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HS2 railway, UK – the parliamentary process to Royal Assent

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The parliamentary process for a hybrid bill incorporates aspects of both public and private bill procedures. The key differences from the process followed by normal government (i.e. public) legislation are a consultation on the environmental statement and select committee (SC) stages in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. For the bulk of its time in parliament, which typically spans a number of parliamentary sessions and can even span a general election, a hybrid bill will be in SC in one house or the other. The bill for phase 1 of HS2 completed its passage through parliament faster than the bill for Crossrail had, despite being significantly more contentious both nationally and locally, and receiving nearly six times as many objections (known as petitions). By any objective measure, the promotion of the bill was a success. This paper will explain the process for passing a hybrid bill in generic terms, as well as expanding to refer to the specific processes undertaken by High Speed Two (London–West Midlands) Act.

1. Parliamentary process

The parliamentary process for a hybrid bill is described by Podkolinski (2019) and is summarised in Figure 1.

Following first reading of the bill and the deposit of supporting documents, parliamentary standing orders require a public consultation on the environmental statement (ES). The formal consultation is undertaken by the Secretary of State for Transport and held over a period of at least 56 days (8 weeks). A summary of issues raised in responses to the consultation (Golder Associates, 2014) is provided by parliament's independent assessor to inform Members of Parliament (MPs) ahead of the second reading debate on the bill.

At second reading, the principle of the bill is debated, including the need for the project. If the bill is given a second reading, a select committee (SC) is then appointed to hear petitions against the bill. Second reading is followed by a petitioning period during which those whose property or interests are 'specially and directly' affected by the bill can petition. A petition is a summary of objections to particular aspects of the bill. It is a request to the House of Commons for the petitioner to be allowed to argue their case before the SC. Petitions have to be deposited within a stipulated time and must conform to the rules for petitions against private bills. Guidance on petitioning against hybrid bills is published by the Private Bill Office of the House of Commons.

If the promoter believes that a petitioner is not specially and directly affected, they can challenge the right of the petitioner to be heard by the SC (this is known as *locus standi*). In such cases, the petitioner is informed of the challenge in advance, both sides have the opportunity to put their case and the

decision on whether they will consider the petition or not is made by the SC.

Petitions are then heard by the SC. The SC sits in a quasijudicial capacity, with witnesses being sworn and evidence exchanged in advance of hearings (as a result, the process is often described as a cross between a court case and a public inquiry). At the end of the hearings, the SC produces a formal report (House of Commons, 2015a, 2015b, 2016) that sets out its recommendations. The government then issues a formal response to the SC's report (DfT, 2015, 2016b, 2016c, 2017a).

After the SC stage, the bill reverts to its normal public bill stages. A public bill committee of MPs then reviews the bill and may make amendments to it. The bill then progresses to report and third reading stages in the House of Commons, during the first of which further amendments may be made.

The bill is then sent to the House of Lords where it follows a similar process as in the House of Commons, including a further opportunity for objectors to petition and to appear before a SC. The petitioning period in the House of Lords follows first reading, rather than second reading. At the end of the hearings, the SC produces a formal report (House of Lords, 2016) setting out its recommendations. The government then issues a formal response to the SC's report.

The bill then returns to the House of Commons for consideration of any amendments made in the House of Lords, after which it can then receive Royal Assent, becoming an Act of Parliament. Unlike normal public bills, a hybrid bill will typically take a number of parliamentary sessions to complete its passage through parliament and it is therefore common for

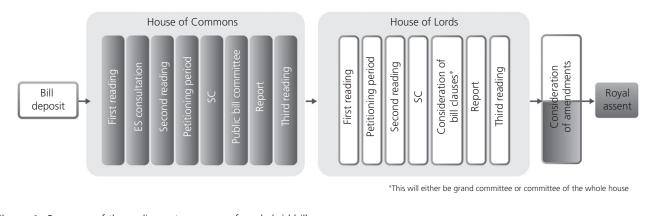


Figure 1. Summary of the parliamentary process for a hybrid bill

a hybrid bill to be 'carried over' from one session of parliament to another. This is done by passing a carry-over motion. For the bulk of its time in parliament, a hybrid bill will be in SC in one house or the other. SC in the House of Commons is typically the longest stage, with SC in the House of Lords taking around a third of the time of its Commons counterpart. Stakeholders are able to petition both houses should they choose.

2. Additional provisions and supplementary ESs

Amendments to a hybrid bill requiring additional powers, such as the acquisition of additional land or changes to highways works, are implemented by promoting an additional provision (AP) to the bill in the House of Commons. These are essentially 'mini' bills, comprising the same documentation as the main bill, including bill amendment, plans and sections, an ES and so on, and following the same process through parliament - namely deposit, debate in parliament, ES consultation, petitioning period and the hearing of petitions by the SC. By convention, the House of Lords, as the second house, does not make changes that require additional powers to be included in the bill. Changes that are within existing powers but which generate significant changes to the environmental impacts are reported in a supplementary environmental statement (SES), submitted alongside the ES for changes that require additional powers.

3. Undertakings and assurances

During the passage of a hybrid bill the promoter will give a large number of commitments to address issues raised by petitioners. These take the form of undertakings – which are binding (usually contingent) agreements set out in legal documents or given by another means to the SC itself or to parliament – and assurances – which are unilateral written commitments made by the promoter in a letter or petition responses. These commitments are recorded in an official register (HS2 Ltd, 2017), held by the Department for Transport (DfT), drafts are published as the bill continues through parliament and a final version is produced and published after the bill receives Royal Assent. Any nominated undertaker (or nominated undertakers) appointed to deliver the scheme is contractually obliged, through the requirements set, to comply with all relevant undertakings and assurances given by the promoter.

4. Roles, responsibilities and organisational structure

High Speed Two (HS2) Limited is the company that was set up in 2009 to design and develop the UK's new high-speed rail network. It is funded by grant-in-aid from the government and is an executive non-departmental public body, sponsored by the DfT. The Secretary of State for Transport is the promoter of the bill.

The HS2 Ltd Hybrid Bill Delivery Directorate brings together several critical functions to provide the necessary support to the DfT. HS2 Ltd as an organisation has the skills and expertise required to design and develop the HS2 scheme. Within the Hybrid Bill Delivery Directorate, the focus is on supporting the DfT in the authorisation of the bill through the parliamentary process. HS2 Ltd work closely with DfT to develop and approve its key polices for the project; these policies are published at bill deposit in the form of information papers.

Parliamentary agents are authorised solicitors able to draft, promote (or oppose) bills in parliament. HS2 Ltd uses Winckworth Sherwoods and Eversheds Sutherland to provide the necessary advice on a range of issues including bill drafting, standing order compliance, ES production (Bonard *et al.*, 2019), undertakings and assurances.

During the SC hearings, the promoter is represented by counsel – this team provides the technical evidence to the SC on a number of issues raised by petitioners. Issues include environmental, land compensation and bill-related engineering. This team is supported by a team of HS2 Ltd witnesses and independent expert witnesses.

5. Governance

5.1 Technical change panel (TCP)

The TCP assessed the impact of change proposals to the agreed HS2 Ltd programme baseline(s). This included changes to cost, scope and schedule, and those affecting the agreed outcomes of the scheme (as reflected in the development agreement, sponsor's requirements and the functional response). The panel also provided strategic technical guidance and direction to those developing proposals that depended on technically complex data or analysis (acting on behalf of HS2 Ltd's executive committee for this purpose) (Figure 2).

The TCP did not authorise the implementation of petitionrelated proposals for change. The role of TCP was to review the assessment of the proposal for change and make a recommendation to the tactical bill group (TBG)/legislative decision board (LDB) on whether the proposal for change, if implemented, would be acceptable or represent an improvement to the baseline scheme/hybrid bill proposals. It would advise if a precedent or principle was likely to be set by agreeing to the proposed change.

5.2 The LDB

The LDB would, above TBG's delegation (but within the parameters of its own delegation), decide upon

recommendations made by the TCP to the HS2 scheme or broadening of scope for mitigation involving petitions. It would also make recommendations to boards with a higher financial delegation including the tier 2 investment board and the board investment and commercial committee, as well as to transport ministers and Her Majesty's Treasury (as required) on proposed changes that are beyond the delegated authority of the LDB.

5.3 The TBG

The TBG considered recommendations from the TCP on petition-related proposals for change, the funding of such changes and requests for undertakings or assurances within its delegation. Petition-related changes are changes that are proposed by petitioners or changes that are proposed by HS2 Ltd to avoid the risk of a future petition.

6. Servicing the SC process

6.1 The 'back office'

To ensure the SC members had the material they required for each hearing, the HS2 Ltd 'back office' was responsible for the smooth and timely exchange of evidence. Parliament provided guidance on the exchange of evidence between the parties and stated that this should take place two working days before appearance and by 5 p.m. on that second day.

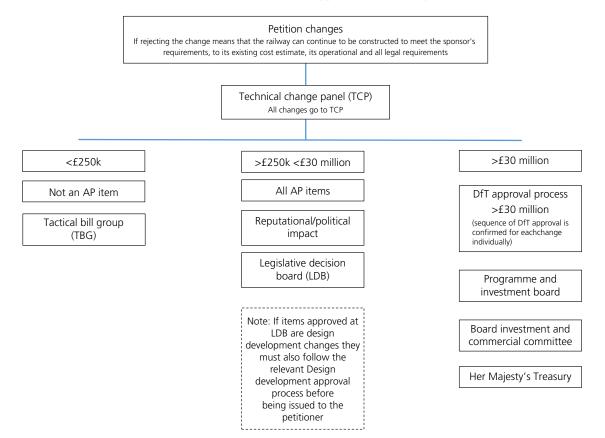


Figure 2. Petition changes

The parliamentary management evidence team at HS2 Ltd received both the promoter's and petitioners' exhibits in electronic format. The team ingested the exhibits into an evidence display system where they were automatically given a unique reference number. The electronic files were then printed and prepared for distribution to the SC members, the petitioner and the promoter's counsel and witnesses.

6.2 The SC room

HS2 Ltd provided support to the SC members through the provision of evidence both on behalf of the promoter and the petitioner. The HS2 Ltd parliamentary management team were responsible for ensuring the SC clerk had (for the members) copies of all the evidence being presented that day. HS2 Ltd installed an evidence display system in the SC room to enable members and those in the public gallery to view the evidence as it was being presented. The SC members had individual screens, as did the promoter's counsel, and the petitioner or their representative. The public gallery viewed the evidence on large display screens in the SC room (Figures 3–5).



Figure 3. Committee room layout



Figure 4. Parliamentary evidence display system



Figure 5. Evidence for a day in committee

The parliamentary management team was also on hand to meet and greet the petitioner as they arrived for their hearing. They explained to the petitioner how the evidence system worked and how the operator displayed the evidence as required. They also provided the petitioner with a hard copy of their evidence and the reference number generated by the evidence display system. It is important for anyone presenting to the SC to refer to the reference numbers as these appear in the parliamentary transcript, the official record of the hearing. All the transcripts and associated evidence are published on the parliamentary website by the SC clerk.

The SC room setup and process was the same in the House of Lords, as was the support given by HS2 Ltd's parliamentary management team.

7. Parliamentary passage of the bill for phase 1 of HS2

The High Speed Rail (London-West Midlands) bill was deposited and received its first reading in the House of Commons on 25 November 2013. There was a political aspiration to secure Royal Assent before the general election in May 2015, which would have been an heroic achievement indeed based solely on the experience of the last hybrid bill to go through parliament - the bill for Crossrail a decade earlier - which had taken over 3 years (both authors also worked on the Crossrail bill and, where available, comparisons with that bill are given later in the paper). A revised target date for Royal Assent of the end of December 2016 was subsequently agreed. The consultation on the ES ran from 25 November 2013 to 27 February 2014 and 21 833 comments were received. As required by standing orders, parliament's independent assessor (Golder Associates, 2014) produced a summary of the issues raised by comments on the ES in April 2014, in advance of second reading.

The bill secured its second reading on 28 April 2014, with a 452 to 41 vote in favour, and was referred to a SC. The next day, various motions were also passed, establishing the SC, setting out the house's view of what constituted the principle of the bill as determined at second reading and setting the petitioning periods of 16 May 2014 for local authorities (other than Parish Councils) and businesses and 23 May 2014 for everyone else.

Membership of the SC reflects the representation of the parties in the house and the SC members appointed were

- Robert Syms MP (Conservative, Poole) (SC chair)
- Henry Bellingham MP (Conservative, North West Norfolk)
- Sir Peter Bottomley MP (Conservative, Worth West)
- Ian Mearns MP (Labour, Gateshead)
- Sasmin Qureshi MP (Labour, Bolton South East)
- Michael Thornton MP (Lib-Dem, Eastleigh).

These were the originally appointed members and served until the general election in May 2015. From July 2015, the members were Robert Syms MP, Sir Henry Bellingham MP, Sir Peter Bottomley MP, Geoffrey Clifton-Brown MP, David Crausby MP and Mark Hendrick MP.

The SC started its hearings in July 2014 and completed its work in February 2016, some 19 months later. Over that period – which included a period during which its work was suspended for the general election in May 2015 – the SC sat for 159 days and undertook 13 site visits along the phase 1 route. The bill started its public bill committee stage on 1 March 2016 and finished on 8 March 2016, after six sittings.

As required by standing orders, the promoter published its statement of reasons for the scheme – the *Government Overview of the Case for Phase One of HS2 and its Environmental Impacts* (DfT, 2016a) – in March 2016 in advance of the report and third reading stages, which were taken together on 23 March 2016. The bill secured its third reading with a 399 to 42 vote in favour.

The bill then immediately passed to the House of Lords, receiving its first reading the same day. The bill secured its second reading on 14 April 2016 (by convention the House of Lords does not vote on a hybrid bill at second reading) and was referred to a SC. The SC members appointed were

- Lord Walker of Gestingthorpe (crossbencher) (chairman)
- Lord Brabazon of Tara (Conservative)
- Lord Freeman (Conservative)

- Lord Jones of Cheltenham (Liberal Democrat)
- Baroness O'Cathain (Conservative)
- Lord Plant of Highfield (Labour)
- Lord Young of Norwood Green (Labour).

Shortly following his appointment, Lord Plant of Highfield resigned due to ill health. He was replaced by Lord Elder.

The SC started its hearings in May 2016 and completed its work in December 2016, some 7 months later. Over that period, the SC sat for 60 days and undertook five site visits along the phase 1 route. The bill started its committee of the whole house stage on 10 January 2017 and finished on 12 January 2017, after two sittings.

As required by standing orders, the promoter published its statement of reasons for the scheme – the *Government Overview of Case for Phase One of HS2 and its Environmental Impacts* – *Update for the House of Lords* (DfT, 2017b) – in January 2017, in advance of third reading. Report stage was taken on 24 January 2017 and the bill secured its third reading on 31 January 2017 (the house having voted down 385 to 25 a motion seeking to decline the bill its third reading).

After reconciling the amendments to the bill made in the House of Lords with the House of Commons (a process commonly known as 'ping pong'), the bill secured Royal Assent on 23 February 2017.

All in all, the bill took 3 years and 3 months to get through parliament (compared with 3 years and 6 months for the bill for Crossrail in 2005–2008).

8. Petition management and the SC process

8.1 House of Commons

Some 1918 petitions were submitted against the bill in the House of Commons (compared with 365 against the bill for Crossrail in 2005 (House of Commons, 2006)). The promoter adopted a standard petition management approach with the objective of resolving or reducing the issues petitioners raised before the SC (Figure 6).

Before introducing the HS2 phase 1 bill to parliament, the promoter had already looked for ways to limit the likely environmental impact of the scheme and to mitigate the adverse impacts that might be expected to arise. The SC process in both houses is particularly important in bringing to light concerns about the impacts of the scheme at particular



Figure 6. Petition management and the SC process

locations on the route and considering whether more should or could be done to address specific points of concern.

The promoter was able to satisfy a significant number of petitioners without the need for a hearing before the SC. Martin Tett, leader of Buckinghamshire County Council, commented on these negotiations (Figure 7). During the House of Commons SC stage, a number of key issues raised by petitioners were addressed by agreeing to make changes to the scheme to reduce impacts or enhance local mitigation and delivering it by means of promoting an AP to the bill (Podkolinski, 2019). Five APs were deposited (compare with four APs on the Crossrail bill), seeking authorisation for approximately 300 individual changes to the scheme. The APs and SESs were

- AP1: September 2014, 42 petitions submitted
- AP2/SES1: July 2015, 182 petitions submitted
- AP3/SES2: September 2015, 144 petitions submitted
- AP4/SES3: October 2015, 278 petitions submitted
- AP5/SES4: December 2015, 22 petitions submitted.

In total, these APs and SESs attracted a further 668 petitions, bringing the total submitted in the House of Commons to 2586 (compared with 464 against the bill for Crossrail in 2005–2007).

Mr Tett admitted the deal 'does not include everything we would have liked; and in an ideal he would have wanted 'more money and fewer risks'. However, you have to look at if we'd have got everything [in HS2 Ltd's final offer] from the select committee and it is likely we would not have done. On balance it was better to do a deal outside than roll the dice inside [the select committee]. Mr Tett said the negotiations had been 'very intense'. 'In business I have done a lot of contract negotiations so I'm pretty familiar with how to do it. They were tough, very professional negotiations'.

Martin Tett, leader of Buckinghamshire County Council

Figure 7. Quote from Martin Tett in *Buckingham and Winslow Advertiser* (27 January 2016)

Camden Council secures over 100 assurances from the Secretary of State

Camden Council has secured over 100 assurances on key measures that will help protect the lives and livelihoods of its residents and businesses from more than a decade of the worst aspects of High Speed 2 (HS2) construction. In what Camden understands to be the largest settlement for any local authority, HS2 Ltd have agreed to measures including...

London Borough of Camden

Figure 8. Quote from London Borough of Camden website (1 December 2015)

In addition, around 2000 undertakings and assurances were given to address issues raised by petitioners, as recorded and publicly available on the register of undertakings and assurances. The London Borough of Camden, for example, was the recipient of over 100 assurances in the House of Commons alone, as illustrated by the quote shown in Figure 8.

As a result, significant changes to the scheme were made during the SC stage in the House of Commons, including the following.

- A revised design and construction programme for Euston station.
- A revised vertical alignment in the Lichfield area, lowering the route by up to 22.3 m, so that it will run in cutting to the east of Lichfield and pass beneath the West Coast Main Line, the South Staffordshire Line and the A38.
- A 2.6 km extension of the Chiltern tunnel from Mantle's Wood to South Heath, avoiding the loss of approximately 9 ha of ancient woodland.
- Lowering of the alignment at Drayton Bassett and Hints, which would avoid a road closure, provide increased screening to the railway and reduce the amount of ancient woodland lost.
- The provision of additional noise mitigation at Wendover and Chetwode, including an extension of the Wendover green tunnel southward by 100 m and increasing the height and length of noise fence barriers.
- A revised construction traffic and sustainable placement strategy in Hillingdon, including the provision of a haul road between the Harvil Road main construction compound and the A40 Swakeleys roundabout.

- The provision of higher noise barriers at three locations along the Colne Valley viaduct.
- A revised vertical alignment of the HS2 route as it passes through Burton Green, extensions to the 'green' tunnel and realignment of Kenilworth Greenway beneath Cromwell Lane and additional landscape mitigation earthworks.
- A revised approach for Old Oak Common Lane, which will see the provision of step-free pedestrian access maintained throughout the construction period, apart from occasional short-term closures for certain construction works.
- Revised sustainable placement strategies at Calvert and Hunts Green, which will reduce local environmental impacts and impacts on local businesses.

In addition, assurances given addressed other issues, including the following.

- Provision of up to £30 million to support road safety schemes in the non-urban local authority areas along the phase 1 route to leave a legacy of improved road safety.
- Provision of an additional £10 million of funding for the Community and Environment Fund and the Business and Local Economy Fund established for the scheme, making a total of £40 million available for these two funds.
- The establishment of a Colne Valley panel, with an independent chair, with a funding contribution of £3 million to support the delivery of agreed additional mitigation.
- A £1 million Calvert community fund.
- A contribution of up to £500 000 for improvements to mitigate the impact of construction noise on the school building at St Mary's School in Kilburn.
- Provision of £3 million to the London Borough of Camden to support the creation of a linear park and enhanced walking route between HS1 and HS2 along Phoenix Way.

8.2 House of Lords

The petitioning period in the House of Lords ran from 24 March to 18 April 2016. Some 822 petitions were submitted against the bill (compared with 113 against the Crossrail bill in 2008), amounting to approximately 32% of the number submitted in the House of Commons.

As had been the case on previous hybrid bills, the House of Lords SC ruled that, in line with convention, it had no power to make an amendment to the bill that would amount to an AP, unless instructed to do so by the house. No such instruction was received. Petitioners were given the opportunity by the SC to make their case, but once it became clear that an AP would be required, the SC considered it could not support the petitioners' cases.

Although not requiring the promoter to bring forward any further APs, some 2400 further undertakings and assurances were given, bringing the total given during the passage of the bill to well over 4500. Examples of these included the following.

- Providing the London Borough of Camden with a fund of £3.5 million to support community measures that will provide additional mitigation for the area. This funding will be in addition to further funding for the provision of an environmental health officer.
- Providing Buckinghamshire County Council, whose area will be affected by numerous issues related to construction traffic, with assurances that include additional traffic calming measures on the A41, a contribution of £500 000 for the provision of a new car park for the Great Missenden Church of England Combined School and £500 000 towards the improvement and repair of the existing cycleways to the north and south of Wendover.

9. Assessing performance

Assessing performance in promoting a hybrid bill is not straightforward. There are a range of objective metrics that can be measured. For example, on the HS2 phase 1 bill, in the House of Commons, of the 2586 petitions submitted, 1578 petitioners appeared (61%), 809 withdrew or did not appear and 199 had their *locus standi* successfully challenged. In the House of Lords, of the 822 petitions submitted, 314 petitioners appeared (38%), 230 withdrew or did not appear and 278 had their *locus standi* successfully challenged (Figure 9).

It is also possible to measure the pace at which the SCs hear petitions. For example, on the Crossrail bill, the SCs in both houses heard an average of 5.1 petitions per sitting day. On the HS2 phase 1 bill, the SC in the House of Commons heard an average of 16.2 petitions per sitting day and the SC in the

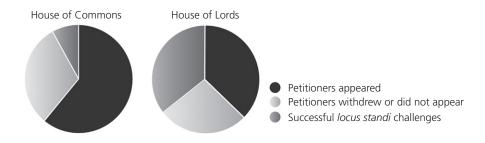


Figure 9. Outcome of petitions in the House of Commons and House of Lords

House of Lords heard an average of 13.7 petitions per sitting day.

Performance – certainly from an objector's perspective – might also be judged by the number and nature of changes made to the scheme during its passage through parliament. Evidence from both the Crossrail bill and the HS2 phase 1 bill, as explained above, shows that objectively significant changes can be and are made during the SC process, and a significant number of concessions can be obtained from the promoter. However, it is not unusual for those affected by the scheme – especially if they have not secured the change or the concession they sought – to judge the process less charitably.

10. Conclusions

So, what can help make promoting a hybrid bill a success? On the HS2 phase 1 bill, the key factors could be summarised as follows.

- Inspirational leadership. Promoting a hybrid bill is the definition of delivering at pace and a test of stamina, with inevitable highs and lows. The right leadership and a mix of experience and personalities in the senior leadership team can make all the difference.
- Establishment of dedicated, high-performing teams given the tools and space to deliver against a clear set of objectives.
- A relentless application of project management discipline and success-based planning. An absolute focus on what must happen each day and each week to remain on programme.
- Committed members of each SC, balancing the understandable desire to complete their work as quickly as possible with a genuine desire to see petitioners treated fairly and with respect, and the issues given a fair hearing.
- Political cross-party support in parliament. This is selfevidently helpful when it comes to getting legislation through parliament, but also provides the working-level support necessary to get time in parliament – be it on the floor of the house or for one of the other public bill stages – when it is needed to suit the overall bill programme. The programme to Royal Assent was challenging with no real float between any of its many stages, yet time was secured when needed at virtually every time of asking.
- Last and by no means least, a close and collaborative working relationship between the sponsor and the delivery vehicle (the bill team in the DfT and the Hybrid Bill Delivery Directorate, and through it the wider supporting team in HS2 Ltd in this case), even if that might feel at odds with project management orthodoxy.

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