

Euston station redevelopment: regeneration or gentrification?

Robin Hickman, Milena Martinez Garcia, Michel Arnd and Luisa Feyer Guimaraes Peixoto
Bartlett School of Planning, University College London
r.hickman@ucl.ac.uk

Abstract

The redevelopment of railways stations and their surrounding neighbourhoods offers many opportunities in terms of regeneration, yet there are also concerns over the potential gentrification of areas and displacement of the existing population and local businesses. The most prominent voice on these issues is typically from the project promoter, reflecting their position of power in the decision-making process, but there are other voices to be understood, including varied views from the local community.

This paper uses Q methodology to develop discourses associated with the proposed High Speed Two project and redevelopment of Euston station and the surrounding neighbourhoods. 28 in-depth surveys are used with local residents, local employees, politicians, local government officers and academics, covering attitudes to the proposed Euston redevelopment. The Q method analysis highlights three major discourses: the 'Community Activist', the 'Rail Promoter', and the 'Optimistic Practitioner'. Understanding these different discourses, and their components, is important for decision-makers in ensuring that investment strategies can better reflect the different viewpoints evident in the public domain. Ultimately, this can help to improve the social consequences of transport investment.

Key Words

Q methodology; discourse analysis; railway station; regeneration; gentrification.

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1. Introduction

The refurbishment of railway stations and their surrounding neighbourhoods often forms an important part of city redevelopment plans, giving opportunities to regenerate what are perceived as run-down areas, re-use old railway sidings, industrial land, and provide space for new commercial development in central areas. In London, for example, the areas surrounding the major rail interchanges are categorised as Opportunity Areas and many have been recently developed or have significant development plans (Greater London Authority, 2017). But, there is also controversy in terms of the type of development that is produced, including the potential gentrification of neighbourhoods and displacement of the existing population and local businesses. The term 'gentrification' was first used by Ruth Glass (1964, xviii-xix) to describe the changes that she saw in the housing market in London:

"One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower [...] once this process of gentrification starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupants are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed. There is little left of the poorer enclaves of Hampstead and Chelsea [...] the invasion has since spread to Islington, Paddington, north Kensington – even to the 'shady' parts of Notting Hill ..."

Nowadays, the housing unaffordability problem is widespread (Edwards, 2016, Gallent et al., 2017, Cao and Hickman, 2017) and many areas are proving unaffordable even to middle-high average household incomes. Providing an adequate supply of properly affordable housing (and employment units) has proved difficult for decades, and most accurately since the 1980s (Edwards, 2016). In addition, housing is used as a means of wealth accumulation, hence making renting and ownership more expensive as demand increases relative to a limited supply. The problem is proving difficult to overcome politically and there are very limited policy mechanisms being discussed. Alongside, public transport infrastructure is associated with development value uplift in the surrounding neighbourhoods. Transit-orientated development (TOD) is used to contribute to sustainable travel strategies, i.e. the surrounding development adds to patronage (Cervero, 1999, Institute for Transportation and Development Policy (ITDP), 2017). But, the associated development can lead to affordability, gentrification and displacement problems if little attention is given to distributional issues (Landis, 2016, Dong, 2017, Padeiro et al., 2019). Increasingly, the expected development value uplift is being used to help fund the infrastructure, as central government investment for capital infrastructure is reduced. Perversely, this encourages higher value uses. Hence, the financialisation of the housing and development process results in many unintended consequences. Transport planning, including through project appraisal, overlooks many of these issues, assuming that all development is beneficial. There is little consideration of these problems of development value uplift, gentrification and displacement, and who might benefit or lose. Use of tools such as cost-benefit analysis only serve to perpetuate these issues, prioritising funding to projects where the greatest benefits can be demonstrated relative to cost (Hickman and Dean, 2017).

These are fundamental issues that need to be addressed in transport and city planning. The development that is planned around transport projects and the associated land value changes are important to local neighbourhoods. Attitudes to proposed infrastructure and development are normative in nature, i.e. based on values and beliefs on what is good and desirable. Transport planners can consider this subjectivity more carefully, tailoring strategies to meet differences in viewpoints. This paper explores these issues by examining the views and discourses associated with the proposed High Speed Two (HS2) project¹ and

¹ HS2 is a planned high speed railway between London and Birmingham, with links to Sheffield and Leeds and Manchester, and potentially onto Edinburgh and Glasgow. The Manchester link is planned to open in 2027 and the Leeds link by 2033, with an estimated cost of £56 billion in 2017, but recently rising to £100 billion or more. Euston is the proposed terminal station in London. Peak hour capacity arriving/leaving Euston will more than

redevelopment of Euston station and the surrounding neighbourhoods. In-depth surveys are used with local residents, local employees, politicians, local government officers and academics, covering attitudes to the proposed Euston redevelopment. Although there is available documentation from HS2 and the local authorities, the local community voice tends to be undocumented. Hence, a concourse of views on the project is developed, which was not previously available. Q methodology is used to analyse the discourses. This is a qualitative-quantitative approach to discourse analysis and discussed later in the paper.

The contributions of the paper are to apply Q methodology in relation to attitudes on station redevelopment and to develop discourses associated with different actors and the affected communities. Reflections are made on the implications for practice in transport planning and decision-making. The form of development surrounding public transport investments needs to be much more effectively considered within the transport planning process. Indeed, development could be shaped to give greater affordability within the station catchment areas, reflect a wider range of views in the process.

2. Case Study and Method

Euston railway station case study

The redevelopment of Euston railway station provides the case study to examine these issues. Euston is located to the north of Euston Road, in the London Borough of Camden (LB Camden), with surrounding neighbourhoods such as Somers Town, Drummond Street and Hampstead Road, Regents Park estate, Amptill and Mornington Crescent.

Euston was the first inter-city terminal built in the UK, providing services for the London and Birmingham Railway and eventual West Coast Mainline, linking Glasgow, Manchester and Birmingham to the terminus station in central London. Originally opened in 1837, the station was planned by Robert and Louis Stephenson on farmland on the edge of London. It was designed by Philip Hardwick, and built by William Cubitt, with the distinctive Euston Arch at the station entrance, giving the 'gateway to the north'. The original rail sheds were replaced by the Great Hall in 1849, and the station capacity increased over the following decades with the original two platforms growing to fifteen. A controversial refurbishment was completed in 1968, including the demolition of the Great Hall and Euston Arch, to accommodate the electrified West Coast Mainline. Euston's 1960's style of modern architecture attracted much criticism, described as "a dingy, grey, horizontal nothingness" (Martin, 2004) and that "the sense of occasion, of adventure, that the great Victorian termini gave to the traveller was entirely – deliberately – absent. Euston wanted to look like an airport terminal .." (Stamp, 2007). The attempts to preserve the earlier station building were championed by Sir John Betjeman, poet-Laureate (the appointed national poet for the UK) at the time. This led to the formation of the Victorian Society and the modern conservation movement, eventually saving King's Cross from similar refurbishment plans (Royal Institution of British Architects, 2013). Euston is now the fifth busiest station in the UK with over 44 million entries and exits in 2016-17 (Office of Rail and Road, 2017). Euston will be refurbished as the preferred southern terminus for High Speed 2 and also as a major interchange for the future Crossrail 2 project, planned to open in the early 2030s at a cost of £31 billion.

The Euston Area Action Plan (Camden Borough Council et al., 2015, p.ix) seeks to rejuvenate the neighbourhoods surrounding the station as part of the station refurbishment:

"[...] both as a local hub of activity and a gateway to London through new high quality comprehensive and transformational development above and around a world class transport interchange at Euston Station".

Three main station alignment options are proposed:

double once HS2 is running, with services carrying over 300,000 people a day (DEPARTMENT FOR TRANSPORT 2017. High Speed Two. From Concept to Reality London: DfT.)

- Option 1: Sub-surface comprehensive station redevelopment, includes platforms and tracks at sub-surface to allow for ground level development above the station (HS2 original design/Network Rail level deck design). This is LB Camden's preferred option.
- Option 2: New high speed terminus alongside the existing station, includes retention of existing station and addition of new station on the western side (HS2's preferred option shown in the original 2013 HS2 Hybrid Bill).
- Option 3: Redevelopment on existing station footprint, includes redevelopment of the station on its existing footprint and taking no additional land (either without HS2 or as an alternative station design such as a double or triple deck design).

As part of the redevelopment of the station, 2,800-3,800 additional homes are planned, along with replacement homes, including the provision of affordable housing and family housing; as well as 7,700-14,000 jobs and 20,000 square metres of retail floor space (Camden Borough Council et al., 2015).

The discursive approach

There are different approaches to analysing discourses, depending on the research problem and context. All are interested in understanding differences in viewpoint – how one person and a collection of people may see an issue relative to someone else; indeed that everything we perceive and experience is mediated through socially-constructed knowledge (Keller, 2013). Content analysis is frequently used to analyse publications, speeches and recorded conversations. Statements or viewpoints on particular issues are examined, focusing on the connections between language and communication, including issues of knowledge, practice and power. The shape, structure and meaning of identified discourses can be overt or hidden. Hence, a discourse is viewed as:

“...a shared way of apprehending the world. Embedded in language, it enables those who subscribe to it to interpret bits of information and put them into coherent stories or accounts [...] each discourse rests on assumptions, judgements, and contentions that provide the basic terms for analysis, debates, agreements and disagreements.” (Dryzek, 1997, p.9-10)

The strength of such qualitative analysis is to allow different perspectives to be understood and discussed, sometimes in the search for consensus. Qualitative analysis can help capture detailed, rich and contextual understandings – beyond the sometimes oversimplified and rigid quantitative survey (Donner, 2001). There is a wide use of the different forms of discourse analysis in psychology, health, education, politics and environmental studies (Hajer, 1995, Dryzek, 1997, Hajer and Versteeg, 2005), including application of Q methodology (Barry and Proops, 1999, Shabila et al., 2014, Stevenson, 2015). In the transport field, discourse analysis is less frequently used, but there are a few emerging papers, including some using Q methodology. For example, analysis is carried out on the symbolic-affective and instrumental dimensions of car use (Steg et al., 2001); travel decision-making and middle distance travel (Van Exel et al., 2004, Van Exel et al., 2011); transport and social inclusion (Rajé, 2007); the acceptability of traffic demand management measures (Cools et al., 2012); cycling in small urban areas (Jones et al., 2012); ‘last mile’ issues on the commute (Hickman and Vecia, 2016) and attitudes to travel to the university campus (Hickman et al., 2018).

Q methodology is a research method originally developed by psychologist William Stephenson (1935, 1953), and since developed with statistical packages that make it easier to operate. The name Q comes from the type of factor analysis that is used to analyse the data. The more conventional R methodology involves finding relationships between variables (such as gender, age and travel) across a sample of respondents. Q methodology is instead examines correlations between respondents across a sample of statements, hence has strengths in examining issues of subjectivity.

Q methodology is also useful in that it allows discourses to be identified where there is no available discourse, such as viewpoints amongst a neighbourhood population. The discourse is generated by developing a set of statements, which reflect the range of debate on a particular topic. The method allows a mixed qualitative-quantitative analysis of discourses, including the identification of statements and factor analysis of these.

The Q analysis in this paper is carried out in five stages, and follows a similar approach used in previous studies (Hickman and Vecia, 2016, Hickman et al., 2018):

- Identification of the concourse
- Generation and selection of statements – the Q sample
- Administration of the Q sample to participants through interviews
- Statistical analysis of collected data to extract 'typical' Q sorts through factor analysis using Q software
- Discursive interpretation of Q sorts

Q sample design

A set of statements were developed (the Q sample) to give an understanding of attitudes to the Euston station redevelopment. The approach used in developing the Q sample can vary. Some Q studies source statements from the relevant literature (Brown, 1993, Rajé, 2007, McKeown and Thomas, 2013), whilst others develop statements through interviews with relevant parties (Barry and Proops, 1999). For this analysis, a combination of these approaches were used. Statements were drawn from reviews of Euston station redevelopment and HS2 strategy documents, and relevant media articles. These were discussed for suitability and relevance with an academic and planner involved with the project at LB Camden. A concourse matrix was used to structure and prioritise collected statements for use in the Q sample. This helps reduce the long list of potential statements, reduce overlap and minimise statement selection bias (Brown, 1980). The matrix reflects the different dimensions of sustainability – economic, social and environmental. Approximately 100 statements were prepared as the 'long list' of issues to consider, with 58 statements eventually used in the Q sample. The final Q sample had an approximate spread of statements across the different dimensions. An example of each type of statement is provided in Table 1.

Table 1: Example Q Statements

Economic	(3) London needs a transport system fit for the 21st Century – transport infrastructure helps support a bigger and better London.
Social	(22) Genuinely affordable housing (to rent and buy), including replacement housing for those displaced, is required at Euston – rather than more open market housing.
Environment	(56) HS2 will lead to longer distance journeys, hence any environmental gains will be marginal.

Administering the Q sort

Q methodology, similar to other qualitative analysis, does not require a large number of participants and usually involves between 25-40 participants using in-depth interviews, sometimes even less participants (Stevenson, 2015, Brown, 1993). There are no claims made concerning representativeness across a wider population. This is qualitative analysis examining subjectivity in opinion. The analysis is viewed as exploratory rather than confirmatory in nature, useful as an opener to a particular social enquiry. The number of participants in a Q study should be less than the number of statements, which are usually around 40-80. Participants are carefully selected, rather than randomised, to ensure a variety of viewpoints (Brown, 1980, Addams, 2000, Shabila et al., 2014); breadth and diversity are more important than representativeness.

A quota sampling method was used to gain a range of views amongst survey participants. 28 participants undertook the Q study, drawn from different backgrounds, including local residents, employees, local government, Transport for London, High Speed Two, academics; this formed the P set (Table 2). The aim is to identify a typology within a concourse that reflects the range of the debate, rather than to test for representativeness of the individual responses to a range of questions. An effective Q study hence depends a thoughtful sampling of the propositions – these being reflective of the things people write, say and understand on a particular topic (Cross, 2005, Stainton Rodgers, 1995).

Participants were invited for a 45-60 minute interview, during which they were given the Q sort to complete and responses were discussed following the statement ranking. Each person's viewpoint was given, representing his or her own views on the statements. The process is reconstructive, allowing participants to 'speak for themselves'. Agreement, disagreement and the sorting of statements can be understood in relation to the complete Q set, i.e. are dependent on the context within which each statement is a part. The statements are read together, leading the participant to consider a wide range of viewpoints and to constantly compare statements during the Q sort (Addams, 2000).

Table 2: Participant Profile (P set)

Participant	Gender	Age	Hours worked per week	Respondent type
P1	Male	45-64	30+	Local employee
P2	Male	45-64	30+	Local employee
P3	Male	25-44	30+	Local resident
P4	Male	65+	30+	Academic
P5	Male	45-64	30+	Local employee
P6	Male	25-44	30+	Local employee
P7	Male	25-44	30+	Local employee
P8	Female	25-44	<30	Academic
P9	Male	25-44	30+	Local employee
P10	Male	25-44	30+	Local employee
P11	Male	45-64	<30	Local employee
P12	Male	45-64	30+	Academic
P13	Male	45-64	30+	Local government (TfL/Camden)
P14	Female	25-44	30+	Local resident
P15	Female	45-64	30+	Local resident
P16	Male	25-44	30+	Academic
P17	Male	45-64	30+	Academic
P18	Male	65+	30+	Politician
P19	Female	45-64	30+	Local resident
P20	Male	45-64	30+	Local resident
P21	Male	25-44	30+	Local resident
P22	Female	25-44	30+	Local government (TfL/Camden)
P23	Female	25-44	30+	Local resident
P24	Female	25-44	30+	Academic
P25	Male	25-44	30+	Local resident
P26	Male	45-64	30+	Local employee
P27	Male	45-64	30+	Local government (TfL/Camden)
P28	Male	25-44	30+	Central Government (DfT/HS2)

The core of the process is the prioritisation of statements, forcing these into a given distribution. Each participant is required to sort the statements by assigning a score of between -4 and +4, where -4 reflects statements they disagree with most and +4 reflects statements they agree with most². Participants are limited in the number of statements they

² Brown (1993, p.102) notes that the range and distribution shape of statement score limitations have no effect on further analysis as long as the distribution shape follows a quasi-normal distribution [Exel, 2005: 6]) and can be changed to fit the needs of each individual study.

closest to this ideal are listed (Barry and Proops, 1999). In this case, there were four significant factors with eigenvalues over 1.5, explaining around 60 per cent of the variation in the responses, i.e. most of the information in the Q sorts. The fourth (and fifth) factors were discounted as they contained only bipolar sorts, and did not represent actual discourses. Hence, three factors were taken forward for the analysis. These are segments of subjectivity drawn from the individual responses with the sorts being most highly correlated. They give the revealed discourse groups used in the later discussion.

There is some interpretation required of the results and also during the process of analysis. Stevenson (2015, p.6) describes the relationship between the Q researcher and the data analysis process conducted through PQMethod:

“...while a set of statistical criteria can ultimately determine whether a solution is accurate and valid, Q methodological factor analysis is a deeply interpretive and qualitative process [...] the scope for interpretation is by no means boundless: the data will only reveal relationships among the variables that actually exist, it is then the role of the researcher to decide which relationships make most substantive sense.”

Table 3: Principal Component Analysis

Factor	Eigenvalues	As Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
1	11.4044	40.7300	40.7300
2	2.8082	10.0293	50.7592
3	1.5756	5.6273	56.3865
4	1.5488	5.5314	61.9179
5	1.1929	4.2603	66.1782
6	1.1035	3.9409	70.1191
7	1.0215	3.6484	73.7675
8	0.8268	2.9529	76.7203
9	0.7815	2.7911	79.5114
10	0.6527	2.3312	81.8426

Table 4: Factor Loading Matrix with Three Factors

Participant	Factor		
	1	2	3
P01	0.0369	-0.2438	0.1039
P02	0.7182 X	-0.0877	0.4431
P03	0.7819 X	0.067	0.2885
P04	0.7370 X	-0.2164	0.295
P05	0.7263 X	-0.0799	0.37
P06	0.6501 X	-0.2123	0.3653
P07	0.8218 X	-0.054	0.2799
P08	0.7367 X	0.1027	0.1868
P09	0.4725 X	-0.4095	-0.0573
P10	0.7641 X	-0.2389	0.1715
P11	0.7707 X	-0.197	0.103
P12	0.7402 X	-0.3315	0.2693
P13	0.2824	-0.047	0.6932 X
P14	0.6248 X	0.0934	0.5389

P15	0.8529 X	-0.017	-0.0037
P16	0.4576	0.0364	0.4568
P17	0.4187	-0.4189	0.5009
P18	0.2241	-0.0814	0.6658 X
P19	0.7425 X	-0.2041	0.1491
P20	0.2325	-0.1365	0.7000 X
P21	0.1229	0.6515 X	0.1414
P22	0.3233	0.2776	0.5223 X
P23	-0.0959	0.1973	0.6239 X
P24	0.5119	0.022	0.6729 X
P25	-0.1313	0.4302 X	-0.0355
P26	-0.0598	0.6646 X	0.1726
P27	0.5019 X	-0.1065	0.3602
P28	-0.1914	0.8432 X	-0.0303

Variance explained	31%	10%	16%
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Note: X indicates the preferred loading of a sort onto a factor; Factor 1 explains 31% of the variation in the P set; Factor 2, 10%; and Factor 3, 16%.

3. Revealed Discourses

Analysis by PQMethod

The following set of three distinct discourses are evident within the P set. These discourses can be taken as unique, coherent typologies of the collective patterns of shared opinions and beliefs held by sub-groups within the study participants (McKeown and Thomas, 2013). The labels are chosen to represent the most important statements within each discourse:

- Discourse A: The Community Activist
- Discourse B: The Rail Promoter
- Discourse C: The Optimistic Practitioner

Factorised rankings for each statement in each discourse are given in the Annex, Table A1. These can be seen as a weighted average of the scores, i.e. how each statement would have rated on a factor had it been measured directly (Addams, 2000). These statements ranked highest and lowest (-4, -3, +3, and +4) are the defining features of the factors that emerge from Q analysis and are seen as a large part of the "...substance of each factor" (Barry and Proops, 1999, Stevenson, 2015). Additionally, those statements ranked at 0 can provide meaningful insight into the topics deemed most neutral or insignificant by participants (Rajé, 2007). The statements falling under these values are provided below and are the basis for the discourses identified⁴.

The Q study allows us to understand the detailed nuances in viewpoints on the station redevelopment. The findings are specific to the respondents interviewed and the range of the debate explored; though there is perhaps wider relevance for other station redevelopment plans where a similar debate might be evident. Q studies offer an approach to gathering relevant qualitative data and insight on attitudes and discourses; an understanding that is often difficult to capture through more commonly applied quantitative approaches. This may help the project promoters develop a strengthened participatory basis for decision making and for local community groups to offer their views on proposals.

⁴ Note: Three of the 28 participants in this study were not sorted into a relevant discourse. These individuals were "confounded" and did not strongly enough correlate to any one discourse so as to be represented by it.

Interpretive descriptions are provided below for the discourses alongside the number of participants who 'loaded'⁵ onto that particular factor. These interpretive descriptions are supplemented with statements derived from discussions with participants held after completing their Q sort.

Discourse A: The Community Activist

Discourse A, the Community Activist, is formed by fifteen participants and is illustrated in Figure 2 and by the statements in Table 5.

Figure 2: The Community Activist



Table 5: Distribution of Statements for Discourse A

Rank	Statements
4	22, 26, 30, 34
3	5, 10, 32, 41, 43
0	1, 13, 24, 25, 29, 44, 45, 49, 51, 53
-3	4, 9, 18, 33, 50
-4	16, 19, 28, 58

The Community Activist seeks to protect the local community, local housing and employment, and does not believe the redevelopment of Euston should adversely affect the local neighbourhood. These individuals believe that a city should not be designed around profit maximisation and capitalist goals, that it should be designed for the people living and working in the city and their aspirations (30). In addition, that the planned new housing and commercial development surrounding Euston is likely to change the social composition of the area, with the local community having to move away, and to be replaced by higher income groups (34) and that using housing as a means for private capital accumulation leads to a problem for society's housing requirements (43). The solution is to provide genuinely affordable housing (to rent and buy), including replacement housing for those displaced, at Euston – rather than more open market housing (22). Existing businesses, such as those on Drummond Street, also need to be protected (26). Planning for cities and

⁵ Participants are said to be loaded onto a particular factor meaning that their unique Q sort identified more closely to that particular discourse or typology than any others.

transport infrastructure should be appraised against social, environmental and well-being objectives (10).

The Community Activist disagrees that HS2 is important for strategic transport policy objectives and that these should outweigh any local objections (19) and that transport planning should not be too concerned with the type of development that surrounds new rail stations (16). They do not believe that investment in public transport benefits all in society (28) or that people working in central London are more productive than the rest of the UK (4).

Typical participant views from this discourse include:

- “Gentrification is becoming a big problem in many areas of London; land value is increasing and running a business is more difficult.” (P3)
- “The development of a high income, ‘upmarket’ Euston is problematic – Euston will become expensive and people who have been living in the area for years will be kicked out.” (P3)
- “The project is very unlikely to benefit the local communities – they should be offered something substantial in return, such as better housing and options for businesses.” (P12)
- “The current CBA and environmental assessment process is too narrow and too short term – it looks at capital investment rather than the management of space.” (P27)

Discourse B: The Rail Promoter

Discourse B, the Rail Promoter, is formed by four respondents and is illustrated in Figure 3 and by the statements in Table 6.

Figure 3: The Rail Promoter

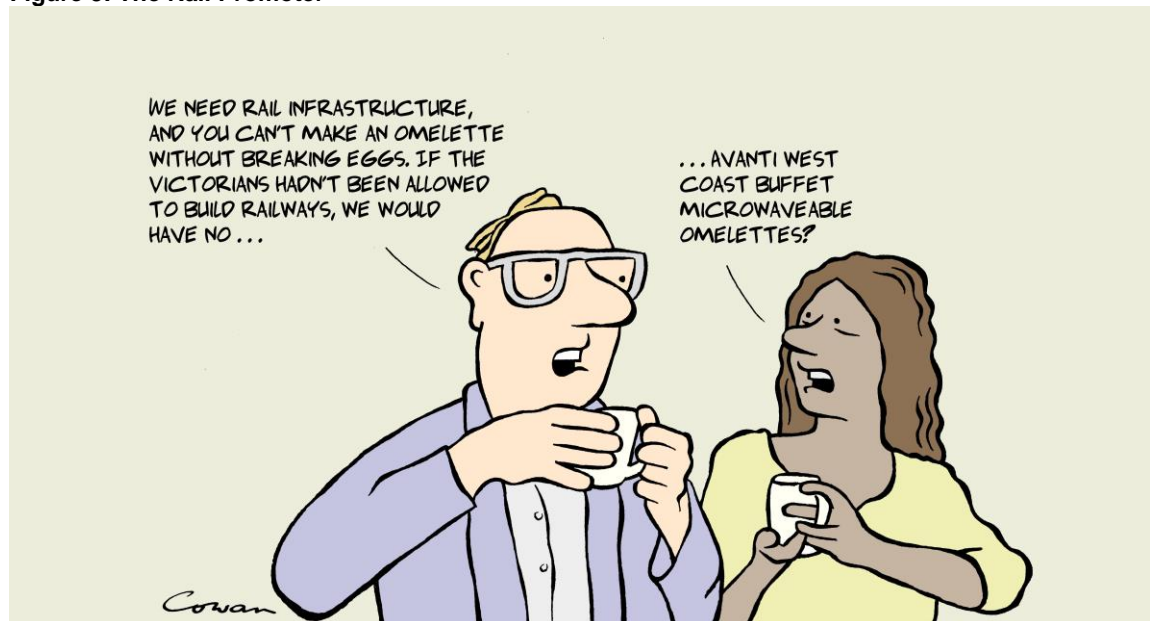


Table 6: Distribution Statements for Discourse B

Rank	Statements
4	3, 6, 7, 17
3	1, 8, 11, 42, 52
0	5, 14, 21, 23, 25, 29, 30, 32, 41, 47
-3	12, 15, 26, 37, 40
-4	16, 44, 45, 56

The Rail Promoter seeks to use new public transport infrastructure to support city growth. These individuals believe that London needs a transport system 'fit for the 21st Century' and that transport infrastructure helps support a 'bigger and better' London (3). They believe it is important to build a stronger, more balanced economy, that rail infrastructure such as HS2 can help by reducing journey times (6), and that HS2 will help support economic development throughout the UK, including in the northern cities (7). Urban regeneration is looked upon favourably as a positive process that will help upgrade the run-down neighbourhood around Euston (17). The strategic nature of HS2 and the thousands of construction jobs and employment opportunities created by the redevelopment of Euston are perceived to be very important (11).

The rail promoter disagrees that transport planning should not be too concerned with the type of development that surrounds new rail stations (16), with some uneasiness on the level of high income residential development. The focus on investing in high speed rail is not misplaced (44), there is potential for environmental benefit from HS2 (55), and a vibrant and high quality urban space can be achieved at Euston.

Typical participant views from this discourse include:

- "HS2 is a strategic project. It will have some adverse impacts, but improving public transport is critical to connectivity, economic growth, and reducing reliance on the car." (P26)
- "This is mostly a positive process – people will be re-housed into more modern housing, the rundown area will be improved and new businesses and people can use the facilities." (P28)
- "The benefits are much larger than the negatives – gentrification is already happening across London and it is not necessarily just due to HS2 at Euston." (P22)

Discourse C: The Optimistic Practitioner

Discourse C, the Optimistic Practitioner, is formed by six respondents and is illustrated in Figure 4 and by the statements shown in Table 7.

Figure 4: The Optimistic Practitioner

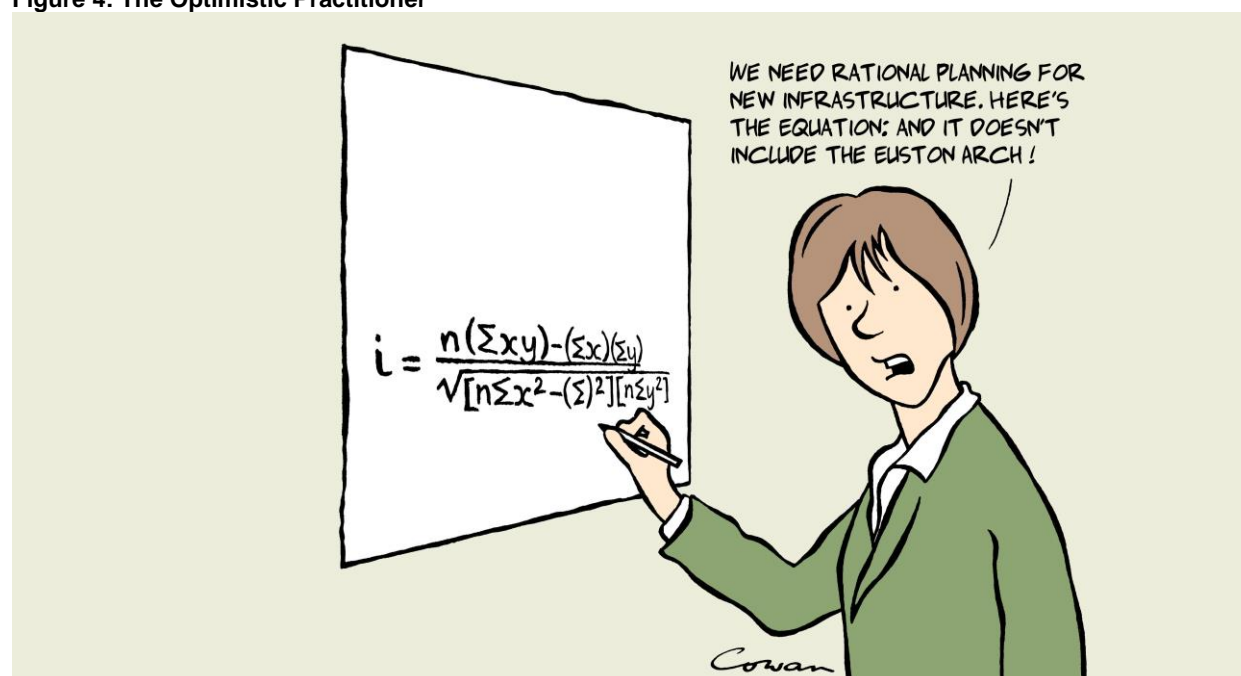


Table 7: Distribution of Statements for Discourse C

Rank	Statements
4	1, 40, 46, 52

3	5, 22, 30, 49, 53
0	11, 12, 20, 31, 32, 36, 41, 43, 47, 48
-3	9, 17, 50, 54, 58
-4	4, 16, 18, 19

The Optimistic Practitioner seeks to achieve positive outcomes from new infrastructure such as HS2 and Euston redevelopment, and believes these are possible to attain. These individuals believe that public transport infrastructure is critical to creating a sustainable city (1), but that there is a need for a much stronger debate on the strategic priorities for transport investment, between projects and areas (46). They are positive about the role of urban planning, and believe that it is possible to develop 'good growth' around stations. This will involve providing more affordable housing, local community facilities and open space, with less space given to expensive office and commercial development (40). They believe Euston should become well connected, with high urban design quality (52), and that Euston Road needs to be radically redesigned, with much less capacity for traffic movements, and improved cycle lanes and footways (53).

The Optimistic Practitioner disagrees that people working in central London are much more productive than those in the rest of the UK (4). They perceive that bringing in higher income groups into neighbourhoods surrounding refurbished stations can be problematic (18). They disagree that strategic transport objectives should outweigh local objections (19). In common with all the identified discourses, they disagree that transport planning should not be too concerned with the type of development that surrounds new rail stations (16).

This latter point seems critical – there is a consensus issue where all of the very diverse discourses: that transport planning needs to consider more effectively the type of development that is associated with infrastructure investment. This has fundamental implications for transport planning, including for transport project appraisal. Conventionally, all development is seen as a benefit, irrespective of type and impacts. There are also lessons for the process of transport planning, where projects are often planned in isolation from, and poorly integrated with, the surrounding development strategy.

Typical participant views from this discourse include:

- "We should develop projects which help make great cities, rather than profit maximisation – these are not the same thing and often in conflict." (P22)
- "LB Camden is very aware of the gentrification issue, and this has largely been resolved with replacement housing." (P22)
- "Euston Arch – OMG, what a red herring, this is a divisive issue, but largely irrelevant – aesthetically it is not a great option." (P22)
- "We need redevelopment in a way that benefits all – 'good growth' should be possible. We should start by focusing on social and environmental objectives, and as a consequence economic growth will follow." (P24)
- "Transport planning should be concerned with its impact on local communities. The project would be much easier to deliver if social and environmental objectives were met." (P24)
- "It is important to define what productive means – the focus on money is not helpful. Someone earning less money may be much more useful to society or to a particular household." (P24)

4. Conclusion

The redevelopment of railways stations and their surrounding neighbourhoods is often viewed as a positive process, delivering improved public transport links and facilities and regeneration of 'rundown' communities. Yet, there are wider concerns over the potential gentrification of areas and displacement of the existing population and local businesses. The most prominent voice on these issues is typically from the project promoter, but there are other voices to be considered, including varied views from the local community. This paper uses Q methodology to identify three major discourses: the 'Community Activist', the 'Rail Promoter', and the 'Optimistic Practitioner'. The analysis helps us to understand the

nuances between the different viewpoints – to reveal agreement and disagreement in the stakeholder debate. This is otherwise obscured by the mainstream rhetoric and the central viewpoint offered by the project promoter. Often the redevelopment of station areas is seen as a negative process by the local community, as a process of gentrification and displacement. Q methodology is a powerful tool for analysis – it facilitates exploratory research on a topic that can help open up further discussion. It can be a starting point for further analysis and discussion. Hopefully, in this case, it would lead to wider community views to be made evident and to be discussed. The method can be part of a widened participatory process, and even be included as part of the project appraisal process. Dryzek (1990) asks us to understand the differences in viewpoints as part of a renewed public sphere – with more transparent communication and deliberation in public life, leading to an undistorted technical consensus. Understanding the different discourses, and their components, is hence important for decision-makers in ensuring that investment strategies can reflect and respond to the different viewpoints evident in the public domain.

The gentrification literature of the 1960s arguably offers a romanticised view of working class communities, but has increased resonance in terms of the unaffordability of life in contemporary London, and the exclusion of lower and even middle-high income residents from almost all inner-area neighbourhoods. This is an intractable public policy problem, and one that is not being seriously tackled politically. Transport planning itself contributes to these issues – prioritising investment for infrastructure where most economic benefit can be gained. There are few effective mechanisms to shape development around new stations in a socially inclusive manner. As a result, it is usually the landowners, developers and wealthy incomers who benefit from the public investment. All of the identified discourses agreed that transport planning needs to consider more effectively the type of development that is associated with infrastructure investment. This has fundamental implications for transport planning, including how projects are appraised, where all development is seen as a benefit, irrespective of type; and in the process of decision-making, where projects are often planned in isolation from, and poorly integrated with, the surrounding development strategy.

As Foucault (1979, p.93) reminds us:

“Power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society.”

The planning and development of major infrastructure projects reflects the power inherent in the current process. If we delve deeper, we can see how project planning, appraisal and implementation – everything that we perceive and experience in the process – are socially constructed. The knowledge, approaches and metrics used in project development are perceived as legitimate and objective. But, by understanding the different viewpoints, we can see that this is simply a form of interpretation, supported by the power structures in society. We should look beyond this, to consider the wider views and attempt to develop public policy in a way that addresses these. It is only by strengthening the participatory and deliberative nature of the decision-making processes in transport planning that we can reconstruct our institutional processes. Ultimately, this can help to improve the social consequences of transport investment.

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ANNEX

Table A1: Statements and associated scores for four constructed discourses

No.	Statement	Statement by Discourse		
		A Community Activist	B Rail Promoter	C Committed Cyclist
1	New public transport infrastructure is critical to creating a sustainable city.	0	3	4
2	Station redevelopment opportunities, such as Euston, are important to the growth of London – they offer significant potential for new housing, commercial and other development.	-2	2	1
3	London needs a transport system fit for the 21st Century – transport infrastructure helps support a bigger and better London.	-1	4	1
4	People working in central London are much more productive than those in the rest of the UK. Transport investment leads to more benefits in London – hence public transport funding should be focused on radial routes into London.	-3	-1	-4
5	More community-based development is required, with affordable housing, open space, and community facilities – replacing the current growth and developer-led planning of London.	3	0	3
6	It is important to build a stronger, more balanced economy – and rail infrastructure such as HS2 can provide capacity to meet long term demand and improve connectivity by reducing journey times.	-2	4	-1
7	HS2 will support economic development throughout the UK, including facilitating growth in cities in the north of the UK.	-2	4	-1
8	HS2 offers transformational effects upon capacity and connectivity which are not offered by alternative transport projects.	-2	3	-2
9	The cost of HS2 (Phase One and Two) is likely to be around £50.1 billion, with a net cost of £31.5 billion after operating costs and revenue over 60 years. The benefits of HS2 are likely to be around £71 billion, including user benefits and wider economic benefits. This is a strong cost benefit ratio of 2.3 and should be supported.	-3	2	-3
10	Planning for cities and infrastructure should be focused on more than GDP growth and profit maximisation. Transport projects should be prioritised against multidimensional policy goals – including social, environmental and well-being objectives.	3	-1	2
11	HS2 is likely to support 25,000 construction jobs, 3,100 permanent operation and maintenance jobs and up to 100,000 jobs supported by development around HS2 stations, when operational – these are important economic impacts.	-2	3	0
12	New development associated with a refurbished Euston station will do little for the local community. An alternative development vision is required, with less commercial focus; instead providing more affordable housing, open space and community facilities.	2	-3	0
13	A multi-deck and/or sub-surface station will mean there is less land take and more opportunity for affordable housing, pedestrian facilities and open space around the station. These might be expensive options but should be pursued.	0	1	-1
14	A significant scale of new employment and retailing should be given space in the Euston development – between 7,700-14,100 jobs and 20,000 sqm of retail floor space can be provided.	-2	0	1
15	Transport appraisal is flawed as it assumes all development surrounding a project is beneficial – irrespective of the type of development.	1	-3	-2
16	Transport planning should not be too concerned with the type of development that surrounds new rail stations – this is not really a transport planning issue.	-4	-4	-4
17	Urban regeneration is a positive process and will lead to much needed revitalisation around Euston – run-down neighbourhoods will be upgraded.	-2	4	-3
18	Bringing higher income groups into neighbourhoods surrounding refurbished stations, such as at Euston, diversifies the local population.	-3	2	-4
19	HS2 is important for strategic transport policy objectives and these should outweigh any local objections – the local impacts are not too significant.	-4	1	-4
20	The consultation on HS2 and Euston has not been effective and not led to significant changes being made to plans. Residential displacement and	2	-2	0

	impact on the local businesses, community facilities and open space need different solutions.			
21	Much more housing should be provided in the Euston development. Between 2,800-3,800 additional homes can be achieved.	-1	0	2
22	Genuinely affordable housing (to rent and buy), including replacement housing for those displaced, is required at Euston – rather than more open market housing.	4	1	3
23	Compensation for residential displacement of owner occupiers is inadequate, and does not extend to private tenants. Neither are likely to be able to find replacement accommodation in a similar neighbourhood.	2	0	1
24	HS2 should stop at Old Oak Common – passengers can interchange onto the Underground network quite easily there, and this will avoid capacity and displacement problems at Euston.	0	-2	-1
25	Station redevelopments can provide more than expensive office, residential and retailing. They could give more community facilities, open space, and an improved waiting environment.	0	0	2
26	Existing businesses, such as those on Drummond Street, need to be protected during the redevelopment of Euston. The street and businesses shouldn't be lost to the redevelopment and another solution needs to be found.	4	-3	2
27	Residential communities surrounding Euston provide opportunities for good quality, low income housing. This needs to be supplemented with more affordable housing, open space and community facilities as part of the Euston redevelopment.	2	1	2
28	Investment in public transport benefits all in society – there are no significant adverse social impacts associated with new public transport projects.	-4	-1	-2
29	I prefer living in a neighbourhood with low and high income levels and different ethnic groups. Diversity, including low income groups, leads to more interesting neighbourhoods.	0	0	1
30	A city should not be designed around profit maximisation and capitalist goals – it should be designed for the people living and working in the city and their aspirations.	4	0	3
31	Public intervention, through the planning of Euston and the surrounding redevelopment, is leading to gentrification of the area.	1	-2	0
32	Private sector accumulation, through residential and commercial developments is leading to gentrification at Euston and other station areas. The public sector should be able to do more to shape the redevelopment plans.	3	0	0
33	The public authorities are aware of the processes of gentrification around transport projects and are taking effective action to counter this.	-3	-1	-2
34	New housing and commercial development surrounding Euston are likely to change the social composition of the area, with the local community having to move away, to be replaced by higher income groups.	4	1	-1
35	The views of existing communities, low income residents and businesses tend to be marginalised in the debate around the redevelopment of Euston.	2	-2	2
36	A middle and high income vision of the city – including housing, commerce, open space and aesthetics – is gradually being implemented, for consumption by these groups, including in the neighbourhoods surrounding rail stations.	1	-1	0
37	Investment in High Speed Rail tends to benefit the higher income groups – these are the people who use the new rail services and profit from the redevelopment around stations.	1	-3	1
38	An 'upmarket' public space may not have the same attraction for all groups in society, and may even act as a barrier to some as they may not feel welcomed.	1	1	-2
39	Regeneration leads to gentrification, where the low income communities have to move away – and this is, in effect, social cleansing.	2	-2	-2
40	It is possible to develop 'good growth' around stations. But this will mean providing more affordable housing, local community facilities and open space, with less space given to expensive office and commercial development.	1	-3	4
41	We need a population displacement-free zone around Euston, keeping low income residents and businesses in the area.	3	0	0
42	High income residential development, including foreign investment where housing remains unoccupied, should not be allowed.	1	3	-1

43	Using housing as a means for private capital accumulation leads to a problem for society's housing requirements.	3	2	0
44	The focus on investing in high speed rail travel is misplaced. Instead, we should spend the funds on local (urban) public transport, walking and cycling.	0	-4	1
45	The impact of construction of HS2 and Euston's redevelopment is unacceptable – there will be too much noise, traffic and disturbance. We don't need HS2 and the station can be refurbished with minimal impact.	0	-4	-1
46	We need much stronger debate on the strategic priorities for transport investment, between projects and areas.	1	-1	4
47	Euston needs a much better connection to Euston Square and King's Cross St Pancras, including underground walkways or travellators.	-1	0	0
48	Open space lost at St James Gardens and elsewhere should be provided in the Euston redevelopment.	2	1	0
49	Enhanced pedestrian routes and safe cycle route connections are required to and from Euston and in the surrounding areas.	0	2	3
50	Vehicular traffic needs better provision at Euston and in the surrounding neighbourhood. There should be more space for the parking of private cars, for freight deliveries, and for taxi drop off and collection.	-3	-2	-3
51	The existing bus station at Euston provides interchange facilities, but it should be refurbished, with a better waiting environment, pedestrian connections and public realm.	0	-2	2
52	The pedestrian areas and open spaces surrounding Euston should be well connected and vibrant spaces with the highest urban design quality, including a new station square at Euston Square Gardens.	-1	3	4
53	Euston Road needs to be radically redesigned – with much less capacity for traffic movements, and improved cycle lanes and footways.	0	-1	3
54	The Euston Arch should be reinstated as the main pedestrian gateway into the station.	-1	-1	-3
55	Using HS2 is much better than using long distance road or short-haul air travel – and will help to reduce CO2 emissions. Investing in HS2 will lead to an environmental benefit.	-1	2	-2
56	HS2 will lead to longer distance journeys, hence any environmental gains will be marginal.	-1	-4	-1
57	Cycling and cycle parking is critical around Euston station. We need Dutch-style cycle routes to and from the station and a station cycle park with thousands of spaces.	-1	2	1
58	The only real problems with the Euston redevelopment will be those associated with construction, e.g. the temporary traffic, lorry movements and noise problems.	-4	1	-3