A City Should Be Like Itself: Towards a City Charter for London



Mark Kleinman
London Councils and the Greater London Authority

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1. The Governance of London









Four systems in the last 40 years



- 1889-1965: London County Council 4.5 millions.
 Fabianism in action
- 1965-1986: Greater London Council 8 million.
 The metropolitan region
- 1986-2000: GLC abolition London governed by the boroughs, central government and ad hoc bodies; an experiment in 'network governance'
- 2000- The Greater London Authority strategic governance; London's first Mayor

2000: Creation of the Greater London Authority



- Directly elected mayor and separately elected assembly of 25 members, each for a term of four years.
- The GLA represents a new form of governance in Britain, with clear separation of powers between the mayor and assembly.
- The mayor is responsible for strategies for transport, planning, the environment, economic development and culture.

The Mayor sets the budget for the GLA and the four functional bodies that make up the GLA group.



2007 GLA Act: additional powers for the



- Investment in new affordable housing: Sets the London housing strategy and chairs London HCA board
- New powers to 'call in' major planning applications
- Sets strategies for health inequalities and climate change mitigation and adaptation
- Chairs the London Waste & Recycling Board and the London Skills and Employment Board
- Chairs or appoints chair of Metropolitan Police Authortiy

The London Boroughs

- deliver most of the day-to-day services that keep the capital ticking,
- spend more than £7 billion a year on children's services, and another £2 billion on adult social services.
- own and maintain half a million homes (one in seven of all homes in London), run libraries, deal with planning applications, responsible for waste collection and licensing pubs, clubs and restaurants.
- repair and maintain 95 per cent of London's roads, deal with parking enforcement, and pay more than £260 million a year for the Freedom Pass, which allows a million older and disabled Londoners to travel free on buses, tubes and trains.
- deliver environment services, including consumer protection, and many arts and leisure services.

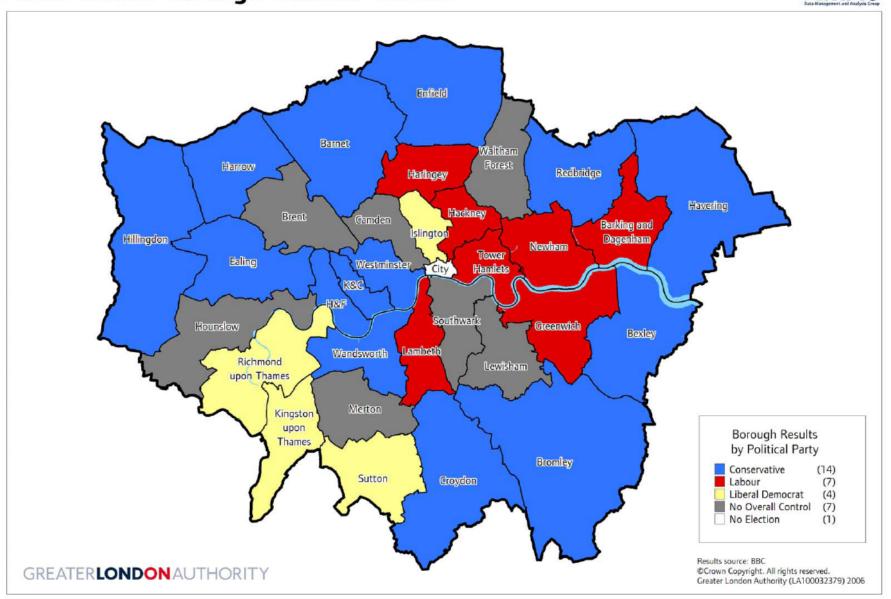
Mayor is part of a system of 'network governance'

- GLA 'family' spends around £12 billion annually. Boroughs spend around £13 billion p.a. Total public sector expenditure in excess of £45 billion.
- The mayor has limited fiscal powers. Most of the money comes via Whitehall.
- Mayor devises strategies, but needs boroughs and other agencies to implement.
- "However charismatic and forceful the Mayor is, London is really governed by a crowd of jostling political bodies, from borough councils to the City of London Corporation to the Olympic Delivery Authority, as competitive and labyrinthine as the City itself." (Andy Beckett, The Guardian 9/12/08)

2. Politics in London

2006 London Borough Election Results





Borough Councillors by Party

	Conservative	Labour	Liberal Democrats	Others
Results 2006	785	685	317	74
Results 2002	653	866	309	33

2008 Mayoral election



- Increased turnout (45%) and a 'Million vote mandate'
- Turnout increase highest in outer London
- Conservative strategy to target outer boroughs: "Ken Livingstone has neglected London's suburbs"

Election for Mayor of London

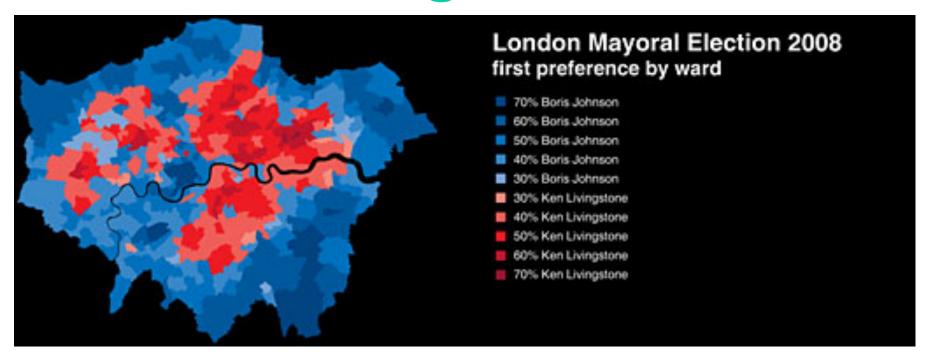
First choice votes - London totals

			2008	2	2004
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate Party Votes	%
Johnson, Boris	CON	1,044,067	43.2	Livingstone, Kenneth R. LAB 685,548 3	36.8
Livingstone, Ken	LAB	894,317	37.0	Norris, Steven J. CON 542,423 2	29.1
Paddick, Brian L.	LD	236,752	9.8	Hughes, Simon H. W. LD 284,647 1	15.3
Berry, Sian	GRE	77,396	3.2	Maloney, Francis UKIP 115,666	6.2
Barnbrook, Richard	BNP	69,753	2.9	German, Lindsey A. R 61,731	3.3
Craig, Alan	CC	39,266	1.6	Leppert, Julian P. BNP 58,407	3.1
Batten, Gerard J.	UKIP	22,435	0.9	Johnson, Darren GRE 57,332	3.1
German, Lindsey A.	LL	16,803	0.7	Gidoomal, Balram CPA 41,698	2.2
O'Connor, Matt	ED	10,700	0.4	Reid, Lorna IWCA 9,542	0.5
McKenzie, Winston T.	IND	5,396	0.2	Nagalingam, Dr Puvanarani T. IND 6,692	0.4
Total		2,416,885	100.0	Total 1,863,686 10	00.0

Second round - London totals

				2008					2004
				choice					choice
Candidate	Party	1st	2nd	total	Candidate	Party	1st	2nd	total
Johnson, Boris Livingstone, Ken	CON Lab	1,044,067 894,317		1,169,046 1,029,406	Livingstone, Kenneti Norris, Steven J	h R LAB	685,548 542,423	142,842 124,757	828,390 667,180
Livingstone, Neri	LAD	034,317	135,009	1,029,400	Mottis, Steven 3	WN	342,423	124,757	007,100

The Blue Doughnut



3. The London City Charter

"Working towards a City Charter for London" MoU June 2008

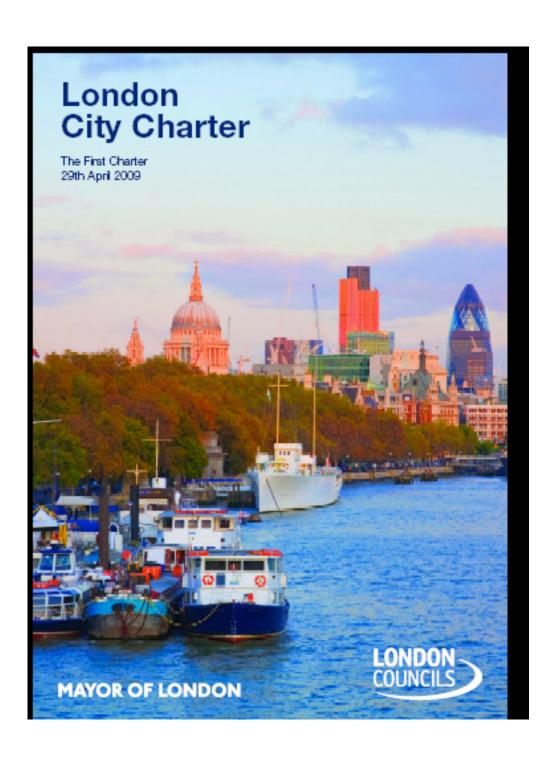
- Signed by Mayor and Chairman of London Councils
- Principles:
 - Decisions as close to people as possible
 - Each tier of govt has unique contribution
 - Transparency, diversity, improvement, accountability
- Actions:
 - Congress of Mayor + borough leaders, at least twice yearly
 - Delivery Board
 - Produce full city charter

What's driving this?

- Politics
- Network Structure
- Maturity of the London Governance System

Other relevant examples...

- New York City Charter: but it's a statutory document, 340 pages
- Toronto: e.g. Canada- Ontario-Toronto MoU on Immigration and Settlement
- Multi-Area Agreements (MAAs) in other UK cities



What is in the City Charter?

- Principles (building on the MoU)
- Arrangements for Congress and a Charter Board
- Key priorities of the Congress
- Set the stage for next phase of devolution

Principles

1.1 Principles

The people of London expect those that they elect to govern – the Mayor of London, London's Borough Councils and the City of London Corporation - to work together to ensure that:

- the needs and aspirations of everyone in London are recognised;
- public services are delivered efficiently and continue to improve; and
- local and regional decisions are made as close to people as is possible.

This City Charter expresses the principle that decisions affecting London should be made, at the most local level possible, wherever appropriate and efficient to do so. This means that the Mayor and Leaders will act together to maximise the degree of regional and local control that is possible within the current system and to make the system work in the best way for Londoners.

London's elected leaders recognise that Londoners' expectations require clear principles for governing London and further improvements in the way that we govern. Each party believes that it is in the best interests of Londoners to work together in a relationship of mutual respect, continuing consultation and cooperation on matters of mutual interest. The Charter recognises that the complexity and importance of many of the challenges facing London in the next few years will require co-ordinated and effective action from all levels of government.

Four Categories of Relationship

- Statutory: Mayor has clear statutory role, borough policies must conform, e.g. planning
- Borough services, where the Mayor complements/supports, e.g. education, social care
- Services delivered by national agencies and quangos, e.g. health
- Shared or complementary responsibilities, e.g. reducing crime and improving community safety

How it Works

- London Congress
 - Mayor and Borough Leaders
 - Twice a Year
- Charter Board
 - Senior officials from GLA group, boroughs, other delivery organisations
 - Four times a year

Areas for Action

- Transport
- Economic Recovery
- Reducing Serious Youth Violence
- Climate Change
- Policing
- Health Outcomes
- Resources for London

Towards greater self -government for London

- London has an effective, accountable system of local and regional governance
- London's regional and local government is a success
- Call on Government to recognise this and devolve further powers, responsibilities and fiscal capacity

What are the risks?

- **Economic** risks: economic recession, tighter public sector budgets
- Political risks: borough elections in 2010; general election in 2009 or 2010
- Bureaucratic risks: danger of 'just another document'

What are the benefits?

- Clearer, simpler, more transparent
- Avoid duplication and things 'falling in the gaps'
- Elected London leadership, not quangos
- Acknowledges reality of both directly elected Mayor and network governance

4. Urban Governance

The shift to governance is at all levels of the state...

- National states have lost some exclusivity and sovereignty
- Growth of supra-national bodies, e.g. European Union, NAFTA, WTO
- Loss of legitimacy/authority of politicians and some institutions
- But the death of the nation-state much exaggerated. In fact, more nations today than 20 years ago.

...including the management of cities

- reduced authority of the state, both national and local
- participation of actors, both private and public
- networks as well as hierarchies and markets
- response to fragmentation recognition of inter-dependence
- importance of urban leadership- both institutional and personal

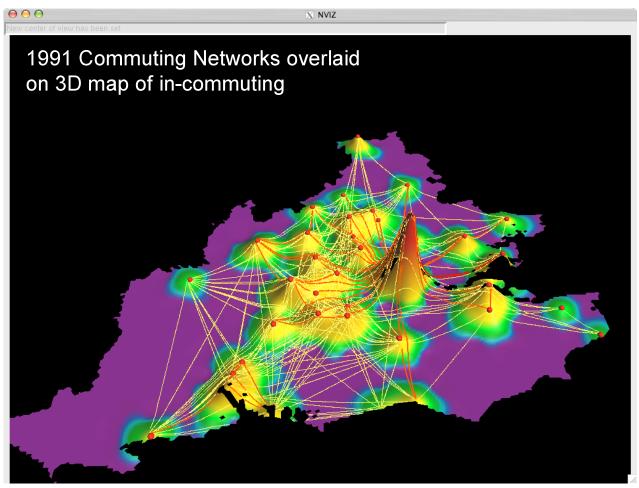
The governance structure is always 'wrong'

- Economic and political scales of cities are different.
- The urban economy functions over a large area such as a labour market or travel-to-work area, so the economic definition of the city is dynamic.
- But city political boundaries are usually historically defined.
- Political identity is always more local than economic reality.

Challenges for metropolitan governance

- There are a range of choices about structure, but network governance and a 'messy' system are inevitable.
- For the largest cities, even a metropolitan tier does not capture the whole of the economic city or FUR – the 100-mile city.
- Economic logic and the competitiveness agenda suggests larger units are more effective. But citizens often identify with something much smaller.

The London city region: Advanced Producer Services information flows connect towns & cities at a global 'megacity-region' scale.



The mega-city region "is the fundamental urban reality of the early 21st century" (Sir Peter Hall)

5. London and Toronto: similarities and differences

London is like Toronto...

- Both cities are creatures of higher governments
- Both cities require stronger fiscal powers
- Mayor is elected at-large; councillors have local mandate
- Strong, dynamic Mayoral leadership
- Recent legislative change
- Growing cities with immigration a key factor
- In transition to a knowledge economy
- Municipal boundary does not capture the economic city (functional urban region)

London is different from Toronto...

- In World City terms, London is alpha++, Toronto is alpha
- London is two-tier, Toronto is the 'Megacity'
- London boundary is co-terminous with the built-up area
- In London, political parties matter at both Mayor and borough levels
- City Charter so far has been mostly a political /institutional process

6. Conclusions



What should a city be like?

Jane Jacobs: It should be like itself. Every city has differences, from its history, from its site, and so on. These are important. One of the most dismal things is when you go to a city and it's like 12 others you've seen. That's not interesting, and it's not really truthful.