



UCL

**MSc Social Development Practice
Student Report**

Reclaiming Regeneration: Negotiating a Citizens Charter for Euston Area

Edited by Alexandre Apsan Frédiani,
Tamlyn Monson and Stephanie Butcher.
In partnership with Citizens UK.

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July 2015

Acknowledgements. We are very grateful to all those living and working in Euston who gave their time to this project and shared their thoughts and experiences with students. We would like to thank Citizens UK and particularly the members of the Camden Citizens Charter for inspiring and supporting this project. We also appreciate the openness and good will Camden Council demonstrated in engaging with students. Special recognition goes to community organisers Rhys Moore and Stephanie Leonard, as

well as to Reverend Paschal Worton for providing St Mary's Church in Somers Town as a venue for project activities. To members of the HS2 Euston Action Group, especially those whose members attended the final student presentation and made valuable inputs into their thinking, we say another thank you. Finally, we would also like to acknowledge the contributions of Paul Watt and Lucia Caistor, who kindly shared with students their respective experiences in the areas of housing and community engagement.

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Foreword

Sophie Stephens, Lead Community Organiser, North London Citizens & lead on schools for Citizens UK

Camden Citizens is an alliance of mostly faith and education institutions across the borough who have committed to work together for the common good. Camden Citizens was launched in 2011 and is part of the organisation Citizens UK which includes alliances across London, Birmingham, Nottingham, Leeds and Cardiff. Each alliance uses the tools of community organising to develop the capacity of people to work together to make their neighbourhoods better to places to live, work and bring up a family.

When DPU joined Camden Citizens, we were very excited about the possibilities of their membership to bring expertise and energy to the alliance. This report highlights the many ways in which the team at DPU have delivered that and much more.

The Camden Citizens HS2 Charter represents months of listening to local residents, shopkeepers, students and young people to understand their vision of an improved Euston that could be delivered through the HS2 regeneration. The Charter explored key areas including housing, jobs, and public space. The Charter itself is forward-looking to ensure it captures the imagination of local people but is also tangible and specific to ensure the Charter can be used to secure clear solution-focused outcomes.

Developing people's Charters is a process used previously by Citizens UK - after the Tottenham riots in 2011 and to secure jobs, housing and the Living Wage during the 2012 London Olympics. For Citizens UK process of developing the Charter has two outcomes; to create a clear and specific set of goals to negotiate with decision makers; and to develop teams of people who are willing to fight for those goals.

I have been organising in London for 7 years and during that time I have seen many development projects and regeneration programmes happen to communities. They are acted upon by the various decision-makers who want to improve or change the local area. Often there is local opposition to change but it is not constructive and can be in direct conflict to other community groups also trying to campaign against the changes. This enables developers, local decision-makers and others to be unaccountable for the decisions they make during the regeneration programmes and further alienate local communities from local power-holders.

Citizens UK People's Charters are aimed to avoid this vicious cycle. Firstly, they are run by local community leaders and the people who contribute their ideas, stories and experiences are diverse and cut across other traditional community divides. Secondly, the proposals within the People's Charters are deliberately designed to be stretching but winnable. This often takes compromise and negotiation between the community leaders overseeing the process but it's important to ensure we can secure deals with decision-makers on realistic proposals. Finally, the process of developing the People's Charter includes capacity-building, training and team work within the civic institutions who have contributed to the process. Over 100 people attended the draft launch of the Camden Citizens Charter because it is rooted and owned locally. The power of this diverse alliance will enable Camden Citizens to meet and negotiate with decision-makers and ensure HS2 delivers a better Euston for all.

The relationship with DPU has been an important part of Camden Citizens growth over the last two years. The students, lecturers and researchers who got out into the local community have not only produced this excellent report, helped design and develop the Camden Citizens HS2 Charter but they have also built relationships between the university and its local community.

Universities across the country are beginning to explore community organising and membership of Citizens UK as a vehicle to develop learning but also to connect students and staff to their neighbours. Schools, churches, mosques, synagogues and community groups in the shadows of our country's great learning institutions often don't know how or have the opportunity to relate to the university.

DPU, through producing this report and membership of Camden Citizens are challenging that narrative. We hope that will continue to grow and strengthen over the years to come. Initially, through the negotiation phase between decision makers and the leadership of Camden Citizens to secure commitments to the Charter. In the future, we look forward to exploring the diverse opportunities there are for common projects and campaigns to impact on a local, regional and national level.

Thank you to all the students academic staff who have spent hours working to put together this report and all the time and contribution you have made to the Charter and Camden Citizens.

1. Introduction

Reclaiming Regeneration is the product of a long series of engagements with the Euston Area, seeking to uncover and actualize the aspirations and values of local residents for their neighbourhood and city.

1.1 The Euston Context

The Euston area represents a significant and special pocket of central London; well-located next to major rail, underground and bus hubs, adjacent to important national institutions such as the British Library and University College London, and with a storied history. For many residents of this area a strong sense of place has manifested in diverse community pockets: evident in the cultural heritage of the curry and sweet shops on Drummond Street, forged through the plurality of religions, nationalities, and languages found within a single block of flats, and traced through the profound sense of history imparted by many of elderly residents that have grown with the neighbourhood.

In a city that is increasingly being squeezed by the demands of an expanding private property market—relegating greater numbers of working class residents to the peripheries of the city (Edwards, 2011; Lees, 2013; Imrie et al., 2009)—the ongoing commitment of the Borough of Camden to maintain council housing and community services in this area is an important attempt to deflect some of the creeping inequalities facing many areas of central London.

Within this context, the proposed High Speed Rail Two (HS2) connecting London to Birmingham (in the first phase) has generated significant debate on the changing face of the area, connected to wider debates about the role of regeneration. The area surrounding Euston Station has been designated in the London Plan as an ‘Opportunity Area’, flagged for development for its strategic central location and well-connected transport links. It is also evident that some vision of revitalisation would benefit the area, addressing the aging streets, closing shops, poorly maintained local gardens, and flagging community services affected by austerity cuts.

Yet the fundamental question remains of *regeneration for whom?*

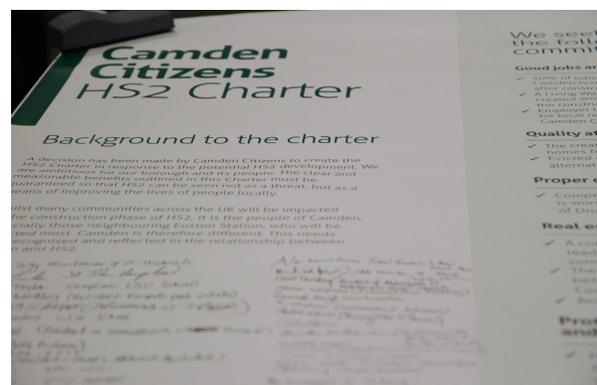
This question holds both theoretical and practical significance in the pursuit of justice in the city. What would

it mean—and is it possible—to ‘reclaim’ this process of regeneration, which many in London have identified as resulting in gentrification and the loss of homes and neighbourhoods for existing residents (Campkin et al., 2013; Porter and Shaw, 2009; Watt, 2013)? And what are the practical tools of planning and advocacy that could support local residents’ diverse claims to the city, which may not always be aligned?

This report emerges out of this preoccupation and pursuit. From September 2014 to January 2015, students of the MSc Social Development Practice at the University College London (UCL) collaborated with the Camden chapter of Citizens UK (Camden Citizens) and residents of the Euston area to redefine what regeneration means for them. Residents from a plurality of backgrounds, nationalities, religions and generations articulated the desire to preserve distinct aspects of their homes and communities where they were, building upon and bolstering the existing strengths of their neighbourhood and networks.

Together, the principles and values outlined within the four primary chapters of this report aimed to inform the production of the **Camden Citizens HS2 Charter** (see annex 1), a series of propositions relating to housing, jobs, community and relationships, and accountability. The charter has been an endeavour by Camden Citizens focused on enhancing the capacity of Euston’s current residents to influence the decisions that will de-

Figure 1.1. Camden Citizens HS2 Charter and Signatures of Support. Source: Matthew Wood-Hill



termine the future of their neighbourhood. This report hopes to feed into this process as well as contributing to the wider debates on the forms and contours of 'regeneration' in the city.

1.2 The High Speed Two (HS2) Proposal

The HS2 proposal, officially sanctioned by the current coalition government in January 2012, seeks the development of a high-speed rail link connecting Birmingham and London (phase one), and extending to the West Midlands and the North of England (phase two). Operating at a (currently estimated) cost of £42.6 billion, the scheme is planned to run via tunnel from Old Oak Common, terminating in Euston station in the Borough of Camden.

The project contains a strong rhetoric of regeneration, and claims to invest in the name of national well-being. The consultation document High Speed Rail: Investing in Britain's Future outlines a number of intended benefits, including: an increase in rail capacity; transformation of the country's economic geography; the support of employment, growth and regeneration; and the creation a platform for the delivery of long-term and sustainable economic growth and prosperity. In Phase 1, the HS2 will reduce travel time from London to Birmingham to 49 minutes, with claims that increased mobility will reduce the north-south economic divide in the country.

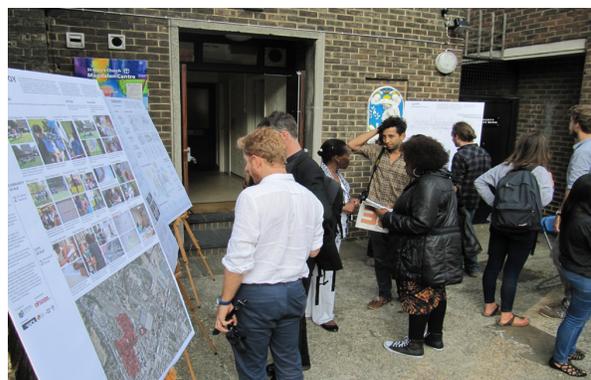
Critically however, many local residents directly impacted by the proposed expansion of Euston Station have indicated a series of concerns. Construction of the HS2 is expected to hold implications for a large geographical area extending from Euston station in the Borough of Camden, with a series of social, environmental, and economic impacts for local residents and business owners. Amongst the concerns include the demolition of at least four tower blocks in Camden Council's Regent's Park Estate, with tunnelling creating a blight on many more homes above ground; the use of Drummond Street - a landmark community home to many family-run curry restaurants and sweet and spice shops - as a transport corridor during construction; the loss of several open and green spaces surrounding the station; and mobility delays and disruptions in the local area. There are also expected to be impacts in relation to worsening air quality, loss of biodiversity, the disruption of a burial site with over 30,000 human remains, and noise and accessibility concerns during the construction period. The Borough of Camden has indicated its critique of the plan, maintaining that there is not a sufficient business case to warrant the significant public expenditure, nor has there been sufficient investigation of the impacts of the scheme or consideration of comprehensive mitigation measures for local residents.

1.3 The Process of Engagement

Our engagement with these issues began in September 2013, when students of the MSc Social Development Practice programme explored the *Regeneration Aspirations* of residents in the Euston area (Frediani et al., 2013). The subsequent report identified regeneration as holding the opportunity to improve upon existing community amenities: both the 'hardware' in terms of pavements, lighting, and facilities, as well as investment in the 'software' of networked business owners, schools, families and neighbourhoods. A key message from this process was that any development that occurs should leave the neighbourhood in a better position for its *current* residents, which was clearly expressed throughout the four studied areas of housing, livelihoods, connected communities, and meaningful participation. However, residents overwhelmingly reported feeling disenfranchised by the patchy and technical process of consultation led by HS2 Ltd., leaving many with serious concerns about the future.

In the summer of 2014, this was followed by a workshop led by Architecture Sans Frontières-UK, which sought to explore the *Collective Imaginations* for three 'contested sites' that would be significantly affected by the HS2 proposal, operating at different scales: Regent's Park Estate, St. James' Gardens, and Drummond Street (Frediani et al., 2015). Through a series of creative interventions including neighbourhood mapping, dreaming exercises, a tea and chat 'living room' installation, and key in-depth interviews, this two-week engagement elaborated a number of spatial principles to explore alternative scenarios for the Euston area. At the dwelling scale, focusing on the Regent's Park Estate, this process identified the pressing need for affordable housing choices that keep the current standards of access to health services, transportation and green spaces while at the same time improving the standards for liveabil-

Figure 1.2. Final Event of ASF-UK Change by Design Workshop. Source: ASF-UK



ity and accessibility. At the community scale a deeper examination of St. James Gardens revealed the importance and multiple uses of green space across different generations. It identified the opportunity to improve the interconnectivity between and within these spaces to increase the sense of security and well-being for residents either passing through or staying for leisure. Finally, exploring the flows of Drummond Street at the city level revealed the multiple (and sometimes less visible) livelihoods networks, as well as the thriving environment of small and medium independent businesses and unique cultural heritage value of the street. These reflections offered key spatialized entry points to open up discussions on community regeneration from the more limited focus on major infrastructural development offered by the HS2 process.

1.4 Reclaiming Regeneration

The work outlined in this report represents a further consolidation of this research. Over a period of three months students undertook a multiplicity of research activities, including semi-structured and in-depth in-

terviews with individuals and community groups, transect walks, and photography and mapping exercises. It draws upon precedents of initiatives found in other cities or parts of London, and builds upon the aspirations and principles running through the past research. The result is a number of concrete propositions in relation to the four explored themes of housing, jobs, community and relationships, and accountability.

The question of what regeneration is—or could be—remains open and contingent. However, this report seeks to explore in a grounded manner how a process of neighbourhood revitalisation could benefit the mixed communities already residing in the Euston area. Furthermore, it contributes to wider debates in the city revolving around the definition of affordable housing, quality employment standards (including the implementation of a living wage), the critical contribution of community services and networks to material and relational well-being, and the increasing sense of disenfranchisement with the process of democratic participation. In doing so it hopes to open up a rich ground for further discussion, inviting future reflections on the process and product of ongoing regeneration proposals in London, and their ability to contribute to justice in the city.

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2. Dignified Housing

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2.1 Introduction

The London Borough of Camden will be significantly affected by HS2, experiencing a wide range of impacts. At least 216 homes are likely to be demolished in Camden, with 264 further homes at risk (Camden Council, 2013a). This includes the demolition of at least four council housing blocks (comprising 188 households) in the Regent's Park Estate and over 30 freestanding homes. Those who will be most affected are tenants in the Euston area, who will be impacted directly by the expansion of Euston Station. All this is taking place in the context of existing high pressures on social housing: at the moment more than 25,000 people are on the waiting list for social housing in the Camden Borough (Camden Council, 2013b). See picture 1 the HS2 impact map designed by Camden Council.

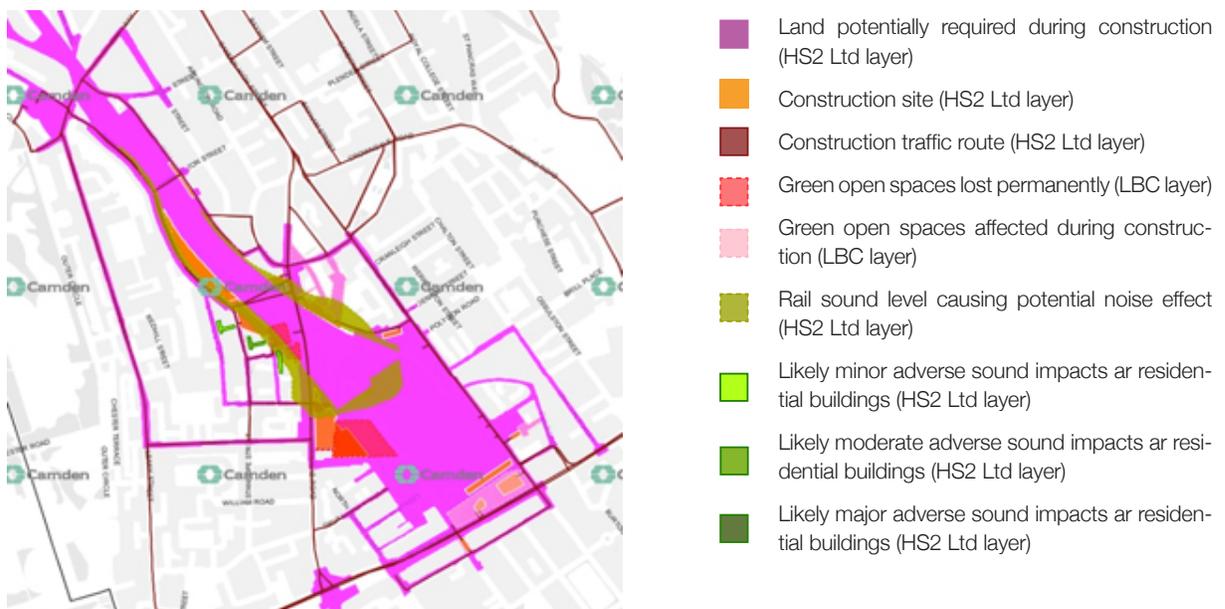
This report follows on from the previous Social Development Practice student report (2014) which considers dignified housing in the context of regeneration aspira-

tions for Euston. The aim of this chapter is to understand the abilities and aspirations of residents in relation to the housing opportunities available within the context of potential HS2 regeneration plans.

2.2 Framework: Housing as More than Four Walls and a Roof

The impact of development on housing is often understood in terms of the effects on individual property owners and the monetary value of properties. But a home has a far wider meaning than this suggests. Our study explored a broader understanding of home in conversation with residents of the Euston area. This is captured in the concept of 'dignified housing,' which draws on Amartya Sen's capability approach. This approach focuses on people's capabilities – their freedom to live a life they value. This approach acknowledges

Figure 2.1. Impact of HS2 on the Euston area. Source: *Camden Council, HS2 Impact Map, 2015*



that people have different values, and aspire to different things depending on what they value and deem to be important (Sen, 1999).

A home, for instance, might support people's capabilities to preserve social connections, to access work, to be safe, or many other things that go beyond the idea of a home as an object with a market value. Frediani (2010) has furthered this approach, framing these ideas within a 'capability space' which considers people's choices, abilities, and opportunities in a given context. Using this framework, we were able to examine our key themes and analyse their relationship with the wider systems at play, such as the policy environment and the varying abilities of residents.

2.3 Methodology

In order to understand the abilities and aspirations of residents in relation to the housing opportunities available within the context of potential HS2 regeneration plans, we employed various qualitative research methods. Through transect walks, primary observation, community engagement activities, in-depth interviews, and shadowing residents, we were also able to uncover some of the main concerns associated with HS2 and the impact it will have on residents.

In the initial phase of research, we engaged in semi-structured street interviews with residents of Regent's Park Estate as a way of eliciting feelings associated with the concept of 'home'. These engagement activities were carried out across four days at different times in order to access a more diverse sample. Twenty-five respondents from a broad demographic range were interviewed. We decided to avoid engaging with residents through formal organisations in order to get a wider cross-section of the

local population. Although our sample is not statistically representative of Euston's population, it provided important insights into the lived experiences of residents, which allowed us to build a broader picture of the impacts HS2 would have, in order to feed into a set of principles for a Citizens' Charter for Euston.

Three main themes emerged from our fieldwork: affordability, habitability, and sense of place. These lines of inquiry informed the second phase of our research. We conducted four in-depth interviews lasting between thirty minutes to three hours, allowing the participants to manage the length of sessions in a way that was most convenient for them. The questions were neutral to avoid directing respondents' answers. In addition, we shadowed residents, spending time with them in areas of the community that they identified as important. In doing so we were able to build up a wider narrative, including input from people within their networks. We were then able to compare the findings with policy analysis to find gaps between the official discourse and the aspirations of residents.

2.4 Background on Housing in London

The housing policy landscape in London has changed significantly in recent decades (see Ge et al., 2014). It is estimated that London needs 63,000 new homes each year to meet demand (Dangerfield, 2014), however the long-term ambition set out by the Greater London Authority is to increase the supply by only 42,000 new homes per year (Mayor of London, 2014, 4). The discrepancy between demand and supply has resulted in a significant affordability problem with the UK housing market. Housing costs, as a proportion of earnings for renters and owners, are still high, reflecting significant growth in house prices in recent decades (National Housing Federation, 2013).

Figure 2.2. Community Engagement Activity in Regent's Park Estate. Source: Chapter Authors.



Figure 2.3. In-depth Interview with Billy Magner. Source: Chapter Authors.



In 2010, the UK saw the election of a Conservative led Coalition Government, at a time of global financial crisis. This Government has adopted a policy of austerity, focusing on deficit reduction through cutting public sector funding (Clayton et al 2015). Linked to this, there is an increasingly neoliberal approach to policy in the UK (Brodin and Marsden, 2013) which has led to welfare reform, expanding market principles to many areas of social life, including housing, education and health. This has driven a number of significant changes where social housing now has a much narrower role than it did in the middle of the twentieth century, with general needs housing delivered primarily through the market (National Housing Federation, 2013). Thus affordable housing is expected to be delivered through the private sector.

2.5 Key Issues: Affordability, Habitability and Placemaking

Three key priorities of relevance to a Citizens' Charter for Euston emerged from our research into dignified housing: affordability, habitability, and placemaking. We cover each in more detail below.

Affordability

A theme that emerged as a central concern from our primary research was the cost of living in Euston. Housing has become less affordable, affecting quality of life, and an increasing proportion of disposable household income is thus being consumed by housing costs (National Housing Federation, 2013).

Importantly, the concept of what constitutes affordability for residents does not seem to align with official definitions. The Government's definition of affordable housing is set out in the National Planning Policy Framework (2012) and includes: social-rented homes, affordable rent (up to 80% market rent) and intermediate homes (a range of products including part-rent part-buy), all of which are provided for eligible households whose needs are not met by the market. Analysis carried out in 2011 found that the average household income required in London to meet the cost of the Government's new affordable rents is £44,500, meaning these homes will not be affordable for the bottom half of London households by income, without access to housing benefit. Even for those in social-rented housing, it is generally accepted that around two-thirds of tenants are unable to meet the cost of their rent without claiming housing benefit (Watt, 2011). Over half of the sub wards in Regents Park Ward and St. Pancras and Somers Town Ward fall within the 10% most income-deprived in the country (Camden Council, 2014). The

introduction of Universal Credit and the benefit cap has exacerbated these problems, having a serious impact on housing affordability in London (Navigant Consulting, 2011).

The terminology surrounding these Government definitions is ambiguous and it is clear that for many residents, affordable housing is not actually affordable in relation to their circumstances. Importantly, there is a disconnect between the official definitions of affordability and the way in which this idea is conceptualised by residents. Whilst the Government's interpretation of affordability is dictated by market forces, residents' perception of this concept is hinged upon their means. Michelle, a middle-aged resident of Somers Town discussed affordability, saying "I live in a Housing Association... I am on the lowest kind of rent, but it is still only just affordable." The Government terminology for affordable housing becomes redundant when it is limited to official discourse and ignores the realities of residents.

Considering these contradictions a clearer and more people-centred definition of affordability is needed. The London Tenants Association define housing as being affordable if "having paid all housing costs, households would still have enough income left to cover all other reasonable costs equivalent to the minimum income

Figure 2.4. Housing Estate.
Source: Alexander Macfarlane



standard” (Watt, 2011). A common theme that strongly emerged from the interviews was an understanding of affordability as more than just housing costs, but as encompassing the cost of living in the area as well. Affordability, according to Billy, a lifelong resident of Regent’s Park Estate, “is more about what people earn than about what things cost. Now the area (Regent’s Park Estate) is affordable as a working class area, but if it is gentrified rents will inevitably go up. People will be forced out”. This concern is echoed in wider social debates concerning the gentrification of London, such as post-Olympic Stratford¹. A more encompassing method for allocating affordable housing would be based on median income rather than 80% of market value, as current policy dictates.

A consistent theme across all of the interviews was the lack of opportunities, which together with the rising cost of living heralds displacement from the area. Jim, a pensioner and 23 year long resident of Somers Town, expressed his concerns, saying “I’d always thought my grandchildren would grow up living close to me, but it’s not possible now. It’s too expensive.” Whereas many are anxious at the prospect of being displaced, some hope to find opportunities for an increased quality of life outside London. William, a refugee who has lived in the area for 22 years, looked forward to moving out of the area: “I am hoping to move to Kent. The cost of living in London is so high, there is so much more that I will be able to afford – even my food shop.” Each narrative indicated a disillusionment with a wider set of changes in regards to the housing landscape. As the cap on housing benefit exemplifies, these changes may be further excluding those who are already socially disadvantaged and peripheral, limiting the most marginalised in society.

Habitability

Another theme that consistently arose in our fieldwork was the notion of habitability, which relates to the standard of safety and comfort met by housing. The HS2 project, which will require extensive construction, is planned to last for at least 15 years and potentially poses a long term health risk to residents (Foot, 2015). A total of 1,095 homes are identified as potentially being significantly affected by either noise or vibration and air pollution. The impact of construction is set to push pollution levels up to more than double the EU limit (Camden Council, 2015). Air pollution constitutes a serious health risk, already resulting in 4,000 premature deaths a year in London (Foot, 2015).

HS2 Ltd does not have a clear definition of habitability. However, the company has initiated discussions regarding a threshold that would need to be reached in order for preventative action to be taken. Although the debate is ongoing, HS2 Ltd has agreed, for example, that if noise and vibration exceed certain levels this will be addressed by providing double glazing and insulation on doors (HS2 Ltd., 2014a). Camden Council, however, is advocating for the establishment of more thorough and holistic mechanisms to measure habitability and has recently commissioned habitability assessments on affected properties. Concrete criteria regarding pollutants, ventilation, access and security were developed based on the housing health and safety rating system (Peter Brett Associates, 2013). To date, HS2 Ltd has failed to agree on any methodology with Camden to assess ‘habitability’ regarding the cumulative impacts of noise, dust, vibration, ventilation, air pollution, safe access routes, loss of amenity and daylight (Foot, 2014). This will have significant implications for those living in the area, and especially for those living in close proximity to HS2.

Figure 2.5. Regent's Park Estate.
Source: Alexander Macfarlane



Figure 2.6. Outputs from Community Engagement Exercise. Source: Chapter Authors.



Whilst the residents had myriad concerns regarding the physical impacts the construction would have on their environment, their concerns were mainly about pollution, noise, and light. For residents like Michelle, pollution constitutes a major health concern:

“The road... has been described as one of the most polluted in Europe because of the slow moving traffic and diesel trucks...The pollution causes ill health.”

Residents are apprehensive about the effects the construction of infill housing will have on habitability. Noise poses a significant disruption for residents like Billy and his neighbours:

“I live on the top floor of a block. There’s proposals to build flats on top of my existing flat, and I’m very concerned about the duration of the construction and noise and disturbance to my life and my neighbours’ lives. Some are quite elderly and some are ill and infirm.”

The existing conceptualisations of habitability will further jeopardise the well-being of residents with pre-existing vulnerabilities. Increased densification can also reduce the amount of light residents receive in their flats. This was a concern expressed by Gary, a resident of Regent’s Park Estate since the 1960’s:

“In Troutbeck, which is the block behind me, they are talking about building more flats on top [of existing flats]. I already have restricted daylight as it is. So if they build another fourteen or fifteen feet, I’ll have no daylight.”

The ambiguous and inaccessible nature of policies relating to habitability impedes residents’ potential to negotiate and attain dignified housing. The absence of meaningful participatory mechanisms will further exclude already marginalised groups, as the definition of habitability will not address their needs. Without a conceptualisation of habitability that addresses residents’ needs, their aspirations for dignified housing will be left unrealised.

Placemaking

The third theme emerging from our field work was around participants’ sense of place – a sense of “connection between people and the places they share” (Project for Public Spaces, 2015). The interrelationship between people and place emerged strongly from our community engagement activities. Residents continuously expressed their concerns about the potential disruptions HS2 could present for their social networks, public spaces and community in general – especially for the already marginalised. Despite these concerns, they have not been adequately

addressed in HS2 Ltd’s mitigation strategy. According to one participant, “[HS2] will shatter the community... We’re a social group here. We’re a tribe.”

Place is a central component in organizing social, economic, and environmental community relationships (The Glass House, n.d.). It has been widely recognised that residents’ quality of life is closely connected to processes of placemaking, in which local communities shape the places they live in and use. Placemaking has both intrinsic and instrumental value. Regarding its intrinsic merit, placemaking enables residents to exercise agency and shape their community whilst fostering a sense of belonging across diverse groups. In turn, this facilitates an instrumental use of placemaking, enabling residents to build social capital. For example, residents can engage in processes of placemaking in order to create social networks and establish security.

Placemaking has the potential to be “a quiet movement that reimagines public spaces as the heart of every community, in every city... a transformative approach that inspires people to create and improve their public places”. It is a highly social and participatory process, which has emerged as a prominent feature of planning discourse. Indeed, the 2012 National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) has emphasized the importance of social considerations in creating sustainable communities (Social Life, n.d.). Yet throughout our fieldwork, residents consistently highlighted the potential negative impacts of HS2 on their abilities to engage in placemaking. Despite its importance, placemaking has not been adequately addressed in HS2 Ltd.’s mitigation strategy which focuses solely on amenity and community isolation. In its “Mitigation of Significant Community Effects on Public Space and Community Facilities,” HS2 Ltd. considers only the physical impacts of the development plan. The document fails to acknowledge the social impacts that changes to the built environment would have on communities. The document lacks a coherent definition of ‘amenity,’ and the language surrounding this concept is ambiguous, making it subject to interpretation. Further, community isolation is understood purely in physical terms as the severance and disruption of “routes which are used for access between residential properties and community facilities on a regular basis” (HS2 Ltd, 2014b). The narrow scope of this document fails to consider the intrinsic and instrumental values of placemaking.

The disruptions from the potential development of HS2 would interfere with residents’ capacity to engage in the processes of placemaking. HS2 Ltd’s limited conceptualisation of community would inhibit the potentiality of residents to meaningfully utilise their abilities and achieve their aspirations. Residents’ agency is maximised when community is understood as less of a physical boundary and more as a space for engaging in social processes.

2.6 Conclusion and Recommendations

HS2 has the potential to exacerbate the problems of the already marginalised. However the implementation of a Citizens Charter is an important instrument to intervene in the creation of such conditions of vulnerability. Our research findings have demonstrated that amongst residents of the Euston area, there is a clear understanding of home not as just four walls, but as a space to exercise agency, build relationships, and achieve aspirations. Residents identified three fundamental components of this perception: affordability, habitability, and placemak-

ing. These qualitative elements can be contrasted with narrower conceptualisations of housing formulated by actors external to the community. This disconnect has led to feelings of invisibility and disempowerment.

In recognition of this, we have recommended three principles to bridge the gap between residents' aspirations and wider processes at play (see Table 2.1). These recommendations seek to address conditions of exclusion, and prevent the exacerbation of these conditions. Their relevance extends beyond the Euston area and can be situated within the broader context of urban redevelopment.

Table 2.1. Recommendations for a Citizen's Charter for Euston

<p>Principle: Extending democratic processes</p> <p>Description: There is a fundamental disconnect between residents' voices and wider policy debates. In order to bridge this gap, there is a need for a space for meaningful participation.</p> <p>Deliverable: Create a public space for community discussions facilitated by a neutral third party, such as UCL.</p>
<p>Principle: Increasing the accessibility of the city</p> <p>Description: The high cost of living and the current social housing crisis has made living in London prohibitive for people below a certain income level. There is a need to ensure that all people, regardless of income level, can participate in city life.</p> <p>Deliverable: Define affordable housing as being based on mean income rather than 80% of market value, as current policies dictate.</p>
<p>Principle: Creating an enabling environment</p> <p>Description: People should be able to exercise agency in shaping their communities. It is necessary to encourage conditions that enhance the abilities of residents to achieve their aspirations.</p> <p>Deliverable: Preserve public spaces and community hubs to protect sense of place.</p>
<p>Principle: Acknowledging diversity of experiences</p> <p>Description: Policymakers should consider existing vulnerabilities of individuals and groups to avoid exacerbating conditions of exclusion.</p> <p>Deliverable: Consider pre-existing vulnerabilities in mitigation debates relating to habitability .</p>

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. The 2012 Olympics "saw a series of changes take place in the Newham Borough of East London. The nature of these changes was vehemently contested, with advocates of the Games promising that they would leave behind a "physical, economic and social 'legacy'" (Sadd, 2010 cited in Watt, 2013: 99). The threat of displacement that accompanied these changes was a significant cause of concern for many East London residents, particularly those residing in the Carpenter's Estate (Watt, 2013). Further, many residents were apprehensive that the area would undergo such a substantial transformation that it would no longer

feel like "their place" (Watt, 2013: 114). Indeed, the Borough saw the "removal of existing locally available jobs, genuinely affordable housing and community facilities which benefitted lower-income East Londoners, but which stood in the way of physical redevelopment for the Games facilities" (Bernstock 2009; Davis and Thornley 2010; Raco and Tunney 2010 cited in Watt, 2013, page 104). Similar to the Euston area facing the development of HS2, the Newham area witnessed a struggle between the voices of local residents and the corporate interests of developers and promoters of the Olympics.

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3. 'Good' Jobs in Euston: A Launchpad for Citizens' Opportunities

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3.1 Introduction

Work is essential to individuals' well-being, enabling them to make a living, achieve economic and social advancement, and strengthen relationships with other people and communities. Therefore, employment is always a major concern for governments. In 2014, the national unemployment rate in the United Kingdom was 6.0%, and the figure for London was 6.5%. In the borough of Camden, there were 126,000 people without employment, making the borough's unemployment rate lower than London's average at 6.3%. Camden is one of the top ten local authorities in the UK, with the highest employee growth (ONS, 2013).

Government investment in the High Speed 2 (HS2) rail network is expected to generate new job opportunities. During the first phase of construction, 76,000 direct and indirect construction jobs will be created (HS2, 2013). A portion

of those jobs will be produced in Camden. The Camden Council, however, believes that HS2 poses a serious threat to businesses and communities throughout the borough, including Euston, Camden Town and the famous Drummond Street. It is estimated that over 2,000 businesses will be directly affected and the costs to business will reach £394.1 million (Camden Council, 2013). Hence, two parallel narratives have emerged with regard to the employment impacts of this national rail project. One narrative is concerned with the negative impact on small and medium size businesses in the Euston area, and the other considers HS2 as a catalyst for further economic growth and job opportunity.

This chapter takes a more in-depth look into these two discourses, going beyond the quantitative analysis of how many jobs and businesses will be affected or generated through HS2. Instead, we seek to find basic principles of

Figure 3.1. Drummond Street: Morning Preparation for the Day. Source: Chapter Authors.



Figure 3.2. Drummond Street: Morning Preparation for the Day. Source: Chapter Authors.



good work based on the experiences of local people, and then focus on how to achieve these principles by using existing conditions and creating future opportunities.

3.2 Framework: Decent Work to Support Capabilities

In commencing the research project, the team turned to the International Labor Organization (ILO) to broadly define good work. According to the ILO (2013), a good job, or decent work, is “a source of personal dignity, family stability, peace in the community, democracies that deliver for people, and economic growth that expands opportunities for productive jobs and enterprise development.” This broad understanding of the meaning of jobs resonates with Amartya Sen’s ‘Capabilities Approach’ as operationalized by Alex Frediani (2010). This approach, rooted in the notion of ‘freedom as choice’, allows for a more multifaceted understanding of ‘well-being’, moving beyond income alone. It includes the range of features an individual or community self-defines as important in enabling them to be and do what they value. To increase one’s capabilities, an enabling environment must be created through the broadening of choices and opportunities for people, as well as encouraging individual and collective agency. Evaluations following this framework should thus focus on opportunities available to individuals (Frediani, 2010, p.175-6). Following these qualitative understandings of decent and enabling work, the goal of this research is to engage in qualitative analysis within a framework of understanding that allows for the diversity of livelihood activities, interests and capacities.

Figure 3.3. Drummond Street at Night.
Source: Chapter Authors.



3.3 Methodology

With this definition as the starting point, we set out to ground the definition of ‘good’ jobs in the Camden community’s conception of good work. In order to do this, we wanted to explore the quality of employment-related opportunity within Euston, with two main guiding questions:

1. How does the Euston community define ‘good work’ – what does ‘good work’ allow the community to do and be?
2. What conditions need to be in place to ensure opportunities for ‘good work’, as defined by the community?

Two types of opportunities that were of particular interest: those generated through existing SMEs and those potentially being created by HS2.

Initial desk research was conducted through examining secondary sources, such as policy documents, statistics, public statements and reports, which contributed to an understanding of the broader context of the current employment environment. Field work was then conducted through 25 semi-structured interviews with primary stakeholders to locate the discourse in relation to the experience of the local community.

We selected the Drummond Street area as the location of our field research, allowing us to build upon foundational research conducted last year by The Bartlett’s Development Planning Unit (DPU 2014) and subsequent work by Architecture Sans Frontières (ASF 2014). In order to explore the potential work opportunities created by HS2 – projected to be mainly construction jobs – we reached out to union members in the relevant sectors, who are familiar with prevalent contractor-subcontractor working experiences. Most interviewees were men aged 35-50 and a mix of Bengali and Caucasian. We attempted to get a broad representation of participants from different sectors. See figure 3.4 below.

3.4 Key Issues: Security, Enabling Environments and Social Networks

Three main themes emerged from the research conducted in relation to community definitions of good jobs: security, the need for an enabling environment to support personal growth; and belonging/preservation of social networks. We discuss each theme in more detail below.

Security

Throughout several interviews, workers in the Camden area expressed the importance of job security as an essential element for achieving their definition of good work.

Security is a foundational building block that enables individuals to perform other valued functions through their livelihoods, such as providing for their families and engaging in long-term planning. An electrician working for an educational institution explained that this was the first job he had held which included pension provision, enabling him to plan for retirement. "What I value about my job is that it's stable and provides a future," he told us.

Yet job security is often overlooked in conversations regarding employment. For example, HS2 will potentially generate several different types of employment, with an initial emphasis in the construction industry. During the development period, 9,500 construction jobs will be created. However, only an estimated 1,500 of these will be permanent jobs in operations and maintenance (Department of Transport 2012). In other words, most of the jobs to be created by the project are likely to be short-term, casualised work, rather than stable, full-time jobs.

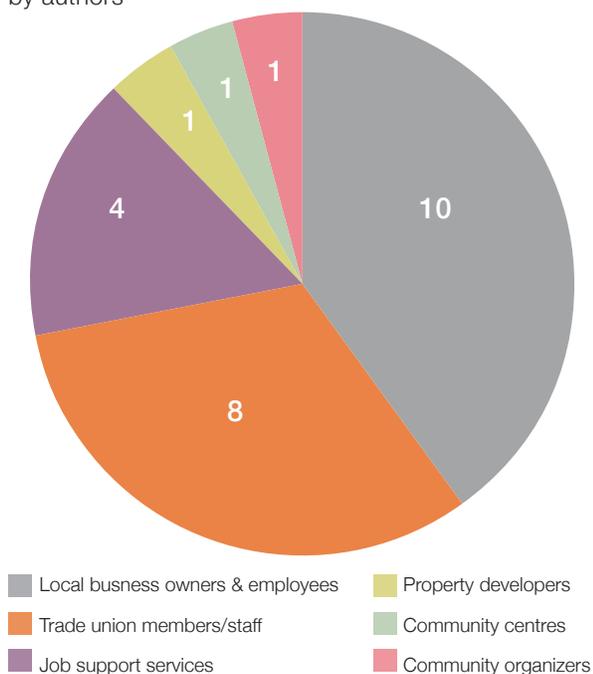
After discussions and research with relevant union members and staff, it is apparent that this kind of casualisation of labour is a current trend in the UK workforce. The Office for National Statistics published findings that, between 2011 and 2012, there has been an increase of 7.5% in jobs based on fixed term contracts (RMT, 2013, p.3). This 'casualisation' process undermines employees' ability to obtain the security, preventing their work from unlocking a greater range of capabilities.

According to several unions, the casualisation of labour tends to happen through umbrella organizations that often use zero-hour work contracts for employees. According to the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT), umbrella organizations function as middle men to employment and payroll agencies, often passing the costs of national insurance and processing pay to employees (Elliott, 2010, p.1). As a result, workers are often paid less than their agreed wage since these additional costs are deducted from their pay cheques (UCATT, 2015).

Unions have also noted that the construction industry has seen an increase in the use of zero-hour contracts, where workers are not guaranteed a set number of hours. In 2012, an estimated 31% of all employees on zero hour contracts fell into 'elementary occupations' such as construction (ONS, No Date, p.6). Of added concern is the fact that UCATT workers say their contracts can include an 'exclusivity clause' that prevents them from working anywhere else (UCATT, 2013, p.1). On a zero-hours contract, this prevents an employee from earning supplementary income from other sources.

Against this backdrop, there is a risk that the jobs produced in the construction of HS2 will not facilitate the job security that emerged in our research as a paramount principle for achieving good work in Euston. In order to minimize this risk, a Citizens Charter could call for a guaranteed living wage, as well as restrictions on the use of umbrella organizations and zero hour contracts, during the course of major development projects.

Figure 3.4. Interviewees by Sector. Source: Compiled by authors



Enabling environment to support personal growth

In many of our interviews, people's descriptions of 'good work' related to the social and cultural space surrounding the work, rather than tasks involved in it. This highlighted the importance of an enabling environment. As envisioned in the capabilities approach, an enabling work environment creates space for people to imagine the future expansion of their capabilities, moving beyond day-to-day survival. Interviewees articulated three key components which made a work space particularly 'enabling': a culture of promotion/progression, access to skills training, and access to resources.

A Culture of promotion/progression

The importance of being able to move forward in one's career was articulated in many interviews. At the individual level, the capacity for change and promotion is associated with hope to improve one's quality of life. A business can experience a similar progressive movement by developing a reputation for high quality over time and becoming a sought-after service or destination.

Mohammad Salique, the chair of Drummond Street Trader's Association and owner of Diwana restaurant, has experienced this culture of promotion/progression in Euston first-hand, and has contributed to reproducing it for others. When his family arrived in London from Bangladesh in the 1970s, they struggled to ground themselves amidst language barriers and racism. He describes how over a period of approximately 20 years, the community grew together and Drummond Street became well known for Mediterranean food. Mohammad started working in Diwana as a schoolboy, working for 'pocket change.' He eventually became the manager, and later took the opportunity to buy the restaurant, recognizing the reputation and history of the restaurant within London and internationally as a personal draw to invest. He is now able to support the younger generation – his own and friends' children – by offering them jobs in the restaurant, and a chance to progress as he did.

This story illustrates the presence and value of a culture of promotion/progression at multiple scales and over a long period of time. This type of opportunity is more than a job for income; it can be a launch pad for personal and professional development. Mohammad distinguishes the two clearly when he says of Diwana: "It's given a lot of people jobs. It's given a lot of people opportunity."

While Mohammad's story illustrates an active journey 'forward', discussions with union members illuminate potential for career stagnation when working for large contractors and subcontractors. Some union members shared experiences of having to access jobs via low-level apprenticeships or basic skills training – despite having worked in the sector for over twenty years. Mis- or under-recognition of one's capacities can have detrimental effects on one's sense of self and his/her connection to work. It is recommended that HS2 makes every effort to create a culture of progression/promotion, since it can be of benefit to the individual and to the project.

More broadly, a Citizens Charter for Euston should insist on recognition of the broader impact of development on enabling work environments – calling for mitigation of the potential risks to good work presented both by the nature of jobs created by the development and by the disruptions that might affect the economic viability of local businesses.

Access to skills training

To increase individual's capacities to take advantage of opportunities, and open up additional choices, access to skills training and job support services is a clear prerequisite. To avoid individual career stagnation, but rather promote active progression, this training needs to be suitable and relevant to the skill level and sector of interest. As a construction worker and electrician says:

"[good work] means to upskill yourself, developing skills and improving your skills. I mean, you then got somebody who's got a skill or trade that can then go out and find another job. You can't keep building this one building, cause that construction's going to stop, but that builder is going to go out and have another job. So why not just train everyone to be qualified, and then you have the skill set to branch out?"

Building transferrable knowledge and skillsets then not only expands competency on the job but opens up opportunities and options for an individual outside of the specific job placement.

A strength of Camden Council's proposed mitigations is their recognition of the value of investment in training, education and apprenticeships, in addition to actual job placements, for the Euston community in preparation for and during the HS2 project (Camden Council, 2014b). A point for further investigation and analysis is the reliance on King's Cross KX Recruit as a core pillar of the strategy without further controls put in place (Camden Council, 2014d). While the centre was set up to enhance the ability of local residents to access jobs in the King's Cross regeneration scheme, and it has *registered* an impressive number of people, an anonymous source there does not seem to be any conclusive evidence to support the claim that residents are in fact accessing the available jobs.

It appears that the Euston area has a good number of job support and training services already, many of which Camden Council has invested in, and we recommend that these be evaluated and considered in conjunction with King's Cross KX. Some examples are the Bengali Worker's Association, West Euston Partnership, Women Like Us, Connexions, and Communities into Training and Employment (Camden Council, 2015c). Beyond resources for individual employment, there are a multitude of additional forms of support for starting and growing a business (Camden Council, 2014c & 2015a). Since these organisations are already entrenched in the community, it makes sense to strengthen and utilise these resources in helping community members access jobs and meaningful training, including opportunities beyond the construction sector.

Access to resources

In October 2014, HS2 unveiled a £30 million grant that would be available to communities and businesses close to the high speed rail link (HS2 Ltd, 2014a). Although several important logistical aspects of the grant need to be clarified—such as how the money will be distributed and divided—this pot of money can be directly used to foster an "enabling environment" for local businesses to grow and progress. A recommendation of how this money can be used is through contributing to the initial capitalization of a revolving loan fund (see Box 3.1), for example, for the traders association on Drummond Street. Since the 30

million will be divided up amongst the whole HS2 route, the creation of a revolving loan fund will help ensure these limited monies can become an ongoing resource for Camden's SME's to draw from.

Camden businesses should decide amongst themselves how to use the funds to enhance their companies in the future, rather than only focusing on marketing techniques like branding. In addition, by pooling their money and ensuring all loan repayments go back to the fund, they would be creating ongoing access to capital.

Box 3.1. A revolving loan fund

The Cascadia Loan Fund (CLF) is an example of a revolving loan fund that has been used to assist and promote businesses that "preserve and restore the environment" in Washington and Oregon, USA (CDFA, 2015). Through a combination of loan repayments, donations, grants and other investments, the CLF is able to provide affordable loans to low-income and minority enterprises. The funding has been used for range of business services including debt refinancing, operating expenses and even technical assistance. Since its inception the loan fund has provided \$29 million US dollars-worth of loans to qualifying businesses (CDFA,2015).

Preservation & Support of Social Networks

Many interviewees spoke about the unique social fabric of the community. Amongst the Drummond Street Traders there is a culture of businesses supporting one another in collective arrangements, rather than competitive undercutting. This was evidenced by agreements made about the pricing of food in restaurants. Several interviewees felt it was a priority to employ community members, people immigrating in and young people starting out. One restaurant owner shared that he helps people in the local community with the odd meal or bus fare to make sure their basic needs are met. This strong social network creates a unique space of opportunity, offers an enabling environment and potentially serving as a crucial source of coping and strength for community members when they experience livelihood shocks.

As an intangible but clearly valuable asset of the community, the unique social network that operates in Drummond Street has not, as yet, been taken into account in the HS2 compensation scheme. HS2 plans to compensate property owners and businesses which will be demolished due to the construction (Dialogue by Design, 2014). However, our in-

vestigations confirmed the 2014 finding that HS2 will have some non-market impacts on both directly and indirectly affected businesses during the long period of the construction (Keum et al, 2014). Two key concerns are potential erosion of social cohesion if residents leave the well-established community, and damage to the relationship between restaurants and clients due to environmental disruption.

Considering these less visible potential impacts on the community, we recommend that a social assessment study is conducted to inform a long-term compensation plan, including analysing and monitoring positive and negative, tangible and intangible social consequences, and providing commensurate compensation (see Box 3.2).

From the Muskeg Lake case, we can see the feasibility of translating intangible losses into monetary compensation. We believe residents and local businesses in Euston are eligible to be compensated for the intangible losses discussed both in this chapter and in last year's DPU report (Frediani et al., 2014). We must emphasize that, since it is difficult to predict all intangible impacts in the current phase, a long-term monitoring and evaluating system is necessary. In addition, the cooperation of HS2, local Government, residents and an independent professional assessment institution is highly recommended, as the knowledge of all sectors will play a key part in achieving a successful compensation scheme. Commissioning an independent third party to conduct the assessment may be one way to increase transparency and reduce potential bias.

Box 3.2. Muskeg Lake Compensation

Muskeg Lake is a Métis community located in Northern Alberta, Canada, with aboriginal culture and history. Muskeg Lake was entitled to get compensation for being adversely affected by a petroleum exploration project for about 40 years. An association called MacEwan Committee was appointed to address this compensation issue by using multi-attribute utility theory to assess the losses. Working directly with local residents, MacEwan Committee identified four fundamental values affected by the petroleum exploration: traditional values, 'bush values', community values and economic values. Residents were then asked to rank the changes indicating which change was most important to the community's wellbeing. By using a professional additive function, the Métis community obtained additional monetary compensation of \$2.3million per year, as translated from non-market losses of the community.

3.5 Conclusion and Recommendations

We hope that this study will propel discussions of HS2’s impact on jobs and employment beyond limited quantitative understandings, moving them in the direction of a wider analysis that takes into account intangible factors that support the capabilities of the people of Camden. By supporting the quality and meaningfulness of work in Euston, rather than simply the quantity of jobs available, regeneration plans should protect and expand the existing freedoms of the local community, helping to make ‘regeneration’ meaningful socially as well as economically.

The specific recommendations we propose appear in the table 3.1 below.

Regardless of whether our recommendations are taken up, it is important to ensure that the HS2 development’s positive impacts on livelihoods address the local community’s understanding of good work. This would involve creating an enabling environment for the pursuit of the forms of work members of the community value, both through the creation of opportunities (in the form of jobs, training and/or business funding), and through the provision of compensation to mitigate both tangible and intangible risks.

Figure 3.5. Drummond Street: Morning Preparation for the Day. Source: Chapter Authors.



Table 3.1. Recommendations for a Citizen’s Charter for Euston

<p>Principle: Use a socially sensitive definition of ‘good’ jobs</p> <p>Description: A focus on quantitative aspects of work fails to take into account what local residents and workers consider to be ‘good’ forms of work</p> <p>Deliverable: Conduct a social assessment study, which can be used to inform a compensation plan that includes intangible/non-monetary impacts</p>
<p>Principle: Protect and support local enterprises</p> <p>Description: Local businesses are a crucial component of good work, but they are vulnerable to stresses during the course of a development project, creating a risk of business loss, with both tangible and intangible effects on the local community</p> <p>Deliverable: Explore the possibility of accessing HS2’s Business and Local Economy Fund (BLEF) in order to set up a revolving loan fund for SMEs in the Camden Community</p>
<p>Principle: Creating an enabling environment</p> <p>Description: People need jobs that support their capabilities both now and in the future</p> <p>Deliverable 1: Define guidelines for dignified work, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A living wage for all employees • Restrictions on the use of umbrella organizations and zero-hour contracts <p>Deliverable 2: Coordinate and strengthen local job training and business support services</p>

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4. Community and Relationships

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4.1 Introduction and context

For the past 30 years, urban policy in the UK has been centred on regeneration (Brindley 2000). Regeneration schemes in the UK have focused on physical and economic outcomes, rather than social considerations, and the programmes have typically been imposed from the top down, by actors within both the public and private sectors (Cornelius and Wallace 2010). Social deprivation has been seen as something to be solved through economic activity ‘trickling down’ to economically marginalised communities (Foley and Martin 2000). However, a shift in discourse emerged during the ‘New Labour’ period (1997- 2010). A stronger emphasis on the importance of the social aspect of regeneration and inclusion emerged, leading to increased interest in involving local people in policy decisions (Cornelius and Wallace 2010).

Our research examined the impact of the HS2 development on community and relationships in Euston. This is a complex theme, involving a range of issues. A community such as Euston comprises a number of groups or

social networks. Key issues to consider are the functions around which they are constituted, such as work, support or recreation; the importance individuals place on being recognized as belonging to these groups, and how they interact to form a ‘sense of community’ through relationships of support and exchange of resources within their various networks (adapted from McMillan 1996).

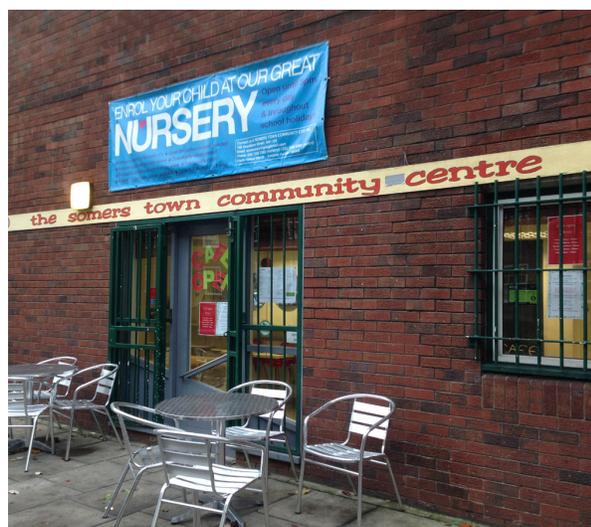
In considering how regeneration impacts communities, two key themes stood out to us. First, local groups use and interact in particular spaces that may be impacted by regeneration plans. For instance, it is often acknowledged that open spaces enhance the ‘liveability’ of a city. They support the inclusion, health and well-being of local residents, as well as community cohesion overall. Preserving existing spaces, or committing to the creation of new, improved spaces for communities, should therefore be a priority for development projects (Jones and Evans 2008).

Second, communities need to be involved in regeneration planning. To be effective in empowering a community, participation must involve, at the very least, providing

Figure 4.1. Somers Town Islamic Centre.
Source: Chapter Authors.



Figure 4.2. Somers Town Community Centre.
Source: Chapter Authors.



information to communities and opportunities for the expression of their opinions. The empowerment of communities does not imply the decline of the state's power, but the creation of new spaces for participatory governance (Bailey 2010), where citizens can play a more active role.

4.2 Framework: Recognition, Redistribution and Representation

With the above context in mind, our research explored the different types of communities in Euston, the different spaces they use, and their differing levels of participation in the HS2 development and regeneration project. Our methodology was influenced by Nancy Fraser's theory on social justice. According to Fraser, social justice can be achieved only through parity of participation, which means all members of society should be considered as equals. Fraser (2000) created three dimensions of social justice:

- **Recognition** – having equal respect for all participating members of society,
- **Redistribution** – a fair distribution of resources, and
- **Representation** – ensuring all have an equal voice in the decision-making process.

Our analysis followed these three dimensions. Regarding *recognition*, we focused on people's sense of belonging to the community, how relationships in the community have been shaped, and what holds the community together. Concerning *redistribution*, the analysis referred to

the importance, access and affordability of public spaces, such as community centres, markets, churches, mosques, parks and other open spaces that enable the building of support networks and the sharing of resources. The last dimension, *representation*, tackled whether people have access to information about HS2 plans and whether they feel they have a voice and are able to actively participate in public meeting and consultations that have taken place.

4.3 Methodology

The study commenced with a review of secondary sources on the context of the Euston area, and policy documents including: the Euston Area Plan, the HS2 Environmental Declaration, Camden Council's mitigation requests, and the residents' petitions to HS2 Ltd.

Following the literature and policy review, the team carried out qualitative field research. A community engagement activity was undertaken with participants from the Euston area in order to develop a map of different groups in the area and the relationships among them. In total, six engagements were carried out. In addition to this, 10 in-depth interviews were conducted with different residents and business owners. The purpose of the interviews was to obtain information regarding past and present community relations in the area; representation, participation and involvement in the community; safety; public spaces; and perceptions of the HS2 project

The community engagements and interviews reached a total of 30 individuals, belonging to eight different groups identified by participants in early field engage-

Figure 4.3. Surma Community Centre
Source: Chapter Authors.



Figure 4.4. Interview with Drummond Street Restaurant Owner, Mohammed Salique. Source: Chapter Authors.



ments. In order to facilitate access to participants, we engaged with most residents in their capacities as members of local organisations – among them youth and elderly clubs, Somers Town Neighbourhood Forum, Euston Mosque and the Bengali Traders Association. Outside of institutional context, we also engaged with a group of local mothers, commuters and active residents involved in local volunteering or neighbourhood forums.

4.4 Key Issues: Community Groups, their Spaces, and their Voices

The main findings of the research are structured in three sections. Towards the goal of recognition – gaining a full view of the participating members of a community – the first explores community groups and networks. The second refers to redistribution of resources among the community, exploring the spaces different groups relate to. A third section analyses issues of representation, specifically people’s ability to gain access to information and voice their concerns.

Groups and Networks

The most significant finding in this section is the existence of a range of recreational, job-based and support-based networks. We saw this as how certain groups were recognised and ensured their own recognition. Some of the support networks are faith-based, whilst other networks function to support residents in general, such as Somers Town Community Association. However, not all support networks are grouped

around these two functions. Indeed, there are informal networks that exist between active residents in the community, which enable them to create forms of support such as shopping or cleaning for the elderly. Networks of friendship, too, have provided crucial support: one resident described the help she received when as a mother of three children she found herself homeless and living in a hostel. This form of support is responsive and adaptive to immediate issues of concern.

We identified groups initially through our stakeholder mapping and then later confirmed the most important groups through the various interviews. Key groups became apparent (See table 4.1). These groups did not necessarily share attributes such as gender, age or ethnicity, but were formed by the interaction and network they had formed through their individual life histories. For instance, many long term residents had been friends for a long time and were active in their community. Their relationship was based on long term support and friendship, as well as activities undertaken in the community. Often, the functions of the groups overlapped; for example, Drummond Street Traders Association and the Bengali Workers’ Association (BWA) are both support and job-based networks. Support-based networks also overlap with those that are recreational: leisure-based activities help to provide a space wherein supportive networks can be formed and maintained. Examples of this are the bingo and lunch activities provided by Magdalene Club for Elderly, which help to support the social needs of the elderly. Similarly, the Surma Centre’s Youth Club helps to form and maintain recreational/ supportive networks. A more informal recreational and supportive group is the network of local mothers, who meet up for coffee in Somers Town Community Café in the mornings. Finally, the Somers Town Community Association

Figure 4.5. Distribution of respondents by group and gender. Source: Chapter Authors.

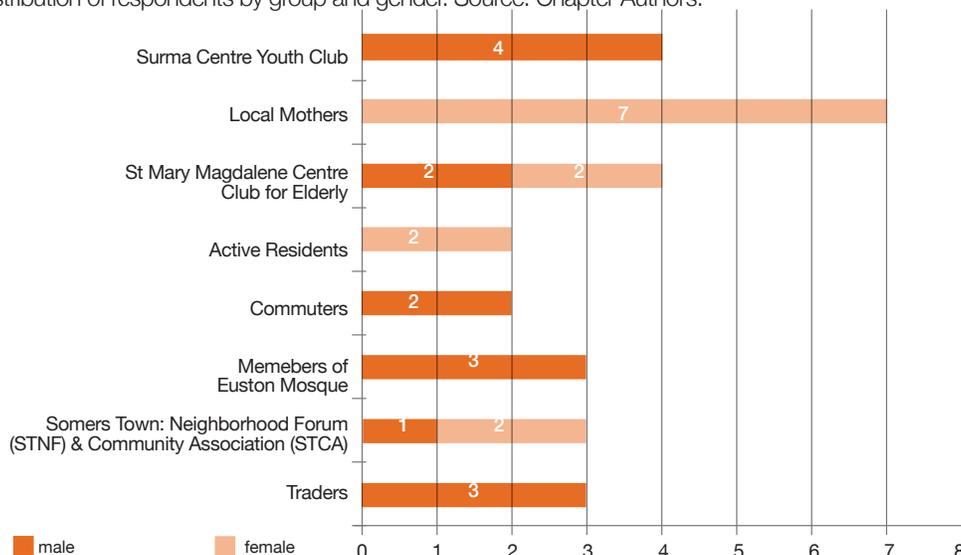
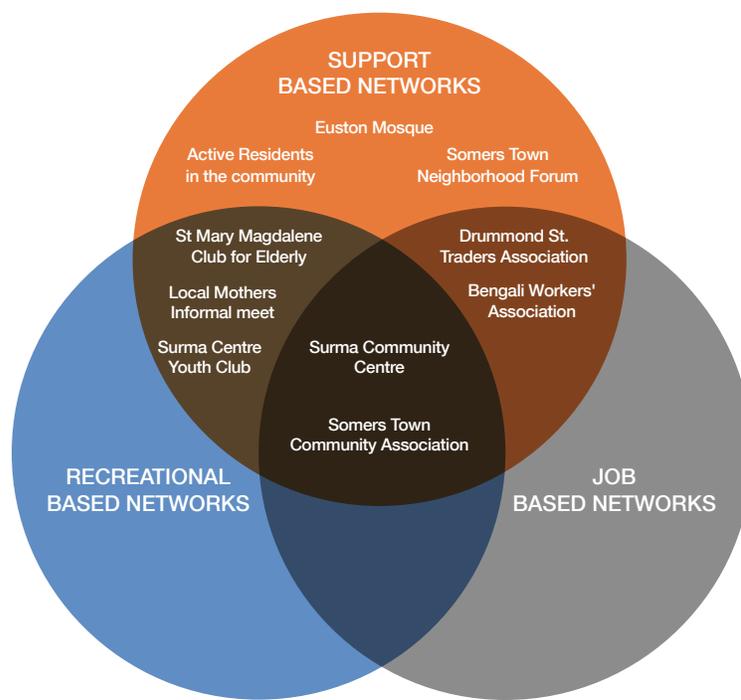


Figure 4.6. Distribution and interface of networks according to their functions. Source: Chapter Authors.**Table 4.1.** Key community groups identified in Euston area

Active Residents	Key members of the community who were active in campaigning or volunteering
Euston Mosque	Local mosque which has 600 attendees to Jumma prayers on a Friday
Magdalen Club for Elderly	Lunch and bingo club for elderly run at St Mary's Church
Surma Centre Youth Club	Multiple youth groups for young girls and boys of different ages
Somers Town Community Association	Community Centre with nursery and new jobs network opening in January 2015
Surma Community Centre	Community centre near Regents Park Estate, running various initiatives for local people
Drummond Street Traders Association	Association of traders in Drummond Street, comprising representatives from local businesses
Bengali Workers' Association	Organisation backing Surma Centre, providing community employment training and education, and support for the Bengali population
Somerstown Neighbourhood Forum	Neighbourhood planning group who put together plans for the local area

tion and Surma Community Centre include all three types of networks: recreational, job-based, and support-based networks. We include a figure to illustrate the various identified networks and their intersections.

Each network functions within a particular physical space, which highlights the way in which buildings and spaces that may be impacted by regeneration play a multi-functional role in the development and maintenance of a range of networks. Such spaces include the local church, local-run cafes, parks and community centres. The majority of respondents feared that regeneration would eliminate local services and amenities, and had already seen evidence of this.

Spaces and Services

We defined spaces as the areas which are used for interaction in the community; many of these, in turn, provide services for different members of the community. For instance, the Somers Town café is formally used as spaces for youth groups or neighbourhood meetings, whilst also being used informally by people from the community meeting. It provides formal services as well as a space for interaction. In many of the interviews a sense of pride and belonging in the community was evident. For instance, a member of the bingo club for the elderly conveyed her deep embeddedness in the community when she described having lived in the area for over four decades, and running a local pub for many years. Others saw it as home because they had gone to school there, their families were nearby, and their children were now attending the same schools that they had. It became apparent that this sense of belonging and interconnection relied on networks which intersect in public spaces, and have been established over many years. For instance, the local mothers informally meet every morning at the Somers Town café, after dropping children off at school. These spaces are integral in maintaining the tight fabric of the community which, although it comprises a range of smaller community groups, is nevertheless described by each of the respective groups as close and supportive. Four different respondents insisted that this tight-knit quality was the best thing about their local community.

The spaces we have highlighted facilitate interactions, which in turn provide the vital support that many, particularly the vulnerable, rely on. For instance, the church hall is used as a space for Bingo and one elderly woman explained that she would never see anyone otherwise. An active resident described how vulnerable people, such as elderly people living alone, came to her for help because of the pervading sense of familiarity and connection among residents (see map of the current use of spaces and their importance). We then turn to a discussion of key concerns over how the HS2 development may impact on

these valued spaces. The spaces used by many in the community may be redistributed to other groups and mean that people no longer have access to key spaces and services. See more comments from residents about relevant community spaces in figure 4.3.

Availability and quality

The availability of spaces was a key concern. Two local residents pointed out that because of the cramped conditions of their homes, they needed public spaces to meet friends and for their children to play. There was a general fear that HS2 would threaten the availability of current spaces, and thus inhibit the functioning of the community. Residents were worried it would mean the closure of local non-chain cafes and of green spaces and playgrounds. If the space is used for new builds or for the redevelopment of the station, many felt that it would mean less open space in an area where density is ever growing.

The spaces function to provide vital services for the community. The members of the Magdalen Club for the Elderly emphasised the importance of services for them, without which they would be isolated in their homes. They feared the demolition or closure of local services and also that building work would obstruct their accessible path to the Club. Similarly, the local mothers reiterated that they relied on local playgroups, children's activities and youth groups. The local community associations play a substantial part in providing formal community services. For instance, the Bengali Workers Association provides multiple youth groups and services for the elderly. Despite this, there was a feeling that there are currently not enough services. Many commented on how recent council cuts to public facilities in the area had exacerbated this. There is a great deal of social capital, with many residents playing an active role in providing informal support in their community. However, their ability to provide for others depends on spaces, such as access to local halls, and resources such as funds and equipment. Many felt fatigued as problems emerged in these respects. Two active residents specifically noted that elderly people were finding it difficult: the Somers Town elderly lunch had stopped, and as a result many who had previously enjoyed a space of connection to others no longer leave their homes.

The well-being of the community depends on the quality of the environment, and its usability for interaction. The importance of green spaces, cleanliness, and safety to use spaces were all emphasised. Generally there was a feeling that safety had improved over the years with less problems of racism and violence, but it was remarked how this could be further enhanced, with more police presence at weekends, as well as more lamp lights. People felt that safety could actually be undermined by the HS2 construction works, as these would bring unfamiliar and potentially untrustworthy people

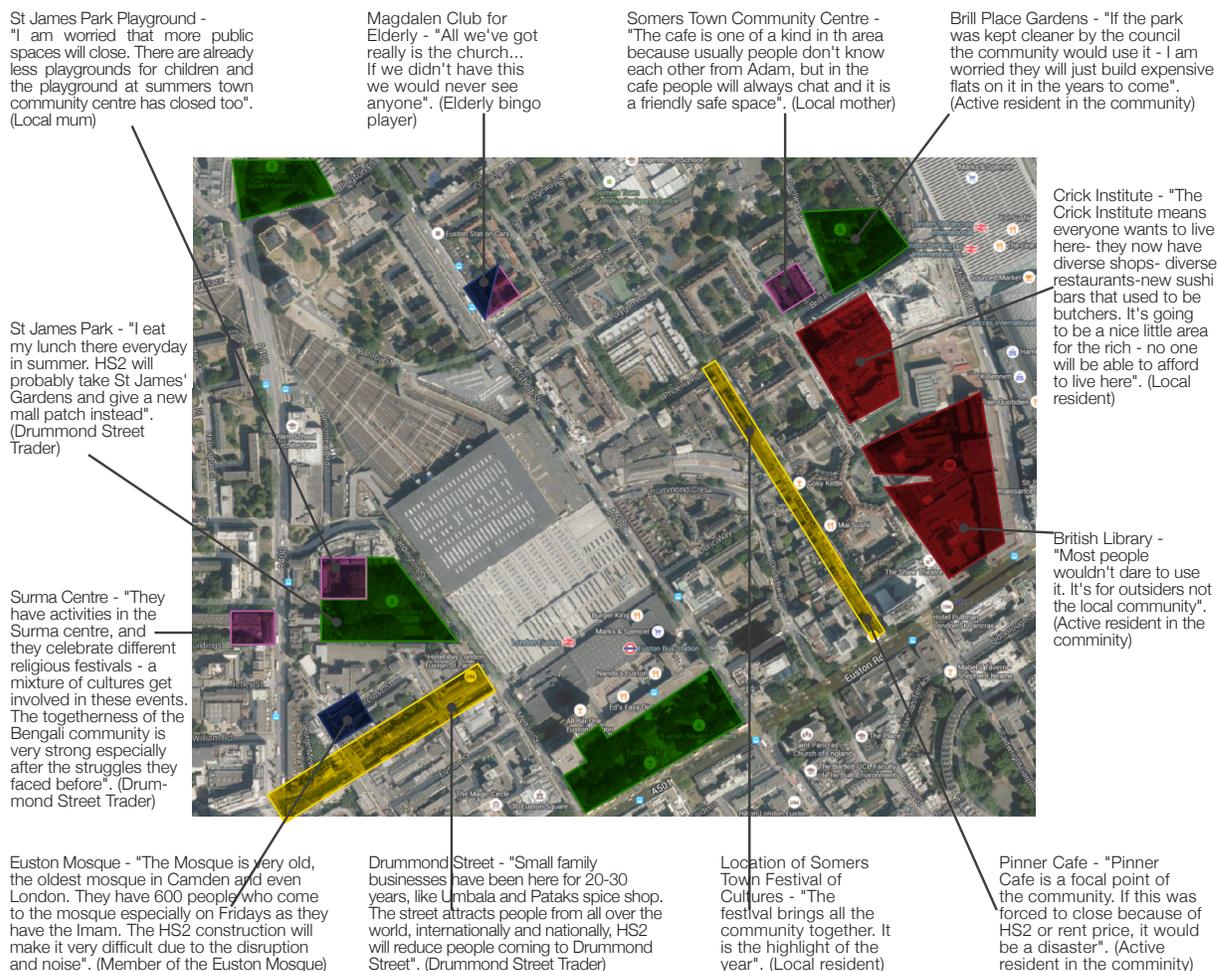
into the area, while empty buildings or demolition sites might encourage people to squat.

Green spaces provide valued functions: allowing children to be active, providing tranquillity in a busy area, and for a greener environment. It is important not only to protect existing spaces, but to further ensure their use by the community – a precedent for action on this issue can be found in Box 4.1. Lack of use of St James’ Park, for instance, has been used as a justification for building on this site during the HS2 project. However, a resident insisted that usage was related to the maintenance of spaces:

Box 4.1. St Agnes Park, Bristol

Bristol Care and Repair community organisation, with support of park officers and Council colleagues, came together with other local organisations to start a consultation project which led to successful community-led solutions for the use of the park.

Figure 4.7. Key Community Spaces in the Euston Area



“Green spaces aren’t maintained, then the Council claim they are not used, but if they were renovated and looked after by the Council, then they would be.”

News that HS2 would be tunnelling deep underground led to concerns about potential problems with sewage and rats, which together with air and noise pollution would affect the ambience of the area. One resident said that she already had a problem with rats because of sewage works near her home, and this would be worse with HS2 as it was tunnelling even deeper. Additionally, the blight on the area will mean that businesses like those in Drummond Street may see fewer customers, and home-owners will find it difficult to sell. This could also mean that there will be less investment in the area generally, which could in turn affect services and businesses, thus impacting the spaces and services where community and relationships are currently built and fostered. Changes to the distribution of space suggest that the advantages of the HS2 development will accrue primarily to international businesses, while the existing community bears a large burden of disadvantage.

Accessibility

Access between key spaces is also crucial. Currently, the alleyways between estates make the area accessible to the community. However, the local mothers’ focus groups, in particular, revealed a high level of concern that these would be blocked by construction works. This would require families to find new, more time-consuming routes to school, along busier roads where young children might be exposed to greater risk. The current access in

between different estates in the community allows people to visit easily and keep an eye on who is passing through. The young people said obstruction of this access would impact whether they could visit friends, while other residents said it would make it harder to make their way to meet-ups. As we have already shown, the elderly and disabled also rely on convenient, unobstructed access.

Furthermore, local businesses are worried about accessibility for their customers. As one Drummond Street trader said:

“[Many customers] come to this shop from the station if they block the road for two to three years, it will affect our business.”

Drummond Street demonstrates the area’s rich cultural heritage, it brings a unique and important boost to the local economy and services in the community. Many in the Bengali community have been successful and have therefore given advice, support and jobs to local people, playing an important role in building community in the area. If these businesses were lost, it would have a significant social effect on the community.

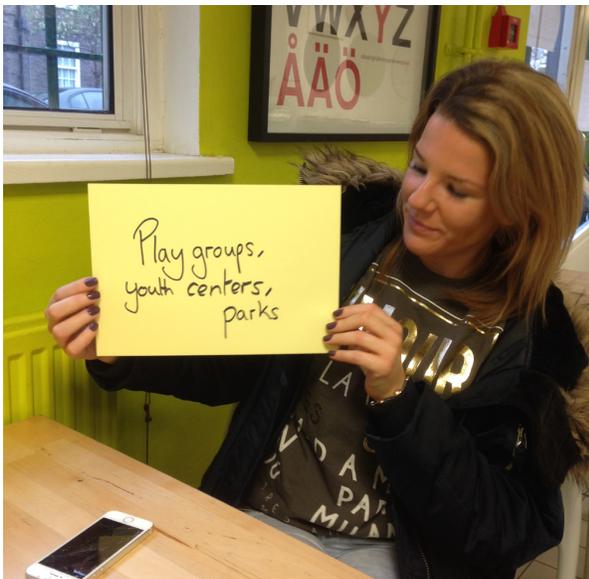
An example of an initiative to recognize and promote the needs of a variety of local groups can be found in Box 4.2

An example of an initiative that considered and promoted the needs of all the different groups affected. It provided “strategic guidance for safeguarding and improving the health of communities affected by estate regeneration in Tower Hamlets” (Pennington *et al.* 2010).

Affordability

The affordability of the Euston area is already a problem for residents. The elderly, in particular, commented on how locals previously met in pubs; whereas once there were fourteen of these venues, now there are just two. As the price of renting has gone up, local pubs have closed, and now only more expensive pubs remain. These pubs, which were once seen as hubs of local community interaction, are now frequented by middle class tourists, commuters and students. The price of housing and shops,

Figure 4.8. Interview in Somers Town Community Centre. Source: Chapter Authors.



Box 4.2. Estate regeneration in Tower Hamlets

An example of an initiative that considered and promoted the needs of all the different groups affected. It provided “strategic guidance for safeguarding and improving the health of communities affected by estate regeneration in Tower Hamlets” (Pennington *et al.* 2010).

and particularly the new King's Cross Station, makes long-term residents worry they are being pushed out. As the area is regenerated, local people feel their area is being taken away from them and given to outsiders. Many have lived for 10 years or more in Euston, and have established family links and networks of support that give weight and depth to their claim on the area.

Furthermore, local businesses expressed their concern that rents would increase as the area was developed. Home-owners in the flats that are to be demolished are most likely to have to leave the area if they are only given the standard 80% market value, as they will be unable to afford equivalent properties in the same area. Those who rent have been given no guarantee that they will be rehoused in the area. Residents anticipate a gradual exodus from the area, destroying a familiar, supportive and valued social fabric. For many, the process of regeneration is therefore seen as a destructive process involving the breakdown of existing community and relationships to make way for the individual purchasing power of wealthier consumers. Intervening in affordability could help change this view, as in the case of East Village, Newham (Box 4.3).

Box 4.3. Affordable housing in East Village (Athletes Village), Newham – London.

East Village contains an adequate mix of private, social and affordable housing – with 'affordable' properties lower than an 80% market rent.

Information and Voice

In terms of community participation, local residents highlighted concerns with inadequate information about the HS2 development, and an overall sense that their concerns will have no impact. Respondents had not received crucial information regarding HS2's execution, compensations and impact. Many claimed that the information was not transmitted properly: some received information only 'via the grapevine', while others received simple pamphlets. Those who received information through formal channels complained that, on the one hand, it lacked detail, while on the other hand the language was unnecessarily complicated (see figure 4.3 outlining the defined spaces of participation in the HS2 Environmental Declaration).

All groups insisted that they 'do not have a voice' in the HS2 project and that it will go ahead no matter what they say. Some did not attend meetings, but those who did felt equally disempowered, as they felt their concerns about

issues such as compensation and obstruction of roads were not taken into account. According to a trader, "It is a one-way traffic: you tell them your views and worries, but they don't take them into consideration." Participants continued to feel deeply uncertain about the future, saying that there is no clarity on what is going to happen, despite the various opportunities for participation defined in HS2's Environmental Declaration (HS2 Ltd. 2013a, 2013b).

There were some differences among groups: not all were invited to participate in formal consultation activities. Whilst traders, the Mosque and some of the active residents felt they had a voice within their own communities/groups, they felt they were unable to make themselves heard in the HS2 consultation process. The traders were one of the few groups that have a representative (the Bengali Workers Association) that attended the Council and HS2 consultative meetings, but nevertheless, they received no information on whether their businesses will receive compensation or support to survive the construction period.

The active residents expressed the same concern. There was a common belief that people are not well represented in the participation process and not well informed by it. Some residents mentioned that information about the meetings was not disseminated to everyone, and that meetings were hard to attend as they were carried out during holiday periods or at unsuitable times:

"They [HS2] did a lot of consultation but the timetable was very bad and not reachable to everyone".
Active resident

The majority of respondents expressed their concern for the elderly and other vulnerable groups in the area, including children and disabled people. They believed that these groups will be the most affected. As they may have

Figure 4.9. Interviews at St Mary Magdalen Centre for the Elderly. Source: Chapter Authors.



no specific representative, they are less likely to be invited to meetings, and their needs – although potentially the most important to address – therefore become invisible.

The fee of £20 served as a disincentive for some residents who might otherwise have submitted a petition. The consequent lack of a sense of genuine consultation has led some residents to believe that the Council is in favour of the planned regeneration and is deliberately working against community interests.

Insights into a successful initiative for boosting representation in the regeneration process can be gleaned from a precedent in Hackney (Box 4.4).

4.5 Conclusion and Recommendations

This research illustrates that there are a variety of support, job-based, and recreational networks in the Euston area that need recognition in the development process – some performing multiple functions in residents’ lives. These networks are tied to specific spaces and services, so one of the most relevant social effects of the HS2 project relates to the threat it may present to public spaces, among them green spaces and community centres. The evidence from this report highlights that these spaces are extremely important for community relationships, as it is in these spaces where interaction and socialisation occurs.

Camden Council and HS2 Ltd have acknowledged the need for green spaces, and the physical effect HS2 will have on the environment, but have failed to link the importance of these spaces to the function of the community. There is a risk of community fragmentation, stemming not only from the fact that residents will be forced to relocate as a result of HS2, but also from the consequent cumulative effects on the spaces that support community networks. For example, the increase in property values will make them unaffordable for local residents, while the blocking of access may reduce the number of pedestrians that go to Drummond Street or the Euston Mosque, and prevent the elderly and children from being able to attend activities. As some leave and others are unable to interact, the strong community cohesion of the area will be broken down. In this context, the importance of familiar networks of support should not be underestimated, particularly for the most vulnerable in the community.

We have also shown, with regard to representation, that although there have been formal opportunities for community participation, residents of the Euston Area feel they have not been properly informed about what is going to happen, and believe that their opinions are

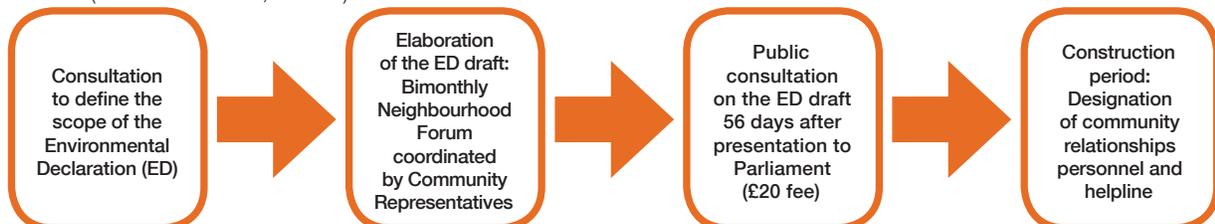
Box 4.4. Comprehensive Estates Initiative, Hackney

Tenant participation and community engagement were essential for physical and neighbourhood improvements. Spaces of participation, such as consultations and meetings were carried out with important actors and the community to ensure the negotiation and decision-making took place at the community level.



Figure 4.11. Projected image of how the new Euston station will look after the HS2 intervention. Source: <http://www.camdennewjournal.com/news/2012/jan/hs2-g0-ahead-euston-station-revamp-threatens-listed-office-block>

Figure 4.10. Defined spaces of participation in the HS2 Environmental Declaration. Source: HS2 Environmental Declaration (HS2 Ltd. 2013a, 2013b)



not being considered. The fact that the residents and organisations are being invited to participate in such meetings does not translate into actual participation or having a ‘voice’ regarding the project developments. Moreover, there is no clarity about how HS2 will relate to residents in the future, and if there are going to be any further channels or spaces for participation.

In conclusion, there are still many aspects of the HS2 plans that need to be improved upon in order to avoid further damage to community relationships that have already deteriorated as a result of the regeneration and gentrification processes that have occurred recently in the area. Our recommendations relating to community and relationships are presented in the table below.

Table 4.2. Recommendations for a Citizen’s Charter for Euston

SPACES AND SERVICES
<p>Principle: Maintain, increase and ensure the quality of spaces available to the community to facilitate interaction and other services.</p> <p>Description: Spaces and services support community cohesion and interaction, and should be supported in the process of development.</p> <p>Deliverable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organise consultation meetings with the local community on how to use green spaces. Loss of green spaces should be avoided. If any such spaces are lost they should be replaced and provided. - Protect and provide playgrounds and areas for children’s activities. - Avoid loss of community centres and provide new spaces for the community. - Promote groups and activities for children, youth and elderly. - Ensure the usability of spaces by assuring maintenance and care, cleanliness, safety and lack of pollution.
<p>Principle: Safeguard accessibility of the area</p> <p>Description: Access routes need to be seen as part of the infrastructure of community interactions, relationships and social inclusion.</p> <p>Deliverable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Protect walkways, particularly in areas close to schools and services for the community in general, but especially for elderly, children and disabled. - Protect current routes to local businesses, particularly by maintaining current access to Drummond Street from Euston Station.
<p>Principle: Provide support for long term residents and local businesses to be able to stay in the area, avoiding a process of exclusionary gentrification</p> <p>Description: Regeneration should not be a destructive process in which existing, functioning communities and businesses are eroded and eventually replaced.</p> <p>Deliverable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maintain the affordability of rent for housing, shops/cafes/pubs and services in the area.
INFORMATION AND VOICE
<p>Principle: Promote adequate spaces for residents to participate and express their concerns, especially the most vulnerable groups.</p> <p>Description: Consultation processes can unwittingly hinder participation and foster distrust in the community if they do not provide adequate information and an appropriate range of accessible opportunities for a broad range of residents.</p> <p>Deliverable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consider the need of elderly, children and disabled and address them directly by having specific communication strategies for different target groups. - Improve accessibility of the consultation process to enable a wider range of groups in the community to participate. - Take into consideration specific needs of the community, such as: timing and frequency of meetings; medium; comprehensiveness of the information provided; and easy/accessible language. - Ensure that the ‘voices’ of participants are taken into account.

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5. HS2 Untangled: Your Guide to Accountability

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5.1 Introduction and context

What is accountability? What does it mean? And who is involved in this process? To explore this within the HS2 project, it is important firstly to recognise the context within which this accountability process is embedded. At a national level, there are significant institutional tensions within UK governance, constraining the accountability processes in which they are entwined. These constraints are manifested in legislation such as the 'National Planning Policy Framework'. These structural conditions have impacts on the ability of communities to engage meaningfully in democratic practices.

Whilst legislation like the Localism Act (2011) encourages participants to engage in local debates, such contribution is limited to the structural constraints which govern spaces for participation. The result can be disillusionment with democratic practices, and declining relationships of trust between Government and civil society. Although they are not always visible, the impacts of distrust between Government institutions and their publics are highly destructive, as the London Riots of 2011 demonstrated. As such, it is important to recognise the fragility of trust in the city, and challenge institutional tensions in order to produce meaningful changes in accountability processes at a structural level.

In 2012, London was host to the Olympics, which involved a huge infrastructural development. A varied range of social repercussions, particularly in the Stratford area, magnified the need for appropriate management to meaningfully involve the local community in the development process. Moreover, London is currently experiencing growing gentrification more broadly, which has been significantly "reshaping the social geography of Inner London over the last 30–40 years" (Hamnett, 2003). Currently, the HS2 project is being pursued, in response to the UK's National plan. Whilst this research primarily focuses on the social impact in the Euston area, it is important to highlight HS2's purpose within a wider structural economic process in the UK. HS2 aims to 'rebalance the UK economy' by opening up local economies and focusing on "how the railway, transport and infrastructure can help our economy grow" (HS2, 2014:10). A recent report highlighted that,

"HS2 is no longer thought of as a standalone end in itself, but rather as a catalyst for a much bigger process of change; it is one essential element in a strategy for transforming our transport system and, therefore, our economy as a whole" (HS2, 2014:6)

As HS2 pursues these benefits to the broadly conceived UK community, it is also accountable to those citizens and local communities whose personal lives and environments will be drawn into the development process. Through an exploration of the accountability process with HS2, this study aims to:

- Make the term accountability more understandable for citizens,
- Highlight the relations between stakeholders within the accountability process,
- Identify appropriate and meaningful participatory mechanisms for citizen empowerment, and
- Explore the HS2 accountability process as an entry point for citizens to engage in wider democratic practices

We hope that this study will contribute to improving the accountability process for the potential future development of the HS2 project, and more widely, to the advancement of accountability processes in related ventures in London.

5.2 Accountability and Capability

In this research, we draw on Amartya Sen's 'Capability Approach', focusing on the role of citizens as agents who are capable of shaping and influencing their surroundings and the institutional arrangements with which they interact. The *agency* of citizens refers to their personal ability to exert influence through relationships with others, manifesting itself in the collective context.

For the purpose of this research, accountability is understood as a practice through which citizens engage

with the decisions and processes that affect their lives. This engagement implies that citizens reach beyond the social contract and aspirations arranged by the state (rights and obligations), becoming empowered agents that can open up new spaces where civil society, the state and market hold each other into account (Gaventa, 2002).

The research presented in this chapter focuses on how HS2 produces both constraints and opportunities for citizens to interact with each other and their surroundings. Two main sets of citizen actors, with varying reactions to the development, were identified. The key actors in this study are what we have called the 'stagnant population' – citizens who already reside or work in the Euston area, and will be directly or indirectly affected by the construction process. A second group of actors is the 'floating community', people who regularly access, interact and influence Euston through both personal and economic contributions. We also paid attention to key institutional actors involved in the HS2 development, who therefore have relations of accountability to the affected community:

1. National Government
2. Department for Transport
3. HS2 Ltd
4. Camden Council

This research puts forward what some members of the affected community recognize to be important or valuable, and attempts to associate those aspirations with specific dimensions and practices of accountability, which we explore below. There is a connection between efficient, inclusive accountability mechanisms and the ability of citizens to participate and choose what they value the most. Such interaction may strengthen communities at a local level, but also the national democratic spectrum as a whole (Frediani, 2010).

Dimensions of Accountability

The dimensions of accountability to which we relate community aspirations are:

Clear and Accessible Information: In order for citizens to take part in the decision-making process that affects their lives, the access, accuracy and coherence of the information provided by institutions is paramount. This information should be made readily available to allow greater citizen engagement and participation.

Meaningful and inclusive participation opportunities: These opportunities should allow people to exercise their "voice and choice [...] contribute, influence, share, benefit and exchange knowledge and skills to be [...] involve in decision-making" (Saxena 2011, p.31).

Information should encourage participation, consultation and debates, further strengthening the institutional schemes in which decisions are taken. Participatory activities, such as consultation exercises, should operate through inclusive mechanisms encouraging meaningful discussion of policies.

Short and long-term feedback mechanisms: In order for the process of accountability to be meaningful, feedback mechanisms should be in place holding the stakeholders involved liable to previously established commitments.

Practices of Accountability

The magnitude and potential impact of the HS2 project has led to the development of various strategies that attempt to hold all the different stakeholders accountable to their commitments (HS2, 2015). Alternatively, citizens have engaged through various channels of participation, to collectively identify the issues that are most important. These are some of the identified practices:

Government-led practices:

- Consultations - aimed to engage the community and provide the opportunity for them to voice their concerns.
- Draft consultation responses published on Camden Council website- intended for the community to comment on, before finalizing the response to the national Government (Camden Council, 2014).
- Euston Area Plan – workshops and other activities were held to share the project with the community, and to encourage feedback on certain areas of the plan (transport and environment).
- Distribution of relevant information regarding HS2 to the community (e.g. letters, digital newsletters).

Citizen-led practices:

- Community meetings – held to discuss the potential impact of the project.
- Petitions – campaigns against the HS2 project ('Stop HS2', ND).
- Neighbourhood groups and alliances – the community organized according to their specific needs and concerns (eg. Drummond Street Traders Association).

5.3 Methodology

In order to develop a meaningful understanding of accountability in relation to the overall impact of HS2, the visions of the community should be taken into genuine consideration. We undertook four engagement activities to capture the views of the accountability actors. This consisted of preliminary interviews with the ‘floating’ and stagnant communities in Drummond street – a geographic area that will be directly or indirectly impacted by the development of HS2. We questioned participants about the adequacy of information they had received about the HS2 project, the extent to which they were able to participate in the development of the project, and the extent to which they felt they had been heard in the process if they participated. We also used photography and the mapping of interviews to illustrate the various perspectives entrenched within the community. See images below outlining some of the key sentiments associated to the process of accountability of HS2.

A meeting with Camden Council was also initiated, to more thoroughly comprehend the Council’s capabilities and role in the process, which we analysed in terms of the three aforementioned dimensions of accountability.

Additionally, extensive follow-up interviews were carried out targeting specific members of the stagnant community. These individuals consisted of the owner of a corner shop, the landlord of a pub, who resided above the estab-

lishment, and the manager of a newly acquired business. These semi-structured interviews aimed to help cultivate a comprehensive examination of the community’s aspirations in regards to the HS2 project.

Finally, to highlight the concerns of a range of actors within the community, feedback on these findings were collected from locally involved actors in the Euston area.

5.4 Key Issues: Accessible Information, Meaningful Participation and Feedback

Clear and Accessible Information

Participants in our research highlighted problems in the amount of information they have received about the project, and the comprehensibility of this information where they have received it. One participant said he had received no more information than had appeared in the news – suggesting uncertainty over how and where to access relevant information. Another said, “I haven’t received much information and I can’t say I have understood the information,” illustrating the difficulty community members may have in comprehending information when they do receive it. In addition, a shop owner was frustrated that staff of HS2 seemed unable to answer questions accurately and respond to issues when residents raised

Figure 5.1. Sentiments of local residents associated to the accountability process of HS2 project. Source: Chapter Authors.



them. The reason for this appeared to be that for staff, information is continuously changing due to the longevity of the project and the uncertainty surrounding it.

One useful precedent for optimising information sharing is the Stop Fylde Fracking website – see Box 5.1.

Box 5.1. Stop Fylde Fracking

The residents of communities along the Fylde coastline have created a website to express their concerns regarding the proposed fracking in Lancashire. This shows how local residents mobilized to create a single digital source for clear and up-to-date information regarding the effects of fracking. The website provides an outline of consultations (Stop Fylde Fracking, ND).

Meaningful and Inclusive Participation Opportunities

Interviewees said that the community is engaging with the issues surrounding the proposals, but not through the channels created by Camden Council and HS2. Camden Council demonstrated an awareness of some of the factors keeping community members from engaging, and in particular highlighted the challenges faced in involving traditionally “excluded” groups. Insights into useful community engagement practices for including marginal groups can be gained from the precedent in Box 5.2.

Box 5.2. Brighton and Hove City Council Community Engagement on Decent Homes

Brighton and Hove City Council showed good practice in community engagement work when creating a longer term repairs and maintenance contract to help meet the Decent Homes Standard. A new Asset Management Panel was created and residents were sent letters and invited to become members. There was an emphasis on engaging with residents from marginalized groups. Twelve residents were then randomly selected to meet the diversity of the city (Johnson, ND).

Through various community engagements, people felt that interactions were primarily one-sided. On the other side of the coin, Camden Council faced the challenge of explaining to the community why certain areas of the planning framework are not open to commentary, as they form part of a national planning framework over which the Council has little power.

Short and Long-Term Feedback

Several issues have already been encountered in feedback processes. Certain problems have arisen in the interface between the community, the council, and HS2 Ltd. For instance, HS2 distributed letters to the ‘stagnant community’ without taking into account Camden Council’s feedback on the content. Failure to translate the letters into plain language as suggested by the Council might explain residents’ complaints that the information they have received is difficult to understand. In addition, HS2 did not provide clear answers to residents’ queries following these letters, resulting a large influx of queries to the Council, placing a strain on their resources.

As the project develops, the council and HS2 also need to consider the long-term channels to harness future participation. One interviewee said that a problem both the council and local residents face is that the project has not yet commenced: “it’s not real yet...people can’t pose it properly...when it becomes real, then the opposition will become very real”. Plans need to be made in anticipation of a greater demand for feedback and engagement. As a member of the ‘stagnant community’ suggested, there is a need “to co-ordinate the various groups into one, so it will be a powerful message”. One example of a centralized feedback initiative can be found in Box 5.3.

When analysing the process of accountability, certain conditions, including the flow of communication, have been diverted from the Government’s initial goal (Gov UK, ND2) of empowering the community through various mechanisms of accountability. Despite efforts made by Camden Council,

Box 5.3. Olympic Delivery Authority Hotline

The Olympic Delivery Authority for the London 2012 Olympics set up a dedicated Community Relations team and a 24-hour free hotline, allowing local residents to express their concerns. Responses were provided within 3 days and issues raised by residents were forwarded onto the construction and project teams (Sharpe, 2012).

a gap in communication exists between HS2 and the community. As a result, Camden Council has had to respond to a variety of concerns outside its scope of action, and despite their efforts, tensions have arisen between the Council and the community. Furthermore, this strain has influenced some citizens' willingness to engage with the project and their influence in the decision-making process.

Our findings suggest challenges to the Council's influence upon the HS2 project, as well as the political responsibilities it should adhere to. Although accountability mechanisms have been employed, they have not resulted in clear and accessible information, effective feedback, and meaningful participatory opportunities for the community.

5.5 Conclusion and Recommendations

Throughout this project we have explored the opportunities and limitations of how citizens can exert their role as active agents with the introduction of high-impact infrastructure projects in the public agenda. There are different understandings of what accountability means, but we have identified structural conditions that should allow citizens to claim more democratic practices of accountability: clear and accessible information, meaningful and inclusive participation opportunities and efficient feedback mechanisms. The current environment allows for limited contributions from citizens due to the lack of spaces and opportunities for meaningful participation.

We have addressed the complexity of the relations between different stakeholders, specifically the contested position that Camden Council has inadvertently been placed in. The council is not directly part of the project, thus hindering their institutional capacity to respond to citizens' concerns regarding HS2. Additionally, feedback mechanisms between HS2 and the community have been perceived as a one-way dialogue, often not indicative of citizens' agendas. This lack of reciprocity in feedback is not necessarily a specific trait pertaining to HS2, but rather a fault in wider institutional practices. Our recommendations for a Citizen's Charter are presented in the table below, and we present a second set of recommendations specifically for the Camden Council.

The following set of recommendations is meant to empower the community and Camden Council. By collaborating, these actors can strengthen their position in mediating with HS2. To redefine the relationship between Camden Council and the community, there is a need for accountability mechanisms that allocate responsibilities to appropriate actors. This can be done through systematically managing relevant information to ameliorate how it is processed and shared.

We recommend using a Community Score Card (CSC), effective media and the provision of a public space, in order to improve the clarity and accessibility of information, participatory methods and long term feedback mechanisms. We describe each of these recommended practices in Box 5.4.

Table 5.1. Recommendations for a Citizen's Charter for Euston

<p>Principle: Clear and Accessible Information Description: The community is unsure of where to access relevant information; information is difficult to understand; information is continuously changing due to the longevity of the project and the uncertainty surrounding it. Deliverable: Make information clearer, eliminating technical jargon and potentially using the 'HS2 Untangled' website to guide people to access information.</p>
<p>Principle: Meaningful and Inclusive Participation Opportunities Description: Without clear information, the community hasn't participated through the channels created by HS2 and Camden Council. There have been challenges in involving marginalized groups/individuals to participate, and there is a lack of long-term plans for participation opportunities. Deliverable: Propose long-term participation opportunities to help restore and build the relationship between Camden Council and the affected community, and place more pressure on HS2.</p>
<p>Principle: Short and Long Term Feedback Description: There is limited presence of feedback mechanisms in the short and long term; limited power for members of the community to comment and change certain aspects of the planning process for the project, due to the national 'National Planning Policy Framework'; and feedback provided by Camden Council is often not taken into account by HS2. Deliverable: Place more pressure on HS2 to be transparent and more engaged, by creating collaborations not only between the community and Camden Council, but also with other communities across the country who are affected by this project.</p>

The HS2 project has highlighted pre-existing tensions between various actors, providing an entry point for citizens to challenge current accountability mechanisms. This additionally suggests alternative practices that may enable more meaningful and inclusive participation. Through the use of tools such as the Community Score Card and Social Media, citizens in collaboration with Camden Council can recognize their potential as a collective agency and be empowered to present their aspirations regarding HS2. This sense of unity can be estab-

lished on both local and national levels, as the impacts of the project surpasses the Euston area. This opens up new dimensions of accountability (Paul, 1992), allowing citizens not only to question the execution of the project, but also the reasons for the intervention itself. In regards to HS2, accountability should allow citizens to question the priorities of the national Government, particularly weighing the importance of geographic and economic integration over urgent social needs surrounding health-care and austerity measures.

Box 5.4. Recommended Accountability Practices

Community Score Card (CSC)

Community Score Cards (CSC) are a participatory tool for “assessment, planning, monitoring and evaluation” (CARE, 2013 p. 6). This tool assimilates demand and supply of a service or program to simultaneously analyse issues related to its delivery, with the aim of collectively generating a shared solution. The benefits of using a CSC include:

“promoting dialogue and improves relationship; facilitates a common understanding of issues and solutions to problems; empower service users leading to community monitoring of services; facilitates accountability, transparency and responsibility; and, clarifies the roles and responsibilities” (CARE 2013, p.8)

With regards to the accountability process for the HS2 project, the CSC can be implemented by a responsible actor or dedicated lead in the process. The actor needs to ensure that several meetings with the community are conducted. The first meeting should divide the community into various interest groups in order to highlight their key issues and develop indicators. A subsequent meeting with the community would aim to prioritize these issues. Finally, the community has the opportunity to grade the performance of each indicator, provide reasons for the grading and propose solutions. The results of this process are displayed in an open gathering, where all actors (HS2, Department of Transport, National Government, the community) can contribute to the development of a planning matrix. This allows for the development of a clear action plan with allocated responsibilities and deadlines. In a systematic and accountable manner, this method allows the community to feed directly into the HS2 process.

CSC can allow information to be collected throughout the project process, enabling new and current information to develop on top of existing knowledge. This further helps monitor, track and obtain the expected results in the long term. The CSC has been adopted as a best practice model for a number of different organizations such as UNICEF, World Bank and Procter and Gamble.

Strategic use of media

There are three ways in which the strategic use of media could assist the collaborative effort between Camden Council and the community. This tool further has the potential to connect these actors in the Euston area to other affected communities throughout the country.

- Local newspapers: this tool can be used to publish the report from the CSC and place pressure on the Department of Transport and HS2 Ltd.
- Twitter: using hashtags (e.g. #HS2Information) can allow the community to exchange opinions, information or create interest groups. This tool can also be used by Camden Council to let people know what is happening at the national and local level.
- Web-page: students from the MSc. Social Development Practice program at UCL are developing a web-page that untangles the information from HS2, which can then be accessed by affected actors.

Community Hub

Finally, it is crucial that the community has an outlet to express, articulate and access information through the longevity of the project development and implementation. The provision of a Community Hub is a public space where the stagnant and ‘floating’ community can participate, engage and network with others.

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6. Conclusion

Seen against the backdrop of the 2013 exploration of residents' aspirations for Euston, the findings of this year's study pose the question of whether, and how, Euston residents' aspirations can be realized. Despite the existence of numerous community groups, the clear commitment of many to supporting the community to survive and thrive, and a shared understanding of the potential risks coercive 'regeneration' might pose, community resources can only be effective in partnership with decision-makers and investors.

The HS2 project presents us with a quandary as we work towards spatial and social justice in the United Kingdom. Designed with the national interest in mind, and with the aim of alleviating large-scale regional economic inequalities, the project represents an aggregated and quantitative view of spatial and economic inequalities. This is not an illegitimate goal. However, as the work in Euston over the past two years illustrates, a variety of both qualitative and quantitative aspects of social justice at the smaller geographical scale of the community are overlooked from this vantage point. How do we bring together the pursuit of greater equality/social justice at the macro and micro, quantitative and qualitative scales, in order to ensure that 'regeneration' does not become a synonym for displacement and gentrification? This is an area of major concern, as respondents in this year's study expressed a thoroughgoing antagonism to the idea of 'regeneration.' To survive, 'regeneration' must allow for a more equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of major change. This vision of social justice is expressed through different theoretical frameworks in the respective chapters, but the underlying message remains the same.

In the process of investigating and analysing 'regeneration' in Euston, students have extrapolated a number of basic principles to inform a Citizens' Charter. Many of these overlap, and in particular the importance of the structural prerequisites for democratic accountability stand out as essential. *Clear and accessible information, meaningful and inclusive participation opportunities and efficient feedback mechanisms* would go a long way towards ensuring meaningful engagement and hence positive impacts on housing, jobs and community. Findings suggest that these structures are complex and require careful thought rather than a check-box approach to consultation.

The study on housing shows that HS2 has the potential to exacerbate the problems of the already marginalised. The implementation of a Citizens' Charter could be an important instrument to guide consultation processes toward a greater protection of existing low-income communities. The recommendations for housing included *the creation of a space for meaningful participation to help bring the voices of residents and policymakers into better alignment; changes to the definition of affordability to focus on the person rather than the market; protection of spaces and services that foster community agency; and the imperative to consider diversity of experience by considering the plight of already vulnerable groups.*

In terms of decent work, students identified the need to move the discourse around HS2's impact on jobs and employment beyond limited quantitative understandings and toward a more qualitative analysis that takes into account intangible factors that support people's capabilities. This included the need for a *socially sensitive definition of what constitutes good jobs, development of guidelines on good work that specify qualitative aspects such as the living wage and protection from exploitative forms of employment relationship; and embracing and protecting local business as an important facet of a project's impact on employment.* These protections involve both creating opportunities and specifying mitigations.

In exploring the theme of community and relationships, the relationship between spaces and the social networks that support residents' welfare, employment and recreation came through very strongly, emphasising the need to protect and improve available spaces in the process of regeneration, rather than removing them. A key barrier was the related issue of information: uncertainty has plagued residents as a result of ineffective public engagement, giving rise to fears that cannot be allayed as long as the details of the project remain opaque. Another key point was the need to focus on space not merely as a physical element of the environment but as a networking site and a crucial part of the socio-economic world of local communities. Looming through the analysis is the spectre of a cohesive community, created through years of investment and interaction, that may be dismantled, fragmented and disabled by the cumulative effects on the spaces that support community. In turn, other aspects

of people's lives and capabilities would be impacted. Students call for processes of regeneration that *support and improve public spaces, mitigate risks to local business, maintain accessibility of spaces, and provide spaces for residents to share concerns.*

In this fraught process of 'regeneration' it is important to focus our energies on the fate of vulnerable populations at the hands of regional changes. Such a focus cannot be achieved through the current discourse, which defines benefits in terms of outcomes for the aggregated economy, labour market and private property values, because the most vulnerable in our society are those who are poor, unemployed, and rely on state-supported housing. In the absence of the cushioning effect of wealth, local communities produce social capital that is invested in every area of social life. Fragmenting these communities through displacement or attrition destroys the web of networks that enable low income groups to support their capabilities in the absence of significant financial support. In this sense, displacing such communities does far more than simply move individuals from one site to another. By destroying the supportive structure of community networks, spaces and practices, it materially affects the ability of these individuals to enjoy lives they value, and potentially reinforces social and spatial inequalities. While investors collect the financial benefits of these developments, communities are unequally exposed to the risks of development, with far-reaching consequences.

'Regeneration' needs to be reclaimed, for the sake of all concerned. For communities, the lack of influence that communities can wield through the available

channels of participation can lead to disillusionment disincantising community action and widening already existing democratic deficit. While local councils as the nearest available branch of democratic institution attempt to serve residents interests, they have to do so in the context of their limited influence over projects of 'national interest'. Often, councils can find themselves caught between the conflicting and seemingly irreconcilable interests of communities seeking to protect the spaces they have a claim on; national government seeking to address macro-scale spatial patterns; and private sector actors seeking to maximise profit through their involvement. Perhaps the greatest risk is that the interface between these groups of interests may become paralysed by conflict.

In this context, the debates around Camden Citizens HS2 Charter (see annex 1) have opened up a refreshing potential to re-imagine the future of Euston. To fulfil this potential, it is essential that the Charter be viewed not simply as a document to be signed but as a gateway to a longer-term process of dialogue. With a commitment to meaningful engagement by all parties, this could form the basis for navigating a complex web of interests and priorities in a way that challenges the underlying structures that reproduce inequalities. In practice, the Charter has unleashed debates that go beyond conversations about the distribution of benefits from a large infrastructure development, opening up spaces to rethink the imaginaries of urban change. We hope that the MSc in Social Development Practice can continue contributing to these processes of engagement that aim to produce a more just and inclusive Euston.

Figure 6.1. Exhibition Involving Camden Citizens, ASF-UK, UCL, University of Sheffield and University of Westminster During the Pre-launch of the Camden Citizens HS2 Charter. Source: *Beatrice De Carli*



Figure 6.2. Students and Staff of MSc in Social Development Practice signing Camden Citizens HS2 Charter. Source: *Matthew Wood-Hill*



Annex 1. Draft Camden Citizens HS2 Charter

Camden Citizens HS2 Charter

Background to the charter

A decision has been made by Camden Citizens to create the HS2 Charter in response to the potential HS2 development. We are ambitious for our borough and its people. The clear and measurable benefits outlined in this Charter must be guaranteed so that HS2 can be seen not as a threat, but as a means of improving the lives of people locally.

Whilst many communities across the UK will be impacted by the construction phase of HS2, it is the people of Camden, especially those neighbouring Euston Station, who will be impacted most. Camden is therefore different. This needs to be recognised and reflected in the relationship between Camden and HS2.



We seek the following commitments:

Good jobs and training

- ✓ 30% of jobs in Euston for local Camden residents during and after construction
- ✓ A Living Wage Zone to be created around Euston through the construction phase
- ✓ Employer led training opportunities for local residents to contribute to Camden Councils Knowledge Quarter.

Quality affordable housing

- ✓ The creation of affordable quality homes for local residents in Camden
- ✓ Evicted residents must be given alternative quality housing in Camden

Proper compensation

- ✓ Compensation that ensures no one is worse off, including the businesses of Drummond Street

Real engagement

- ✓ A committed senior lead to meet regularly with community representatives
- ✓ The Charter to be a shared process between local residents, Camden Council and HS2
- ✓ Accessible to all

Protection of health and wellbeing

- ✓ Historical and cultural sites of significance to be protected and enhanced
- ✓ The unique character of open spaces and community facilities to be preserved

A greener safer Camden

- ✓ Actions taken to ensure Euston is safe and accessible for all.
- ✓ Camden to be an Ultra Low Emission Zone by 2025

SDP STUDENTS REPORT 2015 - DPU

The Development Planning Unit, University College London, is an international centre specialising in academic teaching, research, training and consultancy in the field of urban and regional development, with a focus on policy, planning management and design. It is concerned with understanding the multi-faceted and uneven process of contemporary urbanisation, and strengthening more socially just and innovative approaches to policy, planning management and design, specially in the contexts of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East as well as countries in transition.

The central purpose of the DPU is to strengthen the professional and institutional capacity of governments and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to deal with the wide range of development issues that are emerging at local, national and global levels. In London, the DPU runs postgraduate programmes of study, including a research degree (MPhil/PhD) programme, six one-year Masters Degree courses and specialist short courses in a range of fields addressing urban and rural development policy, planning, management and design.

Overseas, the DPU Training and Advisory Service (TAS) provides training and advisory services to government departments, aid agencies, NGOs and academic institutions. These activities range from short missions to substantial programmes of staff development and institutional capacity building.

The academic staff of the DPU are a multi-disciplinary and multi-national group with extensive and on-going research and professional experience in various fields of urban and international development throughout the world. DPU Associates are a body of professionals who work closely with the Unit both in London and overseas. Every year the student body embraces more than 45 different nationalities.

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MSc Programme in Social Development Practice. The central focus of the course is the relationship between active citizenship and development, with the recognition that diverse identities and aspirations are critical components of social change. This course responds to the increasing focus on well-being and 'people-centred' approaches, evidenced both by the revised policy priorities of many development agencies, and the discourses of grass-roots organizations, which question market led processes of development. At the same time, there is a need to problematize such approaches, given the power relations operating at various scales, from the global to the local, and the social dynamics of rapidly urbanizing societies. These concerns highlight the challenge of recognising and valuing difference in a way that strengthens, rather than fragments, collective action, and ensures universal principles of equity. This course offers the opportunity to engage with the theoretical and practical implications of promoting well-being and citizenship in the context of social diversity, exploring the traditional realm of the social sector as entry point to influence wider contestations of rights and citizenship as manifested in development initiatives.

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