition-of-hospital-site-56289
24/5/18	Local/Community	Discovering Tottenham	Hazel Brown	StART Haringey update: GLA purchase land on the St Ann's Hospital site	https://discoveringtottenham.com/2018/05/24/start-haringey-update-gla-purchase-land-on-the-st-anns-hospital-site/
29/5/18	Left/Blog	Red Pepper	StART	Can people power beat the gentrifiers?	https://www.redpepper.org.uk/can-people-power-beat-the-gentrifiers/

Date	Category	Publication	Author	Title	URL
4/6/18	Left/Blog	CityMetric	Kieron Monks	How disgruntled Tottenham residents triumphed over a developer planning to build more unaffordable housing	https://www.citymetric.com/tottenham-london-residents-triumphed-unaffordable-housing-developers
5/6/18	Local	Tottenham Community Press	StART	Taking Back Control: St Ann's community group to deliver genuinely affordable housing after receiving backing from Mayor of London	http://tottenhamcommunitypress.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/TCP_June18_ForWeb.pdf?platform=hootsuite
10/8/18	Left/Blog	NEF	Miranda Hall	Public Land is a Feminist Issue	https://neweconomics.org/2018/08/public-land-is-a-feminist-issue
5/9/18	Sector	RIBA Journal	Alex Whitcroft	Community Led Housing can be a gamechanger	https://www.ribaj.com/intelligence/intelligence-community-led-housing-makes-for-better-homes-alex-whitcroft
25/9/18	The Upside Blog	The Guardian	Mattha Busby	England has more than 200,000 empty homes. How to revive them?	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/25/england-has-more-than-200000-empty-homes-how-to-revive-them
15/11/18	New Start Blog	New Start/CLES	Tilly Rubens	New Start Feature: a new StART regeneration for London?	https://uploads.strikinglycdn.com/files/32a59046-c56c-447d-bc61-17fd9a584fe3/NewStart%20Feature_%20a%20new%20StART%20for%20regeneration%20in%20London_%20%E2%80%93%20NewStart.pdf

Date	Category	Publication	Author	Title	URL
14/2/19	Blog	HA Mag	n/a	Does Sadiq Khan understand the meaning of genuinely affordable housing?	https://www.hamag.co.uk/latest-news/does-sadiq-khan-understand-meaning-genuinely-affordable-housing
16/2/19	Local News	Tottenham & Wood Green Independent	Kate Oglesby	Affordable housing campaigners say 'residents being let down'	https://www.thetottenhamindependent.co.uk/news/17436120.affordable-housing-campaigners-say-residents-being-let-down/
27/5/19	Online News	Novara Media	Cecilia Keating	How a Community in North London Is Fighting for the Housing It Needs	https://novaramedia.com/2019/05/27/how-a-community-in-north-london-is-fighting-for-the-housing-it-needs/
8/7/19	Online News	Byline Times	Tom Cordell	City for Sale: Haringey – Reinforcing Not Breaking the Power of the Market Over Housing	https://bylinetimes.com/2019/07/08/city-for-sale-haringey-reinforcing-not-breaking-the-power-of-the-market-over-housing/
23/7/19	Sector	Architects Journal	Ella Jessel	Khan accused of 'watering down' community-led housing project	https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/khan-accused-of-watering-down-community-led-housing-project/10043626.article?blocktitle=news-feature&contentID=19634
10/9/19	Sector	Property Wire	n/a	Developer of major London site must construct 60% affordable homes	https://www.propertywire.com/news/uk/developer-of-major-london-site-must-construct-60-affordable-homes/
10/9/19	Sector	Inside Housing	Jack Simpson	Mayor searches for partner for 700-home	https://www.insidehousing.co.uk/news/mayor-searches-for-partner-for-700-

Date	Category	Publication	Author	Title	URL
				development on site of former London hospital	home-development-on-site-of-former-london-hospital-63094
11/2019	Architectural Online	The Avery Review	George Kafka	MD2207: Community-Led Housing in London"	http://averyreview.com/issues/41/md2207
18/9/19	Blog	OnLondon	Charles Wright	Haringey: Housing, community and compromise on the St Ann's NHS site	https://www.onlondon.co.uk/haringey-housing-community-and-compromise-on-the-st-anns-nhs-site/

Appendix H: London Tenures and Haringey Rents 2017-2020

Inspired by and adapted from the London Tenants Federation model: https://londontenants.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Affordable-genuinely-affordable-table22.pdf

Tenure Name:	Set By:	Calculation:	Per Week:	PCM
Market Rents				
'Market Rent' 2017/8 Haringey mean across all bedroom sizes	The Market	N/A	£354.62	£1496
Affordable for New Development				
Discounted Affordable Rent 2017/8 Haringey mean across bedroom sizes	GLA: Boris Johnson (2011-2017 AHP Funding)	80% Market Rent (local)	£283.70	£1196.80
London Living Rent 2019/20: 1 bed St Ann's Ward, Haringey	GLA: Sadiq Khan Intermediate Rent (2017-2021 AHP Funding)	Formula: 1/3rd Average Income (by ward, adjusted by house prices) Equal to 54% to 67% of average Haringey Market Rent Designed to assist saving for home ownership.	£187.38	£812
London Affordable Rent 2019-20: 1 Bed St Ann's Ward, Haringey	GLA: Sadiq Khan Affordable Rent (2017-2021 AHP Funding)	"Targeted at low income Londoners" eligibility: Social Housing Waiting List 50% market rent – 2016 LAR levels	£144.26	£672.23
Existing Social Housing Stock				
Social Rent (LB Haringey) 2017-8: 1 Bed	Haringey Council (Central Government formula)	Central Government formula No AHP funding. Eligibility: Social Housing Waiting List	£89.06	£375.71

Appendix I: Unit & Tenure Proposals for St Ann's Hospital 2013-2022

	NHS Planning Permission (2015)	StART's Masterplan (2017)	GLA Tender to LDP2 (September 2019)	GLA / Catalyst Tender Agreement (November 2020)	Catalyst Outline Planning Application (August 2022)
Land Ownership	Private Freehold	Community Land Trust	Public (GLA) Freehold, 999 year private lease	Public (GLA) freehold, 999 year private lease	Public (GLA) freehold, 999 year private lease
Total Units	470	750-800 (approx.)	800 (No Maximum Density Specified)	924	995 ("up to")
CLH Homes (units/%)	0	800 /100%	50/ 6.25%	50/ 5.41%	58 / 6%
Affordable (%)	50%	100% (including clawbacks) 65% (without)	60%	60%	60%
Affordable (units)	235	750-800	500	554	597
Affordable Tenures 'Split' (% of Total Units)	36% Shared Ownership 14% IR	65% - 100% Social Rent	Left to Market *Policy Aspiration: 20% LAR/20% LLR/20% LSO*	Awaiting Planning Application	32% LAR, 10% LLR, 12% LSO, 6% CLT
Shared Ownership	165 /36%	0 /0%	167 units /33%		120/12%
Intermediate Rent	70 /14%	0 /0%	167 units /33%		95/10%
Affordable Rent	N/A	800 units/100%	167 units /33%		322/32%
Affordable Rent Policy Definition	80% Market Rent (Johnson, 2011)	Social Rent (LB Haringey)	London Affordable Rent (Khan, 2017)	London Affordable Rent (Khan, 2017)	London Affordable Rent (Khan, 2017)