COCC ondo A vision for the kind of city we want to live in

By Catriona Cowie-Fraser & Jacqui Howard





good

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the good london team

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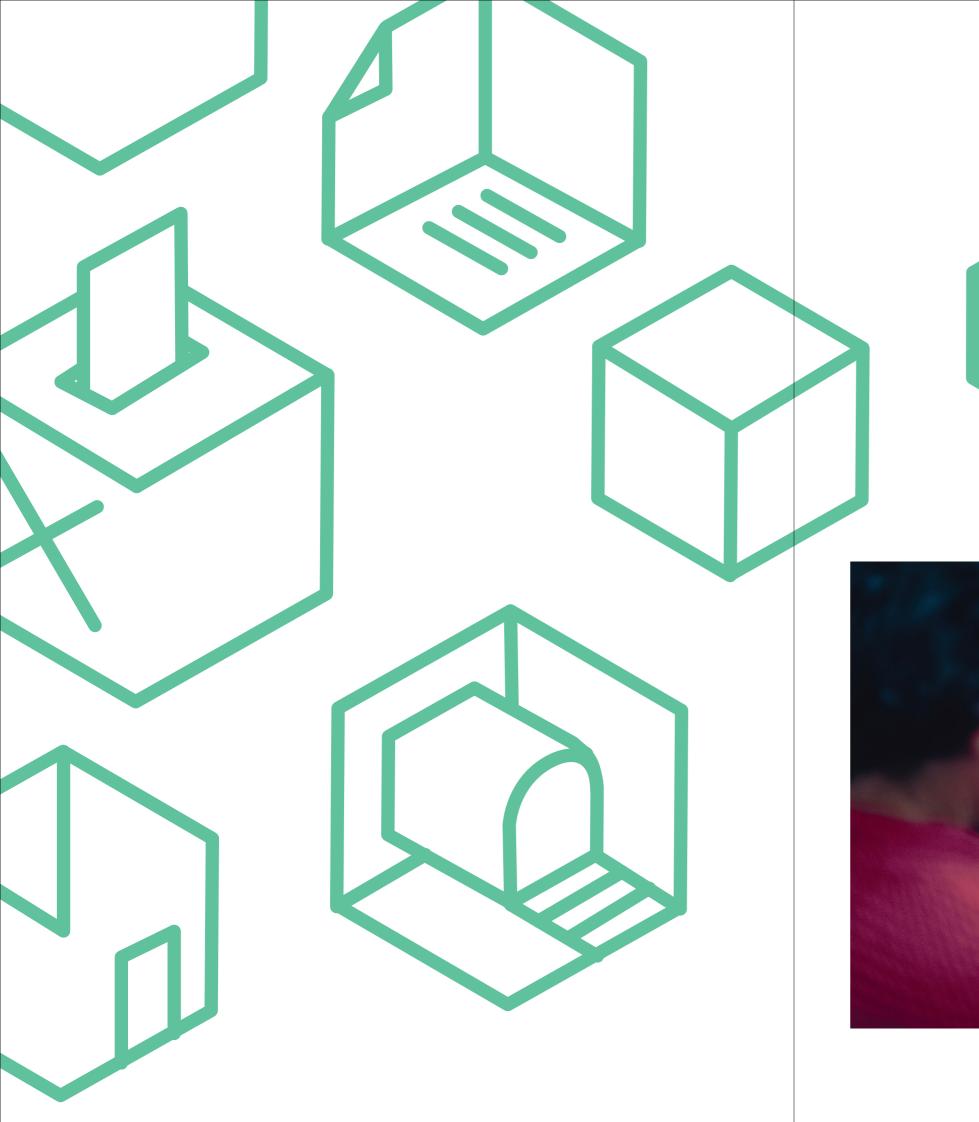
Work till Late report design

The Wall, by Rosanna Wiseman

An excerpt
Performed in full at Utopia at The Roundhouse
by London Latinxs¹

Until the walls come crashing down, Through the power, And love, And a rage, That does not obsess over hate, That feeds the fire in our hands. That we pass on through the gates, Through the borders, Through the wires, Throughout the times, And releases the screws, the fences, the legal Borders of our minds. Solidarity, And care, And love, more love, more and more love, Took down these walls Now we live as we once did Now,

We stand together.



executive summary



executive summary

The Good London project was a response to how rising inequality and rapid change are excluding too many Londoners from a good life. The project started with a single question: what kind of city do you want to live in? At the heart of Good London the intention to question how democracy operates in our city, and experiment with doing it differently. Through workshops, events and online crowdsourcing, the project listened to and connected individuals, civil society, community organisers, think tanks and politicians. The final output is this document: a vision for a good London with some key policy recommendations on the themes of power, moving, living and working.

Key finding

The resounding message from the project was that people want a greater say in the decisions that affect their lives. Our city is changing rapidly and in ways that do not always reflect what participants feel to be a good London. As a city, we need to be bold in addressing how London can become more reflective of Londoners. Key ideas that participants put forward are:

Developing and testing new mechanisms for citizen engagement

Through the Good London project it was clear that given the time and opportunity, people have insightful, original ideas about improving our city. We experimented with online crowdsourcing and facilitated workshops. London needs to be brave and test, evaluate and implement effective mechanisms for engagement at a local and citywide level.

Empowering communities

Politics is often portrayed as something that politicians do to people, denying citizens and community groups agency. London is full of groups of citizens actively creating change, from putting solar panels on estates to co-operative housing. To scale initiatives like these sustainably, more meaningful dialogue between community groups and policy-makers is necessary.

Looking to other cities

London can learn from cities across the globe piloting new ways of doing democracy. From participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre to a mobile mayoral office in Seoul, we found that there are bold ways of engaging citizens happening all over the world. These cities are starting to provide proof that empowered citizens and a politics that bridges the gap between the individual, community and political power can lead to meaningful improvements in people's lives.

With a popular and progressive Mayor, we have a huge opportunity for change. Sadiq Khan, be bold and courageous: take this opportunity to be innovative and experiment with ways of doing politics that includes all Londoners and puts our interests and needs first. At a time when democracy is being challenged globally, it's time for London to be a genuine world leader.

policy recommendations

Power

Through discussions on power we heard the need for an approach that addresses power distribution at every level, from increasing the influence of community power to making our governing structures more democratic and representative.

Introduce participatory budgeting

Participatory budgeting is used in several cities, including New York. The basic principle is that citizens control a portion of public spending. Crucially, participatory budgeting needs to be combined with education and deliberation on budgeting and public services to ensure citizens have the information we need to make informed decisions.

Introduce a publicly owned energy company

Good London participants want greener energy with fairer pricing. Public energy would be a way to achieve this and has been successfully introduced in Nottingham and Bristol.

Moving

Good London participants were clear about the need for transport to work in a way that is as inclusive as possible for everyone in the city. If accessibility, sustainability and inclusivity can be embraced as key priorities then we should be able to create a transport network with real benefits to our social as well as our physical infrastructure.

- Make all of London's tube stations accessible
- Set and achieve ambitious sustainability targets, including making all of London's bus and black cab stock zero emissions by 2020.
- Create a more equitable fare structure that does not penalise Londoners that live further from the centre of the city.

Living

During Good London we looked at how we can address the crisis in London's housing in ways that empower communities, create solidarity and boost local economies. Participants were clear about the need for solutions that would directly involve communities in the development and building of housing.

Build homes that experiment with different models of building and ownership.
Looking to the examples of the London Community Land Trust homes in Mile
End and the Ladywell meanwhile housing scheme in Lewisham, the Mayor should
champion new sites for house building on these models.

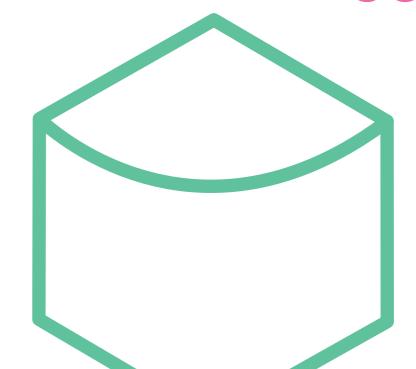
- Ensure that 10 per cent of new housing built meets the Lifetime Home Standard the standard for accessible homes.
- Create a mechanism for renters to receive a fairer deal on the price and quality of rented properties. A renters' union or a city wide public lettings agent could achieve this.

Working

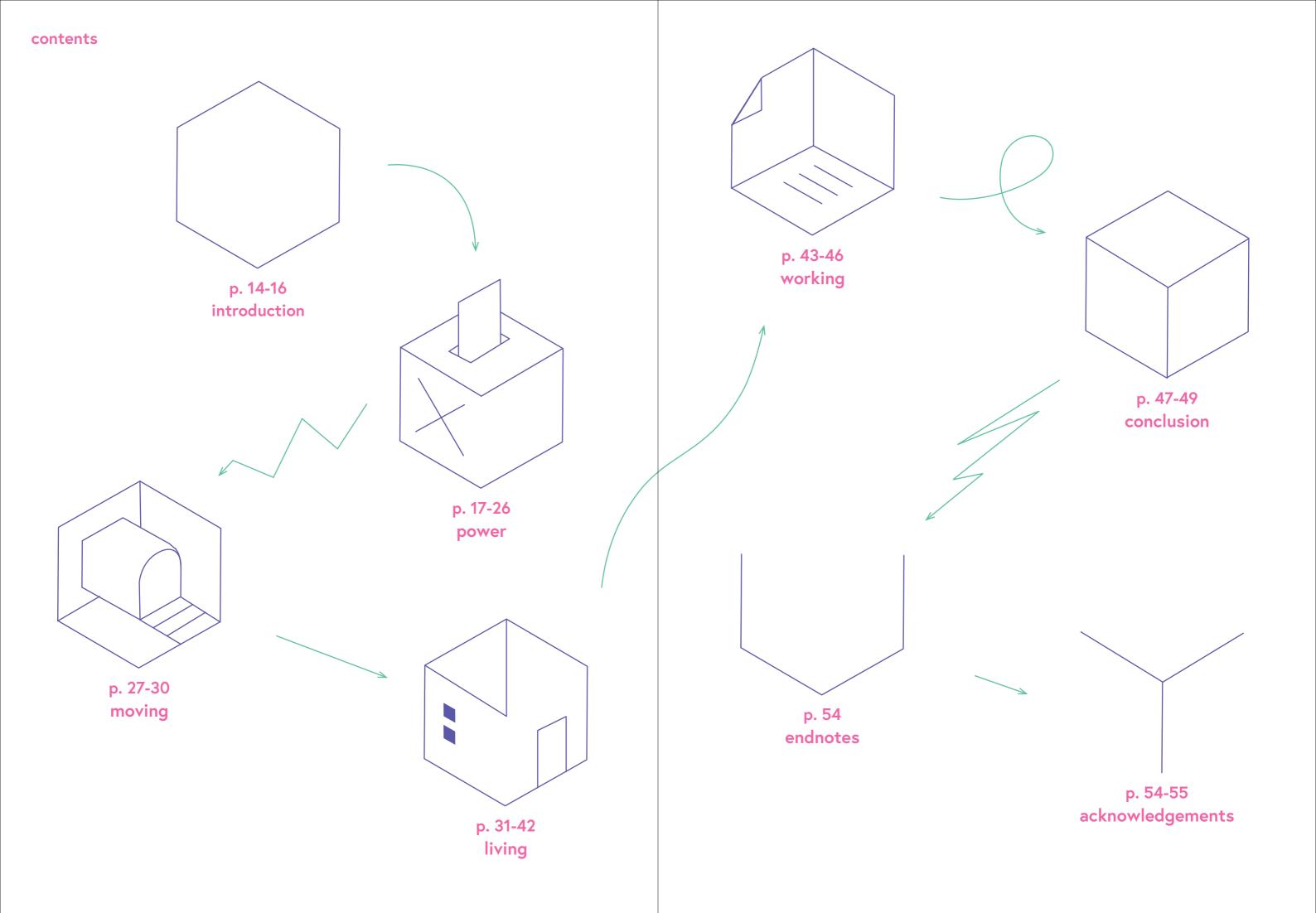
For Good London participants, good work key for a good life, and there was a strong belief that we need to achieve economic stability in ways that ensure a fair deal for all Londoners. This meant giving people the opportunity to maximise their talents, balance work and life, and ensuring fair business practices.

- Address the cost and provision of childcare by giving more funding to establish not-for profit and co-operative nurseries.
- Invest heavily in adult education and direct some of the budget towards training for construction and green jobs.
- Ensure public sector contracts are awarded to companies that pay the living wage and meet fair tax mark standards.

contents







introduction

As one of the world's great cultural hubs, London is constantly inspiring and always changing. Our capital is one of the most diverse places to live, but it is also one of the most divided. The Grenfell Tower fire in June 2017 confirmed this in the starkest and most tragic way imaginable: London's richest borough failed

to protect its poorest residents, with catastrophic consequences.

The fire happened just days after an extraordinary general election result, which signalled voters' rejection of the Conservatives' programme of austerity; many turning instead to Jeremy Corbyn's Labour party and its promise of invest-



#WeTheCity workshop on power and democracy

ment in public services. Voters in London did so in even greater numbers than those elsewhere in England, showing a strong appetite for a different, more progressive, future.

These events, as well as Londoners' verdicts a year earlier, when they voted for Sadiq Khan in no uncertain terms, emphasise a need for positive change in London. For many of us, life in London has been getting harder in recent years: harder to live, move, work, and play.

The Good London project, which mostly took place before the 2016 elections, was a response to the struggle that many Londoners experienced. It was clear then, and it is even more obvious today, that the future vision and policy for London needs to reflect the hopes and ideas of the people who live in the city. The core of the project was to identify and bring together a variety of grassroots, NGO, campaign, community, think-tank, faith and political groups, along-side individuals without affiliations to create a common vision for London. The result is this – a shared story of what our city could be. A story told through our collective ideas about power, moving, living and working in London. We've looked to cities across the globe for inspiration and ultimately created a vision unique to our city.

The seed of the Good London project was *Utopia*, an evening Compass ran as part of Penny Woolcock's installation at the Roundhouse in Camden. For Utopia, Penny spent many months uncovering the diverse stories of London-

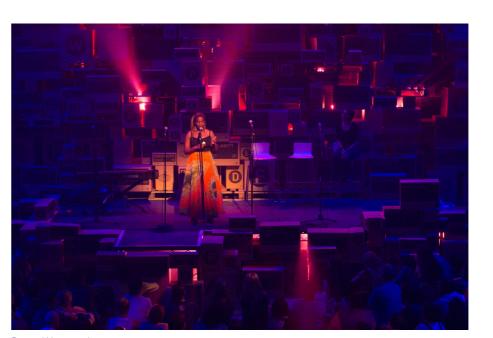
ers to reveal the hidden narratives of our city. Working with Block9, she created a world that explored these narratives.

The evening brought together poets, activists, community builders,

"The overall concept, particularly the mix of panels, participatory workshops and hustings, was really brave and totally paid off"

- Kate Shea Baird

musicians, and people in politics to share their stories, and their visions of utopia. For many of the speakers and performers, utopia wasn't a fantasy but a place where values of respect, equality and inclusion would be enshrined in everything we do. By thinking without limits about utopia, a collective vision for London began to form, inspired by the ideas and stories that were told that



Penny Wangari-Jones

night. To listen to these stories, visit utopia. goodlondon.org.

And so Good London was born. Since then, we have hosted a number of events to build on this vision, ranging from discussions on specific issues like housing and migration, to workshops on the governance of the Greater London Authori-

ty (GLA). Over the course of a year, thousands of Londoners have been involved in this conversation on what a good London could look and feel like, starting with a simple question: what kind of city do you want to live in?

Core to this project is the belief that we need to do politics differently, and we wanted to demonstrate that this was possible. So in May 2016, before the mayoral elections, we ran #WeTheCity², an event where Londoners spent a day speaking to Mayoral candidates, hearing success stories from other global cities and attending workshops that gave participants tools and skills to work

towards their vision of a good London. It was a unique mix of panels, performances, workshops and a hustings, bringing together people and politicians to re-imagine the kind of city we want to live in. This event was a reflection of the

"The workshop format was particularly useful as it allowed participants time to discuss the issues that are important to them and to hear alternative solutions on the big issues facing London such as housing transport and access is very instructive"

– Sean Bailey, Conservatives

London we want to see: diverse, inclusive and democratic. Art and creativity were not seen as separate from policy, but were at the heart of the new vision.

We built a website (goodlondon.org) because we wanted to give all Londoners the

opportunity to contribute their vision for our city. The ideas were imaginative, informed and articulate: they demonstrated the latent power for change in the experiences and passion that Londoners have for their city. Harnessing this power was central to the aims of the Good London project, but it also became central to many of the discussions we heard; how can we create a city where people's voices are heard?

A dominant story has emerged that London is a finance city, and that we all reap the benefits of London becoming richer. We are told by politicians that London is a city characterised by competition, growth and wealth and that these traits are key for our global standing. This narrow view of London misses out so much that is good about our city, and ignores much of what is bad. It ignores the great inequality in London, but it also masks London's progressive values, social enterprise and creativity.

Throughout the Good London project it was apparent that community, equality and social justice were at the heart of participants' vision for London. It is clear then that London needs a new narrative, one that moves away from a definition that is solely economic. This document brings together the visions, ideas and proposals of thousands of Londoners and is a starting point for reimagining and reframing not only what kind of city London could be, but also how it could be governed in a way that is democratic, inclusive and fair. It is based on and inspired by the conversations we have had and the contributions we received. The final content and recommendations in this report were compiled by the authors and Compass and any mistakes are our own.

power





There are many different kinds of power: The power of communities, trade unions, business and the financial sector, and more traditional power: elected representatives like the Mayor, GLA members, MPs and councillors.

The Good London project has been an exercise in building shared vision and policy ideas in a way that has practised democratising power. It has been clear

that Londoners are not lacking in ideas on how to improve our city, but that decision-making feels too remote. Issues around land and energy ownership, voter disenfranchisement and local engagement have led to a democratic deficit.

But the redistribution of power cannot be separated from the major issues that London faces.



Londoner's share their visions for our city

The cost of living, due in

part to housing policy, is forcing Londoners to spend more time at work. Since 2010 there has been a 20 per cent rise in Londoners working more than 48 hours a week.³ And the short term letting model is contributing to constant population churn: 37 per cent of private renters have moved three times or more in the last five years.⁴

Without the time to participate in local democracy or the opportunity to settle

"The recurring theme was of Londoners wanting their voices heard, whether on behalf of an under-represented group or through innovative policies like community-owned energy."

– Emily Kenway

in one place, Londoners are being limited in their capacity to work with their communities, and enact a more participatory style of decision-making.

An inclusive and democratic London is one in which Londoners have the time and resources to engage. Housing policy will be key to bringing this about.

London is diverse and on the whole, politically progressive. But the latent potential of the capital has not yet been unlocked. During our project we heard concerns about whether policy is being shaped in the interest of all Londoners. A good London is one in which we take a dual approach to reshaping power by increasing the influence of grassroots power, and making our governing structure more democratic and representative.

Here is how Good London would make our existing power structures more democratic:

- Re-instate the disability equality advisor to ensure that an understanding and application of the social model of disability⁵ is embedded and mainstreamed throughout the GLA.
- Urgently address disenfranchisement in the city, as 100,000 people dropped off the electoral role following the move to individual voter registration. We propose a stronger package of education on London democracy in schools, including information on the GLA, mayor and local councils and how Londoners can get involved. Schools should give pupils clearer advice and encouragement on voter registration to ensure that future generations of Londoners have the tools and knowledge to engage.
- The GLA, Mayor and local councils must become more democratic in their approach to housing policy. Londoners we heard from feel a deep unease with the way in which planning and building is currently happening. Putting community-led development at the heart of policy, the GLA should attempt to work directly with community groups on establishing new housing projects, and residents must be given greater consultative powers on new developments.
- The London Mayor and the GLA should be given more powers to address London's housing needs. The mayor needs fiscal, borrowing and increased planning powers to be able to address the housing crisis.

To democratise power in London we need to look at ways we can engage a broad spectrum of citizens at a local level. There are systemic issues around who is able to participate in democracy in London – from who has the right to vote in elections, to socio-economic issues, or the fact that policy-making has a huge impact on London's youth population but attempts to lower the voting age to 16 have been resisted.

There are also wider issues around engagement. As Amina Gichinga found through her work with Take Back the City⁷: "People don't feel listened to. When they engage with our democracy, their needs are not reflected in policies – for example in current housing policy."

There are many examples, locally and globally, of citizens taking a bigger stake in decision-making and demanding more control of services, particularly in cities. London must look to these examples for inspiration, but also proof that a more democratic city is possible.

Porto Alegre, Brazil⁸

Since 1989 Porto Alegre has used participatory budgeting to give citizens the chance to decide what a proportion of the council's budget is spent on. Each of Porto Alegre's 16 districts has a popular council made up of representatives from the community – from mothers' clubs to housing co-operatives. Since 1989 these district-level assemblies have elected members to a city-wide Council of Representatives, with City Hall officials tasked with continuously liaising with these

bodies. Through negotiation and feedback with the city's grassroots groups, a list of priorities is created for local projects – such as improving sewerage systems, building local schools and hospitals, and paving streets. Once these public works have been agreed, community representatives can supervise the progress of each project and monitor how the funds are spent. At its height participatory budgeting accounted for 21 per cent of Porto Alegre's budget.



Hopeful mayoral & London Assembly candidates at #WeTheCity

inclusive politics - participatory budgeting

Barcelona en Comú, a citizens' platform whose candidate was elected as Mayor of Barcelona in 2015, made listening integral to their process. In creating their electoral programme, they asked groups and organisations to diagnose the issues in their neighbourhoods so that these demands could be included in their electoral programme. Speaking at #WeTheCity, Kate Shea Baird from Barcelona en Comú, stressed that those who had participated in the neighbourhood chats and manifestos "felt that they had a stake in the project, they felt it was theirs." The platform had built an army of people across the city who felt that it belonged to them, and who wanted to campaign for it.

By initiating new forms of democracy and participation, a space is opened for politics to operate in a different way. For Barcelona en Comú this meant putting feminism at the heart of politics: insisting on gender equality at every stage of the platform's decision-making, from providing crèches and childcare at assemblies to ensuring that women and men get equal time to speak. As Kate Shea Baird

explained: "when you have politics that is led by and for women, it really changes the tone, it changes the content, it changes the way of working – that is in its own way a revolution in itself".

Participatory budgeting can be a way to make politics more inclusive, especially when the normal rules on who can engage are changed. In New York, participatory budgeting has been extended to anyone above the age of 14¹⁰, and the identification requirement for participation is proof of residency rather than citizenship. In 2008 in Newcastle thousands of young people had a say in how the city's £2.25 million Children's Fund was spent¹¹. In Porto Alegre, the most deprived areas had strong representation through participatory budgeting; the poorest 12% of districts made up a third of the overall council¹², and women came to outnumber

men on the budgeting council.¹³

Participatory budgeting helps to create a more educated platform of voters. Often, learning about how policies are formed is key to participatory budgeting as part of a package of educa"I think we need to be looking at equality for women as a way of making London a true city of opportunity and tolerance for everyone."

– Sophie Walker, Women's equality party, Good London Hustings

tion for participants. In Newcastle, where young people took part in participatory budgeting for the Children's Fund, they attended a series of preparatory sessions before the final participatory budgeting conference to allow them to learn critical



The story of citizen's platforms in Barcelona

assessment skills on 'dummy projects'. In New York, participants conceive their own ideas for the public budget before working with experts to shape these ideas into feasible policy proposals that they then narrow down to a shortlist. Ultimately, allowing voters a deeper insight into policy making and prioriti-

sation can only help to shape a more empathetic, informed electorate.

Without giving people the time and skills to reflect on change, we cannot expect to maximise democracy. Amina Gichinga worked with groups for Take Back the City: "We found out that it takes more than just asking questions to find out how people really feel. You have to spend time with them and probe their

experiences." She adds that shaping policy through listening was well received: "The way in which the people's manifesto was created excited people because rather than *telling* people what we were going to do for them, we were asking them what change they wanted to see."

Participatory budgeting has been trialled on a small scale in London¹⁴ but committing to a city-wide programme with proper support and an inclusive frame-

work would allow Londoners to feel truly involved in their city, and give greater representation to those who are traditionally excluded from politics. It has been shown

"When people have real power, they step up and become more engaged"

– Josh Lerner, Executive director of the non-profit participatory budgeting programme

through research on participatory budgeting that when given the responsibility citizens are willing to raise their own taxes and prioritise services for the most vulnerable. Allowing Londoners control over spending is an opportunity to unleash the values that have been masked by an imposed narrative of finance and self-interest and to unlock the transformative potential each of us have.



#WeTheCity Workshop on storytelling & migration

democratic energy

Hamburg, Germany¹⁶

Germany's second-largest city held a referendum in 2013, which led to Hamburg buying back its power supply from the multinational energy giants Vattenfall and E.On. The Hamburg Unser Netz coalition of environmental, anti-poverty and consumer rights groups – launched in 2010 – successfully argued that the city's energy grid be brought under local ownership after its contracts with private companies had expired. Germany has pledged to move away from reliance on fossil fuels towards providing renewable energy sources for citizens (a plan known as Energiewende). This has led hundreds of neighbourhoods, in response to what they consider to be the inefficiencies of privatisation, to seek a "remunicipalisation" of public utilities and a transition to renewables.

Seoul, South Korea¹⁷

In 2011 Park Won-soon was elected mayor of Seoul and took a different approach to governance from his predecessors: He established social media platforms and analysis centres to allow citizens to share ideas digitally. Won-soon has also introduced the Mayoral Mobile office – an initiative which moves the mayor's office to different areas of the city to engage with the issues each neighbourhood faces. Cheong-Chek Forums – another of Won-soon's ideas – are local meetings lasting two to three days, which require officials to incorporate citizen feedback into decision-making. Won-soon has sought to create a culture of collaboration and transparency in Seoul.

During the Good London project the issue of over-priced, unsustainable private energy was raised many times. Other cities in the UK, like Bristol¹⁸ and Nottingham¹⁹, have set up public energy companies, but the GLA has been slow to respond to the public need for cheaper, cleaner energy. All over London communities are organising around energy, and Sadiq Khan has in the past publicly supported the idea of setting up a publicly owned energy company.²⁰ Yet the recent announcement that the GLA will continue the Licence Lite deal initiated by Boris Johnson demonstrates that the mayor has chosen energy driven by big business. Under the Licence Lite deal the GLA will partner with a major energy company to provide low carbon energy to institutions like the NHS. On her Good London podcast Jo Ram spoke about the democratic deficit driving energy policy:



"What is not lacking is people's engagement, but rather the lack of appropriate measures that enable participatory democracy, because the answers lie with people. The GLA and individual London boroughs need to start genuinely engaging with the many communities of London who are organising around social and environmental issues, and to value their knowledge." ²¹

A project called Repowering London ²² is working with communities around London on community-owned sustainable energy. With funding from Hackney Council, Repowering London is working with the people of the Banister House Estate to

install solar panels that will provide part of the estate's energy. The money for the panels was raised by a community share offer.²³ Projects like this are going on across London and could be scaled up and

"Low carbon transition isn't just about investment to renewable energy. A genuine transition requires democratisation and the participation of people"

- Jo Ram, switched on London, Good London podcast

replicated with more support from local councils and the GLA.

Jinhwa Park from the Social Innovation Exchange spoke to #WeTheCity about the drive for greater democracy in Seoul. She said that the new measures taken in the city are driven by an acknowledgement that "the answers to our problems can be found where the action is". The mobile mayoral office and the Cheong-Chek Forums in Seoul demonstrate a commitment to bringing decision-making to the places it directly affects. In the three-day forums, public consultation is not a box-ticking exercise but the engine of decision-making. London needs a similar approach to making sure that initiatives going on around the city are taken seriously and used as the basis for policy and funding decisions.

London faces big challenges across the city, but many of the best solutions to them are those that start at a local level – tailored to the needs of each area. To find these solutions, the knowledge and expertise that Londoners already have needs to be tapped into. Without engaging and consulting with London on a local level, Good London participants felt we miss the opportunity to find solutions with the best possible fit.

moving





The recent focus on transport in London has been on the contested need for airport expansion and the importance of new networks like Crossrail. When the emphasis is on going further, faster, it can appear as though the exclusion of many Londoners from our existing transport network, and the environmental impact of how we move, are peripheral issues. Accessibility and sustainability were absolutely central to discussions on movement during this project. The Good London vision is one that views transport not just as a means of getting from A to B, but as part of a holistic vision of the city, one that acknowledges and values

"London would hugely benefit from designated cycle roads. Boris Bikes are a step in the right direction but we need to take it further."

– Iyobosa, Lewisham

the social impact of transport.

In discourse on transport from politicians, we hear much about transport policy that will ensure that London remains a global hub, but little about the

75 per cent of London's tube stations which are still inaccessible ²⁴. In a workshop at #WeTheCity participants stressed that access and inclusion should be 'embedded throughout policy' rather than as an afterthought or optional add-on²⁵; A good London must be a city in which accessibility is prioritised.

We read about the importance of keeping London's roads moving because



Mika Minio-Paluello from Switched on London

congestion "is a real drag on business competitiveness" ²⁶, but the Good London project heard that the real drag was on air quality and environmental impact. We want a low emission, cycle-friendly city – not only for economic growth, but because it's good for the health and wellbeing of our city and the people who live in it.

Physical infrastructure could, and should, be used to enhance and reflect our social infrastructure. As Good London contributor Bella Eacott puts it, "Those who commute by public transport, walking or cycling have been shown to have higher trust and social participation – those essential social relationships that result in community building, and economic development." ²⁷ When we make accessibility and sustainability central tenets of transport in London, we also build and strengthen our social infrastructure.

These are the policy suggestions of Good London participants for creating a more sustainable, inclusive transport system:

- Increase accessibility on London's transport network by making all tube stations fully accessible. We welcome the recent boost to funding for step free access²⁸ but believe that more could be done. The engineering feats achieved in the Crossrail project prove that it is possible to make major changes in old stations the same level of expertise and enthusiasm must be used to make London's tube network fully accessible.
- Ensure accessibility is not undermined by lift closures. This year there has been a 118 per cent increase in out of service lifts²⁹ due to staff shortages. The Mayor should work with TfL to ensure enough staff are present and trained to stop this issue.
- Create a more sustainable transport network by: Increasing the number of low-emission and electric buses with the aim of making all of London's bus and black cab stock zero emission by 2025; Banning diesel cars from London by 2025; Dramatically improving the cycling network.

- Introduce a more equitable fare structure with lower fares for those living in outer London. Fares from zones 4,5 and 6 to central London need to be reduced, with a view to creating a flat fare structure for tube rides across London in the next five years.
- Ensure that Transport for London money is used for the common good, by setting out new strategic criteria around sustainability, accessibility, and inclusion. Projects like the Garden Bridge, which is being built with £60 million of public money³⁰, raise serious concerns about how money is being allocated, and which areas of London are being prioritised for spending. The bridge is being built in an area with a high proportion of bridges, whilst the East of the city suffers from a lack of river crossings. Cycling will be prohibited on the bridge and the ecological benefits have been questioned by green charities³¹.



Warsaw, Poland³²

An initiative called Virtual Warsaw has been designed to aid Warsaw's visually impaired residents in navigating the city. Thousands of beacons will be installed around the city, including on public transport and at bus stops. These beacons are combined with an open data system, and will send information to users' smartphones allowing them to get accurate information on where they are in the city, and information about the places they are visiting or transport they are using. It is hoped that this scheme will cut down the travel time for visually impaired people and allow them greater self-sufficiency in the city.

living





Ask any Londoner to talk about change in their city, and it won't be long before the crisis in housing comes up. The unaffordable cost of buying and renting is having

big consequences for who can live in London, and how we live. Good London participants want to see solutions that acknowledge that housing is more than a roof over our heads: housing should be

"public spaces where people can meet, and where something new and unexpected could happen are really essential"

– Deborah Grayson

recognised as a vital source of security and wellbeing, and the foundation of community.

By displacing people and by forcing them to move frequently, housing policy is breaking up communities and preventing Londoners from laying down roots. Rising house prices and rents can divide and rule in boroughs when longstanding residents are forced out. The wider implications of this are huge. As Good London contributor David Robinson, put it:

"...the strength of a community determines the level of its demand on public services. It shapes economic performance, influences crime rates and impacts directly on health, mental and physical. Attention to the individual, to the local, is not an alternative to a hard-nosed, big city vision; it is the making of it." 33

So, how can attention be focused on the local? Building more homes is clearly



Hopeful candidates meet hopeful Londoners

essential, but libraries, community centres and free public spaces must also be protected, and used as focal points in every area. Mental and physical wellbeing for all Londoners must be seen as our metric for success and incorporated into the ways in which our city is designed. A good London should be seen as a collection of hundreds of

thriving neighbourhoods, or we risk building up a city where suburbs become commuter dormitories.

We must be aware of the ways in which planning can impact on the social

fabric of our city. In her vision for Good London Saskia Sassen wrote about the way in which the vital 'urban tissue' of small streets and squares – public urban space – is eliminated by "turning sections of a city...into large office enclaves and luxury apartment towers surrounded by visible or invisible walls or moats." We must aim to avoid the construction of borders in our city – visible or invisible. Public space is essential to our social infrastructure, sense of solidarity and mental wellbeing.

The invisible borders that are calcifying in our city take other forms. In the

Good London project we heard concerns about the way in which immigration policy has created 'everyday borders' for migrants living in London. Threatening raids in workplaces and at street-level, and immigration checks for services wreck London's identity as a diverse and open city. We should look to the wave of 'sanctuary cities¹³⁵ around the



the London Latinx

world that have welcomed migrants. These cities make it clear that they are open cities in which no human is illegal. An open city must give people the tools they need to thrive. This means preserving, rather than cutting, advice services³⁶ so that migrants and refugees can access vital services. It means ensuring that support and housing is available for those who are most in need of it.

Stockholm, Sweden³⁷

All intellectually disabled people in Sweden can choose where they would like to live and the type of support they receive in the community after the closing down of all former institutions. The de-institutionalisation process began in the 1970s, as community-based services gradually came to replace institutionalised care provision. Group homes – where five or so people live in individual small apartments – and supported living offer people with complex needs the freedom of their own space and the ability to make their own choices. To aid this, the Swedish Government funds over 300 'Personal Ombuds' – representatives independent of healthcare services and family – who support people to assert their legal rights and make major life decisions.

These are Good London's policy suggestions for shaping a more open city:

- The GLA and local councils should shift their emphasis from wealth to wellbeing by using the Social Progress Index as a more holistic measure of the success of different boroughs in London.
- Encourage more urban food growing by establishing vegetable patches in all of London's parks, where people can learn about seasonal growing and eating. Growing Communities³⁸ in Hackney is already growing food on 12 sites in the borough, including parks. Councils across the city should learn from, and replicate this work.
- Draw on the work and expertise of campaigns like Repowering London to fund solar powered energy on estates and public buildings.
- Ensure that 10 per cent of new housing built meets the Lifetime Home Standard – the standard for accessible homes.

- The GLA to commit to stop the increasing number of migrants experiencing poverty and destitution by supporting the provision of frontline advice services across London.
- The Mayor and GLA should champion
 London's status as a diverse and open city,
 without the random raids on workplaces and
 street-level identity checks intended in recent
 immigration legislation. The Mayor should work
 with housing providers in the private and social
 sector to resist the dangers posed by landlord
 immigration checks.
- Cultural spaces should be fostered by preserving free museums and by encouraging buildings that are only used during the day to become cultural centres. An example of the latter can be found in Ljubljana, Slovenia, where military barracks have been transformed into a free cultural hub, which the government has subsequently given the status of national culture heritage.

There is a broad consensus around the need to build more houses in London but questions on how, and for whom, are more divisive. The government has operated a top down approach, which currently favours big developers building homes with minimal affordable housing provision. The scale of the challenge on housing means that the default policy call to "build more houses" puts little emphasis on the types of housing to be built or new ways to deliver them.

During the Good London project we looked at how we can link our physical and social infrastructures, so that when we address the housing crisis we do so in a way that empowers communities. This contrasts with the way in which some London councils have approached housing issues – chipping away at networks and communities. The practice of councils displacing social housing tenants in the name of regeneration shows a disregard for the importance of the support structures that come with secure housing.

Policy from central government on selling off high value council housing to continue to fund right to buy will result in social housing tenants being pushed further out of the city and erode these structures further. In the Good London project, the strength of feeling around ending the erosion of social housing was clear. We need a suspension of the right to buy policy and a big increase in the number of social homes being built.

There are pockets of people all over London using their ingenuity to counter overpriced housing. From canal boats to guardianship schemes, the myriad ways in which people are approaching housing shows that there is a will to find unorthodox and more communal ways of living. As Richard Clarke pointed out in his contribution to the Good London project, an unintended consequence of the housing issues in London has been the development of a 'more collegiate' attitude to housing. People are choosing to buy with friends and renting in shared housing at all ages. This collegiate attitude needs to be seized upon to open up the way for more co-operative and community owned housing. Alice Martin points out that more democratic models "should not be a substitute for social housing but a more empowering way of delivering it."

In his vision on how to 'go local' Richard Clarke summed up the future for housing policy: "The key change which needs to occur is that the national housing strategy needs to become a legal and financial framework and the delivery and development of housing policies need to become locally driven." With the power of the Mayor and the GLA, London can lead the way on this method of implementation. The Mayor of London should champion five sites in the next five years to demonstrate that change is possible and to experiment with community engagement processes. Below we explore the kind of developments we would like to see championed.

community land trusts

Community-led developments have the potential to both increase the amount of housing being built and engender community co-operation. There are different models for community and co-operative ownership. Calum Green from Citizens UK and Alice Martin from the New Economics Foundation have set out some of these models:

- Community Land Trusts (CLTs) provide permanently affordable homes for local people in housing need. The homes are kept permanently affordable either through an asset lock on the land, retaining an equity stake in the home or by including a resale price covenant in the lease locking future sales prices to local incomes.
- Mutual Housing Ownership (MHO) is a form of shared ownership, which the New Economics Foundation helped to pioneer, in which residents own an equity stake in a mutual property trust rather than an individual property, dependent on what they can afford. LILAC, a
- co-housing development in Leeds, is the first example of this kind of scheme in action and the growing demand and potential for large-scale MHOs is currently being explored by OPAL Housing.
- Large-scale renter cooperatives give renters security and control over their space and spending. The option of longer-term tenancies and rents set according to incomes allow people to budget and save for the future. These models are an attractive investment option for pension funds and other institutional investors as they provide a long-term rental income.



CLTs have recently had breakthrough schemes in London. In Mile End, St Clements, a former workhouse and hospital, a London CLT is selling 23 truly affordable houses to local residents. The prices of the homes are linked to average local incomes, so they are guaranteed to be affordable to local people. A similar scheme is happening in Lewisham through Church Grove Project. In this project, residents will be part of the design process and self-build will also be an option, including training on construction and maintenance. Community land trusts are a way to offer affordable homes in perpetuity. The expansion of community land trust housing requires a joint effort on behalf of trusts and councils to find more potential sites for projects. London Citizens, part of Citizens UK, has commitments from at least 7 local authorities to deliver further CLTs across the capital. In Haringey the CLT StART has created an ambitious plan for 800 new homes on a public site.



Listening to Sophie Partridge & Penny Pepper

St. Ann's Redevelopment Trust (StART)³⁹

StART is a CLT in the London Borough of Haringey, which is aiming to acquire a site for 800 homes, held collectively by the community and kept permanently affordable. The St. Ann's site is NHS land and was given outline planning permission for a plan with only 14 per cent affordable housing, despite being close to wards with some of the highest levels of child poverty in the country. StART wants Haringey residents to benefit from this land, and to be involved in the design and building of the homes. StART also wants to ensure that the site continues to have a health legacy, supporting the service users of the health facilities, and preserving green space. The campaign has garnered a wide range of support from people across Haringey and London.

Hamburg, Germany⁴⁰

Germany has welcomed over a million refugees in the last two years, and has consequently had to come up with quick solutions for housing. FindingPlaces is a Hamburg scheme run by HafenCity University, MIT Media lab and Hamburg's government, which allows Hamburg residents to attend workshops where they work with an open source data system that maps their neighbourhoods. With researchers they look at where there is unused space in their neighbourhoods to identify potential sites for temporary refugee accommodation. They also look and discuss the best ways to house refugees around the city so they have access to services and are able to integrate into life in Hamburg.

The work of FindingPlaces could be a model for how we increase CLTs, and co-operative housing in London. By using technology to make people aware of how the space around them is being used we can inspire them to see opportunities for community-led developments. As Alice Martin explains, public land offers the possibility of larger developments of this kind

"Public land owned by local authorities and government departments across the city offers the perfect opportunity to demonstrate more of these models at scale – keeping the freehold of the sites in public or community ownership so that the long-term economic benefits are captured"

Resource could be given to the mayor's Homes for Londoners team to increase the number of CLTs by using technology to raise community awareness of unused public and private land in their areas, and lobby for changes in planning procedures that make CLTs as the preferred option for development on public land. The team should also work with existing co-operative housing organisations to create a comprehensive toolkit to disseminate to groups who want to form co-operatives.

meanwhile spaces

Part of the process of encouraging community ownership must be a newfound awareness of the space around us; too often we see unused land as dead space. Meanwhile is a term given to spaces, perhaps owned by the council or a developer. If an arrangement is reached with the owner, these spaces can be taken over and used until the space is developed or sold.

By embracing meanwhile schemes we recognise the potential of our city to evolve – seeing every plot of land or empty shop as a place that holds the potential for something interesting to happen. Richard Sennett suggests that over-determination of buildings in the city "makes the urban environment a brittle place". He argues for a more open city, making the distinction between a city with rigid

boundaries and a city with porous borders. In the open city spaces are adaptable and can evolve to the needs of the community. When areas are developed with little community involvement, the hoarding around these new buildings can become like micro-borders.

In Mile End, the former asylum St Clements which is housing 23 CLT homes, also hosted a successful meanwhile scheme: Shuffle festival, an arts and culture festival. Kate MacTiernan who established Shuffle was involved with the CLT and wanted to see the asylum used to bring the community closer to the transition of the historic building, and to address the fact that there is no distinct centre in Mile End 41 – the focal point of the area is the large junction at the centre. In Richard Sennett's closed city, streams of traffic mean the city is 'cut into segregated parts'. Bringing life back to St Clements was a way to bring a locus for community activity to Mile End.

So, if meanwhile spaces have been used successfully for enterprise and art, then why not for housing? An innovative scheme in Lewisham has created a mixed development – Ladywell – on Lewisham High Street on a site that was formerly occupied by a leisure centre. The building includes 24 residential units, which will house homeless families in the borough, and a community café, film screening room and dedicated enterprise hub with affordable workspaces. The building will stay on the site for at least four years whilst the council makes long term plans for the site.

Why couldn't we get every 'village' in London talking and agreeing fair principles for allocating more housing space?

– Bob Bollen

It is fully demountable and could be used five times over a lifespan of 60 years.

A scheme like this is exciting because it not only

provides desperately needed affordable housing, but also allows experimentation with new forms of mixed developments – testing how mixing space for enterprise with housing can benefit and enhance communities. There are also huge opportunities for experimenting with design and materials with meanwhile housing development. Clearly, it is not suitable for all Londoner's housing needs. The relative instability of a four-year tenancy may not be appropriate for everyone, but as a means of using space that might otherwise be dormant to provide affordable solutions it holds enormous potential.

Meanwhile schemes should become a key part of the mayor's policy on housing and development; they should be included in the London plan, and the mayor and the GLA should look at how they can be implemented on more sites, whether publically or privately owned. One way to do this could be to make them a consideration in all planning applications, with a contribution to the cost of the space being levied on the developer.

private renting sector

Private renting is increasing in London, with the number of private renters close to doubling in the last 15 years. Nearly one third – 31 per cent – of inner London



Hopeful Londoners share their visions with hopeful candidates

housing is private rented sector housing, compared with only 17 per cent in the rest of the UK. Seb Kliers from Generation Rent summed up the issues that renter's face:

"...as increasing numbers and types of people are living in the private rented sector, it has become clear that it is structurally flawed and needs reform. Most renters live in 6-12 month tenancies, effectively facing a potential eviction every year. Equally, rents can be raised by any amount on an annual basis, and although some HMOs (houses in multiple occupation) are licenced, most privately rented properties can be let out without any proof that they are in good condition. The sector needs much better security of tenure, controls on rents and a fairer system for ensuring a decent standard of living."

A lack of effective regulation means that the balance of power is currently stacked against tenants. It is crucial that we create mechanisms for tenants to be able to act effectively when they are receiving unfair treatment and that landlords and agents are made accountable. Several suggestions have been made for how this could be brought about.

Before his election as mayor Sadiq Khan supported the idea of a London-wide social letting agent. Some social lettings agents already exist at a borough level. To introduce London wide social lettings agents would bring some choice back to renters. By having the option to rent properties from landlords signed up to a social

lettings agent, they would be renting from an agent who would hold landlords accountable for bad practice. The social lettings agent, as a not for profit enterprise, could also charge minimal deposits, regulate rent hikes and provide more security by ensuring that a percentage of landlords on its book were giving longer terms tenancies.

Seb Klier makes the case for 'an organised renters' movement', that challenges issues facing renters and brings them together as a collective force. With the support and collaboration of the GLA, a renters' union could become a locus for action around renting. Using collective power to campaign directly to the GLA for better rights and protection for renters, it could also be an excellent resource for the GLA in tackling the poor experience of London renters by using digital solutions to create a clearer picture of renting. Issues around quality and poor treatment, which are currently often discussed anecdotally, could be mapped out more effectively and up-to-date, clear information on legal rights be made widely available.

Berlin, Germany⁴²

The Berlin senate has introduced a "rental price brake" to slow down the city's spiralling housing costs. Germany has the lowest level of home-ownership in the European Union, and Berlin's 3.5 million residents – over 80 per cent of whom are renters – were the first in the country to experience the "mietpreisbremse" in action from June 2015. The median price per square metre is calculated in each of the city's districts based on a census of rent prices, and landlords are prohibited from raising rents above ten per cent of the neighbourhood average. Berlin has long experimented with innovative methods of residential co-housing, promoting collaborative and cooperative ways of living – from collectively funded co-ops ("Baugruppen") that hire construction workers and architects to custom-build their homes, to shared intergenerational living schemes.

working



Inequality in London is endemic; the number of people living in poverty who are in a working family has increased by 70 per cent over the last decade⁴³ and yet the received wisdom remains that a trickle down economic model heavily reliant on the financial sector is essential for London and its future interests. The traction of this narrative is stopping us addressing needless inequality in our city. As Danny Dorling wrote for his vision of a good London:

"All the other large cities in affluent countries that treat their children better than we do rely on a more diverse economy than we do. It is not the case that we can only afford what we have because of the jobs rich people do in London. It is the case that if London were more normal it would not tolerate such extremes of poverty and wealth."

London has the riches – in human and financial terms – to tackle the problems it faces, but we must be bold. A good London would encourage a more diversified economy, in which a broad range of skills is encouraged in businesses and enterprises across the city. By ensuring that our workplaces are distributed, we can help to create and enhance micro economies with strong local networks and supply chains. The London Living Wage campaign has been an important step in encouraging employers to pay responsible wages but poverty wages remain too common in London, and we must encourage the London Living Wage to be a minimum standard.

A good London would offer people the support they need to maximise their experience and skills. Childcare in London can be as much as 50 per cent more expensive than in the rest of the country⁴⁴. The lack of affordable childcare has become a major factor when parents make choices about work – many are de-skilling or choosing not to work rather than pay for childcare. This undermines the "potential economic and social opportunity from achieving a greater gender mix in



Anthony Anaxagorou & Karim Kamar

both parenting and senior organisational positions."⁴⁵ Migrants in London also de-skill to gain employment. We should invest in training and qualification adaption to ensure that we are matching Londoners to their skill sets.

We must also be clear about the implications that the cost of housing and property has for

work in London, particularly in encouraging a diverse economy. London is becoming untenable for many different types of industry. In order to create a vibrant, mixed economy we need to face and address the limiting role that the cost of property

plays. We can address this by building more mixed developments, but the demand for housing and the shortage of construction workers also presents an opportunity to invest in training for these key skills. With a pledge from the government to devolve the adult education budget to London⁴⁶ we can



#WeTheCity workshop on our economy

work to upskill Londoners to create the diverse economy we need.

These are Good London's policy suggestions for a diverse and fair economy:

- The introduction of a London business contract, which would encourage fairer employer practice by awarding public sector contracts and incentives to companies who agreed to fairer working conditions. These could include: paying the London Living Wage to all employees; operating a maximum pay ratio from highest to lowest earner of 12:1; encouraging gender equality and being able to demonstrate sustainable business practices.
- All London councils should follow the lead of Lambeth and Southwark councils to tackle corporate tax avoidance by pledging to audit all companies they contract to ensure they meet Fair Tax Mark standards.⁴⁷
- More funding to establish not-for profit and cooperative nurseries. London's current childcare provision is the most expensive in the UK, and has become a major barrier to parents working, particularly women.

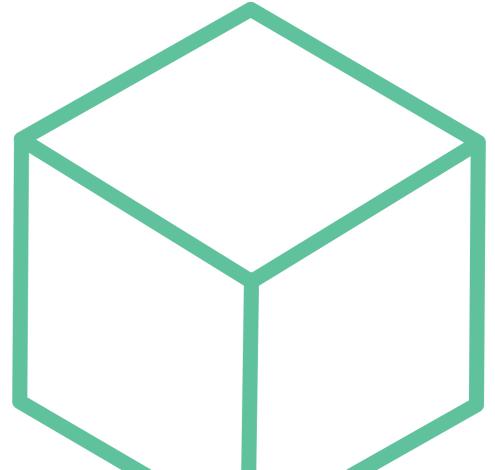
- Adult education budget should be partly investested in training for construction and green jobs.
- Councils should improve public consultation processes around redevelopment that affects businesses, like the Brixton arches businesses, which are being forced out because of a Network Rail plan 48.
- More GLA support for initiatives like the Brixton pound, which encourage localised economies. The GLA should work with the instigators of schemes like this to put together a toolkit and support package for other areas that want to introduce similar initiatives.
- The Mayor should champion a Universal Basic Income (UBI) scheme in London, similar to trials being done in Utrecht, Dauphin and Helsinki.



Lisbon, Portugal⁴⁹

In Lisbon, which has a shortage of medical professionals, migrants who trained as doctors but work in non-medical professions are supported in their transition back to medicine by the Professional Integration of Immigrant Doctors project. This scheme, backed by NGOs, helps to overcome the financial and administrative barriers that often result in trained doctors deskilling after emigrating to Portugal. Between 2002 and 2005, 120 individuals were helped with official registration, training, and examinations. By the end of the project, over 90 per cent of the doctors selected were practising medicine again, and with the support of the national Ministry of Health, hundreds more are expected to integrate into the Portuguese healthcare system.

conclusion





Over the course of the Good London project we hosted conversations on specific topics like housing, migration and democracy, and looked at London through the lenses of power and how we live, move and work in the city. We have learned that London and the issues it faces cannot be neatly stratified, and that its problems will not be solved in isolation from each other. Throughout the project, questions and solutions that participants raised reflected the interlinking nature of our challenges and resources. How can we create gender equality in the work-place without adequate childcare provision or expand our transport system without making it accessible?

This report, the result of a year of listening to Londoners, has tried to reflect these interlinking needs by giving a range of voices equal weight in one shared

document; diverse concerns from participants who shared their vision through our website and at events sit alongside contributions from think

"London has a host of brilliant ideas, it needs ideas to be listened to and supported."

– Amy Cameron 10:10

tanks, politicians and campaigning groups. Crowdsourcing gave us the opportunity to tap into the concerns and expertise of a huge breadth of Londoners. Inevitably this presented us with some challenges. Participants approached change in different ways: for some, small acts of individual power are the engine of change, whilst others favour larger solutions supported by our governing structures: many believed that both needed to work together.

In a project where ideas ranged from initiating a London litter-picking day, to widespread house-building projects, the myriad ways in which it is possible to create change became apparent. This threw up new questions about how we shape a good London in a way that values differing approaches. We discovered that this will only be possible by creating the mechanisms for people to participate in the decisions that shape their lives and by ensuring that their views are listened to and used to inform the decisions of politicians. Through events such as #WeTheCity, we experimented with how we do politics: instead of politicians talking at us, we talked and listened to each other, with politicians there as equals to collectively develop ideas to make a Good London – to create a city that puts all of us first.

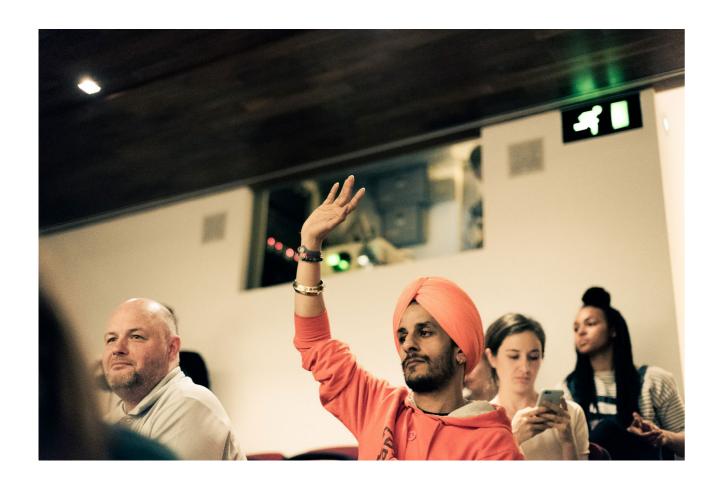
From this project we discovered that when it comes to improving our city, we should see no change as too small and no challenge as too big. We showed that it matters how we do politics; that by creating online and offline spaces where all people, ideas and lived experiences are welcome, we can overcome

artificial divides along party political lines and meet each other as humans and collectively tackle the challenges we face. We also learned that it is challenging to do politics differently and put people at the heart of it, that it takes longer and is more complex. And we learned that it is not only necessary, but desirable and possible.

Kate Shea-Baird told #WeTheCity participants that Barcelona en Comú's experiences of creating a citizens' platform had demonstrated that "when you share power, it grows". We are at a unique moment: with a popular Mayor, and pledges from central government to give London new spending power on adult education, affordable housing and welfare, we have an opportunity to reshape our city in new and imaginative ways. One of our participants, Emily Kenway described her vision for a good London as "a city confident and courageous enough to let its people shape policy".



Penny Woolcock's Utopia, © David Levene



We believe London has this courage

Bus / Penny Pepper An excerpt

Performed in full at #WeTheCity⁵⁰

On the bus
double decker
smelly bumpy
bony wrecker.
In my slot a man with doggy –
by my shoulder youth who's groggy,
armpits foul, hair is stinking,
smells of vomit, and binge drinking.
On the bus
Boris bus
dirty bumpy
horrid bus.
There we were such humble cripples,

fought the system sent out ripples –
proud to take a London bus
with the throng to push to fuss –
On the bus



endnotes

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acknowledgments

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We are hugely grateful to everyone who joined the conversation about the kind of London we want to live in. Thank you to all the organisations and individuals, named and unnamed, who participated, contributed, advised, and invited us to listen, online and offline. This vision of London is inspired by you and dedicated to all Londoners.

10:10 Acorn Action Aid Advice UK

Archetype Architects

Arteries

Amnesty

Barbican Young Poets

C20 Future Planners

Bite the Ballot

38 Degrees

Changing London Debt Resistance UK

Democratic Society Divest London

Economy

CBT London

Care2 Inc.

Generation Rent

Indoamerican Refugee & Migrant Organisation

(IRMO)

Inclusion London

Just Space

Latin American Women's

Rights Services (LAWRS)

London Gypsy and Traveller

Unit

London Latinx

Migrants' Rights Network

Missing people Momentum

Mono

Nesta

New Weather Institute

New Economics Foundation Occupy Democracy

Open Generation Festival of Ideas

Open University

Peabody Housing Association

Podemos Londres

Radical Housing Network

Reclaim London Red Pepper Renters Rights Resonance FM

Rethinking Economics Save the Children

ShareAction Small Axe

Streets Kitchen Switched On London

Take Back the City

Tearfund The GLC Story The Roundhouse

Three Faiths Forum (3FF)

Transport for All We Are 336

Women's Budget Group

Young Greens Youth Trust

Teju Adeleye Franklyn Addo Indra Adnan

Anthony Anaxagorou Victor Anderson

Shaun Bailey, Conservative

Party Marissa Begonia

Sam Berkson aka Angry Sam Sian Berry, Green Party

Mike Betts Bob Bollen William Bowles Yolande Burgess Amy Cameron

Melissa Cespedes del Sur Richard Clark

Ellen Clifford

Tom Crompton Zahra Dalilah Will Davies Sarah Day

Sirio Canós Donnay Danny Dorling

Stella Duffy Bella Eacott

Adam Elliott-Cooper

Gideon Farrell Dawn Foster Tatiana Garavito Ashish Ghadiali Amina Gichinga Jeremy Gilbert Maurice Glasman

Abi Aspen Glencross Pippa Goldfinger Deborah Grayson Yomi GREEdS

Calum Green Megha Harish Emma Howard Catherine Howarth

Iyobosa Igbinoba Juliet Jacques

Peter Jenkinson Owen Jones Karim Kamar

Adam Kammerling Jane Keighley Emily Kenway Scott Langdon

Anna Lau Richard Law Ben Little

Hywel Lloyd Sergio Lopez Michelle Madsen

Fanny Malinen Felix Mann Alice Martin Carrie Marx Ed Mayo

Robin McAlpine Bharat Mehta Datza Mijailovic Mika Minio-Paluello Azzees Minott Rachel Moriarty Katya Nasim Natasha Nkonde

Abiodun Olatokun Jinhwa Park

Matt Nixon

Sophie Partridge Zsofia Paulikovics

Jules Peck Penny Pepper Imran Perretta Richard Phillips

Caroline Pidgeon, Liberal

Democrat

Zack Polanski, Liberal

Democrats Marina Prentoulis

Jo Ram

Adam Ramsey David Robinson Sophia Roupakia Saskia Sassen Kate Shea Baird

Julia Slay

Matthew Sowemimo

Ken Spours Anshu Srivastava

Father William Taylor Jane Thomas Charlie Tims Michelle Tiwo

Polly Trenow Fiona Twycross, Labour Party

Illary Valenzuela Daniel Vockins Rosie Walker

Sophie Walker, Women's **Equality Party**

Penny Wangari-Jones Catherine Ward Rosanna Wiseman **Toby Withers**

Penny Woolcock Shelagh Wright

