

KEEPING THE PROMISE - A MANIFESTO FOR LONDON

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FOREWORD

On the 5 May 2016 London will vote for a new mayor and Assembly. With no incumbent standing, this will be the first election in 16 years ago, where London is guaranteed to get a new mayor and so a fresh start. This manifesto offers a brief overview of what we see as the main challenges and opportunities facing London and sets out a bold but practical policy platform for addressing these.

Centre for London looks at London in the round – we try to understand how economic, social and environmental issues fit together and develop ideas to make London more prosperous, inclusive and sustainable. For this reason, this manifesto is wide ranging.

We recognise that the mayor’s statutory responsibilities are in fact relatively limited – the Mayor of New York, Paris and Tokyo have much many more powers. But we have not limited our recommendations to the mayor’s formal powers. As both Ken Livingstone and Boris Johnson demonstrated, the mayor has a great deal of informal ‘soft power’. Indeed, we argue that the next mayor will only be successful if they succeed in engaging and working closely with London businesses, boroughs and public services, voluntary groups and citizens, as well of course, as central government. London government needs to become still more open and engaged.

Ben Rogers
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1

THIS MANIFESTO

London's economic and population growth would be the envy of many cities, both in the UK and overseas. The city bounced back fast after the 2007/08 financial crisis, and London's global reputation as a centre for finance has been complemented by its universities, a rapidly expanding visitor economy, growing tech, creative and life science sectors. For a generation of young people, London is a powerful magnet.

But London's growth has not been painless. House building has lagged behind household growth, and prices have spiralled out of reach for many Londoners. Growth is also placing pressure on workspace and infrastructure. Affordable workspace is becoming scarcer, ridership on the Underground is reaching record levels, roads are more congested than ever, and air quality is some of the worst in Europe.

London's next mayor needs sophisticated solutions to the complex and interwoven challenges we face. Otherwise the city that has attracted so many talented people for so many years may start to lose its spark.

This manifesto suggests ideas for the next mayor. Our suggestions are gathered under four loose headings:

- **A well-governed city** with the powers and resources it needs to meet its challenges, and an open and creative culture.
- **A living city** that can accommodate a growing population, with the housing, transport, social and environmental infrastructure this requires.
- **A working city** that can continue to attract the cream of the world's talent, and which can remain resilient in a period of rapid change, while enabling all citizens to share in prosperity.
- **A sociable city** that sustains a rich and inclusive common life, with attractive and lively streets, parks and neighbourhoods, an active civil society, and user-focused, accountable public services.

2

**A WELL-
GOVERNED
CITY**

The new Mayor of London – elected on 5 May 2016 – will naturally want to get to work delivering on their manifesto commitments and making life better for Londoners. But their ability to do so will depend crucially on the effectiveness of the GLA and London's public sector more generally. London's first two mayors have both been high-profile figures, who in different ways acted as successful champions of the city and helped establish the mayoralty as a serious political office. But neither was particularly strategic in their approach to London government.

A new mayor, then, will need to devote serious time and energy to strengthening London government. In order to do so, they will have to push in two directions at once. First, they will have to create a stronger executive team and a more open, engaged and creative system of governance – one able to draw on London's formidable collective intelligence and make the most of the city's amazing assets. Second, they will need to secure more powers for the GLA and the boroughs from central government.

There are at least four aspects to creating a more effective GLA. To begin with, a new mayor will need to review the internal workings of City Hall. The mayor has power to directly appoint up to 12 staff, and approves the overall structure of the GLA in consultation with the London Assembly. The mayor will need to think carefully about how to use their direct appointments, and how City Hall's staff and responsibilities should be configured under them. Traditional function-based structures have their merits, but so do more innovative outcome-focused ones. While a new mayor will want to make some appointments quickly, they should take their time over others. Mayoral appointments are crucial and a new mayor should be looking to build a team of the very highest calibre, with a range of skill sets and experience from across the UK and indeed the world.

Additionally, a new mayor will want to think about which responsibilities are kept in-house and which

are given to arms-length agencies. Below, we suggest that the mayor should create an agency for housing and regeneration, to sit alongside agencies like the Metropolitan Police, Transport for London, the London Fire Brigade or London and Partners. As and when the GLA gains more powers – over schools or health for instance – there could be arguments for creating further agencies. This would allow the mayoralty to remain a strategic body, guiding rather than running large organisations, and establishing clear accountability arrangements.

Second, the mayor will need to improve the way the GLA engages with the rest of London. London now has a London Enterprise Panel (LEP) – a board that draws together representatives of large and small business groups, universities, economists and infrastructure experts, to advise the mayor on economic strategy. The LEP has deepened connections between London government and business, and a new mayor should consider adapting this model for other purposes. Does London need an equivalent for civil society – a body that would connect London government to London’s many trusts, foundations, charities and neighbourhood groups? The mayor and London’s boroughs work well together, but in what feels like a fairly traditional way. Are there opportunities for the mayor to institute new, more creative ways of collaborating with the boroughs and other London public services? The mayor will also want to deepen joint-working with the counties, cities and districts of the Greater South East – they depend on London and London certainly can’t meet its challenges without working closely with them.

Third, a new mayor should be looking to strengthen London government’s use of new technology, its capacity to develop new approaches to tackling problems, and its engagement with London’s citizens. As we argued in our already published *Tech Manifesto*, the mayor should appoint a Chief Digital Officer (CDO). The CDO’s remit would be a broad one, including improving London’s poor digital connectivity and tackling its

chronic shortage of tech skills. But the CDO should also be tasked with helping the GLA and London government generally to make more of the collaborative, participatory potential of digital technology, including participatory budgeting and the crowdfunding of good ideas. In addition the mayor should help London government improve its capacity to develop and test innovative approaches to tackling problems. Many cities have put innovation teams and innovation centres at the heart of their government. New York has set up a Civic Hall – a new centre for the city’s civic innovation community. Seoul has established the Seoul Innovation Bureau, tasked with engaging the city and its residents in improving city life. And Paris has embarked on a bold exercise in digitally-enabled public engagement, including allocating a fifth of its capital budget through participatory budgeting. A recent survey of the digital strengths of global cities ranked London as an overall top performer, alongside New York and Helsinki. But London scored badly on digital government, provision of ‘digital by default’ services, and engagement of citizens and groups in policymaking.¹ When it comes to digital public services, innovation and engagement, London has a lot to learn from other cities.

Finally, the mayor should also consider how to strengthen City Hall’s financial grip and capacity for financial innovation. The mayor and his agencies spend more than £11 billion every year. As public expenditure continues to tighten, the mayor should consider a senior advisor to operate across the GLA Group to ensure that money is being well spent, that opportunities for savings and investments are realised, and that the city can make the most of its spending and investment power, attracting public and private funds to deliver mayoral priorities.

As well as creating a more effective, engaged and creative London government, the Mayor will need to lead efforts to win more self-government for London.

Since 2000, the formal powers of the Greater London Authority have been expanded. The Mayor has

been given enhanced powers over housing, policing, planning, public land, and the establishment of development corporations, in addition to the original suite of powers over strategic planning policy, transport and economic development.

But the mayoralty continues to be underpowered, both in comparison to its all-encompassing remit – to secure the social and economic wellbeing of London, and its environmental improvement – and in comparison to other major world cities. This is particularly true with respect to taxation. A staggering 66 per cent of London’s income comes from central government, compared with 30.9 per cent in New York, and only 7.7 per cent in Tokyo. Central government also imposes narrow constraints on the ability of London government to borrow money, even if this is to invest in meeting the city’s long-term infrastructure needs. The Mayor of London is also unusual in having no or very little control over education, health, or the criminal justice system, among other things.

Both Mayors of London have lobbied government for more power, and have seen significant successes in the 2007 Greater London Authority Act and the 2011 Localism Act, though the findings of the London Finance Commission (set up by Boris Johnson in 2012) have yet to be implemented. A new mayor will have to redouble these efforts. The mayor should view winning more devolution for London as a major objective of their administration. It will be very hard to achieve other objectives without it. The mayor should also continue to argue strongly for further fiscal devolution, focusing on property taxes (including Council Tax revaluation) as a first priority, alongside the power to set new consumption-based taxes within the city. The latter might include taxes on unhealthy food, or on hotel room occupancy, as other cities have pioneered.

Winning devolution will involve building on the alliance that already exists with boroughs, business, and civic groups, and leading a carefully planned and focused campaign – one that sets out clear short,

medium and long-term demands on central government. It will be vital for the mayor to take the case to the rest of the nation, making common cause against the UK's over-centralised system of government and explaining how more power for London government will be good for the country as a whole.

Action to create a more effective GLA that works better with other parts of London, and action to win more power for London, must go hand-in-hand. There is no point in replacing government from Westminster with government from City Hall if the latter becomes an increasingly large and unwieldy bureaucracy. Central government is much more likely to devolve power to London if it is persuaded that the mayor has a serious plan to create a more effective and open system of London government.

3

A LIVING CITY

Londoners see housing as the biggest challenge facing the city according to recent Ipsos MORI polls: 54 per cent now cite it as the city's primary challenge, up from 37 per cent two years earlier.² Meeting London's growing housing needs will mean doubling house building from its current rate of around 20,000 homes per year, as well as building the right mix of homes. A challenge on this scale will require concerted action to open up new opportunities for house building and to ensure that they are grasped.

Land

Land supply in London is constrained. While the GLA has identified potential sites for around 450,000 homes, not all of these will be immediately available or viable for housing. But sites for new housing are not a finite resource; cities are eternally changing, and most of London's neighbourhoods see gradual redevelopment to reflect the city's changing needs. While some new developments have been of very high density, London is still a relatively low-density city overall, and there are locations across the capital where more housing could be introduced – through infill or redevelopment.

Existing neighbourhoods, particularly in town centres and around railway hubs, also offer huge opportunities: greater density in some of these locations would create more social and economic vitality, as well as more homes for Londoners. Planning and density regulations currently limit scope for intensification of development in existing neighbourhoods, especially in outer London. The government has announced plans to allow more extensions in London's suburban neighbourhoods; could regulations be relaxed further to allow additional floors to be added, where these can create a new home rather than a simple extension? In short, as the mayor's own Design Advisory Group has argued, a new mayor will need to establish a fundamental review of density policy in London. This will need to explore the case for increasing allowable densities, while strengthening policies and support to

ensure that higher-density schemes are well designed and that local infrastructure and services can cope with them.

London's 100 square kilometres of housing estates provide another potential source of new housing, which has been much discussed in recent months. Many estate redevelopment schemes have become mired in controversy in recent years, especially where 'viability' considerations have led to a loss of social and affordable housing. Residents and others have also questioned whether increases in housing could be achieved through infilling underused space in estates, mixing the old and the new, rather than wholesale demolition.

Whether in social housing estates or more mixed neighbourhoods, redevelopment needs to be planned in order to work with local communities to preserve and enhance local character, and to ensure that tangible benefits can be realised locally, rather than becoming abstracted to discussions about Section 106 agreements. Too often, the negative impacts of redevelopment are felt locally and the benefits are only realised at a borough-wide or metropolitan scale. The tide of public opinion is turning; the majority of Londoners now support more development in their local area. But a new mayor will need to look again at how policy can be reformed so that local people can be confident that they will benefit from new development.

Making the most of the opportunities we have should not blind us to the issue of London's green belt, which has set a limit to London's growth for more than 60 years by protecting areas of countryside around the capital. While many areas of green belt land are far from the popular image of Arcadian beauty, relaxing green belt restrictions entirely could lead to land speculation, unsustainable sprawl, and the neglect of important urban sites and opportunities. The next mayor should undertake a thorough review of the green belt, to allow for new *planned* development (rather than a speculative free-for-all), while enhancing the overall quality of green space around London. It is vital that development

is well planned, and that small designer developers, builders, and residents – not just the big house-builders – get to shape and build new communities. London and the rest of the South East has much to learn from the many high-quality urban extensions that have been built across the Channel, like Hammarby in Sweden and Freiburg in Germany.

Meeting London's housing needs is not a multiple-choice exercise, a matter of preference between use of existing sites, estate redevelopment, suburban intensification or selective green belt remodelling. There is no single solution. Working at all these scales and through all these strategies will be essential if London's growth is to be balanced, managed and in keeping with the city's complex character.

Building more homes

London's mayor will also need to intervene directly to build more homes. The mayor has established housing zones and mayoral development corporations to take on the planning and building of housing in priority locations, and the mayor's affordable housing programme is a significant funding source in its own right. Central Government cuts to the TfL grant – by 2020 TfL won't get any revenue grant at all – are also concentrating TfL's mind on developing its extensive property holdings.

It is widely acknowledged that London can't meet its housing challenge unless we can widen the range of housing providers. The volume housebuilders don't have the resources or the incentives to build at the scale we need to build. And housing associations, the other significant source of new homes, are grappling with the uncertain consequences of the government's decisions to cut social rents and allow their residents to buy their homes at a much-reduced price. Creating a more diverse house building market could lead to better, more varied and more innovative housing development.³ First, the mayor will have to support and encourage London's boroughs to get back into the business of

building homes. The only time since the establishment of the green belt that housing delivery approached the levels now required was in the 1960s and 70s, when the public sector built approximately three-quarters of all homes. Many boroughs are interested in building again, but they only built around 300 homes between them in 2014/15 – about 1 in 85 of all homes built.

Second, the mayor will need to further promote institutional investment into the private rental sector. A professional private rental sector could help increase the supply of homes catering to London's many young professionals. Third, the mayor will want to encourage the development of a new generation of small-scale developers. There could be real gains, in particular, in encouraging architects and other people with design skills to get into the business of house building.⁴

Finally, a new mayor will need to push for a more strategic approach to affordable housing in London. The mayor should continue to strengthen policy and funding for intermediate housing in the capital – for those hard-pressed working families who can't afford to buy or rent on the market but aren't entitled to low-income 'affordable housing'.⁵ And they should at least look at the case for pooling funding for affordable housing, especially developer contributions, and building more affordable housing in cheaper areas of the city as part of larger mixed communities.

All the mayoral candidates agree that the single most important task facing a new mayor will be to increase the supply of good-quality new housing in the capital. But, as can be seen from the analysis set out in this section, increasing the supply of new homes will demand action on a range of fronts. The development of new housing in a city like London is a remarkably complex business and typically involves partnership of an array of private companies, public and third sector bodies, the coming-together of a range of skills – including planning, finance, design, and community engagement – and the pooling of resources in the form of land and finance. While the boroughs can

lead in developing smaller sites, only the mayor has the authority and resources to lead in unlocking and developing the larger ones or in running pan-London programmes and initiatives.

Against this background, we believe the next mayor should establish a London-wide cross-disciplinary housing and regeneration agency. London's housing challenge is too great to be addressed by small planning, housing and transport teams working within the GLA (which is, in any case, intended to be a strategic authority). The agency would be tasked with unlocking and leading development in three types of area in particular: London's 30-plus 'Opportunity Areas' (run-down, mainly ex-industrial parts of the city with high development potential); areas opened by new transport infrastructure (Crossrail); and public land (TfL, NHS, etc). The agency would be expected to work closely with the boroughs, business and local communities and would need expertise not just in housing and planning, but also finance and community engagement. It would act as a resource for public authorities and developers across London, offering support in planning and delivering excellent regeneration projects, and as a resource for placemaking. An agency of this type could expect to attract world-class leadership.

Infrastructure

London's new housing must be planned alongside London's transport, social and environmental infrastructure. This may require some rethinking of the fundamentals of London's spatial plan, so that we can make the most of new and existing transport infrastructure and services as demand continues to rise. Since 2000, the London Plan has prioritised business growth in London's central activities zone and Canary Wharf, and has prioritised development in highly accessible brownfield 'opportunity areas'.

As set out above, some of London's biggest opportunities may not consist in empty sites, but in

selective and sensitive redevelopment of what exists. There may be opportunities for more intelligent use of constrained public transport infrastructure by allowing new business centres to grow across London – as they are already in locations like Stratford and Croydon – so that London’s increasingly integrated orbital and radial transport services are put to best use at all times of day and in all directions. The next mayor should push forward projects like Crossrail 2, extensions to the Bakerloo Line and Gospel Oak to Barking Line, and explore new ways to fund these, including by capturing long-term rises in land value (through ownership, taxation or planning levies) to repay the initial costs of investment.

London needs to be smarter about its transport infrastructure, building on the successes it has achieved over the past sixteen years. London Overground has made a huge difference to the quality, frequency and capacity of suburban rail services across east London, and should be allowed to take over and upgrade south London rail services.⁶ Following the comprehensive report submitted by the Davies Commission, a decision is urgently needed on London’s airport capacity.

We should also rethink London’s streets. A growing population is putting growing pressure on London’s finite road space, which needs to be shared by cars, pedestrians, cyclists, lorries and other road users. While car use has declined by 10 per cent over the last decade, despite London’s rapid population growth,⁷ the impacts of congestion on Londoners’ health and the London economy demand further action. London should rebalance demand through an extended but more nuanced approach to road user charging, the further promotion of cycling and walking, and night-time deliveries.

London’s streets are more than conduits; they are part of the city’s public realm. Boris Johnson set up a Roads Task Force, a cross-London partnership of TfL, boroughs, private sector and voluntary groups to plan a better future for London’s much neglected roads and

streets. A new mayor will need to build on its work, and lead a drive in particular to make our streets more liveable by promoting pavement widening, tree planting and greater use of car clubs, cycling, and walking. Too many of our streets function largely as car parks.

4

A WORKING CITY

London's economy lies at the heart of the city's success. The City of London's traditional position as a centre of global financial services was strengthened and consolidated by the deregulation of the 1980s and the growth of Canary Wharf as a second central business district. While the sector is still recovering from the reputational damage caused by the 2008 financial crisis and subsequent scandals, and remains vulnerable to global shocks and international relocations, it has rebuilt capacity and employment levels quickly.

At the same time, London's role as a centre for higher education, science, creative industries, design, tech and tourism has been growing strongly, particularly in the last four years.⁸ To maintain this success, London needs to enable innovation, and ensure that creative businesses have the space to take root and grow.

Alongside expansion of knowledge-intensive businesses, the service sector is undergoing rapid change in London as in many other big cities around the world. New tech-enabled business models like Uber and Airbnb are transforming the way people use the city and its services, and also changing the relationship between workers and employers. They are based on a flexibility that works for many people, but also leaves some low-paid workers vulnerable. This digitisation of London is likely to accelerate in coming years, and have an impact on every area of urban life – from how we work, to how we move about the city, to how we participate in civic life.⁹

London will have to continue to promote its burgeoning digital economy. *London's Digital Future*, the tech manifesto prepared by Tech London Advocates, TechUK and Centre for London, argued that London should retain its openness to innovation, while also building stronger digital infrastructure and creating a stronger investment culture.¹⁰

But the mayor will need to go further in several respects. Could mutuals and co-operatives provide a fairer and more locally-rooted way of developing new businesses and fomenting innovation? Could the mayor champion better social provision for 'independent

workers'? Could the financial expertise of the City and Canary Wharf fund social and environmental innovation?

As well as being bold in its approach to new technology, London needs to strengthen its existing clusters of innovation and wealth creation, ensuring that they have access to the highly-skilled workers that they need. London's universities have a vital role to play here, as does national immigration policy: recent restrictions on foreign students staying in London mean that we may be educating the next generation of inventors and entrepreneurs, but also that their expertise is being exported rather than retained in London.

London also needs to find ways to bridge the gap between the increasingly high level of qualifications and skills required in growth industries and the skills of some of its poorer citizens. London's schools have achieved incredible improvements in recent years, but many Londoners still risk being left behind. London has one of the highest levels of youth unemployment in the UK, with a particular concentration in some black and ethnic minority communities. It also has the lowest level of apprenticeships in the UK, even if this partly reflects the number of young people who come to London to look for work as well as the city's population of marginalised young people.¹¹

The Mayor of London should push for control of funding for post-16 education and training, so that these services can be tailored to the needs of London's dynamic economy. Training should also be integrated with new development, so that local economies benefit from new investment in infrastructure or the creation of new centres for enterprise and entrepreneurship. The mayor should also be given oversight of London's schools, currently split between three government-appointed commissioners, so that schools and further education for young people are overseen by a single Commissioner for London Schools and Young People. No one is arguing for a return to the old days of the Inner London Education Authority, when London

government actually ran schools. But there is an important role for the mayor in overseeing the supply of school places, setting and maintaining standards (especially for academies and free schools), and ensuring that London's school leavers are well prepared to take advantages of all the opportunities London has to offer.

Finally, London needs an economy that is open to all. Opening up visas for highly-skilled workers should be accompanied by a commitment to more apprenticeships for Londoners, so London's economy continues to compete internationally while supporting aspiration at home. A London Minimum Wage would enable the capital to maximise earnings for low-paid Londoners while maintaining overall job numbers.¹² The high cost of childcare in London remains a major barrier to employment for many people, and is a particular issue for women living in social housing in London. Housing associations, local authorities and other community organisations should prioritise the provision of affordable and flexible childcare to unlock the potential of London's workforce.¹³

As London's economy changes, the workspace needed is changing too. London's growing expertise in tech, life sciences and urban engineering disciplines has created the opportunity for economic growth in innovation districts, where universities or other research institutions act as anchors for a potent mix of incubator space, start-ups and co-working spaces. These are supported by the cafés, bars and cultural facilities that draw and retain creative talent.

Some workspaces are coming under pressure. The urgent need for new housing, and government's relaxation of 'permitted development' rules, have led to significant loss of what was traditionally seen as industrial land. Though traditional manufacturing is unlikely to return to London, these sites have found new lives in an economy where design and making are converging, and form part of London's balanced offer of business space.

Music venues and other creative spaces face similar problems; the pressure to maximise value through building more houses is exacerbated by the tensions that arise in a dense city between long-established music venues and new residents who may object to the late-night noise that these can generate. Preserving London's nightlife in perpetuity is unfeasible and undesirable. But the mayor needs to promote London's music venues and protect them from over-zealous policing and local authority licensing committees.

London's business success is inseparable from the city's international standing, but the city devotes comparatively small budgets to overseas promotion for trade, tourism and inward investment. The next mayor will need to find additional resources for overseas promotion. In addition they should lobby hard for the power to introduce tourist taxes – for example, a hotel bedroom tax for foreign visitors. This could be used, among other things, to support and strengthen London's cultural organisations large and small.

5

A SOCIABLE CITY

Cities depend on houses, roads, energy and other infrastructure. But they exist because they allow people to connect and collaborate. One of the things that has long made London special is the way it has managed, for all its size and dynamism, to remain an intensely sociable, human city – a city of streets, parks and villages, pubs, clubs and libraries, and strong local civic and political organisations. London’s sociability is an essential part of its appeal, and of the promise that the city holds out to people from across the world.

As London grows, it will have to find ways of preserving and deepening its sociable character. There are some things that the mayor can do to help. We have already covered some of these. First, the mayor needs to create a more open and engaged London government, particularly one that connects better to London’s voluntary sector and helps promote the giving of time and money. Second, it is vital that new housing and other development builds on what is best in London architecture and the public realm. Beyond these, the new mayor needs to be a champion of London civil society. There are five broad ways they can do this.

First, they need to promote neighbourhood institutions and governance. London is unusual and perhaps lucky in having two tiers of local government – the GLA and the boroughs. But even the boroughs cover relatively large areas – Croydon and Barnet both have populations of nearly 400,000. And despite (or perhaps because of) its growth and dynamism, Londoners continue to identify with and care about their neighbourhoods. Moreover, new technology has made it easier for us to connect and engage on local issues. Social media like Twitter and Facebook enable neighbours to share concerns and mobilise campaigns. Neighbourhood planning is gradually gathering pace.

Against this background, the mayor and the boroughs will need to find ways of giving local people more control over their local areas, perhaps by building on neighbourhood planning forums and other neighbourhood level groups and networks, or

experimenting with the creation of ‘pop-up parishes’ on the model of Business Improvement Districts – short term parishes, with some fundraising powers, established through local referendums. These could provide a focus for civic life and for ultra-local services like street-cleaning, park maintenance and out-of-school activities for young people, as they do in villages and towns outside London.

Similarly, a new mayor should do more to boost the local presence of community safety services. Crime has fallen, but still remains relatively high. And concern about crime has fallen more slowly, especially among more vulnerable people. Police budgets are under intense pressure, and the new Mayor and Deputy Mayor for Policing will need to find ways of protecting and strengthening community-level policing as demands on the police service grow. In addition, there could be huge benefits in developing more localist and participatory approaches to less serious crime and anti-social behaviour. A new mayor could pilot a layer of ‘community justice panels’, staffed by trained volunteers and below the level of the magistrates, to mediate local disputes and deal with incivility and low-level disorder.¹⁴

Third, the mayor will need to look out for London’s open public spaces. As more and more people live in apartments, and as cultural attitudes to eating and drinking in public change, London’s parks and open spaces are more intensively used than ever. They are becoming London’s living rooms. Yet various developments threaten these spaces. Cuts to public spending mean boroughs and other custodians of public space have less and less money to spend on them. At the same time, a growing proportion of London’s new open public spaces are in fact privately owned and managed, raising concerns about the erosion of London’s genuinely public realm. The mayor then will need to work with the boroughs on two fronts at once. Together they will have to find ways of securing the future of London’s public spaces, including new governance and

management structures and new sources of funding. And they will need to establish clear and binding principles for the management of privately owned ‘public’ space.

Fourth, the mayor needs to do more to champion co-operative and mutualised approaches to housing, work, and public services. A survey of mutualist and co-operative arrangements in London would reveal an extraordinarily rich and varied picture, including many employee-owned firms, mutualised public services, and housing co-operatives of one sort or another. There is strong public support for these ‘John Lewis’ type approaches and they can make an important contribution to making life easier for London’s hard-pressed residents. Co-operative approaches could, for instance, help reduce the costs of childcare, or help London’s growing army of freelancers manage the downsides of the ‘gig economy’. Yet neither of London’s first two mayors has taken much interest in supporting or promoting these sorts of approaches. That needs to change.

Finally, a new mayor should take a more deliberate approach to promoting London as a hub for global civil society. London has long been city with a rich array of organisations that help promote international development, human rights and environmental sustainability, including charities, think tanks and universities. Indeed, London can make a good claim to be the capital of global civil society – and this even though it is not home to any major international governmental organisations.¹⁵ Yet neither of the London’s two mayors to date have fully recognised the value, both for London and the world, of the city’s role as a centre of global development organisations and discussion. The new mayor and team should commit to ensuring that London does not just maintain but strengthens its position as a global civil society hub. They should in particular, ensure London takes the lead in helping cities everywhere meet the challenges of inclusive and sustainable urbanisation.

London in 2016 is fizzing with innovation, with diversity, with life, but a growing number of Londoners feel locked out of the party. A city as rich as London should be able to offer a decent standard of living to all its citizens, and extend opportunity to everyone. The next Mayor of London should renew London's promise, so that the city's success is shared and sustained.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1

THE MAYOR SHOULD CREATE A MORE EFFECTIVE, OPEN AND ENGAGED GLA, WHILE LEADING A CAMPAIGN TO WIN MORE POWER FOR LONDON GOVERNMENT:

- Take time to appoint a top team of Deputy Mayors and Advisors with a wide range of experience and skill sets, and review the internal structure of the GLA to create an administration that is fully focused on delivering mayoral priorities.
- Appoint a Senior Strategic Finance Advisor or Deputy Mayor to ensure that the budgets held by the GLA and its functional bodies are used as effectively as possible to deliver mayoral programmes and secure investment for London.
- Continue to lobby for more fiscal devolution, focusing primarily on property taxes, but also for the power to set new consumption-based taxes (e.g. on unhealthy food).
- Create a Chief Digital Officer tasked with creating a more open and technologically engaged London government, and making greater use of the democratic, problem-solving potential of technology to make London a sharing city and to reinvigorate civic participation.
- Strengthen London's capacity for civic innovation by creating spaces where experts and citizens can come together to develop and test new approaches to solving London's challenges – from transport congestion to the care needs of older people.
- Establish a London-wide Convention, bringing together the GLA and the boroughs, business and civic groups, with a remit to make the case for greater devolution and set-out short, medium and long-term asks from central government.

- Take the case for devolution to the rest of the country, making common cause with the UK's cities, regions and devolved administrations, and explaining how giving more self-government to London will benefit the UK economy.

2

THE MAYOR SHOULD ACCELERATE HOUSING DELIVERY:

- Establish an inter-disciplinary homes and regeneration agency to secure funding for and support delivery on priority sites, manage a London-wide programme of affordable housing construction, and support boroughs and other partners in creating and sustaining successful, well-designed, liveable places.
- Use the GLA's land and assets to support new developers, investors and builders – including smaller developers – to invest and operate in London.
- Review London's density standards with view to allowing higher densities in accessible locations across London, especially on sites close to public transport.
- Push forward new infrastructure plans, including Crossrail 2, new east London river crossings and enhanced south London rail services, and use planning and development powers to ensure these deliver as much housing and commercial development as possible.
- Establish a review of London's green belt, looking at whether and how parts of the greenbelt could incorporate well-connected and creatively designed urban extensions, while also enhancing its environmental objectives and preventing unsustainable sprawl.

- Work with neighbouring local authorities to develop a regional plan for the South East.

3

THE MAYOR SHOULD TACKLE CONGESTION AND CREATE BETTER STREETS:

- Recast the existing Congestion Charge and create a more sophisticated all-London system of road user charging, designed to reduce congestion and air pollution.
- Make more intelligent use of TfL passenger data, pricing and communications to relieve congestion on trains and buses and encourage active travel.
- Encourage a more efficient and coordinated approach to freight, including the use of local consolidation centres and night-time deliveries.
- Commit to reducing car ownership and private car use in London, through reviewing parking charges, promoting car clubs and car-free days; use funds raised through congestion charging to create greener pedestrian and cycle-friendly streets and roads.

4

THE MAYOR SHOULD TAKE ACTION TO SUPPORT LONDON'S ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION:

- Use the London Plan and other levers to protect and develop affordable work space in order to protect the diversity of London's economy – including modern light manufacturing space, start-up and digital industry space, and space for artists and other creative workers.

- Use the London Plan and other levers to protect and develop cultural venues, including galleries, performance spaces and nightclubs.
- Lobby government to give the GLA greater power over London's schools, including powers currently exercised by Schools Commissioners, so that London can build on its impressive track record of school improvement and ensure every child has the skills needed to succeed in London's fast-changing economy.
- Use new powers over skills budgets to create a more responsive and forward-looking programme of work-based training.
- Lobby against counter-productive visa restrictions, including those on students, and explore new programmes to balance visas for high-skilled workers with apprenticeships.
- Support opportunity for all by pushing for the power to set a London Minimum Wage and by promoting better childcare provision.
- Boost overseas promotion of London's trade and investment offer.

5

THE MAYOR SHOULD STRENGTHEN THE PUBLIC REALM, CIVIL SOCIETY AND COMMUNITY COHESION:

- Enable community governance through strengthened neighbourhood planning and pop-up civil parishes.
- Support co-operative and mutualised approaches to housing, work, welfare and public services.

- Maintain and strengthen neighbourhood policing and promote community-based problem-solving approaches to crime and disorder, for example, by creating local citizen panels trained in restorative justice to deal with relatively minor offences and disputes, so diverting offenders away from the formal criminal justice system.
- Develop a programme for public space enhancement, and set common standards (for public access, acceptable behaviour and maintenance) to apply to all public spaces, whether these are publicly or privately owned.
- Promote London's role as a centre of global civil society and ensure London takes a lead in helping cities around the world meet the challenges of inclusive and sustainable urbanisation.

ENDNOTES

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