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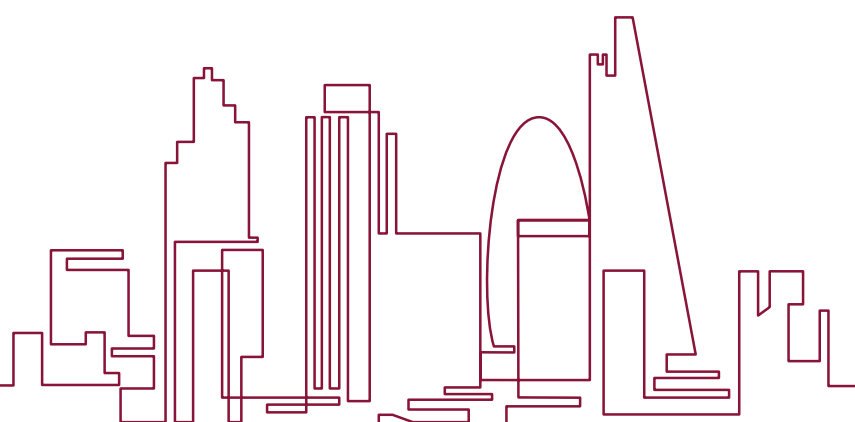
CITY OF LONDON

CAPITAL GAINS

A GLOBAL CITY IN A CHANGING WORLD



Edited by Kate Murray and Vanesha Singh
With an introduction by Sadiq Khan

Fabian Ideas 649

FABIAN
SOCIETY

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Fabian Ideas 649

First published July 2019
ISBN 978-0-7163-0649-8

Editorial director: Kate Murray
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British Library Cataloguing in Publication data. A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Printed and bound by DG3, London, UK

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Project partner

The City of London Corporation is the local authority for the Square Mile and is dedicated to a thriving City supporting a strong and diverse London within a prospering nation.

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INTRODUCTION

Sadiq Khan

In 2016, Londoners elected me as their mayor in the face of one of the nastiest and most divisive political campaigns in British history. The election was about Londoners choosing hope over fear, and optimism over pessimism, showing that they still believe it is possible to create a fairer and more equal city.

Yet this spirit of optimism and positivity has come under increasing attack following an incredibly tough few years for Londoners and a growing sense of uncertainty about our future.

We have witnessed the tragedy of the horrific fire at Grenfell Tower – causing the deaths of 72 Londoners - and endured a series of terrorist attacks. We are living through the chaos, confusion and uncertainty of Brexit, which is draining optimism and leaving many Londoners unsettled. And we've seen the consequences of the government's punishing austerity programme go from bad to worse – with cuts to the police, schools, the NHS, local authorities, youth services and welfare creating a perfect storm, which has led to an appalling rise in violent crime across the country, including London.

For many Londoners, the future does not look much brighter. Too many are being held back by the housing crisis

and struggling with the cost of living, with wages failing to recover to pre-2008 financial crash levels.

However, none of this this has diminished my passion and determination to make London a fairer city. There is still more to do to end rough sleeping on our streets and to help Londoners who struggle to pay their rent. I still want us to go further and faster to tackle air pollution and climate change. I am as determined as ever to stamp out discrimination - whether based on race, religion, class, age, gender or sexuality. And I will continue to fight for Britain to stay in the European Union.

This impatience for change is constantly driving me to seek out and deliver the ambitious new initiatives we need to solve the big challenges confronting our city. And, despite the backdrop of the past few years, we are beginning to see tangible positive results with a Labour administration at City Hall.

We have done this in two ways. First, by focusing on changes that genuinely make day-to-day life easier for Londoners, such as the Hopper bus fare. And, second, by pursuing long-term sustainable solutions that match the scale of the challenges we face, such as tackling economic inequality and air pollution and starting the process of addressing the housing crisis.

As well as building a record number of social homes, doubling our homelessness outreach teams and making transport more affordable for millions of Londoners, we are delivering some exciting initiatives that provide more opportunities for people to reach their potential: from establishing the London Borough of Culture and delivering creative enterprise zones, to rolling out a new Young Londoners Fund to give those at risk of getting caught up in crime new opportunities to make the most of their lives.

In many areas, we are leading the world, demonstrating that regional government is the future of our country – better placed to act and more nimble and responsive to the needs of citizens than our log-jammed parliament.

For example, we have the boldest plans to tackle air pollution of any major city – with the ultra-low emission zone watched closely around the globe. We have given communities more control of how their local area changes by giving tenants and residents the right to a vote on estate regeneration plans we fund. We have groundbreaking plans to reduce childhood obesity, including restricting new fast food outlets near schools and banning junk food ads on the Transport for London estate. And we have become one of the first cities in the world to outline how we intend to comply with the highest aspirations of the Paris climate agreement.

I am proud that we are laying the foundations for a better, fairer city that works for all Londoners. We are showing that progress, while hard fought, is possible. And, crucially, we are showing that it is possible to stand firm and defend our values and our diversity in the face of an increasingly divided and intolerant world.

Yet, despite all the progress we have made, I remain restless about the pace and scale of change. That is why I am continually looking for new, innovative ideas or policies to help us meet our ambitions as a city. This is what this pamphlet is about – giving experts in their fields the opportunity to think big about London's challenges and showing how London can be even better by promoting new ideas to tackle problems, both old and new, and encouraging further debate.

Professor Tony Travers, a leading authority on the role of local and regional government in London, is right to identify in his chapter that devolution is of vital importance if we are to fully unlock London's potential. Britain is one of the most

centralised democracies in the world and this is holding back our economic potential as well as our progress as a society.

City Hall has demonstrated what can be achieved with the relatively modest powers available to us, but the lack of resources and levers we can call on has become a source of great frustration. We are prevented time and time again because the action we want to take requires powers or funding from Whitehall – which moves at a glacial speed at best.

Cities really can lead the way in building Britain's future. Our dynamism stands in stark contrast to the increasingly dysfunctional character of national governments, which too often seem gripped by paralysis, out of touch with their citizens and powerless in the face of globalisation. Our own government over the past three years is the perfect example of what has gone wrong. If cities are given greater powers and autonomy, and if we are able to experiment with new approaches and policies of the kind explored in this pamphlet, we can be at the forefront of tackling the major challenges that will define this century.

Another area we have made a priority at City Hall is our crucial work to improve social integration. With disenchantment on the rise, people are becoming more susceptible to conspiracy theories and the politics of division.

That is why proactively working to bring people together from different communities across our city is more important than ever. We've adopted a pioneering approach in this relatively new area of public policy that aims to strengthen our communities by promoting greater interaction between Londoners of different ethnicity, faith, age and background. But I believe we are only at the beginning of what is possible in this arena and I welcome Omar Khan's thoughts and suggestions.

I feel excited about the prospect of engaging with my fellow Fabians on these issues and many others. All the

contributions contained in this pamphlet are thoughtful, detailed and include insights and proposals that merit serious and wide debate. Whether it is Karen Buck's chapter on the private rented housing sector, Frances O'Grady and Sam Gurney's powerful views on tackling in-work poverty, or Miatta Fahnbulleh's ideas for a fairer economy in London, there are some exciting and ambitious ideas that could be adopted to improve the everyday experiences of Londoners.

Anna Powell-Smith, Claire Bennie and Jo Negrini all make important arguments for how we can regenerate our communities while retaining their character and meeting our housing targets. David Lindo's vision of bringing nature closer to people is extremely relevant as we face up to the challenge of tacking a climate emergency. I welcome Madani Younis' call for the arts sector to take urgent and ambitious steps to truly reflect the diversity of London, and I support Catherine McGuinness' call for London to stay open to business and innovation, whatever the outcome of Brexit. And David Buck is right to highlight the complexity of the health system in London and the challenge we face to make the most of the knowledge and expertise that London has at its disposal.

On the important issues of crime and safety, Sarah Jones is right to highlight the complex causes of violent crime and the long-term nature of the preventative work needed to address this major national problem. And Adam Harrison makes a compelling argument for re-imagining our roads so that - in the spirit of social justice and fairness – everyone can use them safely, including cyclists and pedestrians.

My hope is that this pamphlet will kick start a debate and aid policy development as we head towards the 2020 mayoral election and beyond. I am just as passionate today as when I first become mayor to deliver on my ultimate

ambition: to make London a fairer city where all Londoners get the opportunities that our city gave to me and my family.

We have made great strides towards this goal over the last three years, but I remain impatient for change and open to new ways of making sure our city keeps on becoming a better place for all Londoners to live and work.

1. RADICAL AND RATIONAL: GIVING THE CAPITAL MORE CONTROL

Tony Travers

In England, the concentration of power sits firmly in the centre, with Westminster and Whitehall making many of the decisions for cities and regions across the country. But London is a different beast, with its own unique wants, needs and public policy challenges. To govern it best, the capital must be given more power to run its own affairs.

The word 'London' has several meanings. It is the name of the capital of the UK and of England. It represents a mesmerising web of history, intrigue and power. It is a synonym for 'the British government' when used as shorthand by diplomats and journalists (eg "EU fury at London delaying tactics"). But for many people across the UK 'London' embodies an array of attributes including a concentration of often undeserved economic power, the epicentre of 'out of touch' metropolitan values and, worst of all, the sump of venal parliamentary politics.

Hogarth and other satirists have long gloried in the decadence and damage allegedly wrought by the vast, untamed, capital on the rest of the country. But in reality, other parts of Britain quite like London and many are proud of their capital city. A recent study by the Centre for London showed that twice as many people are proud of the capital than are not and that 77 per cent of non-Londoners agree London contrib-

utes a lot or a fair amount to the UK economy. Those who visit London at least once a year were far more positive about it than those who did not. Moreover, there is no particular desire to move capital city functions away from London.[1]

The way London is viewed by the rest of the country is important because it affects the way MPs and the commentariat frame debate about the city. Despite a long run of golden years since the 1990s, London is still home to a massive concentration of poverty and deprivation. A recent report by the Smith Institute about London's outer boroughs observed: "1.4 million people are living in poverty in outer London – 60 per cent of London's total … The number of people in poverty in inner London has risen by 180,000 over the last 15 years".[2] Housing costs, in particular, have ensured that Londoners face significantly higher living costs than similar people living in other parts of the country.

London finds itself in the position of being portrayed as very rich, as the home of a failed national political system and the origin of 'out of touch' metropolitan values. Yet for most Londoners it is no different from living anywhere else in the country, except that housing and living costs are higher. Living in Croydon, Enfield or Hounslow (or even Islington) does not, for the vast majority of Londoners, guarantee a gilded existence.

This image of a super-affluent city of gleaming towers reduces the willingness of parliament and government to give the mayor of London and the boroughs sufficient powers to address the capital's own public policy challenges. It has also generated a growing anti-London sentiment in relation to public expenditure. But England remains one of the most centralised countries in the world, with power hoarded in the Palace of Westminster and Whitehall. This concentration of power creates a 'too strong yet too weak' problem: central government has so much (theoretical) power that it cannot

effectively deliver in many spheres. The centre is also scared of public opinion. Thus, we wait for years for solutions to problems like adult care funding, airport capacity and reducing pollution.

Sub-national government cannot duck hard choices in the way the government does. The 30 per cent plus cuts to council budgets since 2010 have required local authorities to confront policy challenges that ministers would balk at. Libraries have been closed, care for the elderly rationed and bin collections reduced. Employment in local government has fallen relentlessly since 2010 while central government continues to grow.[3] London, along with a number of other cities, has faced the largest cuts to spending and services.

There are powerful arguments for devolved powers over service provision and taxation to London and other city regions. The record of London government in the management of large and complex service is far superior to that of Whitehall. Transport for London, despite short-term problems with Crossrail, is light years ahead of the chaotic national railway system in terms of project delivery, cost control, ticketing and service quality. London boroughs are among the best municipalities in the country, managing fast population growth against a backdrop of falling resources. Greater Manchester, Birmingham/West Midlands, the Liverpool City Region and Leeds/West Yorkshire can similarly be seen as capable of delivery.

The London government system, consisting of the mayor, the 32 boroughs and the City of London is established and robust. While the possibility of structural reorganisation is rarely far away in Britain, there are no compelling arguments for changes to the existing structure in the capital. The more important question is: how to convince the centre that devolution would improve the quality of government and that, consequently, it is in their best interests?

The 2016 referendum result was surely suggestive of a need to improve the government of the UK. Trust in MPs and parliament has been further eroded by the dismal process of delivering Brexit. Conservative/Labour tribalism is potentially being overtaken by leave/remain loyalties.[4] Those who voted leave and remain have identities and values which often cut across traditional left-right party positions.[5]

Against this backdrop, devolution makes even more sense.[6] National political parties will find it increasingly hard to represent voters in London (and other big cities), rural areas, small towns, ex-industrial heartlands and seaside resorts. But a fully-devolved England/UK would allow different values to underpin policies from place to place. This kind of difference is already clear in Wales, Scotland and (when the assembly is functional) Northern Ireland. Scotland is pursuing policies which are slightly to the 'progressive' side of those pursued by the UK government in England.

So why not allow London to enjoy a level of devolution similar to that in Scotland and Wales? This would allow significant differences to open up between social and economic policy in the capital as compared to the rest of the UK. There might be greater enthusiasm for immigration, more experimentation with housing/planning policy, locally-responsive post-school skills training and possibly greater levels of redistribution. London would almost certainly spend more money on infrastructure because its residents and businesses are confronted daily by the reality that they rely on trains, public utilities and decent housing. Sensible reforms (never, ever, enacted by the UK government) could be made to property taxation so as to improve the operation of the city's property market.

This is not to argue for London to become a 'city state'. There is little evidence of demand from within or outside the capital to cut it off entirely from England and the rest of the

UK. But allowing the city to tend to its own affairs would create an opportunity not only to improve its own governance but also to reduce the tension between it and other parts of the country. If London were given the powers and resources similar to those already operating in Cardiff and Edinburgh, then the way it developed would be seen to be because of its own efforts, not as the result of over-generous central government largesse.

The mayor and London Assembly could take over some powers from Westminster and Whitehall while the boroughs would need to be given an enhanced constitutional role in the new system. Some of the boroughs are bigger than cities elsewhere in the country and it would be imprudent not to allow them a say in the way greater devolution affected them. Indeed, a failure to give the boroughs a sufficiently powerful role would threaten the deliverability of any devolutionary reform. The same would be true in other city regions.

The Institute for Fiscal Studies has recently opened up a debate about the possible devolution of income tax to local government.[7] London could easily fund Wales or Scotland-scale service devolution from its immense tax base. Of course, the capital would have to continue to make equalisation payments to the Exchequer to help fund other parts of the country, but there can be no question that London could fund any level of devolved power, though it would need access to new revenue sources such as a share of local income tax and the full suite of property taxes.

After the debacle of the UK government in the past three years, something will need to change if trust and credibility are to be restored. In fairness, the pressures that delivered both the referendum and its consequences have been building for decades. The failure of successive governments to manage the process of deindustrialisation, to deliver better infrastructure or to explain immigration have led to a shock

to the political system. Thus far, virtually nothing has been done to address the challenges laid bare by the Brexit vote and its aftermath. Policies to devolve power and resources closer to people, to improve post-school skills education, to rebuild council services and to improve local infrastructure in all parts of the country are among those where action is now required.

London's future governance should, therefore, be improved by a significant degree of devolution and local empowerment. Such a reform should be matched by analogous reforms in other city regions and, eventually, to all parts of England. No one any longer believes that exhausted ministers and the Brexit-dominated Whitehall machine can effectively implement sensitive policy for London or for other parts of the country. Future governance should encourage devolved and locally-responsive policy. The government, for its own sake, needs radically to reform the government of England.

2. INCLUSIVE AND FAIR: BUILDING THE NEW ECONOMY FROM THE LOCAL UP

Miatta Fahnbulleh

Creating an economy that works for all Londoners will take more than tinkering around the edges. The capital needs new powers and more say over revenue-raising to create a beacon for the new economy.

Brexit continues to dominate the political agenda in Westminster. For almost three years, our national politicians have been consumed with the ins and outs of our divorce with Europe – with little bandwidth for anything else. Whilst Westminster ties itself up in knots over how to exit the European Union, the discontent and rancour that erupted in the referendum continue to grow. The sense that the economy does not work for the majority of people is more entrenched. This is as true of London that voted overwhelmingly to remain as it is of other parts of the country that voted to leave.

Despite the economy growing faster in London than anywhere else over the last 10 years,[8] this growth has failed to benefit huge swathes of Londoners. A decade of wage stagnation combined with the rising costs of everyday essentials like childcare, energy and transport have left many Londoners struggling to get by. A continued housing crisis has made living in the capital increasingly unaffordable. The housing affordability ratio – the ratio of median house prices to median earnings – has doubled from 2002 to 2016. Buying

an average property in London now costs 13 times the average salary, compared to eight times in England as a whole.[9]

As home ownership has become unattainable for many living in London, the number of people renting in an insecure and expensive private rented sector have gone up. Almost one in three Londoners now rent in a market where a two-bedroom flat cost 72 per cent of earnings in inner London and 61 per cent in outer London, compared with 29 per cent on average in England.[10] When housing costs are factored in, 27 per cent of Londoners live in poverty compared to 21 per cent across the country. And of those in poverty, 58 per cent are from working families.

Inequality is on the rise too – with 50 per cent of London's wealth now owned by the richest 10 per cent of its households whilst the bottom 50 per cent own just 5 per cent.[11] Yet, at the very time when people need help, vital public services have been cut in the name of austerity, hitting the poorest the hardest.

The real tragedy is that Brexit is set to make it harder, not easier, to deal with these challenges. All the economic indicators point to the reality that Brexit will hurt our economy, though the scale of the impact will depend on just how disruptive a version of Brexit we choose. Communities already under pressure from having their living standards and incomes squeezed will struggle to cope with the fallout. But it is not just the economic cost of Brexit that matters, it is the opportunity cost for reform.

It is likely that we will leave the European Union without settling the critical but more contentious question of our future relationship with Europe. As we seek to do this in the years to come, the fights that have consumed parliament are likely to redouble and intensify – shrinking the bandwidth and political space to take on the bigger, more important challenge of transforming our economy.

In the absence of answers from Westminster, local leaders across London will have to step in to take this on. In responding, they will need to do more than tinker around the margins and make incremental changes to the status quo. They must think differently about how to create an economy that works for people from the local up. To do this, London's government will have to get six things right.

First, London will need to focus on improving living standards rather than simply targeting growth in the hope that this will improve people's lot. The last 10 years have proven that growth on its own is no guarantee that all Londoners will be better off. The starting point for an inclusive economic strategy for London must be how to improve the livelihoods and wellbeing of all Londoners. Delivering this will mean working hand and glove with the community to define what success looks like, developing a shared plan and creating new ways of doing things, tapping into the energy and ideas bubbling up from the ground.

Second, London's government will need to future proof the capital by greening the local economy in a way that is just. Investing in green infrastructure and technology and binding targets for the use of renewables across the public sector and its supply chains is a good place to start. But London's government can also use planning powers and industry norms to decarbonise the economy at the same as creating thousands of good, better-paid local jobs.

Third, London will need to use the procurement and investment power of the local state to boost local jobs and locally-owned firms. This means getting not just the Greater London Authority (GLA) and boroughs on board, but other anchor institutions such as universities, further education colleges, the NHS and schools to work together and sweat their investment to change the local economy.

There are many examples where local government is using the power of the local balance sheet to change the shape of the economy. In Chicago, for instance, the city and county governments have partnered with leading anchors and non-profits to form Chicago Anchors for a Strong Economy, which pools anchor purchasing opportunities in the metropolitan area and then works intensively with existing local businesses to help them scale their operations to meet these needs.[12]

Fourth, people must be given a greater stake in the local economy by actively creating alternative ownership models. London's government could create employee ownership schemes with incentives for businesses. Or it could pump prime workers co-operatives through its supply chain. The Mondragon Corporation in the Basque Country provides a powerful example of how this can be done at scale. Set up in 1956 to provide local employment through worker co-operatives, the Mondragon Corporation has grown to become one of the ten largest business groups and the fourth largest employers in Spain, with more than 260 different companies and subsidiaries and more than 75,000 workers.[13] Alternatively, in Cleveland, the municipal economic development agency helped provide key early financing for the first of the Evergreen Cooperatives. In New York City, the municipal government agreed to provide $1.2m in funding to help neighbourhood organisations and technical service providers scale up their efforts to develop worker cooperatives.[14]

Fifth, London's government could play a critical role in delivering the basic needs that people rely on day to day – housing, energy, water, transport – through municipal corporations owned by and accountable to local people. So on housing, the GLA could build large-scale developments alongside councils building again at pace. Efforts to increase

the stock of new homes must be combined with a better deal for renters through long term secured tenancies and rent controls designed and administered locally.

Finally, London's government will need to demand more from local businesses in return for operating in the area – including good jobs, living wage and investment in the community and social infrastructure. Greater Manchester, for example, has developed a charter of social responsibility to set expectations of local businesses – using the soft power of local institutions to drive real change. But London could go one step further and introduce harder-edged 'community contracts' with businesses in their area in which businesses commit to deliver local jobs, investment in the community or social goods in return for accessing local assets, infrastructure and facilities.

All of this is within the power of London's government and Sadiq Khan has begun to lay the foundations for this fairer London economy. City Hall under Sadiq has built record numbers of social homes. The TfL fares freeze and the introduction of the hopper fare have made public transport more affordable for millions of Londoners. And Sadiq's 'Good Work Standard' has the potential to put decent pay, conditions and employee wellbeing at the heart of building a better city.

But to really transform the living standards of Londoners, City Hall must continue to wrestle more power and levers from Whitehall – which is far too distracted from Brexit to get the job done.

London has led the way on devolution in England and must lead the charge in extracting more powers from Whitehall. In particular, London should have funding and new powers devolved over education, skills, employment support, immigration, housing, planning and local transport. Devolution of business rates and property taxes across

London is a must. This should be combined with the power to introduce local taxes like a tourism tax or a land value tax. This would give London the tools to transform its economy so that it works for Londoners – in the process creating a beacon for the new economy – and blazing a trail for what an alternative economic model could look like.

3. PREVENTION NOT CURE: ADDRESSING THE VIOLENT CRIME EPIDEMIC

Sarah Jones MP

The root causes of violent crime are complex. While we need more community police on the streets, we must also intervene earlier and investment in children's, youth and mental health services is crucial. To achieve real change for our young people, we have to think big.

Violence in London is an epidemic. Last year 135 people were killed in the capital, of which 79 were stabbings. This is the highest number in over a decade, and the rate shows little sign of slowing this year. Not even six months into 2019, 56 Londoners had been murdered.

We know those involved in serious violence are getting younger and younger. Police statistics show that children now account for half of all knife crime in London. The biggest rise in knife offences in schools is among those aged just 11, 12 and 13 years old. And the tragic result: nine teenagers stabbed to death on our capital's streets already this year.

Every death from serious violence is a shock. A family ripped apart, a community reeling. But we can't pretend we didn't see this coming. We know about the root causes of violence, and we know about government policy since 2010. Violence has always existed, but it is not inevitable. It is a product of numerous, complex societal factors, many of which have been exacerbated by austerity.

There is a growing recognition that to tackle London's violence epidemic we must treat it in the same way we would a contagious disease – the much-cited 'public health approach'. This means collecting data and undertaking research to create a clear, accurate understanding of the character and scale of the problem and its root causes. It also requires analysis of which interventions are most effective and scaling them up or designing new ones where there's a gap.

A public health approach recognises that violence breeds violence, so we need to tackle the problem at source. We must acknowledge that certain people are at greater risk because of their environments and target prevention, education and early-years support accordingly. The approach must be a priority both for local communities and at the centre of government. Crucially, the voices of young people should be at its heart.

Children with adverse childhood experiences are much more likely to become victims or perpetrators of violence. These adverse experiences include physical, sexual or emotional abuse, neglect, bereavement, experiencing or witnessing domestic abuse, family breakdown, and household substance misuse, mental illness, or incarceration – and the more such trauma children experience, the higher the likelihood of violence scarring their lives.

In my borough in Croydon, our local safeguarding board recently completed a landmark report, investigating the cases of 60 vulnerable adolescents. These children had been subject to serious cases of violence or exploitation. Five had tragically lost their lives. Three were convicted of murder. One-third of the boys had been victims of knife crime and three-quarters were involved with gangs. More than half the girls had been victims of child sexual exploitation. The difficulties they faced in their childhood were so consist-

ent and paint a tragic picture of how many issues we need to solve.

Almost half of the 60 Croydon children had witnessed or experienced domestic abuse. There was a similar story when I met teenage boys in prison in Scotland recently. Witnessing violence from a young age means young people grow up thinking violence is normal. If these young people had seen interventions, both with their parents and them, something might have changed. But while demand for women's services has risen by 83 per cent under the current government, funding has fallen by 50 per cent. The mayor has announced an additional £15m for services that support survivors of violence against women and girls in London on top of £44m already invested, but central government needs to step up.

Three-quarters of the 60 Croydon children had a parental absence on the father's side and a quarter had an absence on the mother's side. Other parental issues included drug or alcohol misuse and mental health problems. Yet funding for support services that would help identify and protect children in these situations continues to fall. The closure of Sure Start centres is a stark demonstration of this.

Vulnerable parents need to be supported and taught to look after their children, support their development, and remain involved throughout their life. Too many children are growing up without a trusted adult in their life and for nine years the number of children being taken into care has been increasing. This is particularly significant given that children in care are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and are disproportionately involved in crime.

The 60 Croydon children demonstrate how important a role schools have in identifying and supporting at-risk children. A third of the children had already been excluded by the time they left primary school, and every single child who

was later convicted of a crime had been excluded at some stage of their school career.

But with school funding cuts resulting in almost half of London schools increasing their class sizes, and reducing their curriculums, and 42 per cent of schools in London cutting teaching staff, the pressure on schools to deliver even basic provision has never been greater. Linked to this is a dramatic increase in school exclusion rates – 56 per cent over three years – which often alienates and isolates young people who need more support, not less, particularly the large proportion who have undiagnosed learning difficulties.

The all-party parliamentary group on knife crime, which I launched in 2017, conducted research which found increasing exclusions have left a third of local authorities with no places in their pupil referral units. Children in reduced hours education or other alternative provision are at increased risk of becoming involved in criminal activity, being vulnerable to exploitation by older people and gangs. Ofsted is starting to recognise this and the role which unofficial exclusions or 'off rolling' is having on the availability of good quality alternative provision.

Schools must be supported to provide education on healthy relationships, identity, life skills and social development, as well as the risks associated with carrying knives and involvement in crime. They should have the resources to dedicate extra time to assist young people at risk of crime involvement to finish school and pursue higher education or vocational training. Ensuring strong performance in school is obviously key to giving young people aspiration and opportunity. In London this is particularly important for young black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) people whose unemployment rate is disproportionately high.

Youth services and youth work are other vital pieces of the puzzle, ensuring young people have positive activities

to engage in and role models where they may have none in the home. Eighty-one London youth clubs and council youth projects have closed since 2011, with at least £39m cut from council youth service budgets across London. Councils in London have suffered the largest cuts in resources for children's services in England, with Westminster's funding per child slashed by more than half between 2010/11 and 2017/18, from £1,591 to £761.62, followed by Tower Hamlets (49 per cent), Camden (49 per cent), Newham (46 per cent) and Hackney (46 per cent).

The mayor of London is taking steps to address this with a £45m Young Londoners Fund supporting a range of education, sport, cultural and other activities. There are also a number of innovative local projects that could be scaled up, namely the young people's foundations across eight north and west London boroughs. These foundations provide a central hub for youth services, facilitating partnerships, information sharing and coordination, and building capacity in the local youth services sector.

One of the biggest lessons from the report into the 60 Croydon vulnerable children was that more than half of the children in the cohort were known to children's services before the age of five. These children are known to a host of support services throughout their childhood. But we have a system which is not sufficiently joined-up, where young people too often only see interventions after they have reached crisis point, and where overstretched agencies cannot give the holistic support which at-risk children need.

There is no need to reinvent the wheel. There are plenty of initiatives and programmes both locally and nationally that show real promise in preventing young people becoming involved in crime. There are agencies and services across London doing great work with families to break the cycle of

violence. But they are often doing so in isolation, and they are often under-resourced and overstretched.

We also have much to draw on from successful work to tackle similar, complicated challenges. The teenage pregnancy strategy in England saw the establishment of a teenage pregnancy unit and a cross-government 10-year plan that resulted in a 51 per cent reduction in teen pregnancy rates between 1998 and 2014. The violence reduction unit in Scotland created different initiatives to tackle different crimes, establishing partnerships between police, education and social services. Over the last 10 years, the number of homicide cases in Scotland fell by nearly half, and they are currently experiencing the lowest levels of violence in 41 years.

In both cases, an evidence-based, multifaceted approach with plenty of time and resources from a leadership committed to change was instrumental in achieving success. That leadership has so far been lacking from central government – though its language around knife crime as a public health issue is starting to shift. In London the mayor has taken firm action, setting up a violence reduction unit to bring together public bodies and communities to cut violence. But he is absolutely right in saying that – like in Scotland – it will take time, particularly in the context of cuts to police and local government since 2010.

Violence reduction plans in Scotland and worldwide recognise the limits of policing alone to solve the problem. But it is undeniable that the rampant cuts to policing have had an impact on crime levels – by 2021, the Met police will have had to make £1bn of savings, estimated to reduce the number of police officers from 31,000 to 28,215 – a 15-year low.

The £100m in extra police funding to tackle knife crime announced by the chancellor at the spring statement came only after massive effort from MPs and police officers forced the government to recognise that police cuts have contrib-

uted to rising violent crime. But it will need to be shared out nationally and is only a tenth of what has been cut from police in London alone. The money will also help fund violence reduction units in a positive recognition of the role they play – already in my borough of Croydon a local VRU has been created.

We need more community police on the streets. They are a crucial link for building intelligence and relationships with young people. But police cuts are just one part of a complex picture. We cannot enforce our way out of violent crime, and we must beware the narrative which periodically takes hold in the media – echoed by some politicians – that more arrests and tougher sentences will fix the problem.

The current response to knife crime has been accused of 'soft sentencing'. Yet we take a more punitive approach to youth offending than almost all our European counterparts, and we have more people locked up than any other EU country. Calls to put more children and young people in custody are not grounded in any evidence and fail to consider the current state of prisons – particularly in London.

Increased understanding of child and adolescent development and the causes of offending behaviour has contributed to the development of trauma-informed services and more appropriate responses to offending. As a result, we have seen a big reduction in the criminalisation of children in recent years. However, this progress is now being undermined by government policy that has gutted funding for children's services, schools, youth services, mental health services, and adult social care.

Social mobility in the United Kingdom is among the worst in the G7 and getting worse. Poverty and inequality pervade, particularly in London. The young people affected by knife crime in our capital are as hopeful and aspirational as any

young person. But social exclusion and a lack of opportunity are locking them out.

To see a real, lasting change in our communities we need to think big. No more knee-jerk reactions. We need to take what works and put proper resources in over a 10-year period so that every young person, every family and every community gets the attention and support they need. Our ambition must be to make our next generation the safest ever. Nothing less will do.

4: OUT OF BALANCE: THE PRIVATE RENTED SECTOR AND LONDON'S HOUSING CRISIS

Karen Buck MP

More and more people are living in the private rented sector and many of them are unhappy that they have to do so. It is time to ensure housing in the capital is more affordable and more secure – and to rebalance the housing market to offer real alternatives to private renting.

Twenty years from now we will look back at the transformation of housing in London and wonder how it happened. We will reflect on the changes that took place between the early noughties and 2019, and wonder how it was that such dramatic personal, economic and political change happened with little analysis and without an effective response.

The consequences are with us already, of course, and the case for action is pressing. At the time of writing, I have been asked to work with the mayor of London on shaping his blueprint for better private rented sector laws and I am delighted to do so. I am also celebrating the passage into law of my own Homes (Fitness for Human Habitation) Act which became law at the end of March. This was a rare case of a private member's bill originally opposed by the government making it onto the statute book. It too will address one of the challenges faced by renters, that of unfit housing which compromises their health and even safety. But there is more – much, much more – to do.

Let us first go back a little and analyse what the change has been and why it matters. London has been grappling with a severe housing crisis, defined by shortage and affordability, for many years. In the late 1970s, rising home ownership and the high point of council house building meant London's private rented sector (PRS) was at its smallest, reduced to being a provider primarily for students and young incomers and a declining number of regulated tenants of very long standing.

Today we are in a very different landscape. The private rented sector is expanding rapidly again. Around 27 per cent of London households rent privately – a higher percentage than are in social housing – and the figure is projected to catch up with owner occupation in just six years. The percentages in the private rented sector vary widely across the capital, from 13 per cent in an outer London borough like Bexley, for example, to 38 per cent in my own inner London borough of Westminster,[15] and the change has been far more rapid than elsewhere in the country. Some 550,000 London children currently live in privately renting households, more than three times the figure in 2004.

So, the change has been rapid and significant, but what does it mean and why does it matter? What have been the effects of the housing tenure people like the least expanding the most, whilst the preferred tenures have contracted? And once we have answered those questions, what should we do about it?

First, private renting is usually not a preferred choice, particularly over the long term and certainly not for families with children. Fewer than 6 in 10 private tenants in London are satisfied with private renting as a tenure. This matters if you want to have a housing policy which reflects people's wishes and aspirations. Satisfaction levels are fairly high

when renters are asked about their own property, but not when the question relates to the tenure itself.

Second, there is a serious problem of affordability. Since the middle of the last decade, the cost of private rented accommodation broadly followed changes in earnings across England, but the reverse was true in London, where the National Audit Office found private rents rose by 32 per cent, twice the rise in average earnings over the decade. Yes, there have been ebbs and flows from year to year, but it is the long-term trend we must worry about. Quite simply, the re-emergence of the PRS as a provider at scale for low-income households deepens the poverty trap and escalates the benefit bill.

London's poverty profile has changed in recent years just as its housing pattern has. The two are closely connected. Workless households, especially those affected by disability, remain at risk but the rise and rise of in-work poverty, of poverty amongst private tenants and of poverty in the suburbs represents a real change. Rising rents over the last decade, combined with cuts to benefit entitlement mean, as the Institute of Fiscal Studies puts it: "More and more low-income families are having to find more and more money to pay rents that they can ill-afford…and the discrepancy between entitlement and local rent levels now varies dramatically across the country. If you live in Liverpool and have no private income, your housing benefit will still cover your full rent if you live in a property in the lowest 30 per cent of local rents. In much of London you'll need to come up with more than a quarter of the rent bill from somewhere."

To add to the pain, landlords are increasingly reluctant to let to tenants on housing benefit or, now, universal credit, with the (inaccurate but indicative) 'no DSS' practices coming back into the picture. Low-income tenants – many of them in

work and many others vulnerable – are left with fewer and fewer choices, less power, less money and higher risk.

Even if we chose not to worry about the tenants, we should be concerned about the benefit bill. As the IFS also recently pointed out, in respect of the £22bn housing benefit bill:

"The main drivers of the increase in spending have been the rapid expansion of the private rented sector…in part because cheaper council housing has been in decline. If you own your own home, you are not eligible for housing benefit, so the collapse in rates of owner-occupation has played an important role. Rents in the private sector are much higher than those in the much-diminished local authority sector. So the benefit system has a bigger job to do than it had in the past.

"A system that looked manageable when it was mostly supporting those facing below market rents in the social sector and a relatively small private sector looks much harder to maintain as it provides support to increasing numbers facing full market rents in a much-expanded private sector. Low levels of owner-occupation are passing on substantial costs to the public purse."

Third, as people are renting privately for longer they are reducing their prospects of being able to save for a deposit. With only a third of London private renters expecting to buy a home in the next five years, the next generation of aspiring homeowners are caught in a spiral of high rents, preventing them from saving for a home.

It is understandable and right that we focus on the housing affordability crisis as it affects the poorest and as it drives up public spending, but in the interests of a healthy and well-balanced city we should also be concerned with sustainable home ownership. High rents in the private sector make it less possible for prospective first-time buyers to save, so those without the good fortune to inherit or benefit from the 'bank

of mum and dad' remain stuck in a position that their equivalents in previous generations were not. And a progressive government certainly would not have spent the £8bn plus devoted by Help to Buy in the way the Conservatives have.

Fourth, private renting is insecure and of variable quality. The PRS has the highest proportion of substandard dwellings of any tenure and its growth as a sector has a wider social impact which is not yet properly appreciated.

Insecurity is reflected in the connection between private renting and (rising) homelessness. The most common reason given for homeless households in London losing their last home is the end of an assured shorthold tenancy. Whilst exact figures fluctuate slightly year on year, the trend has been towards an increased use of 'no fault' evictions, two thirds of which have been in London, and concentrated in higher cost areas. Given that London only has a fifth of the total private rented stock in the country, this suggests that rental pressures are a factor in such cases.

Poor quality accommodation is far more common in the PRS than in other tenures. Nationally, three-quarters of a million private renter households live in homes which are seriously substandard and are a risk to health and safety. London doesn't do as badly as some other parts of the country (and the majority of rented homes are perfectly decent), but given the number of properties, it still represents an enormous challenge, with some 12 per cent of recent movers leaving their previous home because it was unsuitable or in poor condition.

The rapid growth of private renting has wider social consequences arising from its transient nature. Nearly one in three private renting households have lived in their current home for less than a year, compared to just 6 per cent of social renting households and 4 per cent of owner occupiers. Not all mobility is bad – indeed, being unable to move has its

disadvantages too, not least in reducing flexibility to respond to work opportunities – but a high level of (unchosen) mobility isn't a good thing.

This has implications for civic society and a range of public services. For one thing, the increased concentration of property ownership in recent years is a major contributor to London's highly unequal distribution of wealth. But there is far more. Private renters are at risk of exclusion in many respects. At the start of the year, the Cabinet Office Atlas of Democratic Variation (confirming earlier work by the Electoral Commission) pointed to the democratic impact:

"There is a statistically significant correlation between the registration proportion and the relative concentration of people living in privately rented accommodation, and this correlation is negative. As the percentage of people living in privately rented accommodation in an area increases, the registration proportion of the electoral registers decreases and the strength of this association is large."

In other words, being a private tenant means you are less likely to be registered to vote, and as anyone who has ever canvassed in London will tell you, even if registered, less likely to be still at the same address to actually vote. And we need to examine how high mobility impacts health, community links and wellbeing. Evidence from abroad also indicates that frequent moves negatively affect outcomes for children's wellbeing and educational outcomes.

We need to formulate a response which reflects the reality that private renting has common elements but can be very different depending on who you are. A low-income family reliant on some support from housing benefit and denied much in the way of choice or control, will not experience renting in the same way as a young professional whose ownership hopes are deferred.

So, what to do? Well, recognising the dramatically changed landscape is a welcome start – if we don't understand what is happening and the challenges we face, we won't begin to find solutions. Other countries, including our European neighbours, manage a much larger private rented housing market without too much difficulty, so we need to learn from them, although none are perfect and all reflect their own history, culture and attitudes to housing.

The big picture will involve some major choices about taxation and housing investment, of course, because the affordability and supply question underpins everything. London needs 65,000 new homes a year overall, but we need to do much better at building social housing in particular, which will almost always be a better option for those on the lowest incomes and the more vulnerable groups. Social housing makes sense economically and as the best way to meet housing need. It is wrong at every level to be trapping homeless families in expensive, often very poor temporary accommodation in the PRS. We need to stop the outflow of social housing into the PRS via housing association sales and right to buy, as London assembly member Tom Copley argued so forcefully in his report early in 2019, SENSE. The growth of the 'build to rent' sector can have an important role if done well – institutional investment in private renting has been long promised but is only now beginning to happen. Firmer regulation is needed to limit the loss of rented accommodation to short-let platforms like Airbnb, with 60,000 properties listed (by no means all illegally, of course) in London alone. We need to know where renters are, too. We know so little about the PRS and a register for London landlords would be invaluable. The fact that there are many good landlords providing a decent service is both true and not enough to justify our failure to act – but we do need to make sure landlords are in the discussion.

For renters themselves, a starting point needs to be security of tenure – something which featured in previous Labour manifestos and which even the current government is considering. Scrapping section 21 – the basis for 'no fault' evictions – would, with certain safeguards and balances, create open ended tenancies and offer much needed stability.

Renters also deserve protection from excessive rent rises and it is very good news that Sadiq Khan is committed to supporting rent control laws as part of his vision for London after the 2020 mayoral election. I am working with him and his team on specific proposals which will sit alongside his work on how the government should overhaul the law to give private renters the right to open-ended tenancies without the prospect of 'no fault' eviction. Not only do we need to take action to improve affordability so as to relieve the pressure on Londoners, but the benefit bill cannot continue to take all the strain.

On housing standards, (most) local authorities are doing their best against a backdrop of reduced budgets, with new powers to tackle 'rogue' landlords and some welcome high-profile prosecutions. Their willingness to use their limited resources to maximum effect is evidenced by the success of Sadiq's rogue landlord checker – a public database of rogue landlords which all local authorities in London have voluntarily agreed to be part of. Yet spending on enforcement has fallen by a quarter, and only a tiny proportion of hazardous properties will ever be subject to action. My private member's bill, now the Homes (Fitness for Human Habitation) Act, will offer tenants a new route, not dependent on overstretched councils, to act when their homes are unfit. But as in so many other respects, we can't go on indefinitely with shrinking council budgets which undermine local authorities' ability to provide advice, support and interven-

tion to a group of people which includes many of the most powerless and most vulnerable.

We are in the midst of the most profound transformation of housing status in the capital for generations. Rebalancing our housing stock back towards the preferred tenures of social housing and homeownership will be a huge and challenging task. But it is one that must be undertaken. Today, however, we must act to change the rental culture and tackle the pressures of affordability, insecurity and quality which are having such a profound impact on our city.

5. THE BIRDS AND THE BEES: TOWARDS A WILDER, NATURE-MINDED CITY

David Lindo

Nature should not be a rarity for city-dwellers: it plays a vital role in wellbeing. With imagination and political will, we can make London a greener not greyer place for all of its citizens.

When I grew up in Wembley, I was somewhat of an oddity; I was interested in nature and the amazing birds singing around me. No one else I knew in that part of London 'connected' with the natural world in the same way I did – and I believe this was partly because society has been sold the view that nature isn't part of the city. It isn't cool.

But let's also cut to the chase. I was a black kid in inner-city London in the 1970s; my interests were not reflected in the cultural messages around me. And those working to conserve birds didn't look like me, talk like me, and probably didn't live like me. The focus for nature conservation at that time was the wider countryside – and for good reason: industrialised agriculture was devastating wildlife. And whilst in the 1980s attention turned to the nature of our cities, much of the focus – maybe unintentionally – was middle-class in its language and style. It was often about saving spaces in leafier areas, rather than improving the run-down spaces of inner urban neighbourhoods. Camley Street Natural Park in run-down King's Cross, saved in 1982 and then re-imagined as a wildlife oasis, was one of the exceptions, but I never felt

that addressing the environmental injustices of communities living in poorer, rougher, more polluted neighbourhoods were fully embedded in much of this work. Perhaps it was just too difficult?

This could not be more wrong, and we are now at a tipping point when we need nature more than ever. I am not alone in thinking this: many thousands of Londoners have fought to retain that connection with nature, to have the sights and sounds of wildlife close to where they live. They span all the way from 18th and 19th century naturalists and open space campaigners, who gave us spaces such as Wimbledon Common, One Tree Hill, and my own patch, Wormwood Scrubs, through to the activists of London Wildlife Trust and the landmark policy work of the old Greater London Council in the 1980s that bestowed on us a green network of city-wide 'wildlife sites'. Today, a plethora of organisations and individuals are actively managing nature reserves, creating wild spaces in parks and gardens, monitoring and surveying London's many thousands of species, and enabling people to learn about and celebrate the wonder of the city's natural environment through education, volunteering and advocacy.

London is a green city; more than 47 per cent of it is 'green and blue space', a diversity of woodlands, downs, heaths, parks, playing fields, farmland, allotments, reservoirs, rivers and wetlands. Almost a quarter is covered in private gardens (some 3.2 million of them), and just over a fifth is designated Green Belt. But the diversity of nature is truly astounding: more than 15,000 species of fauna, flora and fungi are recorded in London, and 19 per cent of the capital is designated of nature conservation interest.[16] The conservation of these 1,584 separate sites stretching from the internationally designated reservoirs in the Lea Valley, and the nationally important sites such as Epping Forest,

Richmond Park and Saltbox Hill, to hundreds that are valuable at city-wide or borough-wide level, is critical to sustaining London's nature. This is a legacy from the work begun more than 30 years ago to understand what ecological assets London has and how best we protect, manage and enhance them.[17]

But another drive, albeit somewhat underplayed, has also been central to this work. Increasingly important as the city is set to grow is the continuing need to 'bring nature ever closer' to people in parts of the capital where it is almost absent or struggling to display its beauty and wonder. Improving access to nature, especially in areas where people face multiple barriers to health and wellbeing, is critical.

We are an increasingly internalised society that is becoming less connected with – and even fearful of – the natural world. There is a growing body of evidence that this causes a 'nature deficiency disorder', which can be particularly acute in young people, leading to physical and mental health problems in later life. Organisations such as London Wildlife Trust, the Conservation Volunteers, and others, have a long history in helping to address this, through programmes such as Keeping it Wild, New Roots and Green Gym. But the scale of the problem now requires significant and targeted uplift if we are to strengthen the foundations for London to be thought of as a National Park City.

More than 30,000 hectares of London are further than one kilometre from good quality natural green space; reducing this figure should be the priority for future action and investment. Much of the land most affected is in the inner city, where space is at a premium and opportunities to transform places for nature less apparent. We need to be, perhaps, less protective, bolder and braver to reimagine how these parts of London should look and sound. We must be greener rather than greyer.

New regeneration schemes, such as those at Kidbrooke Village, Meridian Water, Old Oak Common and Barking Riverside, can bring about these green benefits if they are designed with nature at their heart and especially if developers work closely with bodies such as London Wildlife Trust. With nature conservation organisations advocating at a national level to influence government planning policy and engaging with housebuilders on local schemes to show the art of the possible, there is a good chance that 'biodiversity net gain' will become part and parcel of the planning process. It is welcome that the mayor of London has ramped up his commitment to protecting wildlife sites in his draft London plan, and introduced an 'urban greening factor' to ensure high-density developments bring about environmental benefits. These need to transform local planning decisions across the capital, so that future regeneration schemes do not become the environmental wastelands of tomorrow. People's access to nature is no longer a 'nice to have'; it should be embedded as part of the design process, in the same way as the water and energy supply.

The work of London Wildlife Trust at Woodberry Wetlands, integrating this amazing nature reserve with Berkeley Homes' Woodberry Down development, has transformed a previously out-of-bounds reservoir to become a new neighbourhood destination, which in summer is buzzing with the sounds of reed warblers and reed buntings. Similar ideas are beginning to emerge at West Hendon, close to the underappreciated delights of the Welsh Harp reservoir, a site of special scientific interest for the bird life it supports. Instead of seeing the ecology as a 'constraint', Barnet Council and developers are now working with London Wildlife Trust, Canal & River Trust and Thames 21 to ensure that the needs of local residents – such as great crested grebes and majestic mute swans – are cherished and form a key focus as

to how the wider environs are designed and managed. With ingenuity and a willingness to collaborate with all decision-makers, we have a better chance to properly secure nature into the heart of the city's good growth.

However, the real challenge is to also retrofit nature into existing housing estates, business parks, streets and the swathes of green deserts where the opportunities to bring about a better sense of wildness are significant, but more fragmented. This is where resources are not so easily available. Groundwork's climate-proofing work in Hammersmith, Peabody's estate enhancements, and London Wildlife Trust's natural estates and sustainable water management programmes have all shown how targeted actions can make a difference. They are a great start but we need to amplify this and roll it out on a city-wide scale. I'd like to see future mayoral programmes especially target these 'areas of deficiency', as new 'areas of natural opportunity' by working with social housing providers and their resident communities on estate transformations. The pressures on London's housing means that such places are often seen simply as infill sites to accommodate new homes; the real risks are that we lose the estate greenspaces which are crying out for love, attention, and a bit of natural beauty.

Why should a child in Poplar, Stockwell, or Acton need to travel for half an hour to see a butterfly, when we can transform their local estate with a dazzling display of wildflowers? Bird-feeding stations, bee hotels, pollinator patches, rain gardens, and frog-popping ponds; we can bring these all to bear. If the Clapton Park estate can re-wild its spaces as the 'poppy estate' it can happen anywhere. The critical issue is one of imagination, political will, and working with tried and tested organisations that have their feet on the ground, and their hearts full of nature. If we are truly to make a difference to the wellbeing of Londoners and the wildlife we share

our capital with, we need to extend nature out of our nature reserves and into the city where my heart belongs.

With thanks to Mathew Frith, director of conservation at London Wildlife Trust for his input to this chapter

6. RECLAIMING THE STREETS: A BOLD APPROACH TO CAR USE

Adam Harrison

Streets make our cities tick, but for too long we have paid too little attention to how they might be transformed for the better. In London, we need to see streets as an equalities issue. That means giving our residents the unpolluted and safe public spaces they deserve.

Local leaders are deeply preoccupied with how to make their boroughs better places. But some things capture more of our attention than others. We spend a lot of time thinking about services and buildings and finances. But – although our casework is often to do with what happens on our streets – we rarely consider overhauling them at a fundamental level. We may reorganise a library service to meet changing demand or financial pressures; we may build new council homes to house those in need. But we are too often unable to conceptualise a street in a new way.

This is a 360-degree blind spot. Our streets are the bloodstream of a borough, connecting everything up with everything else. They are also the places where people live, work and spend time. Yet for all their perpetual motion and activity, streets tend to be regarded as immutable things – by the public and councillors alike.

Of course, our streets were not always how they are today. But post-war planners embraced the car above all, aiming

to shuttle as many of them as they could around the city as quickly as possible. They built one-way systems and flyovers that remain with us today. As in many cities, over the years we drifted into a situation where public space was largely given over to cars.

From our standpoint on the centre-left, this is odd. We are galvanised by our shared mission to do away with inequality in income, health and education: Labour councils pledge equal access to warm, spacious and safe homes, for instance. But we too rarely really answer the question of how we ensure equal access to unpolluted, spacious and safe streets. Just as we battle for universalism – an excellent service for all comers, regardless of background – so we should demand the same for our public places. But to make streets, which constitute 80 per cent of public places in London, truly public we now need to do some serious rebalancing between the public and private interest. This effort can capitalise on the recent focus on reducing emissions, while also helping to tackle some of our city's other significant issues.

After so many decades of the car being king, we now know all about the problems car use causes. Londoners who own cars are less likely to do the physical activity they need to stay healthy – increasing the risk of a range of illnesses, and of early death. Congestion costs London's economy around £6bn a year – money that could go towards new jobs or better training. People who drive to the shops spend less over the course of a month than people who cycle there. Half of London's main pollutants are caused by road transport. Almost 4,000 people were killed or seriously injured in traffic collisions in London in 2017.

Many of these problems affect the worst off disproportionately – this alone should set the alarm bells ringing for Labour. Poorer people are more likely to live on roads where air quality is worse and road danger is higher, while being

less likely to own cars themselves – so they are not responsible for the problems afflicting them. A factory pouring pollution out onto its neighbours is not something we would stand for; shouldn't we treat the linear pollution factories that some of our roads have become in the same way?

As we saw with smoking, attitudes can change. But we need to start talking about what sort of change we would like to see, and how we can go about accelerating that change. Things may already be starting to shift. Many councillors will be aware of the common complaint about engine-idling, and boroughs have acquired the power to issue fines to address this. It is only a short, logical step from realising you should not let your engine idle to thinking perhaps you shouldn't drive the half-mile to the shops. As with the cheeky cigarette you know you shouldn't be having, we need to start talking about the journeys people know they shouldn't really be taking because of the space they occupy on the road, the CO2 they emit and the pollution they create.

"Ah, but, car users pay for the roads – so they've earned the right", is a deeply embedded refrain. But no form of taxation is linked to the building and upkeep of London's roads, which are instead subsidised by the revenue collected from public transport fare-payers and funds from the boroughs.

The truth is that reclaiming London's streets for public use over private domination will make London a better city. Boroughs like my own, Camden, are already pressing ahead in ways that start to do this. In 2020 the major thoroughfares of Tottenham Court Road and Gower Street will reopen with space shifted over to public transport, cycling, and walking. At two places we will turn roads into new parks – a simple but transformative change.

At a strategic level, London has taken bold steps in the right direction. When Transport for London introduced the congestion charge in 2003, it faced massive opposition.

Westminster City Council challenged TfL in the High Court, and the plans faced heavy criticism in the press. But it went ahead, it worked – congestion fell 30 per cent – and now it's part of London life. On the day it began, an extra 300 buses were introduced to help people get around central London without using cars. Thanks to a decision, life in London improved, and people moved on.

We can replicate these changes across the city, in ways that tilt our public space back in favour of the public at large – but also in favour of those who do not have the means to own and run cars. As other European cities have done, we could change our approach to car parking – rather than giving over most of our streets to it, we could limit it to certain sections and replace the remainder with cycle parking or planters. We could have bus lanes operate 24 hours a day, so buses and cycles always have right of way. Camden is considering introducing a workplace parking levy; why not do this London-wide to reduce single-occupancy car journeys, and maybe free up some room for open space or to build new homes?

All of these things could add up to something good. But sometimes big is best, and if we want to make our streets more truly equal then big is what we need.

Road user charging is by no means a new idea: for decades, practical economic arguments have been made for its introduction. Just as we ask public transport users to pay for the journeys they take on our roads, and rail users pay to use track maintained from their fares, shouldn't we ask people who drive on a road to pay for use of a public asset?

This could change our capital city in fundamental ways.

First, it could transform attitudes, by requiring people to think about every journey. Right now, nearly half of car trips made by Londoners could be cycled in around 10 minutes. This is probably through a sense of convenience – again,

conceptualising travel differently is a hard ask. It could also come out of a sense of identity – driving is just what some people do. But this could all change. People would no longer be 'drivers' – they would become people who drive when they need to, but who don't when they don't. We could break the domination of private interest over the public good.

Second, road user charging could reduce congestion and improve air quality. Congestion could fall significantly overnight, making it easier for those who have to use a car to get around and helping deliveries arrive on time. Camden's new transport strategy aims to reduce motor traffic by up to a quarter over the next 20 years, and we also want to achieve the healthier World Health Organization air quality standards by 2030. Only with big measures like this will boroughs be able to achieve significantly lower levels of traffic and air pollution. It is time for the 'polluter pays' principle to find expression in how we govern our streets.

Finally, this big move could help us fund the streets we know London needs and deserves. With less traffic, we could start to devote more space to truly public uses – streets could be given over to people to enjoy. Parts of London that have been dominated by traffic for years would become more liveable, providing the opportunity, over time, to re-plan them around people, rather than cars. Streets across the city would become more pleasant places to spend time. People travelling on foot or enjoying sitting at a new bench in a place freed of traffic are more likely to bump into people they know, or talk to people they don't – helping to combat isolation and build a sense of community.

The innate power of road user charging is that it is not an end in itself, but a means that will help local leaders achieve these ends. London road user charging could raise hundreds of millions of pounds each year, which could go straight into delivering decent public transport links in parts of London

that have been deprived of them for decades. Imagine how many roads we could turn into parks, as we have in Camden. Imagine the new bus routes we could provide, and the tube, tram and rail connections we could develop over time. This could be nothing short of transformative for outer London in particular, where many people now drive only because the alternatives on offer remain too few.

With technology advancing rapidly, and with the devolution of the right powers, this needn't be a change anyone should fear. A nuanced charging system could be variable by time of day, the type of journey being made, the vehicle used and the alternatives available. The journey in a clean vehicle with no reasonable walking, cycling or public transport alternatives could be charged at a low rate, or not at all, while the needless drive down to the local shops could be charged more. The system could be integrated with a comprehensive transport app, so people can see very clearly the options they have and how much they will cost (hint: walking and cycling are free). As with the congestion charge, new public transport alternatives could be provided from day one to make things easier. As with the ultra low emission zone, concessions could be made available for small businesses, charities and some residents as they transition to the new system. If vehicle excise duty – the London proceeds of which currently prop up road building or other spending in different parts of the country – were devolved, road user charging could replace it, with some Londoners paying less overall than they are now.

For years, planners have known that this is the right way forward, but political leaders have shied away from acting on their advice. But London now has some serious momentum. In his transport strategy and London plan, Sadiq Khan envisages a better city – one that grows more equal as it grows in population. London has the congestion charge and

has introduced the ultra low emission zone – both big-impact schemes that in time should be rolled up into a road charge.

The technology is now available, and the principle of equality in our streets is clear and convincing. Now is the moment to take this big step to rebalance London's streets back in favour of the public good. We must invoke the spirit that underpinned fundamental changes to public services in the past, whether it is Labour's foundation of the NHS, the raising of the school leaving age and the smoking ban. It will be difficult, but it will be worth it. And, eventually, life will move on and it will feel as if it has always been this way.

7. OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL: A DIVERSE AND THRIVING CITY

Omar Khan

London's ethnic diversity is a real strength, but it also poses challenges. Addressing local inequalities and bringing communities together in shared spaces can bridge the gaps that still divide us.

Cities have always been places where ideas, culture, goods and of course people interact, and the source of many of humanity's most transformative ideas. One consequence of these interactions is that cities typically have greater ethnic or racial diversity. London is one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the UK and indeed the world, and it's worth exploring the opportunities and challenges this brings – for the city, but more importantly for the city's 3.5 million black and minority ethnic people.

Until recently, relatively few people lived in cities, but today around 55 per cent of the world's population live in urban areas, including 74 per cent of Europe's population, a proportion that continues to rise. If London was the first of the world's global cities, it is no longer an exception, or even an outlier, either in the UK or internationally.

London is a vibrant and successful city. Young people growing up in the capital often have wider aspirations than elsewhere, in part linked to their greater access to the world-leading museums, galleries and universities, and to

the extensive transport network that allows them to visit them easily.

Understanding and tackling poverty and inequality in London

London is also a city of great poverty and inequality. Of the 11 local authorities with the highest child poverty in the UK, seven are in London, including Tower Hamlets, which has the highest. And although ethnic minorities in London are doing very well in the capital's schools, there are significant ethnic inequalities too. A Runnymede Trust report on the extent of ethnic inequalities in education, employment, housing and health found that London boroughs had among the greatest ethnic inequalities of all 350 local authorities in England and Wales. The most recent data suggests that 59 per cent of Bangladeshi, 49 per cent of Pakistani and 47 per cent of black children in Britain are currently living in poverty, with these children disproportionately likely to live in the capital.

The London mayor – like all city mayors – should therefore work to tackle poverty and to offer support to those on low incomes from all backgrounds. Highlighting the challenges faced by Londoners on low incomes (from white Londoners on low incomes to young black men and Bangladeshi women) can reduce the sense that some groups are being overlooked and remind us of shared problems. As the Grenfell tragedy showed, communities may be less than a mile from Westminster, but they are just as likely to experience lack of investment and lack of representation or voice as those 200 miles away. There are 'left behind' communities of all backgrounds across London and the UK and the causes have the same roots in poverty and lack of investment, rather than in immigration or other issues that those who seek to divide us focus on. Support could come in many forms, whether

through advocacy, welfare advice, or more work, offering opportunities and reducing economic disparities.

London has specific challenges in delivering on equal opportunities for ethnic minorities. Yet at the same time, London is part of a wider country and world, and so the outcomes and experiences of people of colour in the capital aren't determined solely by or in London.

The historic origins of racism

Over five decades, studies have consistently shown that people with African or Asian sounding surnames have to send in more CVs just to get shortlisted for a job. This is one example of how racism is an independent source of inequality and general anti-poverty or other policies are unlikely to tackle racial inequalities all by themselves.

Racial discrimination doesn't come from nowhere. The prejudicial attitudes aren't randomly produced, but follow clear historical patterns. When 44 per cent of the British public agrees that some ethnic or racial groups were born less hard working, and 19 per cent agrees that some groups were born less intelligent, they are affirming centuries-old tropes about the inferiority of people of colour.

These tropes first emerged to justify the enslavement of African people and then colonialism. Britain and other European nations first exercised political and economic domination of peoples in Asia, Africa and then the Americas, which required a moral or ideological justification. Until and unless Britain comes to terms with this history it will be impossible to understand much less eradicate the views that continue to justify racial inequalities today.

Britain has a long tradition of commemorating the past in order to learn from it, including the first world war as well as the Srebrenica massacre and the Holocaust. It is time to

add the history of enslavement to our commemorations. We gain greater moral reflection from considering the times in the past when we failed to live up to the values of humanity, freedom and democracy than we do we portray ourselves as always being on the right side of history.

It is unacceptable that the capital city of a nation that built a global empire and its wealth in large part as a result of its role in the slave trade has no significant museum or monument marking the role that London and Britain played in these historic atrocities. It is no surprise that the British public has no real understanding of the role we played in facilitating the slave trade and its terrible impact on millions of people. This is something that the mayor of London could address by working with communities to ensure that a significant new memorial is built in London. The British government (and London's financial sector) would have a moral obligation to assist the mayor in seeing that such a memorial is built.

Addressing racial inequalities

Eradicating racist attitudes will also require more directly tackling the racial inequalities – in the UK and not just in London – that support and sustain those attitudes in the long term.

Some of the policies that Runnymede has recommended are:

- Creating employment targets for those groups most systematically disadvantaged.
- Ensuring compliance with the Equality Act, particularly the Public Sector Equality Duty, and including for all central government as well as local government policies.
- Manager appraisals and pay rises to be linked to success in supporting BME employees.

- Reviewing and dismantling barriers to the take-up of apprenticeships by BME groups; working with schools, colleges and the voluntary and community sector to develop mentoring and advice and guidance programmes for BME young people and parents.
- Identifying key information gaps, for example on ethnic pay gaps and the specific issues facing smaller or more recently arrived communities, and developing plans to fill them.
- Auditing BME recruitment, retention and progression rates, disciplinary and complaint procedures, and pay gaps.
- Providing work placements and mentoring programmes for underrepresented groups.
- Providing race equality (not just 'diversity' or 'unconscious bias') training for all staff.
- Developing strategies for increasing BME employment in relation to development of key growth sectors and strategies for meeting skill shortages.
- Publicising the business case for diversity of employment and publicizing good practice.
- Forming a pool of representatives available to increase the diversity of recruitment panels.[18, 19]

Obviously city mayors do not have the powers to implement all of these policies, and there needs to be greater commitment and leadership from central government not just on auditing or measuring racial disparities, but on developing practical action plans for tackling those disparities.

Three ways London's (or any city's) mayor could show their commitment would be by first, adopting some or all of the above measures as an employer; second, using their role and position as mayor as a platform to call on other employers and organisations to do more, and third ensuring that

mayors develop a wider plan for reducing racial inequalities in every area they control.

London's success: an integrated city

Having addressed the challenges, current and historic, to London living up to the promise of opportunity for all its residents, it's worth highlighting the successes. London is probably the most 'mixed' city in Europe, if not the world. It is a city where people of different ethnic backgrounds interact most in the workplace, in neighbourhoods and in families. The most diverse ward in Britain is Dollis Hill (see Table 1), where white British people are still the single largest group, but at only 14 per cent of the total. This neighbourhood is the most notable case of a wider London phenomenon: people may buy their paper from an Indian shopkeeper, get their vegetables from a Turkish greengrocer, drop their child at a nursery with a Ghanaian manager, and buy roses for their partner from a white British florists. No group is a majority and everyone has to interact with someone from another ethnic group in schools, on buses and in the workplace.

Table 1. Proportion of the population in each ethnic group in Dollis Hill, Brent

White British	14%
Other White	14%
Indian	11%
Black African	11%
Other Asian	9%
Pakistani	8%
White Irish	8%

Black Caribbean	7%
Arab	5%
Other Black	4%
Other	2%
Other Mixed	2%

Source: 2011 Census

Whatever happens with national immigration policy, we can be certain that London will continue to attract a relatively large proportion of Britain's immigrants, and that these migrants will continue to come from a very large range of countries. In addition to international migration, London will also continue to see a large degree of migration within the UK – with people both arriving into and leaving the city every year. All this means that London has a lot of 'churn'.

This 'churn' can, however, also be a challenge for sustaining relationships and communities. It is perhaps worth reflecting more on how London manages this challenge successfully as it may hold lessons for Britain more widely. While it's true that London has actively promoted a positive vision of London as diverse, it's also true that a generation and more of Londoners have become used to population churn in their schools, workplaces and neighbourhoods. This has arguably shaped Londoners' sense of 'community', with population change being viewed as normal. This is not to say that London doesn't experience conflict, including among BME as well as white people, when an area changes, but in London at least it appears this tracks socio-economic trends captured by the term 'gentrification' rather than the numbers or origin of new Londoners per se.

In other words, we should focus more on the inequalities that describe the experience of 'gentrification', rather than

on the fact that 'new' residents arrive in an area. We need to develop policies that seek to widen the economic benefits of change in an area across more of the population. We must ensure too that planning and housing engages all Londoners. But conversations or consultations won't be enough: we need to build more community spaces and genuinely affordable housing (affordability tracking local wages, not market rents) so that we aren't creating new inequalities and divisions.

Newer demographic trends and consequences

Looking at the most recent data on ethnicity for London and the UK suggests some final lessons. In some of the most diverse areas, the BME population is no longer growing, and may even be reversing, partly explaining a second related trend, which is the overall dispersal of BME people outside of Britain's major urban centres.

London has always had the largest number of BME people, and the largest proportion in some of its inner boroughs (Newham was 72 per cent BME in the 2011 census). At the same time, outer London has historically had far fewer BME people, with Havering being over 95 per cent white as recently as 2001.

This is now changing. Of the seven London boroughs with the largest BME populations in 2001, six have seen their share of the white population increase since. In Lambeth and Haringey the white population was larger in 2017 than in 2001, while the white population has also increased in Tower Hamlets, Harrow, Hackney, Waltham Forest, Lewisham, Camden, Westminster, Barnet, Merton in the more recent 2012 to 2017 period.

What does this mean? Significantly, there are no such thing as 'no go' areas in London, where white people won't or don't move.

The increase of white people in inner London boroughs may be because newer white European migrants are replacing older BME migrants and their children, especially in neighbourhoods that have seen a lot of churn of migrants historically. Given the lower numbers of EU migration in the past few years, this is unlikely to explain all of the growth in white population in London boroughs, but it is likely a contributing factor. These EU migrants have added to the experience of London and are themselves much more diverse in terms of class and indeed race than is sometimes imagined.

And in some local authorities the increase in white populations may not simply be a sign of greater inter-ethnic harmony, and more related to 'gentrification'. We must be cautious in simplifying too much that all new white residents in Lambeth or Hackney are better off, but it is plausible that some of the demographic change we're seeing in inner London is as much about the increased sorting by wealth in more and more neighbourhoods.

Even as the inner London BME population has stalled or even (slightly) declined, proportionally, the BME population of outer London boroughs has increased, in some cases quite rapidly. Between 2001 and 2011 this was most notable in Barking and Dagenham and in Redbridge, and more recently data points to similar trends in Sutton and Hillingdon.

Looking ahead, these trends are likely to continue. London may become more diverse, but not as quickly as over the 1980s and 1990s, in part, perhaps ironically, because white Britons, especially younger ones, themselves now value and want to live in 'diverse neighbourhoods'. In many ways then, the trends are very positive, in terms of attitudinal changes, and in terms of being a barrier to US-style segregation. They signal better social mixing and integration.

At the same time there are also concerns. There are increasing noises about the inherent 'threat' of a rising ethnic minority population, and stirring up of grievances against minorities merely for moving into a neighbourhood. These global trends obviously create barriers to people living well together locally, and can even lead to violence. Britain still remains far too slow and cautious in responding to racial inequalities.

Conclusions: equality as a way of promoting 'mixing'

As we have seen residential interaction or 'mixing' can be a success, but it also creates challenges. What, then, should be done? First, the evidence suggests that local area conflict corresponds more to inequality or deprivation than to 'diversity' per se. So rather than focusing on the ethnic make-up of a local area (not least as it is neither feasible nor desirable to force people to move), policymakers should develop area-based plans for tackling local inequalities. Second, there is also work to do to bring communities together, including supporting better public spaces. Greater support for community organisations that are underpinned by a commitment to anti-racist values is also crucial. We need community and charitable organisations to support individuals that public and private services have left behind.

New local businesses should be supported to connect better with local people, especially by helping to employ and provide skills training to local people who are at greater risk of unemployment. Local government, including mayors, might even consider short-term 'incentives' (say, reduced business rates) for those employers who invest in local young people or those who have been longer-term unemployed. More support for small and medium-sized enterprises, civil society and small organisations is valuable in its own right,

but it is also important because many of those organisations help people who lack access to money and power.

There is clearly an opportunity for better working with other parts of the country to highlight the gap between the wealthy and poor. London is seen as elite despite having some of the starkest disparities in the country. By genuinely collaborating on joint asks to government on cuts, poverty and the devolution of funding so it better accommodates local need, mayors from different parts of the county can both better meet the needs of their residents and also tackle the divisions between their areas.

Tackling national as well as local division will require campaigns to challenge perceptions of Londoners. This will require foregrounding the real experience of deprivation and poverty in the capital, but also confronting head-on some of the negative, inaccurate stereotypes. We need to highlight positive images of different communities to ensure policymaking isn't driven by unjust and ineffective stereotypes (of black men as criminals, of Muslims as terrorists, or of all working-class people as uneducated or intolerant).

Forecasting the future is always a risky proposition. However the growth and dispersal of Britain's BME population is one trend that will continue over the coming decades. How we respond to that growth, taking advantage of its many opportunities as well as responding better to the challenges of division, racism and inequality, will be a major test for London's success in the 21st century. Overall there are plenty of reasons for optimism, but also signs that we can do better.

8. CONTROL AND INFLUENCE: IMPROVING LONDONERS' HEALTH

David Buck

Even though London is healthier on many indicators than much of the country, health inequalities in the capital remain marked. Joining up policy-making is a challenge – but it is one that must be met if we are to make London a healthier place to live and work.

Most of the actions taken by city governments have an impact on the health of citizens, and most of that is not about healthcare per se but about transport systems, urban design, planning and all the other functions and tools that city governments have at their disposal. This – and the willingness to learn from others' experience – gives cities an enormous potential to be health-generating places. But making the most of the opportunities and coordinating all of this activity in the context of a complex city system represents a significant governance challenge.

On many indicators, London's population is healthier than much of the rest of the country. In 2001–03 London ranked fifth out of nine and fourth out of nine English regions for life expectancy for males and females respectively. By 2015–17 it had climbed to second (behind the south east of England) and top on these two indicators,[20] seemingly avoiding some of the slow-down in life expectancy growth that has affected the rest of the UK[21] and the rest of the OECD.[22] But inequalities in health across the capital are stark and persistent, with healthy life expectancy varying between boroughs by as

much as 15 and 19 years for men and women respectively, and with even wider variations between local neighbourhoods.[23] London's most deprived children are twice as likely to be obese than the least deprived, and death rates from common causes such as cardiovascular disease and respiratory disease vary by more than twofold between boroughs.[24]

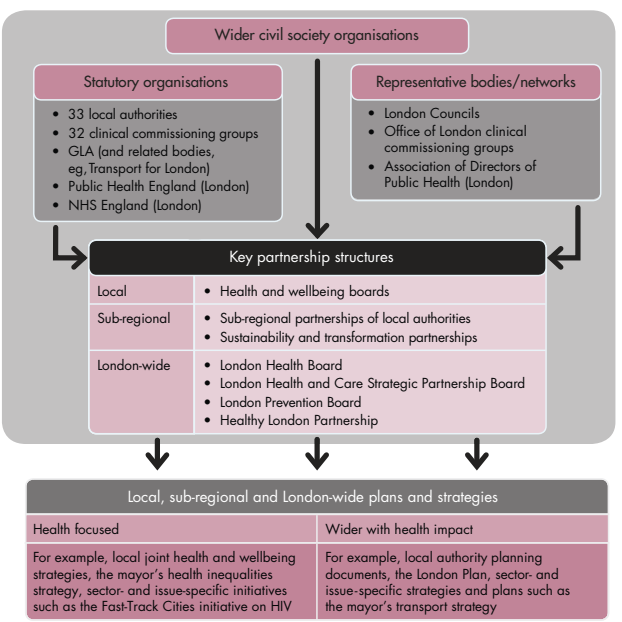
Unlike many of its international peers, London's government (the combination of boroughs and the Greater London Authority) does not have direct control over healthcare in the city but it does have jurisdiction over any other policy areas that affect the health of Londoners, including transport, economic development, housing and planning. The mayor is also unique in the UK and probably the world in having both a legal duty to have and to pursue a health inequalities policy at city level, despite having no direct control over healthcare. An important question is therefore who is in control of policy of Londoner's health and does this matter?

One way to address this question, is to look at London's decision-making and policies and compare them with how other cities make decisions that impact on population health. For the King's Fund report, The Role of Cities in Improving Population Health: International Insights[25], we interviewed 50 city leaders (half in 14 international cities, half in London) with a focus on what London could learn from others. Cities were selected on the basis of being widely considered to be successful or innovative in public policy on health, particularly in complex areas such as public mental health, air pollution, obesity and the prevention of HIV. Many of these cities were in Europe (such as Paris, Berlin and Madrid), some in the US (New York and San Francisco) but also elsewhere (such as Mexico City and Adelaide).

Our findings were instructive for London and its approach to health. First, it was clear that London's governance is far more complex than the other cities we looked at. This is partly due

to London's scale, but only partly, after all the city-regions of New York, Paris and Madrid are of broadly comparable size. A lot is due to London's history which has left it in effect with 33 separate 'local governments', expressed in its boroughs (plus the City of London), with one overarching Greater London Authority (GLA), and separate and multiple NHS organisational tiers with delegated powers from the centre. London is, in the city governance lingo, a 'two-tier polycentric' governance system. This means that power is distributed at lower tier (local authorities) and upper tier (GLA) level, with many players (polycentric) influencing decisions (Figure 1).

Figure 1 Population health governance arrangements in London



Source: Naylor and Buck (2018)

In principle, this may solve the long-recognised conundrum of city governance, of how to reconcile the pros and cons of a strong centralised power and sub-city decision-making. However, in practice, this also makes London a complex and hard place to take decisions that influence its population's health. London has tried many ways to grapple with this complexity, with a panoply of various joint boards, committees and pieces of governance to make sense of it. Most recently we have seen the introduction of five sustainability and transformation plans (STPs – later 'partnerships') and London's take on devolution, for the NHS and beyond. The former have added to an already complex superstructure and with boundaries that may work for the NHS, but don't for many of the other partners in London. In practice this has made it hard for them to work well in partnership with others on prevention and other factors that influence population health.[26] The latter devolved some specific powers, including the ability to keep the proceeds from NHS property and land sales within London, a pan-London workforce board, and some delegation of NHS transformation funding to London. On wider prevention and public health there were far fewer commitments.[27]

This it is not just a dry academic issue – it really matters. Both key decision-makers and stakeholders in London and those in cities in other countries thought that London's complex governance was a problem. For example, one director of public health from a London borough told us in a research interview: "The system is not set up particularly well to work on London-wide issues … It feels like whenever we want to do something collaboratively, we have to put the system together each time."

A major cost arising from the complicated governance environment is the 'collective weight' of the London system that leads to inertia, particularly in relation to implementa-

tion. A widely held view was that while London's partners are able to agree strategy, the system is less good at then putting agreements into practice and holding partners to account for delivery. "The system is good at talking about priorities but not at agreeing what that means in terms of delivery … We seem to be unable to spread and scale the things that are obvious," a member of the Healthy London Partnership told us.

This is exemplified by the process involved in joining the HIV-focused UN Fast-Track Cities Initiative, a programme that helps mayors and other city leaders learn from each other to halt AIDs. London was approached in 2014 to sign up. It took until 2018 to do so for several reasons including working out whose plan it would be and who would sign the pledge, despite everyone agreeing it was the right thing to do. London clearly can get there, but due to its complexity, it often takes longer than it should.

Beyond clarifying governance for health, there were other lessons for London from other cities. We informally assessed London on the common factors that helped cities make progress on population health (ie coordinating system-wide action, promoting innovation, using regulatory and legislative levers, mobilising the population and using planning powers to create healthy places). London is doing some things well. In particular, other cities look to London for its coordinated approach to transport planning and are covetous of the fact that health plays a role in that planning. But in other areas, there is much for London to learn – including making much more of its strengths than it does. For example, one of our international interviewees described the work done in London's universities as 'a lighthouse for public health researchers around the globe', but they questioned whether this learning was systematically applied in London itself in stark contrast to cities like Copenhagen where there is a

close bond between the university and city planners. We made a range of recommendations for London, including introducing a critical mass of public health capacity at city level (to influence other policies, as is done in Transport for London, not to dream up new ones whilst accepting that most expertise will still be needed to support boroughs' decision-making); being more open to learning from other cities; stronger mechanisms for innovation and coordination and the importance of promoting leadership across sectors and boundaries.

One of our key findings from the cities report was that elected mayors and other political leaders have soft powers beyond their formal responsibilities that they can use to drive pro-health policies. This is particularly the case in London, where the formal governance is so complex and it is of most relevance to complex, cross-cutting issues like health inequalities.

Unusually, the mayor has a legal duty to have a strategy and can use City Hall to implement this directly through policies he or she controls, such as transport and planning. But any strategy will also rely on using the softer political power of the office to influence the NHS, and to coordinate other contributions made by business and local authorities.

The current mayor has shown some interest in the NHS, for example in commissioning assessments from the King's Fund and others on the progress of London's STPs and using them to set out a number of tests before he would offer support.[28] London's health inequalities strategy has also now been published,[29] our view at consultation stage[30] was it needed to be more clearly focused on inequalities and the mayor needed to expect more from partners. However, it also set out the mayor's commitment to a 'health in all policies' approach. If this is done well and adhered too it could make a major difference. Some of London's boroughs are also

committed to health in all policies, for instance Southwark.[31] The success, or otherwise, of the health inequalities strategy will tell us a lot about how the mayor is using his or her formal role and wider soft power and influence for the health of Londoners.

Control over Londoners' health, or at least the policies that influence it, lies with many agencies, partners and sectors. London's governance and decision-making are more complex than many other international cities of comparable size, reflecting its history and the separation of powers, as well as the structure of the NHS. London has lots to offer other cities, but it also has lots to learn from them on how to better use the powers, hard and soft, it does have to better support the health of Londoners.

9: NOW OR NEVER: CULTURE AS THE CATALYST FOR CHANGE

Madani Younis

London's strength lies in its rich mix of cultures and communities. But the arts sector needs to drop its paternalistic attitudes and open itself up to that diversity if it is to play its part in creating a shared future.

In turbulent times, such as those we are living through, ways of thinking and doing and being that we took for granted and that gave us degrees of certainty are confronted, uprooted and sometimes even fall away.

This generates anxiety and division, but it also presents us with possibilities to change society's fundamentals in ways that strengthen our democracy, our freedoms and bring us together.

This is the challenge we all face. Can we seize the time and create a new version of ourselves, that embraces all the communities, conurbations and nations that make up this island of ours? The citizens of London have a unique responsibility and opportunity to explore new trajectories; ones that resist the singular narrow version of our history that has in the past excluded so many voices and is indeed responsible for bringing us to the place we are now at.

In the last few years, various ideas of nationhood have been tested and debated, mostly in ways that have not generated positive outcomes. No version as yet presented to the

British people has demonstrated that it can include everyone in a shared future.

I have always been in love with London, its diverse cultures and the unique ways in which they bounce off one another. This cultural dynamism is historical, deep-rooted, and international at its core. It gives me heart that nearly four in 10 of London's citizens were born in places beyond our shores and that a quarter of us were born outside of Europe's frontiers. Every day I am reminded that solidarity and compassion are not generated at the top of society, they bubble up from our neighbours, our streets and our estates. As the Black academic Paul Gilroy has perceptively stated, in London especially a conviviality between ordinary citizens has emerged from the grassroots, in extraordinary ways rarely acknowledged, let alone praised, by most politicians and opinion-makers.

A new paternalism

The unique cultural and creative energy that London generates is recognised and envied globally. Yet, we face a contradiction. Those peoples and cultures at the heart of this kinetic force and continual innovation are not properly represented at all levels within our arts and cultural industries. Progress still remains slow at best – and glacial at worst. We are presently hindered by a new paternalism, where a few very privileged men and women running the sector may acknowledge change is necessary, but rather than divesting themselves of power, have decided to hold onto the reins by co-opting issues and stories around class, diversity and gender. On one hand, there is at least a positive recognition in this that structural change is required in the sector, but on the other, the pace, direction and fundamentals of change should not be dictated by a small unrepresentative group.

The Arts Council's Creative Case for Diversity and Equality in the Arts, first launched in 2011 has been the single most important cultural intervention published in the last 20 years. It makes the decisive argument that a diverse arts sector is not just an aspiration or a legal or moral imperative, it is a fundamental necessity if the arts are to thrive. Simply put, greater diversity leads to creative innovation and imaginative truth-telling, in ways that bring art into a much more profound and authentic dialogue with contemporary society and the challenges it faces.

But action on diversity has not gone far enough. The new paternalism is reflected in a lack of change, evidenced most recently in the Creative Case for Diversity report data published by the Arts Council in February, which shows that people from a Black and minority ethnic background and disabled people continue to be underrepresented across the workforce and leadership of the arts sector. Diversity means nothing unless it is linked to thoroughgoing equality of outcome. Change is taking place too slowly. We all urgently need to reassess the policy in order for it to be truly transformative.

The promise of progress tomorrow is no longer a pledge that we should accept. The interventions that we make need to be stronger and irreversible.

We must recalibrate the cultural sector radically, otherwise we will fail the next generation and risk continually replicating the arts as a private enclave for the chosen few. We need to disrupt the normative behaviour in the arts.

There have been examples of good practice recently, where, to a lesser or greater extent, cultural organisations have improved their recruitment and their board-level representation. Some organisations are working harder to have diverse leaders at the helm. But we need to be braver. There is a direct correlation between money allocated and

the culture of organisations. Publicly funded organisations have to be publicly accountable.

The latest Creative Case report has proven that we are not all in it together. There is a social conservatism in the cultural sector in our country that has held back change. The gatekeepers are clearly afraid of what an inclusive and democratic cultural sector could look like.

Young people

We are trapped between the world we want to live in and the one that stares us in the face.

Despite all of the commitment to engaging diverse young people in cultural organisations, it should surprise us that there are still young people left to work with.

Just 11 per cent of the cultural workforce are Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) whereas 40 per cent of the population of London is BAME.

Some 57 per cent of young people under the age of 15 are BAME. Why have we not been able to attract young people from different backgrounds into our buildings and workforce?

It is partly at least because they do not see cultural organisations as belonging to them and representing their idea of culture. We need young people to feel tangible ownership of their local cultural organisations.

Organisations need to be responsive to our communities' concerns. We should work with third sector organisations to respond to need and to co-create experiences which will encourage more young people in our city to engage fully with what we do.

According to the Trust for London, more than a third of young people are classed as living in poverty. We should be

working more closely with organisations which are supporting those young people.

We need to look at our reach and impact and at outcomes rather than outputs. We need to be open, porous and plural and seek to maximize the multiplier effect of our activity so it benefits all our communities.

Social conservatism is the achilles heel of diversity and equality.

Creating challenge

We need to look at the human needs of our communities. In the arts sector, we deal with human emotions every day so are ideally placed to take on this challenge.

It is incumbent upon us to show humility to give up our space to others. We have a civic responsibility to co-create a shared future.

This needs to be a leadership concern: responding to our shared reality to create change. We have to ask ourselves what the needs are of the youngest and most vulnerable members of our society and what we are doing to address them.

We also need to ask how we are ensuring young people feel ownership of their cultural organisations. We should be forced to give up some of our power to our communities in order to co-create and develop art made by, with and for our communities.

I am unhappy with the sector's lack of progress on this issue. Organisations need to be disruptive, to take a radical approach to move the dial. There is a growing movement for cultural democracy articulating these concerns that need to be brought into policy-making at a local, regional and national level.

We must begin by redefining the frameworks that we use within the cultural sector to measure our progress in creat-

ing a more diverse and representative workforce. We should enable the conditions that encourage bravery amongst our leaders, our peers and contemporaries to help accelerate progress in this area. We must invite the advocacy and patronage of the mayor of London and our politicians to help accelerate cultural change.

This should not be about protecting the status quo or indeed about the Arts Council policing the status quo. We are at a point where we need to encourage critical thought and grassroots activism that makes us let go of the things that hold us all back.

If the citizens of London are to be front and centre in writing Britain's future together, we will need arts and culture that can liberate us from those ways of thinking, doing and being that have brought us to the brink.

10: JUST THE JOB: BUILDING A GOOD FUTURE FOR WORKING LONDONERS

Frances O'Grady and Sam Gurney

London is home to some great business success stories – but sadly many exploitative employers too. Low pay, poor working conditions and labour market discrimination are endemic. Unions, employers and politicians need to work together to ensure work is a route out of, rather than into, poverty.

London is central to the origins of the British trade union movement, in particular the tide of 'new unionism' which saw the emergence of mass general trade unionism at the end of the 19th century.

The Transport and General Workers Union, now part of Unite, grew out of organisation in the London docks and the GMB traces its roots to organising gas workers in east London. The match women of Bryant and May showed that young women workers, often from migrant backgrounds, could organise and win.

Today, as we face a resurgence in insecure work and in-work poverty across the country, it is clear that protecting working people's interests requires a resurgence of unionisation in the capital. And, from Google to TGI Fridays, workers are finding new ways to organise.

London is an incredible city, with our diverse multicultural population drawn from every corner of the globe. However, we face enormous challenges, hugely exacerbated

by a decade of government-enforced austerity and now compounded by the impact of uncertainty over Brexit.

In-work poverty and the rise of insecure work

London is often described as one of the wealthiest cities in the world. But as we all know, the incidence of poverty – often acute poverty – is very high. There are pockets of serious deprivation in every London borough. In addition, there are clear disparities between London boroughs in terms of both average household income and economic strength as measured by gross value added (GVA) per head.

In-work poverty is a rapidly increasing issue across the UK. Nationally there are almost four million workers in poverty, a rise of more than half a million compared with five years ago. More than half of all people in poverty now live in a working family. For children in poverty, this rises to nearly two-thirds.

In London the figures are just as stark. The proportion of people living in poverty in London in households in which at least one adult works has rocketed in recent years. Shockingly, the majority of people living in poverty in London now reside in working households. The bitter truth is that for many, low-paid work is not a route out of poverty, it is a route into poverty. The proportion of low-paid workers who have escaped low-paid employment over the last 10 years is incredibly low. Whilst the number of workers on the London living wage has continued to increase, the number of workers who work in the capital but are paid less than that London living wage has also continued to grow.

The UK's record levels of employment are often repeated as a success story, but something is seriously wrong in the labour market if work is not reducing poverty.

The central problem is not that 'London is wealthy, but that some people are falling between the cracks', as some have argued. It is true that London is home to many world-class businesses, organisations and public services that offer some workers world-class terms and conditions of employment. But London is also home to some very poor business practices, and some exploitative employers whose core business models are predicated on driving down pay and other terms and conditions. Even those working at well-known institutions may suffer low pay and poor working conditions, such as academic staff teaching on temporary contracts at universities, or cleaners on outsourced contracts, or civil servants on the lowest grades. Meanwhile, a high proportion of self-employed workers earn very much below the average national income. Consequently, the challenges of low pay, poor working conditions and labour market discrimination in London are systemic and endemic, not the exception.

To tackle in-work poverty in London and beyond, we need an agenda that reflects the TUC's Great Jobs Agenda for decent pay, secure work, progression opportunities, decent social security, affordable child care and help with spiralling housing costs.

Insecure work is now a daily reality for 3.7 million UK workers, as recent TUC analysis has shown. This includes agency, casual, and seasonal work, those on zero-hours contracts and the low-paid self-employed. A pay penalty is associated with these forms of work, with workers often experiencing low pay and economic hardship.

There has also been a sustained reduction in real pay – that is, pay once inflation has been taken into account – for nearly all workers. Over the past decade, workers have suffered the most severe wage squeeze in two centuries. While real wages have just started to grow, there is massive ground to make

up before real pay returns to the level it was at before the financial crisis hit.

In London, TUC analysis last year revealed real wages are still down on pre-crash levels in 31 of London's 33 local authority areas. The average London worker has lost more than £20,000 in real earnings since 2008, far and away the largest fall nationally.

People working in Redbridge have the most ground to make up. They are still earning 34 per cent less in real terms than a decade ago – the equivalent of £181 a week. The next worst is Barnet (minus 24 per cent), followed by Newham (minus 20 per cent) and Hackney (minus 20 per cent).

Other factors such as rising housing costs both cause and worsen poverty too. There is a lack of affordable housing across the UK, as well as a shortage in social housing that means many more people on low incomes are having to live in more expensive privately rented accommodation. Renters are paying massively more, as a percentage of their income, for their homes than 20 years ago.

Relative to the general price level, the average (median) private rent paid in the mid-2010s was 53 per cent higher than that in the mid-1990s in London (and 29 per cent higher in the rest of Britain). We need urgent action in London both to increase the amount of affordable housing, including new council housing and to increase protections for those in the private rented sector.

Childcare costs in the capital are also a huge issue for working parents. While there has been some progress in recent years expanding the supply of free childcare, there is still a long way to go before this is universal. It should not be the role of the social security system to meet the costs of what should be a free service.

We are very conscious of the massive changes we face to the way we work. London as so often in the past will be at

the cutting edge of these changes – it is notable that we have the third highest number of artificial intelligence start-ups in the world, after San Francisco and New York.

At our 150th Congress last September, we released a report A Future That Works for Working People. In it we called for unions, employers and government to work together through a new Future of Work Commission. We believe this commission could help to:

- Ensure that new technology is introduced with the consent of workers – with new technology agreements agreed by trade unions in workplaces across the country.
- Investigate how to boost productivity in our city and across the UK, by investing in new technology that can improve the quality of life.
- Ensure that the gains from that productivity are shared with workers, setting out an ambition to move to shorter hours and higher pay. The commission should see moving to a four-day week, with no reduction to living standards, as an ambition for the 21st century.
- Provide skills training for those at risk of losing their jobs as the workplace changes – with a new learning entitlement for every worker, delivered with advice from a union rep.

In London, the mayor has a vital role to play in ensuring that the Greater London Authority's Skills for Londoners framework supports all Londoners to be equipped for the jobs of the future. At the TUC we have developed an apprenticeship charter along with extensive guidance on how to support quality apprenticeships and support more women, black and minority ethnic and disabled people to take up apprentices across all sectors of our economy.

The learning and skills organisation of the TUC – Unionlearn – and TUC Education have helped hundreds of thousands of people to access workplace learning and development, and with responsibility for adult education shortly to become a devolved responsibility it is more important than ever that City Hall engages directly with unions as well as employers on the skills agenda in London.

Workers' voice

All of our experience shows that workers' self-organisation has long been the best and most sustainable way of securing improvements to pay and working conditions.

Despite draconian measures and legal restrictions like the 2016 Trade Union Act, our unions have been continuing to organise across all sectors in the London economy. From restaurant workers at TGI Fridays and McDonalds, to outsourced workers providing public services in hospitals, Transport for London, local authorities and government departments – including ironically the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy – to workers in the so-called 'gig' economy where the GMB has recently secured a recognition agreement with delivery firm Hermes to workers on the cutting edge of the visual effects industry, union members have been saying enough is enough.

We need a policy and legislative framework that supports rather than hinders this organisation. It should be a framework which promotes and incentivises the role of trade unions in the workplace, supports the access of trade unions to workplaces to organise and encourages the recognition of trade unions by employers and the benefits of collective bargaining.

Much of this requires action at national level, however there is a lot that the mayor and local authority leaders can

do to support this work at a London level. The mayor's Good Work Standard is part of a suite of initiatives to support fair employment for standards for all in the capital, but vocal support for the positive role of trade unions in supporting workers and in establishing effective collective bargaining systems are important, as is calling out bad business practice.

There are two primary reasons for promoting trade union access. First, through membership of trade unions, individual workers become more aware of their employment rights and more aware of how to secure them. Hence, workers can better be 'agents of change' to improve their own conditions, to seek fairer pay, to eliminate any discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity, age or disability, and to seek to promote their training and skills development at work.

Second, research, including Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy statistics, shows that workplaces where employers work closely with trade unions have higher productivity, a higher rate of innovation, better equality outcomes and are much safer. Constructive industrial relations and high-quality human resource management practices are the route to a more modern, more competitive, fairer and more inclusive London.

In London the mayor has publicly supported the role of trade unions in a modern and competitive economy, and he has championed the benefits of collective bargaining. He has launched a good work standard as part of a suite of activities to support fair employment and fair wages for all. However, if we are to achieve that aspiration of good work, it will be crucial to secure support for trade unions to access workplaces to organise workers and secure effective forms of collective bargaining and support for modern industrial relations practices.

We would like to see politicians in London supporting calls for new innovative forms of sectoral bargaining that could bring together unions and employers in areas where

there is an urgent need to improve conditions in the capital and across the rest of the country, such as hospitality and catering, social care and business services including security and cleaning. Such a sector approach could look at improving pay and working conditions, increasing skills and improving productivity.

At the same time, we believe the remit of enforcement agencies should be extended and better resourced, with tough new laws and regulations robustly enforced. Weak employers that make mistakes should be actively mentored to raise their standards. Bad and exploitative employers should be robustly challenged and exposed; they not only exploit their workforce, but they also undermine the business opportunities of good employers and damage London's reputation as a world-class city.

The government's response to the Taylor Review on modern working practices was a missed opportunity. We wanted to see the government:

- Ban the imposition of zero-hours contracts to ensure workers have guaranteed hours, enabling them to pay their bills and plan childcare.
- Launch a crackdown on bogus self-employment and introduce steps to ensure all of these workers enjoy the same floor of rights as employees, including redundancy pay and family-friendly rights.
- Reform laws to allow trade unions to access workplaces, to support workers most in need of representation.
- And increase resources and powers for enforcement, so that weak employers can be rapidly identified and brought into line, giving exploitative employers nowhere to hide.

We will continue to campaign to secure these changes and will work alongside others in the capital and beyond to secure them.

Brexit

Finally, Brexit continues to loom large over everything we do. The TUC has called for a deal which that meets three tests: protecting jobs; a guarantee that workers' rights here at least keep pace with workers' rights in the single market; and avoiding a hard border in Ireland.

We are already seeing jobs and investment leaving London, as well as rising insecurity and fear among many citizens from other EU member states who have made their homes here. It is vital that any post-Brexit immigration system ensure that no workers, or groups of workers, in the UK are left without equal protection compared to those in the EU. We need a system that prevents employers undercutting pay and any terms and conditions by exploiting migrant workers both from within and beyond the EU. We reject a visa regime that ties workers to an employer, which, can lead to forms of modern-day 'indentured labour' and at worst fuel modern day enslavement. London has a proud reputation as a city that welcomes newcomers. Let's not lose it.

11. LOOKING OUTWARDS: ENSURING CONTINUED GROWTH

Catherine McGuinness

London has a proud track record of innovation, dynamism and growth. Whatever happens with Brexit, the city needs to continue to attract the best talent and to foster an environment in which this talent can flourish.

London is a truly global city. In maintaining this status, London has always had to compete with other cities across the world to attract businesses and visitors. It has had to – and will need to continue to – adapt.

In these challenging times, it is an important role of government – national, regional and local – to provide the environment and the support that enables London to continue playing a significant role as a global hub for financial and professional services and a home to world-class legal services. We also need to support the city's unmatched cultural offer and first-class education which provide foundations for our business success.

We cannot deny, however, with Britain's future relationship with the European Union unclear at the time of writing, that this is a politically challenging time, particularly for the UK's financial and professional services sector – and for London as a whole.

There will be uncertainty as the UK embarks upon a new chapter in the country's trading history, but the world won't simply stop for our sake when we leave the European Union. London has to maintain its efforts in showcasing its value

and potential and seizing opportunities to be a truly global city that benefits the United Kingdom.

It is precisely because of this reputation for resilience and pragmatism in an ever-changing global financial landscape that the UK financial and professional services industry can use this opportunity to scale new heights. The sector plays a hugely positive role across the UK economy and will continue to do so. Its success is in the interest of the entire nation – in 2018, it made a record tax contribution to the UK exchequer, and it employs 2.2 million people, two-thirds of whom are outside London.

The City of London Corporation is dedicated to a vibrant and thriving city, supporting a diverse and sustainable London within a globally successful UK. We all need to be ready to play our part in helping London realise its potential.

Skills and immigration

Having the right workforce matters to any city and for London to achieve this we need to make the capital a place where people *want* to be. Skills are integral to attracting new businesses to London and enabling existing businesses to expand. The UK has the best pool of talent for financial services in Europe, the largest pool of highly-skilled knowledge-based jobs in the world and draws its business leaders from the widest pool of countries.

We need to keep it this way. That is why we have been urging the government to act to deliver a world-class visa system that ensures the UK remains competitive after Brexit.

Last year, working with EY, we produced a report, Streamlining Success: Building a World-class Visa Application Process for the UK, which looked at how the UK's visa system operates for people coming to work in financial and professional services, and how it could be improved. Some of the recommendations include eliminating the need for

people to submit visa extension applications in the UK and allowing employers holding an A-rated sponsor license to certify the English language ability of candidates, avoiding the need for a test.

But regardless of the overall immigration policy the government chooses to adopt, we should be aiming to make the process of applying to come to work in the UK as smooth and efficient as possible. Access to international talent is key to our competitive edge and reducing that access when we leave the European Union would be shooting ourselves in the foot.

And it's vital that the focus is not just bringing in skills from abroad but tapping into the talent right here on our doorstep.

Inclusion is central to our efforts to support a diverse, dynamic workforce, in the financial and professional services sector and the wider economy. We have a responsibility to play our part in supporting young people, from all backgrounds, in developing their skills, for the good of society, community and the economy.

The City Corporation is involved in successful endeavours in this area. The current Lord Mayor is rightly highlighting the importance of digital skills. We have supported the Social Mobility Employer Index, an important benchmarking initiative that ranks UK employers on the efforts in accessing and progressing talent from all social backgrounds. We have also worked closely with the government's Apprenticeships Delivery Board. Indeed, last year we broke our target of hiring 100 young apprentices at the City Corporation.

Supporting the capital

It is vital that we reinforce the message that London is open and welcoming and that we continue to sell London to the rest of the world as a place to do business, to study and to visit. I have been working closely with the mayor of London's

official promotional company London and Partners, supporting their great work in boosting London's reputation and reach. This will play a big part in ensuring that, as a city, we can continue to be a world-leading business hub in decades to come. There have many ongoing conversations among partners in London about how we can work together and there is no doubt potential in exploring further how we can produce joint messaging, arrange global visits together and ensure there is a stronger London voice heard in government.

Local authority partnerships are crucial: in our case, we have formed strong working relationships with boroughs, individually and collectively, the latter through London Councils. We also engage closely with several inner London boroughs on skills and economic development issues through Central London Forward. Such relationships enable us to address London's challenges together and ensure the capital's voice is heard from all quarters.

Education is also key to providing the dynamic workforce that will fuel growth. London's schools have been one of the capital's biggest recent success stories. We must continue to work to reach disadvantaged children and young people so boosting social mobility, equality and inclusivity. Giving young people, from all backgrounds, the best chance to succeed is critical to London being a city of opportunity now and in the future.

Innovation

The UK has a thriving fintech (financial technology) sector, which employs more than 60,000 people and which generates £20bn per year. The cluster of fintech businesses in the City of London has turned London into a global hub for the sector and is a vital part of the capital's success.

Fintech is an evolution of the financial services industry, in which start-ups can both compete and collaborate with

established financial and professional services industries which we have been home to for many years.

Fintech is democratising financial services and allowing far greater numbers of people in every country to participate. Our own research has found 72 per cent of firms in financial, insurance and professional services referred to the usage of technology as the key factor in determining whether a company is seen as innovative. By bringing services closer to the customer and making them easier for people, fintech can ultimately help rebuild trust in financial services and in business.

Education

London's education and cultural offer are real assets to the capital and are an important part of its success. Having the best universities, excellent schools and world-leading cultural experiences all over the capital are a major boost to London's ability to promote itself as a place to invest.

London's schools have been one of the capital's biggest recent success stories. At the City Corporation we are committed to providing access to world-class education and learning opportunities for young people. We aim to deliver high-quality education which enriches and inspires students and enables them to reach their full academic and personal potential. We have a proud and longstanding track record. The City of London Academies Trust has been ranked by the Department for Education as the top multi-academy sponsor in the country for pupil progress.

Culture

London's cultural offer is world-leading and we aim to ensure the Square Mile continues to be an integral part of London's creative scene. In all corners of the capital there is outstanding work promoting arts and culture and widening access for

young people from all backgrounds, and we are pleased to play our part.

The Culture Mile project, between the City Corporation, the Barbican, London Symphony Orchestra, the Guildhall School of Music and Drama and the Museum of London, will turn the Square Mile into an unparalleled cultural destination for all Londoners to visit.

Transport

A key part of maintaining London and the UK's competitiveness is improving the capital's transport infrastructure and connectivity with the rest of the country and beyond. We need to continue to improve the infrastructure of London's airports, national and international rail interchanges, and other transport networks.

Looking at the Square Mile, our streets must provide an environment that attracts investment, talent and tourists. We want the City of London to be recognised across the world for a progressive approach to transport that creates streets where everyone can enjoy walking and spending time. We have made good progress in recent years to change the look and feel of our streets, with the newly completed Aldgate Square being the most recent example.

But there is undoubtedly more to do. People's journeys to and around the City of London must be safe, comfortable and convenient – whether they're travelling for business, leisure or as part of the daily commute. We need to continue making the case for sustained investment in the capital's transport infrastructure.

Nations and regions

Brexit made evident the high degree of disparity between London and other major cities in the UK. It was a wake-up

call and showed we needed to create new relationships and strengthen existing ones across the country.

Since June 2017 we have been focused on maximising our engagement with other cities to encourage economic development. The initial partners were Edinburgh, Manchester and Belfast and they have since been joined by Birmingham, Leeds and Cardiff. With two-thirds of the UK's financial and professional services jobs being outside of London, it is vital we build those links.

We in London also need to work more closely with other cities on some of the big challenges facing our country. In our case, we have started to do so, for example hosting a summit for metro mayors on clean air. There is real potential in collaborating across the UK and this will play a major part in business' continued success.

As the country address its future relationship with the European Union, collaboration across the capital will be key if we are to face the challenges and take advantage of the opportunities.

We can be confident that London's unique combination of advantages – as a financial hub, as a tech hub, as a skills hub – cannot be replicated elsewhere in Europe. London is not just the UK's financial centre for Europe, it is Europe's financial centre for the world, and will continue to be.

International investors continue to give London the vote of confidence – with more investment in new office space in London than in any other city in the world. The UK is blazing the trail in innovative sectors such as fintech and green finance and continues to build links with Asian economies and with financial centres around the globe.

So we still have every reason to be confident for the longer term, provided we continue working together to seize the opportunities.

In my time as policy chair at the City Corporation I have been impressed by the scale of collaboration across London, working to make sure London has what it needs to secure its place as a truly global city.

Brexit has presented considerable challenges and we should not be complacent, but we can be confident of London's strengths that have seen it adapt over centuries. the City Corporation, representing the financial and professional services sector has a key role to play with local and city government across London to encourage future growth.

We must continue working together, having an inclusive conversation that shines a light on London's positives, but does not underestimate the challenges. This will give London the best chance to ensure it remains the leading world city that it is – a success story not just for the capital, but for the UK as a whole.

12. HIGH-LEVEL SOLUTIONS: FINDING A PATH TO FAIRER HOUSING GROWTH

Claire Bennie

London needs a million new homes. To fit them all in, we will need to develop at higher density. And for that we need a cultural shift, which demonstrates how successful and attractive high-density neighbourhoods can be.

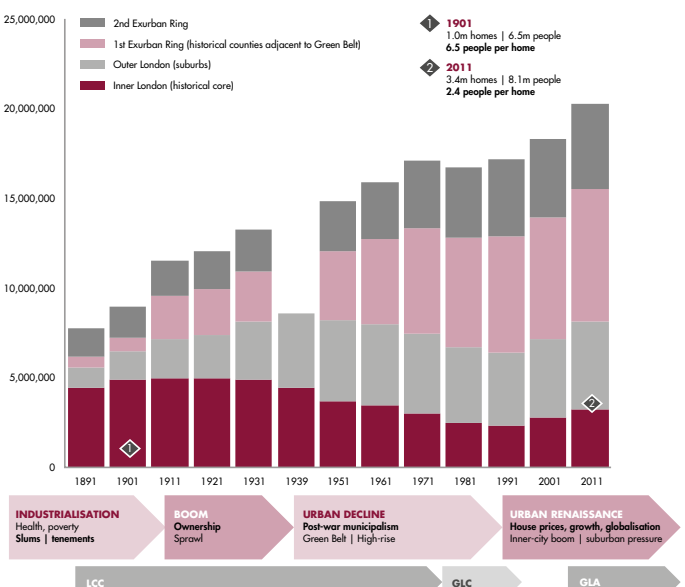
Is London's population still going to grow? And to house everyone, how can we efficiently utilise space? Do people want to live in flats? Where will these new flats be built? Who is in control of London's land? When does London's population growth become harmful and have to stop? These and many other 'fairness and equity' issues are fuelling the turbulence surrounding the revisions to our shared social contract: The London Plan – which is seeking to build almost 700,000 new homes over the next decade. And this takes us to the heart of the most emotive and yet dry-sounding policy aspect of that plan, density – the measure of how many people or homes occupy a given area of land.

For a global city, London is not densely developed, but the opportunity to release the capital's underutilised land is highly constrained: both the privatisation of suburban areas during the 20th century (taking up one third of the city's land area) and the protection of open space both in and around the capital (a further third) have combined to 'lock London down' in a unique way.

To provide new homes, it is clear that either open space must be released or housing densities will have to rise on the scarcer land which can be repurposed.

It is worth noting that London has not always had to grapple with the problem of housing. After the second world war, the capital's population fell dramatically – partly due to a deliberate policy to move people out to the heady promise of new and expanded towns. It was only when London's population started growing again, in the 1990s, that anyone noticed the emerging tension about where new homes should go (Figure 1).

Figure 1 London and South East population change



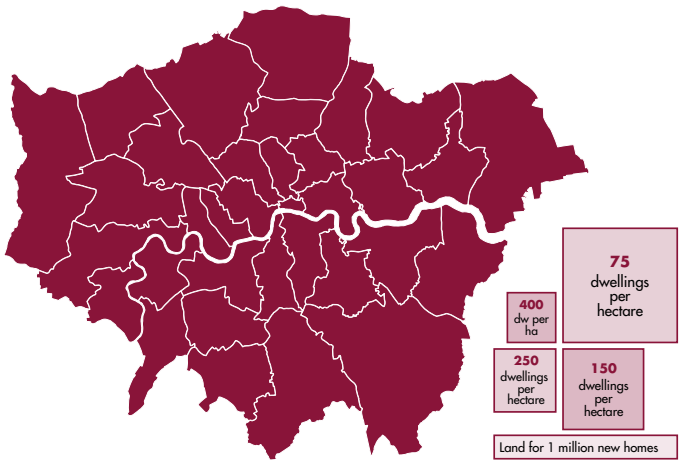
So, roughly how many new homes are needed? Based on academic and municipal projections, I estimate one million homes will be needed over a period of 20 years – representing an approximately 30 per cent addition to London's current stock.

Building a million new homes is not a trivial matter when it comes to land-take. Figure 2 shows the area which they would cover at various densities. But it does raise the question of which land we should build on.

Some experts have suggested redeveloping, expanding or converting existing properties at a higher density than they currently exist – known as 'intensification'. In particular, Ben Derbyshire, president of the Royal Institute of British Architects, proposed the intensification, through redevelopment, of privately-owned suburban homes in his 'Supurbia' manifesto. This concept may sound far-fetched, but I have recently seen such schemes coming through the planning system in outer London. My own estate, built in the 1950s, consists of 241 homes which replaced three, and where the buildings were (and still are) triple the height of their surrounding neighbours. Were these blocks welcomed in their time? Perhaps not: but they are very popular now. Having said that, suburban redevelopment is likely to be a slow and sporadic burn, as myriad land ownerships are in play.

Publicly-owned housing estates have been targeted as easier prospects to 'intensify' and redevelop in recent years, but the understandable popular backlash, as well as the sheer cost and logistics of doing this, means only slim returns in terms of the volume of new homes. So policymakers and developers should be looking at other land to build these new homes, such old retail parks, industrial areas, and yes, we should probably look at some of the less useful open space.

Figure 2 Density



But enough about land: policymakers and pro-development influencers are in denial about the essential dilemma of building new housing at higher densities in London. Put crudely, it makes technocratic sense to optimise scarce land, but the resulting homes – flats – are still not those aspired to by the majority here.

Shifting towards denser living

Let's face facts: density means flats. And flats mean shared spaces, a common contract, ambiguity and negotiation – things I experience daily where I share amenities with 500 others. The English find these things hard and unfamiliar, especially since most English children grow up in houses and simply do not have the tools (or the desire) to make flat-living work. (You only have to observe the 'lizard-brain behaviour' caused by 'not being able to park in front of your

house' to understand the intense discomfort which even sharing a street causes the Brits.)

In 2018, when interviewing residents of high-density schemes, the London School of Economics[32] discovered that: "Most … respondents said they thought schemes like theirs were a good long-term option for London housing. But … they did not necessarily consider it suitable for their own families in the long term."

Added to that, the law and lending regime associated with flats in England is second-class, offering less protection and more expensive finance options. To remedy this, new private rented sector developers are making better offers to their residents (typically including longer lets, more communal space and better services), but their built product is too often of the brutal long-corridor-single-aspect variety. So on both an emotional and legal level, flats are still very much a poor relation to the house, and not an aspirational home for many. The central question of this chapter, and indeed for London's policymakers, is therefore: can we make that huge cultural shift towards denser living, and if so, what will enable that?

It is worth reminding ourselves at this point that 70 per cent of London households are childless, a fact which gets lost in the constant mantra about 'family housing'. Flats would therefore appear to be a sensible solution to the capital's housing need, if only empty-nesters could be persuaded to downsize – a topic which excites fervent emotions. Whilst a degree of extra space in our homes is inevitable, the scale of under-occupation in England is staggering: we could house the entire population again in its spare rooms. I have no doubt that a far more compelling 'large flat' offer for London's older citizens would make that redistribution more attractive.

Some Londoners might already be more open to denser living. Researchers point to an evolution in housing aspira-

tions, caused by younger people and worldwide migrants having quite different housing norms and expectations to previous generations. This broader-minded cohort (The Yes In My Back Yard movement being a good example) must be empowered and given a voice so that the needed cultural shift towards denser living can make swifter progress. To do this, could the valuable but disparate forces of the Association of Residential Management Agents, the Association of Residential Letting Agents and the leasehold advisory service, Lease, for instance, be combined into a nationally-sponsored Centre for Flat Living, which celebrates and champions communal life through advice and best practice?

Encouragingly, there are also some emerging trends in Londoners' lifestyles which could enable the supply of flats – namely, the rejection of the car (peak car was in the 1990s), not yet reflected in the parking ratios required by many outer boroughs, which preclude density. In zone 1, values allow a developer to tuck parking space underground; in zone 5, that is just not viable. We may see the demise of the privately-owned car during this half century – but the reality is we are building new homes now. Outer boroughs need to be persuaded of recent evidence that younger people don't own cars and more to the point, perhaps more of those people need to be sitting on councils making the decisions now.

But a shift towards flat living does also require confronting the likelihood that higher density schemes attract a greater cost of management and maintenance than houses, and those costs cannot be deferred. Both my own data and the various studies online are not yet adequate to prove this point definitively, but shared areas, lifts, and maintenance access to high upper floors imply higher running costs for flats in the long term. Mid-rise homes must therefore be designed at the outset to reduce long-term cost. This means spending

more on robust materials at the outset as well as keeping all moving parts (lifts, ventilation etc) as simple as possible. It is striking that Peabody's 150-year-old tenements are still serviceable in the 21st century, largely due to their solid (but characterful) simplicity.

High-rise blocks are almost certainly a more expensive form both to build and manage and may therefore only be appropriate for those on higher incomes. Is this perhaps acceptable in moderation, provided that the receiving community gets an amazing new workspace or park? The Royal Institute of British Architects' 1955 High Flats Symposium[33] papers clearly pointed towards higher costs of construction and maintenance for high-rise homes. This advice was dismissed by both politicians and architects, the former obsessed with delivering numbers, and the latter over-excited about finally getting to 'do modernism' in the UK. The research needs an urgent and comprehensive update, and this time, we need a national debate on the findings.

This brings us to the concerns of those who don't live in the homes but who must accept them into their local neighbourhood or city. New flatted blocks, whether five or 40 storeys high, are not just unfamiliar forms within their suburban context: the taller ones can also be seen for miles across the city. Dense doesn't necessarily mean tall, but inevitably 'tall' happens: mid-rise designs will always provoke the challenge to 'go higher on that corner'. In my experience, buildings up to about eight storeys may receive a cautious welcome; but for taller blocks, there is a narrative which runs along these lines: "They're for the rich. They don't feel like London. They'll be empty. They're unsafe. They blight the London skyline. They aren't communities. The ones from the 1970s were problematic. They create wind and noise effects. They're the thin end of the wedge (one tall building inspiring many). The infrastructure can't cope. They're just for profit".

Overcoming this keenly-felt 'local acceptance' challenge seems daunting, but is the key element of the cultural shift which I believe can and should happen and which requires concerted leadership.

Recommendations

The citizens of Toronto, Vancouver or Melbourne may scratch their heads at these various technical barriers and at the societal hostility; much of their new build housing is in high rise blocks, and the fabric of society (and indeed of the buildings) does not yet seem to have broken down. So is it possible to overcome the adversarial voices coming from some quarters, rebuild trust and enable a new generation of enthusiastic flat-dwellers to rise up in London? Probably, but the effort has to be strengthened and come loud and clear from our city government.

We are housing 2.5 million new people amongst 8.7 million existing residents: if this were a corporate merger, it would have a dedicated 'transformation team' and psychological counselling attached. The absence of such a campaign means that each and every housing project in London is needlessly set alight by the same fundamental flashpoints amongst locals: "The infrastructure can't cope. The traffic will be terrible. There's not enough room in the schools" etc. To move towards higher-density living in London, this is where I would start:

- A very simple and clear narrative about London's growth and the trade-offs needed to achieve an equitable use of land needs to be articulated by the Greater London Authority (GLA).
- A clear and unapologetic 'infrastructure enhancement programme' which celebrates its existence, championed

by TfL. Londoners need to be kept up to date with what's being built in their city – and why. (Crossrail and the Tideway tunnel should have been causes for civic pride, not constant brickbats).

- It would be useful to have a published league table of developer quality scores which inform public land procurement decisions for the development of higher density schemes, using the mayor's design advocates, of which I myself am one.
- There must also be enhanced status for flat living via a dedicated national centre with local presence, dealing with legal protection, mortgage finance, tenancy security, and the promotion of self-management, including model rules and covenants.
- An enhanced understanding of long-term costs for high density schemes would be useful to inform early design and specification decisions, through an expert study sponsored by the GLA.
- It would also be beneficial to have long-term financial viability plans (including management assumptions) set out by all development organisations and required by all planning authorities.
- Finally, a set of pre-conditions should be required for schemes at higher densities, including environmental responsibility, a locally-driven public offer and zero parking.

So that is my peaceful path to fairer growth: but I want to sound a warning shot. I'm seeing ugly, lazy, greedy schemes coming through the system. I'm hearing some private rented sector developers holding planners to ransom with the sacred cow that 'only highly efficient schemes are viable' – the outcome being bulky buildings with long corridors and large proportions of single aspect homes. When build-to-sell

developers are quizzed at design stage about service charges, sinking funds and maintenance plans, they often look blank as if that is not something they have worked through.

London already contains many high-density exemplars, my favourites being the art deco blocks from the 1930s such as Dolphin Square in Pimlico, Dorset Court in Marylebone and Du Cane Court in Balham. These characterful blocks achieve 350 to 450 dwellings per hectare whilst offering generous public and private amenities, and seldom exceeding 10 storeys. What we need to see very soon is attractive, liveable high density like this – some schemes London's outer borough cabinets can get behind – or it'll continue to be the angry of TW1 and IG1 manning the barricades.

Fair and responsible land-use intensification is at the heart of this chapter; but whilst acknowledging that is it necessary now, is it sustainable as a longer-term civic goal? Natural resource depletion, a pressing issue now much at the forefront of public discussion, is inextricably intertwined with the consideration of when and how London's growth plateaus. The path to fairer growth which we are seeking now will more easily be found if we can see the journey ahead, and the destination: a city which thrives and regenerates whether or not it grows.[34]

13. A MATTER OF TRUST: LONDON'S REGENERATION CHALLENGE

Jo Negrini

In recent years, regeneration schemes have been dogged by controversy and claims of gentrification and social cleansing. But there is another way. If it is firmly rooted in local communities, regeneration can unlock opportunities for all of our citizens and safeguard what makes our communities special.

Regeneration isn't what it used to be. It means very different things to different people – and for many now comes hand in hand with feelings of uncertainty and mistrust.

And that shift in perception isn't confined to London alone. If you look at other global cities, whether that's New York, Paris or Sydney, you can see examples of the polarised opinions – protests and praise – regeneration brings. Even the word itself embodies some of that conflict, based as it is on the Latin 'regenerare', which means to 'create again'.

But should regenerating an area really be about creating it again? To me, at its very best, regeneration should be centred on how we plan to invest in, and grow, the existing identity and vibrancy of our great communities and spaces. We need to build on what we have rather than starting from scratch.

The reality of 2019 is that, for a lot of people, day-to-day life is simply getting tougher.

With the impact of welfare reform, the roll-out of universal credit and the rising cost of poor-quality rental accom-

modation, it is clear that poverty is rising. Needs are becoming more complex and there is an increasing demand for – and strain on – public services. Yet it is often our poorest boroughs, the ones that are under the most pressure, that find themselves earmarked as the next big place for regeneration to take place.

That fuels the controversy around regeneration. To overcome it, we need to make sure that regeneration brings opportunities for everyone involved – residents old and new. No one should be left behind.

London has always been known for the diversity of its communities. Areas so undeniably different that they feel plane rides apart yet share the same transport zone. From Maida Vale to Mile End and Golders Green to Greenwich, London is a city of contrasts.

But many of London's newest developments look and feel the same, as if they were designed to fit a footprint not the place itself. It could be argued that this is a symptom of developers simply rolling out fixed portfolios, rather than looking at the uniqueness of our spaces. It is from a sense that profit is being put before the people and the place – whether this is assumption or reality, exception or trend – that much of the public distrust of regeneration schemes springs.

Finding a new balance and challenging the negative perceptions of regeneration to show and evidence, the opportunities it can offer is a future challenge that we all share, whether we work for local or national government, the voluntary or private sector.

Croydon's story: protecting and growing our identity

Right now, Croydon is in the middle of a £5.25bn regeneration programme. And, as a council, we consider ourselves to be the brokers of what that really means for our borough.

Councils have a responsibility to protect the identity of their communities, to make sure that everyone has a stake in what investment will really mean for their future and to guarantee that growth doesn't make their area become less unique. Each place will have its own unique attributes: in our case, we have placed culture at the heart of our regeneration activity.

Plans to develop our cultural spaces, cultivate events programmes and nurture local talent sit alongside key refurbishment projects, from multi-million-pound theatre developments to supporting the opening of Boxpark's first south London venture.

We want to be a place where creative industries continue to flourish alongside physical regeneration – and our new status as a one of London's first Creative Enterprise Zones, means we are on track to make that happen. In application that means lots of things, from welcoming and incentivising start-ups with reduced business rates and subsidising studio space for the under-25s, to offering young people paid work placements with leading arts organisations. Our cultural offer has been woven into Croydon's trajectory right from the start.

More people mean more homes

There is no denying that many parts of London are growing, at pace, and need development to happen. But crucially, we need to ensure the right development – development that is planned with consideration for the impact it will have on our existing communities. This must involve thinking about the people that already live here, as well as those that will join us in the years to come, whether that's to live or work.

Councils should be doing things differently and using a range of approaches when it comes to providing homes.

In our case, we recently formed an independent charity, Croydon Affordable Homes, which helps us make homes available to families that were previously in temporary accommodation by providing them at a cost that is no more than 65 per cent of average market rent. Like other councils across the UK we also decided to set up our own development company. Established in 2016, Brick by Brick (BXB) is fast-tracking our ability to deliver affordable, well-designed homes to rent or buy – with all units available only to Croydon residents for a set period of time.

Such initiatives can allow councils to react to acute housing need, while also guaranteeing that we can make the most of the return from development activity for our residents. All profits are reinvested back into the borough, whether that is to build more homes or to support front-line services.

Given the scale of growth, we know success is not just about councils providing homes, it is also about attracting investment, encouraging others to build – and build responsibly. Councils should be setting standards for the type of housing and development we want to see in our boroughs and working with developers to ensure they fulfil their responsibilities to provide affordable housing, and to contribute to the infrastructure and social fabric our growing communities need, including transport, health centres or schools.

The development of a site in our borough, Taberner House, shows how this collaborative approach can work in practice. Here, 500 new homes, almost half of which will be designated as affordable, will be accompanied by a new public realm, children's play space and café. Developers have worked closely with local people to understand their ideas and priorities, ensuring these are reflected in the final design.

But making a success of regeneration is not just about what's new. In moving forward we must not create a gulf

between what was and what will be. Councils must ensure, as we are doing in Croydon, that they raise housing standards right across the board to protect private tenants and tackle and penalise rogue landlords.

Good regeneration has to be the product of partnerships. In our case, we established a growth zone in the centre of the borough with support from central government, the Greater London Authority, the mayor of London and Transport for London. As part of that collaboration, a 12-year, £500m programme of work will ensure we are able to cope with the changes and challenges growth will bring. That includes key projects such as transport and public realm improvements, as well as vital upgrades to our infrastructure.

In London, it is important not to draw lines across boroughs to mark where regeneration stops and starts. There should be no boundary that confines our investment. Across London boroughs, district centres have their own character and distinctiveness, so they are a big part of planned improvements. To make sure everyone is benefiting, we have to look wider than just a single town centre.

An example of this can be found in Thornton Heath, a busy community where we commissioned locally-based artists to develop murals and artworks on prominent flank walls. A bold expression of the area's vibrancy that happened alongside architectural improvements to shopfronts and the general public realm. But true regeneration runs much deeper than the streetscape and physical environment alone. Intelligence told us that a high number of people in the area needed targeted support from the council and NHS, particularly children, families and vulnerable adults. So, we are working together to bring in those services, committing resources to really shape the offer – creating a total package that's an honest reflection of the people that live there.

Councils must be focused on locality working, delivering in and amongst the neighbourhoods we serve. This is not about decentralisation per se – it is about working with residents and partners to design our services and spaces around the people that make up our distinct communities.

Regeneration needs a truly integrated approach to placemaking: a total place view that brings together the physical, social and economic dimensions, with people at the heart of all decision-making. These principles are not new, they go right back to the place-based government regeneration programmes of the 1990s such as New Deal for Communities, City Challenge and Estate Action. We need to learn from what's gone before, taking the good parts – the understanding that there are lots of players, that areas must be considered as a whole – and make them work to address today's challenges.

Regeneration cannot just be about 'creating again', instead it must be about strengthening what we already have and protecting what makes us what we are. It is an authentic, measured evolution that can only be achieved by giving everyone a voice and planning for sustainable growth. We are making sure that we can weather the challenges that modern cities face.

For all of us across the capital, that is one of regeneration's biggest challenges. We need to work together to protect the diversity and identity of London's communities, taking the opportunities that will secure their place in the city's future whilst respecting the people and places that make them what they are now.

14. SMART THINKING: USING DATA TO UNLOCK NEW HOMES

Anna Powell-Smith

We are still not building enough new homes and we need better use of information to tell us the reasons why. Investing in data infrastructure could offer new opportunities for London to tackle its housing shortage. Where national policymakers have failed, the capital could lead the way.

'Smart cities' are ubiquitous. But no city is smart enough yet to have found a solution for the one of the most pressing challenges: the spiralling cost of urban housing. In fact, housing costs are a flashpoint in the same cities where the tech industry is most visible – San Francisco, New York, Berlin and London.

This chapter examines the perils and promises of data, especially relating to London's ability to offer all its citizens a decent affordable home. It examines why improving data on housing, planning and land is a particular opportunity for London, and why investing in data infrastructure is as vital as physical infrastructure. And it argues that for London to solve its homebuilding crisis – which has been deeply resistant to change at a national level – it must boldly take on vested interests around housing, land ownership and geospatial data.

The mayor of London can deliver more high-quality and affordable homes. But to do this, he must help assemble a solid evidence base around homebuilding, to understand why homes

are not being built, and tackle the causes of the problem. Where national policymakers have failed, London can lead the way.

Housebuilding: a wicked problem

Today, 81 per cent of Londoners believe that the city's housing is in crisis.[35] The mayor of London recognises the scale of the problem: "The housing crisis is the greatest challenge facing London today, and tackling it is one of the mayor's biggest priorities." The draft New London Plan set ambitious plans for building, identifying the capacity for 65,000 new homes in London per year of which 50 per cent should be genuinely affordable.[36]

But how achievable is this vision? Across the UK, the government has a target of 300,000 new homes per year, yet has consistently failed to meet it: new completions currently hover around 180,000. In London, only around 29,000 homes are built per year.

There is much disagreement over the causes of the gap. Serious attempts to analyse the issues often fall at the first hurdle: obtaining basic information. So while the public and policymakers argue over the best course of action – building on the green belt, loosening planning restrictions, subsidising buyers – the number of homes built remains stubbornly low.

One certainty is that because of this lack of information, land markets are opaque and inefficient, with multiple intermediaries and much use of private treaties.[37] This contributes to a highly concentrated homebuilding sector – just eight homebuilders now build half of the country's homes – in which new entrants do not have equal access to information.

A lack of data

Previous attempts to open up information have largely failed. In one example, back in 2014, analysis by Shelter and KPMG

identified that private 'option agreements' over land – in which a landowner privately sells a developer the exclusive right to build on the land in future – meant the market could not function properly:[38] "Private 'option agreements' between landowners and developers mean that much of the potential development land is tied up in private agreements hidden from competitors, local residents and public authorities… This uncertainty makes development a risky business."

In the housing white paper of 2017, the government agreed to consult and legislate on improving the transparency of private option agreements.[39] Yet in April 2019, no consultation has been opened, and option agreements remain secret – we still have no idea how many such agreements are in operation, or where.

Data on land ownership is especially hard to access. Finding out the owner of a property costs £3 per title, so to obtain information for the whole country would cost £72m; and even government bodies must pay to access this Land Registry data. Planning and housing bodies have repeatedly stated that they need better access to ownership data, without success, saying: "The wider economic, social and environmental benefits of making land ownership data open could be vast... Having the ability to establish who owns the land and property around them is a vital tool for communities keen to take back control of their own destinies."[40]

This lack of ownership and market information also makes it hard for local authorities to plan properly, as the National Housing Federation argues.[41] "A lack of transparent information about the land market makes it more difficult for local authorities to understand and operate in their local market. Not knowing who controls land makes it harder to plan strategically and identify a five-year land supply. A lack of clear market price data reduces their ability to enforce affordable housing requirements. The government should take steps to

make the land market more transparent, by requiring public bodies to collect and publish information on land prices, transactions, ownership and options agreements."

Whilst we must keep up the pressure on national government to make land ownership transparent, London is already leading the way with the planning system. The GLA's London Development Database (LDD) automation project aims to collect clean and useful data, by collaborating with local authorities, placing the burden of data collection on planning applicants rather than civil servants, and developing a standard in the open.[42]

The project makes sensible use of common identifiers, including Land Registry title numbers to help join land ownership information with planning applications. It should also help the public understand and engage with planning, by making it easier to reuse planning data in public-facing projects through a proposed 'live planning data hub'. More investment in projects like this is urgently needed.

Beyond homebuilding, data could also be used to improve other aspects of London's housing crisis such as the private rented sector, as demonstrated through a flagship pilot by the GLA and Nesta's London Office of Data Analytics (LODA) in 2016 and 2017. This project aimed to identify unlicensed houses in multiple occupation (HMOs), using machine learning techniques to predict which houses should be inspected.

The project began by asking inspectors to identify typical warning signs for a possible HMO, then collated housing datasets across 12 boroughs. The project trained a machine learning model on the data and evaluated the results. Unfortunately, only four of the 12 boroughs generated useful results.

The report on the final project[43] explains that poor data resulted in this low success rate:

- **Lack of 'common identifiers':** The data scientists struggled to link the datasets, because of a lack of common identifiers between housing datasets. The report says: "Accurately linking different types of housing and property data to a unique identifier (the UPRN) was one of the biggest challenges".
- **Local authorities did not gather data on rental properties:** Data on private rental sector properties, which could have helped filter out owner-occupied and other ineligible property types, was 'a critical missing piece of the puzzle'.
- **Data was messy and inconsistent:** The data submitted by boroughs required significant cleaning, processing and merging. Each borough used different methods to record data and defined an HMO differently.

This was a promising analysis, but the problem simply could not be made tractable. This shows how basic data infrastructure is not an abstract problem, but a real one. If data is messy, missing or cannot be joined together, then innovative techniques such as machine learning are no use, and government cannot innovate.

Recommendations: Evidence, infrastructure and change

So why is it so hard to get basic data? There are several problems. Firstly, the vast array of legacy software means local authorities have siloed systems and manage data differently. Secondly, both the Land Registry and Ordnance Survey treat their data as an asset to be monetised: as a result, crucial information such as land ownership boundaries costs money. Ordnance Survey claims intellectual property ownership over UPRNs, which means that key housing datasets are not linked to these vital identifiers.

But there is now an opportunity for change. The Geospatial Commission has been founded to make it easier to access geospatial data, and is looking at opening up UPRNs. And the National Infrastructure Commission recommends that data should be viewed as a key part of the UK's infrastructure.[44]

My final recommendations for the mayor are as follows:

- **Shake up the status quo.** Use the Greater London Authority's position to pioneer a new evidence-based approach to building more housing, by using planning and other data to show where homebuilding is delayed. The results should inform a national debate. Share publicly the datasets created, such as those on planning and developer commitments, to enable as much analysis as possible.
- **Fix the plumbing.** Support projects like the London Development Database automation project that improve data infrastructure, while also delivering real benefits to citizens. Make the case for similar projects in other areas – such as a register of landlords – to support the goal in the mayor's housing strategy of a better deal for renters.
- **Land ownership data should be public.** The mayor of London should add his voice to the growing number of organisations calling for change on geospatial and land ownership data. This data belongs to citizens, and should be treated as a common good, not an asset to be monetised. Without this data, we can't properly understand and fix our housing crisis, or use modern technology to improve citizens' lives.

Londoners have suffered most from the effects of the nation's housing crisis. But, with a bold new approach to data in a 'smart city', London also has the biggest opportunity to make change happen.

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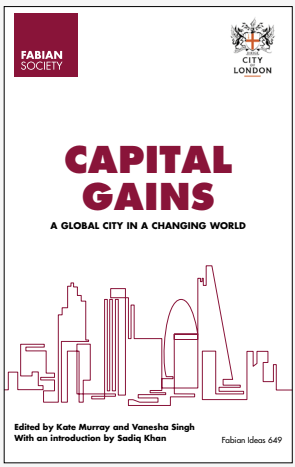

Capital gains

A global city in a changing world

How to use this discussion guide

The guide can be used in various ways by Fabian local societies, local political party meetings and trade union branches, student societies, NGOs and other groups.

- You might hold a discussion among local members or invite a guest speaker – for example, an MP, academic or local practitioner to lead a group discussion.
- Some different key themes are suggested. You might choose to spend 15–20 minutes on each area, or decide to focus the whole discussion on one of the issues for a more detailed discussion.

A discussion could address some or all of the following questions:

1. This pamphlet outlines a number of the challenges facing London. Which would you prioritise and how would you like to see central and London government respond?

2. London is a global business success story – but many of its citizens have failed to benefit from its growth. How do we create an economy that works for all Londoners?

3. Violence and knife crime are taking a terrible toll across the country, including in London after police cuts. How can we make our streets safer and support the individuals, families and communities who are bearing the brunt of the violence?

4. Reclaiming city streets in favour of people rather than cars, would says Adam Harrison, be a difficult but potentially gamechanging move. Do you agree?

5. Regeneration and high housing costs mean the character of some of London's communities is changing fast. How can we best ensure that regeneration works for all and that the rich mix which is the capital's strength is maintained?

Please let us know what you think

Whatever view you take of the issues, we would very much like to hear about your discussion. Please send us a summary of your debate (perhaps 300 words) to info@fabians.org.uk

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Capital gains

A global city in a changing world

London is a world-leading city and a British success story – but it cannot stand still. The capital faces major new economic, social and environmental challenges over the next decade and beyond. How should we respond to make sure that the city works for all of its citizens?

This collection outlines some of the big ideas which could shape the city's future. Contributors examine some of London's greatest challenges, from unaffordable housing to traffic-clogged streets and from violent crime to health inequality. They suggest radical but practical ways of ensuring that the capital remains a great place to live and work. They explore too what new powers the city might need and how politicians, policy-makers, businesses and communities can work together to ensure that London thrives.

With an introduction by the mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, and contributions from Claire Bennie, David Buck, Karen Buck MP, Miatta Fahnbulleh, Sam Gurney, Adam Harrison, Sarah Jones MP, Omar Khan, David Lindo, Catherine McGuinness, Jo Negrini, Frances O'Grady, Anna Powell-Smith, Tony Travers and Madani Younis.

Fabian Ideas 649
Subject: Politics
ISBN 978-0-7163-0649-8
£9.95