



The Alternative Manifesto:

Ideas towards a greater London.

Christina Dykes on community cohesion in London

Simon Fell on the London economy

Jean Lambert MEP on a sustainable London

Karim Murji on the effective policing of crime

and **Christian Wolmar** on a new transport focus

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About this pamphlet:

This is the first of two pamphlets which LondonSays is to publish in quick succession. Written by experts in their chosen fields and the team behind LondonSays, their purpose is to provide an alternative manifesto for London, free from party politics or electoral concerns, opening the debate to be about the direction which London should be heading.

London is a great city, home to some 7.5 million people. It is a world city, exciting, multi-cultural and vibrant, but it faces significant challenges in remaining that way.

This pamphlet only briefly touches on the main responsibilities of the Mayor, and there are many more which deserve to be examined in greater detail. To that end our second pamphlet will continue the debate beyond the 1st May 2008 election, covering topics such as the Olympic Legacy, the Arts and Media, and Housing, expanding our coverage to all the areas in which the Mayor exerts influence.

Whomever wins the election on the 1st May must be in the business of constantly refreshing their ideas to better serve London. We exist to be an outlet for those fresh, innovative ideas.

The final section of this pamphlet, **iWant**, is about *you* getting involved and sharing your ideas, hopes and dreams for London. It is part of a longer-term project, one which we hope you will engage with. The results will be published in the near future and available on our website.

About LondonSays.org:

LondonSays is an independent, cross-party think-tank, set up to provide a forum to debate the issues affecting the capital, its citizens and its future.

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Community Cohesion in London

Whitehall Know Your Place

by Christina Dykes

To mention a few: from the Ten Commandments ("love thy neighbour as thyself") through Thomas Hobbs ("do not that to another which thou wouldst not have done to thyself") and Edmund Burke ("we must give away some natural liberty to enjoy civil advantage") man has been working out how he can live in peaceful co-existence with his fellows. Much of what we are now experiencing, in this country, in terms of societal tensions between competing class, cultures and faiths has been experienced by past generations and on the whole their successful resolution give us grounds for optimism.

That optimism is one of the bedrocks of any approach to community cohesion. Western history show us that the interrelations between man and man (woman and woman) tribe and tribe, race and race, religion and religion can result in a fusion of ideas and principles that have enabled people of different hue, faith and social class to learn and live with each other. Put neatly by Dominic Grieve MP, Shadow Attorney General, "cohesive societies work because we are constantly moderating each others' views by argument and interaction" (October 2006); the same sentiments are reflected in the recently published work of the IPPR *On London? Change and Cohesion in three London Boroughs* "Contact is sought to promote positive attitudes to members of other social groups by reducing interpersonal anxiety and introducing people to the variability within other social groups" (April 2008).

To a large measure people do just that. 85% of Londoners say that their local area is a place where people of different backgrounds get on well together. Nearly half of all England's black, Asian and minority ethnic population live in London and in boroughs, such as Newham in the east, and Brent in the north west (the latter is the most ethnically diverse local authority area in the UK: London Councils reckons there is an 85 % chance that any two residents drawn at random would come from different ethnic group) black and minority ethnic population (BME) make up the majority of the residential population. However this settling down process takes time, a commodity not valued by politicians under pressure to win elections, and it is easily compromised by circumstances such as population churn and/or an ideological resistance to integration.

So we cannot be complacent, especially as July 2005 showed us what could happen if there is sufficient alienation by any one group from the mainstream. If 85% of Londoners think their area is cohesive, 15% do not – that is 1,125,000 people which is a good chunk of social capital.

Now that multiculturalism is going through a revisionist stage and found lacking, politicians are under pressure find an alternative. From the previous desert of people and ideas the Conservatives now sport four Shadow ministers on community cohesion and its related subject, homeland security.

Boris Johnson is moving from joke to jargon whilst David Cameron talks about ensuring that immigrants can speak English, promoting the rights of women, greater school

exchanges and being more prescriptive about which organisations are eligible for central funding, topics that have already featured on any sensible community cohesion agenda. His forthcoming "green paper" needs to be more elucidating.

If the official opposition offers signposts but no detail then the Government offers detail and conflicting signposts. There isn't space to list all their initiatives taken in the last two years but the following give the idea:

In January 2005 the Home Office produced "Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society: the Government's strategy to Increase Race Equality and Community Cohesion".

Following 7/7, seven community groups were established to develop practical recommendations to tackle violent extremism. In October 2006 out came "Strong and Prosperous Communities" from the Department of Communities and Local Government followed by in November 2006 the "Preventing Violent Extremism Pathfinder Fund". In June 2007 the Commission on Integration and Cohesion presented its final report "Our Shared Future" which Hazel Blears MP, the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, responded to in October 2007 with her own 10 point plan to promote cohesion.

More recently, becoming uneasy that public money is being used to promote greater segregation than inclusion, more guidance was issued suggesting that local authorities should not "risk using public money on projects that might...unnecessarily keep people apart". Alongside all this we have seen the Ministry of Justice sticking in its oar too.

There has been the Governance of Britain White Paper in July 2007 with its important contributions on citizenship and national identity and values – and when to fly the Union flag. Then the new Prime Minister volunteered his thoughts on Britishness, including such memorable phrases as "British jobs for British workers"; and last but not least in March 2008 has come Lord Goldsmith's report on "Citizenship Our Common Bond".

No one can say the Government is not trying but one wonders if it has understood its task? If people can learn to live together what the Government should be doing is creating the space to enable this to happen. It is not its job to be over prescriptive; interference distorts the integration process by creating imbalances that lead too often to resentment, hostility and alienation.

So, here are a few suggestions for creating the preconditions for successful integration:

Firstly, the prerequisite for successful policy co-ordination is knowledge of the local landscape. A command and control from the centre is far too blunt a tool to use in an area when no two areas are the same. In London this means knowing the stats on your population and how it is distributed. There is growing evidence that the figures for London, based on the 2001 census i.e. before the years of mass immigration, on which borough grants from the Government are calculated, woefully under-estimate the recent increase in London's population.

London Councils reckons the ensuing underfunding is costing London boroughs more than £100 million a year and this puts an enormous strain on front line services delivery threatening to provoke in the settled population a sense of being short-changed on Welfare State entitlement – just the sort of thing that makes the host population more

protectionist which stokes resentment to community incomers. Getting the right information is a job for central Government but in the plethora of activities listed above are there are no measures to ensure the collection of reliable, accurate, more contemporaneous statistical information.

Secondly, if there is agreement that local authorities are the best people to create local stability let them get on with it. Hazel Blears' letter to the Chairman of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion is riddled with contradictions. She writes that local authorities "will be properly empowered to set their own agendas on cohesion, and to decide where their priorities lie" but the whole thrust of her letter is about the provision of yet more guidance whether it be on how to promote citizenship or on the promotion of the English language or on the need for Government "to continue to provide targeted support" – a recipe for upsetting carefully balanced local initiatives if ever there was one.

Finally, yes we do need greater diversity of talents in civic life but not by the controversial outmoded means of positive discrimination. If multiculturalism stands accused of creating segregation why then is their still talk of using its favourite tool of one grouping short lists in elections? Such tactics suggest patronage politics, where certain groups are favoured over others, but what we need is more proportionality. More constructive is London Councils' 2010 project which is being rolled out in association with Capital Ambition and the Leadership Centre for Local Government. This is a campaign to encourage a wider range of people to consider standing in the 2010 borough elections in London and it will involve a high profile advertising campaign, a website dedicated to promoting the role of councillors in London, and specific recruitment strategies including mentoring and head hunting.

Of course, the Mayor has a significant role to play in all this. He or she not only acts as the 'face' of London, but channels and focuses efforts on the ground. We need a Mayor who will act as an advocate for London to central Government, informing them of the harsh realities of our capital whilst also wringing the appropriate moneys from the Treasury. We need a Mayor who can build relationships with both community leaders and civil servants, who can devolve power and diffuse potential dangers with a proportionate response. The Mayor needs to be light of touch and to understand London as a whole, borough by borough, and community by community.

It is a rare politician who is prepared to step back and let the public get on with it, but that is what we need from our Mayor: someone with light, sure touch and faith in the diverse breed known as Londoners.

What happens in London is important not just for the well being of those living in the capital but because, like it or not, in so many ways London sets the mood music for the rest of the country. Paraphrasing Hillary Clinton "you know what they say as London (Ohio) goes so goes the nation." So let the boroughs get on with a job that on the whole they are doing well.

The London Economy

Building From a Strong Base

by **Simon Fell**

London is a centre of global trade, outstripping New York as the world's finance capital, and draws a skilled and dynamic workforce from across Europe. This, alongside the selection of London to host the 2012 Olympic Games, a burgeoning arts scene, and its role in setting the agenda amongst major cities in curbing climate change, rightly places London as a global leader.

The Mayor's role in sustaining this global role as a trailblazer for culture, the environment and economic development is as complex as the diversity of responsibilities which fall under his remit. That London's economy has prospered since the establishment of the Mayor's office is undoubted, but for it to continue to grow, a fresh focus is needed and some widely held shibboleths questioned.

This article highlights only a fraction of the task which the Mayor faces. Whether through the fostering of an environment for business to flourish, promotion of viable housing development, support for innovation and education, lessening the over-burden of regulation, or ensuring that accountability and consultation are touchstones of a refreshed administration, action is needed.

The London economy is a complicated web, each strand depending on the next, where too much burden on one results in the dramatic distortion of the whole. It is the Mayor's role to strengthen that web.

Rising to the Challenge

In order to remain competitive, London needs a Mayor who is a consummate politician, able to coerce extra funding from central Government, act as an advocate for London, and forge deals with people whose ideology and background may differ significantly from his own. These skills are needed now more than ever.

The stark reality of the situation is summed up in a recent report by the City of London which states that London's lead over New York in terms of competitiveness has halved in the past year¹. With London as the engine of the UK economy, the Mayor and Government cannot let its position degrade further. And whilst many of the factors leading to this slippage are beyond the remit of the Mayor, an increased dialogue with Government would at the very least reassure business that the Mayor was fighting their corner.

Without doubt, increased warnings from the Mayor on behalf of London on the effect that issues as wide-ranging as the low-tax regimes of other EU countries, and the part nationalisation of Northern Rock would have on London would be welcome, but even the most optimistic observer of politics would realise that other - wider - concerns drive policy in those circumstances. However, the Mayor needs to make a case for the City, and

¹ *Global Financial Centres Index 3* - City of London - March 2008

with the example of the non-dom tax, should have been a key stake-holder in any discussion about proposed changes.

Working with the City

Protecting the City, in all its environs, is an essential task of the Mayor. The global credit crunch, and the depressive effect it has had on firms hiring practices and bonus rounds, is directly affecting the London, and UK, economy. The trickle-down effect of the crunch on the housing market, secondary business, and then consumers, has devastating potential and the Mayor must work with business and the Government to offer the City the support it needs.

Business needs to understand the Mayor and his objectives. In order to achieve this, he needs to be clearly accountable to both business and citizens.

Value for money and efficiency must be the watchwords of the next administration. Business needs to see a clear focus on capital projects and full partnership in their delivery. This partnership must extend to full consultation before projects are launched, ensuring that workable solutions are arrived at, rather than finished proposals presented for comment.

This new era of consultation is essential in the run-up to the Olympic games and finalisation of the Crossrail project, and the many and varied partnerships which will result.

Promoting Small Business

London is an essential hub for small and medium sized businesses which create wealth and jobs - in many ways the backbone of the London economy. Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) badly need support from the Government.

Despite the recent cut in Corporation Tax, rates are still too high compared to those of our European partners. Yahoo!'s move to Switzerland is only one example of a trend by business to relocate to a country which actively advertises its 8% lower tax rate. At the very least, the Mayor should lobby for lower Corporation Tax.

However, for London's innovative businesses to continue to thrive, and to attract new investment, the Mayor should be bold and argue for the introduction of further variable rates of corporation tax. The stimulation of the economy in the Republic of Ireland can be directly attributed to this policy, and in London it would allow policy-makers to design borough-by-borough innovation and regeneration strategies.

London and the United Kingdom

Investment in London means prosperity for the rest of the UK. London First's wish-list for the 2007 Comprehensive Spending Review² showed clearly that marginal increases in

² *Keeping the UK Competitive* - London First - January 2006

London's budget would result in a near even split between GDP increase and job creation between London and the wider UK.

On the same basis, the Mayor needs to address the London Deficit. Devolution has been generous to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland³ whilst London suffers under the myth that it is universally wealthy. As the engine of the UK economy it is right that some subsidy should flow from London to the rest of the UK, but given the stresses of the 2012 Olympics, Crossrail and increased security concerns the current formula needs urgent review.

As the London Chamber of Commerce argues, the capital currently has the highest unemployment rate and poverty levels of the UK⁴. Five of the ten most deprived local authorities in the UK are in London, half the UK's homeless live on its streets, and 43% of its children live in poverty.

The Square Mile contributes nearly 4% to the UK's GDP, and London as a whole 19%. It is time, and just, that London's burden to the rest of the country is lifted.

Sustainability

The Stern Review alerted business to the very real risk of carbon emissions to economic development. Ken Livingstone's global leadership of the C40 group of cities in reducing emissions is rightly praised. Cities produce 80% of the world's greenhouse gas emissions⁵.

Despite the UK's strong position in leading the debate on climate change and preparing business accordingly, there still remains much to be done. London's aim of a 60% reduction in emissions by 2025 is driving innovation and the creation of new technology. The Mayor needs to work with business to best harness this background in order to make London the centre of carbon related innovation.

Housing

London's population is expected to rise by 800,000 by 2025⁶, and proper and sustainable plans for growth must be put into place. The Mayor needs to work alongside boroughs and business to plan for this growth. Ensuring an adequate land supply - and working with Government and business to provide the essential transport infrastructure - is an essential and overriding task in order to secure London's future growth.

³ *Public Expenditure Statistical Analyses 2007* - HM Treasury - April 2007

⁴ *The London Deficit 2007* - London Chamber of Commerce - February 2007

⁵ <http://www.c40cities.org/> - C40 Cities - March 2008

⁶ *London Business Manifestion* - CBI - March 2008

Transport in London

Transport is key to the sustainability of the London economy. Effective public transport is vital for both highlighting London's case as a business hub, and for realising productivity. The Mayor must continue investment in infrastructure and the delivery of major projects.

Heathrow, London's main airport, is bursting at the seams. Sixty-eight million passengers currently cram into space designed for forty-five million. Terminal 5 goes some way towards reducing the strain on the commuters, tourists and staff who use the airport, but long term decisions need to be made.

The Government currently wrestles with the question of a third runway at Heathrow, but a decade after such a project is completed it is entirely possible that it will be at capacity. Simply, Heathrow is in the wrong location for expansion.

The Mayor should argue the case for a new airport, based in the Thames estuary. Such a new development would allow the building of true hub links between airports, connection to the Eurostar service to mainland Europe and considerable regeneration in the Thames Gateway region.

The Mayor must focus relentlessly on the renewal of the Underground and Overground network. If current funding is sustained, rail and Underground over-crowding in London will double by 2016⁷ - a 28% increase on current levels. This would be disastrous for economic growth in the capital.

The economic benefits of increasing capacity and reliability far outweigh the costs of implementation. The Mayor must forge a new consensus with central Government on the importance of investment in London's infrastructure in order to deliver for the UK as a whole.

Crossrail is essential to the continued development of London as a key financial centre and world city. The Mayor must upon election immediately co-operate with the business community and the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the project, and ensure that good management practice is put in place. Business needs to know that it can entrust public offices with their funds and future growth.

Looking beyond these programmes, the Mayor needs to be open to the development of new transport schemes. Capacity on the Underground is limited and the extra space made available by Crossrail will be absorbed soon after its opening. It is sensible to consider an alternate, above-ground system to complement the Underground in central London and the extension of the current Crossrail plans. In both scenarios, the Mayor must work with business from the ground up, delivering plans in a spirit of genuine consultation.

The Olympic Legacy

The Olympic budget must be monitored carefully for the Olympic Delivery Authority, the Mayor, and Government to earn the confidence of the business community.

⁷ *Keeping the UK Competitive* - London First - January 2006

It is sensible to make prudent plans about any contingencies needed in the Olympic budget so as to avoid further slippages, and the Mayor must play a driving role in ensuring transparency and confidence.

The games will offer a unique chance for the regeneration of the East End, and the Mayor must ensure that any and all contracts are granted through open bids and the funding and support of any schemes display financial and ethical probity.

Conclusion

The task of a newly elected London Mayor in protecting and growing the London economy is a difficult one. In his past two terms Ken Livingstone understood well that to work with the City is to help drive the greater London economy. However, given the climate of the global financial system, more is needed.

The Mayor must work both as an advocate for business, and effectively deliver the environment in which both big business and SMEs can thrive. That environment means a reliable transport network, into *and* inside London, affordable housing for the essential key-workers and support staff which act as the oil of the economy, a focus on innovation and education, and an administration built on pragmatism, co-operation and consultation.

These are big tasks and this article does not even begin to highlight the challenges which the Mayor will face in working with Government and business to secure the necessary funding and support to their delivery. However, for the sake of London, *and* the rest of the UK, they are goals worth pursuing.

Sustainable London

Greening the Capital

by Jean Lambert MEP

London: A green city

London is a vibrant and exciting place to be and is home to over 7 million people. Managing the city to meet everyone's needs is a difficult task, but it is vital that clean air and green spaces, sustainable transport and thriving local communities are at the forefront of the Mayor's policies.

Making London greener would make the local environment more pleasant and safer for us all, helping to address the growing gap in quality of life between rich and poor.

Facing up to climate change

The average Londoner uses the energy produced by almost two tonnes of oil each year, yet every week reports warn of the dangers of man-made climate change. It's clear that we need to act fast. My vision would be for London to become an economy of zero net carbon use by cutting the wastage that currently accounts for 50 per cent of our energy consumption and by producing the energy we need from renewable sources.

Tackling energy consumption in the home must form a major part of the Mayor's plan for the coming term. Over 37 per cent of London's carbon emissions come from the domestic sector, that's more than from surface transport. A cost-effective measure to tackle climate change would be to extend and promote the free home insulation scheme and this which would also help reduce fuel poverty.

Whilst London may not be known for being the sunniest city, there is still vast potential for producing renewable energy. People's attitudes towards environmental issues have changed significantly and many households are now willing to play a positive role in tackling climate change through producing their own renewable energy.

The Mayor is in a powerful position to encourage this development and should set a target of installing solar electricity and heating panels on 10,000 roofs across the city by 2015. The GLA should also consider a 'renewables escalator' for new buildings, which would require the use of progressively higher proportions of locally-produced renewable energy. It's easier to design greener new buildings so the GLA should lead the way by ensuring all new developments under their control are carbon neutral and water efficient.

The Climate Change Action Plan for London is a good start, but we must go further with a carbon reduction target of 85 per cent by 2025. The only way we will reach such targets is by investing in skills training so that Londoners can manufacture, install and maintain green energy systems and develop green business practice.

Tackling climate change not only means reducing the amount of energy we use and finding alternative sources, but also being prepared for the inevitable challenges ahead in terms of increased flooding and extreme weather conditions. Whilst we may not see the worst effects of climate change here immediately we must remember that we are a global city with global responsibilities for the emissions we create both here and the countries from which we import goods.

Unfortunately much of what we consume rapidly becomes waste. The prevalent linear model of extract-consume-discard is clearly unsustainable, especially since most products are used for only around 6 months before being thrown away. The Mayor should ensure that the London Development Agency takes the lead on encouraging businesses to close the loop on production and reuse, and make certain that councils provide and promote improved services to allow Londoners to reuse and recycle as much as possible.

Creating vibrant local economies and communities

Despite the fact that London's economy has been booming in recent years the gap between rich and poor has been growing. London's women are less likely to be employed than anywhere else in the country and those from ethnic minority backgrounds are disadvantaged. Many boroughs experience high unemployment in certain areas and this disparity of opportunity make the streets less safe for us all.

Poorer people often live in poorer environments and often do not have the choice to ethical goods. Poverty is a green issue.

My vision for London is one where each area benefits from a strong local economy, services and communities. If this were the case it would reduce the need for traffic on our roads. The Mayor should encourage local libraries, cultural and sports facilities, local post offices, banks, independent shops and small businesses to build these vibrant, local, urban centres.

Markets too have long been a key part of London's social fabric although too many have seen a decline in recent years. The Mayor should support the expansion of farmers' markets to sell other local goods and produce and to promote and re-establish London's historic markets. There are still too many parts of London where people cannot access fresh fruits and vegetables easily and this has a negative impact on nutrition and health.

Finally, for a truly green London, the Mayor should protect all green space and increase tree planting to make our city a cleaner, healthier and enjoyable place for all to enjoy.

Going places with greener transport

Achieving a shift away from driving and towards cycling, walking and public transport is central to the development of London as a sustainable, thriving and pleasant city. This change would deliver major environmental as well as health benefits.

The Mayor should consider bringing all tube services and London rail services back into public ownership and investing in new tramways which are so successful in other European cities.

Much more can be done to encourage cycling and while the recently unveiled plan for cycling infrastructure is welcome it is essential that the next term sees this come to fruition. Cycling has vastly increased in London over the past decade but many people are still too scared to travel on the city's roads. A 20mph default speed limit across London, with named exceptions for key main roads, would make our roads much safer and would encourage people to cycle or walk instead of drive.

We are currently failing to meet European air quality standards in London, so we must reduce the number of vehicles on the roads and make our movement around the city more efficient and less polluting. The higher congestion charge for the most polluting vehicles must be maintained and there has to be an end to airport expansion to protect the health of Londoners.

The vision for London

Everyone deserves a decent quality of life and developing modern, high-quality sustainable transport, good local services, strong communities and energy-efficient housing will all help to achieve that. My vision for the Mayor is clear: a city arranged and run on a human scale that enriches the lives of everyone and leaves no-one on the margins.

Policing in London

New Solutions for the Fight Against Crime

by Karim Murji

The next Mayor of London will be able to take the chair – or directly appoint someone else to the position – of the Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA), the body to which the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) is accountable. This fact may come as a surprise to anyone who thought the Mayor already ran policing in London. While the MPA is part of the so-called GLA family - which includes transport and the fire service - policing has not hitherto been under the direct control of the Mayor and his influence has been exercised indirectly. The Mayor's most explicit role has been in agreeing the police budget as part of the overall GLA budget, and of which it is by far the largest component. Through the precept attached to council tax, the incumbent Mayor has resourced continuous increases in police funding. Since 2001-02, the precept has increased by 171% while net expenditure on the MPS has grown by over 40% to £2.6 billion net in 2008-09.

Whether Londoners will notice any distinct shift due to the Mayor's increased powers over policing depends on who wins in May. If Ken Livingstone is re-elected, he has already signalled he will appoint the chair of the MPA and, presumably, develop his own oversight role. However if, as polls suggest, there is a Conservative-dominated London Assembly with a Labour chair of the MPA, the direction of policing may be caught up in political crossfire over the next four years. While the MPA chair and the Mayor will be in charge, a stormier period can be expected, particularly with a General Election no more than two years further away. If his main opponent is elected, Boris Johnson has said that he will take the chair of the MPA. Londoners will then notice a Mayor taking a more hands-on role in policing. The way that will play out is hard to predict. But a Conservative Mayor of London may find a Labour national government less sympathetic than has been the case to date. While an executive Mayor has considerable leeway, both the main candidates – and their competitors – probably face the challenge of steering policing in a situation of greater conflict.

Either scenario underlines the inescapably political nature of policing and places a premium on the political skills of the Mayor. Police Authorities are not themselves directly elected and include non-elected independent members. Historically, the 'arms length' relationship with politics has been intended to insulate the police from direct political control. While some people look back to a time when crime and policing were not politicised and subject to a bi-partisan consensus, the clock cannot be turned back. More importantly, as crime and policing are often highlighted as the main issue of public concern in both local borough and London wide surveys, it is indisputable that political representatives should seek to respond to that and offer the electorate choices about crime and policing narrowly, and security and quality of life issues more broadly. What might we expect of them?

After a period of 'famine', recent years have seen a 'feast' in terms of police expenditure and numbers. More police is one of the things that the public seems quite willing to pay extra for. A record number of around 31,000 officers are now in post in the MPS, which is by far the largest force in the UK. However, at both national and London levels this has

descended into a crude 'numbers game', with political candidates seeking to outbid one another on how many extra officers they will finance. Extra resources will not be unwelcome to the police service or to the public. Sooner or later though, other questions will need to be addressed more carefully than to date. Those concern the value for money obtained from the extra that has been spent on the police, and whether extra police per se is what could, or does, produce lower crime and a greater sense of personal security in London. Underlying both questions there are wider issues about a government squeeze on public funding and an economic downturn. The former means that the police will be pressed to do more with less, rather than looking to endless increases. MPS initiatives on business modernisation, IT systems, bureaucracy reduction and increased productivity are all in-train. Turning these into substantive benefits remains a mostly internal police problem, though Mayoral candidates concerned about efficiency - as well as effectiveness - can set the tone as well as the direction about their expectations of the police. Even on how effective the police are, there is considerable scope for improvement. The MPS has made strenuous efforts to improve its crime clear-up rate to around 24%, but that headline rate contains many relatively minor offences. The current candidates and the next Mayor might well want them to focus more on the crimes that matter most to the public, and explain how they will ensure that is what the MPS does.

As a major world city, London will probably experience any national economic downturn in a different way from the rest of the country. Whatever the extent of that is, it will follow through in terms of crime levels eventually. Recorded crime has been falling for over five years and that is connected, in some way, to continuous economic growth. As that slows down or goes into reverse, crime rates may increase again. What do the Mayoral candidates offer to Londoners in such a case? 'More police' is one response, but senior police officers are often the first to deny that there is a direct cause and effect relationship between officer numbers and crime rates. Public surveys indicate that the public has noticed and welcomed increased police visibility since the inception of neighbourhood policing, and that confidence in local policing is reasonably high. How this translates into a sense of security and reductions in fear of crime (as well as actual crime) is not a smooth process. Both high profile media issues – terrorism, gun and knife crime and drugs, for example – as well as everyday experiences of low-level incivility and anti-social behaviour shape people's perceptions of how secure they feel. Increasing a feeling of security cannot depend on or be created by the police alone. It requires a coordinated effort with local government and partner agencies. Admittedly, a lot of that already occurs but in potentially more difficult times, there will be a premium on the ability of the Mayor as a figurehead to forge fruitful working relationships and practices across political and organisational lines.

A more profound challenge to achieving a greater sense of security will require engagement with and the mobilisation of London's diverse communities to make them 'co-producers' of safety and security. There is a danger that focusing on the police alone leads to an over-reliance on them to deal with both crime issues as well as many minor matters that may be best dealt with outside of the remit of law enforcement. There are echoes of this approach in terms such as stronger communities and community cohesion but, while communities are important, it is not just about devolving responsibility to them. It is about turning security into a civil responsibility – in the sense of a communal or shared goal – rather than retreating into a continual emphasis on the criminal law. Such laws and the police will always be needed but approaching security from a broader perspective begins to get us away from police-centred solutions. What the Mayor can do is to encourage proposals and initiatives that focus on the longer-lasting pursuit of social

crime prevention (that is, constructive involvement and participation in activities, rather than hardware 'bars and bolts' and CCTV cameras), and link it into a range of other things that are in the Mayor's power – better education and skills, regeneration, and planning, for example. As with some of my earlier points, the components of this kind of strategy already exist. What is needed is a Mayor who can combine and shape them into a programme and thereby establish the proper place of policing in London.

Transport in London

New Ideas to Keep London Moving

by Christian Wolmar

Londoners love to moan about transport. Ask anyone in the pub or at work what is the worst thing about living in the capital, and invariably the answer will relate to the problems in getting around.

But is it really as bad as it appears. Sure, there is no shortage of horror stories such as being stuck in a Tube for 20 minutes on a hot day or waiting an hour for a bus, especially when the information at the stop assures you it is on its way. There is, too, the nightmare of congestion on the roads which the congestion charge has done little to alleviate, except in those few parts of central London not affected by seemingly permanent roadworks.

There have, though, been improvements recently. The bus service has got better under Ken Livingstone, but it would be a disgrace if it hadn't given that around £600m is being spent on annual subsidy, compared with virtually nothing when he took over. Minicabs are now properly licensed which means that women can take them without fear of being assaulted and the beneficial effects of the hugely expensive Public Private Partnership are beginning to be seen with many refurbished stations, extra carriages on the Jubilee line and more reliable trains. The ubiquitous Oyster card makes it easier and cheaper to travel around London across various modes and if you happen to be lucky enough to live in Croydon, you get a fantastic tram service. Cyclists, too, benefit from a range of improvements though the design of most cycle lanes and routes leaves a lot to be desired. At least, though, with so many more cyclists on the roads, London drivers are becoming accustomed to having to skirt round two wheelers, making it safer and easier to cycle.

Overall, therefore, it is possible to be relatively complementary about the state of London's transport system. The Tube is a fantastically efficient people mover which, for the most part, works well. The buses, which carry twice as many people, are now reliable enough most of the time to use, though perhaps not for that vital job interview in town or picking your 5 year old up on time from school. The fares may be quite high but not excessive if you use Oyster. Or, of course, if you are under 18 or over 60. And what city the size of London does not suffer from excessive traffic?

If the transport situation were static, then, it would get around 7.5 out of 10, and perhaps slip down the agenda of problems which London's politicians should address. But it isn't and that's the big challenge. With employment levels in central London rising, tourists returning in droves now that the terrorist threat is perceived to have receded and greater disposal income encouraging more and more people onto all forms of transport, the pressure on London's transport system is going to intensify over the next few years.

Crossrail, which will not be completed by 2016 at the earliest, is the only major boost in capacity which the Underground system will get in the next decade or more. There are several other rail improvements such as the East London Line and the first phase of the

old Thameslink 2000 scheme which are due to be completed before then, but broadly the existing infrastructure will have to cope with most of the expected increase in numbers expected over the next few years. Yet, already, several tube stations are frequently shut at peak times just to ease off the pressure on the platforms.

Therefore, while it is comforting to think that we can go on before, coping with the incremental increases on a day to day basis, it is clear that the system is overstretched and it does not take much - a major breakdown on the tube system, a couple of untimely road accidents, a realistic terrorist threat - for the system to reach meltdown. With increases in capacity likely to provide marginal benefit at best, Transport for London - and indeed major users of transport such as large businesses and educational institutions - are increasingly having to look at reducing or diverting demand for transport at peak times.

London's transport planners have begun to realise that the mantra of encouraging people to walk and cycle more is not an optional extra, but a vital part of coping with increased demand in the years to come. Shifting even a small percentage of people onto these modes could have a dramatic impact on overall transport demand, reducing pressure particularly at those peak times when there is simply no extra capacity.

Soft measures must also come to the fore. One way of persuading people out of their cars is to carry out interviews with them, pointing out the alternatives. This one to one process is expensive but rewarding, achieving real modal shifts. Ensuring schools and workplaces have travel plans is another part of this process.

Another way of reducing demand at peak times is to create a climate among employers that moves away from the 'presenteeism' which pervades so many office environments. It is amazing that so far there has been so little impact of the internet revolution in terms of transport demand. People simply turn up at work from 9 to 5 (more often 6 or 7 these days) in the way they always have done without realising that much of what they do could not be undertaken at home using broadband. Moreover, with some train companies now introducing free wifi connections, there is scope to turn the office journey into productive work time, though not at 8 am in the morning when it is barely possible stand comfortably let alone open up your lap top

If this sounds wishy washy and unrealistic, the alternative is simply unthinkable. More people cannot be pushed onto the system indefinitely and it is simply not possible to make the step change increase in capacity on the tube that is obviously essential since no new lines are planned for the next couple of decades other than Crossrail. While it is possible to be reasonably satisfied with the situation today, over the next few years travel in London may simply become intolerable. And then all those business leaders who have squealed loudest about the lack of capacity in the system without ever considering putting their hands in their pockets will feel the most pain.

iWant for London

Your Ideas for the Capital

The **iWant** campaign is part of a longer-term project by LondonSays.org, collating hundreds of responses from the general public, providing a route to getting your voice heard by those with the power to make a difference.

These responses will be displayed on our website - www.londonsays.org - and then submitted to the Mayor for review.

Below are a few examples of the many responses which we have received to the campaign so far:

iWant... to be able to renew my Oyster card at overland stations in zones 2 & 3.

Pippa Grey, Clapham

iWant... more runway capacity for [London's] well being.

Barry Linton, Southend

iWant... more policemen on our streets... real policemen/women with powers of arrest.

Fiona Grandidge, Central London

iWant... the London Mayor to look into ways of ensuring that correct spelling, grammar and punctuation is utilised by both the public and private sectors in London.

Gregory Taylor, Hackney

iWant... the next Mayor to ensure that environmental concerns are put above the publishing of *The Londoner*.

Toby Lees, East London

If you would like to get involved in this campaign, please send your thoughts to:

iwant@londonsays.org