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What is the influence of private business partnerships on the inclusivity of public participation in regenerated areas? A Case Study of the Urban Partners Organisation in King's Cross.

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MSc Spatial Planning

Being a dissertation submitted to the faculty of The Built Environment as part of the requirements for the award of the MSc Spatial Planning at University College London: I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work and that ideas, data and images, as well as direct quotations, drawn from elsewhere are identified and referenced.

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<u>Abstract</u>

Despite King's Cross being championed as one of London's contemporary regeneration successes, local communities have been left feeling disenfranchised and excluded from the benefits of development, including the influx of new jobs in the area. In contrast, Argent has been praised for its strong community focus, one manifestation of which is exemplified through the development of the voluntary business partnership, Urban Partners, and their projects aimed at local business and resident communities. Using a review of existing literature, accompanied by secondary data, and primary data collected from semi-structured interviews, this dissertation seeks to evaluate the influence of Urban Partners over the inclusivity of public participation in King's Cross and the surrounding neighbourhoods.

The research findings demonstrate that Urban Partners influence who participates through member recruitment within a self-defined boundary, and in selecting members of the local community to participate in their delivery groups and 'next generation' projects. They also influence the nature of participation through membership type; aside from board members who pay the highest membership fee, participation is limited to being tokenistic. As a result, the partnership arguably serves as an extension of neoliberalism, whereby it is predominated by a select group of urban elites. Furthermore, despite failing to acknowledge existing social capital within their boundary, they seek assistance from local councils to guide their engagement with the local community. Finally, whilst they claim to align their work with the needs of the local community, interview data revealed that there was no presence of Urban Partners in multiple neighbourhoods within their designated boundary. Therefore, voluntary business partnerships influence the inclusivity of who is participating, the type of participation they have access to, how participation is sustained through "in kind" participation, but they fail to influence local awareness of the partnership and alignment of aims with local communities.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Over the past decade, urban regeneration has played a key role in the Government's efforts to increase local growth and competitiveness in order to build a strong and balanced economy (Thorpe, 2017). The regeneration of King's Cross is recognised as a significant and ongoing regeneration project (Bishop & Williams, 2019), praised as one of London's contemporary regeneration successes (Regeneris, 2017). The regeneration of the 27-hectare site began in earnest in 2008 by the joint partnership between Argent, London & Continental Railways, and DHL; fast-paced development ensued as a mixed-use, urban regeneration project to become Europe's largest city-centre redevelopment (Thorpe, 2017).

Carley (2000) argues that even in cities hosting highly visible and prestigious examples of regeneration, there has been minimal progress towards addressing socio-economic deprivation of local communities. Despite claims of Argent's successful contribution placemaking, and community and stakeholder engagement, King's Cross is no exception; it has been criticised for its arguably neoliberal approach and subsequent lack of affordable housing, community spaces and defences against gentrification (Adelfio *et al.*, 2020). Furthermore, the regeneration has also been viewed as a 'business activity aimed at growth and competitiveness', leaving local communities feeling disenfranchised and unable to reap the benefits (Huston *et al.*, 2015).

One method used by Argent to demonstrate their wider socio-economic and placemaking focus is the establishment of "a broad network of partners, stakeholders and community groups" created through the voluntary business partnership, Urban Partners (Regeneris, 2017). As urban regeneration is a continuous process, causing it to be constantly evolving and varied (Roberts *et al.*, 2016), it is important to look at urban governance beyond the property-led developments, and evaluate the extent to which Argent's promises of continued community engagement and participation in governance are fulfilled.

The importance of engaging with citizens and enabling community influence within planning processes and regeneration has been heavily discussed by academics following the participatory turn in planning (Bailey, 2012; Beebeejaun, 2017). Yet, whilst the impact of public-private partnerships on urban governance and participation in the context of regeneration has been widely researched (McCarthy, 2007), there remains a gap in literature regarding voluntary business partnerships, hence making this case study a unique avenue for research.

1.1 Aims and Objectives

The **aim** of this dissertation is to examine whether Urban Partners influence the inclusivity of public participation in the regenerated area of King's Cross. The research seeks to explore participation and inclusion of membership to the case study organisation and mechanisms used to engage with the wider community within their operational boundary. Utilising the Business Improvement District (BID) model as a point of comparison, the sustainability of participation will be assessed, as well as the alignment of the organisation's goals with those of the local community. In doing so, this dissertation presents an original contribution to existing literature on models of entrepreneurial urban governance.

To realise this aim, the following **objectives** will be pursued:

- To examine how participation is influenced through the membership structure of Urban Partners and the recruitment of its members.
- To explore how the partnership influences the mechanisms and selection of wider community participation.
- 3. To explore the sustainability of a voluntary business partnership.
- 4. To assess whether local community goals align with the goals of Urban Partners.

1.2 Study Outline

Chapter 2 begins with a review of existing theory, literature and models relevant to the research question, to provide a basis for research and support the analysis. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology used to guide data collection and analysis, before introducing the case study organisation in chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents and analyses the research findings, structured in accordance with the 4 research objectives and cross-referenced with literature. Chapter 6 concludes by summarising key findings and outlines the limitations of the study, as well as presenting avenues for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter begins by outlining the utility of governance theory, the impact of neoliberalism on the governance of urban regeneration, and how participation has been conceptualised in light of this. It then looks at participation stemming from multi-actor networks and the challenges associated with this mode of governance. Finally, it introduces Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) as a model of entrepreneurial urban governance against which Urban Partners will be analysed.

2.1. Urban Governance and Regeneration Under Neoliberalism

Whilst urban regime theory has arguably become the dominant paradigm in studies pertaining to urban politics, scholars argue that it is ineffective for studying regeneration partnerships in the UK context (Davies, 2017; Pierre, 2014). Instead, Pierre (2014) proposes urban governance theory as an appropriate alternative, which he defines as the processes of societal coordination, steering towards collective objectives, and emphasising the importance of societal involvement in achieving and sustaining these objectives. According to de Cruz *et al.* (2019), governance theory emphasises the relationships and interactions between actors and the conditions framing them. Pierre (2014) also argues that it is able to draw on broader definitions of participants than regime theory, as it is associated with more 'ad hoc', collaborative governance coalitions. Hence, urban governance theory can assist with assessing who controls the resources that are critical to governing in organisations like Urban Partners, and their ability to sustain participation (Pierre, 2014).

Atkinson *et al.,* (2019) argue that the context surrounding the governance of contemporary urban development is shaped by neoliberalism. Taşan-Kok (2010) similarly holds the 'neoliberal agenda' responsible for changes concerning urban governance in the context of large-scale regeneration projects. As neoliberalism takes on different forms based on institutional, organisational and political contexts (Atkinson *et al.,* 2019), it is important to explore how neoliberalism has impacted urban governance and regeneration in the UK more specifically.

Parés *et al.* (2014) argue that neoliberalisation has caused the public sector to step back and make way for new collaborative public-private arrangements, whose primary aim is to attract private investment and consumption to stimulate local economic growth. Fuller and Geddes (2009) similarly argue that 'roll out' neoliberalism implemented under the New Labour government in the 1990s-2000s led to greater responsibilisation of citizens and communities to address their own deprivation and regeneration. In their study of public-private regeneration partnerships in South-West England, Atkinson *et al.* (2019) found that in each of their case studies, 'roll out' neoliberalism limited their capacity to act, meaning that 'external support' from regional and national governing bodies was required to achieve and sustain regeneration.

With increased emphasis on local community engagement, participation has also become institutionalised and absorbed into neoliberal urban governance processes (Monno & Khakee, 2012), to the extent that Cruz *et al.* (2019) found it to be the most studied governance challenge. Trueman *et al.* (2013) argue that participation is crucial to successful urban regeneration, as failing to engage effectively with members of the local community often results in feelings of disillusionment and poor well-being amongst local residents. However, whilst there is little opposition to the sentiments of participatory planning, translating these principles into practice is complex (Wilson *et al.*, 2019); Purcell (2009) argues that the critiques of participation become more salient when considered alongside the challenges of neoliberalism and the democratic deficits it creates, particularly as it relocates power and democracy to business elites. For example, Monno and Khakee (2012) highlight that the shift towards neoliberal urban governance has caused participation to be equated to consumer choice and willingness to pay. Their study of a Swedish regeneration project found that the market-led nature restricted planners' ability to act and caused participation to be tokenistic (Monno & Khakee, 2012).

Whilst Monno and Khakee (2012) look at participation outside of the UK, it is useful in explaining the barriers to participation, particularly as they argue tokenist participation to be the most common participatory approach in Western Europe. The concept of tokenism stems from Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizenship Participation'; Arnstein (1969) conceived the

power of public participation as a continuum ranging from 'non-participation' at the bottom, through to 'citizen control' over decision-making at the top (Lane, 2005), as shown in Table 1. According to Arnstein, tokenistic participation encompasses informing, consulting, and placating citizens, implying minimal empowerment (Cornwall, 2008). Arnstein's ladder remains a popular model for assessing public participation (Kotus & Sowada, 2017). For example, Willems et al. (2013) adopted this model in their study of public participation in 'smart city' projects in London due to its clarity, robustness, and wide-spread application; they found all projects presented characteristics of tokenistic participation, as participants' input was not binding for decision-makers.

Citizen	Citizen Control	Citizens have full managerial power
Power	Delegated Power	Citizens have dominant decision power
	Partnership	Citizens can negotiate and engage in trade-off
Tokenism	Placation	Citizens asked for advice
	Consultation	Citizens are being heard
	Informing	Citizens are informed
Non-	Therapy	Citizens are symbolically involved
participation	Manipulation	Citizens are educated

Table 1: Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969).

2.2 Multi-Actor Governance Networks and Partnerships

According to Fuller and Geddes (2008), reproductions of neoliberalism have recently manifested in more collaborative forms of governance, which deliver public services through networks of provision including public and private sectors, and civil society, united by trust or social capital. McCarthy (2007) argues that this is encompassed within the shift towards more entrepreneurial urban governance approaches to "regenerating and re-imaging" the city of external investors.

Approaches to regeneration have arguably become dominated by the ideas of 'networks' and 'partnerships' (Lowndes *et al.,* 1997). In the context of multi-actor urban governance, Sullivan and Skelcher (2003) highlight the defining characteristics of partnerships as

negotiations between people from diverse agencies, delivering benefits of added value, and a formally articulated binding purpose. In their study of three urban regeneration networks, Lowndes *et al.* (1997) find networks and partnerships often co-exist, and that networks provide the basis for developing sustainable partnerships. This dissertation will focus more narrowly on multi-actor business networks due to the nature of the organisation being explored; Urban Partners was founded by the 'landlord' of King's Cross, Argent (Holgersen & Haarstad, 2009), and represents various different business members and local community participants.

Penny (2017) states that advocates for networked governance approaches champion its efficacy and efficiency through horizontal coordination between actors to solve 'wicked' problems and expand democratic spaces. However, Blanco (2013) highlights that others believe it to be an extension of neoliberalism, whereby these multi-actor networks remain dominated by economic and institutional urban elites. Stewart (2005, p.152) also argues that networks can be highly exclusionary because membership rights are minimal, and they lack the means of enforcing participation of their members, meaning they are unable to ensure that collaboration occurs. Van Bortel and Mullens (2009) similarly argue that promises made by network governance to facilitate community involvement in complex urban regeneration programmes often 'runs ahead' of reality, whereby influence is unequal amongst different actors. For example, research by Davies (2011, p.61-62), revealed that participatory processes in network governance led to the exclusion of voluntary and community sector representatives where they lacked financial resources to justify a prominent position within the partnership, and led to a collaborative culture that encouraged participants to be 'problem solvers', thus undermining civil society organisations.

In addition, Swyngedouw (2005) argues that, although it is possible to find the seeds of inclusive and empowering participation across idealised models of horizontal, non-exclusive and participatory stakeholder governance, they are also embedded in contradictory tensions and propagate neoliberalising governmentalities. In her study of regeneration challenges in Rotterdam and Antwerp, Taşan-Kok (2010) identifies four dominant challenges associated with multi-actor nature governance: 1) conflicting interests and competing aims of

stakeholders; 2) organisational hierarchy and need for co-ordinated action; 3) institutional complexity and need for institutional innovation; and 4) shifting aims and goals of actors. In their study of transit-oriented redevelopment in Urumqi, China, Mu and De Jong (2015) argue that in order to overcome such challenges, strategies for promoting mutual recognition among actors, goal alignment, information communication and management of actor interaction are vital. Whilst both studies are written from an international perspective, they emphasise the transferable nature of these challenges to other local contexts. Similarly, Schmidt (2007) argues that mutual recognition is vital to governance in order to realise common concerns whilst accommodating diversity and respecting institutional integrity. Furthermore, Rydin (2014) argues that the domination by a limited group undermines the hopes of a more deliberative approach; hence, building and fostering existing embedded social capital is beneficial to overcome challenges of creating a local community network that is wholly representative and inclusive of all sectors.

2.3 Business Improvement Districts as an Extension of Entrepreneurial Urban Governance

A recent and arguably well-established form of entrepreneurial urban governance in the UK has been the adoption of the Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) (De Magalhães, 2014). Ward (2005) views the growing presence of BIDs as an example of the rising dominance of neoliberal governance. The North American concept was regulated in England in 2004, and there have since been over 200 BIDs established in the UK (ATCM, 2015). De Magalhães (2014) believes that the success of their adoption can be attributed to their potential to acquire private funds to invest in local areas.

Although there is no established definition of BIDs, they are characterised by relevant property and business owners within a designated commercial area electing to pay a levy for a nominated period of time; the private capital collected typically contributes to increasing the attractiveness of their allocated area (Grail *et al.*, 2019). Due to significant differences in financing between U.S. and UK BIDs, it is important to look specifically at the constitution and operation of UK BIDs in this study, in order to frame their nature as governance instruments (De Magalhães, 2014).

Lloyd *et al.* (2003) argue that BIDs are more sustainable than other forms of multi-actor governance in terms of financial security and their ability to prevent 'free-riding' of participants. Similarly, Justice and Skelcher (2009) highlight that, despite being a form of private governance, they are empowered to act to promote public in addition to private interests, and can be beneficial to the local community beyond businesses by creating safer and better-quality business and retail spaces.

However, De Magalhães (2014) argues that BIDs cannot guarantee that private business interests will not supersede those of the wider community, a concern compounded by their lack of democratic accountability; decisions are made solely by businesses participating in the BID, and non-participant businesses, organisations, and the wider community population have no direct say. As a result, his study of ten UK BIDs revealed tensions arise between BIDs and the wider community due to legitimate concerns of homogenising the urban area by representing only one demographic of the local community and favouring their agenda for regeneration (De Magalhães, 2014). As a result, he argues that BIDs often serve to simply 'coordinate, compliment and extend' established local-authority services and activities such as 'clean, green and safe' services.

Justice and Skelcher (2009) argue that the democratic aspects of BIDs reflects that of a private membership organisation, whilst also having the potential to achieve genuine engagement with local residents and government. In their typology of governance designs, they attribute the predominance of member's interests to the 'club' archetype whereby issues of legitimacy, consent and accountability are centred around accommodating the interests of a narrowly defined membership group (Justice & Skelcher, 2009). Cook (2009) similarly argues that usually only a select few business elites participate in entrepreneurial governance structures, whilst others are excluded, have tokenistic involvement, or struggle for their voices to be heard. This is reiterated by Justice and Skelcher (2009), who found none of the UK BIDs in their study had substantial engagement with local resident communities. Furthermore, Cook (2009) argues that private sector willingness to participate

is highly variable, and centred around desires of profit maximisation, leading to substantial and imbalanced volumes of apathy, dissensus, and exclusion.

Whilst there remains a gap in the literature around voluntary forms of entrepreneurial urban governance, the business-focussed nature of BIDs makes them a useful springboard for investigation into the structure of Urban Partners, and the types of participation they pursue.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter presents and justifies the methodologies used to realise the research objectives of this study outlined in chapter 1, and ultimately the title question leading this dissertation.

3.1 Research Approach

Qualitative methodologies have been praised within the domain of built environment research for yielding fruitful and descriptive data; as individual perceptions of governance and participatory processes are being studied, a qualitative methodology has been deemed most appropriate for this dissertation (Amaratunga, 2002). Furthermore, as this dissertation seeks to understand these processes within the specific context of the organisation Urban Partners, a case study approach has also been applied (Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002). The conjunction of case study and qualitative approaches is justified by the strengths of qualitative methodologies in exploring new areas, and case studies serving as an 'integral partner' to qualitative research (Yin, 2017).

Steinmetz-Wood *et al.* (2019) highlight the advantages of using a mixed-method approach to the bring light to different dimensions of built environment phenomena. Two methods were used to generate data in this dissertation; primary data was collected through online and phone interviews, while secondary was obtained from local plans, and Urban Partners' 2019 business report. Ritchie *et al.* (2013) emphasise the value of using secondary analysis of archived data to form a base for comparison with primary data. Secondary data in this dissertation was therefore used to address objective 4, by providing a base of documented local community aims to analyse against interview data.

3.2 Data Construction

3.2.1 Data Sampling and Recruitment

Purposive sampling was used to select participants with knowledge of the research area and/or case study organisation (Eitkan *et al.*, 2015). Hence, members of Urban Partners, their project managers, and members of Islington Council were recruited. Members of the Drummond Street, Camley Street and Somers Town neighbourhood forums were also recruited, as neighbourhoods remain an important locale when researching community engagement and participation (Lawson & Kearns, 2010).

Participants were recruited via email, using contact details extracted from the Urban Partner's website and LinkedIn searches. Written consent was collected for all interviews and a participant information leaflet was circulated prior to the interviews to inform participants of the research objectives and outline of the dissertation. Overall, interviews were conducted with 11 participants; in order to ensure a rich data source was collected, participant recruitment ceased when saturation had been reached and no new themes or meanings emerged (Hennink *et al.*, 2017).

Anonymised Reference	Interview Date	Expertise of	Type of interview
		Interviewee	
UP 1	15/06/20	Participant in Employee	Online
		and Next Generation	
110.0	15/05/20	projects	Phone
UP 2	15/06/20	Project Manager for UP	
UP 3	03/07/20	UP Board Member	Online
UP 4	22/07/20	UP Board Member	Phone
NF 1	16/06/20	Member of Somers	Online
		Town Neighbourhood	
		Forum	
NF 2	10/07/20	Member of Drummond	Phone
		Street Neighbourhood	
		Forum	
NF 3	28/07/20	Member of Camley	Phone
		Street Neighbourhood	
		Forum	
BID 1	06/07/20	Euston Town BID team	Online
		member	
BID 2	08/07/20	Euston Town BID team	Phone
		member	
IC 1	07/07/20	Islington Council	Online
		Employee, worked with	
		UP	
IC 2	28/07/20	Islington Council	Online
		Employee, attends UP	
		delivery groups	

Table 2: Interview Respondents

3.2.2 Interviews

A total of 11 interviews were conducted between the 15th of June and 28th of July, each lasting between 25-90 minutes. Interviews were conducted over the phone or using online video-conferencing software, such as Skype, Zoom and Microsoft Teams, which allowed both the interviewer and participant to seek clarification and more easily follow conversation in real-time (Lupton, 2020). A semi-structured design was selected to allow flexibility and reciprocity between participant and interviewer (Kallio *et al.*, 2016). General topics were prepared to guide the interview, and questions were tailored to the nature of the participant being interviewed.

3.2.3 Document Analysis

In order to satisfy objective 4, this dissertation will also analyse local planning documents outlined below:

- Camley Street Neighbourhood Development Plan 2019-2034 (CSNF, 2020)
- Somers Town Neighbourhood Plan 2016-2026 (STNF, 2015)
- Drummond Street Neighbourhood Vision (Tuna et al., 2019)
- Euston Area Plan (GLA, TfL & LB Camden, 2015)
- 2017 Camden Local Plan (Camden Council, 2017)
- 2018 Islington Local Plan (Islington Council, 2018)

In order to reinforce primary interview data with Urban Partners members, the Urban Partners 2019 Annual Report will also be analysed.

3.3 Data Analysis

Secondary data was analysed first; plans and reports were closely read, and themes emerging in relation to objective 4 were recorded in a word document. To analyse primary interview data, interviews were recorded for verbatim transcriptions to be produced in a separate document to similarly be coded thematically. As looking at participation too broadly can lead to 'vague and toothless' results (Wilker *et al.*, 2016), 4 sets of criteria have been devised to bridge the gap between research question and objectives, and the empirical

analysis. Table 2 below details these criteria, and the research objective(s) they attempt to address. Coded findings were then linked back to research objectives to be discussed in the analysis and discussion chapter of this dissertation (Chapter 5). Verbatim quotes were used to amplify the voice of participants, to improve accountability of the researcher's interpretation of data as well as the readability of the dissertation (Corden & Sainsbury, 2006).

Criteria	Example	Research objective(s) addressed
Membership	StructureRecruitmentMotivation for membership	1,2
Representation and Recognition	 Who participates, and how are they represented? Who is not represented? Recognition of existing social capital in local community 	1,2,3
Strategy	 Aims of UP Process of decision-making Strategy for engaging with the local community Sustainability of strategy Comparison to BID model 	1, 2, 4
Discrepancies	 Between their brief and the outcome of participation Between UP's aims and local community aims Between what they perceive themselves to be doing VS what they are doing 	1,2,3,4

Table 3: Analysis Criteria

3.4 Research Limitations

The most significant factor limiting research was the implications of the coronavirus pandemic as it curtailed the research methodologies available. As a result, another limitation emerged; recruiting participants representative of the varying levels of membership within Urban Partners was challenging, as most free members are local retailers, restaurants, and charities. Hence, it was not possible to enter these establishments during lockdown, and several members of staff contacted had been furloughed.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

As the research involved interviewing human participants, the UCL risk assessment form was submitted and approved prior to conducting research, outlining any perceived risks and measures to mitigate them. For example, to mitigate health and safety risks posed by the coronavirus pandemic that endured throughout the research period, online and phone interviews were conducted instead of face-to face interviews. In addition to consent forms and reminding participants of their right to remain anonymous and withdraw from the study, the implications of participants' involvement in the research was also reiterated at the start of the interview.

Chapter 4: Case Study Background-Introducing Urban Partners

This chapter introduces the case study organisation and private business partnership, Urban Partners, first by tracing its origins and outlining its geographic remit, before exploring their membership structure and three key focus areas.

4.1 Locating the case study: origins and boundary area

In 2011, Argent – the developer of King's Cross – established a voluntary business partnership, formerly known as King's Cross & St Pancras Business Partnership and later renamed 'Urban Partners' (Urban Partners, 2019). Argent believed that their role as a developer extended beyond their buildings, and that they had the opportunity to make 'a positive and even life-changing impact on people and communities' (Argent, 2020). The creation of Urban Partners followed the formation of both the Piccadilly Business Partnership in Manchester, and the Broad Street Improvement District (BID) in Birmingham: through these partnerships, Argent seeks to unite landowners, businesses, public sector agencies and transport providers to maximise the potential of these areas, improve the environment, and ensure that benefits of the redevelopment reached the wider area (Argent, 2020).

Argent (2020) state that the Broad Street BID has delivered an extra £1.5million of investment in the area's amenities over five years, and that they are attempting to lay the foundations of a similar legacy through Urban Partners. Furthermore, they see the larger-scale development of King's Cross as an opportunity to look more broadly at infrastructure, systems and modes of movement, and consumption patterns and how they can be modified (Argent, 2020). Urban Partners is comprised of businesses in the King's Cross, St Pancras area; their official boundary was most recently confirmed in their 2019 Annual Business Report (Figure. 1), encompassing the areas surrounding Euston, King's Cross and St Pancras International stations and the surrounding areas such as Somers Town, Kings Place, Granary Square and beyond (Urban Partners, 2020).

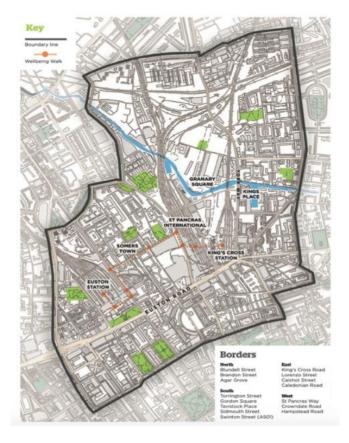


Figure 1. Urban Partner's Boundary sourced from their 2019

Annual Business Report.

4.2 Membership Structure

Urban Partners represents over 11,000 employees within the boundary area from 60 member organisations (Urban Partners, 2020). Urban Partner's membership is split into three tiers - board membership, executive membership, and free membership. The member organisations, financial costs and benefits associated with each level are detailed in table 3 below:

Membership Type	Board	Executive	Free
Annual Cost	£10,000	£2,500	£0
Benefits			
Representation at quarterly board meetings	x		
Directly able to influence improvement of the area	x		
Direct involvement in the strategic direction of the partnership	x		
Authorises budget and implementation	x		
Exclusive Board events with other local senior Business Leaders	x		
Central role in delivery of all Urban Partner initiatives	x	x	
Exclusive Executive Committee events		x	
Organisation represented on the Business, Employee and Next Generation Delivery Groups	x	x	
Profile on website and on Urban Partners marketing collateral	x	x	
Monthly newsletter for all employees	x	x	x
Access to networking events for employees	x	x	x
Promotion of company activities across social media platform	x	x	x
Invitation to Urban Partner events for employees	x	x	x

Table 4: Urban Partners' membership structure

The membership structure alone is very indicative of the types of participation afforded to members depending on their financial contribution to Urban Partners, which will be explored in greater depth in the analysis.

4.3 Organisational Aims: a 3-pronged approach

Both on their website and in their 2019 Annual Business Report, Urban Partners claim to have three key priorities guiding their work -1) to benefit their employees, 2) to represent their member businesses, and 3) to support the next generation. They argue that through these priorities, they can create projects that respond to the challenges posed by the regeneration of King's Cross to local residents, such as disruption from building works, without benefitting from the opportunities created by the area's transformation (Urban Partners, 2020). Ultimately, they believe that as a collective partnership, they can collaborate to improve the local area from an environmental, social and economic perspective, in order to enable the area to fulfil its potential to be an 'inclusive community' (Urban Partners, 2020).

In their 2019 Annual Business Report, Urban Partners claim that volunteering is at 'the heart' of their work, championing their 'Hero Projects' as being their mode for formalising volunteering opportunities available to their member employees (Urban Partners, 2019); examples include 'The Homework Club', providing A-level students in the area with a place to study after school and receive support tailored to the subjects they were studying. Another example includes their 'Wellbeing Walk'- London's first designated station to station walking route that claims to be a 'less polluted, less congested and more pleasant' route between Euston and King's Cross Stations than the Euston Road (Urban Partners, 2020). However, as 'Hero Projects' like the Wellbeing Walk are still being highlighted in their 2019 report despite being opened in 2016, there is motivation to question the endurance, sustainability and authenticity of their participation.

Chapter 5: Case Study Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents the findings of the research into the case study organisation Urban Partners, and critically analyses them against existing literature and theory explored in chapter 2. This is split into 4 sections that directly correspond to the research objectives outlined in chapter 1, in order to satisfy the overarching aim of understanding the influence of private business partnerships on the inclusivity of participation in regenerated areas.

5.1 Creating the Partnership: Membership Recruitment and Structure

This section responds to research objective 1, which seeks to examine the membership structure of Urban Partners and the method of recruiting its members. In doing so, it attempts to provide an insight into who is invited to participate and their level of influence within Urban Partners, and thus the conditions framing the relationships and interactions between actors involved (Cruz *et al.*, 2019).

Whilst there is no justification regarding how Urban Partners' boundary for member recruitment was decided in their 2019 Annual Report, it became clear in the interviews that it was initially centred around Argent's "development footprint" (UP4). UP3, who was involved in Urban Partners "right from the beginning", explains how Argent began by recruiting businesses occupying its new developments:

"Argent are the landlord for many big players moving into King's Cross... so when they welcomed the new tenants, be it Google or Facebook or Havas etc., they would ask them to be part of Urban Partners"

Although respondent UP4 emphasises efforts to broaden member recruitment and ensure greater inclusivity by extending the boundary, it still appears to be limited to the "big players" in the area:

"After rebranding to 'Urban Partners', we agreed the boundary should connect the three stations – King's Cross, St Pancras and Euston... So, we included Argent's development footprint, and extended that to include key community areas like Somers Town... but also south of the Euston Road and East of York Way to include the key businesses like Springer Nature, Eurostar, and King's Place... we also tried to avoid overlap with any BIDs"

Two key discrepancies can be identified in this statement. The first is that both respondents from Euston Town BID confirmed the "definite overlap", and the second evidenced by NF1 denying any presence of Urban Partners in Somers Town or recruitment of local businesses to participate in the organisation:

"I suspect the amount of people in Somers Town that have heard of Urban Partners you could count on one hand... they do not have any kind of profile or members whatsoever in Somers Town",

The limitation of recruitment to circles of business elites is emphasised by all Urban Partners respondents stating that "word of mouth" is a key recruitment method, with UP1 claiming there is "no real strategy for recruitment... it's more of a 'friend of a friend' introduction".

As outlined in chapter 4, Urban Partners' members are organised into 3-tiers based on financial contribution; there was consensus among all respondents from Urban Partners that these made the business partnership more inclusive. According to UP3, the voluntary nature of the partnership facilitates a "diverse membership" as "any business who wants to make a difference on the ground" can be a member. Yet, despite respondents expressing intentions to avoid becoming an "elite club" (UP3), from Table 3 in chapter 4 and interview data, it is clear that members at the lower levels do not actually have the power to make the decisions that could make these differences, emphasised by UP2:

"The board meets quarterly to choose our objectives, and they lead from the perspective of their individual business needs... the executive members then work out how to deliver these objectives... the difference between the free and paying members is that the paying members get people in the game"

The tokenistic nature of participation facilitated through free membership is demonstrated by UP3, who states:

"Some businesses don't have a budget for CSR...so to them we said "you can be a free member, if you participate"... so that might mean if we're running a football event that they donate a prize, or allow us to use their restaurant to hold a UP meeting"

The seniority of employees chosen to represent their businesses at their respective level in the organisation also emphasises the "elite" and top-down nature of its membership. UP1 highlights tensions that arise lower down in the organisation as a result of the top-down nature of decision-making:

"Everyone on the board is pretty senior... so that creates hostility and tension when senior managers try to convince businesses to join or tell the exec or free members what to do"

In discussing their experience as a participant in the executive-level meetings, IC1 explains how these tensions can lead to free-riding of executive members:

"Not everyone in those meetings are the decision-makers, so for that reason it can be more challenging to get commitment from them... because they feel like their input isn't being considered so don't need to be there"

The top-down and market-led nature of participation was also expressed through respondents' motivations for becoming members. For example, UP1 talks of the good value for money of board membership in comparison to being part of a BID:

"To be able to say we're involved in all of this for just £10,000 is a pretty good return from a business investment perspective... the community benefits are huge... whereas if we were a BID, we'd be paying extra percentage to already very high rates without the guarantee of anything good coming from that"

From the evidence outlined above, three key findings emerge. Firstly, whilst the partnership boundary provides a clearly designated commercial area to recruit all relevant property and business members from, like a BID (Grail *et al.*, 2019), Urban Partners members expressed intentionally wanting to avoid being structured like a BID. Instead, 'relevant' members were initially largely determined by their connection to Argent's "development footprint", followed by 'word of mouth' and 'friend of friend' introductions. Therefore, findings support the criticisms that multi-actor governance networks serve as an extension of neoliberalism, insofar that their recruitment strategy, or lack thereof, has resulted in the organisation being dominated by economic and institutional elite (Blanco, 2013). Furthermore, as respondents related motivations for becoming members to an "investment" (UP1), there is evidence to demonstrate neoliberalised urban governance described by Monno and Khakee (2012), whereby participation is equated to consumer choice and willingness to pay.

Secondly, the evidence demonstrates that participation influenced through the 3-tier membership structure is highly variable. Paying the highest membership fee elicits participation that is characteristic of citizen power on Arnstein's (1969) as board members have dominant decision-making power, and thus control of the resources critical to governing (Pierre, 2014). Participation of executive members can be likened more to 'placation' (Arnstein, 1969), whereby they are asked for advice on how to deliver objectives set by the board, yet ultimately have no decision power. Finally, further down on the ladder, participation as a free member is limited to 'informing' as they are updated on the work of

the partnership and even host meetings, but are not allowed to "be in the game" and participate in the meetings (UP4). Therefore, this supports Davies' (2011) findings that participatory processes governed by multi-actor networks exclude actors who lack the financial resources to justify a prominent position within the partnership.

Finally, the above evidence reveals tensions that arise as a result of having a top-down membership structure, and the implications for member participation. These tensions align with Taṣan-Kok's (2010) multi-actor network challenge of organisational hierarchy and need for coordinated action; tension is evident where members at the lower tiers are unable to take action directly by not having decision-making privileges, and their willingness to participate is variable as a result (Cook, 2009). Overall, it could be argued that Urban Partners fits within Justice and Skelchers' (2009) 'club' governance typology, as it accommodates the interests and decisions made by a narrowly defined membership group. Therefore, this reinforces Cook's (2009) argument that only a few 'elites' are selected to participate in entrepreneurial forms of governance (those at board level), whilst others have tokenistic involvement (executive and free members), or are excluded altogether ('key communities', such as Somers Town).

5.2 Influence of Urban Partners on Wider Community Participation

This section analyses evidence pertaining to objective 2 by exploring the strategies used by Urban Partners to influence participation within the wider community, including looking at existing projects undertaken by Urban Partners, how these were chosen, and what type of participation they might elicit. Hence, utilising governance theory, it explores the importance of societal involvement in achieving Urban Partners' objectives (Pierre, 2014).

It is important to first understand the strategy of Urban Partners work and who it is targeted at, in order to understand who is participating and how participation is initiated. A clear consensus emerged among respondents directly involved that Urban Partners' strategy "must fit comfortably under one of the three objectives" (UP3) outlined in Chapter 4. UP4

also explains the motivation for devising these three objectives, desire for local community inclusion, and justification for specifically focusing on the 'next generation':

"By having three separate objectives instead of one aim for 'community engagement', we hope it makes what we do more transparent ... with our third objective, we felt that young people particularly have been the most impacted by the development ... yet they feel excluded from it, and we want to make it as inclusive as possible"

Urban Partners members praised the 'Hero Projects' as examples of how their key objectives were achieved. Several respondents championed the 'Wellbeing Walk' as an example of how they have been able to implement a project with the purpose of representing businesses, but that has a wider community benefit, as explained by UP2:

"The Wellbeing Walk is a physical intervention that is good for representing businesses and for our PR, but also changes attitudes and makes residents and employees healthier... it's 60% better air quality than walking down Euston Road... so if you're doing that commute every day, it makes a real difference... so everybody is included in this project"

However, NF1 highlighted that key communities who resided along the 'Wellbeing Walk' route were not included, and reacted negatively as a result:

"There is one physical manifestation of Urban Partners in our community – the Wellbeing Walk... we don't disagree with the route, but it wasn't respectfully done... the signposts appeared overnight, put up by another institution without consulting residents... as a neighbourhood forum we'd get in trouble for something like that, so it highlighted power imbalances"

NF1 also highlighted the potential benefits of consulting the Somers Town community:

"If you live in Somers Town you're constantly helping people getting lost who come through ... so the kind of questions that we're asked could've really been helpful in informing where they go"

Therefore, by not acknowledging the existing social capital they not only missed the opportunity to gain local insight to assist and potentially improve the project, but caused Somers Town residents to feel disenfranchised as a result.

The failure to recognise the local community was commonly expressed by Neighbourhood Forum respondents; in all cases, they had either not heard of Urban Partners, or heard of anyone in the local area participating in their project or membership, as demonstrated by NF3:

"I've never heard of them, or anyone working with them... and I'm guessing that might be a pattern, because we engage a lot with local residents and organisations and other neighbourhood forums"

Additionally, the interviews revealed that the responsibility for networking with the wider community lies with the project managers, Evergreen Reputations; UP2 claimed that recruitment and "knowing who to target" was very challenging from a project manager perspective, particularly as they are not based within the Urban Partners boundary themselves. Thus, a lack of awareness of businesses and existing socio-economic capital may further limit the inclusivity of participation.

Interview data also revealed the strategy used by Urban Partners to guide participation and devise projects to fulfil their third objective, 'engaging the next generation', as explained by UP2:

"Our approach to engage young people involves collating ideas, and ensuring that we're not re-inventing the wheel... looking at what already exists and seeing how we can collaborate... but if there are gaps we can try and fill those"

One method used by Urban Partners to locate the 'gaps' and 'engage and empower' the 'next generation' mentioned in interviews, was the creation of a 'Youth Delivery Group'; according to UP2, this brings together local young from Camden and Islington Youth Councils and schools, who are given a budget and tasked to propose projects to support the local community. However, it is clear that the paying members still have the final say on what projects go ahead, and this can often be determined by budgetary constraints, UP1 explains:

"We put ideas together at the delivery groups that get proposed to the executive every month... often we present the costs because they already know how much of their overall budget it will be and that's really how we determine what's feasible"

Interviews revealed that engaging local councils plays a significant role in recruitment of local youth to participate in delivery groups, and providing links to local schools. UP4 explains how they are invited to participate in order to gain an insight into existing social capital within the Urban Partners boundary:

"Both local councils – Islington and Camden- sit on our board as observers... obviously they weren't paying or involved in decision-making... but we work with them to get a better idea of what's going on in the area and they can connect some dots"

Respondents also highlighted "mutual benefit", whereby the local councils could highlight initiatives they needed help with, that Urban Partners could contribute to. For example, UP1, IC1 and IC2 all referred to 'Gatsby Benchmarks' – targets set by the local council for providing secondary school children with work experience – and how the partnership contributes to them. UP1 outlines how all parties are able to benefit as a result:

"We're helping them hit some of their school targets... and the schools absolutely love it and so do the employees... which helps our reputation and employee satisfaction too"

Furthermore, respondents from Islington Council praised Urban Partners for providing them with the opportunity to more actively participate in delivery group meetings, and expressed intentions to develop a more "strategic" partnership with them to further benefit from their work, as stated by IC2:

"The agenda of the meetings are already carved out, but in recent months we've been encouraged to raise points and send agenda items through... we definitely want to be more strategic partners to ensure that our young people benefit even more from what they have to offer"

Similarly, UP1 highlights that one of the 'Hero Projects', the Homework Club, emerged from bottom-up participation:

"The Homework Club was pitched by one of our free members who spotted that school children were coming to their café after school to use their tables to study... from there we were able to connect businesses with the local community and both get something out of it"

However, respondents highlighted that, even with assistance from local councils, initiating relationships with schools proves challenging. UP2 explains how the success of the Homework Club is reliant on mutual recognition:

"Schools can be difficult to work with... you have to chase, and there needs to be an internal contact within the school driving and mobilising it... so our engagement with schools is completely unequal... Maria Fidelis School are particularly active participants in our Homework Club as their head of sixth form really drives their participation ... comparing their predicted and achieved grades we could see that most students improved by 1-2 grades"

The above evidence reveals several important findings. First and foremost, it is clear that the mechanisms influencing wider community participation are inherently exclusive due to Urban Partner's strategy being centred around the three key objectives and the groups they target. Contrary to Rydin's (2014) argument that strong networks do not necessarily require all community members and sectors to be represented, the evidence demonstrates that failing to represent existing social capital excludes 'key communities, such as Somers Town, resulting in feelings of disillusionment, as exemplified in the case of the 'Wellbeing Walk'. Hence, it demonstrates why inclusive participation is crucial to governance of regenerated areas (Trueman et al., 2013).

In contrast, in order to recruit members of the local community to participate in their 'next generation' objectives, Urban Partners sought assistance from the local councils to provide connections. This proved successful in that both parties were able to benefit - Urban Partners in knowing which schools to target and the employee satisfaction from participating in initiatives, and Camden and Islington Councils by recruiting business partners to assist with their 'Gatsby Benchmark' targets. This therefore demonstrates the benefits of mutual recognition in urban governance expressed by Schmidt (2007) and Mu and De Jong (2015).

Overall, it is clear that Urban Partners has good intentions towards increasing the inclusivity of their participation, but that promises to facilitate community involvement 'run ahead' of the reality, supporting Van Bortel and Mullens' (2009) criticisms of network governance. Furthermore, even where members of the local community have been invited to participate in delivery groups and propose ideas, it remains limited to tokenistic participation due to not being binding for decision-makers (Willems *et al.*, 2013), as influence over meeting agendas and decision-making remain limited to Board members. For example, even where local council members are invited to board meetings, they are labelled as 'observers' and not active participants. Thus, it demonstrates how Urban Partners influence the shift in democratic power from local authorities to urban business elites, which is characteristic of neoliberal urban governance (Purcell, 2009). However, as the highly praised Homework Club 'Hero Project' was initially suggested by a non-Board member, there is evidence to suggest that proposals made in delivery groups are able to influence projects selected by the Board.

5.3 Sustaining Participation

The third section of this analysis responds to objective 3 and seeks to evaluate the sustainability of Urban Partners' voluntary governance model, and thus who is in control of the resources critical to sustaining participation (Pierre, 2014). It focuses on Urban Partners' methods for maintaining membership and commitment to objectives, provides a comparison to the BID model, and looks at whether the partnership has been sustained during the coronavirus pandemic that was occurring at the time of data collection.

The challenge of ensuring the sustainability of Urban Partner's work was widely acknowledged by respondents. UP3 argues they have learnt from previous experiences of struggling to maintain member participation when implementing new initiatives:

"One-off projects face the challenge of losing momentum, particularly when driven by individual energetic employees who inevitably move on at some point... a key learning

for us is therefore building a robust infrastructure to support our initiatives to ensure the initiatives keep going"

UP4 describes "conscious efforts" to mitigate risks of members leaving and to ensure continuity:

"We try to flex the legs of board members to encourage our execs and free members to stay around... we make sure we're emphasising the results of our projects so people keep buying into our partnership"

Whilst UP1 states that employing a project manager ensures that the "nitty gritty" of developing and maintaining relationships with partners and the community is taken care of, respondent IC1 highlights that this has led to some members being less willing to participate than others:

"If you have an external body chairing a network, then unfortunately other partners don't take much ownership of the organisation or feel the impetus to take part"

Speaking about participation in Islington Council's 100 Hours of Work Programme, which Urban Partners respondents claim to be "significant contributors to" as part of their "next generation" objective, IC2 claims that even where members are willing, they favour businesses priorities over participating in Urban Partners:

"Urban Partners' engagement has been a mixed bag... some members seemed really keen at first, but then people get busy and it's easy to drop to the bottom of an agenda" Furthermore, respondents alluded to the instability of funding and reliance on state actors where they spoke of failed initiatives. For example, UP1 highlights the consequences of relying on funding from TfL:

"We invested a lot of time and money working with TfL to come up with an idea to regenerate the underpass on the Euston Road where employees and local residents felt unsafe... they were going to provide £100,000, but as it was about to go ahead, the person we'd been coordinating with retired... and then the time period for funding lapsed and we couldn't run the project"

BID1 and BID2 emphasised the benefits of the BID model over a voluntary business partnership. BID1 explains why they advised the partnership to become a BID when they were forming:

"The threat to a BID's existence only occurs once every 5 years, whereas it's annual for Urban Partners... they have to spend all their time recruiting members and making promises they might not be able to deliver"

In contrast, UP3 claims that the "power" of being a voluntary partnership means that businesses only join because they "want to", not because they "have to". Several respondents emphasised the importance of "in kind" contributions in compensating for being less financially sustainable than BIDs, as explained by UP2:

"Urban Partners have a much lower budget than BIDs... but, our free members make significant contributions by volunteering hours towards our Hero Projects... it's all completely in kind contributions that if we added them up... our budget would be closer to what BIDs have"

Furthermore, respondents highlighted that the voluntary nature of Urban Partners and "in kind" contributions enabled them to continue their 'next generation' objective during the coronavirus pandemic, as UP3 explains:

"We've parked our employee/business objectives to free up more resources for next generation projects... our homework project relies mostly 'in kind' hours volunteered by our members, and we've been mobilising members to recycle old IT for school children as requested by local councils, which is low-cost... so, there's less pressure on collecting membership fees"

This contrasts with the response from Euston town BID respondents, who expressed that their work had been heavily impacted by the pandemic; BID1 states:

"BIDs fundamental income is based on business rates...so the impact of COVID-19 hasn't been good... we've had to can a lot of projects to survive without income for a bit... but it's hard to see how 70 BIDs will survive it"

Several salient, yet conflicting, conclusions can be drawn from the evidence presented above. Primarily, it is clear that Urban Partners members acknowledge the risks and lack of financial security associated with being a voluntary partnership. These risks are heightened by their reliance on external support from regional governing bodies such as TfL, supporting findings by Atkinson *et al.* (2019) regarding the impact of neoliberalism on regeneration partnerships' limited capacity to act. These risks were compounded by BID1's direct comparison of the financial security of BIDs to that of Urban Partners, which supports Lloyd *et al.*'s (2003) argument that BIDs are more sustainable than other forms of multi-actor governance through financial security and ability to prevent free-riding. Furthermore, methods for retaining members expressed by UP4 likens participation to consumer choice and willingness to pay, thus evidencing the neoliberal nature of governance by Urban Partners (Monno & Khakee, 2012).

The idea of 'free-riding' is also evident where member participation is influenced by their individual business priorities, reiterating the idea that there is no guarantee in entrepreneurial governance that business priorities will not supersede those of the local community (De Magalhães, 2014). Therefore, being a voluntary partnership not only means recruiting and retaining members is an ongoing process that arguably detracts resources away from their objectives, but it also results in variable commitment from its members.

In contrast, the evidence also demonstrates how the reliance of BIDs on membership fees has made them fearful that they will be unable to survive the financial impacts of the coronavirus pandemic. Whilst Urban Partners similarly had to 'park' their employee and business focussed initiatives due to at home working, the emphasis on 'in kind' contributions enabled 'next generation' projects to be sustained and even increased during the pandemic. However, as they have yet to implement a method for measuring "in kind" contributions, it is difficult for this study to validate claims of enduring participation and its outcomes.

5.4 Alignment of Partnership and Community Aims

As Urban Partners claims to focus on forging closer links between member businesses and the local community – particularly young people (Urban Partners, 2019) – this section seeks to address objective 4 by evaluating alignment and discrepancies between the aims of Urban Partners and the local community by analysing interview data along with secondary data from local plans at the neighbourhood and borough level.

According to Urban Partner's 2019 Business Report, in order for the partnership to have "maximum impact", their projects must have both a "demonstrable community benefit" to local residents, and a commitment to collaborating with the local community. UP2 explains the key role played by Evergreen Reputations as a "connector" between the aims of the local community and Urban Partners:

"We meet with members of the local community to ask what they need and when...
the delivery groups work out how we can deliver that, and then we put these ideas
forward to the execs and board"

UP2 expressed intentions to align the strategy more closely to aims of the local community by directly responding to data collected by the local councils:

"There's a 6-month survey conducted by Camden and Islington Councils with local businesses and residents etc about what they want done in the area... once that is published, we'll utilise that to guide our work"

There is evidence from local plans and interviews that demonstrates several of Urban Partner's Hero Projects align with aims of the local community. An example of this includes projects such as their mentoring and employability workshops, and work with local youth to create mentoring and work experience opportunities. All the plans analysed had policies that outlined intentions to help residents gain access to the employment opportunities created by the regeneration of King's Cross, such as objectives guiding "Economy and Employment Policies" in the Somers Town Neighbourhood Plan (2016):

"Policies will focus on maximising employment and training opportunities arising from major development in Euston and King's Cross Growth Areas"

Furthermore, NF1 from Somers Town Neighbourhood Forum expressed specific aims to prioritise youth more specifically for work experience opportunities:

"We want to see kids from local areas being prioritised to access work experience opportunities... these huge companies are on their doorstep and yet they face so many barriers accessing them"

Additionally, the neighbourhood plans all highlighted the desire of the local communities to work together to protect their local businesses in addition to benefitting from development. For example, point 2.5 and 2.6 of the Camley Street Neighbourhood Plan states:

"The Forum recognises that the Camley Street area, due to its proximity to King's Cross, is likely to experience future development pressure... the Forum wants to ensure that the opportunities and potential benefits that new development could bring are directed towards the residents and businesses who already live and work in the area... In addition, the Forum wants to ensure that the existing light-industrial business community is retained"

However, neighbourhood forum respondents had heard never heard of Urban Partners, nor were they aware of any attempts from them to engage with the local business or resident community. Therefore, whilst Urban Partners may have good intentions that do indeed align with local community aims, these excluded neighbourhoods unable to benefit.

Furthermore, there are also discrepancies between the aims of Urban Partners and those of the local community. For example, NF1 highlights the importance of tackling crime and investing in more urban greening, particularly in light of the coronavirus pandemic:

"The greatest impact of the King's Cross redevelopment was the displacement of crime... that's something we really want to tackle and need support with... because of the lockdown our residents are really desperate for more greening in the area too"

However, there was consensus among Urban Partners respondents that they associated these issues as being the responsibility of the local authority, and therefore have no intention to assist with. UP3 states that this was also a motivation for being a voluntary partnership instead of a BID:

"We wanted to differentiate ourselves from BIDs who often waste a lot of their budget on policing and cleaning and greening etc... they get stuck doing what a Local Authority really should do and we want to add value, not let someone off their responsibility"

Overall, it is clear that Urban Partners have intentions to align their objectives, and the projects devised within those objectives, more closely with the needs of the local community. However, the way they currently attempt to do this influences tokenistic participation; whilst they have increased consultations with local community members, and introduced the delivery groups to enable the local community are able to voice their suggestions, this leads to a collaborative culture that encourages participants to be problem solvers, as found by Davies (2011), but ultimately the paying members have the final say. Hence, this evidence supports Van Bortel and Mullens' (2009) hypothesis that promises made by network governance to facilitate community involvement are often unfulfilled due to the reality of unequal influence amongst actors. Furthermore, awaiting on data provided by Camden and Islington Councils to increase alignment between the local community and Urban Partners further reiterates the reliance on 'external actors' found in 5.3 (Atkinson *et al.*, 2019).

A poignant finding was that the aims expressed in socio-economic policies within local plans at both borough and neighbourhood level did often align with the objectives of Urban Partners. However, the failure to acknowledge businesses and residents from these neighbourhoods brings us to question their exposure within the local area, particularly when considered alongside findings in 5.1 and 5.2. This failure is heightened by evidence such as the Camley Street Neighbourhood Plan expressing a need for local businesses to collaborate

and be protected, yet none are represented within Urban Partners. Therefore, as argued by Mu and De Jong (2015), mutual recognition among actors and information communication to the wider community are just as vital to the success of being inclusive as alignment of aims.

Finally, in attempting to differentiate themselves from a BID, to avoid becoming an extension of local authority services (De Magalhães, 2014; Grail *et al.*, 2019), they overlook the key aims of the local community. This evidences responsibilisation of communities to address their own deprivation and regeneration as a result of neoliberalised urban governance (Fuller & Geddes, 2008). Reflecting on Sullivan and Skelcher's (2003) definition of partnership in the context of multi-actor urban governance, they do not fulfil the characteristics of having a long-term binding purpose by being a voluntary organisation, nor do they carry out negotiations between people from diverse agencies to determine their purpose. Hence, consultations with the local community remain tokenistic, as board members ultimately have the final say on organisational aims.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Research Summary and Key Conclusions

This dissertation set out to assess whether private business partnerships influence the inclusivity of public participation in regenerated areas through the case study of Urban Partners in King's Cross. Whilst existing literature is predominated by participation in multi-actor governance networks created to mobilise regeneration, and private business partnerships including BIDs, this research adds to the debate through the exploration of participation influenced by private business partnerships mitigating the impacts of continued regeneration. It investigated this influence through the membership structure and strategy for membership recruitment, and mechanisms influencing wider community participation. It also evaluated the risks associated with sustaining participation in a voluntary business partnership, and the extent to which the aims of the partnership are influenced by the local community.

To conclude, utilising Pierre's (2014) definition of urban governance theory as an analytical lens revealed processes of societal coordination to be exclusive and limited to urban business elite; research findings highlight membership recruitment as a mechanism for influencing participation exclusivity, as its initial focus was on Argent's tenants and other 'big players' moving into the area. It also reveals that the variability of member participation is influenced by membership type, whereby board members are afforded all the decision-making power, and those with executive and free membership are limited to tokenistic participation. Whilst intentions to make participation more inclusive was evident, Urban Partners' understanding of participation appears limited, demonstrated by interview respondents equating activities like 'printing fliers' to participation. Furthermore, the emphasis on incentivising members to 'buy into' the partnership is characteristic of neoliberalised mechanisms of governing. Subsequently, this has led to tensions arising between members, and variability in willingness to participate too.

Whilst respondents acknowledged that the focus of Urban Partners is inherently exclusive through its three key objectives, their claims of not wanting to 'reinvent the wheel' are undermined by their failure to acknowledge existing social capital and include the communities that are central to some of their 'Hero Projects', such as the Wellbeing Walk.

The importance of societal involvement in achieving Urban Partners' aims is further demonstrated through the benefit of mutual recognition emphasised where they have been successful at utilising the local councils to recruit local youth to participate in 'Hero Projects' and delivery groups.

Using the BID model for comparison, it is clear that, as a voluntary partnership, they are similarly unable to ensure that business priorities of members will not supersede those of the partnership and local community, and under normal circumstances, lack of the financial sustainability of BIDs. However, the evidence also suggests that volunteering efforts and 'in kind' contributions have enabled participation to be sustained during the coronavirus pandemic, where BIDs have been less resilient. Finally, whilst the frequent similarity of aims between Urban Partners and the local community suggest their strategy is influenced by intentions to align aims, a failure to include local neighbourhood residents and businesses through membership or participation in their projects, suggests otherwise.

Thus, taking the above evidence into consideration, this dissertation argues that Urban Partners influence public participation both in terms of who participates, and also through the types of participation they facilitate; with the exception of participation elicited by board membership status, participation influenced by Urban Partners is both exclusive and tokenistic. Whilst they have limited influence over the sustainability of the partnership, voluntary participation has enabled continued pursuit of objectives during the coronavirus pandemic. Finally, whilst they appear to align aims with those of the local community, a fundamental failure to include these communities in devising them ultimately leads them to be excluded from the participating. Hence, in support of arguments made by Swyngedouw (2005), whilst there are 'seeds' of inclusive and empowering participation, Urban Partners influence over participation cause it to be exclusive and tokenistic; this has led to contradictory tensions arising both within the partnership and with the local community, thus serving to propagate neoliberalising governmentalities.

6.2 Limitations and Avenues for Future Research

Naturally, the findings of this dissertation are limited by the fact that conclusions are based on evidence from a single case study. The lack of academic research into partnerships of this type limited the literature to compare findings with, and thus comparisons were instead drawn against BIDs. Furthermore, due to limitations with respondent recruitment, not all opinions from within and beyond the partnership could be voiced, as outlined in chapter 3. Additionally, whilst interviews conducted provided extensive data, not all could be included in this study due to word-limit restrictions.

However, several avenues for future research emerged from this data. For example, there was significant discussion regarding how the coronavirus pandemic had impacted the sense of place and importance of placemaking from both those living and working in the area. For example, with increased working from home, priorities for the local residents shifted to improving open and green spaces, in contrast to businesses for whom office location became less important. Hence, it would be interesting to see how both private and voluntary business partnerships react to an increase in remote working with regards to participating in their local areas, and how entrepreneurial urban governance more generally has suffered as a result of the pandemic. Additionally, another interesting finding was Urban Partners' opposition to becoming a BID, despite the business partnerships set up by Argent in Birmingham being a BID. Hence, it would be interesting to compare the difference in influence over inclusion and strategy for governance between their three business partnerships.

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Appendix 1: Risk Assessment

RISK ASSESSMENT FORM FIELD / LOCATION WORK



The Approved Code of Practice - Management of Fieldwork should be referred to when completing this form

http://www.ucl.ac.uk/estates/safetynet/guidance/fieldwork/acop.pdf

DEPARTMENT/SECTION LOCATION(S) PERSONS COVERED BY THE RISK ASSESSMENT

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF FIELDWORK

Consider, in turn, each hazard (white on black). If **NO** hazard exists select **NO** and move to next hazard section.

If a hazard does exist select **YES** and assess the risks that could arise from that hazard in the risk assessment box.

Where risks are identified that are not adequately controlled they must be brought to the attention of your Departmental Management who should put temporary control measures in place or stop the work. Detail such risks in the final section.

ENVIRONMENT	The environment always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this hazard			
e.g. location, climate, terrain, neighbourhood, in outside organizations,	Examples of risk: adverse weather, illness, hypothermia, assault, getting lost. Is the risk high / medium / low ?			
pollution, animals.	There is a low risk as the interviews will be conducted from the respective homes of the researcher and participant.			
CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk			
work abroad incorp	porates Foreign Office advice			
participants have b	een trained and given all necessary information			
only accredited cer	ntres are used for rural field work			
participants will wear appropriate clothing and footwear for the specified environment				

trained leaders accompany the trip
refuge is available
work in outside organisations is subject to their having satisfactory H&S procedures in place
OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

EMERGENCIES

Where emergencies may arise use space below to identify and assess any

e.g. fire, accidents

Examples of risk: loss of property, loss of life

As interviews will not be face to face, this risk is low and less applicable; it is up to the participant to ensure they have the means of contacting emergency services. In the case of emergency, I as the researcher will ensure to have the means of contacting the emergency services on the participants behalf should they consent to me doing so.

CONTROL MEASURES

Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

participants have registered with LOCATE at http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/ fire fighting equipment is carried on the trip and participants know how to use it $\sqrt{}$ contact numbers for emergency services are known to all participants $\sqrt{}$ participants have means of contacting emergency services participants have been trained and given all necessary information a plan for rescue has been formulated, all parties understand the procedure the plan for rescue /emergency has a reciprocal element OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

FIELDWORK May 2020

EQUIPMENT Is equipment If 'No' move to next hazard NO used? If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks e.g. clothing, outboard Examples of risk: inappropriate, failure, insufficient training to use or repair, motors. injury. Is the risk high / medium / low ? Either a computer/laptop or phone will be required to conduct remote interviews. Low risk of technological failure, but not hazardous.

CONTROL MEASURES | Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

all equipment has all users have be special equipmen	s been inspected, bef en advised of correct nt is only issued to pe	fore issue t use rsons trai	sary equipment appropriate for the work , by a competent person ned in its use by a competent person y any other control measures you have
all users have be special equipmen OTHER CONTRO	en advised of correct nt is only issued to pe	t use ersons trai	ned in its use by a competent person
pecial equipmen	nt is only issued to pe	rsons trai	
OTHER CONTRO			
	OL MEASONES, PIE	язе эресп	y any other control measures you have
mpreme med.			
ORKING	Is lone working	NO	If 'No' move to next hazard
	a possibility?		If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess
			any risks
a av in in alatian			
e or in isolation	Examples of risk: (OI TIUDIMIK	summon nelp. Is the risk nigh / medium / low?
rviews.			
			andha mhana an da ana 9
nterviews will be	conducted remotely	online, ov	er the phone or via email.
NEACURE	Indianta which no		are in place to control the identified viets
DL MEASURES	Indicate which pro	oceaures	are in place to control the identified risk
ho donartmental	writton Arrangement	for long/	out of hours working for field work is followed
ne departmentar	•		out of flours working for field work is followed
one or included u			
one or isolated w	•		
ocation, route an	nd expected time of re	eturn of lo	,
ocation, route an	nd expected time of re	eturn of lo	ne workers is logged daily before work commences in the event of an emergency, e.g. phone, flare,
ocation, route an all workers have t whistle	nd expected time of re	eturn of lo	in the event of an emergency, e.g. phone, flare,
ocation, route an all workers have t whistle all workers are fu	nd expected time of re the means of raising ally familiar with emerg	eturn of lo	in the event of an emergency, e.g. phone, flare,
	nterviews will be	views. Interviews will be conducted remotely of the conducted remotel	a possibility? Examples of risk: difficult to views. Iterviews will be conducted remotely online, over the conducted remotely online, ov

FIELDWORK

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ILL HEALTH				
				rays represents a safety hazard. Use space any risks associated with this Hazard.
e.g. accident, illness,	Examples of risk: inju	ury, astl	hma	allergies. Is the risk high / medium / low?
personal attack, special personal considerations or vulnerabilities.	appropriate software	, there i	is no	emotely online via Zoom, Teams, email or other additional threat posed to the participant by the threat of coronavirus transmission.
CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which prod	edures	are	in place to control the identified risk
all participants participants have physically suite participants have encounter participants who for their needs OTHER CONT	have had the necessal we been advised of the d we been adequate advi o require medication h	ry inocu physic ice on h	ulatio al de narm viseo	first aid kits are present on the field trip ons/ carry appropriate prophylactics emands of the trip and are deemed to be ful plants, animals and substances they may d the leader of this and carry sufficient medication any other control measures you have
implemented:				
TRANSPORT	Will transport be	NO	√	Move to next hazard
	Will transport be required	NO YES	√	Move to next hazard Use space below to identify and assess any risks
	required	YES	aris	Use space below to identify and assess any
TRANSPORT	required Examples of risk: actraining Is the risk high / med	YES ccidents	aris	Use space below to identify and assess any risks

DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC	Will people be dealing with public	NO	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any			
			risks			
e.g. interviews, observing	Examples of risk: perisk high / medium / le		ack, causing offence, being misinterpreted. Is the			
	Based on the r	nature of t	he research question, the risk is low.			
CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which proc	edures a	re in place to control the identified risk			
interviews are α advice and supp	all participants are trained in interviewing techniques interviews are contracted out to a third party advice and support from local groups has been sought participants do not wear clothes that might cause offence or attract unwanted attention					
			where neither party could be at risk fy any other control measures you have			

WORKING ON OR	Will people work on	NO	If 'No' move to next hazard
NEAR WATER	or near water?		If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any
			risks
e.g. rivers, marshland, sea.	Examples of risk: dro medium / low?	owning, m	alaria, hepatitis A, parasites. Is the risk high /
CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which proc	edures a	are in place to control the identified risk
lone working on	or near water will not b	e allowed	
			kes place outside those times when tides could

participants alway	by a competent persor	tective equ n	nipment, e.g. buoyancy aids, wellingtons of propulsion e.g. oars
	received any appropr		ations any other control measures you have implemented:
O MEN OOM	DE MEAGONES. Picas	se specify	any other control measures you have implemented.
MANUAL HANDLING	Do MH activities		If 'No' move to next hazard
(MH)	take place?	NO	If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any
			risks
moving large or heavy equipment, physical unsuitability for the task.			
CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which prod	cedures a	re in place to control the identified risk
the departmental	written Arrangement f	for MH is f	ollowed
the supervisor ha	s attended a MH risk	assessme	nt course
all tasks are within such activities	n reasonable limits, pe	ersons phy	rsically unsuited to the MH task are prohibited from
all persons perfor	ming MH tasks are ac	dequately t	rained
	nents will be assemb		
	•		be done by contractors any other control measures you have implemented:
FIELDWORK 4			May 2020

SUBSTANCES	Will participants work with substances	NO	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks		
e.g. plants, chemical, biohazard, waste		•	pisoning, infection, illness, burns, cuts. Is the risk		
CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk				
all participants are they may encount participants who h needs waste is disposed suitable container	e given information, tra er nave allergies have add of in a responsible ma s are provided for haza	ining and vised the anner ardous wa	g with hazardous substances and waste are followed protective equipment for hazardous substances leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their aste any other control measures you have implemented:		
OTHER HAZARDS	Have you identified	NO	If 'No' move to next section		
	any other hazards?		If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any		
			risks		
i.e. any other hazards must be noted and assessed here.	Hazard: Risk: is the risk				
CONTROL MEASURES	Give details of cont	rol meas	ures in place to control the identified risks		
Have you identified an adequately controlled?	•	NO √ YES	Move to Declaration Use space below to identify the risk and what action was taken		

Is this project subject Research?	to the UCL requirements on	the ethics of Non-NHS Hun	nan
If yes, please state yo	ur Project ID Number		
For more information,	please refer to: http://ethics.	grad.ucl.ac.uk/	
DECLARATION	The work will be reassessed annually. Those participating		· ·
Select the appropr	iate statement:		
I the undersigned I significant residual	nave assessed the activity and	associated risks and declare	that there is no
risk			
√ I the undersigned I controlled by	nave assessed the activity and	associated risks and declare	that the risk will be
the method(s) liste	d above		
NAME OF SUPERVISO	DR: Elena Besussi		
FIELDWORK 5			May 2020



The Bartlett School of Planning

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN PARTICIPATION AND INCLUSION RESEARCH STUDY

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: What is the influence of private business partnerships on the inclusivity of public engagement in regenerated areas? A case study of Urban Partners in King's Cross

Department: Bartlett School of Planning

Name and Contact Details of the Researcher(s): Molly Purcell - molly.purcell.19@ucl.ac.uk

Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher (Dissertation Supervisor): Elena Besussi — e.besussi@ucl.ac.uk

Contact Details of the UCL Data Protection Officer: data-protection@ucl.ac.uk

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

I confirm that I understand that by ticking/initialling each box below I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it will be assumed that unticked/initialled boxes means that I DO NOT consent to that part of the study. I understand that by not giving consent for any one element that I may be deemed ineligible for the study.

		Tick Box
1.	*I confirm that I have read and understood the Information Sheet for the above study. I have had an opportunity to consider the information and what will be expected of me. I have also had the opportunity to ask questions which have been answered to my satisfaction and would like to participate in an individual interview.	BOX
2.	*I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to 4 weeks after being interviewed	
3.	*I consent to participate in the study. I understand that my personal information (provide information on what personal information specifically will be collected) will be used for the purposes explained to me. I understand that according to data protection legislation, 'public task' will be the lawful basis for processing.	
4.	This information will be used for this project only. Anonymity is optional for this research. Please select from the following 3 options: (a) I agree for my real name and role/affiliation to be used in connection with any words I have said or information I have passed on. (b) I request that my comments are presented anonymously but give permission to connect my role/affiliation with my comments (but not the title of my position). (c) I request that my comments are presented anonymously with no mention of my role/affiliation.	
5.	*I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the University for monitoring and audit purposes.	
6.	*I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason. I understand that if I decide to withdraw, any personal data I have provided up to that point will be deleted unless I agree otherwise.	
7.	I understand the potential risks of participating and the support that will be available to me should I become distressed during the course of the research.	
8.	I understand that no promise or guarantee of benefits have been made to encourage you to participate.	
9.	I understand that the data will not be made available to any commercial organisations but is solely the responsibility of the researcher(s) undertaking this study.	
10.		

11.	I understand that I will be compensated for the portion of time spent in the study (if applicable) or fully compensated if I choose to withdraw.	
12.	I agree that my research data (anonymised and pseudonymised upon request) may be used by others for future research. [No one will be able to identify you when this data is shared.]	
13.	I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I wish to receive a copy of it. Yes/No	
14.	I consent to my interview being audio recorded and understand that the recordings will be destroyed immediately following transcription To note: If you do not want your participation recorded you can still take part in the study.	
15.	I hereby confirm that I understand the inclusion criteria as detailed in the Information Sheet and explained to me by the researcher.	
16.	(a) I am aware of who I should contact if I wish to lodge a complaint.	
17.	I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.	

If you would like your contact details to be retained so that you can be contacted in the future by UCL researchers who would like to invite you to participate in follow up studies to this project, or in future studies of a similar nature, please tick the appropriate box below.

	Yes, I would be happy t	o be contacted in thi	s way		
	No, I would not like to be contacted				
Name of participant Date		Date	Signature		

Molly Purcell MSc Spatial Planning Dissertation

GRADEMARK REPORT

FINAL GRADE

GENERAL COMMENTS

/100

Instructor

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