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Class conflicts and planning

A case study of contemporary development at King's Cross in London

This is King's Cross Central. At the end of the site are the two railway stations King's Cross and St. Pancras. In the background is the City of London.

Preface

This thesis would have looked like a bizarre piece of work if it were not for Karl Marx and these people:

thank you for help and support to:

First and foremost, advisor Arild Holt-Jensen, for always having time and helping me in all kind of ways. Especially thank you for helping me getting started and for sending me to London in the first place, and also making it possible for me to go to London a second time,

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Ståle Holgersen

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Page iii; picture of King's Cross Cental taken from north, from Argent, LCR, et al. 2005:34.

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Acronyms and Terms

BTPS – British Telecom's Pensions Scheme

CTRL – Channel Tunnel Railway Link

GLA – Greater London Authority

GLC – Greater London Council

KX – King's Cross

KXBF – King's Cross Business Forum

KXC – King's Cross Central

KXCAAC – King's Cross Conservation Area Advisory Committee

KXDF – King's Cross Development Forum

KXRLG – King's Cross Railway Land Group

LB of – London Borough of

LCR – London and Continental Railway

SCI – Statement of Community Involvement

UDP – Unitary Development Plan

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis will research the urban development that will take place through the next decades at King's Cross in London. King's Cross is located on the "edge" of City of London, and is 67 acres of 'brownfield' land close to center of London. At the cost of £2 billion it is labelled the 'biggest redevelopment in Europe' (Cross Section 2006a:26).

To understand why and how the land will be developed, I will start of with a quick look at some contemporary railway-history: Near the end of 2007, the building of the high-speed railway link Paris – London will be finished, and trains coming from Paris will arrive at St. Pancras, next to King's Cross in London. As a part of a complex and partly secret package from the state, the constructors of this railway (London and Continental Railways) received little hard cash in subsidies for building the Railway, but instead got land areas as subsidy. The King's Cross Central is one of these land areas. It is therefore a premise for the whole urban development at King's Cross that the development will pay for the Railway. The site is today a so-called brownfield site, and no-one argues that 'nothing' should be built on the site: the disagreements are about *what* should be built.

Within the development at King's Cross, there were two processes I found especially interesting and decided to focus on. The first is related to capital accumulation and class issues at the site. The second is related to planning.

Concerning the former process, I will look at whether and to what degree there exist class conflicts in the built environment. What non-capitalist interests stand for instance in conflict to the developers? The latter process concerns planning, where the aim of 'collaborative planning' is articulated at different scales and in different ways. But how does this work in relation to the actual circumstances in King's Cross, which might include class conflicts? The relation between the processes and their role in an urban built environment will be considered dialectically.

In academic discourse, these two processes have witnessed different paths during the last decades. 'Capital accumulation and class issues' were highly debated in the 70's and linked to Marxist theories. A decline in this discourse did occur in the 80's, and today, though with some highly important exceptions, it is lying with a broken back. The academic field of planning on the other hand has been highly contested throughout the last decades, and during the last years several academics have witnessed a 'communicative turn' and increased emphasis on collaborative planning.

Throughout the last years, in most academic disciplines, including the ones mentioned, there has been a growing interest in and understanding of the emerging "neo-liberalism" in Western Europe. It has broadly been recognised that the economy and the urban social geography has been transformed in western cities like London, and that industrial capital has been replaced by financial. The neoliberal transformation of the economy is also linked with a correspondent transformation in the state. The regime of planning in London has been heavily transformed, several times, during the last 25 years.

At a first glance, the King's Cross development has all the usual actors, groups and conflicts. A developer, some owners, local groups and a democratic local authority trying to make sure that everyone follow the rules. It also has interaction between different geographical scales: Local, national and international. However, when looking closer at the issue the development certainly gets more complicated.

Some of these complicating issues are quite easy to see; the developer (Argent) is not a 'fat capitalist', but actually owned by the British Telecoms Pension Fund. The local 'resistant group' (KXRLG) seems to be more academics and professionals than local 'working class heroes'. And the body of the British state is actually a somewhat democratic institution, and Camden, the local Borough, has for years been under Labour-control. The dogmas from Karl Marx, where 'labour stands against capital' and state is the 'tool for the bourgeois' suddenly seem 'blurred'.

The objective of this thesis is to understand capital accumulation, class and the role of planning, exemplified by the King's Cross Development. Articulated in a more general terms; I want to explore a particular set of ideas, by investigating a particular and complex urban process at a complex site. Within the Marxist tradition I am writing in, this includes finding and examining the apparent surface of the issues, and to test and examine these findings against underlying structures and mechanisms which exist in capitalist societies.

This will be done in light of theories from different Marxists, and with a dialectical approach. The objective can be broken down into these two concrete research questions:

- How can we understand class conflicts in relation to the built environment, and how are these processes apparent and how are they articulated at the King's Cross Development?

- How is the planning process functioning in the King's Cross Development and how is a process like class influencing the planning process?

In *chapter 2* I will outline the dialectical approach of this thesis, which is largely derived from Bertell Ollman's (Ollman 1971; 2003) notion of dialectics. My thesis is also within some kind of Marxist tradition and 'historical materialism'. I therefore find it appropriate to give an account of David Harvey's 'historical-geographical materialism' (see especially Harvey 1990; 1996; 1999). The specific kinds of dialectics and materialism outlined are important throughout the thesis. In chapter 5 I argue that choosing the starting point might be more political than drawing the conclusions. My choice of theories is extracted from the theoretical outlining in chapter 2 and the first few pages of chapter 3. This is the most political part of the thesis.

In *chapter 3* I will argue that class is highly related to capital accumulation and planning is highly related to the state. In this chapter, I will therefore outline some general theories about the economic character of capitalism and the role of the state under capitalism. And in the sphere of dialectics; I establish the framework of the thesis within the dialectics between the state, the economy and the urban sphere.

In *chapter 4* I try to give a general overview over the development (the neoliberal transformation) that has occurred during the last two-three decades. This goes both within the state and the economy, and I will try to link these general changes up against the specific changes that has occurred in London.

In *chapter 5* I explain what kind of methods I have used in my production of data. In chapter 2 I present dialectics as methodology. So there are two kinds of methods side by side in this thesis. In chapter 2 the method is related to 'organising a reality and how to present it'. In chapter 5 I am more concrete on how I conducted the interviews, made observations and so forth. In the analysis (chapter 7-9) I hopefully manage to show how both the methods from chapter 2 and chapter 5 are used in practice.

In *chapter 6* I will just shortly outline the history of the developments at King's Cross. I will present the different stakeholders that play an important role in my analysis. I will also present the planning process, planning applications and a more in-depth description on the relation between the Paris-London Railway (mentioned above) and the actual site I am looking at.

The *chapters 7 to 9* are where I conduct my analysis. In chapter 7 I answer the first research question. The chapter starts by looking at how class conflicts are present at the site. In addition to conflicts between the dominated and the dominant classes, I also found it appropriate to look at intra-class conflicts and ask the question whether everything is reducible to 'class conflicts'. In chapter 8 I answer the second research question. I will look at the planning process and its emphasis upon participation and communication. One main issue is how this is related to class conflicts. In chapter 9 I draw upon the two former chapters and make some conclusions. Rather than putting to much effort into predicting the future, I try to establish some steps it could be possible to walk if a new and more radical planning is desired.

Chapter 2: Dialectics and Historical - geographical materialism

When looking at planning in the London Borough of Camden, and at how Argent (the developer) are accumulating capital through the development, and whether and how class conflicts exist in King's Cross, I need to place my research within a certain framework. In this chapter I will outline this framework.

I will argue later that neither the 'economy', the 'urban' nor 'planning' constitute self-determinate and independent occurrences, but must rather be studied in relation to other occurrences and processes. I find *dialectics* to be an interesting approach through which this can be done. Dialectics can, and will, be studied and used on different levels. There is for example a level of dialectics as methodology, one of dialectics as ontology and at another level is the dialectics among theories. There is also for instance dialectics between theories and the actual existing world. I will derive my understanding of dialectics from the work of Ollman (Ollman 1971; 2003), and his use and understanding of dialectics allows me to operate with different kinds of dialectics simultaneously.

The notion of dialectics will on different levels go throughout the whole thesis. My research on the King's Cross Development is also being based on a materialistic understanding of reality, and the general theoretical framework from within I work is Harvey's notion of historical-geographical materialism. This will be outlined below. This chapter ends with an attempt to place this thesis within a larger theoretical context. The general decline in academic Marxism and the development of postmodernism is essential. This chapter is important, because it helps me create a platform from where I can start theorizing around and analysing the actual existing processes at King's Cross.

2.1   Dialectics

During the late 70's and early 80's, there was an increased interest in dialectics, as methodology, ontology and also in relation to epistemology, among human geographers (Castree 1996). This tradition was to a large degree built around the new and non-dogmatic dialectics, established by Ollman (see Merrifield 1993; Peet 1998:ch3). The tradition is also highly alive today, and one of the most important academics within this field is Harvey. There are several different ways of understanding dialectic, and philosophers using dialectic, or 'thinking dialectic', includes Democritus, Plato, Spinoza and Hegel and Marx (Merrifield 1993). Ollman's understanding of dialectics is mainly building upon Marx, who again was building upon Hegel.

In Hegel's dialectics, in short, the *negation* was the moving force. *Contradictions* (thesis and antithesis) were reabsorbed into a higher unity (synthesis) and this contradiction expressed an

moment/aspect of the *Absolute Idea* (Peet 1998). With Marx, the Idea as basis is gone (see 'materialism' below), and with Ollman the "rock-ribbed triad of thesis-antithesis-synthesis that serves as an all-purpose explanation" (Ollman 2003:12) is gone. However, the aspect of negation is developed, and this is the starting point from where I will understand dialectics. Ollman (2003) argues that dialectics is a way of thinking, rather that a set of rules. And rather than clear definitions of dialectics, Ollman argues it's more appropriate with 'guidelines'. With Ollman, dialectic is about emphasizing the notion of "process" (time) and "relation" (space) over the notion of "thing". Rather than looking at events or building as independent entities, a dialectic tradition would emphasize their flows and flux. For Ollman,

> "the dialectic, as such, explains nothing, proves nothing, predicts nothing, and causes nothing to happen. Rather, dialectic is a way of thinking that brings into the full range of changes and interactions that occur in the world" (Ollman 2003:12).

This way of thinking dialectics, as a way of thinking about interaction and movement through the interpretation of opposites, recognizes to a very large degree how processes and practices appear and function because of, and due to, its surrounding conditions.

2.1.1 Dialectics as methodology

Dialectics might be different things. In this thesis, when trying to understand both the planning and the economy, within the urban sphere, the main form of dialectic I will use is as *methodology*. As methodology dialectics includes a way of thinking about, organising and understanding a reality (e.g. capitalism) and how to present this thinking and understanding (Ollman 1971; Castree 1996; Ollman 2003). One of the strengths with this methodology, is that it makes possible the double aim of discovering, a) how something works or happens, and b) (and simultaneously) developing an understanding of the system and structures in which such things could work or happen (Ollman 2003). Theories are not outside the real world, but constantly within it, and vice versa.

Dialectics as methodology will be used on several fields, for example to understand planning and class within the same urban context. Also ending the thesis with proposing some 'steps towards radical planning', I am using the dialectics between theory and practice. Another important dialectical project in this thesis is that between *layers of class*. When trying to understand how those who don't accumulate capital operate in the built environment, I use Ira Katznelson's (1993) theories of layers dialectically (about the theory, see chapter 3.4).

Harvey (1999) and Castree (1996) argue that the dialectical, as derived from Ollman, is an 'open' mode of thinking with continually exploration of antinomies and its focus on flux and flow: The

intriguing configurations of contradictions "force the argument to spin onwards and outwards to all manner of new terrain" (Harvey 1999:466). It precludes, at any particular point, a closure of arguments. This will constantly open new questions which should be answered and new paths of enquiry that should be taken. I think this is an ambitious claim, but I hope this is done in my work, and near the end of the thesis I will argue for some preliminary conclusions, just to end the thesis with some new questions for further studies.

Theories are also dialectical related to other theories. In the chapter 3, my most explicitly theoretical chapter, I will therefore give a brief account for some critique (with Hegel: "anti-thesis") of the theories which I am building upon. This goes especially in relation to planning, capital accumulation and their relation to the state.

2.1.2 Dialectics as ontology

> "If epistemology establishes the conditions of possibility of truth, ontology conceptualizes the structure of existence which true statements characterize" (Peet 1998:86).

I will try to argue for my ontological standpoint (though it is not wholly complete, but hopefully usable for this task) through investigating the relation between ontology and dialectics. Other ontological claims will only be debated shortly or indirectly in the discussions below.

Dialectics is a method one can choose to use or not use, and then it is possible to discuss whether it is valid or not (or to which degree). A harder issue concerns whether dialectics also is an ontology: Is the 'actual world' and 'actual capitalism' dialectic? (see Castree 1996) Can matters actually be identified with 'flows and fluxes'? For Ollman and Merrifield the answer is positive (Merrifield 1993; Ollman 2003). For Harvey, I will argue, the answer is also positive, although he seems to be somewhat more uncertain. Harvey argues that the *least* that can be said, is that there is as much evidence for the fact that the world is dialectical and constituted by processes and flux, as there is evidence for that the world is constituted by anything else (Harvey 1996).

Dialectics as method is related to epistemology, which means: how we 'organize a reality' (method) is related to what knowledge one can draw from reality (epistemology) (Castree 1996). This becomes a huge theoretical challenge; if for example the King's Cross Development is constituted by 'flux and flow', and different processes (like planning, economy, social relations, gender-issues and culture and thousands of others) are constantly dialectically interfering with each other and everything seems connected with everything else, how is it then possible to get knowledge from this reality? I will attempt to solve this problem by two actions. First; in chapter 5 I will be delimitating

the thesis. The second action is through the notion of "permanences" (Harvey 1996), which I will now give an account for.

Both Ollman (2003) and Harvey (1996) argue that the notion of flux, flow and change must not be taken too far: *Things exist*, but only in a whole, and only in relation to others.[1] Within this whole there are relations between the processes and things, between the processes and the whole and so forth. Capital, for example, is constituted as "*both* the process of circulation of value (a flow) *and* the stock of assets ("things" like commodities, money, production apparatus) implicated in those flows" (Harvey 1996:50, original emphasis). This acknowledgement will have great implications in chapter 3 where the relations between space and place, and between circulating and fixed capital will be looked at.

There is also a tendency to overestimate the speed of change, which is related to a tendency of underestimating everything that is holding the change back (Ollman 2003). By emphasizing the constant changes in the world, dialectics might be trapped in underestimating relative stability, and then it is very hard to "accomplish anything or even set one's mind to do anything" (Harvey 1996:7). While insisting on the dialectical basis, with (ontological) priority to 'process, flux and flow', Harvey (1996) insist that we also must pay careful attention to what he calls the "permanences" that surrounds us. Although a building is also a social process (which also moves geometrically everyday), it gives meaning to talk about it as relative permanent.

2.1.3 Bhaskar vs. Ollman, and other concerns

The philosopher Roy Bhaskar, a 'Critical Realist', criticizes Ollman for *reducing* dialectic to 'a way of thinking' (Bhaskar 1993:201). Instead Bhaskar argues that dialectics should not be reduced, but could be *divided* into epistemological dialectics, ontological dialectics, relational dialectics, metacritical dialectics and so on.[2] I do understand Bhaskar's concern. If Ollman's dialectic is 'a way of thinking' about flow and flux, what is it except a way of thinking about movement? For other purposes this notion of dialectic might have its limitations and problems (Or rather: the lack of limitations might be the problem!). In this thesis however, Ollman's notion allows me to research interactions at different levels. This will be highly needed in the following, because it opens for researching on the dialectics between (e.g.) planning *theory* and planning *practice*. It also allows

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1 Merrifield argues how this coincide with, and echoes, quantum theory, where all matter is a *particle* (a concentrated entity in space) and a *wave* (a dispersive non-spatially concentrated process) (Merrifield 1993).

2 ... ethical dialectics, practical dialectics, different modalities of dialectics, dialectics of repression, dialectics of reagentfication and resistance, elongated dialectics, dialectics of balance..., and so on... (Bhaskar 1993).

me to research the relations (and 'dialectics' in Ollman's terms) between phenomena that are not necessary on the same level, and normally not comparable: like 'the state', 'the economy' and 'the urban'. This will be important in the following, and therefore I will in this thesis relate to Ollman's notion of dialectics as described above.

2.1.4 Dialectics and Geography

I have now established a dialectical methodology and opened up for a dialectical ontology. In the process of transferring this into geography I will argue that *relations* between factors and processes are *internal* to the factors and processes (Peet 1998). With changing relations, the factors are then also changed. This dialectical way of thinking has huge implications for geography. Harvey (1996) argues that space and time are neither absolute nor external to processes, but are contingent and contained with them. This means that factors and processes are not only internally related to their surrounding factors and processes, but also to their own past and future form (Peet 1998). Harvey argues that "Processes do not operate *in* but *actively construct* space and time and in so doing define distinctive scales for their development" (Harvey 1996:53, original emphasis). Different physical, biological, and social processes have multiple space and times implicated in them. These processes *produce* their own forms of space and time (Lefebvre 1991; Harvey 1996).

2.2   Historical - Geographical Materialism

Marx derived his dialectical method from Hegel, but: "My dialectic method is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite" (Marx 1995:21).[3] What Marx turns upside-down is the Hegelian idea that 'the Idea' is an independent subject and creator of the world; "With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought" (ibid.) This is the cornerstone of Marx' materialism (see for instance Osborne 2005).

Marx rarely discussed spatial issues explicitly, and his emphasis on temporal issues rather that spatial is predominant, e.g. 'labour' and 'circulation' are always measured in *time* (About Marx' phrase "annihilation of space with time" see Marx 1973a; Harvey 1985). In the early twentieth century, Marxist like Vladimir Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg and others, made ad hoc adjustments of Marx' work, and theorized on spatial issues, mainly concerning theory on how places and states exploited each other, i.e. imperialism and world market (Harvey 1983; 1985).

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[3] English translation derived from http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm, (on 19.02.2007)

Although Marx paid little attention to the formal discipline of geography (Harvey 1983), there are of course spatial aspects in his writing, especially in *Grundrisse* (Marx 1973a). Issues in Marx' work, such as geographical differences in wage and profit rates, mobility and circulation of capital, transportation relations and others, became the ground on which different Marxists in the sixties started the spatialization of Marx's theory. Theoreticians like Lefebvre, Castells, Lipietz, Peet, and others were central. But I will argue that no one established a better foundation on which to use Marx in geography than Harvey with his expanded notion on historical materialism. During the 70's Harvey attempted to fill geographical 'empty boxes' in Marxian theory, like the lacking emphasis on space. By emphasizing how capital tries to prevent and reconstitute itself after crisis, Harvey based on Marx' notion of the law of the falling rate of profit (see Shaikh 1983) established the concept of the 'spatial fix' (Harvey 1999; see also Harvey 2005b). He also conducted much research on how spatial differences are essential parts of capital accumulation, how capital is producing spaces in its own image, the spatial relationship between fixed and circulating capital, and the role of rent under capitalist urbanisation, among other issues (see especially Harvey 1973; 1985; 1999).

Harvey's upgrading of the 'historical materialism' to 'historical-geographical materialism' is a widening of the framework from where to understand contemporary capitalism. The spatial issues mentioned above are crucial, and the 'historical-geographical materialism' emphasizes the importance of how space is produced and how the production of space integrates into the capitalist system.

2.2.1 Critique of historical - geographical materialism

During the past few decades several critiques of Harvey and his research have been raised. According to Castree (1996) Harvey has been accused of handling capitalism as if it was in a vacuum, because there is no 'pure capitalism' and that his abstractions is doing violence to the 'true nature' and to 'the reality one is representing' (see also Katznelson 1993). Another critique is related to Harvey's dialectic between theory and practice: How can categories capture "significant aspects of reality and thus be epistemologically materialist and yet simultaneously be in question epistemologically?" (Castree 1996:357) And if Harveys's dialectical research enters 'valuable new domains', why is it epistemological reflexivity and not conceptual expansion and colonization? (Castree 1996:358) Short (1996) criticises Harvey for being at times overly deterministic, and lacking emphasis on social agencies and practices (see also Walton 1990; Katznelson 1993). Harvey is also criticized for not recognizing the importance of the state (Katznelson 1993), for failing to see

the role of gender (see i.e. Morris 1992) and for having a 'latent sexism' in his rhetoric (see Castree 1996).

Castree argues that some of these critiques cannot solely be answered in the abstract way they are posed (Castree 1996). Empirical findings are crucial, also in debating theory. This thesis is not a defence-paper for Harvey; I therefore will not discuss all the critiques here. But several of these issues will be debate directly or indirectly later in the thesis. However, there are two comments I would like to articulate here. First, parts of the critique are reducing Harvey to the arguments he makes. But the fact that Harvey may not write about gender, does not necessary mean he does not find it important. Bhaskar argues that one cannot simply reduce arguments to, or exhausted by, the positionality of the subjects who makes them. Doing so, we might fall into the 'epistemic fallacy'(Bhaskar 1993; see also Castree 1996), which is to reduce the world to our knowledge about it. Second, the critiques of the lacking emphasis/understanding on the agencies and on the state, were all articulated in the 90's (Walton 1990 [1990]; Katznelson 1993 [1992]; Short 1996 [1996]). If one reads Harvey's last three books (2005a [2003]), (2005b [2005]), and (2006 [2006]), Harvey shows how individuals, often within the state, have been influential in shaping the new imperialism and new liberalism. Therefore I will argue his lack of agency and the state was more discernible in the 80's because surely the emphasis was then towards structures in the economy. This has now partly changed.

2.3   The use of theory

When conducting a research like this, it is possible to choose between different *types* of theories. In short, it's possible to say that in positivism true knowledge is accumulated through experiences, and "sense perceptions of observable phenomena provide the only possible road to scientific knowledge" (Holt-Jensen 1999:224). But rather than the positivist way of generalising from observed regularities (inductive), Marxists theoretical approaches have traditionally emphasised the importance of theories (more deductive). The type of theory I will be building upon in this thesis is largely derived from Harvey, where the dialectics between abstract and concrete, between general and particular, between theory and practice also is important in the construction of theories. Echoing the relational importance above, Harvey argues that, "The theory building does not, however, take place in abstraction but entails a continuous dialogue between experience, action, concept formation, and dialectical theorizing" (Harvey 1985:xiii). Maurseth argues that good theory must be conceptualised in their *functions*: Theory is created through use, and is used by being created (Maurseth 1970).

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In this thesis I will use a type of theory based upon dialectics and historical-geographical materialism. This will provide a platform from where it's possible to start conducting actual research on the King's Cross Development. Castree (1996) argues that Harvey is establishing his 'materialist science' in three steps and these three steps have inspired me when writing this thesis: *First*, research elucidates real social processes. "This is the claim that historical materialism is an immanent reconstruction (knowledge) of capitalism (being), implying a form of epistemological materialism» (ibid:347). The theoretical framework in this chapter is in adherence with this claim. *Second*, it identifies underlying processes, not immediately viewable on the fetishist surface appearances (about fetishism, see chapter 3). The underlying structure that this thesis most explicitly will attempt to research is class. But in the King's Cross Development there are hardly anyone who articulates 'class-interests' themselves, therefore I need to get beneath the fetishist surface. *Thirdly* is the need for theoretical rigour. This is gained when the connection within and between the underlying processes and its connection to the surface is combined in a «coherent and consistent way and thus embody an 'explanatory power'» (ibid.). I can only say in a modest tone that through my analysis; I have tried.

The need for getting 'beneath the surface' is a central part of Marxists epistemology in general. The acknowledgement that for example commodities and capital are *processes* which appear in the *form* of things and that the material world is simultaneously "both a process and a thing" (Merrifield 1993:520), is hard to understand based on an empiristic understanding of the world. Not all structures are directly observable (Castree 1996). In King's Cross it's easy to see the Railway coming from Paris and that offices are being built next by. It is harder to see that the offices and the railway are also social relations and results of class conflicts.

Peet argues that:

> "A critically oriented theoretical knowledge ... not only explains, but interrogates the existing social
> order. It explores dialectically society's internal contradictions, potentialities, and the ways society can be
> changed. For Marx then, a body of knowledge contains political imperatives and recommendations:
> theory and practice cannot be disjoined and compartmentalized, but are interdependent moments of a
> single whole" (Peet 1998:85).

This is also related to Marx' famous theses; "Philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways, the point is to *change* it" (Marx 1981:89, original emphasis).[4] My version of this

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[4] English translation is derived from Osborne (2005:23).

highly important theoretical notion is articulated in chapter 9, where I suggest some changes that can be made if a more radical planning is desired.

2.4 Contemporary context

This thesis is written within *some kind of* Marxist tradition. Marxist and Humanist geography replaced Positivism as a central theoretical approaches in the 70's, but they both more or less collapsed during the 80's (Hansen and Simonsen 2004:77). During the 1980's Marxist thought also experienced a decline in other disciplines.[5]

The development of 'post-modernism' has been seen as the death of universal values and explanations that are totalising. Small and local narratives are to be told and listened to, and every meta-theory equals repressing 'the others' (Hansen and Simonsen 2004:86). Except, Harvey (2000) argues, this post-modern critique does not include the biggest meta-theory of them all; globalisation. This general development is also linked with a common academic rejection of economic determinism and a decline in Marxist research in general since the 70's (Jessop 1990). This does not necessary include, but is highly related to, an emphasis in cultural issues rather political economy and notions of capital and class (see Harvey 1990).

From a materialistic and Marxist stand, I will argue that Harvey has conducted some of the most valuable work that is done on postmodernism (Harvey 1990; 1996; 2000). In *Condition of Postmodernity* (1990), Harvey shows, in a convincing and materialistic way, how cultural changes are linked to the new phase of economic accumulation; i.e. how economic and cultural logics are intertwined (see also Peet 1998:ch.6). The change from a 'fordistic' to a 'flexible' regime of accumulation is interrelated with the change from a modernist era to a postmodern one. The content of 'postmodernism' is highly debated and contested, and also work of postmodernity has been to fragment and sever connexions (Harvey 2000). Harvey does not criticise this part of postmodernism or its methodologies: "In some instances this proved a wise, important, and useful strategy to try to unpack matters (such as those of sexuality or the relation to nature) that would otherwise have remained hidden." (Harvey 2000:16).

It has been claimed that Harvey tries to reconstitute the 'incomplete' project of modernism (Healey 1996). While others argue that Harvey has been able to mix modernism and postmodernism (Eagleton in Harvey 2000:11). But as I read him, he seems more engaged in and concerned with

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[5] Bob Jessop (1990) for instance debates very interesting why this decline has occurred in State Theory.

developing Marxism, and explaining how both modernism and postmodernism are constructed on a materialist foundation, i.e. in relation to the sphere of capitalist production.

> "All of that [cultural turn] might have been fair enough (there were plenty of grounds for such criticism) if it had not also been concluded that Marxism as a mode of thought was inherently antagonistic towards any such alternative formulation and therefore a totally lost cause. In particular, cultural analysis supplanted political economy (the former, in any case, being much more fun than being absorbed in the dour world and crushing realities of capitalist exploitation)" (Harvey 2000:5).[6]

The critique of the 'structuralist' Marxists of the 70's, was against an (often) orthodox and (often) economic determinist kind of Marxism. What is needed now, is a non-orthodox and open Marxism. I second Harvey, in that while there were reasons some decades ago for taking Truths apart and 'deconstruct' matters, «it is now time to reconnect» (Harvey 2000:16).

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[6] Harvey also argues (and thereby also 'deconstructing' postmodernism), that it is possible to read Marx as 'postmodern' (Harvey 2000). For instance, isn't *Capital* (3 vols.) a good example of how to deconstruct capitalism, from the 'total process' in vol.3, down to the 'circulation of capital' in vol.2 and down to the 'commodity' in vol.1. Harvey also emphasizes the importance of language and discursive shift in Marx' *The Eighteenth Brumaire* (1973b), and how Marx understood the relationship between knowledge and "situatedness" ('positionality') and that he had "standpoint" of the worker. None of this shows us that Marx was a postmodernist, of course.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter contains two major parts. In the first part I look at theories on urban capital accumulation and class conflicts. In the second, I look at theories on the planning regime. Through these two parts, I will try to establish a foundation from where I can look at the dialectics between the state, the economy and the urban. In the first part, economic issues will be theoretically operationalised in an urban context, from where it is possible to understand the King's Cross Development. I will show how capital accumulation also contains class issues. In this part I will also establish an approach to 'space and place' which I will follow throughout the thesis. In this part, I will research *the dialectic between economy and the urban.*

The second part is concerned with planning. According to the professor at University College of London, Michael Edwards there "really is not much critical/radical work on Planning in the UK" (Personal communication 28:11:2006, Edwards). The subject of planning contains an exiting relation between theory and practice; but as Allmendinger argues, (2002) if there is little Marxist planning theory, there is even less Marxist planning practice. By using theories on capital accumulation, class conflicts and the role of the state, I will try to establish a materialist framework to understand the role of the contemporary planning. In this part, I will research *the dialectic between the state and the economy.*

After these two main parts, I will try to understand planning as dialectics between the state, the economy and the urban. This chapter is at times at a relatively high level of abstraction. To make the distance to the real world little less blurry, I will end the chapter by attempting to fill some gaps between theory and practice. The relative high level of abstraction in this chapter leads to the fact that examples are only included at times and indirectly, and not as a common characteristic through the chapter.

3.1   Capital accumulation and class relations

The accumulation of capital happens through *circulation* of capital and commodities. When commodities are produced (in the sphere of *production*), they are transported to the market where they are exchanged with money (in the sphere of *exchange*). The money is then re-invested in the sphere of production. To make surplus out of the production, capital needs a special commodity, which is Labour. Labour creates more value than it needs to be reproduced; this is the *surplus-value* (Marx 1995). The capitalist, who is always in a competition with other capitalists, has no alternatives but to accumulate the surplus-value and continuously expand the basis for profit. This must be done by the single capitalist if he wants to maintain his position as a capitalist in the

capitalist society, and by the capitalist class in general if they want to reproduce themselves *as a class* (Harvey 1985; Marx 1995).

From this, it follows that "the circulation of capital *realizes value*, [and] the living labour *creates value*" (Marx 1973a:543, original emphases). In other words; money enters the sphere of circulation to make more money, to make a profit. "And money that circulates in this way is called *capital*." (Harvey 1999:13, original emphases) Although, as we shall see below, capital is not reducible to money, this is a way of explaining how capital is primarily a *process*, not solely a thing. The importance of capital circulation (and the spatial condition of circulation) is for example shown when Marx in *Grundrisse* (1973a) places the 'transport to market' within the production process.

3.1.1 Fixed and circulating capital – place and space

But not all types of capital work the same way. Marx distinguishes between fixed and circulating capital (see Marx 1973a:section two; Marx 1978:ch.8 & 11). While shoes are produced in a factory and transported to the market where they are sold, the situation is a bit different with a machine or a house. Fixed capital is *fixed,* in the sense that it's not constantly physically circulating in the market. Merrifield describes fixed capital as the "*apparently static* material *thing-form* quality of the embodied process of circulating capital" (Merrifield 1993:521, original emphases) . Fixed capital is also *capital*, it is "only that part of the total social wealth, the total stock of material assets, that is used to produce surplus value" (Harvey 1999:205). And from this it follows that i) not all buildings are capital and ii) and (more importantly in our context) fixed capital is also a process and not (only) a thing. And iii) (since the same objects can be used in different ways), objects are defined as fixed capital "not because of a specific mode of their being, but rather because of their use'" (Harvey 1999:205).

This gets more complicated when we look at how fixed capital also circulates. The property market and the role of land value have developed in directions that Marx could never dream about. A building can be bought and sold as a commodity in a property market. But also, if it's not being sold, its value is circulated through its use-value. While the circulating capital is thrown into the market as a commodity, the fixed capital circulates piecemeal, in portions as it passes from it to the final product (Harvey 1999).

Fixed capital is also circulating capital, but not vice versa. Merrifield (1993) argues that they are different 'moments' of the same thing, i.e. (circulating) capital. "Capital is an inexorably circulatory

process diffusive in space which also fixates itself as a thing in space and so begets a built environment" (Merrifield 1993:521). When conducting research on the King's Cross Development, I am in need of transforming these basic Marxist ideas into geography. Merrifield has some interesting spatialization of this approach, when linking the 'circulating' capital to *space*, and the 'fixed' capital to *place*. With this dialectical view on space and place, I will argue it is no longer possible to conceptualise space or place as 'tabula rasa'. A similar notion is found in Harvey's relation to space and place (Harvey 1996; see also Peet 1998). Here place might be linked with the "permanences" that surround us, while space is the flow and flux (Cresswell 2004).

I will now try to establish a dialectical view on place (and space) as a (part of the same) process. In the following I will relate to place and space, and fixed and circulating capital, as complex processes where everything is defined as flow and flux, at the same time that the 'permanences' that surrounds us is recognised. I think Harvey is grasping this process of movement, the connection between the built environment, space, place and capital, very well in this passage from his *Urbanization of Capital* (1985):

> "Capital thus must represent itself in the form of a physical landscape created in its own image, as use values created through human labor and embedded in the land to facilitate the further accumulation. The produced geographical landscape constituted by fixed and immobile capital is both the crowning glory of past capitalist development and a prison that inhibits the further progress of accumulation precisely because it creates spatial barriers where there were none before. The very production of this landscape, so vital to accumulation, is in the end antithetical to the tearing down of spatial barriers and the annihilation of space by time" (Harvey 1985:43).[7]

And to anticipate the theme of planning: Dear and Scott has the same kind of argument as Harvey, when they argue that "every time that planners intervene to correct a given predicament, so the whole system is carried forwards to a new stage of structural complexity in which new predicaments begin to manifest themselves" (Dear and Scott 1981a:15). I think this is an interesting approach to development as a 'never ending change', and I find it corresponding with Ollman's dialectic in chapter 2.

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[7] I will not go into the depth of Marx' phrase 'annihilation of space by time' (see Marx 1973a). I will just add that this is *not* to say that space is irrelevant. Harvey argues it rather poses the question "of how and by what means space can be used, organized, created, and dominated to fit the rather strict temporal requirements of the circulation of capital" (Harvey 1985:37).

3.1.2 Class conflict

In the following I will relate to this definition of class relations; "The class relation under capitalism is here defined as objective exploitation within the process of production" (Bridge 1995:241). The relation to the production is crucially influenced by ownership and power. The notion of 'exploitation' is important. The notion indicates an on-going process and relation between people, where someone is benefiting from the relation. However, it must be added that under capitalism the different classes are dependent upon each other. The workers *need* to be exploited to get wage at all, and the capitalists *need* to workers to get surplus value.

The way I started chapter 3.1 is in general a traditional way of opening the theme of capital accumulation and class (see Marx 1995; Harvey 1999). In his latest book Harvey takes a short-cut and argues that "All societies generate surpluses (defined as use value greater than those required for immediate consumption) for survival" (Harvey 2006:90).[8] The class conflict, then, becomes a struggle of how to use the surplus.

When working on the concept of class in the following, there are traps that must be avoided. One is that 'production' must not be reduced to industrial commodity production, and to conceptualise production I will relate to Harvey's 'extended notion of production' (see below, and Harvey 1985). Another 'trap' is more linguistically: *Class* and especially *class conflict* are concepts that for many of us are loaded with strong empirical notions. The classical image of a male industrial worker in conflict with his male boss (dressed in a suit), might be an obstacle for a clear understanding on how 'an objective exploitation within the process of production' functions in contemporary cities. In the following, I will try to establish an understanding of class, which does not take the "union-membership" or even "the worker" or "the bourgeoisie" as a starting point. I will rather start with the capital accumulation; where (as described above) profit arises out of capital's domination of labour. Through a constant need for accumulating capital, the capitalist class not only reproduced themselves as a class, but also their domination over labour. When a commodity is circulating in the market, the values that labour partly added, and the surplus-value (that labour fully added) is constantly inherent in the commodity. What is actually circulating around is a rate of exploitation! The same is true according to fixed capital, only that its way of circulating is different: In this case the exploitation is transferred piecemeal from the fixed capital. As for example with a building, when the years are passing by and the building is being used, the value of the building will partly be transferred away from the building. In both fixed and circulating capital, what is being accumulated

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[8] Here Harvey uses 'use-value' in the way Marx (1995) does, and *not* the way Lefebvre (1991) does below in this thesis.

is the surplus value, this means; what is being accumulated is the actual exploitation. Capital accumulation *is a* class relation (Poulantzas 1975; Harvey 1985).

Another central point in Marxism is that the *division* between labour and capital also is an *antagonism*. Antagonism might be defined as 'contested, polemic and even combative' (Gunder 2003:237). There is an objective contradiction in interests, what labour gains the capital looses, and vice versa. "Accumulation cannot, therefore, be isolated from class struggle" (Harvey 1985:1). It is two sides of the same coin. Capital accumulation *is* class conflict.

In this thesis I will often relate to the terms "dominating" and "dominated" classes, especially in relation to the built environment. The benefit of using these terms is that they include parts of the power-relation that's between the classes. A weakness is their inaccurate, inexact character. Therefore I will use them when I am writing in general terms and further delimitations are not needed.

As mentioned above, the capitalists are always in competition with each other. Intra-class conflicts are highly complicated processes, and are manifested on different levels. There might be two similar companies that compete on the same market (as when Argent won the bid to develop the King's Cross Area in competition with other companies), or there might be fractions of capital which compete with other fractions (as when financial capital replaced industrial capital during the 80's in London). Capitalists might enrich themselves by buying out their 'competitors' (as when DHL bought Exel, one of the landowners at King's Cross Central). However, what they are buying out, is each others 'surplus-product' (Mandel 1978). Therefore Marx argues that "The *surplus value* created at one point requires the creation of surplus value at *another* point, for which it might be exchanged" (Marx 1973a:407, original emphasis).

In this constant unstable system of competitions, the classes of capitals have *in general* the same interests towards the dominated and exploited classes. Between the classes that exploit and those who are exploited there exists an *antagonism*. This antagonism does not exist between fractions or companies within the same class. I will in the following define intra-class conflicts as *mere conflicts*. There are also inter-class alliances (between different class-interests). Spatiality has also its own function here, because inter-class alliances might often occur under the fetishist character of spatiality (see spatial fetishism, below). The class relations in King's Cross have the built environment as its context. Therefore I will now attempt to operationalise classes within an urban framework.

3.1.3 Dialectics between class and urban sphere

Class is a complex phenomenon, both in theory and practice. And a complete operationalising of classes is per se impossible. More classes can always be added, the boundaries between classes are never clear, and there are always huge differences according to time and space. Harvey argues that while the distinction between labour and capital is endemic in capitalism, there are forces (like authority relations, consumption patterns and lifestyle and residual forces) that opens up for mobility (Harvey 1985).

Marx himself never reckoned it to be two, and only two, classes (Østerberg 1972; Marx 1973b; Harvey 1985). But in his analysis of (e.g.) the commodity production it was clarifying to abstract away other processes, to focus on just a few. A similar analytical choice will be done in the following. The stripping of urban class relation, down to an antagonism between (kinds of) capital and some kind of 'the rest', is *not* to say that there are only two classes in relation to the built environment or to say that there isn't lots of contradictions inherent in different groups.

Having said that; in urban space, there is as a general rule an obvious distinction between those who accumulate money and those who use (spend money in/consume) the space. Some examples might be given: When an advertising board is put up in the urban space, some are accumulating capital and some are not. If a landlord rents out some blocks of flats, some are accumulating capital (rent-capital) and some are not. Of course bad investments might occur and other exceptions as well, but as a general rule I think that this distinction, this antagonism, gives meaning. There are several theoreticians that have tried (in various ways, times and places) to articulate this distinction. Marx is maybe not the most important of these, but also he recognises that a street is both a means of production and a place to take a walk (Marx 1973a:681-7). In the following I will shortly look at Smith, Lefebvre, Tönnies, Edwards & MacDonald et al., and Harvey.[9]

Smith (1991) and Lefebvre (1973) argue that our contemporary relation to space is primarily an 'exchange-value' relation, (in contrast to a 'use-value' relation).[10] What Lefebvre and Smith shows

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[9] These are theories about class conflict *in* space. Bourdieu and Castells have written interesting things about class conflicts between places (*of* or *between* spaces) in cities (see Bourdieu 1996, and Holt-Jensen 2002).

[10] In Marx's terminology, the exchange-value and use-value are two phenomenal forms of a commodity (Marx 1995). Using the term 'exchange'- value and 'use'-value in this context does not correspond to Marx' use, and that might be a bit problematic. There is nothing wrong in converting and giving new meanings to established concepts, this is in fact what is done in practice everyday anyway. But it might get us into problems related to communication, if we are not aware of the difference.

are important: There are different ways to relate to space. Today the distinction between people, the social antagonism in the urban sphere, is not only between "workers" and "employers", but between the people who are using the city in their everyday life, and the people who are accumulating capital through the built environment. In *Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre articulated this as a contradiction which contains a "clash between a consumption of space which produces surplus value and one which produces only enjoyment – and is therefore 'unproductive'. It is a clash, in other words, between capitalist 'utilisers' and community 'users'". (Lefebvre 1991:359-360)

Also the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies had a similar distinction. He characterised two kinds of 'actions' which then characterised two kinds of societies. The first is related to 'essential will'. This contains an action, where the meaning of the action lies within the action itself. The action is a living organic thing (and process) and the action has its own goals and its own premises and reasons. As examples, there are the actions between mother and children, or between different members of a orchestra. The second is related to 'arbitrary will'. Here there is a clear distinction between the medium and the goal; they might even be in contrast to each other. Actions are done to gain another goal, somewhere in the future, and gains and losses are calculated before the action takes place (Høigård and Finstad 1986). Although written in another time and space, I find this distinction (between 'actions' in space), to be in line with Lefebvre's and Smith's distinction (between classes in space).

In an empiric research on London, Edwards and MacDonald et al. (1992) also draws a bi-polar distinction: "In rather oversimplified terms, on can say there have been those interests which are concerned about the future of London as a viable business environment and those interests which are concerned about the future of London as a place to live" (Edwards, MacDonald et al. 1992:188-189). Within the former, the 'growth coalitions', are the business elites, unions, media, academics and 'involve the co-option of local authorities' (ibid.). And the latter, the 'citizen perspective', are build up of 'the variety of different groups in the population' (Edwards, MacDonald et al. 1992).

Also Harvey is operating with a bi-polar distinction in relation to the built environment. There is a struggle between capital and labour over "what is good for people and what is good for accumulation" (Harvey 1978:20). Although these are antagonisms between two parts of the society, there is of course not *only one* kind of capital that exploits *one* kind of users. When I am looking at King's Cross, I will need a more complex framework than the bi-polar above. Therefore it is interesting what Harvey (1978; 1985) writes about fractions of capitalist classes and how they relate to the built environment. But before I now start to operationalise classes in urban sphere

within or beyond the bi-polar distinction above, a disclaimer is needed: A clear distinction between the classes is absent, and there exists a complex web of conflicts and relations between these fractions. When starting to dig down into the classes, it's important to keep in mind that the actual class composition is always complex, blurry and fluid.

Harvey defines '*capital in general*', that is the whole capitalist class, in the built environment, as "all those who engage in entrepreneurial functions of any kind with the intent of obtaining a profit" (Harvey 1985:168). They look to the built environment for two reasons: a) as a set of use values for enhancing the production and accumulation of capital, and b) as a place/market where commodities and services can be sold. The fraction of *construction interests* is more specific, and accumulates capital by 'constructing new elements in the built environment'. This faction is engaged in a 'particular kind of commodity production' (ibid:169). The last fraction Harvey writes about is the *landlords*. Defined as those who by "virtue of their ownership of land and property, can extract a rent (actual or imputed) for the use of the resources they control" (ibid.).

The next problem then, is who are all the others? All those who do not accumulate capital, are they one big organism? Harvey can be accused for answering 'yes' to this question. He argues that *Labour* is "all those individuals who sell a commodity – labour power – on the market in return for a wage or salary". (ibid:168). 'Labour' looks to the built environment according to a) consumption, and b) as a means to reproduce themselves and maybe expand. They are also 'sensitive to both the costs and the spatial disposition of the various items in the built environment' (like housing, education, services of all kinds and so on). But what then about those parts of the dominated classes, which don't sell their labour power, like the lumpen proletariat, students or artists on scholarships? And are all kinds of homeowners termed capital? To grasp what Harvey means by "labour" I think labour should be conceptualised not by their 'work', but rather as those who contribute to the surplus value by being exploited. A vast majority of these are wage-earners and workers, but the term does not exclude those who are not. I find this conceptualisation of 'labour' to be better operational in the built environment. This is also in accordance with the definition of class above, where class was defined as "objective exploitation within the process of production". This gets even more complex when I add that a lot of the surplus value today are extracted from the labour of people in economically poor countries, and this has great implications also on class-relation in western Europe (Smith 2002). So although capital is accumulated in Western Europe, a lot of the exploitation that is circulating around and are *realised* in Western Europe are produced on the other side of the globe.

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But I will also argue that surplus value is extracted from other spheres than only the immediate physical commodity production (wherever on the globe). To be able to grasp this, I find Harvey's 'expanded notion of production' very useful (Harvey 1985).

3.1.4 Expanded notion of production

When Marx wrote his theories in the nineteenth century, his main focus was on work-based industrial production (see e.g. Marx 1995:ch.13). This was partly because this was locus for commodity production, which was (and remains) the corner-stone of our capitalism (Smith 2002). Today the heavy industry has to a large degree moved, and western capital must operate in new/other ways to get maximum profit (Harvey 1990). There has also been changing power relation within the capitalist-classes, giving more power to financial capital (see chapter 4 and (Harvey 2005b)). The world economy is organised so that the western countries are supplied with inconceivably cheap commodities. These changes have also changed the way we understand our societies. To be able to grasp this new mode of accumulation, it is important with a wider focus than has been needed so far. It has become more important than ever to understand that capitalist production is more than commodities made in a factory. The 'expanded notion of production' includes the contemporary production of new social wants and needs, the new mode of consumption, the production and reproduction of labour power, and the production and reproduction of the social relations of capitalism, as well as the immediate production of commodities (Harvey 1985).

These complex issues, both geographically large aspects (world economy) and deep socio-economical studies of our own economies and societies (expanded notion of production) are needed if we are to convert the dichotomy between labour and capital, which is between the exploited and the exploiter, into the urban built environment. Because of subject matter, the King's Cross Development, this thesis will not primarily focus on the organisation of the world economy, but rather on the relatively more 'local' issues related to King's Cross.

3.1.5 Capital - as structure or people?

In the King's Cross development, the developer (Argent) is wholly-owned by the British Telecom Pension Scheme. This leads into a classical debate, whether a business that is managed by it owners would act in any different way from business that is managed by the some managers who are elected by the owners (Miliband 1973; Harvey 2006). It might be argued that the leaders, not gaining directly from the business' surplus, would have less concern with making maximum profit, and concentrate more about people and welfare. But it is important not to forget the intra-class conflict within capital. The owner can also sack the leaders if they don't do as the leaders want.

There is generally little space of alternative thinking that does not fulfill the owners' interests. Also, Miliband (1973) argues, success measured in the desire for prestige and urge for power, the feeling of lojality within an organisation and the need for 'playing the game for its own sake', "would apply just as much to the traditional owner-entrepreneur as to the non-owning manager" (Miliband 1973:32). When a capitalist is owning and running his own business, non-popular reforms and actions, must be explained via the capitalists own profit. With an elected leadership, there is a possibility for the leaders to excuse themselves with that they are only doing what is expected 'from above'. Serving the interests of the owners might then be used as disclaimer and repudiation of liability by the leaders (as done in the King's Cross Development, see chapter 7). Harvey argues this debate died in practice during the 70's when the distinction between owners and managers became prevalent and the large corporations became more and more financial in their orientations (Harvey 2006), and links this to the hegemonic position of financial capital (see also chapter 4).

Argent, the developer in King's Cross, is owned by British Telecom's Pensions Scheme. Those who are 'gaining' from maximum profit are the workers in British Telecom. How is this in relation to class? I will argue that the ideology with maximum profit is so hegemonic, that there is little space for alternative thinking, nor in British Telecom's Pension Scheme. Also, the intra-class conflict does exist (if they don't gain, they lose capital) and success is also here primarily measured in the amount of profit. Therefore, I will argue, the fact that Argent is owned by a pension fund, does not mean that the amount of profit they are chasing for, is necessarily lower than if it was a more 'traditional' capitalist owned and/or run enterprise. But the fact that Argent is fully owned by BT's Pension Scheme might create a latent intra-class conflict among the dominated classes. The pension scheme is thrown into capital accumulation in the interest of the pensions (wages) to British Telecom's workers. Argent's capital accumulation, i.e. class conflict, in the built environment then, might exploit dominated classes' one place (people living near King's Cross) in the interest of dominated classes somewhere else (the BT's workers).

3.1.6 Critique of capital and class
The decline in academic research on capital accumulation and class the last 20-30 years (see chapter 2) is largely a matter of emphasis. In a lot of academic research during the 70's, the concept of class probably got a position which needed and deserved critique. However, as one of the most important subjects in social science, the decline of the attention to class might have gone way too far.

A critique of class that is directly related to subject matter, is articulated by Amin and Thrift (see Amin and Thrift 2007). They defines themselves as part of the 'Left'[11] and argue in a polemics against Harvey and Smith, that "capitalism comes in many varieties, some of which are undoubtedly cruel and exploitative, while in others the Left has managed to secure compromises that have improved the lives of many" (Amin and Thrift 2007:113). They also argue that it has become *more* difficult than before to argue what capitalism is and what it is not, and exemplifies this by mentioning "social economy", which is defined as a "sector that thrives on the margin of the markets, often seeks profit, but is decidedly based on the economy of the use value" (ibid: 114). I find this critique interesting and important. But the critique can be answered by an open understanding of class, and an undogmatic relation to Marx. And although the 'Left' within 'capitalism' has improved the lives of many, this does *not* mean that a) the theoretical framework from Harvey and Smith is wrong, and b) (regrettably) this is not linked with exploitation. Obviously there are sectors of the economy which are nicer than others, labelled 'social economy' by Amin and Thrift. This a) must be conceptualised within the contemporary role of the state and the state relative autonomy (see below), and b) does not contradict the theories of surplus value. Amin and Thrift (2007) are criticising a kind of dogmatic way of relating to capitalism, where capital is bad, and we must wait for the system to destroy itself. But I will argue that reading Harvey this dogmatic is to misread him (Peet 1998), and I hope that goes for this thesis as well.

Also the theoreticians within collaborative planning have raised important critiques against my kind of theoretical approach:

> "[Healey] argued against a structuralist or political economy approach by contending that people do not have fixed interests. In other words, a particular structural position (e.g., capitalist) does not automatically produce a particular policy position (e.g., deregulation)" (Fainstein 2000:457).

I would agree. But again I find the 'baby thrown out with the bath water'. This relation, between structural and actual political position and interests can be debated within Marxist theories. I have tried to take this into account, by for example debating different layers of class. One question which will be raised in chapter 8 is whether a communicative approach of planning is able to handle any 'particular structural positions' at all.

3.1.7 Fetishism

'Class' is not only a highly complex theoretical phenomenon as such; it can also be difficult to see the structures of class. Neither is the link between capital accumulation and class conflict obvious

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[11] 'Left' is never defined in their short text. But what is said is that there are different kinds of 'left'.

for anyone. In *Capital* (Marx 1995:Ch.1, sect.4) Marx is explaining how this link is "hidden" from us, by using the term *fetishism*.[12]

When people have produced a commodity, for example a car, the result can easily be viewed as a "thing". What Marx uncovered, by using the conception of *commodity fetishism,* is that commodities are not only things, but also social relations between humans. When the car is produced, value is transferred from labour into the commodity, so the car contains social relations. Thus, when a commodity is produced by 'human hand', it only appears like a thing, and this is what Marx calls the "Fetishism [,] which attaches itself to the products of labour" (Marx 1995:87).[13] Relations between different 'things' (just as between 'things' and humans) are also social relations. And in a capitalistic mode of production, this social relation includes, as we saw above, the 'objective exploitation'. Through fetishism, Merrifield (1993:519) argues, Marx "developed a dialectical interpretation of the commodity".

The fetishism of commodity is not a conspiracy from capital; 'hiding from us' something that should be obvious. The fetishism is rather a consequence of the biological world. "The mask itself is no illusion" (Geras 1983:165). A commodity, for example a chair, cannot talk. It cannot tell any of us how much the workers were paid to build it (or that somebody built it at all). The same goes for buildings, roads and such. The theory of fetishism is also an example of how needed theory is for understanding the world.

It's also interesting to use the concept of fetishism on fixed capital under the 'extended notion of production'. This might have some interesting spatial implications: The use (consumption) of a house (fixed capital) is seen as an interaction between the person (social) and a thing (the house). But if we conceptualise the house as containing social relations (transferred to the house during *both* the production and the use of the house), then the house is also a social relation. Our relation to the built environment is a social relation, and the built environment itself is a social relation. This way of thinking is also interesting in relation to the streets, roads, plazas, parks and other elements located for example King's Cross. The production of space is a social relation. Lefebvre establishes the term 'spatial fetishism' in 1974:

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[12] Marx' use of fetishism must be confused with neither sexual fetishism nor Freud's concept of fetishism. (See Osborne 2005).

[13] English translation from: http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch01.htm#S4, (on 20.03.07).

"We come to think in terms of spatiality, and so fetishize space in a way reminiscent to the old fetishism of commodities, where the trap lay in exchange, and the error was to consider 'things' in isolation, as 'things in themselves'" (Lefebvre 1991[1974]:90).

Space must not be studied as space in itself, but also as social relations. When uncovering the 'spatial fetishism' it is possible to study social relations, like class, at places and in space. Following this argumentation, the developers, like Argent in King's Cross, is building a 'fetishised' space, they're building 'capital domination over labour'.

3.2 The relative autonomy of the state and planning

Before I start the theoretical discussion on planning, I will just shortly position myself in relation to the common debate about 'structure and agency'. I will argue that both Althusser and E. P. Thompson are dead, and I will lean against Giddens, Jessop and Bhaskar and their notion of structuration (see Allmendinger 2002). It is a question of *both – and*. There are both agents that must be understood and structures that render possible and restrict the agents. Katznelson argues that the "issue is not whether to link … structure and agency, but how" (Katznelson 1993:68). My dialectical approach in chapter 2 might be helpful here; Harvey argues that the dialectic "avoids the more mechanistic and reductionist version of this problem [i.e. relation between structure and agency] and permits the issue to be approached theoretically in an open and fluid way" (Harvey 2006:76).

3.2.1 Contemporary thoughts in planning

In describing and theorizing urban and regional planning, there has during the last decades been a growth in number of urban planning theorists that have taken a 'communicative turn' (Healey 1996; Amdam and Veggeland 1998; Yiftachel and Huxley 2000; Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002; Gunder 2003). Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2002) argues that the communicative turn has been labelled collaborative planning in UK and deliberative planning in the US. In this thesis I will use the term '*collaborative planning*' when I refer to a kind of planning with a *communicative* approach and/or *communicative* theory as an ideal. *Participation* is a crucial method and strategy in this kind of planning.

The 'communicative turn' has happened in both planning theory and in the evolution of practices (Healey 1998). The growth in this school of thought has reached the stage where claims are made about a "consensus" among the community of planning theoreticians on key theoretical and methodological questions, such as the need for normative theory, the relevance of agency over

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structure and the interest in studying practice (Yiftachel and Huxley 2000). Even though this "consensus" is not total (ibid. and Fainstein 2000).

According to Fainstein (2000) the communicative theory rests partly on the communicative rationality of Jürgen Habermas (see also Healey 1999; Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002; Gunder 2003), and partly on a tradition of pragmatism and empiricism, inspired by John Dewey and Richard Rorty. Yiftachel and Huxley (2000) argue that Habermas remains the main influence. In Habermas' inter-subjective communicative rationality, participation and communication might be used for emancipation and social justice. According to Habermas, the 'unlimited communication community' is an ideal which can be approximated in real contexts (Habermas 1993). An ideal speech situation requires some preconditions, some of them might be said to be;

> "(1) all voices in any way relevant get a hearing, (2) the best arguments available to us given our present
> state of knowledge are brought to bear, and (3) only the unforced force of the better argument determines
> the "yes" and "no" response of the participants" (Habermas 1993:163).

Filling the gap between this 'ideal situation' and actual planning is difficult. In practice the gap is filled by academic planning theoreticians and actual planning authorities (i.e. the state). I will here consider the former. The 'ideal speech situation' is in turn the "basis for developing the concept of discursive will formation, or in more familiar language, a process of collectively deciding how to act" (Allen 1986:12). The essence of collaborative planning is that through learning how to collaborate and through successful communication it is possible to resolve conflicts and obtain agreement and consensus (Healey 1999). Healey writes that "Habermas' principles of the 'ideal speech situation' are put forward as tools to help those involved assess the quality of their communicative efforts" (ibid: 117).

Different theoreticians are surely trying to fill the gap in different ways. While Healey above is using the 'ideal' as a tool, Gunder (2003) seems less concerned with distinguishing between Habermas' 'communicative ideal' and actual collaborative planning when he is criticising them both. Allen refers to Habermas directly and argues that "[Habermas] is clear that most instances of communicative action do not replicate the ideal speech situation" (Allen 1986:15). Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones argues that Healey, who is one of the most important theoreticians to convert Habermas into actual planning, "uses Habermas' ideal speech as both abstract benchmark and a guide for planners to follow" (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002:8). Fainstein argues that

> "Although their roots, via Habermas, are in critical theory, once the communicative theorists move away
> from critique and present a manual for action, their thought loses its edge. Habermas posited the ideal

speech situation as a criterion by which to register the distortion inherent in most interactions. As such, it supplies a vehicle for demystification. But when instead ideal speech becomes the objective of planning, the argument takes a moralistic tone, and its proponents seem to forget the economic and social forces that produce endemic social conflict and domination by the powerful" (Fainstein 2000:455).

In chapter 3.2.5 I will place some attention to theoretical lacks in the collaborative planning system and the communicative approach. Whether these lack origins from the work of Habermas or from a communicative planning theory which is based on a defected reading of Habermas, I am not capable of saying. But what I *can* say, is that there is a general understanding that these theories of collaborative planning is derived from communicative theory and influenced by the work of Habermas. The same goes in chapter 8 where I am looking at collaborative planning in King's Cross; although I am not able to blame Habermas or not, the important fact is that the planning process in King's Cross in influenced by a 'communicative approach'.

There is no such thing as one model of collaborative planning, which everyone follows. It's rather a set of practices and principles that is at stake here. Issues like participation and types of communication are important. From a planning-theoretical perspective, Amdam and Veggeland (1998) argue that the collaborative planners aim is rather to ask the right questions, than to find the answers. During the actual dialog of collaborative planning one must accept the other views are just as important as one's owns (ibid). From this we can say that the *process* is an important part of the planning.

Before I below give an account for some critique of the 'communicative approach' and 'collaborative planning', I find it necessary with a sober approach to planning where planning is regarded as 'a response'. In the following I will first establish a theoretical framework from where it is possible to articulate this critique. To create this platform, I want to go beyond the planning system itself.

3.2.2 Planning as a response

Dear and Scott argue that neither 'urbanization in general' nor 'urban planning' constitute self-determinate and independent occurrences (Dear and Scott 1981a). There must be something to plan outside the planning system. Urbanization and planning are therefore "social events", or processes, within a larger whole. These processes are embedded within the society, and therefore derives their

"logic and historical meaning from the general pattern of society as a whole" (Dear and Scott 1981a:4).[14] Dear and Scott uses a metaphor from medicine, when arguing:

> "Urban planning interventions are, by their very nature, remedial measures generated as reactive responses to urban land use and development pathologies. Planners are frequently able to control the outer symptoms of these pathologies, but they can never abolish the capitalist logic that produces them" (Dear and Scott 1981a:15).

Planning is here seen as response to processes outside itself. It is a response to actions made by the market, other parts of the state, local communities or others. To be able to understand the dialectical 'nature of planning', I must therefore go beyond the planning system itself. When writing about planning as an academic discourse in geography, it's normally taken for granted that it's about *public planning*. That is, planning conducted by the state. Although it is conducted by local parts of the state, it is still the state. The role of the state in public planning is obviously crucial. In addition to this, the state is also an important part of the economy and society as such, so also except from being the planner, it also is important as an external factor. Although there are exceptions (for instance Yiftachel and Huxley 2000), it is interesting to observe how much work on planning that completely fails to see and acknowledge the problematic role of the state.

3.2.3 Dialectics between the state and the economy

Neil Smith argues that the central function of contemporary states, like all previous states, is "social control on behalf of the ruling class, which means that in capitalist society it becomes manager of that which private capital is unwilling or unable to do" (Smith 1991:49). The state is protecting the social order, and today this is a *capitalistic* social order. Planning must be seen as a part of this. Order is protected, in the terms of Antonio Gramsci, by coercion *and* by consent (Miliband 1983). Harvey proposes three basic functions of the capitalist state; i) help to stabilize the economy and social system by acting as a "crisis-manager", ii) strive to prepare the ground for balanced growth and a smooth process of accumulation, and iii) contain civil strife and factional struggles through repression or integration (Harvey 1985:ch.7).

Redistribute processes like social welfare and "subsidies" to the poor, can be analysed as a strategy from the state to "maintain order", prevent social riots and thereby 'stabilize the social system and the economy'. But is it *only* that? Another way to analyse the welfare-part of the economy, as for

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[14] I don't find the need to take it as far as the young Castells, when he argued that the urban is not a 'specific real object or a scientific object' at all (Dear and Scott 1981b, and Castells 1976). My approach is not to downplay the importance of planning or urbanisation, but rather a sober attempt to understand it.

example in the corporative Nordic states, is to see it as results of the struggle from the dominated classes. This is a kind of struggle that has to a large degree taken place *within* the state. To proceed, I want to go deeper into the relation between the state and the economy, including trying to figure out the 'relative autonomy' between them.

With Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*, «The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the *common* affairs of the *whole* bourgeoisie» (Marx and Engels 1998:3, my emphasis). A plurality of the bourgeoisie is here implied, and they have common as well as separate interests. Miliband argues that the *'common* affairs of the *whole* bourgeoisie' can not be managed without a "considerable measure of independence" (Miliband 1983:466). Jones and Ward (2002) argue that the contemporary state is capitalistic and therefore dependent upon, although not reducible to, capital accumulation. If the state would be reduced to the economy, it would be hard, if not impossible, to conceptualise political fights being fought within the state and also within planning.

After some decades with a lack of interest among Marxist about the state,[15] Poulantzas, influenced by Gramsci, in 1968 published *Political Power and Social Classes* (Poulantzas 1975). The famous concept of "relative autonomy of the state" derives from here. Although the state must provide 'good business climate' (Harvey 2006) the state also acts in a "positive fashion, *creating, transforming and making* reality" (Poulantzas 1980:30, original emphasis). But although the concept of the relative autonomy has often been refereed to and used, it has never had one clear meaning (Jessop 1990). How to conceptualise 'relative' and 'autonomy'? This was also the core of the debate in the 70's between Poulantzas and Miliband (Miliband 1973; Poulantzas 1975; Jessop 1990). This debate can be reduced to: Is the capitalist state, capitalistic because i) it is the state of the capitalists (social agents), as with Miliband. Or is it capitalist because ii) it is the state of the capital (social structures), as with Poulantzas? (see also Miliband 1983; Jessop 1990; Kennedy 2006) These two approaches are not exclusive, rather I will argue that they are inclusive, and both should be studied.

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[15] Miliband (1983) argues there were mainly two reasons. First there was a general 'impoverishment of Marxist thought' during the Stalinism from 1920's to the 1950's. The second was an over-'economistic' bias, which saw the state as the 'mere servant of dominant economic classes'. Poulantzas articulated Marxist's difficult relation to the state, when arguing that "As long as Marxism neglected the State, it was guilty of economism; and when it speaks of the state, it can only have fallen into statism" (Poulantzas 1980:35).

One complicating factor that should be mentioned is *intra-state* conflicts. These might be between different departments, different positions, different levels of government and so on (Allmendinger 2002). This might especially be visible in planning. In my analysis on the King's Cross Development, I will bring up the state on three levels; national, metropolitan and local. Understanding the dialectical relation between the scales is of great importance. Also, for different reasons states, and planning-systems within the state, are quite different. This might be for historic reasons, class struggle, intra-class reasons, or others. The difference between (to take the extreme points for the sake of the argument) the state and the planning system in the Soviet Union, the Swiss state and the Norwegian State is great. In the following I will relate to England, London and Camden.

Poulantzas' notion of the 'relative autonomy of the state' is theoretical appropriate to planning. It is also appropriate when trying to conceptualise the dialectics between the state and the economy. While the main aim for the state, in the large picture, is to create a good business climate for the economy, there is also some autonomy where the state might actively conduct actions. How the state is actually operating in King's Cross will be a subject for my analyses. Below I will criticise the position of 'collaborative planning' from a position of the state as 'relative autonomous'. But first I will shortly discuss some non-Marxist positions in relation to the state

3.2.4 Non-Marxist notions of State

Jessop (1990) clarifies two different non-Marxist approach to the state. The first can be located in the campaign in social science to 'bring the state back in'. It's argued that the form and function of the state is shaped by distinctive political processes and pressures. The state is a 'force in its own right'. Its autonomy is important and not just directed towards the economy, but towards 'all pressures and forces located in civil society'[16] (Jessop 1990:278). The state managers, officers and planners might exercise power over, and against, whatever structure, process, social force or others, they might want (Jessop 1990). The 'bringing-the-state-back-in'-approach assume a total distinction between state and society, where the state constitutes and determines other subjects. Under this approach, there is little space for policy network, corporatism, links between state managers as state managers *and* actors in other social spheres, or "other forms of compenetration or overlap between state and society" (Jessop 1990:288).

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[16] Ironically, these arguments might be founded in an orthodox reading of the early Marx, and his analysis of the absolute state, Bonapartism and Bismarckism (Jessop 1990, see also Marx 1973b).

A second non-Marxist approach is derived from the post-structuralist, and "post-Marxist"-duo Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. In their *Hegemony and Socialist Strategies* (2001) [1985] they use the methodological tool of deconstruction to argue that the 'society does not exist'. This is explained in a setting where 'plurality' is the starting point rather than conclusion, and there is no single underlying principle fixing or constituting this 'plurality'. 'Society' is here not a valid object of discourse. "Society never manages fully to be society, because everything in it is penetrated by its limits, which prevent it from constituting itself as an objective reality" (Laclau and Mouffe 2001:127). But if the society does not have an 'identity that can be fully constituted', and therefore does not exist, Jessop asks whether the state can be 'fully constituted' to the extent that it is possible to say that the state exists? (Jessop 1990) Jessop argues that Laclau and Mouffe are so busy trying to expand the concept of politics to fill the space left by its attempted deconstruction of 'society' that it has little time left to consider the state (Jessop 1990). And "if the anti-Marxist have been seeking to 'bring the state back in', Laclau and Mouffe have been making a brave post-Marxist effort to send it into oblivion" (Jessop 1990:276).

3.2.5 Critique of the communicative approach in planning

In the following I will relate to the contemporary British state (included the British planning system), as a capitalist state with relative autonomy. On one side it's clear that the state must provide a good business climate and attract capital, and on another side the state contains an own autonomy.

There are positive aspects with the academic eschewing of economic determinism the last 20 years. But a danger is that we might simultaneously forget that it's vital that "economic factors and their significance in conditioning the geographical landscape of capitalism are not downplayed" (Merrifield 1993:528). The economy plays a very special role in capitalist mode of production, however defined. Having outlined a notion the 'relative autonomy of the state', where the state is neither economic deterministic nor fully independent of the economy and having established the public planning within the domain of the state, it's time to look at some critique of collaborative planning.

One critique is the lack of understanding of power in collaborative planning (Gunder 2003). The tradition, perhaps suffering from a methodological gap between rhetoric and action, is assuming that "if only people were reasonable, deep structural conflict would melt away" (Fainstein 2000:455). Some conflicts, like class and gender, I will argue, must be (and *are*) developed through power struggles rather the amount of 'unforced communication'. I second Marcuse (forthcoming) in

that distribution of power is a result of ongoing tensions and conflicts. Planning can not step outside of these ongoing processes. But in collaborative planning it's easy to see power relations as given, and the main task is to produce as successful communicative process and planning as possible. This aspect is related to other critiques: Failing to address underlying structures in capitalism in general and the fact that capitalism is constituted on antagonisms. Attention is drawn away from the "underlying material and political processes which shape cities and regions" (Yiftachel and Huxley 2000:907). In capitalism even so called 'status quo' implies capital domination over labour, and state power is capitalist state power: 'Status quo' implies unequal power distribution. In the way that the idea of collaborative planning is developed however, the state is seen as a *neutral* arena where communication might take place.

A more empirically determined critique is the question of who the actors in the communicative process are. It's obviously not "everyone", especially not in a big city like London. Even in quite a smaller context, with an example from the Norwegian municipal Sogndal, Jon Naustadalslid argues that a communicative approach in planning produced 'more power to the powerful' (Naustadalslid 1991). Another problem of communicative processes, as with participation and democracy as such, might be that they "tolerates changes only as long as it does not transcend the existing system" (Flyvbjerg and Petersen 1983:26). It is therefore reason to argue that collaborative planning is able to function if there is limited conflict among the stakeholders and nobody wants to transcend the existing system. Another question is related to who *are not* around the table in collaborative planning. Alan Mace argues, based on a case from the participatory process in the King's Cross Development, that when participation and 'inclusion' is the aim, those who falls outside falls even further outside. Then the 'hard to reach' get 'harder to reach' (Mace forthcoming).

I will not criticise the discourse for having 'communication' as ideal. But somewhere along the road, something missed out. Debate and communication is, no matter how much class conflict there exists, inherent parts of our societies and our kind of democracy. I will not deny that there might be cases, places and times, where having the communicative ideal might be fruitful. Whether this is the case in King's Cross, will be discussed in later chapters.

3.3   Dialectics between the state, the urban and the economy

The theoretical debate above leaves a notion of public planning that might operate as a mediator between the state and the economy. The planner is equipped with power vis-à-vis the production of space, especially in issues concerning *location* of housing, jobs and leisure. A central role for planners are often to stabilize societies, and contain civil strife (Harvey 1985). To fulfill the

different tasks, the planner and the planning process, can not be fully determined by the economy. However, the planners' limits are clear. No private enterprise can be forced to establish or build something that is not profitable. Based on the understanding of capital accumulation above, if an enterprise is forced to build anything that make "too small" profit they will lose the intra-class competition, and (perhaps in the end) go bankrupt. Hence, the concern of the contemporary state is to arrange the processes so that wanted investments are profitable. With Thatcher, this tendency became 'law', and with the neo-liberal state in general this tendency, I will argue, has become even stronger (see chapter 4).

Foglesong (1996) is discussing this dialectically, when arguing that there is an "capitalist-democracy contradiction". He argues, just as Harvey above, that the market system cannot solely produce built environment that is 'capable of maintaining capitalism'. Therefore there is a necessity for reliance on the institutions of the state, like its democratic parts and planning departments. The contradiction is then a fact when non-owners will gain "too much" power and control the private property (Foglesong 1996). An example in King's Cross in the contestation over whether the roads should be privately owned.

The nature of the urban built environment requires collective management and control. And this 'almost certainly leads to struggle between capital and labor' (Harvey 1978). This 'collective management' that is needed, might be operationalised as public planning. Harvey (1985) argues there are three ways in which the investments in built environments can be coordinated and regulated with general social requirements: First, allocation through *market mechanisms*. Through renting and trading there will be set up price signals, which allocate buildings and land in certain ways. Second, allocation might be arrived at "under the auspices of some *hegemonic controlling interest* – a land or developer monopoly, controlling financial interest and the like" (Harvey 1985:173-174). As historical example, Harvey mentions the 'land grant railroads'.[17] And third, it's argued that s*tate intervention* is an omnipresent feature in the built environment, both in relation to the production, maintenance, and management (Harvey 1985). These three are not exclusive, and Harvey's crucial argument is that whatever mix of these three that are chosen, the important aspect for capital is to ensure "the creation of a built environment that serves the purpose of social reproduction and that it should do so in such a manner that crisis are avoided as far as is possible" (Harvey 1985:174).

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[17] 'Land grant railroads' is an American phenomenon from the 19th century, where land was given to developers as subsidy for building the country's great railways. It's interesting how the subsidies for building the Channel Tunnel Railway Link, which terminates at King's Cross, echoes the American example.

Foglesong (1996) says that, simultaneously as private enterprise will only invest in projects that are more or less profitable, not everything in the urban sphere is profitable or have the mode of commodity (such as e.g. roads, infrastructure, parks, low cost housing). Also; through time/space, land use will change. Foglesong (1996) is debating this dialectically when arguing for a "the property contradiction": Urban land has a public and social character, but primarily private ownership and control. In King's Cross this might be exemplified by the 'public space' in the middle of the site. As an open space with access from different sides and inviting people to the place, the site might seem 'public'. But nevertheless, it will maintain privately owned, and for reasons of capital accumulation or other reasons, the 'public' feeling about the space might be closed in. This contradiction also has implications for intra-class relations; certain parts of capital might benefit from a strict public control and ownership over parts of the built environment (e.g. roads) that other kinds of capital might profit from if they were privatised.

3.3.1 The Production of Space

The 'production of space' is *both* the outcome of the process as well as the process itself (Lefebvre 1991). And also the relationship between humans (society) and space must in a Marxist tradition been seen as dialectical. Neil Smith writes in *Uneven Development* (1991) about the dialectical relation between space and humans. I find this dialectical approach to be an interesting gateway into the 'production of space'.[18]

Our contemporary relation to space is, from a dialectical view, to a large degree affected by the social relations of capitalism. But capitalism doesn't differ from other modes of production in that our relation to space is *socially mediated*. Classes precedes capitalism, and: "… with the development of social classes, access to nature[19] is unequally distributed (both qualitatively and quantitatively) according to class." (Smith 1991:41) What is different in our contemporary relation to space in contrast to former relations, Smith argues, is the substance of the social mediation, and its complexity.

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[18] In this thesis, I will also mainly focus on human impact on space/nature. But having said that this process is dialectical, it's clear that the influence goes both ways, or rather *many* ways. Marxist literature is less concerned with the space/nature impact on humans, but two rather different examples might be i) about environment movements, (Harvey 1996) and ii) Marx' description of the communist man (see Ollman 1971).

[19] Smith does not conceptualise the role of nature here, any different than the role of space. (see Smith 1991:41)

Inspired by Lefebvre, Harvey (1996:ch.10) argues that by looking back in time we can easily see that all earlier modes of communities has produced their kind of space/time. Not only space, but also place is a social construct (see Harvey 1996:ch.11). The production of material landscape, as *fixed capital*, Merrifield (1993) argues, is for us a *place*. But these material landscapes, i.e., places, emerge through processes that are operative over the domain of *space*, which I above linked with *circulating capital.* With this understanding, there is not only a 'dialectical unity' between fixed and circulating capital, but also between place and space (Merrifield 1993). The links are interesting: Without the *place*bound fixed capital, there would not be any possibility for circulating capital, which constantly circulates through *space*. And vice versa; the spatial circulating capital is crucial when places and material landscapes are being produced.

3.4   Attempt to fill gaps between theory and practice

So far in this theoretical chapter, the theories that are presented are often located at such a high level of abstraction that the road to the real world might be long. I will nonetheless argue that this road must be walked.

In chapter 2 I argued that theory building should operate in a dialectical way between theory (abstract) and practice (concrete), but I left it untouched how to fill this gap. So the question then, is within the dialectical historical-geographical materialism, how to link theories of high level of abstraction with the actual people working and living in King's Cross. Our theories about capital accumulation and class have at times been kept at a fairly high level of abstraction. Although we referred to an 'operationalisation', we were never confronted with an actual reality.

Marx' phrase that bourgeoisie is the embodiment of capital (Marx 1995), or Harvey's argument that the commodity is the "material embodiment of use-value, exchange-value and value." (Harvey 1999:1), is important, but might be problematic if the abstract levels and its 'bodies' are discussed at the same time or confused. When trying to use the concepts of class on the 'real world', and linking it to real persons, actions and processes, it's important to attempt to maintain the complexity that is inherent in both the theory of class, and in the actual class compositions that exists. Just acknowledging the existence of structure and agency is not enough, a more complex approach than Giddens' structuration (see above) is needed.

But how to simultaneously deal with the abstract level above, peoples quotations and actual social differences? And also at the same time, there are people acting both as individuals and 'collective groups'. The world is a messy complexity, and so are actual existing class relations. One way of

making some system into this mess and trying to grasp class-relations at different levels simultaneously, is by using Katznelson's four layers of class (Katznelson 1993).

Katznelson's *first* layer is within the structures of capitalist development, and equals Marx' highly abstract analysis of class in *Capital* (see Marx 1978; 1995). This is the structural layer on which I started this chapter. Abstractions and theory is important when working on this layer. The *second* layer concerns the organisation of social existence and how "actual people live within determinate patterns of life and social relations" (Katznelson 1993:208). This might be at their workplace, at their residential area or elsewhere. In chapter 6 I will outline some of the actual social conditions around King's Cross. Whether people are home-owners or rent their houses are for example important. The *third* layer is related to how people "come to represent their lived experiences and how they constitute a normative guide to action" (ibid.). Above in this chapter, Lefebvre, Smith and Tönnies argued that classes relate in different ways to the built environment. In Lefebvre's terms, the distinction is between a use-value relation and an exchange-value relation. When this distinction is experienced, we are on this third layer. The *forth* layer, is that of collective action. People who share dispositions may (or may not) self-consciously act together to affect their societies and their interest and position within it (ibid.). The most traditional is obviously the labour-unions. But also tenant-organisations, homeless movements and others are examples of collective action on this layer.

The dividing into these layers is also theory, which means simplification. The layers have different epistemological statuses, which in a case study like this enforce different methods of research. Therefore it's not very easy to 'jump' from a layer to another, and moving between them is a methodological test. But to help us move between the layers, I find it important to remember the general dialectical approach, which also is valid between the layers. The distinctions between them are never clear. This theory of the layers, seen dialectically, is an attempt to provide a path between and opens for a way to conceptualise the relation between the theory and practice. I think that this way of organising the debate, makes it easier for me to use the complex ideas on a complex reality. Operating with these layers will also clarifying issue of class, when I in chapter 8 research the dialectical relation between classes and planning.

In my analysis, I will look at *both* possible class conflicts between classes, *and* intra-class conflicts in the King's Cross development. Ernest Mandel argues that Luxemburg is making a methodological error, when mixing the level of class conflict and the level of intra-class conflicts: "It is impossible to conduct an analysis simultaneously at these two distinct levels, since capital in

its totality *abstract by definition* from many capitals, from competition" (Mandel 1978:64, original emphasis). In my analysis, I will study both, but watch my step and try not to mix the two distinct levels.

Two more chapters are needed before I in chapter 6 start focusing directly on the King's Cross Development. In chapter 5 I will give an account for how I produced my data, but first; in chapter 4 I will outline the geographical-historical setting in which the King's Cross Development takes place.

Chapter 4: Historical context

In this chapter I will contextualise (historically and geographically) the development in King's Cross. This will be done by looking at what have happened in western cities in general, and London in specific, during the last 30 years. London has been a major international financial and business center for almost 300 years, but lost its dominant position to New York during the First World War. In the 70's the city however once again managed to become a major financial city (Hamnett 2005).

There is a lot of literature on how the western capitalism changed during the 70's and 80's: From 'fordism' to 'neofordism' (Knox & Pinch 2006), from 'modernism to postmodernism' (Harvey 1990), from a 'Keynesian city' to a 'post-fordist city' (Short 2002:79), and from an "embedded liberalism" to "neoliberalism" (Harvey 2005). Our main object, London, stood in the middle of this 'neoliberal regime shift' (Jessop 2002), and changed from an 'industrial' to a 'post-industrial' city (Hamnett 2005), and also becoming a "world city" (Sassen 1991; Short 1996). I second Harvey (Harvey 1990; 2005b) in that these changes are interrelated and overlapping. There might be different explanations why there exist such a huge amount of terms to describe the changes: First, dear child has many names, or second, this is a highly complex issue, or rather: a set of complex issues. The change happened in several fields; culture, academic, economic, political and so on, and in many different geographical locations. Although I find all these changes highly interesting, and also the connection between them, I will in the following mainly discuss the economic and the internal (in contrast to the international) role of the state. My geographical focus will primarily be limited to Britain and London.

I will in the following use the term 'neoliberalism' and not for instance 'neo-conservative'. Neoliberal is more than neo-conservative "unstinted homage" to the free market (Lysestøl and Eilertsen 2001) and the processes described below. Also, some traditional conservative economists and politicians have been sceptical to central parts of the neoliberal projects; for English example, see below, and for Norwegian examples Lysestøl and Eilertsen (2001) mentions Francis Sejersted and Kåre Willoch.

4.1   The neoliberal development of economy

Post-war Britain experienced an era dominated by manufacturing industry, strong labour unions, and a great amount of social housing.[20] Through a Keynesian fiscal and monetary policy, post-war

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[20] In this thesis I will not go deep into the housing issue. Therefore I will just generally distinguish between three kinds of housing: a) Owner occupies (homeowners), b) social rented housing (social housing. Contain for example council

Britain organised a 'post-war peace'. This post-war peace was in general agreed upon, and a 'compromise' between classes (Harvey 2005b). However, in 1971 the gold came to an end as the metallic base of international money, the exchanged rates were floating and in 1973 OPEC started an oil embargo. Harvey argues that "The embedded liberalism that had delivered high rates of growth to at least the advanced capitalist countries after 1945 was clearly exhausted and was no longer working. Some alternative was called for if the crisis was to be overcome" (Harvey 2005b:12).

One alternative was, among others, articulated by the "Community Development Programs" (CDP). These were research programs, attempting to establish 'Left' alternatives to the changes that started to occur in the 70's.[21] Their main concern, broadly speaking, was expanded democracy, more local involvement and control of different developments and maintaining industrial capital in Britain through "protection against the movement of capital for the people affected" (CDP Inter-Project Editorial Team 1977). This did not happen. Why no other alternatives but today's actual and particular kind of neoliberalism occurred, is a highly complex question both in depth and according to scales. A full understanding is out of reach for this thesis. However, some points must be made. It became highly profitable to move industry from Britain to low-cost countries (Hamnett 2005). And from his Marxist standpoint, Harvey argues that "... the left failed to go much beyond traditional social democratic and corporatist solutions and these had by the mid-1970s proven inconsistent with the requirements of capital accumulation" (Harvey 2005b:13). The economic problems in Britain, where "stagflation was hurting everyone",[22] resulted in conflict between the economical interests of the state and the unions (Harvey 2005b:57). This led to several strikes, especially among the miners in 1974. Labour then won the 74-elections and this was seen as a "victory" for the miners. But their 'victory' only damaged Britain's economy more. In 1975/76 Britain was bailed out by the IMF but thereby also 'submitted to IMF-mandated budgetary restraints' (Harvey 2005b). The 'winter of discontent' in 1978 followed with a lot of strikes and nobody seemed happy about it.

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housing and several kinds of housing associations within the category), and c) private rented. This dividing in three is oversimplification, but useful and (hopefully) clarifying for this task.

[21] See for example *Limits to the Law*. (CDP 1977), *Local Government becomes Big Business* (Benington 1976), and *The State and the Local Economy* (CDPPEC 1979).

[22] Stagflation is a term in macroeconomics, used to describe periods with slow output growth (stagnation) combined with high price inflation.

Benington shows how financial capital was an active agent in transforming the state and in 'bailing out big industrial capital' (Benington 1976). He argued in 1976 that the hold finance capital has upon the state would increase, because of public sector borrowing from the money markets. In may 1979, with the electorate basis in the middle class, and with a strong mandate to reform the economy (Harvey 2005b), Margaret Thatcher was elected as prime minister in Britain. It has been argued that her project was to confront the unions, attacking social solidarity, limiting and deconstructing the welfare state, reducing taxes, abolishing the local (left-wing) planning body of London, privatising public enterprises (especially infamous for social housing), encouraging entrepreneurial initiatives and attracting financial capital and foreign investment, at the sacrifice of industrial and commodity-producing capital (see for different retrospective accounts Parkinson 1990; Healey 1996; Newman and Thornley 1996; Jones and Ward 2002; Hamnett 2005; Harvey 2005a; Harvey 2005b; Harvey 2006).

The election of Thatcher is certainly a central event when trying to understand *why* the particular changes occurred. But can the change be reduced to a matter of political choice? Lysestøl and Eilertsen ask from a Norwegian perspective; if it only were a matter of a free political choice, why did it occur *all over* Western Europe at the same time? (Lysestøl and Eilertsen 2001). One of the corner-stones of Harvey's *A brief history of Neoliberalism* (2005b) is the fact that the era of neoliberalism is the dissolution of the 'class compromise', it's a restoration of class power, and a strengthening of capital's domination over labour (see also Lysestøl and Eilertsen 2001). Hamnett (2005) argues that Thatcher's policy "benefited the private sector, financial services, the middle classes, London and South East [England] at the expanse of the public sector, manufacturing, the old industrial regions and the working classes" (Hamnett 2005:16). But not all kinds of capital accumulation was favoured by Thatcher's regime. There were not a possibility to mitigate both the financial and industrial capital; the commitment to a strong pound, and interest rate manipulations favoured finance and disfavoured export industry, a Keynesian politics were replaced by a 'moneterist'. An intra-class struggle in the upper-classes ended with defeat for the industrial capital. The financial capital was highly favoured by Thatcher at the sacrifice of the 'old' industrial capital (Harvey 2005b). Thatcher went against old aristocratic traditions in politics and economy, also within the traditional wing of her own Conservative Party. "While neoliberalization may have been about the restoration of class power, it has not necessarily meant the restoration of economic power to the same people" (Harvey 2005b:31). Thatcher's new allies were the new class of entrepreneurs, and financial capital. Toulouse argues that this was a 'class-project' from Thatcher and that class politics therefore are both a cause and a consequence of social change in global cities (Toulouse 1991).

4.2   The neoliberal development of the state

The neoliberal development has put the state in a very complex position. I will now give an account for how Harvey shows that contradictions are pervading the neoliberal state (Harvey 1990; Harvey 2005b; Harvey 2006):

In neoliberal theory, the state should take a back seat and set the stage for market functions, while the "fundamental mission" is to create a good business climate (Harvey 2006). At the same time it shall regulate the activities of capital in the national interests, just like the 'old' state used to. It is also 'forced', both by neoliberal ideology and international pressure, to act as an inducement to trans-national and global finance capital, and simultaneously deter (though not through exchange control) capital flight to more profitable places. The 'free' and 'uncontrolled' market does have its problems. Market failures might be exemplified by e.g. pollution and London's office-market collapse in the early 90's (see below). The 'free market' might also lead to "oligopolistic, monopoly, and transnational power within a few centralized multinational corporations" (Harvey 2005b:79-80).

Harvey also shows how the neoliberal project might have political consequences (Harvey 2005b), because it might lead to a contradiction between the alienating possessive individualism and the desire for a meaningful collective life. There is also the contradiction between the ideal of 'individual freedom' and the authoritarianism in market enforcement. Harvey also argues that "At the popular level, the drive towards market freedoms and the commodification of everything can all too easily run amok and produce social incoherence". (Harvey 2005:79-80)

The state and the economy have mutual operational autonomies and institutionalised the separation, so that direct states' interventions appears as "external intrusions into the activities of otherwise free economic agents" (Jessop 2002:108). Although power has been given by and from the state, to the market, Harvey emphasize that this transaction have been 'freely and willingly', and that the role of the state has not become "less important" (Harvey 2005b; 2006). In Britain, there has been an increasing reliance on private-public partnerships. The state is not only pro-business in an informal way, but also through legislation, "determining public policies, and setting regulatory frameworks" (Harvey 2005b:77; see also Parkinson 1990). Harvey argues that public-private partnership is a system where the "public sector bears all the risk and the corporate sector reaps all of the profit" (Harvey 2006:26).

The transformation of the state can be exemplified in the housing market. During the 60's and 70's, often led by national and local Labour governments, the amount of council houses increased and peaked in 1981. But only ten years later is the majority of Inner London's tenure 'owner occupation' (Hamnett 2005). Explanations must be looked for in different places. If we look to policy, one important explanation is the "right-to-buy policies, estate sales and a dramatic contraction of new council building", under the Thatcher government from 1979 (Hamnett 2005; see also Walter 2007). The 'right to buy' policy looked on the surface as a gift from the state to the dwellers, when council tenants could buy their council homes for quite a low price. It was however a matter of privatisation and Harvey argues that it ended in speculation and (especially in central areas of London) an intense gentrification and homelessness. And as an effect became long commuting also an increased part of London's geography (Harvey 2005b; 2006).

An understanding of the change in the amount of privately owned houses at the expanse of social rented housing must also include the economic development described above. The new economic order in Britain created a growth of the professional and managerial middle classes, and thereby and increased demand in high-price home ownership housing (Hamnett 2005:129).[23] Other explanations might be the deregulation of the credit market (economy), and another the construction of a consent that owning is better than renting (ideology). I will argue that these two issues are at least important in the Norwegian case (Lysestøl and Eilertsen 2001).

4.3   The neoliberal development of planning

Newman and Thornley argue that Thatcher's changes in the planning system, derives from two interrelated stands in her ideology: i) the economic liberalism "which sanctified the market as the best decision-making process", and ii) the authoritarian stand, "which included the strengthening of central government" (Newman and Thornley 1996:112). The processes are though interrelated and Newman and Thornley argue that the latter process, reducing power of local authorities, was achieved through financial policies (ibid).

According to Bill Risebero, Thatcher's planning policy was based on two documents. First: '*Action for the city*', were the private sector was the one who should gain and achieve aims. And second; '*Lifting of the burden*', which was about removing restrictions (Key-informant Risebero (8)). Risebero also argued that 'planning was running scared' (Key-informant Risebero (8)). Thatcher

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23 For a Marxist debate upon the relation between housing prices and the economy/labour market, see Engels (1970), Stone (1977) and Harvey (1978).

started the privatisation of the council housing and the Boroughs could no longer build housing themselves. Local Boroughs had to get private developments to get in money and for production of fixed capital. So if the private developers built offices, there could be regulated in and included some housing as well (Key-informant Risebero (8)). This institutionalised the private sector in the driver's seat. The local boroughs could not reject plans; or more precisely, formally they could reject plans, but if the developer charged the decision taken by the boroughs and won, the borough would be financial responsible (Key-informant Edwards (3); Key-informant Risebero (8)). There could also be direct intervention by the government (Newman and Thornley 1996).

4.4   Neoliberalism, hegemony and the cities

I will argue that neoliberalism is more than anything a hegemonic articulation. To explain why, I will need some theoretical outlining of 'hegemony' before entering the role of neoliberalism and hegemony. To understand power-relations and especially consolidations of power-relations under capitalism, I find Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony interesting. While the idea of domination might be associated with direct physical coercion, and power seems present, the idea of hegemony is more linked to control through consent in everyday life and civil society. Between class, the state and the economy, hegemony mystifies power relations (see Peet 1998). Poulantzas argues that

> "the hegemonic class is the one which concentrates in itself, at the political level, the double function of representing the general interest of the people/nation and of maintaining a specific dominance among the dominant classes or fractions" (Poulantzas 1975:141).

The concept also opens up for analysis of fractions of capital, for example with the hegemonic shift from industrial to financial capital.

When Clinton and Blair came into power, the hegemonic transformation was so strong, that though they came from centre/centre-left, they ended up consolidating neoliberalism (Harvey 2005b; 2006). In London's case, the process of attracting financial capital instead of other kinds of capital, continued under the new regime. Jones and Ward argue that

> "The election of Labour in 1997 did not disrupt the neoliberalisation project under way in Britain's cities. During the first few months of the new Labour administration, the SRB[24] was discredited as a

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[24] Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) "began in 1994, [and] brought together a number of programmes from several Government Departments with the aim of simplifying and streamlining the assistance available for regeneration" (From http://www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1128087, at 30.04.2007).
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strategy for new "ensuring coordination" …. However, it was retained and later modified to respond to contradictions created by a previous lack of community involvement" (Jones and Ward 2002).

In 2000 the British Government published the urban white paper, *Our Towns and Cities: The Future* (DETR 2000). Although, according to Jones and Ward (2002), it embraced neoliberalism with a friendly face, through the 'third way', the document is not 'revolutionary' as it claims to be; "its policy gene is a document (with a similar title) published twenty years ago … and key elements of the "urban renaissance" are heavily reminiscent of the [previous] urban white paper" (Jones and Ward 2002:141).

Jones and Ward argue that the government wants to insert the private sector into the city. This should be done by what looked as a peculiar contradiction: On one side the development was caused by community-led initiatives, established through government documents (see DETR 1998). And simultaneously the Department of Trade and Industry were reorganized with an aim to increase business' voice in economic policy formulation and its implementations (Jones and Ward 2002). This rather contradictory link between community-led initiatives and increased commercialisation is interesting, also in my analysis below.

Lastly, Jones and Ward argue that it has been "possible to discern crisis management" by shifting out the political sphere by the social sphere. This is also valid in the consolidation of neoliberalism: In turning to civil society, the state has invoked notions of 'neighbourhood' and 'community'. This resulted in a recent individualisation and atomisation of policies. "Through the construction of "the individual" as the problem, "the individual" also becomes constructed as the solution." (Jones and Ward 2002:142).

The hegemonic shift from industrial to financial capital, have had huge consequences for London's geography. Jones and Ward (2002) argue that cities have become important sites were the Fordist-Keynesian crisis assembled. The British urban neoliberal policy has been "legitimised" and implemented as hegemonic discourse through several *white papers*. City Action Teams (CATs) formed in 1985, and Task Force, formed in 1986 and "Enterprise Zones" and different white papers, were projects which did "ensure that all programs designed and introduced prior to the election of Thatcher in 1979 could be realigned, rationalized, or simply abolished" (Jones and Ward 2002:139).

The London Plan argues that the fundamental factor driving change in London's employment structure during the last thirty years has been "the gain of 600,000 jobs in business services and the loss of 600,000 jobs in manufacturing" (London Plan 2004:26). This has also consequences for the

official view of the future: "For structural reasons, the [business service] sector is projected to make the most significant contribution to economic growth in London over the next 15 years with around 440,000 further jobs, just over 50 per cent of the gross total growth of 854,000" (London Plan 2004:29). The interests of financial capital have become 'general interests' and the neoliberal project have surely become hegemonic.

4.5 Neoliberalism as regulation

The projects in the 70's, and 80's, were to establish a new kind of "free market". However, I would argue, this neoliberal freedom is not "given from God", or "universal" in any way or independent of space and time. Rather, the process of neoliberalism is highly regulated: *De*regulation is *also* a kind of regulation. Free markets and neoliberalism are also social constructions. Jones and Ward (2002) partly follow the same of thought, when arguing that "as part of this emergence of a neoliberal urban policy, we suggest, the logic upon which the new state shell was premised – namely, competition and the market – required codification and institutionalisation" (2002:137). And Jones and Ward continue "…the recent history of British urban policy can be read as being one in which the institutions and the programs *themselves*, and not the economy, become objects of regulation (2002:139)

Jones and Ward (2002) argue that this codification and institutionalisation, which is surely very transparent, rest upon four principles. And I will add that all four correspond in some way to the King's Cross Development: i) the introduction/creation of the market into the funding and the delivery of local state services. Putting the Channel Tunnel Rail Link out for private tender is a premise for the whole development at King's Cross Central. ii) The incorporation into the state apparatus of members of local business communities in the regulation of regeneration projects. In King's Cross, the local borough of Camden has organised King's Cross Business Forum to help local capital. iii) The redesign of the internal structure of the state through the formation of public-private partnership to decide program goals, the best means of achieving them, the institutional configuration most suited to meet them, and how their successes/failures should be evaluated. In King's Cross, the King's Cross Central was a part of the 'package' that London and Continental Railway was given to build the railway. And finally, iv) the creation of new institutions, combining business representatives with state officials to oversee and deliver all forms of economic and social policy. In King's Cross they have according to Camden officer West established a 'strategic panel' (Key-informant West (12)) which includes the developer (Argent), the landlord (LCR), a person from the Major's office, the police, and officers of London Borough of Camden. This shows that King's Cross can be included in an institutionalised neoliberal context.

4.6   Current development of planning

While Thatcher was Prime Minister, several boroughs, cities and regions were controlled by Labour, which operated as counterweight to the central government. Perhaps the most important of these were the Greater London Council (GLC). Under the leadership of Ken Livingstone, they managed to establish a planning authority and a power-base who articulated resistance to Thatcher's policy. In 1986 Thatcher abolished the GLC, according to Newman and Thornley (1996) and Allen (1986); this was *because* GLC was controlled by the radical Labour Party. The abolishing left London without any metropolitan strategic local government body (see Edwards, MacDonald et al. 1992; Hamnett 2005). Among other reasons, this could be done because Britain has no written constitution and is centralised (Newman and Thornley 1996). In this period the London Boroughs were reduced to bodies who only passively reacted to economic changes, and had limited power to influence the pace or direction of the changes. The local authorities could at best slow down processes, but almost never stop a private development (Edwards 1992; Hamnett 2005, and Key-informant Risebero (8)). Thatcher set out to "destroy not merely democratic socialist thought and practices but the very enterprise of urban management and planning that was the object of the democratic socialist critique" (Healey 1996:235).

If there were to be any planning at all, it should at least not be concerned with social objectives. Any social and community needs should be dealt with through the so called "trickle-down" effect, where "benefits from economic development will filter down to improve all aspects of life through the general increase in prosperity" (Newman and Thornley 1996:114). However, in 1989 a government-sponsored evaluation commission could find "no evidence that property-led development had produced any trickle-down benefits for poorer areas" (ibid.:122).

Instead of local planning bodies, Thatcher introduced different "experiments", which "completely by-pass the normal planning system and have their own procedures" (ibid. 115), e.g. the enterprise zones, Urban development Corporations and others. Also, national business associations had a growing interest in urban policy, and there were established Confederation of British Industry (CBI), and in 1988 CBI and Business in the Community together launched the "Business in Cities Forum" (ibid.:117). But in this period especially one of the 'neoliberal contradictions' that Harvey mentioned above became important; the market failure. With no overall planning body the race towards maximum profit led to a huge amount of office-building, which resulted in a crash in the property market (see Figure 4.1). Especially (in-)famous is the Dockland Development, but this development is also a planning-exception, because it was a creature of the state (Hamnett 2005). Notice that figure 4.1 ends in 1991. During the 90's the market recovered.

Cycles in Central London
Gross Take up and Availability

25

20

million sq ft

15

Available
Space

Gross
Take Up

10

5

0

1975   1980   1985   1990

Source: based on DTC data

APR & IPD, 1992
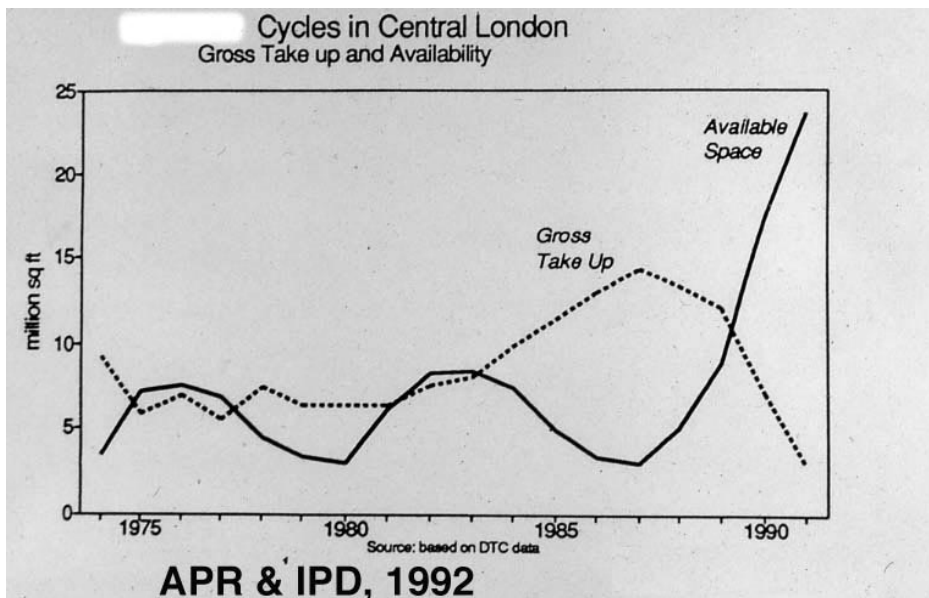
Figure 4.1: Crash in London's property market

Source: LPAC (London Planning Advisory Committee), IPD and APR (1992) The London Office
Market: assessment and prospects London, IPD and APR.

In 2000 the Greater London Authority (GLA) were established, and the local boroughs was given a "relatively more active role in the planning" (Newman and Thornley 1996:141). From the examples given above, it's easy to speculate whether the need for GLA also partly is the need of capital for a 'planning of the businesses'. The major of the GLA is ironically Ken Livingstone. However his function today is different from what it was in the 80's. While combating Thatcher and conservative policy in the 80's, he is now regarded as allied with Tony Blair:

> "... Ken Livingstone has committed himself to strengthening London's role as a major international financial centre, rather than trying to resist it. In this respect, GLA is working with the grain of recent changes in the structure of London's economy from manufacturing industry to financial and business services, rather than against it. Ken Livingstone has made several statements stressing the need to ensure the development of London's built environment to accommodate the space needs of financial institutions" (Hamnett 2005:15).

In today's planning regime in London, there are Section 106 and Unitary Development Plans (see chapter 6), that shall secure the 'locals' and the 'community' with goods, and secure the communicative part of planning.

In the previous chapter, I argued that the contemporary planning regime is emphasising communicative involvement. Mace argues that this is also the case in contemporary England (Mace

forthcoming). As an expression of this, the Statement of Community Involvement (SCI) (ODPM 2004), has been introduced into the English planning system:

> "This introduces for the first time a requirement that Local Planning Authorities (usually conterminous with local authorities) produce a policy statement on how they will engage with communities in developing planning policy and in determining planning applications" (Mace forthcoming:2).

The academic development of the planning discourse has also been materialised in English planning. But even though, as argued in chapter 3, the aim of collaborative planning might be derived from an 'ideal', it must obviously relate to the society.

> "In a UK context, the collaborative planning approach is seen as fitting in with the *zeitgeist* of global economic restructuring and local responses—a method for deepening institutional capacity and helping communities to compete for the better and attract foreign direct investment. It has also overlapped with notions of a 'third way', trumpeted as the ideological underpinnings of the New Labour government, echoing concerns over participation, empowerment and partnership" (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002:6).

It's hard to say what the exact relation and the dialectics between collaborative planning and the new economy is, although Jones and Ward (see above) showed some interesting historical links. The least I can say, is that (as with Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones above) the contemporary *zeitgeist* is including them both (see also Gunder 2003).

Mace argues that the SCI is framed with the aim and purpose that should necessarily lead to compromise. Conflict, on the other hand, should be absent (Mace forthcoming). Then I will argue; this document can be seen as the government's materialisation of the discourse in the academic field of planning, described in chapter 3. How this overall neoliberal development has affected the King's Cross development will be researched in later chapters. In the next chapter I will like to present how I have produced my data and conducted my field work. After that chapter I will start concentrating specific on the King's Cross Development.

Chapter 5: Method - production of data and positions

This chapter starts with an explanation on how I have produced data for this thesis. Although my production of data primarily has been through a qualitative *approach* (Fossåskaret 1997), I am also drawing upon existing data from more quantitative approaches. The main methods in my production of data are texts, interviews and observations. In this chapter I will give an account of how this was done, before I go on to debate problems related to my own and others positions. Near the end of the chapter issues related to 'generalisability' and the thesis' delimitation will be debated. In chapter 7 I will show more concrete in relation to subject matter how the data I have produced have been analysed and how I draw upon existing data

The method in this chapter is related to my dialectical approach, outlined in chapter 2. To be able to look at the dialectics between e.g. classes, economy and the state, it was important to interview and get different kinds of data from different organisations, including the developer, the owners, local groups and borough and others. My dialectical approach is also including dialectics between issues that is not normally comparable, like the state, economy and the urban. To reflect this broad approach, I have therefore needed to produce data with different methods. Below I will discuss how these data have been produced.

5.1 Production of data

Winchester (2000) argues there are three main types of qualitative research: The oral, the textual and observational. In this thesis I have used all the three types, and below I will give an account of how I relate to textual analysis (chapter 5.1.1), interviews (chapter 5.1.2) and observations (5.1.3).

5.1.1 Text analysis

Winchester (2000) divide 'textual analysis' into three. There are documentary sources, creative texts and landscape sources. The production of data for this thesis, relates primarily to the first one, i.e. *documentary source.* In relation to the emergence of post-modernism, a new definition of 'text' has emerged. The 'old' definition, where "text [was] a form of printed matter such as a book or manuscript" (Forbes 2000:124), is replaced with the domain of discourse analysis where it is possible to define everything as text (Peet 1998). Winchester (2000) also defines 'text' broader than what I need to do. My use of text is to a large degree within the 'old' definition. One exception worth mentioning is my reference to a film in chapter 6. Winchester would relate to this as a *creative text* (2000:8).

What I find more important when it comes to post-modernism and text, is the emphasis on "that it is naïve to assume that texts have a single meaning which is intended by the author and is read and understood by all" (Forbes 2000:127). Although Forbes is relating to text in a broader way than I am, I second him in that the way texts are read and the way my data are understood are subjective. What follow is always *my* understanding of the sources and subject matter as such.

According to Winchester "Documentary sources may include maps, newspapers, planning documents, and even postage stamps!" (2000:8). Among my documentary sources there is a range of different items. This includes different documents from different stakeholders (like KXRLG[25], KXDF[26], Argent, LCR[27], London Boroughs of Camden and Islington and others), British laws, British Government's White Papers[28], academic and non-academic articles and reports of different kinds in newspapers, historical papers, maps and books, and others (for a complete list, see reference list). I also had access to a lot of KXRLG's material, at Michael Edward's office (on his roles and status, see below). A lot of this material is information it would be next to impossible to find somewhere else. I had the opportunity to stay at his office for two days and went through all the material, which included public documents, activist material, his own research on King's Cross and lots of other material. Much of this material was of 'first-hand' and 'primary resources' (see Kjeldstadli 1997), and this was of great value. One problem during my research has been that meeting notes from various meetings in Camden have not occurred on Internet as promised, and the notes from the King's Cross Development Forum have even been taken off the Internet. This is also confirmed by Angela Ryan, working for Camden's King's Cross Team (Personal communication 26.04.2007, Ryan).

5.1.2 Interviews

The interviews have different functions in my methodology. Except from hearing the informants views on issues, the interviews have for me been very important for four reasons: i) To find my bearings in subject matter, and help me understand which written sources were (un-)important, and ii) to 'fill some gaps' and to become aware of and (hopefully) clear up misunderstandings and confusions. iii) To "test" my own notions of how things were connected and functioned, and iv) they were sources for information that was not articulated anywhere else. It is important to see both my own and the interviewees' position as situated.

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[25] King's Cross Railway Land Group

[26] King's Cross Development Forum

[27] London & Continental Railways

[28] White Paper is an authoritative report. Government White Papers are outlining the policy of the Government.

I conducted twelve formal interviews. The twelve are numbered from 1 to 12 by alphabetic order, in appendix 1. The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to three hours, and I took notes rather than using tape recorder and typed the interviews out on a computer usually right after the interview. This goes for every interview, except Alan Mace (5), which ended more as a conversation and no notes were taken. Taking notes rather that using a type recorder might make the conversation flow more easily. A disadvantage with not using type-recorder might be that some details might disappear in the process. I chose these twelve because in addition to the status as informants in the field, they also interpret the phenomena and processes they represent. Thereby they are *key-informants* (Fuglestad and Mørkeseth 1997). Among the twelve interviewees are representatives for almost all the main actors in this process. I am pleased with managing to conduct interviews with important actors like the developer, the council, the most important 'local community groups', the owner, the architects, the project manager at the Natural Park, various academics and others. Not all interviews turned out to be equally important when I actually started conducting my analysis, this goes especially for Choudhury (1) from Islington Bangladesh Association. Among those I would like to interview, but never did, is primarily representatives from the King's Cross Business Forum. This lack of information was partly reduced because West (12) from the LB of Camden who administrates the Forum, had a position from where he could talk with some authority about the Forum. Among the twelve interviewees is LCR, but it would however be interesting to also talk to Exel, the other main owner of the land. It would also be interesting to interview some politicians, but doing so would lead to another thesis. I have therefore not prioritised the politicians this time. Others I would like to interview would be Margaret Thatcher and Ken Livingstone.

Before each interview I prepared some questions which I used as guidelines during the interview. In this sense I used what might be described as a 'semi-structured' interview. A 'semi-structured' interview "has some degree of predetermined order but still ensures flexibility in the way issues are addressed by the informant" (Dunn 2000:52). This flexibility proved important in my interviews, especially allowing some digressions would be beneficial and set me up towards new ideas. And even though some of these new ideas became dead-end roads, the whole process would perhaps not be the same without them. In the process I have also had personal communication via e-mail with several people. Two of these are referred to in the text (see appendix B.)

I stayed in London over a moth before I conducted my first interview, and this helped me in figuring out who I needed to talk to. All the twelve were interviewed because of their 'positions' in the process, and 'statuses' in different kinds of organisations. In that sense they were all

'stakeholders' in the case. I have considered whether I should anonymise the informants. This would have made it harder to recognise them, which would have been of importance if they had told me something that could damage themselves or someone else if their names were published. It would also be negative if their name or reputation attracted the focus away from the content and subject matter. However, for various reasons I don't recon this to be the case. First, none of the interviewees asked how privacy would be treated, or demanded to hide their identity. Second, all off them also were quite familiar with academics, and two of them were university professors themselves. Therefore, occasionally, some of them might also be regarded as 'experts', as for instance Bill Risebero (8), being both Senior Research Fellow at the University of East London and a former planner in Camden. The fact that some of them were professionals, like architects, planners or something else, also allows me to use some quotes from interviews in chapter 4 and 6. If for instance Risebero (8) was truly anonymised, this would have consequences for how one understands the statements. Third, they have articulated themselves in public before, and their views and positions in the case are well-known. And related to that, the informants are *leaders* or *central positioned* persons within their groups and organisations. This is why they were interviewed: Their position gives their statements a distinct meaning. Knowledge is situated and according to Knut Kjeldstadli (1997) there might be difference in whether a statement is coming from the Minister or his consultant. Roger Madelin has for example been awarded the CBE, by the Queen, for services to construction and sustainable development. The fact that Roger Madelin is Roger Madelin and not 'anyone' at Argent is important, both because his words weigh heavily and he as Chief Executive is talking on behalf of the whole organisation.

Some of the interviewees had more complex statues, roles and positions than others. While *status* is constituted by 'formalised duties and rights', *roles* are constituted by informal and unwritten rules and related to actual behaviour (Aase 1997). The complexity of both roles and statuses, and the importance of concepts like *repertoire of statuses* (Fossåskaret 1997), might be especially exemplified through the Key-informant Edwards (3). He was originally interviewed because of his status as 'joint chair' of KXRLG, where he has been an activist for over 15 years. However, he also has a status as senior lecturer in planning and economy at University College of London, having conducted great amount of research on the King's Cross Development, from late 80's till today. And in the spirit of dialectics: This obviously gives him a special role in KXRLG again. He is the keeper of a lot of KXRLG's material, familiar with the work of Marx and interested in social issues and has a role within social movements in London. But how should we conceptualise complex repertoires of roles and statuses? I don't think any of the positions should be reduced to any of the

others. The best way to grasp it is to clarify this complexity in these roles and statuses and thereafter acknowledge this plurality as complex.

5.1.3 Observations

In addition to using interviews and written material, I also lived 4 months near King's Cross and made daily observations and attended some meetings. There are different ways of making observations, from passive to pro-active (Winchester 2000). My appearance was very passive and my main aim with the observations might be conceptualised as providing *complementary* material. "The rationale here is to gather additional descriptive information before, during, or after other more structured forms of data collection" (Kearns 2000:105). Observation has also been means by which information can be conceptualised.

I also attended three meetings set up by the LB of Camden; the King's Cross Development Forum (02.11.06) and the LB of Camden's Development Control Committee (16.11.2006 and 19.04.2007). My role was as a student-observer at these meetings, and I never rose to speak. Although all the minutes are available on the Internet,[29] actually being there gives one a more embodied kind of understanding of how processes do actually occur.

Although my research was conducted in London, and not Nepal or Brazil, there were still social and cultural differences I had to understand. One was the meeting with the strength of British social antagonisms; mainly class, gender and ethnic. In relation to my research, mainly focusing on the antagonism of class, it was interesting to live four moths literally on the street that separated council houses and middle class single family houses. The latter area was noteworthy the place where the term 'gentrification' in the 1960's came into being.[30] I also came to understand that there were different social codes. For example, I learned from my housemates to call myself a 'post-graduated researcher conducting field work', rather than a 'student looking at King's Cross'. At the end of my stay, I even used this 'cultural difference' in a positive manner, so that my 'Norwegian-English' (in contrast to 'polite-proper-English') could help me in being concrete and direct in the interview-situations.

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[29] This is actually only partly true. As mentioned, some meeting-notes not appeared at Internet, and the notes from the Development Forum have at times disappeared from Internet.

[30] The sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term in 1964, when describing how middle-class people moved into the working-class area (see for instance Smith 2002). This was about 0-300 meters from my home, which was about 300-600 meters from the King's Cross development.

How I worked with the data and converted them into analysis is reflected upon in chapter 7.

5.2   Reflection on knowledge

5.2.1 Strategic information

The interviewees were all apparently open and honest. But it is important to add that all the interviews were conducted during a time when the level of conflict was high, and this might have the consequence of people giving "strategic answers" in stead of what they honestly thought. This might (consciously and unconsciously) strengthen the degree of oversimplification and uniformation of messages. And it also goes for other kinds of data, as interviews, written documents, leaflets and others. This might weaken the validity of the arguments I later make. Validity is defined by Hay as "the truthfulness or accuracy of data compared with acceptable criteria"(Hay 2000:198).

5.2.2 Marxists, standpoints and other reflections

The dialectical relation between theory and practice is not only of 'academic' concern in this context. To take standpoint in social issues have been emphasised in academics, at least since Marx's *Thesis on Feuerbach* (1981, see also chapter 2 in this thesis). For Marxists this has been of especial importance. Older Marxists like Gramsci, Althusser and Poulantzas were all long time members of their countries' communist parties. More contemporary Marxists like Harvey, Edwards and Jessop, are as far as I know not members of such parties. However, their way of 'not only interpreting the world, but also changing it', goes through other channels, like interaction with social forums and local "resistant" groups.[31] Common for them is that their research program shall 'change the world' by taking standpoint for some 'lower classes'. Some decades ago this was normally articulated as the 'working-class' and 'proletariat'. Today other terms might be used in addition.

During the field work, I think from the point of view of my informants, my position was pretty anonymous (with Edwards as a possible exception). I suppose I was reduced to a 'common student' conducting research on King's Cross. This is partly because of the size of London and of the development, and partly because the general interests among students for this development was high. Fossåskaret argues that there is a tendency that neutral relations results in more shallow information (1997). This could have been the case here as well, but I think two factors; i) the

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[31] Examples given: Harvey against privatisation and closure of a car plant in Oxford (see Harvey 1996) and Edwards in King's Cross (see Edwards 2007).

intensity of the debate (in the middle of the conflict), and ii) my access to a lot of also unpublished KXRLG's material, gave me a little more depth.

Although most academics today accept the subjective character of the researcher, having a political standpoint even since the beginning of the research-period might still be controversial (see Karlsen 2006). The fact that I for example had some informal contact with the KXRLG might be seen as problematic, and challenge my position as an 'objective' researcher. I will like to add that I was never a member of KXRLG and neither did I support them in any 'formal' or 'public' way. Neither do my own views necessarily correspond with the views of KXRLG or any other group in King's Cross. But my political position has for a long time been quite related with social movements. This position and my sympathy towards radical geography are very important when pointing at my own position. Winchester argues that "researchers who define their own position in relation to their research could be more objective than their colleagues who hide behind the supposed objectivity…" (Winchester 2000:13). Social science will always be value-laden, the important part is to recognise and clarify what values the research is loaded with.

For the sake of clarity and in the spirit of many radical discussions at the University of Bergen some years ago (before Foucault replaced Bourdieu as genius loci for radical students): I am a white, heterosexual boy in the middle of my twenties, grown up with a Norwegian upper-'working'-class (/lower-'middle'-class) background, outside a medium-sized Norwegian city.[32]

It's of great value that researchers define their own position and this might also lead to better conditions for *self-reflexivity*. Self-reflexivity has increasingly been emphasized in qualitative research (Haarstad 2005). I consider this to be highly positive and would argue for self-reflexivity and clarifying and openness about various positions. I have been open about my theoretical basis, both in the writing process and during the time I conducted my field work.

The 'informal' contact with the KXRLG, would be highly problematic if it was to influence (i.e. reduce) my ability to be self-critical. I hope that this is not the case. When it comes to the subjective position of the researcher, I think there are three criteria that must be followed. i) The values must be open and clarified, ii) methodological integrity, which means that all interviewees and information must be treated with respect and all information must be treated critically and value-

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[32] Pretty much the 'classical figure of the West', which ironically has frequently itself been 'essentialised' (Massey 2005).

laden. And iii) self-reflexivity at every stage of the process. If these criteria are followed I will argue that the degree of reliability and validity might increase. The validity might also be strengthened if one used different sources, and this has been done in this thesis. This opens the possibility to cross-examine data derived from different methods.

To what degree are my data reliable? Hay defines *reliability* as the "extend to which a method of data collection yields consistent and reproducible results when used in similar circumstances by different researchers or at different times" (Hay 2000:198). If reliability was measurable, I would argue that 100% reliability in a qualitative approach like this is merely a theoretical dream for some. Problems with reliability might be related to the 'strategic positions' mentioned above. Also, although my position was quite anonymous, it is clear that the researcher is a (unintended or not) part of the data production. And more theoretically, with the dialectical relation between theory and data, outlined in chapter 2, if someone else should analyse my data's it's clear that they would need the same theoretical background as I have to come to the same conclusions. The broad approach, relying upon different kinds of data, might however be valuable in this context. The reliability might also be strengthened if the researcher is clear about and explain the procedure and methods that is used. This is among the aims for this chapter (and chapter 7.1). The question of reliability is important, and I would argue that (and the *least* I could say) is that I hope a researcher with different political views than my own *not necessarily* would come to different conclusions than I have. But if having different ontological and epistemological views, I think finding a 'joint point of departure' would be even more difficult. In this sense, the choice of theory might often be more political and value-laden, than drawing the conclusions. Winchester's argument that "our choices of what we study and how we study it reflect our values and beliefs" (Winchester 2000:12) is corresponding with this.

5.3   Delimitation

It follows from my open dialectical approach in chapter 2, that preferably I should research everything. Because of time and space restrictions of different kinds I am obviously forced to do several demarcations. This is both in relation to the subject matter and geographical boundaries. First thing first, subject matter: There has been written so much about urban policy, capital accumulation, the state and neo-liberalism and so on, that I am not able to read everything during this thesis. Also the amount of texts on London, planning in England and other issues forces me to limit the thesis. This goes, even *after* I have chosen my topic and approach, and thereby already excluded thousands of alternative topics. However, the most interesting in this context is the thesis' boundaries. Of 'traditional' topics of Marxist concern, I am not focusing on the question on

consciousness, and my emphasis is more on 'Klasse an sich', rather than 'Klasse für sich'. In relation to urbanism the main issue I have excluded is housing. When it comes to the state, I mainly see it in relation to the economy. I include the 'democracy-part' of the state only indirectly and when or where it concerns other issues. Another important issue that has not been investigated is who is *not* around the table in a 'collaborative planning process'.[33] Neither are issues like gender, ethnicity, sexuality, culture and others taken specific into account.

The physical construction, the actual physical building process constructed by Argent in King's Cross Central, has not started yet. The actual exploitation of the workers who build the buildings is of great importance when trying to understand classes in the built environment. In this thesis (because of time/space) this process in itself will not be debated and only included indirectly or when it concerns other issues. Therefore I am not able to analyse an important part of urban capitalist development, i.e. the construction interests (Harvey 1985; Edwards 2006; see also chapter 3.1.2 and 6.4 in this thesis).

The geographical demarcations are easier, and can be discussed in relation to geographical scale. My main study area is the easily defined 67 acres at King's Cross Central (a more accurate delimitation is conducted in chapter 6). Most of the site is in London Borough of Camden, but a small part, i.e. the so called 'triangle site', is located in the London Borough of Islington. However, Camden has used a lot more resources on the planning issue, and when I am researching planning in this thesis I will mainly look at Camden. Islington will only be included indirectly and when its cast light on something else. What is the 'local area', and thereby: who are the locals?, are harder to define (see chapter 6). The planning processes are materialised in the geographical division of the British State. There is the world, Europe, European Union, the British State, the City of London, and within the city there are 32 Boroughs. This is mainly how I chose to refer to geographical scale. The far more complex part is of course the interaction between scales.

5.4   Case study and generalisability

In this thesis I will just relate to one major process, which is the development in King's Cross. An academic work like this be described as a 'case study' (Andersen 1997). A single case study like this has limited impact on the total understanding of capital accumulation, the state, urban development and Marxist theory as such. This does not, however, make my case study unimportant.

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[33] Mace (forthcoming) has already conducted a nice research on this issue using the King's Cross Development as a case.

As we saw in chapter 2, I emphasised the dialectical relation between the particular and the whole, and between theory and practice. Therefore case studies like this are important in developing the larger theories.

In this thesis, one aim has been to explore whether the theories used are useful in more general circumstances. I would argue, as will be shown in later chapters, that the King's Cross development can tell us something about capital accumulation and the role of the state. Also, my conclusion does challenge some traditional understandings of different concerns, especially concerning the role of planning. My findings might be read as *examples* of an existing tendency. I describe how this tendency is concrete at a particular place, but it's harder to say anything on how strong this tendency is.

5.5   Tautology and Marxists

Marxists have been accused for just putting their ready-made theory, for instance on capital and class, upon the world, no matter what the world would look like (Peet 1998). After the discussions I just outlined above and the broad dialectical methodology outlined in chapter 2, I hope there is little space for that critique in this thesis. Or at least; that the critique is not given strength because of my choice of theory. I second Harvey in that it is foolish to deny that there "is any constitutive danger of circularity and tautology here" (Harvey 1985:xv). The aim is neither to 'get rid off' or 'remove' the possibility for circularity and tautology, but rather finding ways to deal with the problem, and (perhaps) find a mediating step to confront it. This is not a purely *Marxist* problem; "To be sure I might, like anyone else (from positivists to humanists), see only what I want to see and merely reconstruct experience in theoretically given terms. But that danger exists in all arenas of research and is by no means confined to Marxism." (Harvey 1985:xv).

In the next chapter I will finally start relating directly to the King's Cross Development. Chapter 6 is a short introduction to the place and the process. The story of how the development came along in the first place will be told and the different actors in today's situation will be presented. After chapter 6, I will start my analysis of class and planning in the King's Cross Development.

Chapter 6: The History of King's Cross Central

There are no agreed boundaries that define exactly where King's Cross is and where it is not. However, "the centre" of King's Cross is the railway-stations King's Cross and St. Pancras. Camden is located on the 'edge', just north of the London's most central areas. 'King's Cross' is for example defined as one ward in the elections for the Camden Council. It borders to The LB of Islington, but one part of Islington is also located in the area normally called King's Cross.

Among England's top-100 'most deprived wards', we find twenty-four out of Camden's twenty-six wards (Tewdwr-Jones, Morphet et al. 2006). Camden has nine wards within the ten most deprived in London (ibid.). According to Camden's Community Strategy from 2001, King's Cross is one of these deprived areas (Camden 2001). The unemployment in Camden is at 7%, while the average in London is 4% (Tewdwr-Jones, Morphet et al. 2006). But although there is deprivation in Camden, there is also wealth. According to Camden's Community Strategy; "We are the most polarised borough in London. The gap between the most and least deprived wards in Camden is bigger than anywhere else in London" (Camden 2001:6).

A study of King's Cross in 2000-2001 showed that the population was growing, and that the growth was concentrated within minority ethnic groups (Mutale and Edwards 2003). Savage, Bacon and James (2006), who define King's Cross as one of ten areas in Camden, state that King's Cross has a "diverse make up with 44 percent of the population from a BME [Black and Minority Ethnic] background, far higher than the 27 percent borough average" (Savage, Bacon et al. 2006:5). They also argue that King's Cross has a "thriving voluntary and community sector, with over 140 groups known to operate for the benefit of local residents and businesses" (ibid:6). This is also supported by Figure 6.1 on the next page, which shows a lot of the existing activities and facilities in the neighbourhood around the King's Cross Central. The red boundaries in Figure 6.1 are the boundaries for King's Cross Central (see below). The Figure 6.1 is from 2001, and some borders for King's Cross Central have moved some. See therefore Figure 6.4 on page 66 for the latest boundaries. But in addition to this, King's Cross has ever since the nineteen-century also been the home for gas-holders, the canal, and some years later the railway stations. It has been a place for trade and capitalistic interaction. The area is also (in-)famous for its large amount of prostitution and drug dealing. The study conducted by Mutale and Edwards showed that

> "A higher proportion of households and employers thought that crime was a serious problem in the area
> and this made the area feel unsafe; and both households and employers compared the safety of the area
> less favourably with that of surrounding areas" (2003:19).

November 2001

Legend

● Secondary School	▲ Sports Facility	● Community Centres
● Primary School	★ Police Station	● GP/Dental Surgery/Hospital/Health Project
● Library	★ Post Office	▲ Cultural Arts Facility
■ Parks/Gardens/Open Space	▲ Religious Centres	

n.t.s.

Figure 6.1: Map of neighbourhood around King's Cross Central. The map is labelled "Existing Community Areas", by Argent. Source: Argent, 2001b; page 24.

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It might seem like some of the crime (especially prostitution) is on the way out of the area (or to be precise: further north in London).[34] But images might outlive the reality, and cultural expressions might contribute to this, like the new film *Breaking and Entering* (Minghella 2006) where prostitutes and crime is placed in the middle of King's Cross. From these (mainly quantitative) data above it's arguable that King's Cross is a "contested place", where different discourses might be found and different narratives are told.

This chapter will outline the main information needed to comprehend the analysis below. The chapters continue with a presentation of the Channel Tunnel Rail Link, which is an important precondition for the kind of development that will come at King's Cross Central. The planning application and the main actors in this development will also be presented.

6.1   CTRL and LCR

At 14 of November 2007 open the new St. Pancras Station. This will be the new terminal station for the High-Speed trains coming from Paris and Brussels. St. Pancras will then become Europe's largest passenger interchange, with over 50 million passengers passing through every year.[35] To build a high-speed railway from Paris to London has been a political issue for decades. The Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL) is England's part of this railway, and the CTRL will go from the English Channel and into St. Pancras (see also figure 6.2, page 65). To build an urban development at the site behind King's Cross and St Pancras has also been an issue for decades.

In the 1980's things looked not very different from today: The British Rail wanted to build the CTRL to King's Cross, through a slightly different route than today's route. The terminal station would then be placed beneath the King's Cross Station. The British Rail, owned by the state that again owned most of the land, was told by the government that they would not get subsidy for building the CTRL or the terminal station. So to finance the railway they had to maximise the value of their assets (KXRLG 1989), like the land just between and behind the stations in King's Cross. So the case was quite similar the contemporary:

> "British Rail is not allowed to borrow money from capital markets and consequently it is encouraged to exploit its assets in the form of land…. [the development-process] created from the start a development project biased towards the most profitable land uses" (Newman and Thornley 1996:140).

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[34] http://www.londononline.co.uk/articles/Kings_Cross/ (12.04.2007)

[35] From http://www.lcrhq.co.uk/ (12.04.2007)

But then, as now, there were objections and opposition to the plan. But then, in contrast to now, the opposition was also strong within the LB of Camden. Because of the weak power of the local boroughs they were afraid of rejecting the plan, but through different kinds of *exposing* the Borough could constantly delay the process. The process of delaying was 'helped' by new proposals of where to locate the terminal station. There was waiting-time for a CTRL-Bill which had to pass in the Parliament. And fire at King's Cross in 1988 where 51 people were killed also delayed the process. And in the early 90's the property market collapsed (see Figure 4.1, at page 49), and the development at the site was postponed.

The CTRL is the first major railway to be constructed in the UK for over 100 years.[36] In 1995 the Channel Tunnel Rail Link Bill passed in Parliament, and the London and Continental Railways (LCR) won the competitive bid to build and operate the CTRL. The contemporary agreement between the government and LCR is complex and some parts are secret. But the Government, when issued a tender for the railway link, said it would award the tender to the company that needed least subsidies in pounds. But as a part of the deal LCR would get state owned real estate property, instead of "normal" subsidies. So, as in the late 80's, the CTRL should be financed by exploiting assets in the form of land. According to The Guardian (01.03.1996), the Waterloo Station, St Pancras Cambers (i.e. a big hotel in King's Cross), St Pancras Station, 120 acres of land in Stratford in East London, 635 properties along the route, and this thesis' area in King's Cross were "given" to London and Continental Railways (LCR) as a part of the deal. They also got the European Passenger Service that operates the Eurostar train between London and Paris/Brussels. The text in the Guardian was called "The great railway give-away", and they estimated total value to be £5.7bn. The Transport Secretary Sir George Young refused to say what the assets were worth, but said that:

> "LCR will be free to develop those parts of the land not required for the rail link itself and arrangements
> have been put in place to ensure that the Government receives a fair share of development profits
> realised from them" (quoted in: Guardian 01.03.1996: page 1).

This means that the building of real estate at the land, which were given as 'subsidy' will pay for the Railway. It is therefore a premise for the whole development in King's Cross, that it shall generate profit. This kind of private-public partnership is related to the neoliberal role of the state, where building the CTRL is neither done (e.g.) on taxpayers money, nor is the ownership maintained in state control. But rather done through privatisation of land. From the quotation above, it's also clear that the Government shall receive a 'fair share of the profit', but there does not seem to be any way to find out exactly how this is organised.

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[36] http://www.lcrhq.co.uk/ (12.04.2007)

According to Ben Ruse from the LCR, this is Britain's biggest ever single construction project and there will invested over £9 billion in areas adjacent to the new stations (Key-informant Ruse (9)). But in February 1998 the LCR's "funding initiative collapsed through a failure to raise private finance" (Mutale 2001:9). And in a complex rescue package during the summer of 1998, John Prescott (The Secretary of State for the Environment) gave LCR some subsidies under the condition that the ownership should be reduced from 999 till 99 years. Also, as a part of this new deal, the CTRL should be built in two sections. As Figure 6.2, shows, section 1 would go from the English Channel on high-speed line to just south of Ebbsfleet (Falkham Junction), and then go onto existing lines to Waterloo Station. Section 2 would go from the junction point south of Ebbsfleet (through Stratford Station) and terminate at St Pancras (see Mutale 2001).
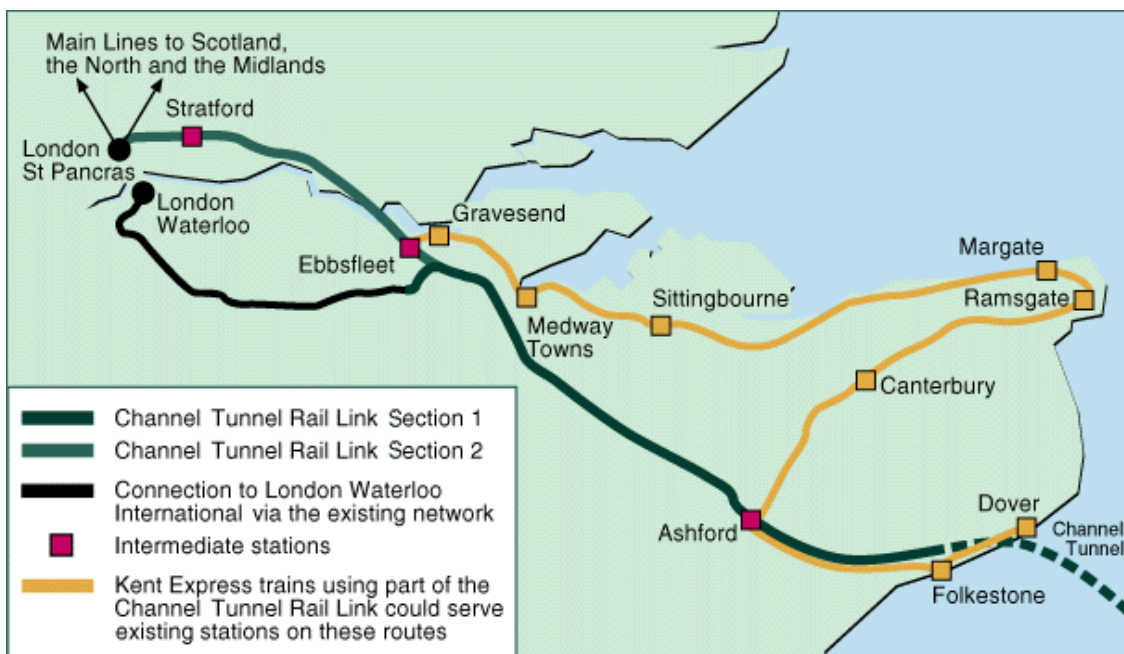
Figure 6.2: Map of Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL).

Source: http://www.casa.ucl.ac.uk/kxsdsses/ctrl.htm, (12.04.2007)

LCR is a consortium owned by the Bechtel, Arup, Systra, Halcrow and SNCF, the transport operators National Express Group, electricity supply company EDF, and UBS investment bank.

King's Cross Opportunity Area

n.t.s.

November 2001

Legend

- Boundary of King's Cross Central
- King's Cross Opportunity Area
- Islington Triangle (Area of Opportunity within Islington)
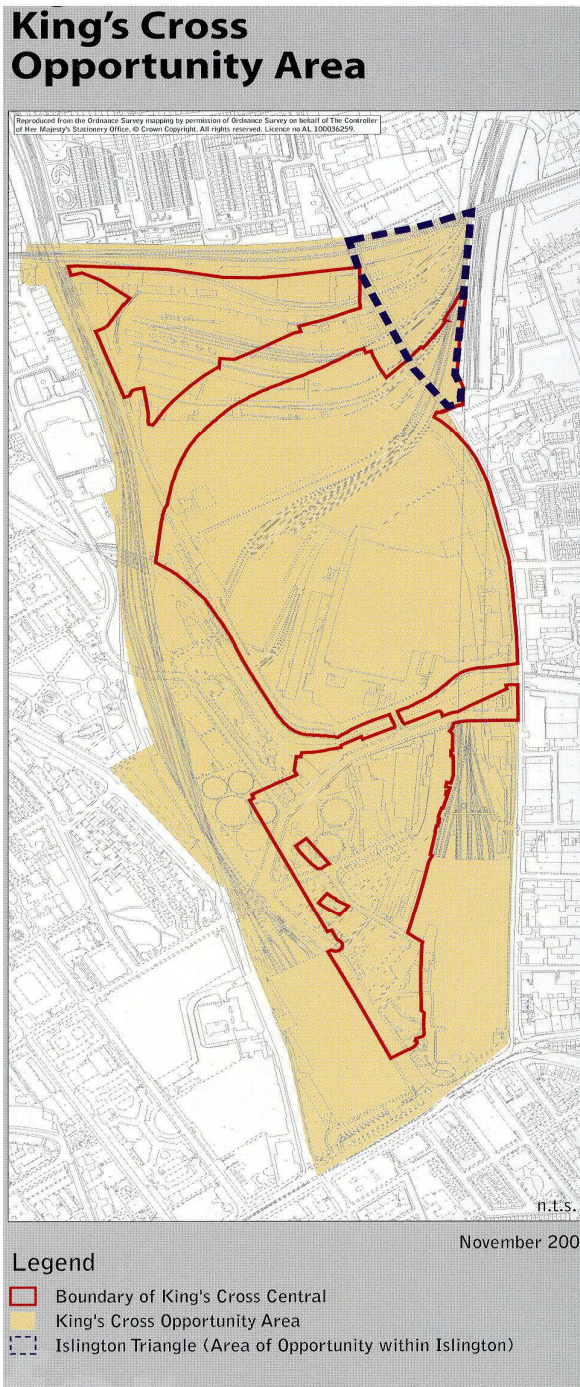
Figure 6.3: Map of King's Cross Opportunity Area and King's Cross Central

Source: Argent 2001b: page 6.

Triangle Site

Main Site

KEY

— Site Boundary

Site Boundaries

Note: The base shows the site layout that may be anticipated at the completion of the CTRL works.

0   150m

Scale

Figure 6.4: Map of King's Cross Central Boundaries. And also Park and Canal.
I have added the green colour, to mark the Camley Street Natural Park and the blue colour to mark the Regent Canal.

Source: Argent 2005 a: page 5.

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6.2   King's Cross Central

LCR was given land previously owned by the state at King's Cross Central (KXC). But a part of the land is also owned by *Exel*, which is a hangover from the railway days and once labelled National Freight Company. In 2005 Exel was bought by the Deutsche Post company DHL. Because neither LCR nor Exel are building urban cities, they announced on 31 of March 2000 the appointment of two development partners; *Argent Group PLC* and *St George PLC*. The latter, who were the experts in residential developing, pulled out of a lot of projects including this in late 2004/early 2005 to focus on a few others (Key-informant Edwards (3)). So today Argent is the only developer of King's Cross Central. Argent presents the agreement between themselves, LCR and Exel as a 'joint venture between the developers and landowners' that is 'both innovative and exciting'.[37] Argent has hired Allies & Morrison as their architects. The building process at KXC will not start before the CTRL is finished in late 2007.

The development at King's Cross has been described in many ways. Most media sources refer to it as a £2 billion project, (see for instance Ham & High Express 2006; Osley 2006; Cross Section 2006a). It has been described as 'Britain's largest city-centre redevelopment' (Edwards 1992:176). Mutale argues it will most probably become Europe's most accessible site (Mutale 2001), and in *Cross Section* it says that it is "set to become the biggest redevelopment in Europe" (Cross Section 2006a:26)

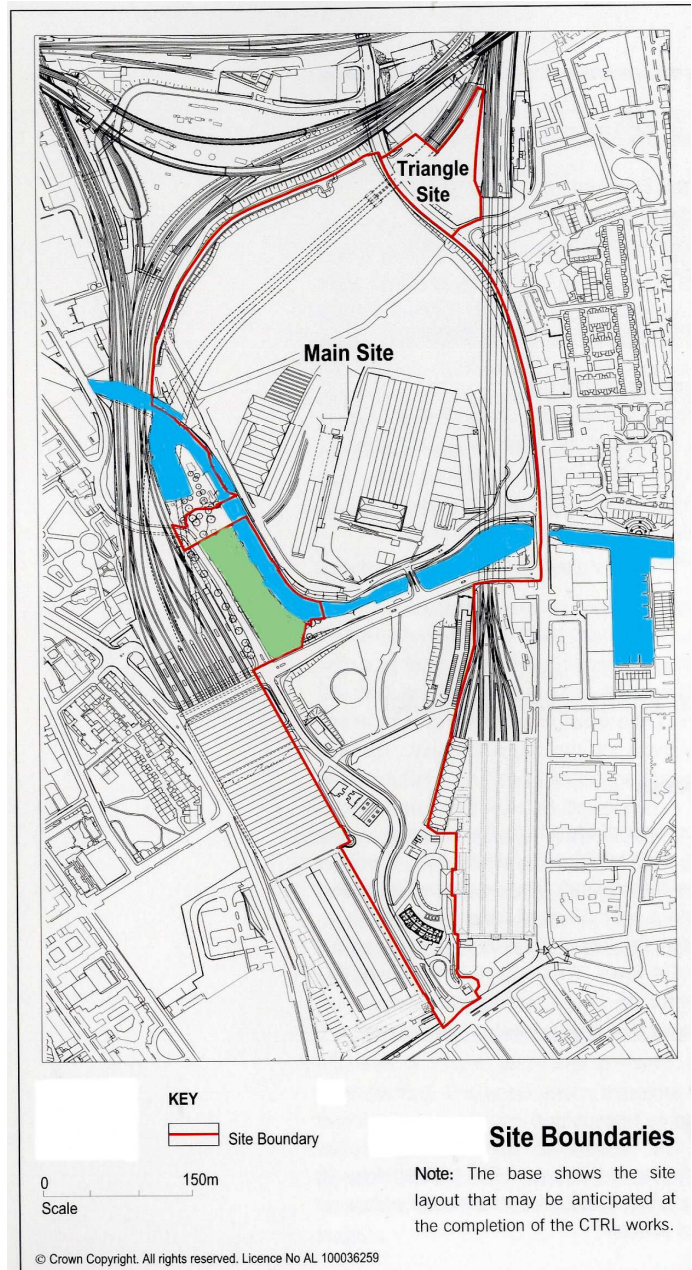The area has had several names during the last few years; The King's Cross Central, the Opportunity area, The Railway Land, and others. There is also a distinction between the land that were given to LCR as part of the deal, and the land that the Argent is going to develop. In the following I will use these definitions: King's Cross Central is the 67 acres which Argent will develop, and which is the subject of this thesis (and is within the red line in Figure 6.4, page 66). King's Cross Opportunity Area is coloured yellow in Figure 6.3, does in addition to the King's Cross Central also includes the St. Pancras and King's Cross Stations, St. Pancras Chambers, the Railway tracks, the Regent Canal, Camley Natural Park and some more area around. In Figure 6.4 I have coloured the Camley Park in green and the Regent Canal in blue. My research is primarily delimited to the King's Cross Central, but most of the stakeholders introduced in this thesis are for different reasons also concerned with other parts of the area. In this thesis I will often refer to King's Cross Development as the development that takes place in King's Cross in general. My production of data is mainly, but not totally restricted to the King's Cross Central.

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[37] http://www.argentkingscross.com/frame.html (12.04.07)

King's Cross Central has two sites, a Main Site (located in LB of Camden) and a smaller Triangle Site (located in LB of Islington). The LB of Camden geographically defines the Main Site as the "Land between Euston Road, St. Pancras Station, Midland Main Line. The New Channel Tunnel Rail Link, York Way and King's Cross Station" (Camden 2006b:15). The Triangle Site is what is within the red *and* the blue dotted line in Figure 6.3, and labelled 'triangle site' in figure 6.4. Note that the Figure 6.3 is from 2001 and the Figure 6.4 is from 2005. The Figures have the same author, so when there are differences between the figures there is no reason not to follow the latest.

The King's Cross Central is a "brownfield" site of 67 acres, where the 'main site' is 64.5 acres and the 'triangle site' is 2.5 acres. Although the area is normally described as a "brownfield" and "derelict" (see e.g. Argent St George 2002; Arup for Argent St George 2004, April), there have always been some "activity" on the site. Some nightclubs have rented cheap locations on short-term basis, homeless peoples, squatters and later legal residents have lived there, and prostitutes have "worked" there. However, this paper will not focus on these activities and peoples.

6.3   Local planning authorities

The jurisdiction of the site falls within two local planning authorities; London Borough of Camden and London Borough of Islington. On Figure 6.3 and 6.4, the border between the Boroughs follows the site on the right side, and cuts into the site where the 'triangle site' is parted from the 'main site' (see Figure 6.3). However, when it comes to external effects, there is better access to the site from Islington than from Camden. So there is reason to believe that as much impact will affect people in Islington as people in Camden. In different organisations, like KXRLG and KXCAAC (see below), there are people from both boroughs. Cally Rail Group, on the other hand, is solely people for an area in Islington. Because the main site is within the LB of Camden, most of the planning and consultation that is conducted is done by LB of Camden and the Camden seems to prioritize it more than Islington. Camden has also a team working constantly with King's Cross. In my analysis of planning, I will therefore primarily relate to the LB of Camden.

In my analysis in the next chapters I will show how the development is contested. Like in the 80's there seems also today to be disagreements about what should be built. Above I presented the developers and the landlords. But to grasp a disagreement, different views are needed. Below I will therefore present some of the local actors in this process

6.4 Local actors

As a consequence of the planned development in the late 80's (see below), *the King's Cross Railway Lands Group (KXRLG)* was established in 1987, to represent the local people and to 'protect the local community' (KXRLG 2002, July). KXRLG cannot be representative in a normal 'representative democracy' way, because they're not the Council. Their position is more of a 'local pressure' group. Today, people do not live on the King's Cross Central, at least not officially or at any large scale. The KXRLG is therefore not a classical 'residents' association' made up of the actual tenants in one block or defined neighbourhood. The KXRLG are rather people living and working 'around the area'.

According to Bill Risebero, who knows the area and the conflict very well, "Most people in KXRLG are architects, economists and academics, and only to some extent community representatives" (Key-informant Risebero (8)). My impression is partly the same, and partly not. A lot of people in KXRLG have been around the process for quite a few years and some key-people are surely resourceful. But several members are not architects, economist or academics, but rather dominated-class neighbours of the area.

Cally Rail Group, founded in 1994, "is a small, unfunded community group based in West Islington on the Camden border".[38] Cally, is short for Caledonian Road, which is a main road in the area where they organise. Their activities have to a large degree been focused around construction issues.

Camley Street Natural Park (see the green colour in Figure 6.4, page 66) is located just south of the canal, on the west side of the development. The Park, which is two acres, is non-profit and is a part of London Wildlife Foundation. "Camley Street Natural Park is a statutory Local Nature Reserve and a non-statutory Site of Metropolitan Importance for nature conservation" (Argent, LCR et al. 2005:9). The Park was established by the Greater London Council (GLC) in the mid 80's when, and *because,* the King's Cross area was mainly derelict land. Today the LB of Camden is the freeholder. The Park has a full time education programme for Camden schools, and is open for public Thursday to Sunday from 10am to 5pm. The Park is not defined within the King's Cross Central.

Also the *King's Cross Conservation Area Advisory Committee* (KXCAAC) is an important actor. According to James (Key-informant (4)) chairman of the KXCAAC, each Borough must according

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[38] (From: http://www.kxrlg.org.uk/news/Callydeputation.doc, on 27.03.07)

to law have a conservation advisory committee, and in Camden this is KXCAAC. Everyone is free to join (Key-informant James (4)). Also the *Regents Canal Network, Green Party, Islington Bangladeshi Association*, and others have to various degrees been involved in different ways.

One of the main arenas for participatory and collaborative planning has been the *King's Cross Development Forum*, set up by the LB of Camden, with LB of Islington also participating. On Camden's web-page, the Forum is described:

> "The King's Cross Development Forum has been set-up for community groups representing people who live and/or work in King's Cross (both in Camden and Islington). You can have your say on the development process and help shape the future of the area. We meet regularly to discuss key developments".[39]

The Kings Cross Business Forum is established by LB of Camden, just as the Development Forum. The King's Cross Business Forum consists of over 900 local businesses, and presents themselves as; "actively involved in creating a more sustainable and growth enhanced business community, in order to attract inward investment to the area".[40] Their primary activity is "running network event to bring local businesses together and create opportunities for them to make new contacts and secure new business" (Camden 2006, November:21). *Supply KX* is a program, in a joint venture with King's Cross Business Forum and Islington Business and Enterprise Team (IBET), aimed at "ensuring that local companies benefit as much as possible from contracts and supply chain opportunities being generated by the £2 Billion development of the King's Cross Central Railway Lands site" (Camden 2006, November:23). It is interesting how local capital is organized through the Local Boroughs. It's a way of ensuring that local capital benefits from the development.

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[39] From: http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/navigation/environment/planning-and-built-environment/major-developments/king-s-cross/king-s-cross-development-forum/, (05.03.2007).

[40] http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/navigation/business/business-forums-and-networking/ (12.04.2007).

Agent	Function
Argent	Developer + becoming land owner
Exel	Land owner
LCR	Land owner
KXRLG	Community Group
KXCAAC	Promote conservation of historical buildings
KXBF	LB of Camden organised 'Business Coordinator'
Camley Street Natural Park	Community Project

Table 6.1: The main agents and their basic functions in the King's Cross Development.

In urban development processes, it's common to read about the 'agents' or about the 'players' (Edwards 1995). Edwards (ibid.) argues that it's also important to look at their 'functions' because they are always present, but might appear in different organisational forms. So how is this in King's Cross? In Table 6.1 I have set up a scheme on how the different actors have their functions in the process. Before proceeding I will like to comment two functions which I have excluded in Table 6.1.

As mentioned (see chapter 3 and 5) my analysis does not include the actual building process. Therefore the function of '*construction*' is excluded. Although its role is excluded here, the importance of the function should not be underestimated. In addition to the actual work that is conducted on the site, there are also always 'others making components, materials, equipment, tools and getting them designed, transported, insured and so on' (Edwards 1995). If all these processes are added together, it becomes a fairly large part of our contemporary economy (ibid.).

The Table above does not include the *architects*. Edwards (ibid.) argues that some decades ago, the urban model in UK said that the architect or engineer should design. However, during the last decades the developers or constructors are taking larger control of the whole design-and-build process. The architect then becomes more and more a servant of the builder. I have not produced (or seen) any data about the King's Cross Development, that allows me (or makes it crucial for me) to include the 'designers' as an own function in this process. In this case I will therefore include them in the function of the developers. In my analysis below, I will attempt to extend this Table to also include class relations.

6.5   The application

In May 2004, Argent, together with LCR and Exel, submitted the building applications for developing King's Cross Central to the LB of Camden. Some amendments were submitted in 2005. And on 9 March 2006 the Development Control Sub-Committee resolved to grant planning permission, listed building consents and conservation consent to allow the proposed development at King's Cross to proceed. The Committee also required the full Section 106 Agreement to return to the Committee for final consideration and with information of the substance of the Section 106.

According to the mentioned *Section 106* in Town and Country Planning Act 1990 (as amended):

> "(1) A local planning authority may enter into an agreement with any person interested in land in their area for the purpose of restricting or regulating the development or use of the land, either permanently or during such period as may be prescribed by the agreement.
>
> (2) Any such agreement may contain such incidental and consequential provisions (including financial ones) as appear to the local planning authority to be necessary or expedient for the purposes of the agreement".[41]

In other words, Section 106 is "a legal agreement which makes sure that important elements will be delivered by the developers. It can include transport, housing and community facilities." (Cross Section 2006a:27)

After their first application, submitted May 2004, Argent was criticised for having to *mass* development. In the amendment from Argent 27th September 2005 they therefore reduced the total floor space of the main site, by 5,185m² from the original application. If the maximum total square meters in all the categories are added together, the aggregate total square meters are 853,195 m² (the old was 896,470 m²). After the amendments, the overall floor space that is allowed to be built is however up to 713,090 m² (it was 718,275) (see Argent 2005).

By seeking 'up to' the maximum floor space, they provide a measure of flexibility, and an ability to respond to "changing needs and circumstances during the implementation of the project, which is likely to take at least 12-15 years to complete (starting in 2006/7)" (Argent St George 2004). This is interesting in relation to Harvey's Spatial Fix, (and Lefebvre's dogma that capitalism 'survives through producing space'). This is a micro-version of the theory: By constantly being interested in

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[41] Town and Country Planning Act 1990, from:
http://www.opsi.gov.uk/ACTS/acts1990/Ukpga_19900008_en_5.htm#end (12.04.2007)

re-creating the space at Kings Cross, they will survive financial crisis, that they are fully aware of are coming also in the future (Key-informant Madelin (6)).

The total floor space figure is broken down between the following range of uses and maximum amount of floor space for each use (ibid)

Business and employment (B1)	up to 455,510 m²
Residential *	up to 173,475 m²
Hotels (C1)/serviced apartments	up to 47,225 m²
Shopping/food and drink (A1/A2/A3)	up to 45,925 m²
Uses within Use Class D1 (D1 uses include community, health, education and cultural uses such as museums.	up to 71,830 m²
Cinemas	up to 8,475 m²
All uses within Use Class D2 (assembly and leisure), including cinemas, concert halls, dance halls, nightclubs, casinos, gymnasiums and other sports/recreation areas, including cinemas.	up to 28,730 m²
Multi-storey car park	- up to 21,500 m²
Other	up to 525 m²

* The residential has also an internal division between 'affordable' (includes social and intermediate) and free market-housing.

Table 6.2: Amount of floor space in Argent's outline application for the Main Site.

Source: Argent St George 2004.

The Triangle Site Applications, submitted to LB of Islington, is as mentioned above quite smaller: The applications cover only an overall total of 24,000 m². The application is broken down between:

Residential (see * above)	up to 18,000 m²
Shopping/food and drink (A1/A2/A3)	up to 2,500 m²
Community and health uses (D1 and D2)	up to 3,500 m²

Table 6.3: Amount of floor space in Argent's outline application for the Triangle Site.

Source: Argent St George 2004.

There are also geographical plans for where the different uses shall be located. South of the Canal, and nearest the great transport junction, there will be mostly offices. According to one of the King's Cross Central's architect, Timothy Makower at Allies & Morrison, the Main Site is divided into

different zones, with more or less flexibility in each zone (Key-informant Makower (7)). He explained that there is less flexibility south of the canal, then north (ibid). North of the Canal, the Argent are in negotiations with the University of Arts to move in. There will also be a primary school and most (if not all) housing will be located north of the canal.

6.6   Think Again Campaign

As mentioned a provisional consent for the development was given by Camden Development Control Committee on March 9 2006. After this decision, local groups merged and called for the campaign *"King's Cross – Think Again"*. The campaign is largely run by KXRLG, but also Calley Rail Group and others are involved.

A consortium of local groups wrote 8th of September 2006 to Camden council, outlining their concern about the legality of the provisional consent that were given (KXRLG Solicitors for 2006b). This letter is mainly concerned with the content of the permission given and the legacy of the permission vis-à-vis other documents and plans. First it is argued that the resolution to grant planning permission was a provisional decision. Thereafter, in any event, they argue that the resolution must be revised in light of the Camden Revised Unitary Development Plan, adapted in June 2006. A Unitary Development Plan (UDP) is a statutory plan that covers the whole of the borough. According to Camden's UDP plan, "The Unitary Development Plan sets out Camden's aims and priorities for the use of land in the Borough and the policies we will use to achieve these through our planning decisions" (Camden 2006a:1). The Think Again Campaign argues that the amount of housing, affordable housing and social housing in the decision from March, fall short of what is required both according to the London Plan and the Camden UCP (KXRLG Solicitors for 2006b).

Other concerns for the Campaigners were the heritage and conservation issues, where they argue that the "developer can apparently demolish the listed/Conservation Area buildings, and then seek an amended permission, free of the listed buildings standing in its way" (KXRLG Solicitors for 2006b:6). A further concern is the lack of Environmental Impact Assessment. It's argued that because it's an outline application, where flexibility is preferred, a properly consultation process could not be properly assessed. There is also a lack of Strategic Environment Assessment where European Directives should set out the framework, a concern about Air Quality and also a concern because the permission fails to comply with the London Plan in relation to the future of the Blue Ribbon Network (i.e. London's canals, river and waterways; see London Plan 2004). The letter was

also concerned with the maximum amount of office space applied for. Some of these conflicts will be more discusses in my analysis in the next chapter.

After the election in Camden on the 4 May 2006 the political leadership changed from Labour to Liberal Democrats, and the membership of the committee changed. And as a matter of law they could "review the application afresh and, if so minded, reach a different conclusion either in principle or in relation to the conditions and planning obligations that are proposed" (Camden 2006b:26). There was hope among the campaigners that this would result in a different decision when the Camden Development Control Committee would meet again 16 of November and vote over the Section 106 agreement. But when it came to 16.11.2006, the Committee voted in favour of the Section 106. New Committee members argued "we can not pretend like March never happened", and "if we reject, we could end up in enormous public enquire", and "we have to choose now" (my personal notes from the meeting in the Development Control Committee 16.11.2006)

After the meeting in Camden's Development Control Committee 16.11.2006, the *Think Again* campaign decided to 'appeal' in court, because of different procedures they argued was done wrong (see KXRLG Solicitors for 2007). This is quite complicated and outside this thesis subject to go into; but what should be said is that just one week after this thesis is submitted the actors will meet in court.

6.7   Development Vehicle

According to Roger Madelin, the ownership of the King's Cross Central will be organised by Argent, LCR and Exel into a 'development vehicle'. This 'vehicle' will be owned 35% by the LCR, 15 % by Exel, and 50% by Argent (Key-informant Madelin (6)). And it will not be possible to sell and buy independent parts of the 'vehicle', it's only possible to sell one's percentage of the total vehicle. This is to maintain the ownership in one organisational body. According to Ben Ruse, Head of Media at LCR, the site will be built by Argent, and then sold off. Then the Government will get a part, LCR will get a part, and the Argent will get a part. "The Argent got this land for reduced rates, so we get a share of the profit" (Key-informant Ruse (9)). Except from the uncertainty about the role of the Government here, this statement does not contradict Madelin's statement. Also according to Madelin, "the LCR can sell there interest at any point. But the vehicle will go on. We must keep 25% of the ownership for a certain period" (Key-informant Madelin (6)). This is probably to secure some long-term involvement. But it's important to add, these details were not 100% settled at the time of the interviews.

So far in this thesis I have created theoretical, methodological, historical and geographical frameworks from where I might start conduct some analysis on King's Cross. In this chapter I have outlined the history and context of the King's Cross Development and the main actors involved. In the last three chapters of this thesis I will use this background to analyse around class issues and the role of planning in the King's Cross Development.

Chapter 7: Class conflicts in King's Cross

In the next three chapters I will analyze my findings and attempt to draw some conclusions. In these chapters I will attempt to link the theories and my findings in King's Cross. The geography of global capitalistic space (circulating capital and space), requires a certain built environment (fixed capital and place). The development in King's Cross must been seen as a dialectic process, also between global economic structures and local spatial configurations. In chapter 7 I attempt to answer the first research question:

> How can we understand class conflicts in relation to the built environment, and how are these processes apparent and how are they articulated at the King's Cross Development?

In this chapter I will also research intra-class conflicts. I will also discuss whether everything in the King's Cross Development might be seen through some 'class-spectacles'. The chapter ends with some preliminary conclusions, on which chapter 8 starts.

7.1   From theory and data to analysis

During my stay in London, several ideas crystallised into the subject of this thesis. But the process of analysing my produced data did not get a formal character before I came back to Norway. Then I sat down with my notes from the interviews and all the other material I had gathered, and organised my findings into categories. Although the subject of class was partly chosen even before I conducted the interviews, what examples to work with was not chosen before I sat down and started conducting my analysis. This was a creative process where I was constantly trying to link my findings with theories, adding my observations and other data into the analysis and always trying to keep a dialectical approach in my thinking.

The examples of class conflict that I ended up with in this chapter are highly diverse. This was an aim and was doable because the data I had produced allowed it. The 'normal' issues in Marxists class analysis in the city are probably the labour market and the housing issue. In this chapter other topics will be examined. I find this favourable because it allow me to test out a broader understanding of class, and also to use and thereby examine Harvey's (1985) 'extended notion of production'. The subjects that will be looked at concern the amount of offices (chapter 7.3.1), the privatisation of the streets (7.3.2), the use of flexibility as strategy of capital accumulation (7.3.3), noise related to the building process (7.3.4) and the issue of conservation (7.3.5).

Searching for class conflict in King's Cross is partly a matter of methodological challenge in operating on different layers of class. As mentioned in chapter 3, Katznelson's (1993) first layer is

on a *structural* level. This is an abstract layer where it's possible to talk about abstract concepts like capital and labour. From this layer it is possible to move to and from the other layers. Questions like: How is the actual housing-standard or income-level in the area?, and how will the development affect the life of the people who live near King's Cross for example in relation to noise during the construction-period?, might be recognised at Katznelson's second layer. This is the layer of *social existence*. When asking how local people perceive the development, I am moving on to layer three. This is the layer of *experiences*. The fact that some of these people have organised and (in someway or another) 'protested' against the kind of development they are witnessing, are opening up Katznelson's fourth layer. This is the layer of *collective action*.

I argued in chapter 3 that these layers have different epistemological statuses, and might therefore need different methods to be analysed. The layer on a structural level is obviously nothing without the other layers. The method for analysing on this layer is therefore related to *abstraction*, theorisation and generalisation. The forth layer, that of collective interests, is related to *qualitative* data-production. It's also tempting to argue that the layer of social existence (second) is related to *quantitative* data-production while the layer of experience (third) is related to *qualitative* data-production. To find out how e.g. the income-level, a quantitative research might be favoured. To find out how differences are experienced, interviews within a qualitative research might for instance be favoured. In general this might partly be valid. But such a classifying is too simple and therefore partly wrong.[42] For example might experiences also be counted in quantitative surveys and social existence might also be mapped through qualitative interviews or observation. If a homeless person says she lives in the slum, it's not always necessary to make a survey about the income and housing distribution in the area to say whether she is right or wrong. Also the layer of collective actions might be located by using different methods, but normally they will be within qualitative data-production; a quantitative approach to find out whether people are acting collectively would be possible, but perhaps difficult to conduct and (at least) not common. As a general rule then, I will suggest that the layer of structure is mainly related to abstractions, the layer of social existence is mainly related to a quantitative approach, the layers of experience and of collective action are mainly related to a qualitative approach.

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[42] Both Fossåskaret and Winchester argues that also the absolute distinction between quantitative and qualitative research in general is too simple and largely a false dichotomy (Fossåskaret 1997 and Winchester 2000).

In the analysis I will also draw upon existing quantitative data, some shown in chapter 6 and some shown below. This is also needed to use the potentialities and complexities that exist in Katznelson's theory of layers.

I will conceptualise the dominated classes and the dominant classes within different 'frames' in the following. The articulated positions from the 'dominated classes', i.e. those who don't accumulate capital, will manly be framed within Katznelson's four layers of class. I find the class relations for the LCR, Exel and Argent less complicated. Their particular class interests will not be discussed explicitly within the four layers of class, but rather as *fractions of capital*; this will be done explicit in chapter 7.4. The fact that I'm researching these major categories, the dominated and the dominant classes, within different frames is a disadvantage if the frames are seen as rigid and unchangeable. But they are not. The frames, the layers of class and the fractions of capital, are comparable; they are both frames of class. To be able to maintain as much as possible of the complexity in the messy reality, this distinction is needed.

7.2   Is KXRLG a class organisation?

There are two questions inscribed in the heading above. First, what is the class-background of the people in KXRLG? And second, can a local group like the KXRLG, not based on the labour-union card but rather the place they live, represent a class or some kind of dominated classes or articulate 'class policy'?

A full answer to the first question, on the class-background of the people in KXRLG, can not be given, simply because my methodology of data collection does not include 'personal' interviews and/or research on activists' class background. I do know that several of them are home-owners, and they might also benefit from increased housing prices in the area. The fact that KXRLG have enough resources and knowledge to take Camden to court might support a view that they are 'middle-class', or at least that there are educated and resourceful persons among them. But my data is too weak for me to conclude on this.

In chapter 6 it was argued that Camden was a polarised borough. Concerning the second question, it is obvious that it is hard (if not impossible) to articulate the collective interests of everyone living near King's Cross. Conceptualising KXRLG's arguments as the collective interests of those living near King's Cross would be a methodological error. There are differences within the group, and even home-owners within the KXRLG would gain economically from increased housing prices. But

certainly, there is no 'big-capital' in the group. If they are a class-organisation, I would need to extend the notion to class*es'* organisation.

Although the peoples in KXRLG are not (from) *one* class, their articulated interests, through collective and internal democratically chosen policy, do function as an interest in sharp contrast to Argent and the other owners. These interests are clearly among those we regarded as 'non-accumulaters' in chapter 3. Their actions are not reducible to 'class' in Katznelson's second layer, that of *social existence*; KXRLG does not *represent* a class, and have never articulated their demands in terms of class. It's reason to believe that this is because many people in the KXRLG do not at all think of their organisation as a 'class organisation'. But, especially on the fourth layer of class, that of *collective action*, when they do articulate policy and actions in contrast to the large owners and developer, they simultaneously articulate some kinds of 'non-accumulators' class interests. Although several people in KXRLG are not aware of their class position, the group is in general in a contradictionary position vis-à-vis the development. In the following the arguments of the KXRLG are occasionally compared with a large consultation that Camden conducted in 2004 (about the consultation see chapter 8.2) and published the next year (Camden 2005). For different reasons (as e.g. lack of data) the question of representativeness of different groups is not highlighted in this thesis. When I refer to KXRLG and other groups in the following, I will therefore always refer to how the groups articulate themselves and what kind of (class-)interests they defend through their articulations and actions. I will argue that the policy of the KXRLG does stand in some kind of 'non-owner'/lower-classes/dominated classes interest and position. I will therefore often use their articulated policies as a starting point when conducting the analysis.

Cally Rail Group will in addition to KXRLG also be debated below as an 'opponent' to parts of the development. In general what is said, and *not said*, above about KXRLG and class, also goes for Cally Rail Group. The biggest difference is that Cally Rail Group is organised around a smaller geographical scale than KXRLG. The Cally-area is located in LB of Islington and is therefore not a part of the quantitative research to which I referred in chapter 6. But after living 4 months in their 'core' area, I can through observations argue that the area is mainly social-housing and dominated-classes area, but also very close to a more 'posh' area.

7.3   Class conflicts

Argent is *forced* to make surplus out the King's Cross Development. This is so because *both* by structures in capitalism where capitalists must compete to survive (see chapter 3), *and* by the form

of agreement the whole CTRL contains (see chapter 6). This fact is one starting point for my analysis rather than the conclusion. Below I will look at how this has resulted into class conflicts.

7.3.1 Offices

I will enter the issue of class conflicts and offices, through explain the relation between building offices and capital accumulation. Of the (up to) 853,195 m² that Argent have applied for at the Main site, up to 455,510 m² are regulated as 'Business and employment' (see chapter 6.5), and this is mainly office-space. Based on my data, presented below, I will argue that demand for offices comes from the dialectical interaction between *profitability* and *state policy*. And also here lies the 'urban' (with the role of London, its dense buildings and fast communication) as a premise from where the rest might be articulated. Building offices is the class-interests of Argent.

First, profitability will be considered. In 1989 the King's Cross Railway Group published a work (KXRLG 1989), conducted together with University College of London, which showed how much profit there were in building offices, houses for the market and social houses, leisure and others. This clearly showed that offices were the most profitable. There is no reason to believe building offices is any less profitable today. The property market has, as mentioned above, more that recovered since its crisis in the early 90's (Hamnett 2005; and Key-informant Edwards (3)). This view is supported by Timothy Makower, who argues that the area south of the canal is the "main money pot, were the offices are" (Key-informant Makower (7)). The reason why offices are most profitable, might be found partly in international economic trends and transformations, outlined shortly in chapter 4, and partly in the actual geography at King's Cross in Camden. According to Roger Madelin, "offices must not only be close to an underground but also central in the city" (Key-informant Madelin (6)). King's Cross Central south of the canal is both, as we saw in chapter 6; 'south of the canal' (i.e. the offices, i.e. the money pot) is located quite close to both the city centre and extremely close to an exceptional transport junction.

Second, state policy will be considered. Attracting offices to London is the 'official' policy of London (London Plan 2004). The London Plan says that the Major shall "seek a significant increment to current stock [of offices] through changes of use and development of vacant brownfield sites." (London Plan 2004:90). The King's Cross Development is a part of the larger picture. The recent development at Paddington Basin and the future development at Stratford are other examples of 'brownfield sites' related to Railway stations which changed or changes into office landscapes. So even though building offices were the most profitable, it would have been harder if the local democracy (both in London and Camden) was against office building. The

London Plan argues that the dominance of the office-based financial sector in London's employment and economic projections has made the availability of suitable office accommodation a critical issue (London 2004). The policy to attract financial capital, including offices, has thereby become London's official strategy in the contemporary capitalism (see London Plan 2004). Argent seems thus more than happy to conduct their part of London's strategy in King's Cross. And in March 2006, for instance, Ken Livingstone, wrote Camden a letter which allowed Camden to determine the case itself (Livingstone 2006). The demand of financial capital for office space is then met; by accumulating circulating capital Argent meets the demand for building offices. In this way, circulating capital (e.g. international business) is provided its fixed capital (e.g. offices) in King's Cross. Through this dialectical process it is possible to see the footprint of the hegemony of financial capital in London. *The huge amount of office-building in King's Cross happens through dialectics between the urban, the economy and the state.*

In capitalism the labour-market is of crucial importance in people's everyday life. The amount of office-building, which is over half of the total floor space in Argent's application, is perhaps the most contested and debated part of the development. Mace refers to some *experience* about class (Katznelson's third layer) when writing about the concern among the Islington Bangladeshi Association, and

> " their belief that any development would not bring meaningful employment opportunities to their young people – essentially, high level jobs would import labour from other parts of labour leaving local people to – at best – fill low skill positions" (Mace forthcoming:20).

However, as cleaners and dustmen, receptionists and caretakers, there will be jobs for the people from the local dominated classes. 'Low skill positions' in the quotation, can be seen against the very different labour market from only twenty/thirty years ago. In London's labour market back then, the dominated classes normally had skilled industrial jobs (Hamnett 2005).

Getting this huge amount of office-jobs in the neighbourhood is not very welcomed, as the quotation above indicates, by all locals. In chapter 6 I drew upon existing quantitative data and argued that King's Cross was a deprived ward in Camden. Analysing this on the second layer (*social existence*) it's reasonable to argue that many who lives near King's Cross are not from those kinds of classes with higher education who gets skilled jobs in offices. The amount of offices is also a matter of preference. KXRLG argues for a reduced absolute scale of the development, and

> "obtain a more mixed, balanced and sustainable profile of land uses, the office component is the obvious candidate for reduction. The more business floor space provided, the less, within a finite total, is

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available for other uses (e.g. housing, community, leisure and recreation etc) all of which have commanded strong support and if anything most people would like to see increased" (KXRLG 2006a:3).

From this I would argue that the KXRLG sees more benefits in other things than in London's policy to attract foreign capital. The focus on building office space is against the articulated interests of KXRLG.

KXRLG's articulated view is also echoed among the local population. In responses to Camden's large consultation in 2004, the 'common answer' was that "Commercial office space should be reduced as a proportion of the development" (Camden 2005:9). It must be added that this is before Argent decides to lower the amount of offices when they submit amendments to their application in 2005.

From this it is possible to abstract up to Katznelson's first layer, that of abstract *structures*, and say that the matter of offices in the King's Cross Development *is related to profit* and to *the hegemony of financial capital* (which includes state policy). *The conflicting view articulated by KXRLG and others, on the other hand, seems lesser concerned with neither.*

7.3.2 Private streets

Earlier in the development process, there was a disagreement about whether the streets in the King's Cross Central should be publicly or privately owned. West from LB of Camden, who was negotiating with Argent, says:

> "Argent wanted to keep the roads private. That's mainly because of better quality and easier to maintain. It's also easier to police and to use their own security guards. Also, in England, the gas and telephone companies have huge rights and principles, and can dig up roads and repair" (Key-informant West (12)).

According to Planner in the LB of Islington, Alan Mace, there is "no doubt that the roads would be maintained far better if they were privately owned" (Key-informant Mace (5)). But both the LB of Camden and KXRLG were highly critical to the idea.

Can this disagreement be understood in relation to class? On the second layer of class, where people and classes actually live, the consequences of privately owned streets might be that the private owners ('the development vehicle') could have the power to reject certain people (from certain classes) access to the area. And if the King's Cross area in the future would not be able to handle its problems related to prostitution, drugs and crime (often among the 'lumpen proletariat'), the King's Cross Central would still be protected in the same way as a shopping centre would have the possibility to be. This could also have consequences on Katznelson's fourth layer, that of *collective*

action, because the owners could have the power to abolish public demonstrations and protests (see also Sibley 1995).

The owners could also to an extent create its own kind of infrastructure without take into consideration neighbouring areas or people. From the LB of Camden's point of view, i.e. the local state, West argues,

> "For us it's important that KXC needs to be a part of London. People need to know that they can walk wherever they want. Therefore Camden has adopted the streets, and there are several advantages with that. It's better for the buses and their insurance issue, it's better for the police, because everything is public. And we are happy because there will be Camden traffic wardens, Camden street signs – both visually and psychologically" (Key-informant West (12)).

I read the quotation above as an expression of the complexity of the relative autonomy of the state. Camden has obligations in relation to the general public ('democracy'), the police ('violence monopoly') and the example of buses might be extracted to go for businesses in general. I read the quotation above as an example of Foglesong's (1996) capitalist-democracy-contradiction were the free market is not 'capable of maintaining capitalism'; keeping the streets privately owned would benefit the owner, but might be a disadvantage for the infrastructure and predictability of other businesses.

In the end there was made a compromise between the Argent and the LB of Camden, that the main roads should be public and the smaller ones and the parks and plazas should be owned by the 'development vehicle'. Camden's bi-laws should apply.[43] Harvey (1985) argues that the state has different ways of conducting 'collective management' over the built environment (see chapter 3.3). The case with the streets is an example where the *market mechanism* is not sufficient. In this case a kind of *state intervention* was needed to provide the interests both of Camden's and of local capital.

In the interviews Edwards (3) and Shelley (10) argued that they highly rejected the proposal from Argent to keep the streets privately owned. This is echoed in Camden's consultations from 2004, where the common answer in the survey was that "roads and footpaths, cycle paths etc should be public highway and not privately owned" (Camden 2005:25).

In terms of class conflicts it is reasonable to argue that Agent has an exchange-value and calculated relation to the streets. Argent wanted to create the King's Cross Central into some kind of a

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[43] A bi-law is a local law, which include public behaviour, opening hours and drinking restrictions etc

privately owned 'semi-public-space'. Privatisation, commercialisation and commodification are central parts of neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Harvey 2005a; Harvey 2005b). *In conflict with Argent's desire to own a semi-public-space, stands the interest of both the state and the local people. For those who don't accumulate capital through the built environment, the streets are perhaps the most* used *use-vales of them all.*

7.3.3 Flexibility in capital accumulation

During the 1990's the office-market in London recovered after the major crisis in the early 90' (see chapter 6), and above I argued that Argent is now building offices *en masse*. During my interview with Madelin, he told me how Argent relates to shifting markets and crisis. He claimed that Argent has done two things:

> "First we have fixed our loans[44] so that we won't be bankrupted over the night when the crisis comes, and second; we always build mix uses, with offices, houses and leisure. Because the crashes in the [different property-] markets normally don't come at exact the same time. And with social housing, although we don't make a lot of money on them, we won't lose money either. The same goes for the schools, it won't go down. For a certain period, we might stop building residential or offices, and we retain the ownership" (Key-informant Madelin (6)).

I read this quotation to be expressive of that Madelin is fully clear of the crisis that have occurred in property market in the past, and that he also understands that others will come. This acknowledgement has become a part of their strategy. Argent never committed themselves to building an exact amount of anything in their building application to Camden. They always applied for building *up to* a certain amount (see Arup for Argent St George 2004, April). I find this form of application linked with Madelin's quotation about crisis in the property market above. And they are both expressions of *flexibility*.

Flexibility might in general be "characterized by a ready capability to adapt to new, different, or changing requirements".[45] In economical terms this means being adaptive in relation to market changes, especially in relation to crisis. The two local Boroughs have also recognized the need for flexibility in Argent's applications (Camden and Islington 2004, January). The scheme is an 'outline form' which means that details on e.g. building design are unknown. Diana Shelley, from the Cally Rail Group had a different view on 'flexibility'; "the problem with this scheme is that it's both huge and amorphous" (Shelley, quoted in Lydall and Bar-Hillel 2007). I read Shelley's

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[44] It means borrowing capital on fixed interest rates.

[45] Derived from Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, on: http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/flexibility (25.04.2007)

concern about the scheme being too amorphous as a direct opposition to Madelin's quote above. It's interesting to ask, flexibility for whom? The KXRLG argues that,

> "In our view the planning authorities are wrong to grant permission in these terms because they are abrogating their responsibility to consider successive stages of development in the light of developers' performance in earlier stages, changing government policy and changes in the London context. We have argued throughout that this is an abuse of the British planning system" (KXRLG 2006a:4).

Shelley argues on Katznelson's third layer, that of *experience*, that the scheme is too 'amorphous', while KXRLG argues on a more structural level that planners, i.e. local state, should have flexibility. It's the local state which should be able to adapt to changing needs. It's reason to believe that KXRLG would like this adaptive strategy to include other interests than only economy. Because it's an outline application, Argent must apply for everything they would like to build on the site. But as long as the future applications are within the granted application, it's difficult for Camden to turn it down. According to West, there is not any way that Camden can use the flexibility in the scheme to force another direction where more or less of something might be built (Key-informant West (12)). The only function for the 'flexibility', is that Argent can manoeuvre in relation to the market.

The need for flexibility is related to changing needs in the market (an argument also articulated by KXRLG (2006)) and not for instance to changing needs among local people. *There is a conflict between the classes in how they relate to flexibility: What might be 'flexibility' for the developers, might not be flexibility for the local state and might be experienced as 'uncertainty' among those with less power in the process.*

7.3.4 The building process

The area where *Cally Rail Group* is located has been affected by noise from the building of the CTRL, and will now be affected by noise from the building of King's Cross Central. Shelley represents the Cally Rail Group and her argument at a meeting in KX Development Forum (02.11.06) tells something about her view on social existence (second layer) and her experiences (third layer):

> "We don't need the CTRL. We got a lot of noise, and now we'll get 15 years more with noise. We suffer for no end. Or for others end. We pay for the CTRL and now we are going to pay for the development, and the development is paying for the Rail! We pay in all ways. And what do we get? Starbucks? Some might get employed. But then, the development ends up with rich people who price us out of the area. If there are good things, they better be bloody good. It's a property development that we have already paid for" (Personal notes from the meeting).

The word 'pay' in the quotation above might be understood in different ways. It gives meaning as way of expressing (in semiotics it *connotes*) suffering and might be understood as something that is unwanted. 'Pay' might also be read concrete and related to money; people might be charged with unforeseen expenditures because of noise, transport and other issues. This has for example been the case during the construction work at CTRL. I think the most interesting way to understand 'pay' above is a mix of the two understandings mentioned. In capitalism, in general, some factors are not included in the overall economy, while others obviously are. If the economy as such is seen as political, as I did in chapter 3, then what issues are included in the economy and which are not is also a political question. An issue like environmental costs, a non-wanted environmental impact for instance, is often not included. This quotation is questioning the hegemonic idea of what 'payment' is and how it should be measured.

In an interview I conducted with Shelley after the meeting referred to above, she said that there were given some 'mitigation package'. "Some were given double glazing, but most people didn't, but a few did. They had a lot in the package that no one got, but there were possibilities" (Key-informant Shelley (10)). Shelley and her Cally Rail Group have also witnessed other victories. "In 2001 someone said, we're going to dig up Caledonian Road, but then we had an act of parliament that said that they couldn't. And we referred to the secretary of state. We were petitioners. But we were kept being ignored" (Key-informant Shelley (10)). If they had carried through the plans, there would have been even more noise in the neighbourhood and lot of bankruptcies among the local shops (Key-informant Shelley (10). Through campaigning they won, and the borough a) paid for an independent engineer, and b) the department had their own engineer.

> "If your house is demolished, you will get a compensation, but if your store is bankrupted you get nothing. We wanted compensation for small trades. And we got it. But they had to prove their loss. I don't know who got or how much, but in the total sum was £100.000" (Key-informant Shelley (10)).

The dialectics between the layers of class are an interesting subject here. Based on the actual experience from the noise (layer 3), in the working class area where they live (layer 2), including dense and not very insulated housing, they organized for a campaign (layer 4). After winning and new windows were installed, this (hopefully) leads to new experiences with the noise.

For the developers, LCR for the CTRL and Argent for the King's Cross Central, it's reasonable to argue that it's favourable not having to consider a lot of the economic disadvantages they produces for others. For the people in Cally Rail Group these 'disadvantages' enter the everyday life as 'costs'.

7.3.5 Demolishing, conservation and capital

Argent wants to demolish the Culross building (see drawing in Figure 7.1 and picture in Figure 7.2 below) and one of the two Stanley buildings. The King's Cross Conservation Area Advisory Committee (KXCAAC) on the other hand, has fought for years to protect these houses. The KXCAAC argues that the houses are of great historical significance because they were very early 'workers-dwellings' and modern and special in their time. They argue that the houses are not in a too bad condition so that a renovation is definitely doable.

West from the LB of Camden argues that

> "Culross is an ordinary building, and English heritage refused to list it. It stops the flow between south and north. There will be 2 way buses and a tram through this house. It is still standing, but not a great construction…. The Stanley building is a harder choice. They are interesting buildings. But 450 taxis will drive through every hour, and therefore we need a new road through one of the Stanley buildings. And we got money for building the road now; therefore we need to demolish the buildings now" (Key-informants West 12)).

How can the demolishing of these two houses be analysed in terms of capital accumulation and class conflicts? In terms of capital accumulation there are two approaches I especially find interesting, the first starts with fixed capital within the houses, while the second starts with the geographical area.

First: When the value which is 'fixed' steadily declines, and after a long enough/certain period is 'worn out' (Marx 1978), it might become more profitable to demolish and replace the buildings, instead of repairing them. It is necessary here to indirectly relate to the actual building process, because it is in that process most of the actual value is transferred into the buildings. When understanding Culross and Stanley buildings as 'used' fixed capital, and the new buildings as fixed capital that is going to be used, we can understand and contextualise Argent's desire to demolish them and build new buildings.
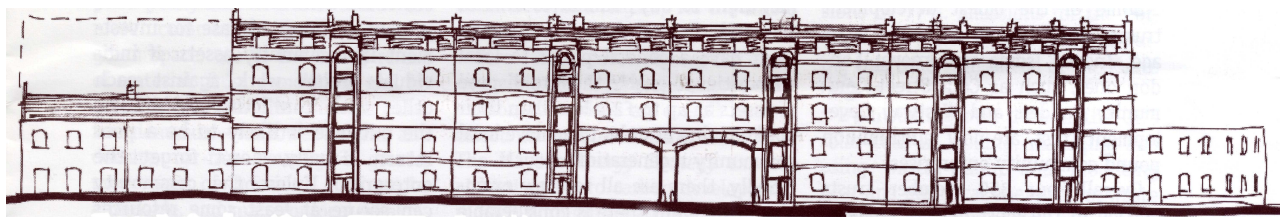

Figure 7.1: An illustration of the Culross building. Including a proposal from KXCAAC to build the 'goulden route' through the houses. Illustration by KXCAAC.

Source: KXRLG 2006, spring; page 5.
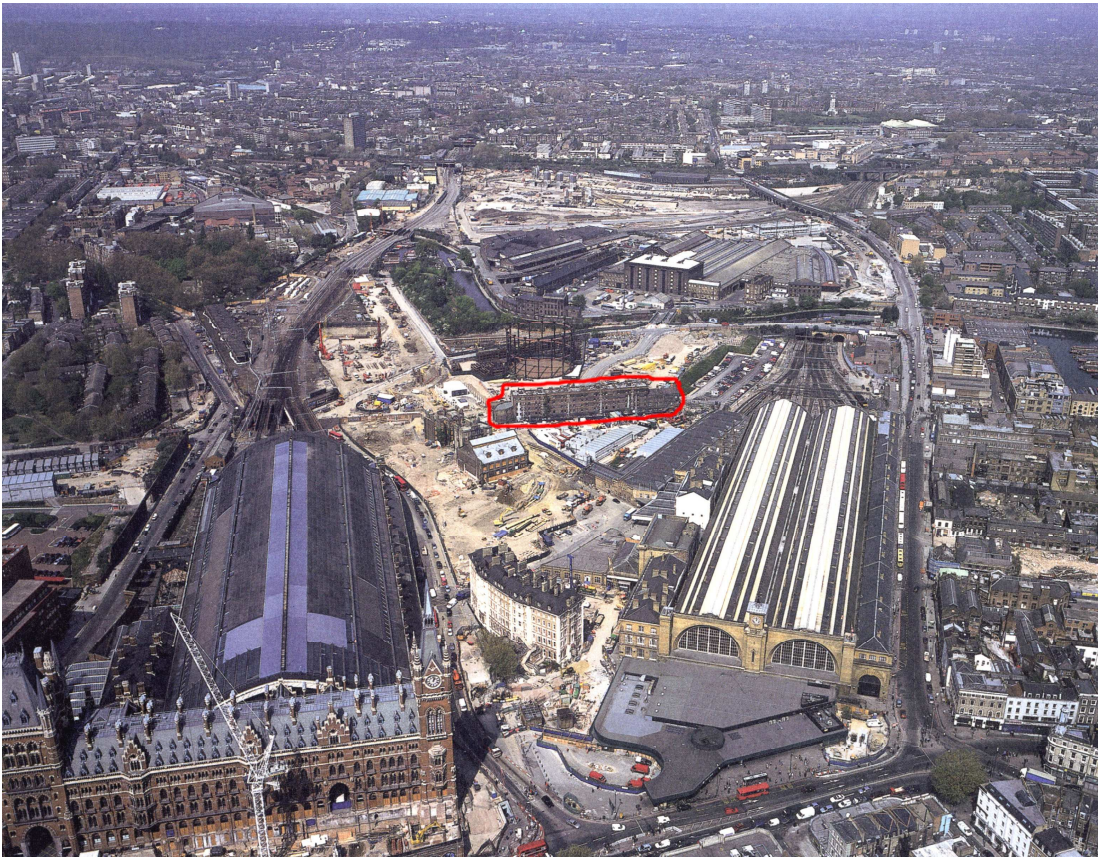
Figure 7.2: Overview of the Opportunity area. Picture is taken from south. I have framed the Culross building in red. The Stanley buildings are just west of the Culross building.

Source: Argent St George 2002, page 5.

Second: I would argue that the same argument as above also goes for a larger geographical area. Harvey argued in chapter 2 that urban geographical landscape (constituted by fixed and immobile capital) is both the 'crowning glory of past capitalist development' and simultaneously inhibits further progress of capital accumulation (Harvey 1985). The Stanley and Culross buildings were located at their particular location because the workers on the King's Cross and St. Pancras Railway Stations needed short way to work. Today, this geography, the location of the Stanley building where the taxies are going to drive is blocking effective infrastructure. The location of the Culross building just between the canal and the stations is 'blocking' the movement between south and north, that is the boulevard from the railway stations to the square in the middle of the development (see e.g. KXRLG 2000, October; Camden and Islington 2004, January; KXCAAC 2005). KXRLG (2000, October) have labelled this boulevard the 'golden route', which might be read as a metaphor for 'money machine': What is 'blocked' is the flow of people, i.e. flow of consumers, i.e. flow of capital. In Figure 7.2 it's possible to see how the building is located west-east, while Argent want people from the stations south on the area and into the site further north.

Both the Culross and the Stanley buildings are also located south of the canal, where the offices shall be built. Several hundred people have lived in the houses, and for locals it is perhaps nicer with relatively low old brick-houses, than modern high buildings in glass. Also in Camden's consultation, there was a "clear majority who objected to this in principle. They objected to the argument that the Culross stands in the path of a road and of the masterplan generally" (Camden 2005:6).

The conservation of these houses has become a huge issue for several local groups (like the KXCAAC and KXRLG). It's reasonable to argue that the third layer of class, that of *experiences*, have trigged *collective action* at layer four. *There is a conflict between Argent who wants to demolish the houses because of flow of capital and the need to build offices, and local groups and people who seems not too concerned with either offices or the flow of capital.*

7.3.6 Some notes on class

The quotation from Shelley (in chapter 7.3.4) about compensations that was given because of noise is interesting from a point of view of method and 'criticism of the sources'. The fact that someone from a campaign group is telling about a 'victory', is quite an exception in my production of data. In my interview with Edwards (Key-informant 3), it is possible to get the impression that they have gained 'nothing' at all. While Madelin from Argent could not point at anything he was unsatisfied with, when it came to what is actually being built at King's Cross Central (Key-informant Madelin (6)). And West, from the LB of Camden, was the only informant being satisfied with King's Cross Development Forum, which he of course is managing. It's important to remember that the data I have produced are produced in the middle of the conflict. Shelley told me in the interview that Camden "told us the streets were to be adapted. The planners wanted our support in stopping this, and maybe it was just tactics from their side, to draw attention to something where we could be seen as winners" (Key-informant Shelley (10)). This these does not have any way of discovering 'strategic answers', except being aware of the issue.

Some things have been won by the local groups. The fact that the terminal station for the CTRL will be St Pancras and not King's Cross (as it were in the late 80's/early 90's), was to a large degree because of local pressure groups. The local groups also managed for example to stop the '24 hour labour day'. The KXRLG's magazine *Net Work* wrote that "Community wins the day. CTRL 24-hour works rejected" (Net Work 2004, Spring). There is also a considerable amount of heritage buildings north of the canal that will be preserved. But I am not sure whether this was 'won' by

local residential groups, or because they were 'listed' by a national heritage organisation. But however much someone tries to hide or show the class conflicts, the examples above show that they exist. But in the local magazine *Cross Section*, Roger Madelin argues that

> "I don't think there is necessarily a conflict between people who want to make a return and a surrounding community. It's not our money, it's British Telecom's pensioners' money which own Argent. In addition to other investors, we are asking BT [British Telecom] for several million pounds of pensioners' money and they expect us to use it wisely" (Cross Section 2006b:29).

I read Madelin's formulation of the 'investors expecting us to use money wisely', as equivalent to the investors demand of profit. The profit must be gained from somewhere, and profit is made on someone's costs. With this background, where capital accumulation is class conflict, and through the way urban capital is accumulated, I will argue that Madelin's statement is in contrast to both my theories (in chapter 3) and (more important) my empirical findings (above in this chapter): In King's Cross there *is* a conflict between people who want to make a return and the surrounding community. However, within the system of capitalism, Madelin's quotation is perfectly understandable. The investors don't just *want* the capital to be invested wisely; within the intra-class competition among capitalists they *need* a profit on their investment. Madelin's quotation above also supports my theoretical argument in chapter 3; the fact that the owner is a pension fund does not change the need for capital accumulation and profit (although it's theoretically highly interesting, see chapter 7.4 below). Increased capital flow to King's Cross surely also will benefit *parts* of the local surroundings. This might also lead to intra-class conflicts on which I will focus below.

The narratives that KXRLG and Madelin are telling are conflicting. This conflict is also materialised in actual policy: Argent wants for example to build taller buildings than what KXRLG wants them to (KXRLG 2006a). How can we understand this? For Argent, every square meter can be calculated and measured in money. KXRLG argues that tall buildings and dense massing having adverse consequences for a) "the setting and character of listed buildings and the Conservation Areas", and b) for a "satisfactory townscape with adequate permeability and open spaces" (KXRLG 2006a:4). Argent's need for tall buildings, versus KXRLG's need for 'satisfactory townscape' echoes also Lefebvre's distinction between the city as exchange-value and use-value (Lefebvre 1973), and between capital accumulators and non-accumulators.

7.4   Intra-class conflicts - for developers, local capital and the dominated classes

While Argent has "promised" to stay in King's Cross for a while (see interview in chapter 6), there is nothing that indicates that LCR or Exel will do the same. Ben Ruse in LCR even said that Argent would build the site, and then everything would be sold off (Key-informant Ruse (9)). When Argent has built the land, LCR will sell off their 35% of the development vehicle. Madelin says that while LCR is free to sell their part at any time, Argent is obliged to maintain 25% (see chapter 6) of the ownership for a certain period (Key-informant Madelin (6)).

Robert West from the LB of Camden argues that:

> "Exel is in there to cash out money. They might stay for a certain time as owners and investors, but will sell out whenever they find it economically favourable. They'll stay in as long as they think the value is going to rise. The objectives are also the same with LCR" (Key-informant West (12)).

How can we understand this *difference within the dominated classes*, and between the *landlords*? I will argue that this is partly different fractions of capital, and different kinds of the same fraction (i.e. landlords). This difference has also had some practical outcome. Robert West was negotiating with Argent in relation to the Section 106 Agreement (see chapter 6) and he says that:

> "The LCR and Exel have wanted to reduce the amount of money [the development vehicle] would give to Camden and Islington, for example for building roads. We had a debate with Argent, and Argent talked to the stakeholders [i.e. LCR and Exel], and Argent argued for more money to Camden and Islington. LCR only looks at the balance sheet" (Key-informant West (12)).

To fully understand the intra-class conflict above, a short examine of the difference between the businesses is needed. LCR's ownership in the whole CTRL-project is divided in three: The trains, the railway and the land which they got as 'subsidies'. These three parts can easily be sold off as three different parts. The nature of LCR's and Exel's involvement is *short-term* profit. The notion of 'short-term' here is not 'short' as in international-financial-speculation-'short'. It's rather 'short' in the sense that they don't have to own the land after it is finished built. Argent, on the other hand, is owned by *long-term* investors in British Telecom's Pensions Scheme (BTPS). Sir Tim Chessells, Chairman of BTPS's Trustees, said "Argent has been an excellent investment for BTPS and has enabled the fund to participate in attractive long term investments" (Quoted in Argent 2006). Argent maintenance in the area echoes perhaps Argent's owners' needs. Allen emphasised already in 1986 the roles of the pension funds "who can consider investing a significant proportion of their

portfolios in long run speculative ventures"… and because of economic changes "commercial property has become an increasingly important component of domestic investment" (Allen 1986:25). For this 'long run' accumulation strategy to be successive, the dependency upon the increasing land-rent is also important. Argent's involvement is in contrast to Exel and LCR, a *long-term investment*.

If abstracting this analysis up to Katznelson's first layer, that within the structures of capitalist development, it's arguable that Argent's main approach to the development is accumulation through building fixed capital; in place. While LCR and Exel's main approach to the King's Cross Development are purely circulatory; through space. Although all the three landlords are in the game for profit, the land has different character for them. For LCR and Exel it is purely a commodity which they never produce or have the power over, they just finance it and demand profit in return. An intra-class conflict is located here: Argent wants longer-term investment in the area, like i.e. the establishing of the School of Art at the site. Madelin also argued above (chapter 7.3.3) that although they don't make a lot of money on social houses and schools they don't lose money either. I am not sure the LCR and Exel are thinking the same way. Their role might be reduced to the need for shorter-term profit.

There is also a possibility for a conflict between Exel and LCR. LCR is in contrast to Exel owning some land around the King's Cross Central (like the St. Pancras Station, St. Pancras Chambers, and the CTRL). I have not produced data on it, but it might be reasonable to question whether LCR also have some 'external effects' they will like to take into consideration, which Exel does not have? As argued in chapter 6 there is also a 'secret deal' between LCR and the Government on how the profit will be shared. There is no reason to believe that Exel and Argent would have such a deal, but I can not say anything about whether this has consequences for the development.

Also *for **local capital*** there are intra-class conflicts. The local magazine *Cross Section* writes that, "Independent business could stand to benefit from the development – if they survive" (Cross Section 2006a:27). And in the local paper *Ham & High*, it says that "Independent traders fear for future as rents rise" (Siddique 2006:9). If the development goes 'as planned' both by Argent and LB of Camden, and there are no crisis in the property market or disadvantaged changes in some external effects, I think, as the two short quotations indicate, that the area will attract more capital to King's Cross. London will then strengthen its position as financial city. On capital in general, like the local shops and others, the neoliberal King's Cross will then probably be economically beneficial. Most likely will the property prices increase. And if land prices increase parts of local

capital (e.g. small businesses/shops owners) who don't own their own fixed capital, their own buildings, might get problems paying the rent.

The two quotations above from Cross Section and Ham & High are both expressing future. But although the actual building of King's Cross Development has not started yet, it seems like the increase in rent prices has. In Cross Section it's argued that, "Gentrification does not stop at houses. Refurbished bars and eating places are springing up throughout the local quarter to provide a stylish addition to the traditional pubs, sandwich shops and burger outlets." (Cross Section 2006b). Through observations I also witnessed this during my stay; more expensive restaurants are being established around King's Cross. In the Cross Section article, the 'gentrification' is a 'stylish addition' to the old. This might partly be true, but also partly wrong. Shelley (Key-informant (10)) told me a story about a local shop which had been in the area for 20 years, but had to shut down just 6 days before I interviewed her. The local shop had to close because of increased rent. As early as in 2000, KXRLG was concerned about the same issue when they reported that "McDonalds replaces Wendy's on the corner of Pentonville Road and York Way" (KXRLG 2000, April).[46] Whether the 'gentrified' restaurants are an *addition to* or a *replacement of*, the existing local capital depends to a large degree upon whether the local capital owns its own property or not. Changes in these structures will surely affect both local economy and local geography.

For all the **dominated classes**, there is a danger of being priced out of the consumption-spheres in the area. But there are intra-class conflicts also among the dominated classes. My Key-informant Shelley (10) lives near King's Cross Development and is a home-owner:

> "Property developers tell us that we are sitting on a gold mine. But that depends on if you want to move or not. We would get something BIG if we moved a long way out. But if you want to stay you earn nothing, but you could sell and buy something similar or smaller" (Key-informant Shelley (10)).

This quotation says that an area around King's Cross is witnessing an increase in property prices. The home-owners within the dominated classes, often because of Thatcher's 'right-to-buy'-offer (see for instance Hamnett 2005), will most probably get increased prices for their homes. But, as Shelley points out in the quotation, an increased value of the house is first really interesting if one is selling (or of course speculating in or testamentary inheriting) the house. Those who don't own their homes, on the other hand, is not in any way sitting on a 'gold mine', and can, if not protected someway in the social rent sector, easily be priced out of the rent-market.

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[46] The Corner of Pentonville Road and York Way, bounder the south-east corner of King's Cross Station.

There is also an intra-class conflict, in what kind of jobs that is being placed in King's Cross. One argument (Key-informant Shelley (10)) is that the jobs for the lower classes at a place dominated by offices and a school, is primarily cleaning (see also Mace forthcoming). However, Lisa Tang has relation to Black and Minority Ethnic (BME)-societies, and argues that a lot of 'housewives' who does not speak well English are very pleased with those kinds of jobs (Key-informant Tang (11)). To get further into this issue, I would need another method of data collection and probably cultural and/or gender studies, which I don't have. But in terms of class, it might be tempting in future studies to question whether this will increase the polarisation between classes.

At a structural level among the dominated classes, it's interesting that Argent is owned by the pensions of British Telecom's workers. These pensions are accumulated as capital, when Argent is building their site. And as we saw above, the accumulation in King's Cross is also related to class conflicts, i.e. exploitation, of different kinds. From this it's arguable that the British Telecoms workers are making profit out of the exploitation at King's Cross.

7.5   Class harmony?

So there are class conflicts in the King's Cross Development, both between classes and within classes. I find it interesting to ask, whether everything in the King's Cross Development is class conflict? As an ontological question, it's tempting to ask: Does not the class conflict have an outside, an exterior? From the way I defined capital accumulation in chapter 3, it's clear that capital accumulation based on private property, which defines capitalist production can hardly exist without class conflicts. Does my theoretical approach from earlier chapters limit my ability to conduct empirical research? If so, I would have a problem with legitimating my own thesis. To get further into this, I have to reformulate the two questions above into these: *first*, although there is a theoretical distinction in capitalism between 'capital and labour', is this always also a problem empirically? And *second*, is everything in the *society* also reducible to capitalism, i.e. capital vs. labour?

First question first. In the middle of a conflict it's perhaps normal that the conflicts are articulated more often than the agreements, at least in media. Because I produced data in the middle of a conflict, it might be harder to see the existence of non-conflicts. However, Edwards, joint chair in KXRLG said that "Everybody is united in wanting this land developed" (in Lydall and Bar-Hillel 2007). Cally Rail Group wrote in 2005 that "in principle we welcome the redevelopment of this site" (Cally Rail Group 2006:8). And also the King's Cross Development Forum: "In principle the

Forum strongly supports regeneration which seeks to ensure that the Kings Cross Central site plays a pivotal role in the revitalization of the wider Kings Cross area and surrounding communities" (KX Development Forum 2004:1). And the Conservation Committee (KXCAAC) argues that they are "most certainly not against development of the Railway Lands, but does not believe it should be achieved at any cost" (KXCAAC 2005:5). From these quotations it's reasonable to argue that there is a broad consensus in King's Cross about that *something* should be built on the site.

In capitalist society this *something* that will be built on the site, is *capitalist* something, i.e. conflict between classes. But in King's Cross this *something* never moves from Katznelson's first layer, it is never class conflict except on a highly theoretical and abstract level. There is a structural class conflict within the fact that the development will be a capitalist development, but I have never met anyone, nor seen any argument, arguing for nothing to happen on the site. *In practice, there is therefore no articulated class conflict upon this issue.* During the meeting in Camden Development Control Committee 8-9 of March,[47] this was also the source of confusion, when someone representing the King's Cross Development Forum argued that the Forum wanted something to be built. This message was by some received as a support for Argent's development. In the following, a disagreement about what was actually agreed upon in the Forum was creating debate and conflict (Key-informant Shelley (10)). However, no one ever argued that the site should stay undeveloped; the debate concerns *what* should be built. This example also shows the dependency between classes. Although building 'a capitalist something' can be abstracted to capital's domination over labour, the lower classes does also have an interest in this relation of domination. As mentioned in chapter 3.1.2, the dominated classes are depended upon exploitation to get any wealth at all, just as the dominant classes are depended upon the dominated classes to get any surplus at all.

To answer the second question, whether everything in the *society* is also reducible to capitalism,[48] the Camley Street Natural Park provides and excellent example. According to Timothy Makower from the architects who draw the King's Cross Central, 'Allies & Morrison', one of his main concerns with the development was the use of the Camley Park. They wanted to rebuild the Camley Park into a park for people:

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[47] See http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/navigation/environment/planning-and-built-environment/major-developments/king-s-cross/, at 10.10.2006.

[48] I have been uncertain whether to ask this question ontological (as I ended up with) or more 'strategic epistemological' (like: is it fruitful for me to reduce everything we know about society to capitalism?). I chose the former to make a broader argument, and in an attempt to escape a position where the answer only was a matter of prioritizing.

> "…this place has an opportunity to become a local park. It should be quiet, but it needs access. Therefore we wanted to build a bridge next to the park, but we weren't allowed to. They [Camley Street Natural Park] care only about the [plants and animals], they don't think about people" (Key-informant Makower (7)).

Two aspects are interesting in relation to this quotation and the Park in general. First, the architects (and I think we can include the developers) wanted to make a 'local park'. I read this as they want a local park for the people. But according to Makower the Camley Park authorities on the other hand wanted it to remain a park for the animals and plants. For the development of the King's Cross Central, as one site of fixed capital, having a green lung for people of this size within the area would surely generate positive external effects. But the Camley Park will remain within fences, also after the development.

Second, the Camley Park has managed to stay autonomous and to a degree unaffected by the development because it was popular and was 'owned' by LB of Camden. So what keeps it autonomous is ironically its specific property relation. The Park was established in the 1980's when it was hard even to dream about how high today's land-value would be. If the Park was a profit-driven enterprise, the owners could have sold it off with a huge profit. West at LB of Camden presumes that the two acres of land the Park is placed upon has a land value of probably 15-20 million pounds (Key-informant West (12)). However, this was never debated. According to West, it would have been a political suicide for Camden to shut down the park, although LB of Camden is the freeholder of the site (Key-informant West (12)). According to Tom Clark, the Project Manager at the park, it would have been a political suicide for London Wildlife Foundation to close or move the Park (Key-informant Clark (2)).

Ernest James said: "The Natural Park is independent. They did not stand up against the development. They said 'OK'" (Key-informant James (4)). It obviously in the interests of Argent to maintain control over the whole area, but the Park is not owned by the 'development vehicle'. In chapter 3 I outlined Foglesong's "property contradiction" (Foglesong 1996), as the contradiction between on one side the public and social character of urban land, and on the other its private ownership and control. In this case, this suddenly turned against Argent! The little green spot in the middle of King's Cross Central does certainly have a public character, but is closed because of its particular property-relation.

The Park, in contrast to the built environment that soon will surround it, is not fixed capital, because it is not capital. Therefore it is not an intra-class struggle either. Although the Park is not

capitalistic, what saved it was a particular property-relation! It is therefore not easy (or possible?) to place within the general distinction between 'capital and labour'. Does this disprove my thesis' main theories? Is this example a 'proof' that the theories on capital accumulation and class conflict are 'wrong', or at least 'to easy', or does it weakens some theories? The case with the Park is absolutely an exception. But if this kind of organization was the main form of the development or some kind of driving force in the process, then the question should be asked again. But it's not. Neither in the ability to define nor conducting nor controlling the development, neither in acting very pro-active, and neither in economic, social nor cultural terms, is the Park the central actor in the development at King's Cross. Neither is there any other process in King's Cross Development that is similar to the one with the park. I will argue it's a sole exception (that proves the rule?). However, the exception is interesting, because it might serve as an example, and one important reminder for some, that not everything in our society is reducible to 'capital vs. labour' and capital accumulation. Harvey argues that society itself is marked by conflict over what is the proper definition of mode of production appropriate to its circumstances, and that

> "when a particular historical period is described as 'feudal' or 'capitalistic', therefore, this should always be taken to mean that this historical period was *dominated by* a mode of production which we characterize as 'feudal' or 'capitalists'" (Harvey 1973:203, original emphasis).

There are parts of society that are not incorporated in the hegemony, and a mode of production is never total. The Park is today of such a character.

7.5.1 Commercialisation of everything?

Harvey argues that privatization is a central part of neoliberalism (Harvey 2006). He also argues that capital tries to make surplus out of rights, practices and services that it was before not possible to accumulate money from. He labels this phenomena 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey 2005b; 2006). Can the Camley Street Natural Park be analysed in light of Harvey's theory?

Today the Camley Street Natural Park gets their funding from the LB of Camden. This is about £ 60.000 each year (Key-informant Clark (2)). The Park will be affected by being surrounded by huge office-buildings and other urban building which will result in reduced sun in the winter. But the Park does not take a gloomy view of the future. According to Clark from the Camley Park, "it's a balance; we are strategically very well placed, and might influence some businesses. We need to open up ourselves" (Key-informant Clark (2)). This is a different way of presenting themselves, compared to how the architect Makower described the Park above. According to Clark,

"being pragmatic is the way forward. We have a lot to gain by working with the developers. I look forward; we will get more money. I would like us to be more dependent upon businesses, and I would not consider it as necessary a problem to be 100% dependent upon private businesses. That would have made a fairly great statement. For the neighbours the housing prices will increase because of us. Once the thing is up, the more we are in bed with the development, more people will stand up for us" (Key-informant Clark (2)).

From this quotation I will argue that although the Camley Park surely is, and will stay, a non-profit organisation, they're definitely not 'anti-capital' in any way. Although they are not a part of the class conflicts that are going on in King's Cross, two aspects are interesting. First, being the nearest neighbour of Europe's larges inner-city development gives them no choice but to somehow consider their relation to the out-there-world. Second, they want to involve themselves to a higher degree in the capital accumulation on the site, which theoretically in different ways are linked with class conflict. So what will the future of the Camley Park look like?

Capital must always chase new ways, means and places to gain surplus. The geographical aspects of this 'constant expansion' have been developed in Harvey's theories about 'spatial fix' (Harvey 1999). To avoid crisis and to gain surplus, and in Marx' term to avoid the 'falling tendency of the profit rate' (see Shaikh 1983; Harvey 1999), capital must find surplus in new spheres or places. My findings of class conflicts in spheres that one usually not think of as contested in relation to class, such as conservation, privatisation of streets and within the concept of 'flexibility', might tell us that the possibilities for capital to expand are comprehensive. The future of the park, *if* it should decide to 'open up' for business, will be sweet music in the ears of the capital. These kinds of spheres, which so far has not been included into the capital accumulation, and therefore not class issues, are elements in understanding how everything is attempted accumulated through 'accumulation by dispossession'. One interesting part concerning the Park, is that the Park themselves seem happy about being dragged into the sphere of accumulation. A further study on this should therefore include Gramsci's notion of *hegemony*.

7.6   Class, fetishism and the 'community'

Although I have argued in this chapter that there exist highly contested class conflicts in the King's Cross Development, these 'class issues' are never *articulated* as 'class issues'. Cally Rail Group presents themselves as an "unfunded community group formed nearly twelve years ago"(Cally Rail Group 2006:8). KXRLG presents themselves as a "local group made up of community groups and individuals living and working in Camden and Islington" (KXRLG 2006, Spring:12). Also the King's Cross Business Forum argues that the Forum "aims to draw the local business community

together acting as a voice for business through our activities" (Camden 2006a:21). Argent argues that "KXC [King's Cross Central] will deliver benefits to existing local communities" (Argent St. George 2001b:23). And LB of Camden argues that the King's Cross Development Forum is "run by the Kings Cross Team on behalf of the local communities".[49] The King's Cross Team is Camden's working-team in the King's Cross Development.

From a point of 'criticism of the sources', it's worth mentioning that these five quotations are written and published by those who are quoted. Because the aim with the quotes is to show how they want to be presented, this gives the quotes higher credibility. As I read these quotations and the documents they are extracted from, I will argue that these groups all attempt and wants to represents the 'community' and the 'local', in some way or the other. The goes obviously also with LB of Camden in general, which democratic legitimacy is rooted in their representatives for the locals. Madelin also argues (with a touch of self-reflexivity?) in *Cross Section* that "it would be almost a cliché to say that helping the surrounding areas is a satisfying idea" (Cross Section 2006b:29)

These findings in King's Cross correspond with Jones and Wards (2002) who argue that the new urban planning policy is emphasizing the notions of 'neighbourhood' and 'community' (see chapter 4). Jones and Wards (ibid.) also argue that this might have resulted in an individualisation and atomisation of policies. The emphasizing of the 'community' (and not e.g. class) by the different groups has made it more difficult to see (other) underlying structures. If writing in the tradition of discourse analysis, I would say it's reasonable to argue that the 'community' can be seen as a *structuring discourse* in King's Cross. Within my own tradition, I will argue that the 'community' attaches fetishism on the underlying structures, like class, in King's Cross.

This is also interesting in relation to the state, which on one side is a representative democracy (for everyone) and on the other creating a good business climate (for capital). The contemporary British state is more than anyone contributing to the 'community-fetishism'. In May 2006 the Secretary of State established the *Communities and Local Government*. The official English policy is to "help people and local agencies create cohesive, attractive and economically vibrant communities".[50] The notion of 'community' creates a spatial fetishism where also social change happens through consciousness about ones place, not ones class. With Thatcher there was 'no society'. With Blair there is a lot of 'community'. They both disguise class relations.

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[49] From, http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/contacts/council-contacts/environment/contact-kings-cross-development-forum.en, (on 05.05.2007)

50 From: http://www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1139865, (at 25.04.2007)

7.7 Conclusions

In this chapter I have looked at how the processes of capital accumulation have led to class conflicts. I have found class conflicts in such different fields as the amount of offices, the privatization of the streets, the relation to 'flexibility', the 'noise' during the building process and conservation of old houses. These issues mentioned are highly different issues, and I have found this important: This diversity shows how Harvey's 'extended notion of production (Harvey 1985; see also chapter 3 in this thesis), can help us understand *classes* within a broad framework. The actual world is a messy reality which is to complex for any theory to grasp. We create theories to grasp parts of it. The class conflicts in King's Cross does happen on different 'levels', and Katznelson's four layers of class is a useful tool when trying to grasp the class conflicts in King's Cross. The observation of actual conflicts have helped and guided me in finding underlying class conflicts in King's Cross. I have found class conflicts in how people *experience* processes and the development, i.e. the noise and the relation to 'flexibility'. I have found class conflicts within the *social existence*, i.e. the people in King's Cross are often not from those kids of classes which get well paid office-jobs. The class conflicts have been transformed into *collective action*, though often under the label 'community'. From these findings, it's possible to abstract and make new / transform old theories in a *theoretical* and *structural* level. These examples also open for a bi-polar conflict-situation between the accumulators and the non-accumulators, which has been theorized by Lefebvre, Smith and others (see chapter 3.2.3).

Upon (or in addition to) this bi-polar distinction, there are also conflicts between actors or fractions of the (more or less) 'same' classes. I found that this goes in King's Cross within the local capital, the dominant and the dominated classes. None of these conflicts are, however, (in contrast to the antagonisms, as I will show later) threatening the whole process. From a Marxist position it's arguable that value is created in production (i.e. exploitation), but realized through circulation (might be: intra-class competition). I will argue for the importance of understanding all of these processes, in a broader understanding of our contemporary capitalism. Class relations are processes and not a constant condition.

In Table 7.1 below, I have extended the matrix in Table 6.1 from page 71, also to include class relations. I am drawing upon Merrifield's (1993) distinction between fixed (place) and circulating (space) capital (see chapter 3.1.1) to extend the matrix to include the class interests in both the built environment and in a broader sense. In this matrix I am looking at both the dominated and the dominant classes. Earlier in this thesis I delimited Katznelson's layers of class to only relate to the dominated classes (see chapter 7.1). To maintain the complexity of both interclass and intra-class

conflicts within the matrix, I will not include the layers of class explicitly in this Figure. But the process of articulating this matrix at all would be difficulty without the clearing effect of the layers.

Agent	Function	Class interest in Built Environment. Fixed capital – place	Class interest in general. Circulating capital – space
Argent	Developer + becoming landlord	Long-term capital investment. As developer they hire construction capital and architects.	Owned by BTPS's pension fund = defend private sector workers pensions through capitalist capital accumulation.
Exel	Landlords	Short-term capital investment. Extract land-rent. In KX only as speculator.	Capitalist company who provides international shipping and logistic of documents and freight.
LCR	Landlords	Short-term capital investment. Extract land-rent. Also external effect as owners of nearby property.	Consortium – established to build the CTRL, earn money and sell everything off. Must through a 'secret deal' also share some profit with the State.
KXRLG	Community Group	'Use-value' – in Lefebvre's term. Articulates a position of the dominated classes. With Harvey: 'consumption, personal reproduction and maybe expand'.	Non-accumulators, i.e. 'labour'.
KXCAAC	Promote conservation of historical buildings	'Use-value' in Lefebvre's term. Their interests contrast the accumulators.	None
KXBF	LB of Camden organised 'Business Coordinator'	Local capital. Built environment is a place to sell their products.	Capital in general. Also gaining from 'trickle down effect'.
Camley Street Natural Park	Community Project	'Use-value' – in Lefebvre's term.	Non-profit. But being dragged into general capital accumulation?

Table 7.1: Agents, functions and class interests in the King's Cross Development.

Chapter 8: Planning - antagonism vs. consensus

The contemporary emphasis on communicative and participatory parts of planning has implications also in the planning process for the King's Cross Development. In addition to the 'official' participatory process, managed by LB of Camden, there have also been several rounds of consultation, surveys and participation, from the LB's of Camden and Islington, academics, local residents, King's Cross Business Forum[51] and groups and Argent.

In this chapter I will answer the second research question in this thesis,

> How is the planning process functioning in the King's Cross Development and how is a process like class influencing the planning process?

I will start this chapter by shortly outlining the role of the state in the King's Cross Development. Then I will look at the consultation processes conducted by Argent and Camden, before the focus is directed towards the collaborative planning process conducted by LB of Camden. My findings in chapter 7 provide a basis for these discussions.

8.1 The state

The impact of the state upon this development comes in different places, at different scales and in different forms. When looking at the state in planning process in King's Cross, it's easy to be blinded by the planning process of the local government. But also at a national and a metropolitan scale does the state influences the development at King's Cross. To understand the relative autonomy of the state, to grasp its function as an organiser for capital and as an independent body, it's important to look at all the three scales.

The national scale is where the whole process is created. The deal between LCR and the British state is what concretely created the condition that the surplus from the King's Cross Development shall pay for the Channel Tunnel Rail Link. This is the role of the neoliberal capitalist state per se: As a creator of good business climate within the rules of the free market. The market is free in the sense that the construction project was out for public tender. As argued in earlier chapters, the national scale has also introduced collaborative and communicative aspects at lower scales (see ODPM 2004, and chapter 4 in this thesis).

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[51] See for instance *Business Camden,* Issue 3, July 04, found on http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/business/in-business-in-camden/kings-cross-business-forum/file-storage/kings-cross-business-forum-%28kxbf%29-newsletters-issue-4.en (12.04.06)

At the metropolitan level, the city of London has chosen to attract financial capital as their strategy for the future (London Plan 2004). But also regulations concerning amount of (social) housing is policy at the London level. When it comes to the amount of offices in King's Cross, it's arguable that policy on the national scale has forced the development to chase surplus, and that policy on the metropolitan scale has made this into offices. This argument is not to say that the developers would *not* chase for surplus if they weren't 'forced' by the state, it's rather a way of explaining the dialectics within the state in this particular case.

Within the relative autonomy of the state, the policy of Camden is partly determined by the National and metropolitan state, partly by the economy and partly chosen by themselves. The creation of King's Cross Development Forum and King's Cross Business Forum, for instance, are examples where the local Borough tries to be an active partner in the community. In the following I will turn the spotlight back on the King's Cross Development. But it's important in the following when I am looking at the collaborative processes that have taken place, not to forget the premises that are already outlined.

8.2   Consultations

The failure of the attempt to develop the site in the late 80's and early 90's is stamped in the memory of several of the contemporary actors. In 2000, just weeks after Argent was appointed to be the developers of the area, Roger Madelin argues in the local Magazine *Business Matters,* that

> "we intend to do a lot of listening over the next few months. We are determined not to make the mistakes
> of our predecessors on this who ran into confrontation and ended up doing nothing" (King's Cross
> Partnership 2000, summer:1).

The 'predecessors' are the developers from the late 80's. Although also they in the start "undertook extensive consultation and surveys of local public opinion to reinforce their position as the planners of the site" (Newman and Thornley 1996:140), this did not become their posthumous reputation. The participation from Argent was early observed also from the KXRLG. In July 2001, it's written in KXRLG's magazine *NetWork* that:

> "many developers only show their plans to local communities when they've taken the big decisions from
> on high. Older readers may even remember the 1987 Norman Foster plans which came literally from on
> high after Sir Norm buzzed over us in his helicopter one day, made some scribbles on a map and left us
> well and truly "told" what we are getting. Like more than one "grand scheme" for our area, that one got
> left on the drawing board…. Argent St Georges, by contrast, have already met a number of local activists

and community organisations in both Camden and Islington, including members of the KXRLG, and give every appearance of listening to our concerns" (KXRLG 2001, July:4).

To make sure they would 'not make the mistakes, and run into confrontation', Argent soon began the process of conducting their own consultation process. Madelin argues that "since 1999 there have been 9 different stages of consultation by Argent and the local authorities on what should become of King's Cross Central".[52] In this quotation Madelin does not distinguish between Argent's consultations and Camden's. There are however great differences in how Argent and Camden have conducted consultation, reflecting their different positions and interests in the process.

Argent process of consultation, started in 2001 with publishing "*Principles for a Human City*" (Argent St. George 2001a), where they proposed ten "principles". This was "prepared for public consultation and to inform our discussions with a range of organisations …".[53] Later the same year this was followed by a second consultation document called "*Parameters for Regeneration*" (Argent St. George 2001b). Here they proceed from 'principles' to 'parameters', and it has the character of an information document about the KX Central in general. Argent's third consultation document was "*A Framework for Regeneration*" (Argent St George 2002). This one included pages which could be pulled out, written on and sent to Argent in response. And in 2003 came their "*Framework Findings*" (Argent St George 2003), where it's argued that: "These 'Framework Findings' reveal that, on the whole, people are very supportive of the Framework proposals and ideas".[54]

It is interesting to see both how a private development company is running a consultation process themselves, and also that Argent concluded that the people were very supportive of Argent's proposals and ideas. This was the needs offices and 'security' (see Argent St George 2003). Kjeldstadli argues that the first step of method one shall take when analysing a text, is always to ask; who is the author? (Kjeldstadli 1997) The question is important in this context, because it is Argent, the developer, who runs the consultation process. From the point of 'criticism of the source', it's therefore important to question the nature of Argent's "Framework Findings".

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[52] Roger Madelin quoted on http://www.argentkingscross.com/live/revised_applications/press_release.htm. (05.04.2007)

[53] www.argentkingscross.co.uk/frame.html, (at 23.03.2007)

[54] From http://www.argentkingscross.co.uk/frame.html (at 12.04.2007)

Another question Kjeldstadli (1997) argues one should ask, is what is the aim of producing the text? This is truly a harder question that the one above. Why did Argent carry out this consultation process? There might be different reasons; i) they *do* actually want to build what local people need, (at least as long as it's not reducing their profit), ii) as Gunder (2003) argues has been the case in Australia; participation and consultation are seen as a technology through which the developer can gather information, so they can tactically consider who to ally with and who to exclude. Or iii) as Newman & Thornley (1996) indicates; it is a strategic process of 'legitimatisation'; in contrast to the Sir Norman Foster's reputation from the late 80's, they use consultations and surveys of local public opinion for their own benefit and to strengthen their own reputation and position. I find it hard (if not impossible) to say which of the three reasons above is the reason for Argent's consultations. But most likely all three are used more or less directly.

Mace (Key-informant (5) argues that it's clever by Argent to meet at small community meetings. Then Argent also understands who's important and who's not. I will also add; then they might also understand who to worry about, and how to handle that.

The LB of Camden has also conducted some consultation processes. The largest one was conducted over 16 weeks during the summer of 2004. The results were presented in 2005 (Camden 2005). The consultation was managed in jointly with Islington Council. Just over 260 responses were received, including comments from individual residents, community groups and larger organisations such as English Heritage and the Greater London Authority and others. All of the responses have been recorded, and in some cases, summarised.[55] Some of these findings are incorporated into the analysis in chapter 7.

In 2000 Madelin said they should do a lot of listening and not make the mistake of the predecessors who ended up running into confrontation (see above). Six years later, Madelin's whistle has another tune. In my interview with him I asked what had been the 'biggest low' so far in the process: "Biggest Low? That's the plan process. … The whole scheme has required some million pounds and some years to get the plan through the democratic process" (Key-informant Madelin (6)). In an interview with *Cross Section* Madelin confirms his argument and says that he don't "believe that local democracy has been diluted to an extent that it doesn't work particularly well" (Cross Section 2006b:29). I understand these two quotations from Madelin as if he is surely disappointed and

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[55] http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/environment/planning-and-built-environment/major-developments-in-camden/kings-cross/future-development/what-next-for-kings-cross---kings-cross-central-planning-applications.en?page=5 (on 12.04.2007)

expresses desperation over the planning process. Argent's own consultation process has not caused any problems, but getting it through the 'official' process has been the 'biggest low' so far.

As argued in chapter 7, my main method of analysing is to look at the articulated policies and actions from different persons and groups. Therefore the findings from the consultation processes will be downplayed (although some are incorporated into chapter 7). In the following I will look at Camden's collaborative planning, by examine their most obvious attempt for such a planning; the King's Cross Development Forum.

8.3   King's Cross Development Forum

The *amount* of profit that Argent and the other owners get might be debated, but the fact that there must be *some* profit is an assumption that might easily be 'taken for granted'. This assumption is very important for this thesis. But what is the dialectic between the need for capital accumulation and the 'consensus' on collaborative planning theory and practice? In chapter 3 I argued on a theoretical level that there is a theoretical contradiction between a contemporary capitalist society that is based on antagonisms (such as class) and a contemporary planning ideal based on consensus and collaboration. In practice, however, an apparently consensus might be reached across classes (e.g. based on some notion of 'communities'), and non-antagonism conflicts might destroy the consensus. In the following I will examine the communicative approach in King's Cross and its antagonisms and consensuses. As indicated in chapter 3 it's not always easy to operationalise the 'communicative approach', but there are processes in Camden which (at least) are *influenced* by this approach. The King's Cross Development Forum is the most pronounced of these, and I will therefore focus on this Forum in the following.

The King's Cross Development Forum has been set up so the community groups can join in and 'shape their future' (see chapter 6), and the Camden officer Robert West said in a meeting 28.09.2006.

> "So far the Forum has remained a constant presence throughout the process, has developed planning and other interests and knowledge, and is an interesting arena for consultation and a range of local communities available for discussion" (Camden's King's Cross Team's Meeting Notes).

He also argues in the interview that there is power in the Forum for two reasons, "a) Because it exists, and b) it is not just the campaign groups, but a wide range of people" (Key-informant West (12)).

On the 2 of November 2006, there was a meeting in King's Cross Development Forum in which I was a student observer. The meeting included 12 'locals', two officers from Camden and one from Islington, and me. The theoretical legitimating for participatory processes like this, is dialog and aiming at consensus (Fainstein 2000; Yiftachel and Huxley 2000; Gunder 2003). Also Camden wrote in 2004 on how the community involvement in relation to the King's Cross Development should be carried through: "Consultation will be two-way, with all stakeholders both talking and listening" (Camden and Islington 2004, January:9). I would argue that I observed a meeting which had a rather different form. I will also argue that Camden's notes from the meeting (Camden's King's Cross Team's Meeting Notes 02.11.06) are in accordance with the way I perceived the meeting. While questions were asked by the Forums' members, the officers responded and 'explained' how reality was. Examples given: one question was a request for a simplified version of the Section 106 agreement, the answer was 'No, everything in it is needed'. One question was asked whether it was possible to create more space in the King's Cross Central for youth, and the answer was that there are space they can use, and this could be discussed further later in the process. Another question was how local people can use the University of Arts, while the answer was that the 'the reality of higher education should be accepted', (personal notes from the meeting). This 'reality of higher education' includes that schools are privately run/owned, and affirmative action to favor the dominated classes or 'locals' is not possible. The question of higher education was for instance not defined as 'planning matters', and therefore no need discussion. Being able to define the agenda is surly a powerful position. One member of the Forum asked whether the developer could contribute to a new secondary school:

> "RW [Robert West, officer from Camden] - explained that … there is no planning reason why Argent should pay for a whole new secondary school. A member expressed that there is no reason why the developer could not contribute to a solution" (Camden's King's Cross Team's Meeting Notes).

The quotations reveal some of the tension in the process. The members of the Forum want more, while the officers tell them how 'reality' is. Based on my observation of the meeting I will argue that; officers status *as* officers were dominating, and it is hard to understand that the *form* of this meeting is derived from 'communicative rationality' (see Habermas 1993). Without necessarily blaming Habermas (see chapter 3), the least I can say is that this meeting was not in accordance with the ideal of the 'unforced force of the better argument'. In chapter 3, it was argued for the importance for the planners (in collaborative planning) to ask the right questions, rather than to find the answers (see Amdam and Veggeland 1998). The meeting in the King's Cross Development Forum was the other way around. I found Fainstein's words appropriate; "the power of the word depends upon the power of the speakers" (Fainstein 2000:457). This is also related to the concept of

'performative utterances', which for Bourdieu is inseparable from the existence of an institution (Bourdieu 1991). The particular social relation between the officer's role (which equals an 'institution' in Bourdieu's terms) and the others, endows the officer with power.

Edwards, from KXRLG and KX Development Forum, argues that, "today, there is a lot participation on paper, so we have participated in 20 years, but they don't have to listen. They just have to show us that they have read what we wrote" (Key-informant Edwards (3)). A similar argument is made by Lisa Tang, who argues that there is some power in the King's Cross Development Forum (Key-informant Tang (11)), for example will all planning applications (for each building) be consulted upon. But she adds later in the interview that "when it comes to power, it's Camden and Roger Madelin that counts" (Key-informant Tang (11)). Edwards also later argued that,

> "communication is always important to any open democracy but on its own, or as a principle for
> planning it is JUST process and ignores the power issues in the status quo and in the outcomes. .... But
> they win and we loose because of the distribution of power" (Personal communication 19.02.2007,
> Edwards).

After produced data about the issue, by reading written material, conducting interviews and making observations I will like to argue that the Development Forum is to a large degree made up of groups of people who want something that they cannot get. I would argue that this is partly because of the size of the development, and partly because too many premises have already been established, like the fact that the development shall pay for building the railway, which is delimiting what can be talked about.

As the quotations above indicate, there are people who use all the channels that are open for them, who participate and communicate, but get little in return. When it comes 'down to power' it seems like the role of the communicative approach in planning is set in the shadow. As Tang argues above, the Development Forum has the right to consolidate all the building-application that Argent would apply for. But there is a difference between consultation and power. And there is a difference between Argent's and Camden's approach to engaging other people. Argent argued above, that they have conducted 'public consultations'. Camden on the other hand aims at collaborative planning, but also the 'communicative approach' seems like ending in noting more than a 'formal consultation'.

When it comes "down to it", there are no alternatives but developments that serve the shareholders. The KXRLG have never argued that there should be *no* profit for the developers. In the 80's/early

90's they even produced documents and plans (KXRLG 1989; King's Cross Team 1990) which argued for other types of developments that also included profit for the developers. However, they have also always argued for a development, with e.g. less offices and more social housing, which all in all would be *less* profitable for the developers. This is where the actual articulated class conflict and actions in King's Cross, layer four with Katznelson, stands: These are the observational class conflicts. In terms of 'negotiation' it's arguable that the demands and needs from Argent is not anywhere near the demands and needs from the KXRLG and other groups. In terms of class, it's arguable that their interests are antagonistic. I think this is an important reason why there has been a friction between the participatory process and the actual power that have existed in participation in King's Cross.

8.4   KX Development Forum vs. Business Forum

It was also asked at the meeting in King's Cross Development Forum 28.09.2006 for a phone number to be published on the website so that relevant and local persons and local capital might get in contact with each other, so locals might get the jobs. West from the Camden office then explained that there "may be a slight misconception", as this is already done under the KX Business Forum, but "not communicated very well" to the Forum (Camden's King's Cross Team's Meeting Notes). In my interview with West some months later, he said:

> "The Business Forum is led by a creative Art sector in the KX area. There is money from the LDA [London Development Agency] to promote local business and employment. The Business Forum has two clear objections. First, to make sure new people and new firms buy from local firms. And second, that local people should employ local people" (Key-informant West 12)).

The way I read this quotation, is that the Business Forum has a specific position within local ('community') capital. This must obviously be at the sacrifice of people and capital from other places. The fact that this position also is prioritised by both the LB of Camden and London Development Agency (LDA) must be seen together with, and as a strengthening of, my argument in chapter 7 that the 'community' is a fetishism that covers King's Cross.

The Business Forum has to a larger degree than Development Forum an own agenda. West also says this; "One can like the business forum or not, but its objectives are clear." (Key-informant West (12)) As I see it, the Business Forum's position is also a *function* within the economic system, while the King's Cross Development Forum has no such function. Both the Business Forum's (mainly local capital) and the Development Forum's (mainly people and groups from dominated classes) relation to the 'community' are dependent upon class. But the dependencies are upon

different classes. It's reasonable to argue that the intra-class relation between fractions of capital is more suited for 'communication' and 'collaboration', than what class relations grounded on antagonisms are.

These findings are also interesting when remembering Harvey's claim that the main role of the neoliberal state is to maintain a good business climate for capital (see chapter 4). I would argue that this is the case, both on London level (see chapter 7, regarding London Plan and financial capital) and at King's Cross. In King's Cross this good business climate is perhaps articulated through KX Business Forum? The relative autonomy of the state is perhaps viewable in the King's Cross Development as the difference between the Development Forum and the Business Forum. And within a neoliberal regime (specially with Thatcher, but to a large degree also with Blair) where 'trickling down' echoes amen, I will argue that the class position of the Business Forum gives them a function and actually something to do, whereas the Development Forum is only someone to talk with/to.

8.5   Planning - antagonism or consensus?

The participatory process with the Forum is supporting Poulantzas' reflections upon the state: The relations inside the state, for instance the relations within and between Camden and the Development Forum, are not considered *political*, but rather as different interests of 'private individuals' (Poulantzas 1975). Also the involvement of the local population in King's Cross is always considered as involvement of local individuals. In my interview with Madelin, he said that,

> "we must work hard to protect our objectives from a tiny minority of obsessed people. They're compulsive and have a disorder syndrome. They don't like the private sector, or the public sector. They don't like the establishment and cooperates. There is a dozen, bright people who frustrate us" (Key-informant Madelin (6)).

In this quotation, as in the theories of Poulantzas above, the local population is surely reduced to 'individuals'. In Madelin's view the 'tiny minority of obsessed people', is the problem. This is surely one way of looking at KXRLG, and based on my observations I will argue that there seems to be a dozen people who 'bear the brunt'. But another way of looking at KXRLG is as a well organised political body which has been there for 20 years, who have organised hundreds of members and contains a lot expertise. The fact that the developer, Argent represented here by Roger Madelin, has such a view on the 'others participants' in the collaborative planning process has of course consequences how collaborative planning might function in practice. I understand Madelin's

frustrations: KXRLG and other groups, as argued above, do use their chances to participate. For them this is politics, where for Madelin it is misuse of time and resources.

The King's Cross example is a materialisation of the conflict between the theory of 'consensus' and a reality of antagonism. I think there are mainly two reasons for that. *First*, there exists latent class conflicts, and several articulated conflicts are very often touching a crucial point; the amount of profit for the Argent, LCR and Exel. These conflicts are found at Katznelson's second (social existence) and third (experience) layer. And *second*, we are all individuals, quite a few 'local individuals' around King's Cross are highly political conscious and work through organisations. With other words; their social existence and experiences are transformed into political and collective action, at Katznelson's fourth layer. In this way they articulate their wants and needs in a way that disturbs the process of collaboration and make the aim of 'consensus' hard to reach. The complex web of class conflicts is influencing and disturbing the planning process.

Laclau and Mouffe argue that any form of consensus in capitalism "is the result of a hegemonic articulation" (2001:xviii). In King's Cross there are examples of 'consensus', as in for instance that a 'capitalist something' should be built on the site. But what about constructing a huge and great public park in King's Cross Central? Or perhaps *expanding* the Camley Street Natural Park? Or constructing a place, in our environmentally-conscious time, for recycling, reuse of commodities and urban-ecological sustainability? Or perhaps a small-scale eco-village? Throughout this thesis I have shown a dozen of examples and reasons why these suggestions are 'impossible'. But, as I hope I have also shown throughout the thesis, and to paraphrase Laclau and Mouffe, also this impossibility is a result of 'hegemonic articulation'.

KXRLG rejects the hegemonic consensus of what is to be developed at the site, and this has led to conflicts. These conflicts are however articulated within the agreed procedures. For the KXRLG to articulate conflict and challenge the hegemony at one level (on what is being built), they have no choice but to accept (consciously or unconsciously) two other hegemonic positions; i) that the development will provide profit for the landowners, and ii) the procedures of collaborative planning and local democracy. If KXRLG rejected these two hegemonic positions as well, they would most likely be out-defined and left with no influence at all.

8.6   Conclusion

Understanding class relations and the role of planning in King's Cross is a complex affair. When trying to conclude, I will try to draw some general lines which could serve as a conclusion in itself and as a starting point for further studies.

The local people have also witnessed some victories. This goes in especially in relation to the rejection of 24-hour working days and in getting a 'mitigation package' because of noise. But these examples are drops in the ocean. In chapter 7 I argued that the motive for profit is important in the development. And in a £2bn development, the profit might become huge. I argued in the start of chapter 8, that the state has played an important role in the creation of King's Cross, especially by establishing several premises and creating the framework. The people involved in the collaborative planning process want something other than what the economy and the state are demanding. To believe that the articulated arguments from the dominated classes would win such a battle within collaborative planning is naïve. Having said that, being naïve might sometimes be important. Sometimes David defeat Goliath.

In short; one reason why agreements (and at least not 'consensuses') has not been reached, is because i) there are class conflicts at the site, and ii) there are people/organisations that articulates the different interests. The planning's aim of consensus has been subdued by the antagonistic relations in the economy.

My conclusions were found by looking at the dialectics between the state (planning) and the economy (class) in an urban context (King's Cross). To grasp these conflicting processes I needed to use my data, produced by different methods, and reflected on them using my theories. When doing this, it became possible to see the underlying structures, and to conclude that the aim of planning (consensus) in the King's Cross Development did actually not fuse with the existence of class (antagonism).

Bill Risebero is critical to contemporary 'consultation', and argues that:

> "Public consultation is a rubber stamping exercise. It's not supposed to throw up something new…
> Today, it's not "what do you want?", but it's "this is what we give you". Public consultation is a PR-
> exercise. The private sector is trying to say, hoping you don't dislike this, and afterwards they can say
> that they were through a public consultation. Today the developers look at public consultation cynically
> as ammunition for their own idea" (Key-informant Risebero (8)).

This quotation says something explicitly about private developers, and indirectly about the state and also the relationship between the economy and the state. I read the quotation as a description of a contemporary situation where the private sector is surely in the driver's seat. I have not produced enough data to say whether this description is true in the general nature of urban developments in contemporary England. But in relation to King's Cross, the statement is relevant.

Harvey argues there is a gap between rhetoric and realization in neoliberalism; that there is a "potentiality for a burgeoning disparity between the declared public aim of neo-liberalism – the well-being of all – and its actual consequences – the restoration of class power" (Harvey 2006:29). I think something similar can be said about the King's Cross Development. Within the dialectical relation between planning and class relations; there is a potentiality for a disparity between the aim of collaborative planning – inclusion and participation – and the actual outcome – capital strengthens the domination over the dominated classes, over the planning system and over the city.

Chapter 9: Towards a radical planning - and other concluding remarks

When this thesis is submitted, Argent's outline planning application has been granted, but KXRLG has 'appealed' by taking the case to court where they argue that the process has not be done in right manner. In the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* Marx says that all great events and characters seems to occur twice, "the first time as tragedy, the second as farce" (Marx 1973b:146). Roger Madelin argued in 2000 that he would not make the same mistake as the developers in the late 80's, which ended in conflicts with community groups and developed nothing. Whether the history repeats itself as a farce is yet to be seen.

In this chapter I will first comment and evaluate my theories and methods (chapter 9.1), before outlining some thoughts about possible 'future studies' (9.2). I will end the thesis with an attempt to establish some steps that it is possible to take if a more radical approach to planning is desired (9.3).

9.1   Evaluation of my theories and methods

The Marxist approach has been valuable in relation to how capital is accumulating. I will argue that the materialistic approach also gives a platform, from where it's possible to understand the state and the nature of planning. It has forced me to see beyond the surface and enabled me to uncover fetishism and the underlying structures of capitalism.

I find the methodology of dialectics particularly valuable for this thesis. Although the notion of 'dialectics' has not explicitly pervaded my analytical chapters, the general approach have been very important for the thesis. I have however been worried that Ollman's specific version of dialectic, as a 'way of thinking about interaction and movement', would turn the research into a mess. I don't think this has happened, and hopefully the reader will agree on that. When neither the urban nor planning should be studied as self-determinative subjects, then the open dialectic from Ollman has been valuable, in grasping the constant relational influences on planning, especially with the state and the economy. This goes especially in the critique of collaborative planning, where the open dialectic from Ollman enabled me to see missing parts of the bigger picture. The problems I found with collaborative planning was not found within the planning system, but through a dialectic approach I found (at least one of) the reasons within the economy (i.e. class). Ollman's dialectics have also made it possible for me to see connections between 'not-connected' spheres like the 'state' and the 'urban'.

In my production of data, I have used different kinds of methods. The analysis is *primarily* based upon interviews and textual analysis, but also observations became important. Not being restricted to either (nor observation, nor quantitative counting) has been of great value. Although my emphasis has been placed upon the articulated policies of local groups, I have also seen on the findings in Camden's consultation process from 2004. I would also argue that this way of approaching the fields of method suites very well with the openness that exists in other parts of Ollman's and Harvey's Marxism.

I am surprisingly satisfied with the bi-polar operationalisation in "classes as antagonism in space" (see chapter 3 and 7), as different Marxists have done. But I am not content with any operationalisation of those classes which are not accumulating capital. I find Harvey and others very good in understanding how capital and capital accumulation operate in the built environment. But 'labour'/'the others'/'non-accumulators'/'dominated classes' is harder to grasp the content of. This difficulty of generalisation is perhaps related to the extreme complexity of reality. Perhaps Edwards, MacDonald et al (1992) are correct and there is no single 'citizen perspective'. Abstracting is always difficult, and theorising is always related to simplifying. Theories are always "incorrect" in the sense that there are exceptions. This goes in Marx' time and it goes today. However, as I also argued for in the start of this thesis and as I hope this thesis have shown; Theories are important. Class relations do exist, but their final placement and 'once and for all' definition, cannot occur. This is partly because of the continuously changing circumstances and partly because of the complex nature of class. Having said that, Katznelson's 'layers' were very fruitful. The distinction between the four layers has made reality a bit less messy for me and hopefully also for the reader.

I have also experienced spheres where my theories on capital accumulations and class were not sufficient to understand/explain issues. This goes e.g. with the non-English speaking 'housewives' which was positive to offices around King's Cross (see chapter 7). Neither has my thesis focused on the 'hard-to-get' in the planning process; this is people who are not reached by planners in collaborative planning. This is partly a matter of delimiting my thesis (see chapter 5), and also partly a matter of what methods and theories I have chosen. Partly it also goes for the Camley Street Natural Park (also chapter 7), but the future of the Park is here an interesting issue. I don't think these two different examples weaken the theory on capital accumulation, but rather show that everything can not be explained/or reduced to the theoretical approach used in this thesis.

9.2   Towards future studies

There are several future studies that would be interesting to conduct in the continuation of this thesis. Theoretically it would be interesting to go deeper into the roles and positions of the non-accumulaters, and trying to construct a framework to understand dominated classes in the city. The attempt by Hart and Negri (2000) and their establishing of the concept 'multitude' is interesting, but not sufficient. As mentioned above, I found Katznelson's layers of class useful, and they might serve as the starting point when trying in future studies to better conceptualise those classes who in general not accumulates capital.

Also within the subject of planning, there are future studies that need to be done. How are the theories of Habermas interpreted into the discourse of planning? Is there some fundamental in Habermas' theoretical work that creates the problems with collaborative planning I have found in this thesis? Or are the problems related to a defected reading of Habermas?

Concerning King's Cross, there are specially two subjects that would be interesting, except seeing the future of the development in general. The first is to include a group of people I have totally excluded from this thesis, which are the elected Councillors. What is their position, and how have they (not) influenced the process? The second is the future of the Camley Street Natural Park. Fifteen years from now, is it a non-profit green space for animals and plants in the middle of financial London or an integrated part of the commercial site? Or both? It would also be interesting to investigate both theoretically and empirically (and to keep up with the development of) the land value, generally in Western cities and especially in King's Cross.

By researching King's Cross, I have learned a whole lot. But, as argued in chapter 5, what we can extract from one case study will always be limited. I think the most interesting for future research would be to compare the King's Cross Development with other urban developments. In Oslo there is for example a large-scale inner city development at *Bjørvika*. What is similar and what is different here to King's Cross? And why? By comparing a Norwegian and a British development it would be possible also to research the (importance of the) distinct role of the two countries capital, class issues, states and cities.

9.3   Towards radical planning

In chapter 2 Peet argued that "a critically oriented theoretical knowledge ... not only explains, but interrogates the existing social order. It explores … ways society can be changed" (Peet 1998:85).

To keep an inner context in the thesis I will therefore end this thesis with an attempt to establish *three steps* in planning that is possible to take if a radical policy is desired.

In chapter 2 I argued that Marxists often have accused positivist thinking for not seeing and acknowledging underlying structures. I second Yiftachel and Huxley (2000) when they accuse the theoreticians of collaborative planning for the same. Healey argues that "In the 1990's … new collaborative approaches to place making are being developed in both the discourse of international planning theory, and in the evolution of practices" (Healey 1998:14). So there is dialectic between theory and practices, and that is fine. This is also the case in King's Cross: there is a relation between planning theory (chapter 3), English contemporary planning practice (chapters 4 & 6) and the collaborative process in King's Cross (chapter 8). But where are the economy and the state and other (underlying-) structures that have huge implications on what and how it's planned? I will argue that the planning discourses have no choice but to relate to this reality. And as I argued in the case from King's Cross, these underlying structures are part of reality, like it or not. The collaborative planning is derived from an ideal. No matter how well-intended and well-articulated the ideal is, the reality will haunt it down. Planning must be seen dialectically. This thesis has shown that especially the dialectics between the economy, the state and planning theory might be important if we want a coherent planning practice.

There are class conflicts in King's Cross, and probably other antagonisms as well which this thesis does not involve. Some of these conflicts, like class, cannot be "talked away". There is a sharp distinction between a neoliberal approach, where 'trickle down' will redistribute the wealth (Parkinson 1990) and a radical approach. I will argue within the latter tradition, that conflicts like class is a matter of power distribution, and that various relations between classes is a question of power. What is needed is not more 'communication among everyone' that blurs power-relations, but rather a sober understanding on how capitalism functions and a planning practice that is coherent with that. To grasp the capitalism we therefore need, like I have done in the two previous chapters, to go beneath the fetish surface.

In chapter 2 I argued that there have been positive aspects with the deconstructive role of post-modernism, but near the end of the chapter I quoted Harvey; saying that it is now time to reconnect. In the following I will like to suggest (construct) some steps towards 'radical planning' that I think are interesting. The term 'radical' is hard to define, but the least I can say is that *I think* it would be in the interest of the dominated classes to have these three steps as an approach.

In chapter 3 Gunder argued against the 'communicative turn' in planning. I second Gunder in much of his critiques, especially that the avoidance of conflict and desire for harmony is a fantasy (Gunder 2003). But Gunder's post-structuralist project is different than this thesis' project. In the conclusions in chapter 7 I argued that conflicts and antagonisms were inherent in the urban capitalism development in King's Cross. Based no my theoretical framework and my findings in King's Cross it's arguable that the interests of labour stand against the ones of capital. However, I do not second post-structuralists, like Gunder, and also Laclau and Mouffe (2001), when they're emphasising and indicating that the antagonisms will *always* exist.

Gunder argues that the aim should be to plan "for the joy of the Others' desire" (Gunder 2003:308). I will for the sake of the argument make an oversimplification and look at the consequences for this suggestion in relation to class. Does Gunder a) think the dominant classes will plan for the dominated classes' desire?, and thereby give away power. Or does Gunder b) think that the dominated classes should plan for the dominant classes' desire, while remaining dominated themselves? Or is simply the post-structuralist approach so concerned about culture, minorities and some abstract 'Other' that an issue like class just slipped away? In relation to the King's Cross this theoretical 'aim' from Gunder becomes absurd; should local groups, with their economic interests as non-accumulators and their specific 'use-value' relation to space, 'plan for the joy' of Argent? Or should Argent forget about their needs to accumulate capital and forget about LCR's obligations that the King's Cross Central should pay for the CTRL, and just 'plan for the joy' of the local people?

As long as the capitalist mode of production is not replaced by a new one, the antagonism class in capitalism will still contain capitals domination over labour. A planning that really sets the people before profit and the needs of the local people before the needs of capital, require a society that makes this possible. Marcuse (forthcoming) argues that a real "socialist planning" is only conductible under a socialist mode of production in a socialist society. If we try to conduct some kind of 'socialist planning' today it will only be an (other) example of establishing the planning practice upon an ideal, rather that reality. The dilemma with radical planning in contemporary cities is that it must go together with a capitalist reality. In King's Cross the planning must recognise the fact that what is being planned is a *'capitalist something'*.

It is neither possible with 'socialist planning' in capitalism, nor can one 'plan away' capitalism: But also within the neoliberal capitalistic mode of accumulation, though in constant dialectical relation with other spheres of change (e.g. ideological, political, cultural), there is space to consider a

planning that is favourable for the dominated classes. I find it difficult to argue that my suggestions are the 'best', and lead to the 'best' kind of planning at any technical level of reasoning. But what I can say is that it's an attempt to create a platform from a moral level of reasoning, from where it is possible to create a planning *with* and (somehow) in the *interest* of the dominated classes.

If a new planning regime should have its basis in reality, and not in an ideal (Yiftachel and Huxley 2000), it's important to become sober and relate to the existing mode of production. Actually existing structures should not be forgotten in a fetishist cloud of communication and ideas. The three steps towards a radical planning should not necessarily replace the contemporary emphasis on communication and participation. It is even arguable that *if* communication is seen as an ideal, it is crucial to acknowledge these steps. But even having the 'communicative approach' as a strategy is difficult when the existing world is not recognised. Both capitalism and the state are constantly changing and expressed differently in different places. There is therefore not *one* true way to walk these three steps. These steps must also be in constant change and constantly redeveloped. The following is a sober attempt to link aims of social equality and social justice with the existing world. This is my attempt, now, here.

The first step *is to recognise the dialectics between different spheres.* A radical planning must understand and recognise the importance of social, economical and other factors, and their interdependence. Marcuse called the contemporary lack of this acknowledgement, the 'problem with pragmatism' (Marcuse forthcoming). In the King's Cross, for example, it is obvious that it's impossible to solve the problem of e.g. unemployment without considering larger parts of economy, or solving housing without considering the larger parts of the law and the state and the economy. One classical example is the relation between the labour market and housing; if the exploited (workers and tenant) is well organised one place (or the law/the rules support the lower classes one place), but not the other, then higher wages will result in higher rents and vice versa (see Engels 1970). I second Marcuse when arguing that "The implication then is that broad and fundamental system change is required if any of these individual problems are to be solved in the long run" (Marcuse forthcoming:1).

It follows from this that the starting point for planning must be beyond planning itself; it must be in the society. The question: who wins and who loses?, is crucial in all kinds of critical planning, but the question must not be asked only in relation to planning: i.e. who wins and loses from this or that planning scheme. The question must also be asked from the society as such; who wins and who loses in society, and what can planning do about this?

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When uncovering the fetishism of capitalism, it's possible to take the ***second step** and recognize the fact that capitalism is based on antagonisms* (see Marx 1995; Harvey 1999; and/or Laclau and Mouffe 2001; Gunder 2003). Also, the distribution of power between the different interests, is not given, but rather a result of ongoing conflict (Marcuse forthcoming). The findings from the King's Cross Development also show that class is one important antagonism. When the planner is identifying needs, one should ask, *whose* needs? In contrast to contemporary assumptions where the societies and the needs are seen as homogeneous, where 'communities' are the subjects and where 'consensus' is an ideal (as in the King's Cross Development), I would argue that one should stronger recognise and consider antagonisms like e.g. class.

When class relations and other socio-economical relation are considered at King's Cross, it is normally through 'liberal' spectacles (see Harvey 1973). Doing something for the poor in a neoliberal agenda, could be characterised as improving the life for individuals without making anyone else worse off.[56] If this succeeds, there has per definition been an increase in welfare. When socio-economical relations are considered in the King's Cross, it is usually restricted to 'map' where the poor people live (see for instance Savage, Bacon et al. 2006; Tewdwr-Jones, Morphet et al. 2006). This is on Katznelson's second layer of class, i.e. on social existence, but class is seldom discussed on several of the layers. Class is seen, *if seen*, between places and ironically not within classes (in Marxist terms; 'spatial fetishism' (Lefebvre 1991), see chapter 3.1.7). To paraphrase the 'Community Development Program'-report from 1976: the question is always where one places the medicine, not about examining the disease (Benington 1976). This limited understanding of class has concrete consequences in planning and in the policy of welfare. The understanding of class in this thesis is far more complex than a 'surface' analysis which is only 'mapping the poor'. To be able to grasp this complexity, I will argue for recognition of class on several of Katznelson's layers; also when actually conducting planning.

It is also important to recognise the state as a capitalist state (see chapter 3). The special relation between the state and the economy must be recognised, and although the state is an arena for struggle, it's no neutral arena, just an arena. On the second step it's also possible to distinguish between conflicts and antagonisms. It's important to differ between on one hand disagreements in society which could (and very often should) be 'talked away', like several inter-class conflicts, and on the other hand antagonisms like class.

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[56] Argument taken from Benington (1976)

The third step *is then to take standpoints in the antagonisms, like class.* A radical policy on this is to take the standpoint for the dominated classes. Post-structuralists, like Gunder (2003) and Laclau & Mouffe (2001), argues that antagonisms will always exist, and Gunder argues for a planning regime that must accept this. I argue for a vision in planning, and social science and society in general, that goes further and aiming for a society where exploitation is ended. Not recognizing the existence of antagonisms (like the current English planning system) or recognizing them but not taking standpoint (like Gunder (2003)), are in effect planning status quo which is a capitalist status quo, i.e. capitals domination over labour. Planning status quo is in *effect* not (although perhaps it is in rhetoric) any less political standpoint than what I am outlining here.

By proposing the three steps above, I am surely placing the planner in some kind of 'advocate-position'. But inspired by Fainstein (2000) I will argue that an 'advocate-position' do not necessarily mean classical advocacy-planning, as with Davidoff (1996) where planners are 'advocates for particular groups, organisations, individuals or governments'. It can rather mean planners as some kind of advocators for *programs*, where for instance the aim for 'social justice' is favoured above the unarticulated aim for 'best possible business climate'.

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Appendix A: List of Key-informants

(1) **Asad Choudhury**. Coordinator and Staff member at Islington Bangladesh Association Interview, October 2006, at their Office in 71 Caledonian Road.

(2) **Tom Clarke.** Project Manager at Camley Street Natural Park.
Interview, 20.04.2007, at Camley Street Natural Park in King's Cross.

(3) **Michael Edwards**. Co-chair of the King's Cross Railway Lands Group. Also Senior Lecturer, Economics of Planning
Interview, 13.09.2006, at his Office in 22 Gordon Street. London.

(4) **Ernest James**. Chairman of KXCAAC - King's Cross Conservation Area Advisory Committee. He was also a member of the council in Camden in the 80's
Interview, 30.11.2006, at a pub in north Camden

(5) **Alan Mace.** Part time officer at LB of Islington, and part time lecturer at University of Westminster.
Interview, 03.10.06, at a Café in Upper Street in Islington.

(6) **Roger Madelin**. Chief Executive of Argent. Awarded the CBE, by the Queen, for services to construction and sustainable development.
Interview, 24.11.2006, at 2.45pm at Argents Office in 5 Albany Courtyard, Piccadilly

(7) **Timothy Makower**. Architect at Allies & Morrison.
Interview, November, 2006, at Allies & Morrison's Office at 85 Southwark Street, London

(8) **Bill Risebero** is an architect-planner, is a Senior Research Fellow at the University of East London, and teaches Art and Design at the University of the Arts, London. He worked as a planner in London Borough of Camden from 1974 till 1988.
Interview, 24.11.2006, at 09.30, at Central Club at Central Saint Martins.

(9) **Ben Ruse**. Head of Media at London & Continental Railways ltd
Interview, 06.10.2006, at German Gymnasium.

(10)   Diana Shelley. Co-founder and member of Cally Rail Group

Interview, 03.11.2006, at her apartment in Gifford Street 100

(11)   Lisa Tang. Member of King's Cross Development Forum, King's Cross Development Trust and Friends of the Canal.

Interview, 24.11.2006, at her house near King's Cross.

(12)   Bob West. King's Cross Team Service Manager at London Borough of Camden.

Interview, 20.04.2007, at the British Library.

Appendix B: Material

Camden's notes from meeting:

LB of Camden's General Purposes (Development Control) Sub-Committee: 8th and 9th March 2006.

LB of Camden's Development Control Committee (16.11.2006 and 19.04.2007)

King's Cross Development Forum 28.09.06 and 02.11.06.

Personal notes form meetings;

LB of Camden's Development Control Committee (16.11.2006 and 19.04.2007),

King's Cross Development Forum (02.11.06)

Personal communication – as E-mails:

From Angela Ryan, who is working for LB of Camden's King's Cross Team.

Angela.Ryan@camden.gov.uk, at 26.04.2007.

Subject: KXDF Link

From Michael Edwards, from KXRLG

m.edwards@ucl.ac.uk, at 19.02.2007

Subject: Re: left accounts of british planning / bibliography

From Michael Edwards, from KXRLG

m.edwards@ucl.ac.uk, at 28.11.2006

Subject, bibliog

Web-pages:

On different aspects of the planning process, including KXDF and KXBF and the magazine *Business Camden* (Issue 3, July 04 is referred to in the thesis), see

www.camden.gov.uk and http://www.islington.gov.uk/

On Metropolitan scale, about planning and policy, see

http://www.london.gov.uk/

Town and Country Planning Act 1990, see

http://www.opsi.gov.uk/ACTS/acts1990/Ukpga_19900008_en_5.htm#end

On 'Communities and Local Government's ministerial team's' page that outlines the department's policy remit including their main objectives and public service agreements, see
http://www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1139865,

http://www.argentkingscross.com/frame.html

http://www.lcrhq.co.uk

www.kxrlg.org.uk

http://www.exel.com/

Camley Street Natural Park, see
http://www.wildlondon.org.uk/reserve.php?reserve_id=70

The architects of the King's Cross Central, see
http://www.alliesandmorrison.com/

http://www.kingsx.co.uk

http://www.londononline.co.uk/articles/Kings_Cross. *About King's Cross* (Retrieved 12.04.2007)

Michael Edwards' Web-blog, concerning planning and King's Cross, see
http://www.michaeledwards.org.uk/

Map on CTRL, see
http://www.casa.ucl.ac.uk/kxsdsses/ctrl.htm (Retrieved 12.04.2007)

On-line dictionary, I've used Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, see
http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/flexibility

Some translations of Marx' quotations are found on,
http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/