



JUMPSTART: SUPPORTING LONDON'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY

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Executive summary

The Covid-19 pandemic has been an unprecedented time for Londoners and life as we once knew it. Using brand new data, this report will investigate how the Mayor can better take a lead in supporting London's economic recovery, examine the impact of his policies on London's economy and businesses and make recommendations for how the Mayor can boost London's economy going forward.

London has faced unparalleled challenges over the last year since the pandemic hit. London's economy is based around people and those people being able to move freely around the city, supporting key sectors such as hospitality, leisure and tourism. As lockdown was introduced and London came to a standstill, so did its economy. It is clear that for London's economy to build back better, London needs to get moving again as soon as it is safe to do so. The importance of this cannot be understated and there is nowhere more dependent on London's movement than the central activity zone (CAZ) – the heartbeat of London's economy.

Throughout the pandemic, the Mayor has been inactive, invisible and unable to 'talk London up' at key stages when London needed it. Khan has too often been criticised for being a "Missing Mayor" when dealing with the issues facing London's economy and businesses¹. Khan has on many occasions during the pandemic said that safety should come first. Sadly, however, simply saying this does not go far enough. He has flip-flopped on policies such as the 10pm curfew and safety on the TfL network and refused to take action when he could have done. This back-and-forth with policy decisions and failure to act does not make Londoners feel safe. Although the Mayor has made some attempts to support London's economy it is not nearly enough and he has consistently shirked responsibility off to the Government.

In addition to being too slow to speak up for London, the Mayor has been too slow in coordinating a meaningful response to the pandemic. Existing programmes such as the Mayor's employment schemes can be slow to yield results yet no action has been taken to see how such vital schemes for London's recovery could be accelerated. As we approach a year after the pandemic first hit, the Mayor is still yet to publish a London-wide economic recovery strategy, despite repeated calls to do this. Most will accept that the strategy may need to change as the pandemic has caused much uncertainty but with no such strategy still in place, it shows a lack of leadership and fails to give London's businesses a sense of direction.

Through primary research we also found that where the Mayor has acted to introduce support for businesses, not nearly enough Londoners know about it. This is particularly shocking as the Mayor has spent record amounts on advertising and PR yet he is failing to get the message out to businesses in need of support. This is really letting Londoners down.

Although the pandemic has created many new challenges for London, it has also exacerbated existing ones. For example, the need to boost the number of employers paying the living wage is something that is now more important than ever to boost London's recovery. Evidence shows that there are huge health inequalities faced by

¹ 'I'm astonished' Sadiq Khan blasted for 'going missing' during coronavirus crisis, Daily Express, 17/2/20 <https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/1283325/sadiq-khan-news-mayor-of-london-shaun-bailey-TFL-tube-transport>

those not receiving a living wage². It has also highlighted the impact of policies that were implemented or failed to be implemented before the pandemic hit. For example, the huge delays to some infrastructure projects such as Crossrail which has contributed to a gaping hole in TfL's finances. If this had been addressed before the pandemic hit, London may be in a stronger position to recover.

As the pandemic continues and we plan London's recovery there are more areas where the Mayor's inaction and failure before the pandemic is being exposed. For example, the budget pressures the GLA are facing as a result of COVID-19 make the Mayor's previous spends on his office and PR uncomfortable reading. In addition to pre-pandemic policies there have also been some mayoral policies implemented during the pandemic which have been ill-timed and may in fact impede London's recovery. The increase in the congestion charge is a key example of this with many businesses expressing their dismay that such a policy was brought in at such a hard time for them³.

As well as badly timed policies the Mayor has also acted late when it comes to speaking up for London. For London's economy to get moving again, Londoners need to feel safe. During the summer of 2020, which was a key window to boost economic recovery, the Mayor did not encourage Londoners to visit the CAZ enough, urged caution and at the time called for greater restrictions. It was only towards the end of 2020 where the Mayor started to make the case for less restrictions in London and encourage people to support the economy. But as the new variant of the virus was discovered, it proved this was far too little too late.

The Mayor needs to stand up for London, put real measures in place to get London's economy moving and plan for the long-term future of a very different looking economy. This report will make recommendations for how the Mayor can take steps in the short-term and the long-term to help London build back better.

² Will COVID-19 be a watershed moment for health inequalities?, The Health Foundation, <https://www.health.org.uk/publications/long-reads/will-covid-19-be-a-watershed-moment-for-health-inequalities> 7 May 2020

³ Congestion charge hike begins as critics say it will 'hammer' Londoners, Evening Standard, 22/6/20, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/ccharge-hike-begins-as-critics-say-it-will-hammer-londoners-a4476011.html>

Recommendations

To help London's economic recovery, the Mayor of London should:

- **Commission TfL to investigate the expansion of existing travel incentive schemes and the introduction of new schemes to attract people to visit central London, partnering with London tourism, culture and hospitality groups to implement this when safe to do so.**
 - For London's economy to return to pre-pandemic levels, we need to rapidly increase footfall in central London as soon as it is safe to do so. To combat travel hesitancy as restrictions ease after lockdown, one-off travel incentives could be offered to entice people to travel in, boosting London's businesses and accelerating recovery.
- **Review all of his employment and job-creation schemes to see if any can be fast-tracked to aid London's economic recovery.**
 - Many of the Mayor's job-creation employment schemes are slow to realise with many not expected to see results for years to come. For example, the Mayor's Good Growth Fund worth £70 million has only created 109 jobs from 3 projects.⁴ This is despite a projection of creating over 6000 jobs from 83 projects. With job-creation key to London's recovery, the Mayor should review all schemes with the aim of identifying which can be accelerated to yield quicker results and a more immediate boost to London's economic recovery.
- **Publish a London-wide economic recovery strategy to guide and lead London's economic recovery.**
 - At nearly a year since the pandemic began and after cross-party calls for a London-wide economic recovery strategy to be published, it is about time this was made public to give businesses across London the vision and leadership they need.
- **Implement an independent cost-benefit analysis of his PR and advertising spending in light of the high number of Londoners who are unaware of any mayoral support.**
 - With our survey revealing that a large number of Londoners were unaware of mayoral support measures available despite the Mayor's high advertising and PR spend, the Mayor should review the effectiveness of his campaigns to ensure Londoners are getting value for money.
- **A weekly good news roundup to boost confidence in London's economy and get the city moving again.**
 - London's economy is based on confidence and on too many occasions during the pandemic the Mayor has failed to talk London up, opted for negativity or chosen party politics. The Mayor should use his existing channels to introduce a weekly good news roundup to give London's economy a much needed confidence boost.

⁴ Shaun Bailey Question to the Mayor, Mayor's Question time, 18th June 2020 <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/1763>

- **Review his Good Work Standard to reflect changes to work in London since the start of the pandemic.**
 - The Mayor published his Good Work Standard in 2019 which is supposed to be a benchmark for good employment practice in London. A lot has changed for employers and employees since the start of the pandemic and this should be reflected within the good work standard to improve employment practices in the new world of work.
- **Commit to ensuring the next economic development strategy includes a full section on young Londoners to ensure they are at the heart of London's long-term economic recovery.**
 - London's young people have been hit the hardest by the pandemic despite them being the future of our city. It is therefore more important than ever to include young people at the heart of any future strategies the Mayor sets out as our economy changes in a post-coronavirus world.
- **Build the government-funded affordable homes as soon as possible as part of London's recovery and to help the construction industry.**
 - The Mayor was given £4.82 billion by the government to build 116,000 affordable homes. The Mayor failed to keep on track pre-pandemic and almost half have not started. The Mayor should drive forward these homes to unlock new areas of London's economy and boost the construction industry.
- **Review planning policies to better support home and remote working.**
 - It is likely that home working will become a longer term trend after COVID-19, this will require a reconsideration of the type of new homes that need to be built and could have an impact on local economies. The Mayor should be reviewing this as soon as possible to aid London's recovery.
- **Reverse his Congestion Charge increase and reduce the operating hours.**
 - The policy is hugely damaging to businesses and creates another obstacle for them whilst trying to weather the storm of the pandemic. In addition to this, our survey found that four times as many Londoners thought the policy would have a negative impact than those believing it would have a positive impact. The Mayor has many other options where he could choose to make savings at TfL. This regressive policy must be scrapped.
- **Commit to taking the up to £5.50 London boundary charge proposal off the table.**
 - Implementing or planning to implement such a regressive policy at such an uncertain time would be hugely damaging for London's recovery. It is vital that for London's economy to recover, both inner and outer London need to thrive. Any policies which will penalise outer London will have a knock-on effect to the rest of our city.

The impact of COVID-19 on London's economy

The UK has been thrown into the biggest recession for generations due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. Economic figures for quarter 2 of 2020 indicate that UK GDP decreased by 19.8%⁵. Although the economy grew by a record 16.1% in quarter 3⁶ and 1% in quarter 4⁷, mainly thanks to lockdown restrictions easing, the UK's annual GDP fell by 9.9% in 2020, the largest yearly fall on record⁸. This economic downturn dwarves any quarterly GDP hit felt during the last recession in 2008. London makes up 13% of the UK's population but represents around 23% of the UK's Economy, highlighting how vital London's Economic recovery will be to the country's recovery as a whole. London's economic recovery should therefore be the Mayor's top priority. Questions also need to be asked of his record for protecting businesses, promoting employment and boosting London's economy before the pandemic hit as arguably his policies or lack of may have left London poorly prepared to deal with the effects of COVID-19.

London's economy is unique – its reliance on public transport and its key position for national and international connectivity create unique challenges for the capital. In addition to this, London is home to huge retail, hospitality, tourism, leisure, arts and culture industries which have been particularly hit hard by lockdown. This has contributed in creating disproportional issues in London compared to the rest of the UK. As well as London's connectivity and dependency on specific industries, London's demography has also created a perfect storm for London's economy. It is sadly too often the case in economic downturns that it is young people who are hit the hardest and early data implies this is the case this time round too⁹. With London's population comparatively young¹⁰, this is another example of how London will be disproportionately hit by the pandemic. The Mayor needs to do all he can to help support young people for London's economy to recover.

Central London and specifically the Central Activity Zone (CAZ) is where much of London's economic output stems from. The GLA estimated before the pandemic that it contains 1.7m jobs¹¹ – a third of London's total. As well as this it is estimated to make up 10% of the UK's economic output yet only has 230,000 residents. This highlights the huge economic power the CAZ represents and with its low number of residents, how important the movement of people in and around this area is. ONS figures showed that at the first peak of the pandemic, 57.2% of Londoners worked from home which is more

⁵ GDP quarterly national accounts, UK: April to June 2020, Office for National Statistics, 30/9/20, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/grossdomesticproductgdp/bulletins/quarterlynationalaccounts/apriltojune2020#:~:text=Nominal%20GDP%20fell%20by%20a,6.7%25%20in%20the%20second%20quarter>.

⁶ GDP quarterly national accounts, UK: July to September 2020, Office for National Statistics, 22/12/20, [https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/grossdomesticproductgdp/bulletins/quarterlynationalaccounts/julytoseptember2020#:~:text=Headline%20GDP-,UK%20gross%20domestic%20product%20\(GDP\)%20is%20estimated%20to%20have%20increased,quarterly%20records%20began%20in%201955](https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/grossdomesticproductgdp/bulletins/quarterlynationalaccounts/julytoseptember2020#:~:text=Headline%20GDP-,UK%20gross%20domestic%20product%20(GDP)%20is%20estimated%20to%20have%20increased,quarterly%20records%20began%20in%201955).

⁷ GDP monthly estimate, UK: December 2020, Office for National Statistics, 12/2/21, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/grossdomesticproductgdp/bulletins/gdpmonthlyestimateuk/december2020#the-output-measure-of-gdp-grew-by-10-in-quarter-4-2020>

⁸ GDP monthly estimate, UK: December 2020, Office for National Statistics, 12/2/21, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/grossdomesticproductgdp/bulletins/gdpmonthlyestimateuk/december2020#the-output-measure-of-gdp-grew-by-10-in-quarter-4-2020>

⁹ Covid job losses hitting young people hardest in the UK, study finds, The Guardian, 26/10/20 <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/oct/26/covid-job-losses-hitting-young-people-hardest-in-uk-study-finds>

¹⁰ The age distribution of the population, Centre for London, 11/12/20, <https://www.trustforlondon.org.uk/data/population-age-groups/>

¹¹ Central Activity Zone, GLA, <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/planning/implementing-london-plan/london-plan-guidance-and-spgs/central-activities-zone>

than any other region¹². In July 2020, the Evening Standard published findings from an investigation which highlighted the devastating impact of COVID-19 on London's economy¹³. The report revealed estimations that 1 million fewer commuters were crossing into central London each day, further highlighting the hammering the CAZ has received. At this time, footfall in the West End and Mayfair was reportedly down 74 per cent and this was even since retail reopened thanks to restrictions easing¹⁴. It is clear for central London to be the economic powerhouse it once was; it needs to get moving. These figures were in the summer of 2020, when we had a window of opportunity to get our lives back to some semblance of normality with new cases of the virus really low. However, during this period the Mayor failed to capitalise and did not do enough to encourage Londoners to visit the CAZ. This is something that desperately needs to be addressed as we move forward with London's recovery.

International tourism is another area which historically makes London's economy strong but during the peak summer months of 2020 there was a 96% drop in foreign bookings to the UK for July and 88% in August. It is forecasted by Visit Britain that inbound visits to the UK – of which London accounts for about half – will see a drop of 76% to 9.7 million and a decline of 80% in spending to £5.7 billion. This would represent a loss versus the pre-pandemic forecast of 32.3 million visits and £24.7 billion spending¹⁵. Luxury hotels, which were a huge contributor to London's economy, have in particular been suffering. Before the pandemic, London historically had the highest room rates in the country and occupancy levels were usually over 80%.¹⁶ It was reported that when the five-star Corinthia London in Whitehall reopened on 4th July 2020 as restrictions eased, it only had about 90 of its usual 280 rooms available and only 70 out of the normal 220 staff¹⁷. Comparing this to pre-pandemic paints a shocking picture.

The Greater London Authority's finances have been hit hard by the pandemic with the Mayor having to make almost £500 million in projected cuts across the GLA Group¹⁸. This is mostly due to the reduction in business rate revenue and predicted decrease in Council tax receipts. In addition to this, TfL has had to secure multiple bailout deals in light of lockdown and the huge reduction in passengers. If the Mayor had been more financially prudent (which he had been criticised for failing to be throughout his mayoralty), the effects of this economic shock would not be quite as huge. In October 2020, over six months into the pandemic, figures showed the number of staff at Transport for London earning more than £100,000 a year had increased by nearly 100 to 557 since the Mayor took office, meaning the huge bill for this had increased by 15.8

¹² *Coronavirus and Homeworking in the UK: April 2020*, Office for National Statistics, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/bulletins/coronavirusandhomeworkingintheuk/april2020#homeworking-by-region>

¹³ *Revealed: The true scale of London's Economic meltdown as capital faces crisis not seen for generations*, Evening Standard, 13/7/20 <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/london-economic-meltdown-revealed-investigation-a4496441.html>

¹⁴ *Footfall in London West End down by two-thirds*, The Guardian, 13/8/20, <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/aug/13/coronavirus-sadiq-khan-footfall-in-london-west-end-down-by-two-thirds-on-last-year>

¹⁵ *2021 Tourism Forecast*, VisitBritain, 28/1/21, <https://www.visitbritain.org/2021-tourism-forecast#:~:text=VisitBritain's%20latest%20central%20scenario%20forecast,spending%20to%20%2C%A35.7%20billion.&text=By%20the%20end%20of%202021,even%20close%20to%2C%20normal%20levels>

¹⁶ *How London's Hotels have been hit hardest by the Pandemic*, The Caterer, 23/9/20, <https://www.thecaterer.com/sector/hotel/capital-punishment-london-city-hotels-pandemic>

¹⁷ *Revealed: The true scale of London's Economic meltdown as capital faces crisis not seen for generations*, Evening Standard, 13/7/20 <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/london-economic-meltdown-revealed-investigation-a4496441.html>

¹⁸ *Mayor sets out plan to deliver £500m savings*, Greater London Authority, 26/6/20, <https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/mayoral/mayor-sets-out-plan-to-deliver-500m-savings>

percent to £73 million over the period.¹⁹ In addition to this, Khan required billions to bailout Crossrail before the pandemic began and his irresponsible partial fare freeze has cost TfL upwards of £640 million over the course of his mayoralty²⁰. Although the impact of the pandemic on TfL's finances is significant, it must not mask the dire straits which Khan had already left its finances in.

¹⁹ Sadiq Khan shamed: TfL bosses pay 'increased by £10million' as London transport struggles, The Express, 30/10/20, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1353932/london-news-sadiq-khan-tfl-pay-increase-london-transport-shaun-bailey>

²⁰ Sadiq Khan's TfL Fare Freeze not 'responsible', says Grant Shapps, CityAM, 24/6/20, <https://www.cityam.com/sadiq-khans-tfl-fare-freeze-not-responsible-says-grant-shapps/>

What is the Government doing to boost London's economic recovery?

The Government introduced unprecedented economic support almost overnight at the start of the pandemic and has saved millions of livelihoods. Not every job will be able to be saved but it is estimated that the Government has saved 9.6 million jobs via the furlough scheme during the first peak of the pandemic and given billions of support elsewhere²¹. Recent figures show that the Government has spent at least £280 billion on protecting jobs and businesses²². Although the furlough scheme is an unsustainable solution for the long-term, to meet the needs of businesses during the pandemic, the Government has continued to extend the furlough scheme as necessary. The Government is also aiming to help businesses continue to be self-sustaining in the long-term through other support and incentivising retaining staff.

Despite all of this Government support, Khan continues to ask for more. The disingenuity of this tactic was highlighted when the Government's comprehensive spending review was announced in November 2020. Khan demanded that the Government provide the ludicrous figure of £29 million of funding – essentially three times the GLA's total annual revenue budget.²³ Khan remarked that within the review there was “*nothing to help London in any meaningful way*”²⁴ adding to his narrative that London gets a bad deal from the Government. However, in December 2020, the House of Commons Library published a research briefing titled “*Public Sector Spending by country and region*” which found that based on 2019-2020 public spending, among the English regions, public spending per person was highest in London at £10,835 (10% higher than the UK average).²⁵ In stark contrast public spending per person was lowest in the East Midlands at £8,879 (10% below the UK average) – highlighting that London actually gets a very good deal, in fact, the best when it comes to Government funding. And when it comes to coronavirus-specific support from the Government, London has received more Coronavirus Business Interruption Loans (CBILS) and Bounce Back Loans than any other region in the UK with hundreds of thousands of loans being offered worth millions of pounds.²⁶ Despite the reality that the Government does indeed give London a good deal, Khan refuses to meet them in the middle. When the terms of the TfL bailout was being discussed in July 2020, the Mayor was misleading with his statements over TfL pay²⁷. If Khan could put politics to one side and work with the government more constructively, perhaps he could be better at delivering for Londoners.

²¹ Official figures show that the furlough scheme has worked: saving jobs and helping more than half of employees back to work already, HM Treasury, 13/9/20, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/official-figures-show-that-the-furlough-scheme-has-worked-saving-jobs-and-helping-more-than-half-of-employees-back-to-work-already>

²² Summary of Existing Economic Support, HM Treasury, 8/1/21, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/summary-of-existing-economic-support>

²³ Sadiq Khan requests more than £29bn from Treasury's spending review, CityAM, 1/10/20, <https://www.cityam.com/sadiq-khan-requests-more-than-29bn-from-treasurys-spending-review/>

²⁴ Khan: Nothing to help London in any meaningful way in spending review, CityAM, 25/11/20 <https://www.cityam.com/khan-nothing-to-help-london-in-any-meaningful-way-in-spending-review/>

²⁵ Public spending by country and region, House of Commons Library, 21/12/20, <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn04033/>

²⁶ Billions of Pounds of Support helps businesses up and down the country, HM Treasury, 18/1/21, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/billions-of-pounds-of-support-helps-businesses-up-and-down-the-country>

²⁷ Shaun Bailey accuses Sadiq Khan of misleading MPs over TfL pay, CityAM, 23/7/20, <https://www.cityam.com/exclusive-shaun-bailey-accuses-sadiq-khan-of-misleading-mps-over-tfl-pay/>

The Mayor needs to do his part to help make London self-sufficient and get the economy moving. Although immediate Government support has been vital in the short-term to keep many of London's struggling businesses going, it is not a long-term solution for London's economic recovery. This is why in addition to the Government's financial support schemes, there have also been schemes to support the UK's long-term economic recovery such as the Kickstart scheme to boost employment for young people who have been hit the hardest by the pandemic. The Mayor should be doing all he can to support the scheme in London. The Kickstart scheme provides funding to create new job placements for 16 to 24 year olds on Universal Credit who are at risk of long term unemployment. Employers of all sizes can apply for funding online. Further funding is available to provide support so that young people on the scheme can get a job in the future. The latest figures for January 2021 show that over 120,000 jobs have already been created as a result of the scheme.²⁸ In recent weeks the Prime Minister and Chancellor have confirmed that jobs will be first in their post-pandemic plans.²⁹ The Mayor should look to see how he can accelerate his existing employment schemes and work with the government to boost the Kickstart programme across London.

Businesses need the cost of operating to be as a light a burden as possible. We welcome the Government's freezing of business rates during the pandemic and their commitment to a business rates review. The pandemic has emphasised London's businesses' need for a business rates review more than ever. We will continue to ask the Government for the business rates review to be brought in as soon as possible.

Although not a direct economic support measure, the biggest boost to the economy the Government can give is the vaccination programme. With the UK's vaccination rollout being one of the best in the world and dwarfing that of any other European nation, this offers London's economy the single biggest hope since the pandemic started. Recent reports indicate all adults across the country could be offered their first jab by the start of May.³⁰ This has led to the Bank of England boosting its economic forecasts, predicting the UK economy will "recover rapidly" as vaccines are rolled out throughout 2021.³¹ It is clear that there will be a lot more work to do from all levels of government, but the way out of the pandemic is emerging. Khan would be better off working with the government to complement their support measures rather than always asking for more.

²⁸ Kickstart moves up a gear with over 120,000 jobs created so far and government making it even simpler for employers to join, Department for Work and Pensions, 25/2/20, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/kickstart-moves-up-a-gear-with-over-120-000-jobs-created-so-far-and-government-making-it-even-simpler-for-employers-to-join>

²⁹ Jobs first as minister plan for life after covid-19, The Times, 31/1/21, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/jobs-first-as-ministers-plan-for-life-after-covid-19-q8cn908pv>

³⁰ One million Covid vaccine doses administered in London in major landmark for capital, Evening Standard, 2/2/20, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/london-covid-vaccines-one-million-b918334.html>

³¹ UK economy will 'recover rapidly' as vaccines are rolled out this year, Bank of England says, Sky News, 4/2/20, <https://news.sky.com/story/bank-of-england-sees-economy-recovering-rapidly-as-vaccines-rolled-out-12208428>

What is the Mayor doing to boost London's economic recovery?

Khan has introduced a number of small measures to give support to different sectors of London's businesses impacted by the pandemic. However, these have mainly been bit-part measures which even the Deputy Mayor for Business, Rajesh Agrawal, admitted were "scattered" at the London Assembly Plenary meeting in November 2020.³² At the meeting he confirmed that in order to consolidate mayoral support, the Mayor's support schemes had been recently repackaged into the London Business Hub. When quizzed on how many businesses the hub had supported the Deputy Mayor gave a figure which represented just 0.3% of businesses during the pandemic. This low take-up represents a real failure to reach those in need. We hope the figures have increased since but it is clear the rollout has been too slow. As well as the support measures that have been introduced by the Mayor, he also co-chairs the London Transition Board³³ and the London Recovery Board which are supposed to lead London's recovery and transition after lockdown with representatives across London.³⁴

Boosting confidence and making Londoners feel safe is something the Mayor should be doing to give the economy a leg up. Although he has made some effort to reassure Londoners through media appearances and social media, his actions, flip-flopping on policy and failing to talk London up at key moments have meant Londoners have not felt safe and not been confident to travel around our city in order to put money into London's economy. A key example of a policy U-turn was his stance on the 10pm curfew for hospitality. On 22nd September 2020, Khan backed further restrictions in London, looking to the North West as an example, backing the 10pm curfew for hospitality in an ITV interview.³⁵ Less than a month later on 20th October, Khan called for the 10pm curfew to be scrapped.³⁶ Playing politics and changing his stance on policies which impacted vulnerable sectors was the last thing London needed and hits Londoners' faith in the city's economy.

As previously mentioned, London's economy is dependent on people being able to move freely, primarily on our public transport system. It was vital that the Mayor kept our public transport system clean to keep people safe but his messaging and change in stance about tube travel has likely damaged confidence in people wanting to travel when permitted. It was revealed that as far back as 4th December 2018, a report from Lara Goscé & Anders Johansson from the University of Bristol titled "*Analysing the link between public transport use and airborne transmission: mobility and contagion in the London underground*"³⁷ was published which "suggested a link between public transport use and infectious diseases transmission". Despite this, the Mayor said on 3rd March 2020: "There is no risk in using the Tube or buses or other forms of public

³² London Assembly Plenary Tuesday 5th November, Q&A Minutes, p3 <https://www.london.gov.uk/about-us/londonassembly/meetings/documents/b20691/Minutes%20-%20Appendix%201%20-%20Transcript%20QA%20Thursday%2005-Nov-2020%2010.00%20London%20Assembly%20Plenary.pdf?T=9>

³³ The London Transition Board, Gov.UK, <https://www.gov.uk/government/groups/london-transition-board>

³⁴ The London Recovery Board, Greater London Authority, <https://www.london.gov.uk/coronavirus/londons-recovery-coronavirus-crisis/london-recovery-board>

³⁵ Capital Curfew: Mayor backs new bar and restaurant restrictions to stop Covid spread, ITV News, 22/9/20, <https://www.itv.com/news/london/2020-09-21/coronavirus-capital-curfew-mayor-backs-new-restrictions-to-stop-covid-spread-in-london>

³⁶ Sadiq Calls for 10pm Curfew in London to be scrapped amid tier 2 restrictions, Evening Standard, 20/10/20, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/sadiq-khan-calls-scrap-10pm-curfew-london-a4572293.html>

³⁷ Analysing the link between public transport use and airborne transmission: mobility and contagion in the London underground, Environmental Health Journal, 4/12/18, <https://ehjournal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12940-018-0427-5>

transport"³⁸, highlighting that he did not heed these warnings and was not prepared. A week later on 10th March, TfL announced an enhanced cleaning regime on the Transport for London network³⁹, indicating that perhaps there was a risk and he should have listened earlier. These actions and contradictions have damaged Londoners' trust in the safety of our public transport which could be hugely damaging to London's economic recovery. The Mayor needs to do all he can going forward to boost confidence in TfL. There have subsequently been multiple studies highlighting the cleanliness and safety of the tube during the pandemic since TfL improved their cleaning regime⁴⁰. This an example of good news which the Mayor should be doing all he can to spread, to encourage Londoners to get moving when it is safe to do so.

³⁸ 'No risk' of catching coronavirus on the Tube, says Sadiq Khan, The Metro, 3/3/20, <https://metro.co.uk/2020/03/03/coronavirus-london-tube-sadiq-khan-12339239/>

³⁹ Enhanced cleaning regime to make public transport even safer, TfL, 10/3/20, <https://tfl.gov.uk/info-for/media/press-releases/2020/march/enhanced-cleaning-regime-to-make-public-transport-even-safer>

⁴⁰ Imperial Scientists Conduct COVID-19 testing on London's transport network, Imperial College London, 21/1/21, <https://www.imperial.ac.uk/news/213133/imperial-scientists-conduct-covid-19-testing-londons/>

A London-wide economic recovery strategy

Whilst any help is welcome, the Mayor is lacking any real strategy or vision when it comes to economic support. Even when the Mayor recognises this issue and claims to be working on it, the response has been disappointing. Despite repeated calls, the Mayor is yet to publish a clear London-wide economic recovery strategy. Talk of such a strategy can be traced back at least 8 months but it is still yet to appear. On 17th June 2020 at the Economy Committee meeting on COVID-19 Business Impacts, the Deputy Mayor for Business, Rajesh Agrawal indicated that the creation of an economic recovery strategy for London was a top priority.⁴¹ In fact, the Deputy Mayor said “Yes, that is on top of our mind at the moment.” Then in August 2020 during an informal Economy Committee meeting on the Impact of COVID-19 on London’s Skills Strategy, Deputy Mayor for Skills, Jules Pipe was asked when the strategy would be released and he said “imminently”. Still waiting to find out when the strategy will be published, on 17th September 2020 in response to my question on the current state of London’s economy, the Mayor said it is the London Recovery Board, not the Mayor’s office that will be publishing a strategy and said “They are working on an economic strategy to do with recovery that uses eight missions. That is work in progress.”⁴² Although the Mayor said the strategy is the responsibility of the recovery board, he co-chairs that board meaning he should still be very much responsible for the strategy and be leading its work.

In October 2020 following my question on 17th September, the Mayor wrote to me regarding the recovery programme and said: “we [the recovery board] announced a major new study on the future of the Central Activities Zone and Northern Isle of Dogs. The first phase of this work, which takes place between now and the end of the year, will be a major research and evidence gathering exercise, followed by an interim report setting out its findings to date. The second phase, taking place in the early part of 2021, will explore potential strategic and policy solutions to protect and support the Central Activities Zone and Northern Isle of Dogs economy for the medium to long term. Its recommendations will be published in a final report in March.” Although this isn’t explicitly a London-wide recovery strategy, it is finally progress after months of pushing with an interim report now published⁴³. It means however that the earliest we can expect to see a final strategy is March 2021, a whole year after the pandemic first hit. This is despite the Mayor and Deputy Mayors indicating a strategy should be a priority and will be released imminently. Pushing for a concrete publication date for a London-wide recovery strategy, on 5th November 2020, the cross-party London Assembly voted for a motion proposed by Tony Devenish AM for the Mayor to set a publication date for a London-wide economic recovery strategy. However, there is yet to be a formal Mayoral response and this date has still not been confirmed.⁴⁴ It shows there is cross-party support for this and hopefully we will see progress soon.

⁴¹ London Assembly Economy Committee Transcript, 17/6/20, <https://www.london.gov.uk/about-us/londonassembly/meetings/documents/b19241/Minutes%20-%20Appendix%201%20-%20COVID-19%20Business%20Impacts%20Wednesday%2017-Jun-2020%2014.00%20Economy%20Committee.pdf?T=9>

⁴² The Current State of London’s Economy, <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/2746/current-state-london%E2%80%99s-economy>

⁴³ Central London Hardest hit by COVID but strong recovery possible, Mayor of London, 1/2/21, <https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/mayoral/report-shows-central-london-can-recover>

⁴⁴ London needs an economic recovery strategy now to support London businesses, the London Assembly, 5/11/20, <https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/assembly/london-needs-an-economic-recovery-strategy>

Job creation

Since the start of the economic downturn caused by the pandemic, it has been a broad consensus that protecting and creating jobs will be key to the recovery of the economy. This naturally brings into question the Mayor's record on job creation, not only since the start of the pandemic but throughout the course of his mayoralty. When it comes to the Mayor's record on job creation there are many specific schemes the Mayor runs to boost employment in certain sectors. The Mayor has also funded projects through his £70 million Good Growth Fund. However, many of these projects have failed to bring in as many jobs as they should as the programmes are long-running and slow to realise. The Mayor's Good Growth Fund worth £70 million has only created 109 jobs from 3 projects.⁴⁵ This is despite a projection of creating over 6000 jobs from 83 projects. Although it is fair to note that jobs created from these programme are as a result of the capital investment over time and the majority of jobs are not realised until capital works complete, given the employment situation the Mayor should be doing all he can to fast-track some of these schemes and accelerate these projects to aid London's economic recovery. A return of 109 jobs from £70 million is simply not good enough at this time. We understand that more Good Growth funding will be available to fund further projects but it is yet to be seen how this will impact job creation. The Young Londoners Fund and the £300m annual Adult Education Budget is another area where the Mayor has an opportunity to accelerate London's recovery.⁴⁶

Advertising and PR

Khan will be remembered for his high press expenditure throughout his mayoralty with him boasting more press officers than the Prime Minister⁴⁷. Even during the pandemic, Khan has continued to use media campaigns as his number one tool, claiming this is how he will boost London's economy. This was showcased in his response to an Evening Standard investigation published on 13th July 2020, which highlighted the devastating impact of COVID-19 on London's economy, a Mayoral spokesperson gave the following quote⁴⁸:

"The Mayor is committed to doing all he can to help London's economy recover as the lockdown restrictions are eased. His revamped London is Open campaign, and the Because I'm A Londoner campaign run by his promotional agency London & Partners, are both focused on promoting the capital as a whole."

"Sadiq welcomes the latest announcement on leisure facilities reopening, but it's vital everyone acts responsibly to protect themselves and the people around them."

It remains to be seen whether these campaigns have really helped businesses but for Khan and his spokesperson to only offer media campaigns in response to shocking findings about the impact of COVID-19 on the central London economy, it really brings into question his priorities. With Khan already spending up to £13 million per year on his

⁴⁵ Shaun Bailey Question to the Mayor, Mayor's Question time, 18th June 2020 <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/1763>

⁴⁶ About the Adult Education Budget, Greater London Authority, <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/skills-and-employment/skills-londoners/adult-education-budget/about-adult-education-budget>

⁴⁷ Head in a spin: Tories accuse Sadiq Khan of having more press officers than Boris Johnson as Mayor hints he could raise Council Tax, The Sun, 5/11/20, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/politics/13118470/sadiq-khan-pr-budget/>

⁴⁸ Evening Standard, Revealed: The true scale of London's Economic meltdown as capital faces crisis not seen for generations, 13th July <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/london-economic-meltdown-revealed-investigation-a4496441.html>

PR agency London and Partners⁴⁹, there is little evidence to justify the extra £280,000 he gave them for the Because I'm a Londoner campaign.⁵⁰ In addition to this, Khan has spent almost £350,000 over the course of his mayoralty on the London is Open campaign alone.⁵¹ It was also discovered in February 2020⁵² that Khan had given extra funding to London & Partners for their foreign offices which totalled £1.707 over the course of his mayoralty⁵³. Khan time and time again favours spin and PR over directly helping Londoners and although we would have hoped he would change his position on this during the pandemic, he still focusses far too heavily on this area of spending. Londoners deserve more value for money when it comes to Khan's hefty PR and advertising spend – particularly given there is little to suggest the high spending is worth it. To resolve this, the Mayor should implement an independent cost-benefit analysis of mayoral PR and advertising spending to ensure it really benefits London.

⁴⁹ Susan Hall Question to the Mayor, Mayor's Question Time, 18th June 2020, <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/1803>

⁵⁰ Shaun Bailey Question to the Mayor, Mayor's Question time, 16th October 2020 <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/3690>

⁵¹ Shaun Bailey Question to the Mayor, Mayor's Question time, 17th September 2020 <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/2821>

⁵² Tony Devenish Question to the Mayor, Mayor's Question time, 24/2/20, <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/0877>

⁵³ Susan Hall Question to the Mayor, Mayor's Question time, 19th November 2020 <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/4180>

How have other policies impacted on London's economic recovery?

It must not be forgotten that there was life before COVID-19 and the Mayor had many commitments before the pandemic hit. In so many areas, COVID-19 has not only created new problems, but has also exacerbated existing issues, many of which expose the Mayor's record. Some of the bad policy decisions or lack of action the Mayor took before the pandemic may now have even more devastating impacts on Londoners and London's economic recovery. This not only applies to the Mayor's economic decisions and policies but also to other areas such as transport and housing which also really impact businesses across our city and London's economy as a whole.

Economic policies and budget mismanagement

One of the Mayor's economic policy failures which the consequences are proving to be disastrous is his lack of progress in making London a living wage accredited city. *"The Marmot review 10 years on"*⁵⁴, published in February 2020 highlighted the huge health inequalities in London with those earning below the living wage. The Living Wage Foundation themselves have talked about these health inequalities and how a living wage can help improve this.⁵⁵ Now coronavirus is exacerbating this inequality, it highlights the need for the Mayor to do more on this issue. On page 58 of the Mayor's 2016 election manifesto it said he would strive to "make London a living wage city"⁵⁶. After his four-year term figures suggest less than 1% of employers are living wage employers.⁵⁷ The official Living Wage website doesn't include London on its "Living Wage Places" page which recognises and celebrates the geographical areas that are doing more to expand living wage accreditation which may indicate the Mayor has not done enough to "make London a living wage city" and the effects of this will be worsened through the pandemic.

The Mayor committed to helping improve the working practices of employers and boost businesses through his creation of the Good Work Standard.⁵⁸ The Mayor's Good Work Standard was intended to bring together best employment practice and links to resources and support from across London to help employers improve their organisations. Employers can then fulfil the criteria of the Good Work Standard to become an accredited employer. Although this sounds like a good idea, take-up has been relatively low with only around 80 employers accredited.⁵⁹ The Mayor should be doing more to boost this. In addition to this, the world of work has been tipped on its head due to the pandemic with major changes such as the focus on working from home. It is therefore key for the Mayor to update this to reflect London's current situation and a post-pandemic future.

⁵⁴ Will COVID-19 be a watershed moment for health inequalities?, The Health Foundation, <https://www.health.org.uk/publications/long-reads/will-covid-19-be-a-watershed-moment-for-health-inequalities> 7 May 2020

⁵⁵ Living wage vital to tackle health inequalities, Living Wage Foundation, <https://www.livingwage.org.uk/news/living-wage-vital-tackle-health-inequality>

⁵⁶ Sadiq Khan for London: A manifesto for all Londoners, Sadiq Khan, 2016, p58, https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/themes/569cb9526a21db3279000001/attachments/original/1457451016/x160668_Sadiq_Khan_Manifesto.pdf?1457451016

⁵⁷ Shaun Bailey Question to the Mayor, Mayor's Question time, 16th July 2020 <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/2469>

⁵⁸ What is the Good Work Standard, Greater London Authority, <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/business-and-economy/supporting-business/what-mayors-good-work-standard>

⁵⁹ Leonie Cooper Question to the Mayor, Mayor's Question time, 18th June 2020, <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/1914>

In addition to these examples of badly executed economic policies, the Mayor has had a disastrous track record when it comes to spending public money wisely. The Taxpayer's Alliance published the City Hall Rich List 2020 which highlighted the huge number of high earners under Khan's watch, with at least 654 people employed by the GLA and its subsidiary bodies in 2018-19 who received more than £100,000. Of these, 154 received over £150,000 in total remuneration. This is more than in the final year of the previous Mayor.⁶⁰ Under Khan's mayoralty there have been huge levels of wasteful spending elsewhere too, even on ridiculous things such as nearly half a million on a beach party and £1.7 million on water fountains⁶¹. Now due to the coronavirus pandemic and the resulting loss of revenue for the GLA group, he is faced with task of making almost £500 million of savings through his 2020-21 budget. Although admittedly no one could have foreseen the huge economic impact of the pandemic on the GLA's finances, the point still stands that if Khan had looked after the finances more stringently, regardless of the pandemic, he would be in a much better financial position.

In stark contrast, pre-pandemic the Government had put the economy in a very good position with record levels of employment and continued growth for almost ten years. In 2019 the UK's employment rate reached its highest level since records began in the 1970's.⁶² As a result of looking after the economy, the Government was able to introduce unprecedented support for businesses more easily. If the Mayor had been more prudent before the pandemic, he may have been better prepared to help the GLA and London's economy navigate such a downturn. Instead he favoured splashing out on PR with his press officer spend increasing by 26% over the course of his mayoralty before the pandemic began.⁶³

Another example of Khan wasting taxpayers' money during the pandemic is with London Power. Khan promised to create an energy company if he was elected in 2016. When his Environment Strategy was published, the document stated that the Mayor would establish a white label entity rather than a stand-alone City Hall energy company which was the initial commitment. After nearly four years in office, London Power was launched but it was not what it seemed. The Mayor had made a deal with energy supplier Octopus and London Power was just a marketing tool for the company in the capital. The deal between Octopus and City Hall meant that the taxpayer invested £3.2 million in the initiative. A year on since the launch of London Power it was revealed that it only has 3,658 customers, meaning City Hall has spent £875 per customer⁶⁴. The only way that this project can stop impacting on the taxpayer is by gaining more customers therefore reducing the current subsidy and setting targets for Octopus, otherwise it is just a very good deal for Octopus but not for City Hall. At a time when GLA finances and London's economy are facing significant challenges, implementing a policy with such a burden for the taxpayer is unjustifiable.

⁶⁰ City Hall Rich List 2020, Tax Payer's Alliance, 8/6/2020, https://www.taxpayersalliance.com/city_hall_rich_list_2020

⁶¹ 10 Ridiculous ways Khan's wasted your money, GLA Conservatives, 7/1/20 <https://www.glaconservatives.co.uk/post/10-ridiculous-ways-sadiq-khan-has-wasted-your-money>

⁶² Employment in the UK: September 2019, Office for National Statistics, 15/10/19, [https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/bulletins/employmentintheuk/september2019#:~:text=2.%,Main%20points%20for%20May%20to%20July%202019,a%20year%20earlier%20\(75.5%25\)](https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/bulletins/employmentintheuk/september2019#:~:text=2.%,Main%20points%20for%20May%20to%20July%202019,a%20year%20earlier%20(75.5%25)).

⁶³ Sadiq Khan has increased press office spending by 26 per cent in four years, CityAM, 8/1/20, <https://www.cityam.com/sadiq-khan-has-increased-press-office-spending-by-26-per-cent-in-four-years/#:~:text=Sadiq%20Khan%20has%20increased%20press,per%20cent%20in%20four%20years&text=Sadiq%20Khan%20has%20increased%20spending,according%20to%20newly%20released%20figures>.

⁶⁴ Only 3,600 households have signed up to Sadiq Khan's Energy Company, CityAM, 3/12/20, <https://www.cityam.com/only-3600-households-have-signed-up-to-sadiq-khans-energy-company/>

Transport

As previously mentioned, London's reliance on public transport puts London in a unique position compared to other parts of the country. London's economy is based around movement of people and this can be highlighted by the fact that before the pandemic, it was estimated that over 2 million people would come into London every day.⁶⁵

Although there is a large consensus that we want our recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic to be a green one, at a time when businesses are really feeling the pressure and we need to get London moving again, increased charges and restrictions on cars could be very damaging.

During the midst of the pandemic the Mayor expanded the Congestion Charge to £15 a day (from £11.50) until 10pm (it had been 7am-6pm) and to 7 days a week (from 5 days a week). The Mayor claims that he had no choice, but this is not true⁶⁶. Khan chose to play politics at this time and has hit working families trying to get through the pandemic hard. Our survey found that 42% of Londoners were unaware that he implemented this charge whilst also reporting it would have a negative impact on them.

Another transport decision which proved costly for businesses and families and was met with opposition was bringing forward the implementation of the Ultra-Low Emission Zone (ULEZ). Although the decision to implement a central London ULEZ was originally made in 2014 by Boris Johnson whilst Mayor of London, it was planned to come into effect in 2020, therefore giving businesses ample time to prepare for it. When Khan was elected he promised to consult on starting the ULEZ in 2019 - a whole year earlier than the original decision. The decision was approved and the ULEZ was brought forward which gave businesses and families less time to prepare for the costly change. As such, business groups were not supportive of this decision and organisations such as the Federation of Small Businesses argued that many SMEs had organised themselves for the 2020 start date and therefore it would put pressure on them to change their fleet arrangements quicker. The ULEZ started in April 2019 with a charge of £12.50 a day for vehicles that were not Euro 6 diesel or Euro 4 petrol compliant. The charge is £100 per day for large vehicles that are not compliant. It was reported that TfL earned £220,000 a day (pre-pandemic) since the introduction of the London Ultra Low Emission Zone⁶⁷. The policy itself was not the problem but accelerating its implementation gave no regard to the impact on businesses in London which continues to be a symptom of Khan's mayoralty. It is decisions like this which show Khan has failed to have a joined-up approach to policy making and refutes his claim of being the most pro-business Mayor ever.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Transport Expenditure in London*, GLA Economics, January 2020, p13, <https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/transport-expenditure-in-london-cin60.pdf>

⁶⁶ Shaun Bailey: TfL was in dire straits long before coronavirus, *Evening Standard*, 20/5/20, <https://www.standard.co.uk/comment/comment/tfl-was-in-dire-straits-long-before-coronavirus-a4446121.html>

⁶⁷ TfL making £220,000 from London's Ulez, 16/5/19, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/transport/tfl-making-ps220-000-a-day-from-london-s-new-ulez-a4143831.html>

⁶⁸ Sadiq Khan: I will unite London and be the most pro-business Mayor yet, *CityAM*, 5/5/16, <https://www.cityam.com/sadiq-khan-i-will-unite-london-and-be-the-most-pro-business-mayor-yet/>

In addition to bringing forward the ULEZ, Khan has also committed to expand the ULEZ in October 2021⁶⁹. As well as the impact on businesses and places of worship, many elderly people and families could be unable to afford to replace their car with a ULEZ-compliant vehicle despite needing to be able to drive as part of their everyday life⁷⁰. Putting this financial burden on hard-working Londoners at a time of hardship and when we want to get London moving again, seems to be a regressive policy and has been described by many as a stealth tax⁷¹. Any expansion of the ULEZ could be dangerous for London businesses but Khan has committed to it, nevertheless. It is also yet to be seen how the expansion of the zone will be administered and at what cost. This approach fails to look at the bigger picture and how it could negatively hit London's economic recovery.

Another ill-timed proposal was recently reported, that it seems the Mayor may implement an up to £5.50 daily charge for vehicles registered outside London to be driven into London⁷². Although we should note that the Mayor plans to introduce this in two years' time and only if the Government does not agree to devolve Vehicle Excise Duty (VED) revenue – this would be a hugely damaging decision. Making it more expensive to deliver any goods into London seems an odd position for a “pro-business” Mayor to take. It goes against the idea that ‘London is Open’ and is yet another example of how Khan is a Zone 1 Mayor⁷³. It would be particularly damaging for businesses in Outer London that rely on customers driving in from just outside the Greater London boundary. It would also mean that, for example, those travelling to a hospital, workplace or school just inside London from outside would have to pay. This would damage London's appeal when the city needs to be as attractive as possible for London's economy to recover. It also highlights yet again how the Mayor does not think about the whole of London when it comes to policy, preferring to prioritise central London without any understanding of how Outer London might be negatively impacted.

Khan's track record with cancellations and delays to key infrastructure projects will also arguably have a lasting impact by impeding London's recovery with delays and cancellations hitting 22 out of 26 projects under this mayoralty. Before the pandemic, London's economy thrived due to people being able to move about easily. However, there was still a constant demand to increase capacity and frequency of services. Although some projects were moving forward, many had been cancelled or delayed throughout Khan's mayoralty. In January 2020, the London Assembly Budget and Performance Committee published its response to the Mayor's Draft Consultation Budget 2020-21. Within the response, it analysed the progress on TfL infrastructure projects set out in TfL's 2016 business plan which was published in the Mayor's first year. It highlighted the delays to key TfL infrastructure projects under this Mayor.⁷⁴ Amongst

⁶⁹ Mayor: Ultra-low emission zone to expand to north and south circular, Greater London Authority, 8/6/18, <https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/mayoral/ultra-low-emission-zone-to-expand>

⁷⁰ Sadiq Khan's expanded emission zone 'risks splitting London in two', Evening Standard, 12/6/18 <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/transport/sadiq-khan-s-expanded-emissions-zone-risks-splitting-london-in-two-a3860771.html>

⁷¹ Up to 350,000 London motorists are facing £12.50-A-DAY charge when Ultra Low Emission Zone is expanded in 12 months with some Ford Focus, Fiat Panda and Vauxhall Astra models among most polluting vehicles, Daily Mail, 4/10/20, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8803317/Up-350-000-London-motorists-facing-12-50-DAY-charge-Ultra-Low-Emission-Zone-expanded.html>

⁷² Drivers face £5.50 daily charge to enter London and Canary Wharf could move into zone 1 in TfL plans, Evening Standard, 15/1/20, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/transport/driver-550-daily-charge-greater-london-tube-zones-b899871.html>

⁷³ Mapping the Mayor's Failings, Gareth Bacon, Conservative Home, 3/10/19, <https://www.conservativehome.com/localgovernment/2019/10/gareth-bacon-mapping-the-mayors-failings.html>

⁷⁴ Response to the Mayor's Draft Consultation Budget 2020-21, Budget and Performance Committee, London Assembly, January 2020, p 12 https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/2020-21_budget_report_final.pdf

other reasons, this was mainly due to budget pressures - if Khan had looked after TfL finances better, London's economy could be much better placed for a stronger recovery.⁷⁵ After all, the billions Khan received from the Government in Crossrail bailouts started a long time before the pandemic hit.⁷⁶ Khan also had the money and time to act on the Hammersmith Bridge closure but failed to act which has had a huge impact on businesses and families in the area.⁷⁷ For London's economy to be revived, we will need as many shovel-ready infrastructure projects to go ahead as soon as possible. Khan's record on infrastructure delays and cancellations mean that there will be a lot fewer projects than there could have been to boost and revive the economy. When times were good, Khan failed to deliver. Now times are hard, we will feel the impact of his poor record even more.

Housing

As well as transport, housing is another area where the Mayor can make real changes in London that also can have a lasting impact on London's economy. The Mayor was given £4.82 billion by the government to build 116,000 affordable homes, which need to be started by the extended deadline of March 2023. The Mayor failed to keep on track with this pre-pandemic, and 52,572 (45%) are yet to be started⁷⁸. The latest figures also show that £535 million of this funding is yet to be allocated⁷⁹. The Mayor should now look to accelerate and drive forward these homes and funding as quickly as possible. Failing to do this may have hit London's economy hard as we know housing can unlock new areas of economic activity and boost business. Driving housebuilding forward would give a boost to the construction industry and help London's economy recover - it is a shame there has been such a lack of progress to date as if more starts had been completed it may have put London in a better position to build back better.

The previous Mayor set up the London Land Commission to identify surplus public land for development. In January 2016 it published the first-ever register of public land, with the potential to deliver 130,000 homes across 40,000 sites⁸⁰. Since then, the current Mayor has consistently failed to take this work forward, despite promising multiple times to do so. By finally taking this forward, and producing a comprehensive plan to develop surplus public sector land in London, the Mayor could provide much-needed new homes, boost the construction and development industries, raise new income for public services, and provide ready-made new customers for London's high streets.

Home working is likely to become a longer term trend after COVID-19 and so this will require a reconsideration of the type of new homes that need to be built. This is likely to require larger homes to accommodate office space, compared to the current priority towards one and two bedroom units in the London Plan. It could also create a need and opportunity for remote working units in local high streets, which could help breathe

⁷⁵ *Why Transport for London's finances are far from Healthy*, BBC News, 27/10/20, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-54652907>

⁷⁶ *Crossrail delay: £1.4bn bailout as autumn 2019 launch delayed*, BBC News, 10/12/18, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-46507417>

⁷⁷ *Hammersmith Bridge: Sadiq Khan in fierce row with government over closure*, CityAM, 9/9/20, <https://www.cityam.com/hammersmith-bridge-government-taskforce-formed-to-open-bridge-as-soon-as-possible/>

⁷⁸ *Affordable Housing Starts and Completions, End of December 2020*, Greater London Authority, February 2021, https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/affordable_housing_starts_and_completions_-_end_of_dec_2020.pdf

⁷⁹ *London Tories slam Mayor Sadiq Khan over housing pledge and say he'll miss home completion targets*, CityAM, 29/10/20, <https://www.cityam.com/london-tories-slam-mayor-sadiq-khan-over-housing-pledge-and-say-hell-miss-home-completion-targets/>

⁸⁰ *City Hall produces first register of public land in London*, Mayor of London, 26/1/16, <https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/mayoral/city-hall-produces-first-register-of-public-land>

new life into town and district centres and replace other lost uses. The GLA Conservative report *Derailed: Getting London's Transport Back on Track* shed light on the impact of the pandemic and home working on public transport and made recommendations to help TfL mitigate this challenge⁸¹. A YouGov poll commissioned for the report revealed that more than a fifth of Londoners who are avoiding public transport may do so permanently⁸². The Mayor should be thinking now about how such changes in home working can be supported through housing and transport delivery.

⁸¹ *Derailed: Getting London's Transport Back on Track*, GLA Conservatives, Keith Prince AM, September 2020, https://bceec56b-1210-4f10-95fb-8537ce6eebd5.filesusr.com/ugd/047866_9be15ad468694556b07ff39a82f4770c.pdf

⁸² *A fifth of Londoners won't return to public transport*, GLA Conservatives, 29/10/20, <https://www.glaconservatives.co.uk/post/more-than-a-fifth-of-londoners-may-avoid-using-public-transport-permanently>

Our survey and key findings

The purpose of the survey was to poll a mix of Londoners about how the pandemic has impacted them financially. As well as investigating changes to Londoners' spending habits, income and employment, the survey highlights Londoners' awareness and interaction with the Mayor's support for businesses.

The fieldwork was carried out between 11th-17th December 2020 and prepared by YouGov PLC. The sample was 1127 adults in London. The data was then weighted to give a representative picture of London.

It should be noted that this survey was carried out whilst London was under Tier 2 restrictions⁸³ - after the second national lockdown and before Tier 4 restrictions were introduced in response to a surge in COVID-19 cases caused by the new variant. This meant that retail and hospitality settings were still open to customers in the same household or support bubble whilst the fieldwork was being carried out.

The full set of questions from our survey are attached in appendix 1.

Key findings

The survey presented interesting results highlighting some of the key issues with London's economy due to COVID-19 and the Mayor's business support for Londoners. The full data set is attached in appendix 2 but the headline findings were:

- **Over two fifths of Londoners were unaware that the Mayor has increased the congestion charge to £15 and extended operating hours to 10pm.**

The congestion charge increase has been criticised by many for its impact on businesses in London – particularly given that many will be facing hardship already due to the pandemic. This will particularly hit small to medium-sized enterprises hardest which make up the majority of London's 1 million+ businesses⁸⁴. For all of the Mayor's PR spending and focus on media, it is shocking that so many Londoners were unaware of this increase which could impact them personally. This highlights the underhanded way in which this policy was implemented. The Mayor has done Londoners a disservice by not making sure more people were aware of the increase which will take more money out of the pockets of businesses which will be vital in London's economic recovery.

In answer to the questions "Before taking this survey, were you aware that the Congestion Charge has been increased to £15 and now operates until 10pm seven days a week?" 42% of respondents responded with "No, I was not aware".

- **Four times as many working Londoners said the changes to the Congestion Charge have had a negative impact on their business or employer than those saying it has had a positive one**

⁸³ Tier 2 rules: New restrictions for London explained, Evening Standard, 2/12/2020, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/tier-two-rules-covid-b79314.html>

⁸⁴ Business Population Estimates for the UK and regions: 2019 Statistical Release, BEIS, 14/1/20, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/business-population-estimates-2019/business-population-estimates-for-the-uk-and-regions-2019-statistical-release.html#uk-countries-and-the-regions>

The figures in the survey indicate that a significantly larger proportion of working Londoners have been negatively impacted by the congestion charge increase than those who have been positively impacted. This implies it is a very unpopular policy. This is even despite a huge proportion of Londoners being unaware of the policy. By not sufficiently publicising or consulting on this clearly unpopular policy, the Mayor has arguably managed to evade scrutiny and criticism. This underhanded approach is hugely unhelpful for businesses and excludes them from the policy-making process.

In answer to the question “What impact, if any, have these changes to the Congestion Charge had on your business or employer?” 16% of respondents working full- or part- time responded with “A small negative impact” or A large negative impact” compared to 4% who responded with “A small positive impact” or “A large positive impact”.

- **Only 4% of working Londoners said their business or employer has received support from the Mayor of London.**

The Mayor has pledged to support London’s businesses during the pandemic but only 4% of respondents say their business or employer has received support. Recent comments at a London Assembly meeting by the Deputy Mayor for Business, Rajesh Agrawal have also implied this figure could in fact be much lower.⁸⁵ Although any help the Mayor can give to businesses in London is supported, it is sad to see the take-up is so low. It is clear that those businesses that have been supported by the Mayor are severely in the minority and this needs to change.

In answer to the question “Are you aware of or has your business or employer received any support from the Mayor of London during the coronavirus pandemic?” asked to those working full- or part-time, only 4% of respondents responded with “I am aware of it, and my business/employer has received support from the Mayor of London” whilst 14% responded “I am aware of it, but my business/employer hasn’t received support from the Mayor of London”.

- **Almost half of working Londoners are not aware of any support available from the Mayor of London.**

A huge number of Londoners were not aware of any support at all from the Mayor of London. This highlights that there is a clear communication issue between the Mayor and businesses in need. For a Mayor who has record levels of expenditure on PR and media, it is particularly disappointing that so many Londoners are not aware of the support the Mayor is making available. It is estimated that under Khan’s mayoralty, press expenditure soared by 33%⁸⁶ yet when people really need to know what the Mayor is doing, the message is failing to get out. This further suggests the Mayor’s preference for advertising himself, rather than London. To make matters worse, the Mayor has previously quoted PR and advertising campaigns as being a way to help

⁸⁵ London Assembly Plenary Tuesday 5th November, Q&A Minutes, p17 <https://www.london.gov.uk/about-us/londonassembly/meetings/documents/b20691/Minutes%20-%20Appendix%201%20-%20Transcript%20QA%20Thursday%2005-Nov-2020%2010.00%20London%20Assembly%20Plenary.pdf?T=9>

⁸⁶ Exclusive: Sadiq Khan’s PR budget soars 33 per cent in 4 years, CityAM, 19/11/20 <https://www.cityam.com/exclusive-sadiq-khans-pr-budget-soars-by-33-per-cent-in-four-years/>

London's economy recover yet the Mayor is failing to get his support packages into the hands of those who need it.⁸⁷

In answer to the question "Are you aware of or has your business or employer received any support from the Mayor of London during the coronavirus pandemic?" asked to those working full- or part-time, 44% of respondents responded with "I wasn't aware of support from the Mayor of London".

- **The survey confirms a huge reduction in visitors to key industries for London's economy with 61% visiting pubs & bars less, 76% visiting restaurants less and 67% visiting cinemas & theatres less.**

Given the varying lockdown restrictions which have been implemented during the pandemic, it is hardly surprising that these settings have had a huge reduction in visitors. However, during the period when this survey was carried out, it was still possible to visit these venues and so we would have hoped the figures would have been more positive. The importance of these industries should not be underestimated as they add value to London's appeal and connect other areas of our economy. It has been widely reported that one of the main reasons for footfall in London reducing is that people don't feel safe and for a city that relies so heavily on public transport, fears of safety on the tubes and buses is key. Arguably the Mayor could have done more during the pandemic to boost public confidence at times when Londoners were permitted to visit hospitality settings. The Mayor's flip-flopping on tube safety policies and talking London down,⁸⁸ and calling for greater restrictions on many occasions may have increased fear in Londoners and stunted economic activity.

In answer to the question "Are you visiting the following more or less now than you did before the coronavirus pandemic?" 61% responded "About the same as before", "A bit less than before" or "Much less than before" about Pubs and Bars, 67% responded with these options for cinemas and theatres and 76% for restaurants. ,

Summary of our key findings:

The data clearly shows that the handling of the congestion charge policy change has not been good enough, with swathes of London being unaware of the change and a significantly higher proportion of Londoners reporting negative impacts of the policy than positive ones.

The survey results also highlight that not nearly enough working Londoners know about the support measures the Mayor has put in place, further indicating the Mayor is failing to communicate adequately to Londoners in need. In addition to this, those who have received support are in a severe minority.

This reiterates the point that the Mayor has not done enough during the pandemic to support businesses. Not only did a large number of respondents not realise there was support available, but of those who did know it was available, only a very small number had actually received support. Whilst the Mayor criticises the Government for not giving him enough funding or supporting Londoners sufficiently, he is clearly failing altogether

⁸⁷ Revealed: The true scale of London's economic meltdown as capital faces crisis not seen for generations, Evening Standard, 13/07/20, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/london-economic-meltdown-revealed-investigation-a4496441.html>

⁸⁸ Why is Sadiq Khan talking London down?, The Spectator, 23/22/20, <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/why-is-sadiq-khan-talking-london-down->

in his own remit and adding to Londoners' problems by implementing negative policies in an underhanded way.

What else should the Mayor be doing to support London's economic recovery?

London is the beating heart of the UK economy and the London economy cannot exist without the central activity zone. It is vital for the Mayor to get people into central London again as soon as it is safe to do so.

Studies during the summer of 2020 as lockdown measures eased, show that giving people a reason or incentive to travel into central London helped increase visitors and boost the economy. One of people's biggest fears about visiting central London is catching COVID-19 on public transport. A survey during the summer of 2020 found that up to 70% of Londoners were anxious about commuting on public transport due to fears of catching coronavirus.⁸⁹ Although there have been several studies confirming the cleanliness of the tube since the pandemic began and TfL's cleaning regime was improved, the Mayor's mixed messages on tube safety have not helped alleviate fears. However, research has shown that once people have travelled into London post-lockdown, they feel much safer and are likely to travel again. Getting people into the CAZ is the key and this was one of the main successes of the Eat Out To Help Out scheme.

Experts in the field of hospitality and leisure have previously floated the idea of travel incentives but the Mayor is yet to seize the opportunity. At the London Assembly Economy Committee meeting on 4th November 2020, Jace Tyrell the Chief Executive of the New West End company mentioned several times that this would be something very helpful to receive from City Hall⁹⁰. In normal circumstances, such financial intervention would not be necessary but in the extraordinary circumstances the pandemic has put London's economy in, one-off measures to boost footfall could prove to be invaluable. The Mayor could offer travel incentives similar to Eat Out To Help Out to get London moving and the CAZ booming. The Eat Out To Help Out scheme was widely touted as a success in the summer of 2020 when there were fewer restrictions. This success has led to 300 restaurant groups calling for the scheme to be reintroduced as lockdown eases in 2021.⁹¹ New data from HM Treasury has also found that the scheme was safe and that there was no correlation between the scheme and infection rates.⁹² Research found that it was getting people out of the house once that led to them growing in confidence and coming back for more after months of lockdown. With the CAZ taking the biggest hit in London and being vital to London's recovery, the Mayor needs to do all he can to get it moving once more and maintain its appeal. The Mayor should commission TfL to explore what existing travel incentives and offers could be expanded and if there is any scope to introduce further schemes. For example, TfL's Visitor Oyster Card could be expanded and adapted for a focus on domestic tourism.⁹³ This could boost movement from outer London into the CAZ and incentivise domestic

⁸⁹ *Londoners have become afraid of city transit*, Bloomberg City Labs, 12/6/20 <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-06-12/fear-of-public-transit-remains-high-in-london>

⁹⁰ *Transcript of Item 6 – London's Christmas Economy and the Impact of COVID-19 – Panel 1*, London Assembly Economy Committee, 4/11/20, P10 <https://www.london.gov.uk/about-us/londonassembly/meetings/documents/b20680/Minutes%20-%20Appendix%201%20-%20Item%206%20Panel%201%20Wednesday%2004-Nov-2020%2010.00%20Economy%20Committee.pdf?T=9>

⁹¹ *Deliveroo: Run Eat Out to Help Out again, says takeaway giant*, BBC News, 15/2/21, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-56060962>

⁹² *'No correlation' between Eat Out to Help Out and infection numbers, says Treasury*, Morning Advertiser, 29/1/21, <https://www.morningadvertiser.co.uk/Article/2021/01/29/Did-Eat-Out-to-Help-Out-cause-more-coronavirus-infections>

⁹³ *Visitor Oyster Card Offers*, Transport for London, <https://tfl.gov.uk/travel-information/visiting-london/experience-london/special-offers>

tourism from around the UK once restrictions start to ease. Of course, safety considerations need to be a top priority when rolling this out but this is something that could be transformative for London's recovery. The Mayor should be including such considerations in his strategies and conversations with recovery groups.

With London's international tourism expected to have a slow recovery with the future of international travel being very uncertain, London's immediate focus should be on domestic tourism. London has rightly always had a global appeal and maintaining this will be vital as we recover from the pandemic. The Mayor should explore what events or festivals could be organised to boost London's appeal for domestic tourism whilst representing value for money for London's economy.

Long-term changes to different industries such as tourism highlights the need for long-term thinking. The Mayor has been called upon time and time again to produce a London-wide economic recovery strategy and the importance of this is becoming more and more obvious as we wait for it. As well as calls from Assembly Members, business experts in London have also called for a long-term strategy.⁹⁴ It is incumbent on the Mayor to provide London with strong leadership and this is no truer than in a time of emergency. Sadly, the Mayor has too often been invisible and at times during the pandemic, he even refused to meet the London Assembly⁹⁵. London is facing an economic emergency and the Mayor needs to provide leadership through strategy and vision.

Delivering jobs also needs to be key to London's recovery. The Mayor needs to shift his priorities to job creation in the capital and review his Good Growth funded projects to identify any which can be fast-tracked to realise job-creation sooner. Housing delivery also has an impact on job-creation. If the Mayor accelerates his housing delivery, it could unlock new areas of London's economy and boost its construction industry.

At every opportunity the Mayor needs to boost confidence and encourage London to get moving when safe. During the summer of 2020 when COVID-19 cases were low, the Mayor did not do nearly enough to boost London's economy and talk London up⁹⁶. Instead he made unhelpful comments about the "existential threat" facing London at precisely the time businesses needed him to encourage people to head out⁹⁷. Only towards the end of 2020 did the Mayor start to talk London up, when it was too late as COVID-19 cases started to rise. The Mayor missed an opportunity to get London moving again during the summer of 2020. The Mayor should be shouting from the rooftops when there is good news. If cases are falling, if the TfL cleaning regime is working – the Mayor needs to let Londoners know. Domestic tourism needs to be boosted wherever possible by the Mayor. When restrictions permitted, the UK population flocked to seaside and rural destinations to visit. The Mayor needs to make it clear that London is safe and ready for visitors, particularly given that his PR agency London & Partners have

⁹⁴ Transcript of Item 6 – London's Christmas Economy and the Impact of COVID-19 – Panel 1, London Assembly Economy Committee, 4/11/20, P10, <https://www.london.gov.uk/about-us/londonassembly/meetings/documents/b20680/Minutes%20-%20Appendix%201%20-%20Item%206%20Panel%201%20Wednesday%2004-Nov-2020%2010.00%20Economy%20Committee.pdf?T=9>

⁹⁵ Sadiq Khan Refuses to Meet London Assembly for 6 Weeks, GLA Conservatives, 29/10/20 <https://www.glaconservatives.co.uk/post/city-hall-tories-accuse-sadiq-khan-of-suspending-democracy-after-refusing-to-meet-london-assembly>

⁹⁶ Where is Sadiq Khan's Plan to save London's Economy from Terrible Decline?, The Telegraph, 9/10/20, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2020/10/09/sadiq-khans-plan-save-londons-economy-terminal-decline/>

⁹⁷ Footfall in London West End down by two-thirds, The Guardian, 13/8/20, <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/aug/13/coronavirus-sadiq-khan-footfall-in-london-west-end-down-by-two-thirds-on-last-year>

forecast that international tourism is not expected to return to pre-pandemic levels until 2024.⁹⁸

Khan's mayoralty has been underpinned by record PR and advertising expenditure. Despite the millions spent, there is still little convincing evidence to suggest this delivers any value for money for Londoners. The findings in our survey indicate that despite the high advertising and press spend, the Mayor is not delivering when it matters with 44% of working Londoners being unaware of any mayoral support for businesses being available. This further highlights the need to implement an independent cost-benefit analysis of the Mayor's press and advertising spend to guarantee a good deal for Londoners.

It is clear that the Mayor could have put London in a better position to deal with the pandemic. He should learn lessons about getting London's priorities right and how to spend taxpayers' money correctly. He should also learn lessons about joined-up policy making, being more aware of the negative impacts of his policies from one area to another.

⁹⁸ *Recovery of Tourism, Leonie Cooper Question to the Mayor, Mayor's Question time, 17th December 2020, <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/4367>*

Conclusion

London's economy has experienced its toughest year since the Second World War, with challenges not faced for generations. With central London falling silent and outer London facing extraordinary obstacles, there is urgent work to do to ensure London's economy recovers. Our survey has shed light on the issues London's businesses are facing, highlighting the disappointing lack of support from the Mayor to Londoners who need it most; as well as the damage his congestion charge increase will cause Londoners at the worst time possible. It is clear that more needs to be done quickly to pull London's economy back from the brink. London is the greatest city in the world and it deserves to be championed with its flag waved loud and proud. We need the Mayor to urgently take responsibility and show the leadership London so desperately needs.

It is sadly the case that the problems for London's economy stretch back to before the pandemic. The Mayor has the wrong priorities when it comes to spending public money. Time and time again we have seen the Mayor increase spending on PR and choose to put money in the wrong places such as for foreign offices for London & Partners. He has spent millions on his PR agency whilst not delivering on London's priorities. Even as recently as February 2020, before the pandemic took hold, the Mayor rejected calls to put more money towards the police and fighting violent crime and instead continued his high PR spend. Bad financial management, choosing the wrong priorities for London and not representing value for money are issues that are symptomatic of Khan's mayoralty. Actions or lack of actions taken before the pandemic have meant that London has not been equipped with strong enough leadership to lead the charge for London's economic recovery. It is clear that going forward the Mayor should review how much value for money he represents to Londoners to enact institutional change and boost our economic recovery.

Throughout his mayoralty, Khan has also failed to deliver enough positive change to give London's economy a fighting chance. Jobs are vital to our recovery but during the Mayor's almost five years there has been a distinct lack of employment opportunities created. If this had been addressed properly before the pandemic we would again be in a much better position to build back better now we have been hit so hard by the pandemic. Housing can also unlock employment opportunities so it is vital that the Mayor addresses the housing shortfall. As well as jobs being a key mechanism for London's recovery, having the infrastructure in place to get London moving is key. Many large infrastructure projects have been delayed or cancelled under Khan's mayoralty with Crossrail being the most glaring example. If these projects were delivered on time when times were good, London would be in a much stronger position to recover. The Mayor should be reviewing projects and schemes which have failed to deliver to boost London's economic recovery and the immediate priority should be with job creation.

The Mayor is yet to offer strong leadership and put forward long-term plans. It is clear that for a steady recovery, London's economy needs stability governed by a strategy rather than a scattered approach. This should underpin everything that is being done to boost London's economy as we move out of lockdown. The Mayor also needs to invest in the future and ensure that young people are at the forefront of London's economic plans.

This lack of leadership has not helped confidence and when it comes to London's economy, confidence is key. The Mayor should be spreading every bit of good news he

can to talk London up. However, it will need more than this to get London moving back to pre-pandemic levels, the Mayor needs to incentivise footfall to the CAZ again. The Mayor should finally react to calls from experts and see what TfL can offer to boost visitors.

London remains the greatest city on earth and although Khan's actions throughout his mayoralty have exacerbated some of the issues caused by the pandemic, there is real hope on the horizon for our city. There are many steps we can take together to build back better and boost our economy. And as the vaccine rollout continues to accelerate, London will prove once again that it can weather any storm.

We therefore recommend that the Mayor of London should:

- **Commission TfL to investigate the expansion of existing travel incentive schemes and the introduction of new schemes to attract people to visit central London, partnering with London tourism, culture and hospitality groups to implement this when safe to do so.**
 - For London's economy to return to pre-pandemic levels we need to rapidly increase footfall in central London as soon as it is safe to do so. To combat travel hesitancy as restrictions ease after lockdown, one-off travel incentives could be offered to entice people to travel in, boosting London's businesses and accelerating recovery.
- **Review all of his employment and job-creation schemes to see if any can be fast-tracked to aid London's economic recovery.**
 - Many of the Mayor's job-creation employment schemes are slow to realise with many not expected to see results for years to come. For example, the Mayor's Good Growth Fund worth £70 million has only created 109 jobs from 3 projects.⁹⁹ This is despite a projection of creating over 6000 jobs from 83 projects. With job-creation key to London's recovery, the Mayor should review all schemes with the aim of identifying which can be accelerated to yield quicker results and a more immediate boost to London's economic recovery.
- **Publish a London-wide economic recovery strategy to guide and lead London's economic recovery.**
 - At nearly a year since the pandemic began and after cross-party calls for a London-wide economic recovery strategy to be published, it is about time this was made public to give businesses across London the vision and leadership they need.
- **Implement an independent cost-benefit analysis of his PR and advertising spending in light of the high number of Londoners who are unaware of any mayoral support.**
 - With our survey revealing that a large number of Londoners were unaware of mayoral support measures available despite the Mayor's high advertising and PR spend, the mayor should review the effectiveness of his campaigns to ensure Londoners are getting value for money.

⁹⁹ Shaun Bailey Question to the Mayor, Mayor's Question time, 18th June 2020 <https://www.london.gov.uk/questions/2020/1763>

- **Introduce a weekly good news roundup to boost confidence in London's economy and get the city moving again.**
 - London's economy is based on confidence and on too many occasions during the pandemic the mayor has failed to talk London up, opted for negativity or chosen party politics. The Mayor should use his existing channels to introduce a weekly good news roundup to give London's economy a much needed confidence boost.
- **Review his Good Work Standard to reflect changes to work in London since the start of the pandemic.**
 - The Mayor published his Good Work Standard in 2019 which is supposed to be a benchmark for good employment practice in London. A lot has changed for employers and employees since the start of the pandemic and this should be reflected within the good work standard to improve employment practices in the new world of work.
- **Commit to ensuring the next economic development strategy includes a full section on young Londoners to ensure they are at the heart of London's long-term economic recovery.**
 - London's young people have been hit the hardest by the pandemic despite them being the future of our city. It is therefore more important than ever to include young people at the heart of any future strategies the Mayor sets out as our economy changes in a post-coronavirus world.
- **Build the government-funded affordable homes as soon as possible as part of London's recovery and to help the construction industry.**
 - The Mayor was given £4.82 billion by the government to build 116,000 affordable homes. The Mayor failed to keep on track pre-pandemic and almost half have not started. The Mayor should drive forward these homes to unlock new areas of London's economy and boost the construction industry.
- **Review planning policies to better support home and remote working.**
 - It is likely that home working will become a longer term trend after COVID-19, this will require a reconsideration of the type of new homes that need to be built and could have an impact on local economies. The mayor should be reviewing this as soon as possible to aid London's recovery.
- **Reverse his Congestion Charge increase and reduce the operating hours.**
 - The policy is hugely damaging to businesses and creates another obstacle for them whilst trying to weather the storm of the pandemic. In addition to this, our survey found that four times as many Londoners thought the policy would have a negative impact than those believing it would have a positive impact. The Mayor has many other options where he could choose to make savings at TfL. This regressive policy must be scrapped.
- **Commit to taking the up to £5.50 London boundary charge proposal off the table.**
 - Implementing or planning to implement such a regressive policy at such an uncertain time would be hugely damaging for London's recovery. It is vital that for London's economy to recover, both inner and outer London need to thrive. Any policies which will penalise outer London will have a knock-on effect to the rest of our city.

Appendix 1 – YouGov questions

London economy and COVID-19 survey questions:

1. **Have you changed the industry you work in since the start of the coronavirus pandemic** [Asked to those working full or part-time]
 - a. I have
 - b. I have not
 - c. Don't know
2. **Has the coronavirus outbreak changed your employment situation?**
 - a. No change, I was and am still employed
 - b. No change, I was unemployed and looking for work, and still am looking
 - c. No change, I wasn't employed and am still not employed
 - d. Yes, I was unemployed and looking for work, but am now not looking
 - e. Yes, I was unemployed but am now employed
 - f. Yes, I'm employed but my pay/hours have reduced
 - g. Yes, I'm being paid part of my salary under the government scheme but not working (e.g. I've been furloughed)
 - h. Yes, I was employed and have now lost my job
 - i. Don't know
3. **Before taking this survey, were you aware that the Congestion Charge has been increased to £15 and now operates until 10pm seven days a week?**
 - a. Yes, I was aware
 - b. No, I was not aware
 - c. Don't know
4. **What impact, if any, have these changes to the Congestion Charge had on your business or employer?** [Asked to those working full or part-time]
 - a. A large positive impact
 - b. A small positive impact
 - c. No real impact either way
 - d. A small negative impact
 - e. A large negative impact
 - f. Don't know
5. **Are you aware of or has your business or employer received any support from the Mayor of London during the coronavirus pandemic?** [Asked to those working full or part-time]
 - a. I am aware of it, and my business/employer has received support from the Mayor of London
 - b. I am aware of it, but my business/employer hasn't received support from the Mayor of London
 - c. I wasn't aware of support from the Mayor of London
 - d. Don't know

6. Are you visiting the following more or less now than you did before the coronavirus pandemic?

- 1. Pubs and bars**
- 2. Restaurants**
- 3. Cinema/Theatre**

- a. Much more than before
- b. A bit more than before
- c. About the same as before
- d. A bit less than before
- e. Much less than before
- f. Don't know
- g. Not applicable – I didn't visit this place anyway

7. Compared to before the coronavirus pandemic, would you say you're spending more or less online on this item now, or has there been no change?

- 1. Groceries**
- 2. Electricals**
- 3. Clothes**
- 4. DIY Products**

- a. I'm spending more online on this item than I did before
- b. I'm spending less online on this item than I did before
- c. There has been no change
- d. Not applicable – I don't buy this

Appendix 2 – YouGov data set



"London Polling"

FIELDWORK DATES: 11TH - 17TH DECEMBER 2020

**Prepared by YouGov plc
On behalf of Mayor of London**

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BACKGROUND

This spreadsheet contains survey data collected and analysed by YouGov plc. No information contained within this spreadsheet may be published without the consent of YouGov Plc and the client named on the front cover.

Methodology: This survey has been conducted using an online interview administered members of the YouGov Plc GB panel of 185,000+ individuals who have agreed to take part in surveys. An email was sent to panellists selected at random from the base sample according to the sample definition, inviting them to take part in the survey and providing a link to the survey. (The sample definition could be "GB adult population" or a subset such as "GB adult females"). YouGov Plc normally achieves a response rate of between 35% and 50% to surveys however this does vary dependent upon the subject matter, complexity and length of the questionnaire. The responding sample is weighted to the profile of the sample definition to provide a representative reporting sample. The profile is normally derived from census data or, if not available from the census, from industry accepted data.

YouGov plc make every effort to provide representative information. All results are based on a sample and are therefore subject to statistical errors normally associated with sample-based information.

For further information about the results in this spreadsheet, please contact YouGov Plc (+44)(0)20 7 012 6000 or email enquiries@yougov.com quoting the survey details

EDITOR'S NOTES - all press releases should contain the following information

All figures, unless otherwise stated, are from YouGov Plc. Total sample size was 1,127 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken between 11th - 17th December 2020. The survey was carried out online. The figures have been weighted and are representative of all adults in London (aged 18+).

NOTE: All press releases or other publications must be checked by YouGov Plc before use. YouGov requires 48 hours to check a press release unless otherwise agreed. Please note, multiple press releases will require longer.

- YouGov is registered with the Information Commissioner
- YouGov is a member of the British Polling Council

Any percentages calculated on bases fewer than 50 respondents must not be reported as they do not represent a wide enough cross-section of the target population to be considered statistically reliable. These figures will be italicised.

YouGov / Mayor Of London Survey Results

Sample Size: 1127 adults in London

Fieldwork: 11th - 17th December 2020

	Gender		Age				Social		Region (1)					Region (2)	
Total	Male	Female	18-24	25-49	50-64	65+	ABC1	C2DE	Central	North	South	East	West	Inner London	Outer London
1127	554	573	122	598	233	174	665	462	244	156	207	333	188	420	707
1127	471	656	122	573	254	178	759	368	245	155	220	324	183	421	706

Have you changed the industry you work in since the start of the coronavirus pandemic?

[Asked to those working full- or part-time; n=656]

I have	9	9	9	18	9	6	0	9	9	8	11	14	7	7	7	10
I have not	89	89	89	82	88	92	100	90	88	91	88	83	90	92	92	87
Don't know	2	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	3	2	2	3	2	1	1	3

Has the coronavirus outbreak changed your employment situation?

No change, I was and am still employed	45	48	42	32	56	46	13	55	31	51	44	44	41	46	47	44
No change, I was unemployed and looking for work, and still am looking	3	2	4	6	3	4	0	2	4	3	4	3	4	2	3	3
No change, I wasn't employed and am still not employed	23	20	27	16	11	25	69	19	29	19	20	26	27	22	21	25
TOTAL NO CHANGE	71	70	73	54	70	75	82	76	65	72	67	73	71	71	71	71
Yes, I was unemployed and looking for work, but am now not looking	1	1	2	2	2	1	0	1	3	2	1	2	1	1	2	1
Yes, I was unemployed but am now employed	4	6	3	13	5	2	0	5	4	4	3	7	4	6	3	5
Yes, I'm employed but my pay/hours have reduced	8	8	8	6	9	8	4	7	9	8	10	6	7	8	8	8
Yes, I'm being paid part of my salary under the government scheme, but not working (e.g. I've been furloughed)	3	2	4	2	3	4	1	3	3	4	2	1	3	3	4	2
Yes, I was employed and have now lost my job	6	6	6	10	6	5	3	6	6	5	7	5	7	4	7	5
TOTAL YES	22	23	22	32	25	20	9	21	24	22	22	21	23	22	23	21
Don't know	7	8	6	14	5	4	9	4	11	5	11	6	6	7	6	7

Before taking this survey, were you aware that the Congestion Charge has been increased to £15 and now operates until 10pm seven days a week?

Yes, I was aware	53	54	52	35	49	66	64	55	50	57	48	43	56	60	56	51
No, I was not aware	42	40	44	53	46	32	35	42	43	40	46	52	39	37	40	44

Don't know 4 | 5 4 | 12 5 2 1 | 3 7 | 3 5 5 5 3 | 4 5

What impact, if any, have these changes to the Congestion Charge had on your business or employer?

[Asked to those working full- or part-time; n=656]

A large positive impact	2	3	1	0	2	4	0	3	0	2	0	2	3	3	3	1
A small positive impact	2	2	1	1	2	2	0	2	2	4	1	2	1	0	3	1
TOTAL POSITIVE IMPACT	4	5	3	1	4	5	0	5	2	6	1	4	4	3	6	2
No real impact either way	53	52	54	58	52	48	80	54	50	49	47	60	53	54	48	56
A small negative impact	7	7	7	7	7	7	6	7	6	9	7	5	7	5	8	6
A large negative impact	9	10	8	5	9	11	4	7	12	11	7	2	11	11	11	7
TOTAL NEGATIVE IMPACT	16	17	14	12	16	18	10	14	19	20	14	8	18	16	19	14
Don't know	28	27	29	29	28	29	11	27	29	25	39	28	26	26	26	28

Are you aware of or has your business or employer received any support from the Mayor of London during the coronavirus pandemic?

I am aware of it, and my business/employer has received support from the Mayor of London	4	4	5	1	5	3	0	4	5	5	7	4	3	4	5	4
I am aware of it, but my business/employer hasn't received support from the Mayor of London	14	16	11	11	15	13	7	12	18	15	15	15	10	14	14	14
I wasn't aware of support from the Mayor of London	44	43	46	55	43	39	71	46	40	40	34	49	49	44	43	45
Don't know	38	38	38	33	37	45	22	38	37	40	44	33	38	37	38	37

Are you visiting the following more or less now than you did before the coronavirus pandemic?

Pubs and bars

Much more than before	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1
A bit more than before	2	3	1	3	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	4	2	2
TOTAL MORE	2	4	1	3	3	1	1	2	2	3	1	4	1	4	2	2
About the same as before	5	6	5	8	5	5	5	6	4	3	7	5	6	4	5	5
A bit less than before	8	9	7	11	8	7	5	9	7	13	6	6	5	9	9	7
Much less than before	54	54	53	44	58	51	48	63	41	56	50	62	51	49	52	54
TOTAL LESS	61	63	60	55	66	58	54	71	47	69	56	69	56	58	62	61
Don't know	2	3	1	7	2	1	0	1	2	1	0	2	2	2	2	1
Not applicable – I didn't visit this place anyway	30	25	34	26	25	35	40	19	45	24	36	21	35	32	29	30

Restaurants

Much more than before	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	1
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A bit more than before	2	3	1	4	2	1	0	3	1	3	2	2	1	2	2	2
TOTAL MORE	3	3	2	4	4	1	1	3	1	3	3	3	1	4	2	3
About the same as before	7	9	6	12	8	5	6	6	9	8	7	8	7	6	6	8
A bit less than before	11	11	12	22	12	9	7	12	10	17	11	10	9	12	15	10
Much less than before	65	61	69	45	66	69	70	70	58	63	65	68	65	64	63	66
TOTAL LESS	76	72	81	67	78	78	77	82	68	79	76	77	74	76	78	76
Don't know	2	3	1	7	2	1	1	1	3	2	0	2	3	2	3	2
Not applicable – I didn't visit this place anyway	12	13	11	10	9	17	16	7	19	9	13	10	15	12	11	12
Cinema/theatre																
Much more than before	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
A bit more than before	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
TOTAL MORE	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
About the same as before	6	6	6	10	6	3	5	7	4	5	8	7	6	6	6	6
A bit less than before	5	6	4	6	7	3	3	4	6	7	5	5	5	3	6	5
Much less than before	61	60	63	59	64	60	54	69	50	61	61	66	59	61	60	62
TOTAL LESS	67	66	67	65	71	63	57	74	56	68	65	71	65	64	66	67
Don't know	2	4	1	7	3	1	0	2	4	2	3	2	2	3	3	2
Not applicable – I didn't visit this place anyway	25	23	26	17	19	33	37	17	36	25	24	20	27	26	25	24

Compared to before the coronavirus pandemic, would you say you're spending more or less online on this item now, or has there been no change?

Groceries

I'm spending more online on this item than I did before	30	26	34	17	31	30	36	34	25	30	35	29	29	30	31	30
I'm spending less online on this item than I did before	9	10	7	11	10	7	4	7	11	9	5	8	9	11	10	8
There has been no change	47	49	46	52	48	51	37	47	48	50	44	49	45	47	47	47
Not applicable – I don't buy this	14	15	13	20	11	13	23	13	16	11	16	14	17	12	12	15

Electricals

I'm spending more online on this item than I did before	18	18	17	18	19	16	15	18	17	17	16	22	15	20	17	18
I'm spending less online on this item than I did before	10	13	8	8	13	10	5	10	10	13	11	7	10	10	12	10
There has been no change	54	55	53	42	53	57	60	55	51	53	58	53	55	50	52	54
Not applicable – I don't buy this	18	14	23	32	15	18	20	16	22	17	14	18	20	20	19	18

Clothes

I'm spending more online on this item than I did before	24	17	30	32	26	22	13	26	21	26	17	30	21	24	24	24
I'm spending less online on this item than I did before	22	21	23	21	25	20	16	23	21	22	22	19	22	25	23	22
There has been no change	45	50	40	34	43	47	55	45	45	46	50	43	45	40	45	45
Not applicable – I don't buy this	9	11	8	12	6	11	16	6	14	6	12	8	11	11	8	10

DIY products

I'm spending more online on this item than I did before	15	15	14	7	17	13	12	15	13	12	19	18	13	15	11	16
I'm spending less online on this item than I did before	8	9	7	3	9	9	6	7	9	6	9	8	8	7	6	9
There has been no change	45	47	43	37	44	49	47	49	39	45	39	48	44	48	44	45
Not applicable – I don't buy this	33	29	37	53	30	29	34	29	39	38	33	26	35	30	39	29



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