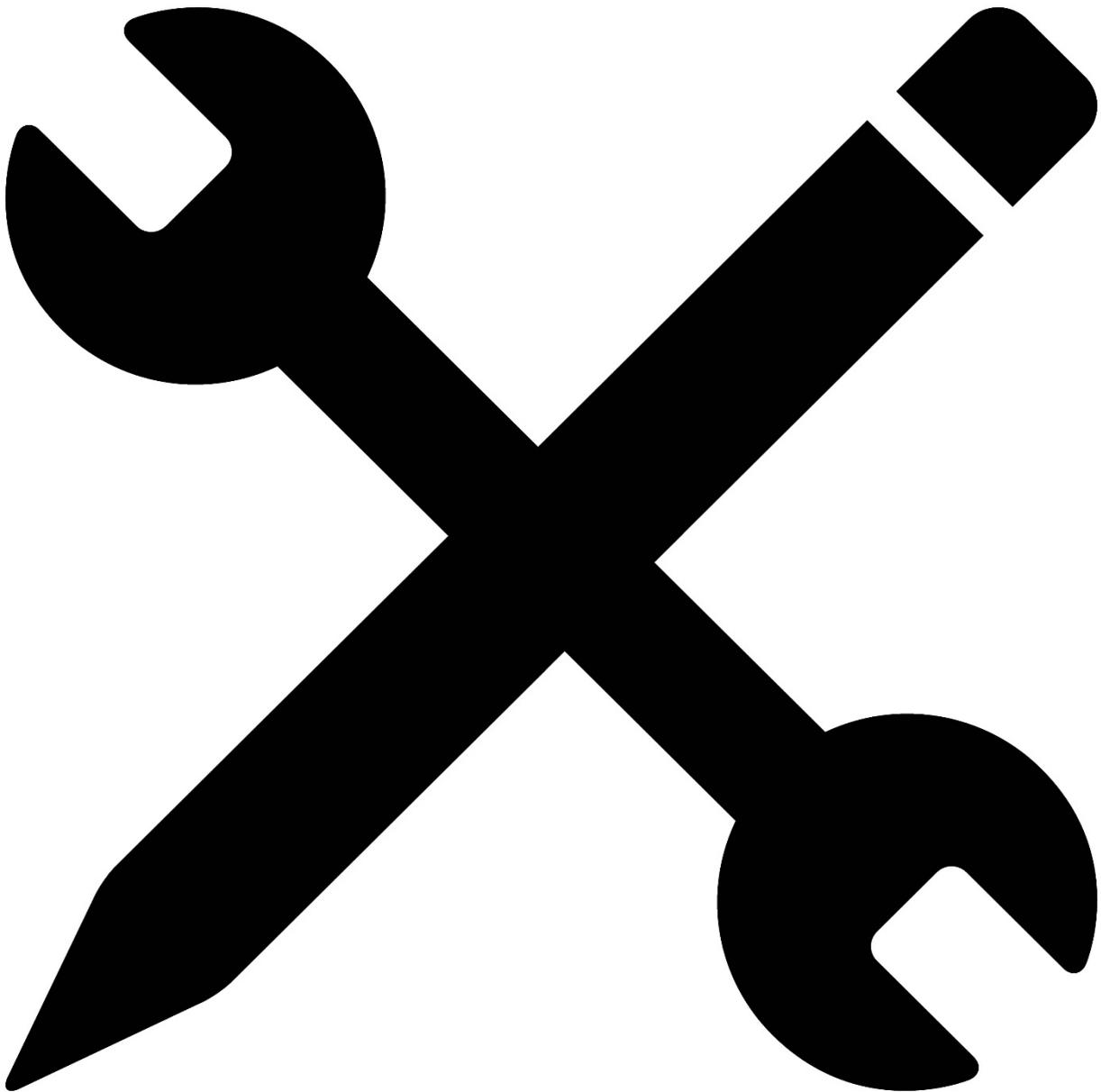


# Monitoring the employment impact of mayoral programmes and initiatives

May 2023



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## Executive summary

- When the Mayor was re-elected in May 2021, he stated that “protecting, preserving and helping to create jobs will be my economic priority”. While the Mayor’s manifesto did not set an overall jobs target<sup>1</sup>, there has been significant interest in understanding how many jobs have been ‘created’ during his terms of office, including a number of mayoral questions on the topic. This paper describes the employment impact of programmes and initiatives over the mayoral term.
- The analysis in this report represents the outcome of analysing multiple data sources and information from the GLA and functional bodies. Because of the wide and diverse nature of interventions, employment outcome data are not consistent between different project/programme areas and the conclusions of this paper should be considered with that in mind.
- The figures provided are an estimate of the jobs created through GLA Group-led activity from the start of the Mayoral term (2016) using the most up-to-date available data (as of August 2022)<sup>2</sup>. **References to ‘jobs created’ throughout this report refer to all jobs created, supported, safeguarded, people supported into work, and apprenticeships.**
- Estimates suggest that over the mayoral term, the mayor has created 332,100 gross jobs. This figure includes jobs created, supported, safeguarded, people supported into work, and apprenticeship starts.
- Looking at London’s overall workforce, there were nearly 600,000 more workforce jobs<sup>3</sup> in the six and a half years since May 2016. However, these estimates cannot be directly compared for two reasons. First, the definitions used to monitor total workforce jobs created in London are not aligned with the definitions used for the purpose of monitoring jobs created in relation with Mayoral initiatives. Second, the gross jobs reported in this analysis have not been adjusted for additionality (i.e., how many jobs would have been created in the absence of the mayoral intervention).
- Nevertheless, Mayoral initiatives play a significant part in creating and supporting employment in the city, within sectors that are influential to improving the social welfare of Londoners (such as regeneration and employment support).
- Other economic and social benefits from these Mayoral initiatives are beyond the scope of this paper— including the quality of jobs created, their effect on the welfare of employees (and their households), and the focus on creating ‘green’ jobs to help make London a net-zero carbon city by 2030.

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1 Note that the Green New Deal includes a target to double the size of the green economy (based on sales) along with a figure of 175,000 potential green jobs over ten years.

2 For some programmes, more recent data is available. However the majority of programme data was collected in August 2022.

3 Workforce Jobs (WFJ) is a quarterly measure of the number of jobs and is the preferred measure of the change in jobs by industry. WFJ is the sum of employee jobs measured primarily by employer surveys, self-employment jobs from the Labour Force Survey, and government-supported trainees and Her Majesty’s Forces from administrative sources.

## Introduction

When the Mayor was re-elected in May 2021, amid concerns about rising unemployment due to the pandemic, he stated that “protecting, preserving and helping to create jobs will be my economic priority”. While his manifesto did not set an overall jobs target<sup>4</sup>, there has been significant interest in understanding how many jobs have been ‘created’ or ‘supported’ during his time in office, including a number of mayoral questions on the topic.

In response to significant interest from a number of stakeholders, GLA Economics have produced this report to estimate the number of jobs created by the GLA group during the current Mayor’s time in office, and that could be in some way attributed to this Mayor’s policy initiatives. **Note that all references to ‘jobs created’ throughout this report refer to jobs created, supported, safeguarded, people supported into work, and apprenticeships collectively.** This paper is the first in a series of periodic reports on employment impacts of Mayoral policies from the GLA group.

The Mayor has several levers at his disposal to create jobs for London. The available means and resources vary significantly by policy area, and the resulting employment impact will reflect this. For example:

- Through the devolved Adult Education Budget, the Mayor can influence the supply side of the labour market to increase participation in learning and skills development.
- The Mayor has significant legislative powers within environmental policy, but a relatively small programme budget, so interventions lead to indirectly ‘enabling’ jobs in the sector rather than directly supporting them through programme investment.

The variation in employment impacts by policy area provides methodological challenges in estimating the number of jobs created, supported or enabled, and attributing them to actions taken by the Mayor. Therefore, alongside the gross jobs figures presented in this report, we also describe qualitatively the programmes which have employment effects, but that were not possible to measure quantitatively.

In addition to mayoral programmes and policies, the Mayor also published a major strategic plan for London until 2041. This [London Plan](#) aims to ensure there is sufficient employment floorspace in the capital to accommodate a variety of businesses that want to or need to locate and grow in London, which in turn provides the foundations for employment. The plan also seeks to promote the development of industrial spaces for businesses, therefore providing employment capacity. However, the impact of this strategic intervention on employment is beyond the scope of this report. Beyond this, employment effects offer only one dimension of the benefits of Mayoral policies. Some key issues are highlighted below:

- Job quality is not reflected in job creation numbers, despite being a key objective of the Mayor.
- Jobs estimates presented are ‘Gross’. This means that we do not adjust the estimates for additionality.
- Employment impacts of Mayoral programmes offer only a partial view of the success of these programmes. Ideally, they should be judged on their full environmental, social and economic benefits, compared to the costs. There are also other benefits associated with employment beyond the scope of this report – for example, boosting the psychological well-being of employees and greater social capital in the borough in which they’re located
- London’s labour market is also affected by factors beyond the Mayor’s influence. The findings of this report should be considered in the context of the overall performance of London’s labour market, including the change in total jobs across the capital.

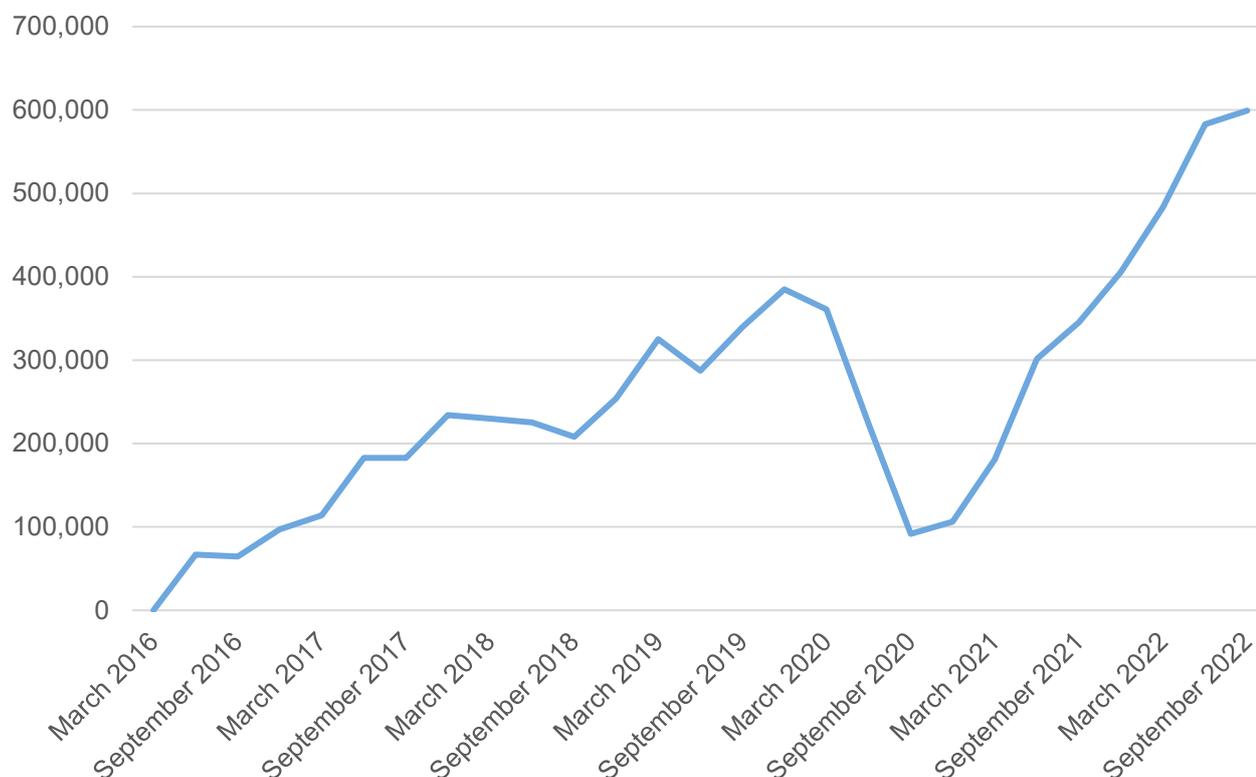
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<sup>4</sup> Note that the Green New Deal includes a target to double the size of the green economy (based on sales) along with a figure of 175,000 potential green jobs over ten years.

## London's labour market since 2016

There are nearly 600,000 more workforce jobs<sup>5</sup> in London in the six and a half years since the Mayor was first elected in May 2016, growing from 5.7 million in March that year – the last data point before the Mayoral election – to 6.3 million in September 2022.

**Figure 1: Cumulative increase in workplace jobs in London, since March 2016**

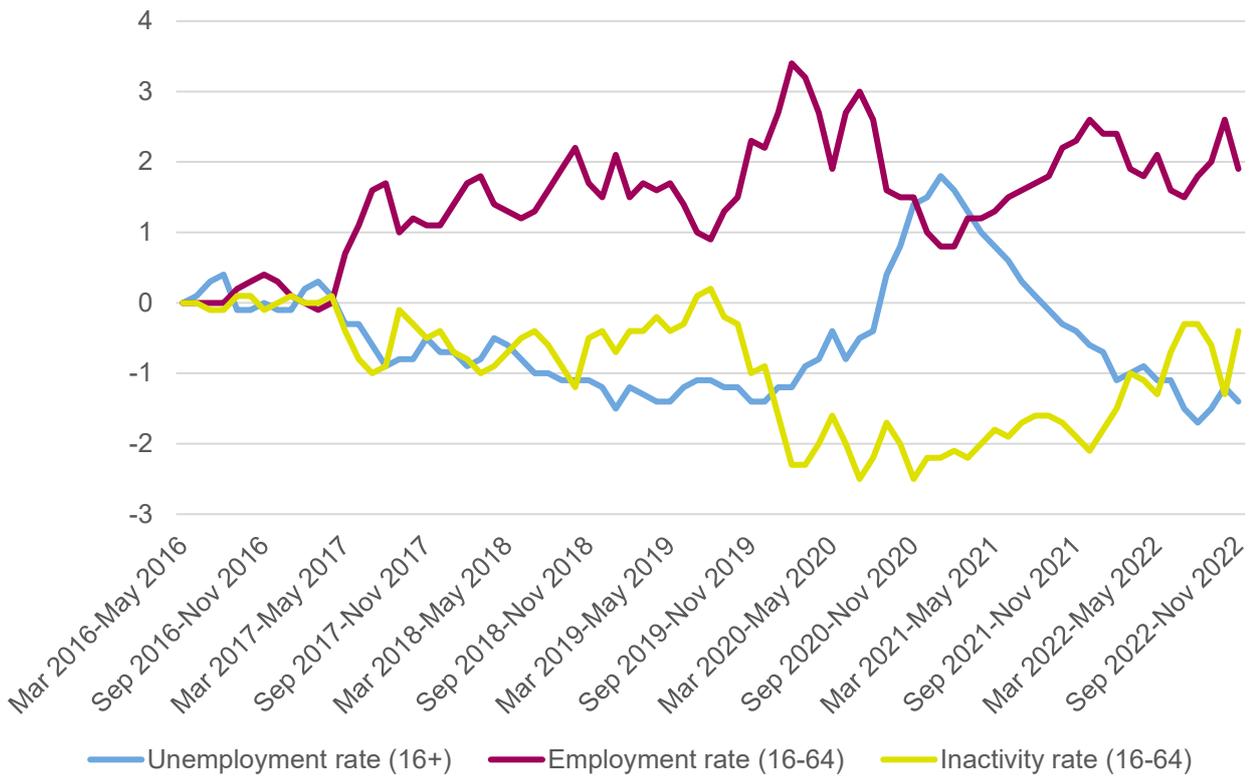


Source: [ONS Workforce jobs](#)

At the same time, labour market outcomes improved, on average, for London residents. Despite the economic shock of the Covid-19 pandemic, the unemployment rate in London was 1.4 percentage points lower in the three months to November 2022 (4.3%) than it was in the three months to May 2016 (5.7%). The employment rate improved by 1.9 percentage points over the period, rising from 73.3% to 75.2%, and the inactivity rate fell by 0.4 percentage points, from 22.0% to 21.6%.

<sup>5</sup> Workforce Jobs (WFJ) is a quarterly measure of the number of jobs and is the preferred measure of the change in jobs by industry. WFJ is the sum of employee jobs measured primarily by employer surveys, self-employment jobs from the Labour Force Survey, and government-supported trainees and Her Majesty's Forces from administrative sources.

**Figure 2: Cumulative change in labour market indicators (percentage point change)**



Source: [ONS Employment, unemployment and inactivity rates](#)

## Objectives

In response to significant interest from several stakeholders, GLA Economics has produced this report to estimate the number of jobs created by the GLA group. Ultimately, the analysis aims to answer the question:

*How many jobs have been created through mayoral programmes/initiatives since May 2016?*

## Scope

To answer the above question, GLA Economics liaised with relevant stakeholders to discuss and agree the key priorities when collecting and reporting data on job creation. GLA Economics also spent time testing out the feasibility of collecting and presenting data in different ways. Below, we provide detail on the resulting scope of this exercise:

In scope	Out of scope
Estimates include jobs created by the GLA Group, where available. This includes figures provided by the GLA, Transport for London, London Legacy Development Corporation, London & Partners, Old Oak Park Royal Development Corporation, Mayors Office for Policing and Crime, London Fire Commissioner.	It was not feasible to categorise the number of jobs created as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jobs by borough</li> <li>• 'Green' jobs</li> <li>• 'Good' jobs (i.e., those paying the London Living Wage).</li> </ul> It may be possible to collect this data in the future.
Estimates presented by financial year, since the beginning of the mayoral term, with 22/23 figures including numbers reported to date.	Job creation estimates split by cost of each scheme (as requested in previous Mayor's Questions). In many cases, job creation is only one outcome of programme funding and it is therefore not possible to disaggregate the costs of job creation schemes.
Estimates presented by programme (e.g., Affordable Housing Programme)	Job creation estimates split by sector (again requested in previous Mayor's Questions). Many programmes create jobs within multiple sectors, and data at this level of granularity is not available.
	Employment impact of Mayoral strategic intervention (e.g., the London Plan)

## Methods

### Data collection

GLA group projects and programmes are monitored individually, in a way that is specific to the objectives of the project, the requirements of its ultimate funders, and mindful of the capacity of external providers. As such the monitoring of employment effects is not uniform, nor is it carried out using a single software or system. Programmes report a variety of metrics such as job entry/starts, sustained employment (for 26- and/or 52-weeks), apprenticeships, short-term freelance opportunities, and jobs safeguarded that were otherwise deemed at risk. External funders of large programmes, such as the European Social Fund (ESF), set requirements around the monitoring of employment outcomes with particular emphasis around sustained employment.

In order to calculate the number of jobs created under the current Mayor, GLA Economics first identified a list of programmes or initiatives that are delivered by the GLA. We then developed a survey to send to policy officers leading the programmes identified across the GLA group. Many of these programmes comprise several projects. Policy officers were asked to fill out a data collection template, which aimed to capture all quantitative data that has been collected on job creation to date (since the start of the current Mayor's first term), but also to understand any employment impacts that may not be monitored, as well as challenges they faced in collecting the data. See [Appendix A: Data collection template](#) for details. Responses were queried by GLA Economics when programmes were funded by multiple sources to minimise the risk of double counting jobs.

### Defining employment effects

In developing the data collection template, some broad definitions were established to enable policy officers to identify and record the direct employment effects of their programmes or policies. These definitions are explained below.

Job type	Definition and example
Jobs created and supported	<p>The number of jobs created or supported as a direct result of GLA programme investment or intervention.</p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support to redevelop a building to create new workspace. The workspace is occupied and the jobs in the building are then counted and attributed to the programme.</li> <li>• Support businesses through e.g., grants/ training to set up, or grow, in London, leading to job creation.</li> <li>• Funding a programme to redevelop an area. The redevelopment requires a number of construction jobs, which are included in the estimate.</li> <li>• Project managers/ officers hired externally to work on a programme.</li> </ul>
People supported into work	<p>People may be supported into work through skills and employability programmes, which help people access employment opportunities (i.e., supply-side interventions).</p> <p>Example: People progressing into employment after a GLA funded training programme</p>
Safeguarded jobs	<p>Safeguarded jobs are those that would have been lost without GLA intervention.</p> <p>Example: A business park will close and 10 jobs will be lost but GLA investment helps to keep it open.</p>
Apprenticeships	Apprenticeships that have been created because of the programme/ policy

## Gross or net jobs

To confidently establish the employment impact of Mayoral programmes and policies at the GLA Group, we would report *net additional* jobs. It is prudent to regularly monitor and report gross outcomes for project management purposes. But these gross totals cannot be solely attributed to the Mayor's policies and programmes. In economic terms, we need to establish the *additionality* of the programmes. Net additional jobs can only be calculated with any degree of accuracy through an evaluation of the programme. Not all programmes listed are subject to an economic impact evaluation, and those that are will not be available until after the programme has finished. London & Partners run routine surveys of participants in order to estimate additionality of their projects<sup>6</sup>. Not all parts of the GLA group routinely follow this approach, in part because job creation is not always the primary public service objective.

The figures in this report therefore do not adjust for additionality, which has major implications for the overall conclusions on the employment impact of mayoral programmes. However, for reference, we provide more detail on different approaches to estimating additionality in [Appendix D: Considering additionality](#).

## Direct and indirect jobs

*Direct* jobs are those that are created on site or supported directly by an intervention. But there are also knock-on impacts of those jobs on other parts of the economy. Expanded production can lead to a higher demand for inputs, resulting in an increase in *indirect* jobs in supplier industries. In addition, the increased consumer spending of those in newly created direct and indirect jobs may lead to further employment in so-called *induced* jobs. Having previously been sceptical about multiplier effects, the latest edition of HMT's Green Book is more receptive to the inclusion of local multiplier effects in economic appraisals, provided robust evidence for them can be offered<sup>7</sup>. Under the previous Mayor, direct, indirect and induced jobs were counted against the job creation target using multipliers derived by the Scottish Executive<sup>8</sup>. Following guidance from the Green Book, we do not apply multipliers in this analysis, as they should only be applied if additionality is first considered.

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6 London & Partners, Evaluation Methodology (2021)

7 [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/1063330/Green\\_Book\\_2022.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1063330/Green_Book_2022.pdf) p93

8 > [Multipliers - Supply, Use and Input-Output Tables - gov.scot \(www.gov.scot\)](#)

## Results: Current Measurement approach by policy area

Of the GLA group programmes identified, 25 monitor some type of employment data, 17 of which monitor 'jobs created and supported'. This was the most frequently monitored outcome, reflecting the focus on delivering job creation or support of GLA programmes. Eleven programmes monitored the creation or support of apprenticeships, eight programmes monitored the number of 'people supported into work' and three collected data on 'safeguarded' jobs.

Although employment data is not monitored for housing programmes (such as the Affordable Housing Programme (AHP)), we have been able to estimate job creation as a result of the AHP based on an assumption from the [National Housing Federation](#). This suggests that each new home built is associated with the creation of at least 1.2 direct jobs lasting one year (which translates to over 140,100 jobs created due to the Programme, as of March 2023<sup>9</sup>). It is also worth noting that this multiple of 1.2 direct jobs is a conservative figure. The [Housing Strategy \(2011\)](#) provides an estimate of up to 2 jobs per house built. Other analysis from the [Home Builder Federation](#) has found that "the scale of employment supported by house building is equivalent to between 2.4 and 3.1 direct, indirect and induced jobs per new permanent dwelling built". Therefore, the actual job impact resulting from the Programme may be higher.

Programmes report against various outputs and outcomes, so while the definitions created for the purpose of measuring job creation aim to track progress, not all programmes monitor the direct creation of jobs, the nature or type of employment, or consider how long these jobs may be sustained. [Appendix B: Measurement approach by policy area](#) provides more detail on each programme.

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<sup>9</sup> Note that this figure is based on the number of affordable housing starts, and an estimate of job creation based on housing completions would provide a lower estimate. The figure covers 2015-16 (the previous Mayor's final year in office) as the funding settlement confirmed by Mayor Khan in November 2016 included funding for legacy programmes and starts on site that were categorised in the 2015-16 financial year.

## Commentary on job creation and support

We have identified 23<sup>10</sup> programmes/policy areas within the GLA and functional bodies that, although may be creating jobs, had significant data reporting gaps and so have not been included in the quantified final estimates. However, it is important to highlight that these programmes may also lead to job creation and support. Below, we outline some examples of areas where job creation is not quantified but note that this list is not exhaustive.

### Programmes where people have been supported (with the intention of moving into work):

The following programmes aim to support people into employment. However, figures have not been included in the estimate as it is not possible to determine how many of those who were supported then went on to become employed.

1. **Diversity in Creative Workforce (DCW)** - The Creative Jobcentre pilot project is part of a GLA programme to increase diversity in the creative economy workforce. The programme is looking to address some of the most difficult barriers that prevent diverse Londoners from accessing jobs in the Screen and TV industry. For example: Lack of access to employment opportunities, lack of awareness of careers available in the creative industries and a lack of capacity in the Jobcentres to signpost people to creative jobs. This programme will build capacity in Jobcentres creating new recruitment pathways between Jobcentres and creative industry employers focusing initially on screen: TV, visual effects, animation and games. Film London's Equal Access Network works with the JobCentre to train work coaches and business managers to support people by giving them training and provide a masterclass to support people into work in the Screen and TV industry.
2. **Further Education Capital Fund (FEC)** – The FEC Fund aims to support the delivery of high-quality demand-based skills provision through investment in the modernisation and development of fit for purpose further education facilities. Note that there were over 40,000 learners who were supported over this programme.
3. **Skills For Londoners (SfL)** - The SfL fund supports high-quality equipment and facilities for London's Further Education (FE) colleges and other FE education and training providers. The fund supports the delivery of high-quality training whilst responding to the needs of London's employers by embedding new collaborative work environments that foster innovative ways of working. Note that, as of 22/23, over 19,000 learners have been supported over this programme.
4. **Team London** – Team London delivers several programmes helping to support Londoners into employment. The Head 2Work programme supports unemployed young people aged 18-24 into sustained employment, by helping to develop skills through leading on a social action project, receive employability training support, 1-1 support and career guidance and finding suitable employment. The HeadStart Action programme supports marginalised, at risk, young people aged 14-18 to gain confidence and skills, by receiving 1-1 mentoring support, becoming actively engaged in their community through youth social action activity and linking with employers, receiving employability training and completing work experience.
5. **Workforce Integration Network (WIN)** - WIN works with employers to address the structural barriers that prevent underrepresented groups from accessing good work. It seeks to change the way employers in London operate, helping to improve pathways to work for underrepresented groups and in turn building inclusive workforces.

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<sup>10</sup> Note that this list is not exhaustive, and there are likely other areas across the GLA that will be influencing employment.

The programme aims to improve the extent to which employers take steps to create a more diverse and inclusive workforce, leading to employer behaviour/organisational change and because of that, improve access to vacancies/job opportunities. However, no data on employment outcomes are available.

6. **Creative Economy Growth Programme (CEGP)** - Film London supports film productions to choose London, which then creates jobs. Film London also funds specialised programmes and schemes to support people into these jobs in film production. This programme is slightly different to other programmes, which focus on creating jobs, or supporting people into work. To avoid the risk of double counting, we have counted these jobs once under the 'jobs created or supported' category.

### **Programmes where data collection has not been possible:**

7. **Housing** – It has been possible to estimate the number of jobs created and supported through the construction of new homes under the Affordable Housing programme, based on an assumption from the [National Housing Federation](#) (NHF) on number of jobs created per house built. An estimate based on the NHF's study would suggest that the Affordable Housing Programme has been responsible for the creation of at least 140,100 jobs, as of March 2023. However, the GLA also supports job creation in housing through several other initiatives, for which we have not been able to estimate employment effects. For example:
- Administering the Building Safety Fund and the two cladding remediation funds on behalf of government to remediate London buildings with unsafe cladding.
  - Administering the Waking Watch Relief Fund on behalf of government to pay for the installation of common fire alarm systems in high-rise buildings with unsafe cladding, removing or reducing the need for 'waking watch'.
  - Working with councils, housing associations, government, and communities to help improve the supply of homes available to meet Londoners' diverse housing needs, including for accessible and adapted housing, specialist and supported accommodation, and homes for people who would otherwise be sleeping rough.
  - Construction of new homes on sites owned by the GLA Group.
  - The HSFA Challenge brings together multiple funding strands into a single stream of strategic enabling funding, targeted advice and knowledge-sharing opportunities to support the development of exemplar high-street projects in each London borough. Each strategy can address common and local challenges and underpin the public reimagining of high streets and town centres across London.

The above programmes all result in additional investment in the construction or adaptation of homes, creating and supporting jobs in the construction sector and associated sectors such as housing management.

8. **Designing London's Recovery (DLR)** - Designing London's Recovery is a mission-based open innovation programme focussed on providing seed funding to innovators, which will in turn create job opportunities with those companies. However, innovators are often smaller companies that do not currently have the capacity to collect this data.
9. **Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC)** - Within MOPAC there are a number of services and projects that help to reduce reoffending, and improve life outcomes (including supporting people into employment). However, data on progression into employment, resulting from these programmes, are not currently available.

We have been able to provide data on apprenticeships within the supply chain. Note that this data is unlikely to represent the totality of supply chain apprenticeships, rather contracts where this data has or can be collected.

**10. Environment** – We have been able to collect data from the following environmental programmes: Better Futures, Green and resilient spaces, and ReLondon’s business transformation programme. However, the environment team lead on several programmes which indirectly support job creation but data is not currently available. London's Green new deal will help London to recover by creating new jobs and skills for Londoners. It will ensure London becomes a zero-carbon, zero pollution city by 2030 and a zero-waste city by 2050. In practice, the green new deal means how we 1) Get London’s buildings to net zero emissions; 2) Modernise our public transport, make our city greener and better able to cope with the impacts of a warmer climate; and 3) build the economic, industrial and political foundations so London’s green economy can grow. This is vital if we are to meet the city’s climate targets by 2030. The Mayor’s Green New Deal programmes are supporting thousands of green jobs, while tackling the climate and ecological emergencies and inequalities in London. However, we have not been able to measure jobs created from these programmes given that largely programmes work with small businesses or community groups, that do not have the capacity to collect this data.

The London Plan also highlights requirements for all development (in turn providing capacity for employment) across London to ensure that the city becomes zero-carbon by 2050.

**11. Transport for London (TfL)** – There are several areas where TfL create or support jobs. However, this data has not been included in the final estimate, as further work is required to produce a comprehensive estimate, and to ensure that we eliminate the risk of double counting across each area. Some examples are provided below:

- Across the UK, TfL has previously calculated that it directly supports around 43,000 jobs through its investment programme on the Tube. This estimate is in the process of being updated. This is in addition to hundreds of thousands of other jobs which indirectly support TfL through its supply chain, as well as the 55,000 full-time jobs that building Crossrail has helped support across the country throughout the project's construction.<sup>11</sup>
- The delivery of the Elizabeth line will create (and improve access to) a significant number of jobs in areas along the Elizabeth line. Better connections and increased capacity will make it easier for people to travel to work, broadening employment opportunities. In addition, better connections will improve attractiveness of areas for employers, resulting in new jobs.
- Opportunity Areas (OAs) are identified in the Mayor's London Plan as key locations with potential for new homes, jobs and infrastructure of all types. Many are linked to existing or potential public transport improvements and typically have capacity for at least 2,500 new homes or 5,000 new jobs, or a combination of the two.<sup>12</sup>

We have been able to collect data on new apprenticeship starts within the supply chain. Note that this data is unlikely to represent the totality of supply chain apprenticeships, rather contracts where this data has or can be collected.

**12. The London Business Hub** – The hub developed Recover and Grow, Expert Advisers and Investment Readiness in response to the pandemic. These projects focused on helping businesses pivot their operations during the pandemic to protect employment and build resilience to help them withstand any future economic shock. The activities of the London Business Hub were mainly geared at providing

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<sup>11</sup> <https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/mayoral/data-reveals-tfl-contracts-are-worth-64bn>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.london.gov.uk/programmes-strategies/planning/implementing-london-plan/londons-opportunity-areas>

support and signposting businesses to knowledge that will help them make productivity improvements and planning for growth. All of these activities are intended to lead to employment in the long run.

- 13. Culture and Community Spaces at Risk programme (CCSaR)** – This programme aims to protect cultural and community-led spaces, particularly those serving underrepresented groups. Through direct support to these organisations to move them away from immediate threats and to long-term sustainability, the programme works to protect jobs in London that would otherwise be lost.

### **Programmes where it is too early to report on job creation**

- 14. Health** – The health team will be delivering the Mayor’s Skills Academies for Health and Care (we have secured five that will be launched in the autumn). This programme represents a major support to our NHS partners in skilling up Londoners, particularly young Londoners, to take up opportunities and careers in our NHS. There is also wider work in partnership with local government and the Voluntary and Community Sector (VCS) in relation to young people that will strengthen the youth sector and youth work as a profession, enhancing the existing roles in youth work to become more attractive to prospective workers. The health team will also be delivering the Free School Meals programme, which may lead to job creation.

- 15. London Diagnostics** - The Collaborate to Innovate: London Diagnostics programme aims to catalyse new collaborations between commercial partners (SMEs) and academic research groups, large companies, medical research charities and/or health service partners. The programme is:

- Providing grant funding (matched) to nine SMEs, to support facilitated collaborative projects tapping into the expertise and capabilities of a partner organisation; and
- Running two partnering events to catalyse additional collaborative partnerships.

- 16. Solar Skills London** aims to grow the capital’s solar energy sector by creating career pathways for the next generation of solar experts, increasing the number of registered solar installers in London and helping create more green jobs. The programme will also include a placement programme to get trainees into solar businesses and a targeted grants scheme to deliver quality training to solar installers in London. Note that data has not yet been collected for this programme.

- 17. Royal Docks (RD)** - Royal Docks is the Mayor of London’s largest land-led project, bringing forward eight major development schemes. The area is an internationally significant hub of enterprise and employment. 30,000 homes and 41,500 jobs are forecast over the next 20 years, through provision of significant employment space and construction of homes. Currently, an estimate of job creation is not available, but work is ongoing to collect and monitor this data.

### **Programmes where it is difficult to clearly attribute job creation to mayoral activities, but there may be some influence:**

- 18. Health** – The health team are involved in the delivery of the London Healthy Workplace Award (1st term) and its integration into the Good Work Standard (2nd term) will support employers to deliver greater health and wellbeing benefits to their workforces, thus becoming more attractive employers, better able to recruit and retain more productive staff.

- 19. Technology Adoption Service (TAS)** – The TAS is an online comparison tool for businesses to identify and compare technology solutions that will support their business. With the express aim of

supporting growth of productivity, it supports small businesses to successfully adopt new technology, which may lead to increased employment. No data is available for this programme.

20. **London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC)** - LLDC has a lease in place with Here East (a creative and digital cluster) to operate the hub on the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and that lease has conditions with regards to local employment etc. In that sense LLDC has some influence on the developments (and therefore job creation) at Here East. However, there is a limited amount of control over this metric. In their latest impact report, Here East estimate stimulating 5,400 jobs and students located on the Here East campus.
21. **London's Good Work standard** – The standard sets the benchmark for best employment practice. It recognises employers at the leading edge of pay and conditions, workplace wellbeing, diversity and recruitment, and skills and progression. 113 employers of all sizes have become accredited to the Good Work Standard since it launched in July 2019.
22. **Making London a Living Wage City Programme** - The Mayor is co-chairing the Making London a Living Wage City Programme. The programme will bring together employers, workers, community groups and more in focused action to address low-pay sections of London's economy. Its initial focus will be on health and social care, hospitality and service provision, and the cultural and creative industries, with additional focus on Living Wage Places and night-time workers.
23. **Infrastructure** – The infrastructure team track and provide some accountability for utility companies commitment to invest in London to aid the COVID recovery. The utilities report to the team on job creation and their levels of investment against a target.

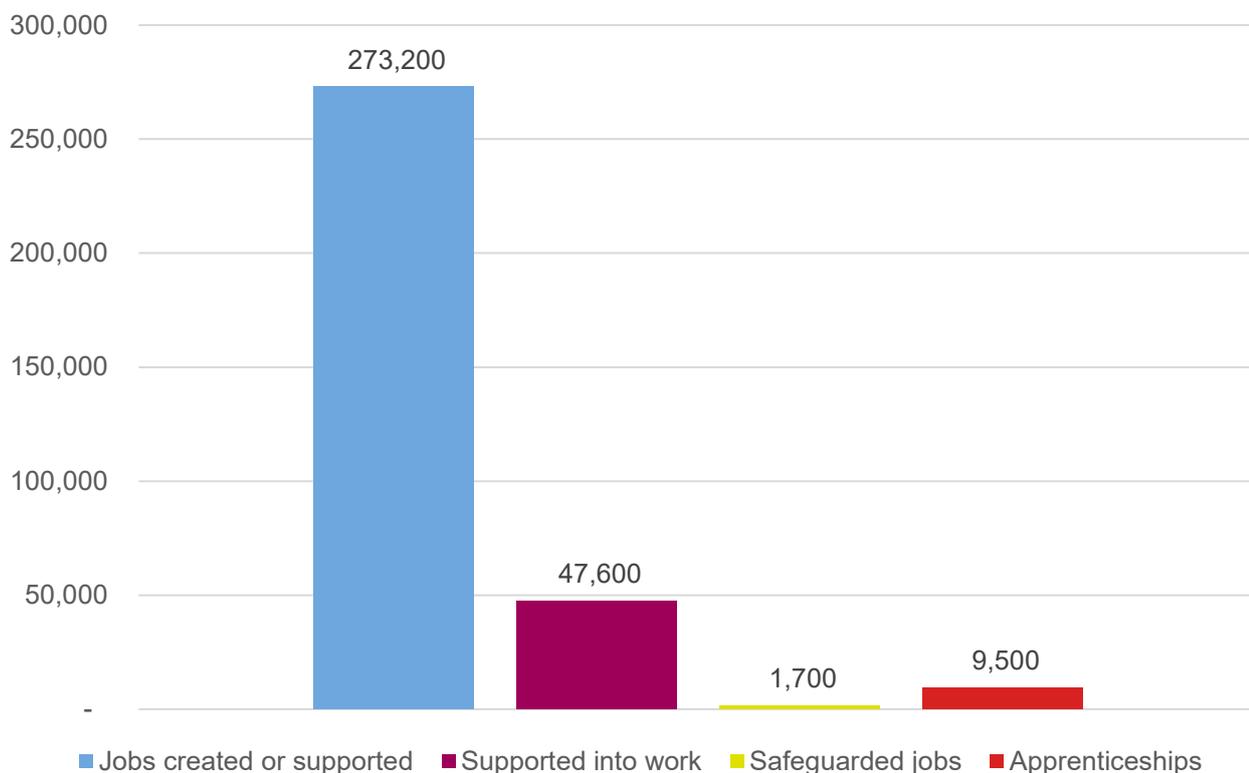
## Results: Total Employment impact

From the responses to our data collection template and survey, we were able to determine 273,200 (gross) jobs created or supported by the GLA group since 2016. In addition, 47,600 people have been recorded as being supported into work, 1,700 jobs safeguarded, and 9,500 apprenticeships have been created with support from mayoral programmes and policies. **This equates to 332,100 gross jobs that have been created in total due to Mayoral initiatives.** Table 1 shows these employment effects by financial year, where these can be established. Note that 2022/23 covers (in most cases) the latest data available, as of August 2022.

**Table 1: Gross jobs created by job type<sup>13</sup>**

	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19	2019/20	2020/21	2021/22	2022/23	Total <sup>14</sup>
<b>Jobs created or supported</b>	14,400	16,600	11,200	19,100	8,700	18,500	10,300	273,200
<b>Supported into work</b>	100	<100	1,000	5,200	1,900	7,700	<100	47,600
<b>Safeguarded jobs</b>	-	-	-	-	-	1,000	500	1,700
<b>Apprenticeships</b>	400	500	600	4,400	1,300	1,700	600	9,500
<b>Total gross jobs</b>	14,900	17,200	12,800	28,700	11,900	28,900	11,400	332,100

**Figure 3: Gross jobs created by job type, 2016-2022**

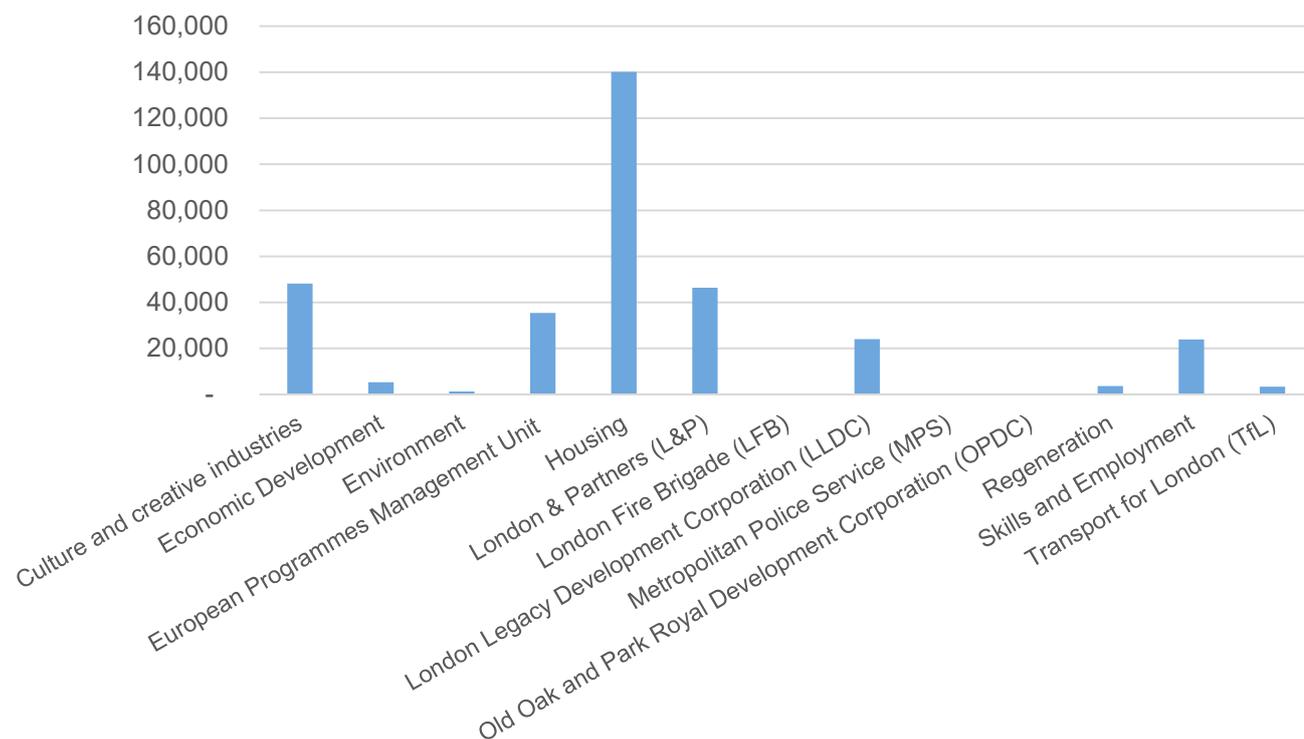


<sup>13</sup> All job creation figures have been rounded to the nearest 100.

<sup>14</sup> Please note that the 'Total' column provided above will not necessarily equal the sum of all other columns, as some programmes have provided cumulative data. Where the difference is relatively small, the discrepancy is due to rounding.

Figure 4 shows job creation by policy area, where Housing created the largest number of jobs<sup>15</sup>. The culture and creative industries created the second largest number of jobs. It is important to highlight that jobs created in this area are defined as ‘employment opportunities’. This definition reflects the way the industry is structured, where opportunities arise through short-term projects that vary in length. London & Partners also created a significant number of jobs between 2016 and 2022 (in total, over 46,300). Finally, the European Programmes Management unit (which comprises the ERDF & ESF programmes), created over 35,400 jobs during the mayoral term.

**Figure 4: Gross jobs created by policy area, 2016-2022**



<sup>15</sup> Please note that this finding should be qualified on the basis that we don't have complete figures on job creation for some areas such as LLDC and TfL (as outlined in the [Commentary on job creation and support section](#)).

**Table 2: Gross jobs created by policy area<sup>16</sup>**

Policy area	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19	2019/20	2020/21	2021/22	2022/23 <sup>17</sup>	Total <sup>18</sup>
Culture and creative industries	4,200	5,300	6,500	12,300	4,200	14,200	1,300	48,200
Economic Development	<100	<100	<100	<100	<100	<100	<100	5,400
Environment	-	-	-	-	-	<100	600	1,400
European Programmes Management Unit <sup>19</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35,400
Housing <sup>20</sup> (primarily Affordable Housing Programme)	-	-	-	-	-	<100	<100	~140,200
London & Partners (L&P)	10,100	11,300	4,500	3,500	3,600	4,600	8,700	46,300
London Fire Brigade (LFB)	-	-	<100	<100	<100	<100	-	<100
London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC)	200	100	100	100	<100	200	-	24,100
Metropolitan Police Service (MPS)	-	-	-	<100	<100	<100	-	100
Old Oak and Park Royal Development Corporation (OPDC)	-	-	-	-	-	100	<100	200
Regeneration	-	-	200	500	800	500	<100	3,600
Skills and Employment	-	<100	900	11,600	2,500	8,300	600	23,900
Transport For London (TFL)	400	400	500	600	500	900	<100	3,400

For more detail by programme, see [Appendix C: Job creation estimates by programme](#).

<sup>16</sup> All job creation figures have been rounded to the nearest 100.

<sup>17</sup> 2022/23 data covers (in most cases) latest data available, as of August 2022.

<sup>18</sup> Please note that the 'Total' column provided above, will not necessarily equal the sum of all other columns, as some programmes have provided cumulative data. Where the difference is relatively small, the discrepancy is due to rounding.

<sup>19</sup> European programmes data cannot be split by financial year. ESF programmes support people into employment, which can take longer to achieve. In addition, the technology is not available to collect this data on an annual basis.

<sup>20</sup> Housing figure includes estimates from the Royal Docks programme, and the Affordable Housing Programme (AHP). The employment effects of the AHP are not measured directly by the programme, but estimates from the [National Housing Federation](#) suggest that each new home built is associated with 1.2 direct jobs lasting one year. As of March 2023, 116,782 house starts had been delivered under the AHP, suggesting that 140,100 jobs were created.

## Discussion

Below we outline some of the key challenges with regard to monitoring job creation at the GLA. These challenges should be considered carefully when interpreting the figures provided:

- **There are a number of programmes that, although they might significantly influence employment, do not monitor job creation.** As noted in the section *Commentary on job creation and support*, programmes such as the Affordable Homes Programme would be expected to create at least 140,100 direct jobs. Employment effects are not directly measured by the programme, but GLA Economics have been able to estimate job creation. Similarly, programmes overseen by LLDC, would enable jobs through lease conditions. However, these ‘enabling’ interventions provide methodological challenges when it comes to attributing jobs created to actions taken by the Mayor. These elements have therefore been excluded from the total estimate.
- **Definitions of jobs created vary.** Projects report against various outputs and outcomes, so while the definitions created for the purpose of measuring job creation aim to track progress, there is some inconsistency in measurement by area. This means that the job creation estimates should not be compared on a like-for-like basis.
- **Our estimate of total jobs created is gross, but it is the net impact that is more important.** Gross figures overstate the number of jobs that can be claimed to have resulted from action taken by the Mayor. Having said that, we report gross direct employment figures, and do not estimate the indirect and induced jobs that may have been created. Multiplier effects should only be applied after first adjusting for additionality. We have therefore not applied these adjustments to the figures.
- **Focusing on the number of jobs created risks ignoring the social value of employment.** The jobs created by these programmes, for example, could boost the physical and mental wellbeing of employees and their households, be conducive to social cohesion in a given area, and promote social capital within London more broadly. There is extensive literature on the positive impact of employment on these variables, which are significant to overall communal welfare. Nonetheless, measuring these impacts is beyond the scope of this analysis.
- **Employment effects offer only one dimension of the benefits of Mayoral policies.** It is important to emphasise that job creation, while clearly important, is not necessarily the primary objective of most Mayoral policies. For example, environmental policies are principally intended to benefit the environment (e.g., by reducing carbon emissions, improving air quality or biodiversity), although supporting jobs may offer an additional benefit. In some policy areas, job creation may be negligible. Placing too much emphasis on employment effects in measuring performance risks missing the bigger picture, or worse, could create perverse incentives for delivery.
- **Job quality is not reflected in job creation numbers, despite being a key objective of the Mayor.** Most programme managers do not currently collect data on aspects of job quality. However, going forward, a key recommendation of this analysis is to include some indicator of job quality as part of the monitoring information.
- **Programmes are at different stages of delivery.** Programmes which are in early stages of delivery may have provided lower estimates of job creation than others where delivery is almost complete.
- **Some programmes are supported by multiple funding sources**  
For some programmes, there is the risk of double counting within the results. A couple of programmes

are partly supported by ERDF, and these estimates have been counted separately (as well as within the fund estimates). One example is estimates provided by L&P. L&P is partly funded by ERDF, but also by other sources. It is therefore not possible to disentangle the job creation estimates by funding source. However, we have attempted to minimise this risk across other programmes by liaising with programme managers to ensure that their job estimates were not recorded elsewhere.

## Future work

This analysis represents an initial step towards improving our approach to monitoring job creation resulting from Mayoral initiatives going forward. GLA projects and programmes are monitored individually, in line with the objectives of the project and the requirement of funders. As such the monitoring of employment effects is not uniform, nor is it carried out using a single software or system. This variation in process and definitions provided challenges in collecting and aggregating data on job creation consistently.

With that in mind, it is worth listing future actions that will result from this project:

- GLA Economics will develop an internal report (in collaboration with relevant stakeholders) to identify possible improvements to existing data collection measures and to facilitate the job monitoring process in the future. This should help us put in place a methodological approach that is more robust and consistent across different policy areas and programmes.
- GLA Economics has already begun the process of engaging TfL (given that transportation initiatives are responsible for significant employment creation within London and beyond) to better understand the methods the organisation's different areas have in place and to determine how to improve the way employment effects are accounted for. This would allow us to better capture the jobs created from Mayoral transportation initiatives.
- While the focus of this report has been on jobs created within London, it should be noted that some of the Mayoral initiatives are also responsible for jobs created outside the capital. GLA Economics will investigate the possibility of extending the existing scope to address this effect.
- Future work would also account for jobs created as a result of important Mayoral initiatives that have been introduced very recently (e.g., the Universal Free School Meals programme).

These issues will guide our effort to build on the important analysis and results conveyed in this report.

## Appendix A: Data collection template

Section 1. Overview of programme and data collection process	Question
	Brief overview of policy/ programme area (in high level terms) (Max 200 words).
	Please explain how your programme creates or supports employment. [We want to build a narrative for each policy area about what the GLA does to support employment, whether we can quantify it or not.] (Max 200 words).
	What funding has been allocated over the reporting period? (2016-2022) Please state if funding covers different period.
	Who funds the programme? (e.g., ESF, ERDF, GLA, Match funded)
	Do you collect data on jobs? if so, could you outline the process? (Max 200 words)
	Do you have any comments on data collection challenges? (Max 200 words)
	Do you have any further comments? (Max 200 words)
Section 2. Job definitions	Question
	Do you collect data on jobs created or supported?
	Do you adjust estimates to account for additionality?
	Do you collect data on people supported into work?
	Do you collect data on jobs that have been safeguarded?
	Do you collect data on apprenticeships?
	Are they Permanent or Temporary roles?
	Are they Full-Time/ Part- Time/ FTE?
	Job Length (Job starts, Sustained 26 or 52 weeks)?
	Do you collect data on 'good' jobs? (paid London Living wage)
	Do you collect data on 'green' jobs?
	Is data collected on which borough they occurred in?
	Section 3. Data collection
How many jobs have been created or supported?	
How many net additional direct jobs have been created?	
How many people have been supported into work?	
How many jobs have been safeguarded?	
How many apprenticeships have been created?	
Of the jobs created or supported, how many are 'good' jobs?	
Of the jobs created or supported, how many are 'green' jobs?	
How many jobs have been created in each borough (please see drop down below)	
Section 4. Improving data collection in future	One of the recommendations coming out of our work is likely to be that the GLA should start working to some more consistent definitions of jobs, and also collecting more granular data (e.g Green, LLW). Do you agree? Is this feasible from your perspective?
	If data is not currently collected for green or good jobs, do you have thoughts on how you would estimate it?
	Do you have any other further comments on improving reporting and monitoring of jobs at the GLA?

## Appendix B: Measurement approach by policy area

Policy area	Programme/project	Employment outcome monitored				Length of employment		Nature of employment		Frequency of reporting	Notes
		Jobs created and/or supported	People supported into work	Safeguarded jobs	Apprenticeships created and/or supported	26wk sustained employment	52wk sustained employment	Possible to make part time/full time distinction?	Short-term employment opportunities and longer freelance employment included?		
Environment & Energy (n=3)	Better Futures	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X	Cumulative	There is some double counting with the ERDF programme. However it has not been possible to separate out these estimates.
	Green and resilient spaces	✓	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X		
	Green New Deal Programme	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X		

Monitoring the employment impact of mayoral programmes and initiatives

<b>Culture and Creative industries (n=5)</b>	Commission for Diversity in the Public Realm (CDPR)	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓		
	Creative Economy Growth Programme (CEGP)	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓		Jobs reported for 22/23 include jobs supported up until Q1. The programme supports people to go into employment, but it is not known how many then go onto employment.
	Creative Enterprise Zone (CEZ)	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	X		Co-funded by ESF. There is some double counting with the ESF programme. However it has not been possible to separate out these estimates.
	Creative Land Trust (CLT)	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
	Fourth Plinth	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓		
<b>European programmes and Economic Development (n=4)</b>	European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)	✓	X	X	X	X	✓	FTE	X	Cumulative	Cumulative estimate up to and including February 2022.
	European Social Fund (ESF)	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	X	X	Cumulative	Cumulative estimate up until March 2022.

Monitoring the employment impact of mayoral programmes and initiatives

	London Co-Investment Fund (LCIF)	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Cumulative	
	Medcity	✓	X	X	X	X	X	Assumed FTE	X		Jobs assumed to persist for 3 years. Medcity track FDI jobs. They do not collect data on domestic jobs.
<b>Skills and Employment</b>	FEC	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X		The programme supports people to go into employment, but it is not known how many then go onto employment. 2022/23 numbers are forecast
	Growing Places Fund (GPF)	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		

Monitoring the employment impact of mayoral programmes and initiatives

	Skills and employment various programmes	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X		
	Skills For Londoners Capital Fund (SFL)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X		2022/23 apprenticeship figures are forecasts
<b>Regeneration</b>	Getting Building Fund (GBF)	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
	Good Growth Fund (GGF), London Regeneration Fund (LRF), High Street Fund (HSF)	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X		Includes jobs created and jobs safeguarded. Apprenticeships, and people supported into work, is cumulative estimate.
<b>Housing</b>	Royal Docks	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X		
	Affordable Homes Programme	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Cumulative	Estimate based on assumption of jobs created per house built. Source: <a href="#">National Housing Federation</a> Note that estimate used in report is based on number of housing starts over the period FY 2015/16 – 2022/23.

Monitoring the employment impact of mayoral programmes and initiatives

GLA group	London & Partners	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Some reported jobs are net additional, but others are gross. Jobs assumed to last for 1 year. Some double counting with ERDF.
	London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC)	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X	Jobs created or supported are cumulative
	Old Oak and Park Royal Development Corporation (OPDC)	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X	
	Metropolitan Police Service (MPS)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	Supply chain apprenticeships
	London Fire Brigade (LFB)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	Supply chain apprenticeships
	Transport for London (TfL)	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X	Supply chain apprenticeships and pre-employment programmes with suppliers

## Appendix C: Job creation estimates by programme

Programme	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19	2019/20	2020/21	2021/22	2022/23	Total
Better futures	-	-	-	-	-	29	6	717
Commission for Diversity in the Public Realm (CDPR)	-	-	-	-	-	-	139	139
Creative Economy Growth Programme (CEGP)	4,185	5,333	6,527	12,281	4,241	12,960	895	46,422
Creative Enterprise Zone (CEZ)	-	6	-	-	-	1,238	-	1,244
Creative Land Trust (CLT)	-	-	-	4	1	-	279	284
European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,222
European Social Fund (ESF)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30,134
Further Education Capital Fund (FEC)	-	-	-	2,773	227	181	300	3,481
Fourth Plinth	36	6	4	36	6	4	36	128
Getting Building Fund (GBF)	-	-	-	-	150	-	-	150
Good Growth Fund (GGF), London Regeneration Fund (LRF), High Street Fund (HSF)	-	-	241	477	692	506	59	3,481
Growing Places Fund (GPF)	-	-	-	2,718	29	354	-	3,101
Green and resilient spaces	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	9
Green New Deal (ReLondons business transformation)	-	-	-	-	-	-	630	630
Affordable Homes Programme <sup>21</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	~140,138
London & Partners (L&P)	10,092	11,278	4,455	3,549	3,585	4,629	8,720	46,308
London Co-Investment Fund (LCIF)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,249
London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC)	182	116	104	116	85	153	-	24,082
Medcity	39	10	4	25	13	4	10	105
Old Oak and Park Royal Development Corporation (OPDC)	-	-	-	-	-	147	14	161
Royal Docks	-	-	-	-	-	15	14	29
Skills For Londoners Capital Fund (SFL)	-	-	-	859	141	41	300	1,341
Skills and employment	-	10	930	5,206	2,123	7,717	-	15,986
Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC)	-	-	-	49	39	16	-	104
London Fire Commissioner (LFC)	-	-	5	13	11	10	-	39
Transport for London (TfL)	374	424	529	644	532	876	8	3,387
Total <sup>22</sup>	14,908	17,183	12,799	28,750	11,875	28,880	11,419	332,072

<sup>21</sup> Up to March 2023, 116,782 house starts had been delivered under the Affordable Housing Programme 2016-2023 programme. The employment effects involved in the construction of new homes are not measured directly by the programme, but estimates from the [National Housing Federation](#) suggest that each new home built is associated with 1.2 direct jobs lasting one year, allowing us to estimate jobs created.

<sup>22</sup> Please note that the 'Total' column provided above, will not equal the sum of all other columns, as some programmes have provided cumulative data. Where the difference is relatively small, the discrepancy is due to rounding.

## Appendix D: Considering additionality

To understand the true impact that Mayoral programmes have had on employment in London, estimating the gross number of jobs created is not sufficient; we need to understand the programmes' additional impact. Ideally, the additionality of each Mayoral programme or initiative would be ascertained by **empirical evidence from an evaluation** (ideally at a project level). An evaluation would not be completed until after the programme has ended or, preferably, even later in order to capture longer-term employment outcomes.

In the absence of evaluation evidence where additionality is estimated using a bottom-up approach, it can also be assessed top-down. A top-down approach requires broad adjustments to gross figures. Direct employment outcomes for each programme (intervention) should be compared to a reference case ('business as usual' or 'do nothing'), known as *deadweight* (i.e., what would have occurred without public sector intervention). Adjustments must then be made for *leakage* (any employment effects that were experienced by individuals outside target population groups), *displacement* (the number of jobs displaced from one location to another or as a result of crowding out of other economic activity) and *substitution* (where employment activity may change in order to take advantage of public sector assistance). Making these adjustments requires several assumptions to be made, for each programme and also for the reference case. To do so requires detailed knowledge of the programme interventions, the wider environment, and should be evidence-based.

Each mayoral programme has been designed to achieve employment outcomes in a different way, and in each case, the reference case will differ. Therefore, no single 'catch-all' adjustment could account for additionality across all 39 programmes. The Homes and Communities Agency (HCA) Additionality Guide suggests the following hierarchy of approaches to estimating leakage, displacement, and substitution<sup>23</sup>:

- a) bespoke surveys or other data capture methods
- b) previous evaluations
- c) 'ready reckoner' default values

In each case, assumptions need to be carefully considered and the reasoning explained.

### Bespoke surveys

London & Partners (L&P) use bespoke surveys combined with some ready reckoner default values to calculate the additionality of their programmes. These methods are explained in full in their Evaluation Methodology guide<sup>24</sup>. To calculate the *net additional jobs* associated with their work to bring foreign direct investment to London, they run surveys of current and former participants each year. The survey of foreign-owned companies supported by L&P to move to London is used to provide estimates on deadweight, that is - what is likely to have occurred without L&P support. Responding to the survey is a condition of project completion, so an effective response rate of 100% is achieved. In other words, if a business supported by L&P moves to London but for whatever reason does not 'complete' the project including the survey, London & Partners does not claim any impact. Deadweight was established by asking the survey participants how likely they were to move to London without L&P support, applying broad weightings (ready reckoner default values) to the four possible responses and aggregating the responses.

<sup>23</sup> HCA Additionality Guide 4th edition, Homes & Communities Agency (2014)

([https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/378177/additionality\\_guide\\_2014\\_full.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/378177/additionality_guide_2014_full.pdf))

<sup>24</sup> Evaluation Methodology Guide, London & Partners (2021) ([https://files.londonandpartners.com/l-and-p/assets/evaluation\\_methodology\\_2021.pdf](https://files.londonandpartners.com/l-and-p/assets/evaluation_methodology_2021.pdf))

Q: What would you have done without the support from London & Partners?

- i. Definitely NOT invested in London [assumed 100% additional]
- ii. Probably NOT invested in London [assumed 50% additional]
- iii. Probably invested in London anyway [assumed 20% additional]
- iv. Definitely invested in London anyway [assumed 0% additional]

Two different values of deadweight are calculated depending on whether projects were judged to be ‘contestable’ or ‘non-contestable’ (i.e., how important a role is L&P judged to have played in influencing the investor’s decision to move to London). The value calculated for contestable projects was 28%, compared to 48% for non-contestable projects.

The second survey (of foreign-owned companies who have been supported by L&P to move to London three years previously) is used to estimate displacement (i.e., jobs that were lost elsewhere in the UK economy as a result of increased competition). Displacement is calculated as the percentage of sales to customers based in London multiplied by the percentage of competitors based in London, averaged across all companies surveyed (which comes to 18%). Leakage and substitution are assumed to be zero. Multiplier effects are also not applied, based on HMT Treasury guidance at the time.

The table below shows how additionality would be established using these estimates, using a hypothetical example of 1,000 gross jobs supported by the FDI programme, all resulting from contestable projects. As shown in the table below, the **Intervention** represents the scenario in which L&P provides support to potential businesses to set up in London. The **Reference case** (deadweight) represents what would have happened anyway in the absence of L&P support. After adjusting for deadweight and displacement, the net additional jobs associated with the FDI programme is 590, which demonstrates the importance of considering additionality before reaching definitive conclusions about the employment impact of a programme.

	Intervention (I)	Reference case (I*0.28)	Difference
Gross number of jobs (A)	1000	280	
Number of jobs lost due to displacement (B=A*18%)	180	50	
Number of jobs, adjusted for displacement (C=A-B)	820	230	
Net additional jobs (Intervention (C) -Reference case (C))			590

## **Previous evaluations**

Evidence from previous evaluations would likely provide a good starting point for establishing a similar programme intervention, assuming similarities in the nature, timing, and target population of the intervention. Differences in the appropriate reference case would also need to be considered. However, to review previous evaluation evidence for all the programmes identified, and make the required assumptions was beyond this analysis' scope.

## **'Ready reckoner' default values**

We considered categorising all Mayoral programmes into those that offer low, medium, and high additionality and applying 'ready reckoner' ranges within which additionality may lie. Several examples of these are provided in the HCA Additionality guide. However, it is not adequate to use 'ready reckoner' default values without due consideration. Given the broad range of programmes, the number of assumptions required to estimate displacement, leakage, and substitution – for both the programme interventions and the associated reference cases – did not render this approach reliable.

## Addendum

This report was amended on 18 May 2023 to reflect more up-to-date figures on the number of affordable home starts from the Affordable Housing Programme. This update reflects a change from 96,360 homes in December 2022 to 116,782 homes, as of March 2023. In addition, some terminology in the report was changed to specify clearly that the estimate provided is based on housing starts.

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