

Transport-led regeneration

Has TfL's Growth Fund risen to the challenge?
December 2015



Regeneration Committee Members

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Role of the Regeneration Committee

The Regeneration Committee is tasked with monitoring and reviewing the Mayor's regeneration functions and spending decisions. This includes oversight of the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC), the Mayor's powers through the London Plan, which are being used to promote particular areas for regeneration, and the Mayor's regeneration funds.

Further information about the Committee's work is available on the GLA website: www.london.gov.uk

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Chairman's foreword



Look around you on your way to work. How many more people do you see commuting in and out on a daily basis? Only this month TfL announced it had recorded its busiest day ever on the Tube. I'm sure I'm not the only one who feels cramped, frustrated and annoyed on over-crowded trains in the morning.

We all know our city is growing rapidly. London's population is set to rise from 8.6 million to 10 million in 2030. So how will we accommodate all this growth? Where will these people live? How will they get to work, visit family and friends or explore what this wonderful city has to offer?

Making the best use of London's brownfield land to accommodate the capital's growth is one of the Mayor and boroughs' highest priorities. London's spatial strategy – the London Plan – puts this growth on the map in the form of 38 Opportunity Areas. But in many cases, the potential in Opportunity Areas remains just that, until they have the transport infrastructure they need to attract investment.

Three years ago the Mayor announced a Growth Fund to bring forward regeneration in some areas where it has been held back. Our investigation delves into how TfL has used this fund, its investment criteria, and what difference the Fund is making. Having supported a small number of transport improvements, we are calling on the next Mayor renew the Fund. We want to see the next Mayor introduce a fair bidding system so that boroughs and sub-regional partnerships can access the support they need to bring forward the development investment that London's growing communities desperately need.

But what about the future, and the prospect of sustainable funding sources? As transport settlements get tougher and tougher for London, we need to be able to draw upon our own income streams. Ultimately, in order for London government to recycle the benefits of development land value uplift into new infrastructure funding, the Treasury should give the Mayor control over stamp duty receipts.

Gareth Bacon AM
Chairman of the Regeneration Committee

Executive summary

London is growing rapidly, with its population set to rise from 8.6 million in 2015 to 10 million in 2030. The Mayor envisages accommodating much of this growth – 1 million people – in designated Opportunity Areas (OAs), yet many of these lack adequate transport to attract development on the scale London needs. Improved connectivity can unlock development in OAs. London needs significant planned transport investment to accelerate its growth and regeneration.

In recent years, the Mayor has increasingly used transport investment – through both his TfL and GLA budgets – to support regeneration programmes.

Our report reviews how Transport for London (TfL) has used its 10-year £360m Growth Fund, which is earmarked to support jobs and housing growth. The Growth Fund has a different form and function to the majority of TfL's capital investment programme: it provides for future demand, is more flexible, and has plugged some vital gaps. Since the Mayor announced the Fund in 2012, TfL has allocated this investment to nine rail or Tube projects (approximately 60 per cent of the total Growth Fund), and five road projects (40 per cent of the Growth Fund). There are signs it has had some success in bringing forward transport projects that unlock development where they otherwise would stall. But it does not operate as a typical fund: TfL has used inconsistent criteria to allocate the Growth Fund, including funding a scheme outside London that does not benefit Londoners, as the Growth Fund promised to do. Public money is being used to support growth and it is important that TfL uses a fair, transparent and consistent allocation process.

The next Mayor has a series of options for using transport investment to support growth. The Growth Fund has plugged gaps for a small number of projects in areas earmarked for significant housing and jobs growth. This Committee recommends the next Mayor should instruct TfL to renew the Fund, with a commitment to extend it for the next decade to 2026/27. But TfL should treat it like other Mayoral funds, by making a commitment to allocate it using open and transparent selection criteria.

The Mayor and TfL could take other measures to use transport to unlock growth. TfL could draw on the business acumen in its commercial team to ensure the private sector contributes more to achieve wider economic and social regeneration goals. TfL also needs to improve its consultation with communities, including actively engaging with groups with a diverse range of interests. Finally, the Mayor should continue to lobby for stamp duty devolution to capture land value uplift. This will enable the Mayor to reinvest the proceeds of growth, and ensure that local communities and the taxpayer gain from public investment in transport.

1. Introduction

Key issues

In the London Plan, the Mayor has identified areas of the city that could best accommodate London's rapid growth. In some of these, however, growth is being held back without sufficient investment in new or improved transport.

Transport: a catalyst for regeneration

- 1.1 London's population is expected to grow from 8.6 million in 2015 to 10 million in 2030. The GLA estimates that much of this growth – one million people – could be accommodated in 38 designated Opportunity Areas (OAs) that the Mayor has identified in the London Plan.¹ The map on page 13 shows the location of the OAs.
- 1.2 Many of these areas require transport investment to facilitate the levels of development the Mayor envisages. However, private sector investors generally show little appetite for building in places with low connectivity. At our meeting, developer Cathedral Group (now U+I) explained how transport links are the overriding concern in deciding where to invest:

*'...looking at a map of London [...] I am looking at where there is no transport and [where there is] about to be some, and, therefore, that area is going to become of interest.'*²
- 1.3 But some Opportunity Areas³ are not developing as quickly as they could do, because they still lack adequate transport provision to connect and accommodate expanding communities. Deputy Mayor for Transport, Isabel Dedring explained:

*'...many of the opportunity areas are not coming forward at the speed we would like them to come forward... [this] is because they do not have the right transport connections.'*⁴
- 1.4 As well as holding back potential growth, inadequate transport presents a barrier to accessing employment for existing communities. For example, groups highlighted correlations between limited train connections in outer east London and few bus routes across the river, and areas containing some

¹ Isabel Dedring, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 1

² Martyn Evans, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 11

³ The London Plan also identifies capacity for growth in seven Intensification Areas. However, they are typically built-up areas with good existing or potential public transport accessibility, and collectively they are expected to accommodate significantly lower levels of growth compared to OAs.

⁴ Isabel Dedring, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 1

of London's highest levels of deprivation.⁵ Poor transport connectivity is a barrier to improving employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged groups that rely on public transport.

Paying for transport in areas earmarked for regeneration

- 1.5 Naturally, transport is at the heart of the Mayor's 2050 Infrastructure Plan, but the Plan also raises big questions about how to fund it. Until its abolition in 2012, the London Development Agency (LDA) provided some public sector funding for transport projects to catalyse regeneration.
- 1.6 Significant reductions in public sector budgets have shifted the funding agenda towards an increased focus on private sector contributions. Yet while policy instruments aimed at extracting third party funding, including mayoral and borough Community Infrastructure Levies (CIL), Tax Increment Financing and Enterprise Zones will provide some private sector contributions, London needs significant public sector investment in transport to accelerate some of its growth.
- 1.7 TfL has a £10.7 billion budget in 2015/16;⁶ £2.5 billion of which is capital funding for new or improved transport infrastructure.⁷ While TfL's principal focus is on developing London's transport network to expand passenger capacity and reduce journey times, this Mayor is making increasing use of TfL to deliver his growth and regeneration objectives.⁸
- 1.8 Two areas of TfL's spend specifically support new jobs and housing growth. One example is the Mayor's decision to use 300 acres of TfL's land and property assets to diversify its income streams. If this strategy is successful, TfL claims it could generate £3.4 billion in non-fare revenue by 2023 (to reinvest in the network and allow TfL to 'bear down on fares'), and support the delivery of 10,000 new homes.⁹ Another strand of TfL's growth strategy is the Mayor and TfL's £360 million 10-year Growth Fund; the subject of our investigation and this report.
- 1.9 On a smaller scale, the Mayor has also used GLA funds to support transport and public realm infrastructure in areas earmarked for regeneration. In this way, the GLA has taken on elements of the former LDA's work to improve London's high streets and town centres. For example, we have previously found that the Mayor allocated over forty per cent of the £70 million Mayor's Regeneration Fund (ostensibly designed to support regeneration in areas affected by the riots), to transport projects.¹⁰ The GLA similarly used part of

⁵ Written evidence from Camden Town Unlimited and Lea Valley/Poplar Joint Programme Board

⁶ <http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor-assembly/mayor>

⁷ TfL, TfL Budget 2015/16, p. 46

⁸ Budget and Performance Committee (January 2015) Response to the Mayor's Draft Consultation Budget 2015-16

⁹ TfL, 20 October 2015, TfL releases land for 10,000 homes across the Capital

¹⁰ Regeneration Committee (August 2014) Out of the Ashes

the Outer London Fund to supplement local transport schemes. Added to this, the transport element of the Growing Places Fund (GPF) – which the GLA allocates to projects via the London Enterprise Panel (LEP) – is worth almost 50 per cent of the GPF (approximately £54 million out of an allocation of £110.7 million).

- 1.10 But while these funds have filled some of the gaps left by the abolition of the LDA, they are time-limited, and questions remain over the regeneration budgets available to the next Mayor.¹¹

¹¹ Written evidence from Camden Town Unlimited

2. What has TfL's Growth Fund achieved?

Key issues

TfL's £360 million Growth Fund is performing a valuable role in unlocking development in 14 Growth Areas. However, the Mayor has not allocated the Growth Fund using a transparent bidding process. Its implementation also raises several challenges around who benefits from public investment in transport and how to recoup this spend for future reinvestment.

Purpose and impact of the Growth Fund

Introduction

- 2.1 In 2012, the Mayor announced a £300 million Growth Fund to fund transport works that would bring forward development in 'Growth Areas'.¹² He added a further £60 million to the Fund in 2014 to make the Fund worth £360 million over ten years. The Growth Fund represents a small proportion of its capital budget – just 1.5 per cent in 2015/16.¹³ TfL identified the Growth Fund as a priority from its budget through its business planning process.¹⁴ The Fund responded to a need for support to unlock regeneration in places such as the Elephant and Castle Opportunity Area, where funding negotiations between funding partners had reached an impasse. In a project worth £155 million,¹⁵ developer Lend Lease provided £50 million, Southwark Council £15 million and the GLA £5 million.¹⁶ This left a gap of £85 million, which the Growth Fund has filled.
- 2.2 Several features set the Growth Fund apart from TfL's typical approach to business planning. The Growth Fund:
- **focuses on future demand, rather than current usage.** Isabel Dedring explained that the Growth Fund supports '*transport projects that were not in our business plan*', because '*they were not transport priorities*.' For example, the Growth Fund has enabled TfL to invest in the Overground Extension to Barking Riverside. While few people live there currently, and there is relatively low passenger demand, the site has capacity for a forecast 11,000 new homes. Only 1,000 homes have been built so

¹² Growth Areas are classified by TfL but they are not formal designations in the London Plan. See paragraph 2.5 for further discussion.

¹³ Split across 10 years, a year of total Growth Fund investment – £36 million – as a proportion of TfL's £2.5 billion capital budget for 2015/16; TfL Budget 2015/16, p. 46

¹⁴ Information provided by TfL to officers, 10 November 2015

¹⁵ TfL slide pack, site visit to Nine Elms Vauxhall, 2 June 2015

¹⁶ Alex Williams, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 18

far and it requires new transport infrastructure to unlock its full potential;¹⁷

- **gives TfL flexibility to invest in projects with lower cost-benefit ratios.** TfL can use the Growth Fund to invest in projects that will support growth but which may produce a relatively low cost-benefit ratio, which TfL told us would be unacceptable in its standard business planning process.¹⁸ The Growth Fund's £70 million contribution towards removing the gyratory at Elephant and Castle is an example of a project that TfL decided has a strong regeneration business case, but which has a lower cost-benefit ratio because it will reduce traffic speeds;¹⁹ and
- **acts as top-up funding.**²⁰ We heard that TfL has used the Growth Fund to fill gaps within a larger funding package. In this way, it has enabled the Mayor to step in where 'log-jams'²¹ have occurred between TfL and developers. An example of this is in Woolwich, where the Growth Fund is supporting a Crossrail Station (the original Crossrail budget provided only for a station box). Prior to the Growth Fund, lack of clarity about funding for the station led to the Assembly voicing concerns that Woolwich may have missed out on the both the transport and wider regeneration benefits that a fully-fitted station will bring.²² The station will enhance local public transport and open up opportunities for over-site development, and the Growth Fund is providing £24 million towards the £79 million project.

2.3 In our view, there are clear benefits to a Fund that has a different role to the remainder of TfL's capital budget. A flexible funding stream which gives a higher priority to regeneration in the business case allows TfL to unlock development in places where it may otherwise stall. And although the sums in question are relatively small, they can have a significant impact because they may lever latent funding from other sources such as developer contributions and boroughs.

How TfL is spending the Growth Fund

2.4 The Growth Fund is supporting 14 rail, Tube and surface transport schemes in areas earmarked for future development. Nine Growth Fund projects are rail or Tube projects (representing 60 per cent of the Fund), and the remaining five are surface, or road projects (40 per cent of the Fund). The map on page

¹⁷ Isabel Dedring, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 4

¹⁸ Isabel Dedring, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 1

¹⁹ Site visit summary, 2 June 2015

²⁰ Alex Williams, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 23

²¹ Alex Williams, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 18

²² Transport Committee, *Assembly calls on Mayor for funding clarity so Woolwich station is ready to open by Crossrail launch*, 15 March 2013

13 shows the location of the Growth Fund projects and the table in Appendix 4 provides further detail on the allocations and the total value of projects. TfL expects that its investment in the 14 Growth Fund projects to have a significant catalytic effect on development. According to the Mayor's forecasts, the Growth Fund will contribute to unlocking around 52,500 new homes, and 30,500 jobs.²³

TfL's selection process

- 2.5 As part of TfL's 'Growth Areas Programme,' decisions about how to allocate the Growth Fund have involved joint working with the GLA's planning and housing teams. TfL told the Committee that its definition of 'Growth Areas' include areas with formal mayoral designation: Opportunity Areas, Intensification Areas, and Housing Zones. Although the Fund sits within TfL's budget (and TfL recommends how to spend it) we heard that project proposals come before the three deputy mayors for transport, planning and housing. Meeting as part of an *Investment in Transport Enabling Growth Group (ITEGG)*, the deputy mayors jointly prioritise projects following TfL's technical appraisal.²⁴ This approach effectively illustrates a key strength of the mayoral model:²⁵ with responsibility for both strategic planning and improving transport, the Mayor can take an integrated approach to investment.
- 2.6 While we welcome the Mayor's collegiate approach to selection, we have some concerns over the criteria the ITEGG used to allocate the Growth Fund. We heard that the Growth Areas programme includes some places that lack formal planning designation but which the ITEGG judged as having '*particular growth potential*.'²⁶ However, the factors the Group used to determine such areas are unclear. Wandsworth Town, for example, has received half its funding (£33 million) from the Growth Fund for the £67 million removal of the Ram Brewery gyratory, but the site is not in an Opportunity Area, Intensification Area or Housing Zone. Given that the Growth Fund is a relatively small resource, we argue TfL should have prioritised areas that the Mayor has formally designated for transport investment through the London Plan.
- 2.7 TfL has to strike a careful balance in its messaging about the purpose of the Growth Fund. Developers seeking to build in Opportunity Areas must not come to rely on the Growth Fund; the Growth Fund should be the last resort. We heard that TfL seeks to maximise developer contributions through section 106 agreements, the Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL) and contributions in kind.²⁷ We support this approach. But in our view, the benefits of a

²³ Combined totals; Appendix 4

²⁴ Isabel Dedring, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 6

²⁵ Transport Committee (October 2015) *Devolving rail services to London*, p. 26

²⁶ Written evidence from TfL

²⁷ Alex Williams, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 6

transparent allocation process outweigh the risks of establishing an expectation among the development industry that top-up funding will always be available.

- 2.8 The decision to allocate Growth Fund support to the Croyley Rail Link raises further questions about the selection criteria the ITEGG used. In this case, the majority of the benefits accrue outside London. While several TfL services extend beyond London's boundary, TfL has explicitly established the Growth Fund to drive growth *in* London, and the decision to fund the Croyley Rail Link seems at odds with this aim. Furthermore, TfL's knowledge of the project's '*chequered history*'²⁸ should – arguably – have been a red flag. TfL itself acknowledged that the Croyley Rail Link may not be an obvious 'first call' on a fund such as this,²⁹ but explained that the Mayor took it over in 2014, and he chose to support it with the Growth Fund:

*'It was clear in the last budget round that there was a funding gap and there was a direction issued to us to plug that funding gap of circa £16 million from the Growth Fund [...] It does facilitate growth, albeit just outside the London Capital, in terms of extra homes and jobs.'*³⁰

- 2.9 Lastly, the absence of a bidding process is another way in which the Growth Fund has not operated as a typical mayoral fund. Unlike the Mayor's other regeneration funds – such as the Mayor's Regeneration Fund (MRF) and Outer London Fund (OLF), which used clear criteria, and invited boroughs to bid against them – TfL based its decisions on informal discussions with boroughs.³¹ This suggests that boroughs did not have the opportunity to bid competitively for funding support.

Stakeholder views of the Growth Fund's impact

- 2.10 Recognising that there are opportunities to improve the allocation process, we found strong support among stakeholders for the principle of the Growth Fund. For example, the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) supported TfL's view that the Fund can unblock impasses between the public and private sectors, commenting that developments with planning permission sometimes do not progress because developers deem risk levels as too high.³² Similarly, Lambeth Council welcomed the Growth Fund as '*an important mechanism for pump-priming transport infrastructure to enable new development*'.³³ And Dr Helena Titheridge told us that the Growth Fund supported a more integrated approach to planning transport and regeneration.³⁴

²⁸ Alex Williams, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 23

²⁹ Alex Williams, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 23

³⁰ Alex Williams, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 23

³¹ Isabel Dedring, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 7

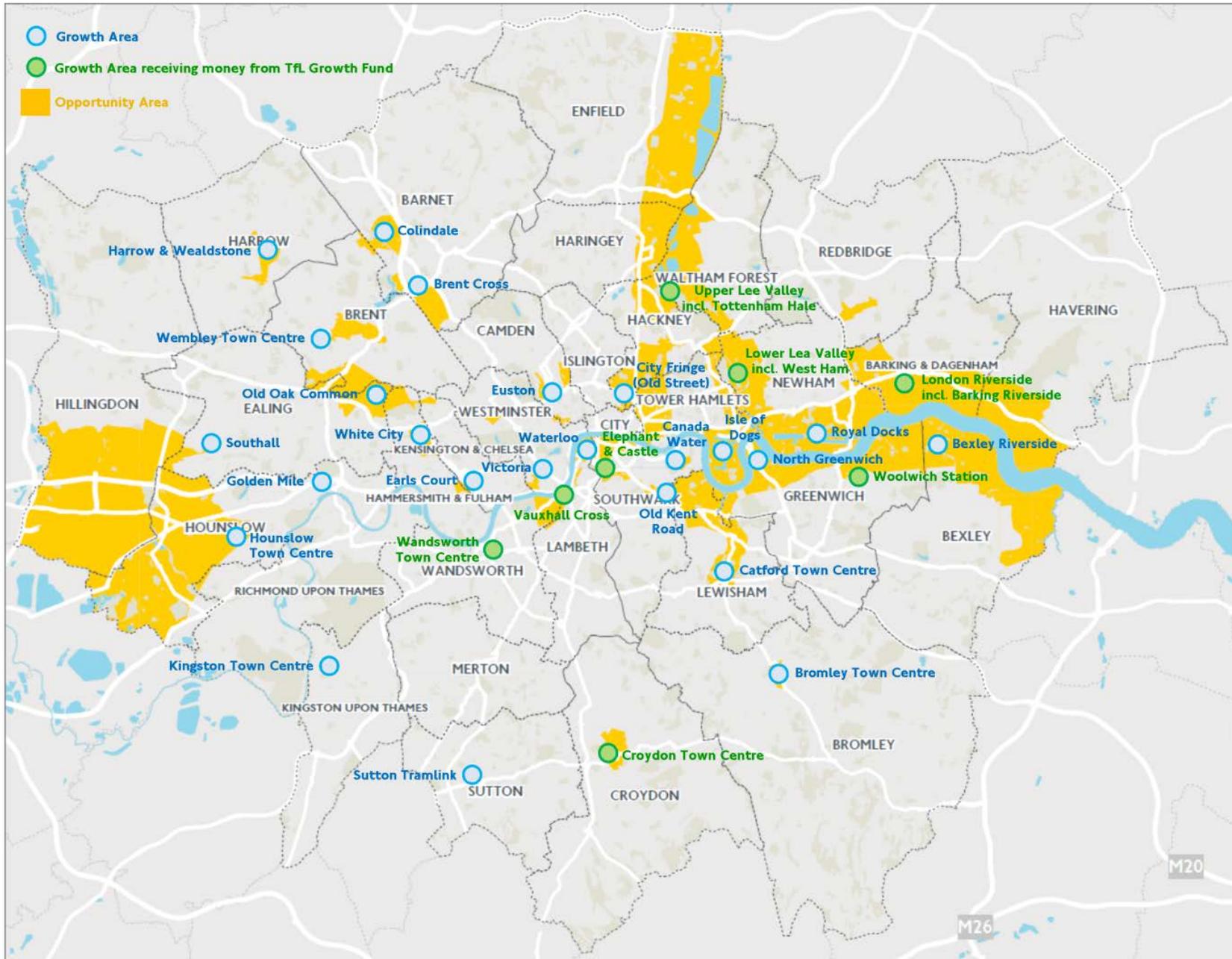
³² Written evidence from RTPI

³³ Written evidence from LB Lambeth

³⁴ Dr Helen Titheridge, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 26

LONDON ASSEMBLY

Map: Growth Fund Areas within TfL's Growth Areas Programme (Source: written submission from TfL)



Challenges for the Growth Fund

- 2.11 While we found support for the Growth Fund, our investigation has raised questions about who benefits, how the Mayor and TfL achieve a fair return on their investment, and how TfL engages with and consults communities.

Who benefits from rising land values?

- 2.12 We heard that the economic benefits resulting from public sector investment may accrue unevenly to developers and communities. Just Space, a network of community organisations, argued that as transport investment makes previously low-demand areas attractive for development, developers are often the largest beneficiaries of public investment. They can make large gains when selling on property where land values have risen as a result of improved connectivity. But this uplift can price some long-established communities out of regeneration areas.³⁵

- 2.13 TfL faces challenges in quantifying the effects of new transport on growth. Having previously told the Assembly that its business planning methodology follows the latest thinking,³⁶ TfL explained in July that appraisal processes that capture the impact of transport on future regeneration are in their infancy, as

‘the business case process does not really put the right value on the impact on regeneration, by definition, because these are transport schemes. They are not designed to be thought of as housing schemes.’³⁷

TfL’s typical business development process follows a narrower ‘transport case’ for investment (journey times and passenger numbers). And, while TfL can take regeneration impacts into account, it is limited by the government’s appraisal process (WebTAG) which only measures *‘the direct employment impacts of a transport proposal.’³⁸*

- 2.14 More investment in socio-economic appraisal and analysis would improve TfL’s understanding of how transport affects local communities.³⁹ Current methodologies cannot accurately estimate the effect transport will have on different groups. Moreover, when transport planners attempt to measure these effects, the results tend to be small and qualitative. As a result, Dr Titheridge explained that the impacts on communities carry less weight when planners evaluate them against hard, quantitative data, such as journey time savings.⁴⁰

- 2.15 In summary, TfL would benefit from more sophisticated appraisal mechanisms. These would allow its business planning processes to capture

³⁵ Written evidence from Just Space

³⁶ Letter from Graeme Craig to John Biggs AM, 5 February 2015, p. 6

³⁷ Isabel Dedring, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 1

³⁸ Written evidence from TfL

³⁹ Written evidence from Just Space

⁴⁰ Dr Helena Titheridge, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 19-20

the impact of transport improvements on the Mayor's aspirations for housing, jobs, and economic growth. We welcome TfL's commitments to develop its economic appraisal processes. Doing so will strengthen TfL's business planning process. Improved data on economic benefits would also put local authorities in a better position when negotiating CIL contributions with developers.

- 2.16 Clearly, transport investment must not just deliver developer profits. Indeed, the right measures in the right place can benefit both developers and local communities. Steve Stride of the Lea Valley/ Poplar Joint Programme Board explained this using a local case study:

'One very important strategic example is the land bridge proposal over Aspen Way.⁴¹ This will undoubtedly massively increase values in South Poplar but equally it will enable access for one of the poorest communities in London to the Canary Wharf Business District and Crossrail. Poplar residents will be able to have jobs at Heathrow Airport.'⁴²

- 2.17 Effective planning agreements can secure public value in growth areas. On our site visit to Vauxhall Nine Elms – where TfL has allocated £38 million of the Growth Fund to the Vauxhall Cross project – we heard how Wandsworth and Lambeth councils are now securing a higher number of affordable homes than previously planned (the councils having set targets of 15 per cent minimum and 40 per cent maximum affordable housing, respectively).⁴³ As land values have risen – in part due to improved transport accessibility – the local authorities are in a better position to negotiate higher levels of affordable housing in developments.⁴⁴ In this way, local communities as well as developers have benefitted from rising land values.
- 2.18 We welcome the fact that evidence of rising land values is helping to boost affordable housing levels in the Vauxhall Nine Elms Battersea Opportunity Area. We would like to see the Mayor's proposals for contingent obligations, in which boroughs maximise the delivery of affordable housing by reappraising the viability of schemes at different stages of development,⁴⁵ become the norm. Boroughs adopting this approach – as Lambeth Council has done⁴⁶ – would ensure that local authorities are guaranteed to receive the benefits of development in the form of increased contributions where land values rise.
- 2.19 In the long run, however, the evidence suggests that the public sector does not receive fair payback for its investment under the current tax and

⁴¹ Note: this is not a Growth Fund project

⁴² Written evidence from Lea Valley/Poplar Joint Programme Board

⁴³ Site visit summary, 2 June 2015

⁴⁴ Nine Elms Vauxhall Strategy Board, 6 March 2015, Agenda, p. 105

⁴⁵ GLA (2015) Draft Interim Housing Supplementary Planning Guidance, p.145

⁴⁶ London Borough of Lambeth, 2014, Lambeth Local Plan Examination

infrastructure funding system. Just Space noted that there is no effective way to re-capture the land value uplift that results from new and improved transport links. This limits the Mayor and TfL's ability to reinvest in other projects. Therefore, the Mayor and TfL need new ways to capture the long-term land value uplift resulting from public sector investment in growth areas, to sustain the benefits for Londoners.

Commercial negotiations

- 2.20 TfL acknowledges its limited ability to secure higher contributions from the private sector in the planning process. For example, TfL's limited capacity to contest developers' claims about viability presents a major challenge for the organisation. The Deputy Mayor for Transport told us that TfL has limited personnel with expertise in *'regeneration, housing and structuring financial deals.'*⁴⁷ This could restrict the organisation's ability to channel resources to projects most in need of TfL's investment, or identify those most at risk to financial vulnerabilities.
- 2.21 We also heard that TfL is not fully exploiting other opportunities to obtain investment from private sector partners. Martyn Evans, of Cathedral Group, explained how the developer was looking to invest in public realm improvements around Hayes Crossrail station. His comment indicates that TfL may be missing wider opportunities:

*'I have never been invited to a meeting with any of the transport partners and the local authority and the other developers in the area to talk about how, together, we can have an impact on that transport-led regeneration. I have money in my pocket that I could spend to contribute, other than 106 and CIL and that. I banged on the door myself to ask what opportunities there are to acquire perhaps publicly-owned land in that area so that we might add to the development of that town centre node, because a good train station and a good arrival into a town makes my property worth more money.'*⁴⁸

Engaging with communities

- 2.22 Finally, we heard that poor communication and consultation has hampered some of TfL's attempts to work with local communities. As the Mayor uses TfL investment increasingly as a lever for local growth and regeneration, there are lessons for how TfL engages with local communities.
- 2.23 First, it is in TfL's interest to provide more specific plans to communities at the very beginning of their discussions. Visiting Vauxhall Nine Elms, we heard that consulting communities at an early stage without detailed plans led to some confusion and strong opposition to TfL's plans. Similarly, some respondents to

⁴⁷ Isabel Dedring, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 1

⁴⁸ Martyn Evans, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 12

our public survey⁴⁹ pointed to concerns that they were consulted too late in the process, provoking comments such as: *'the works that happened within 4 metres of my house [were] something I was also not informed of until consultation was firmly over'*. Others cited difficulties in finding information, and knowing whether it was TfL or the borough that was running consultation processes in local areas. By contrast, TfL found that presenting specific proposals on transport improvements at Vauxhall Cross enabled better engagement with local residents. When TfL provided detailed plans, it found that more residents supported the scheme.⁵⁰ Groups may engage better with TfL's proposals, therefore, if TfL explains the implications of design proposals as early as possible.

- 2.24 Second, working closely with local government is vital to gain greater knowledge about local communities' views on regeneration plans. Nevertheless, we have heard of how tensions may arise when the opinions of elected members, and residents and business, differ. For example, Alex Williams explained at our meeting that during the Bakerloo Line extension, TfL's consultation found that residents in the London Borough of Bromley would welcome the extension; however Bromley Council would not.⁵¹
- 2.25 To tackle the challenge of balancing conflicting views, TfL could make better use of working with a diverse range of groups in its investment decision-making process. In the Lea Valley and Poplar area, a multi-stakeholder joint programme board (including TfL, the borough, the housing association, and others) has launched the 'Stitching Us Back Together' (SUBT) programme to identify transport and accessibility projects to support new housing and jobs. The Board aims to draw together a list of transport and accessibility projects which it deems necessary to regenerate the sub-region, prioritise them, and identify funding gaps. The SUBT programme is at an early stage of development, but we welcome the group's cooperative approach. Steve Stride, Chair of the Lea Valley/ Poplar Joint Programme Board explained that TfL is involved with the Board, but the group would need both resources and GLA/TfL recognition in order to move forward.⁵²
- 2.26 Multi-stakeholder partnership models such as SUBT, which involve close working with statutory and non-statutory bodies, provide a valuable mechanism to hear community groups' views on transport infrastructure. We call on the Mayor to commit to supporting the board's work, and to take opportunities to work with similar partnerships in other sub-regions.

⁴⁹ We invited members of the public and community groups near new transport and regeneration sites to tell us their views about transport-led regeneration (see Appendix 4 for more information)

⁵⁰ Site visit summary, 2 June 2015

⁵¹ Alex Williams, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 21

⁵² Written evidence from Lea Valley/Poplar Joint Programme Board

3. What should happen next?

Key issues

Many other future transport projects will require support to unlock the growth potential the Mayor envisages in the London Plan. TfL should expand the Growth Fund, and use an open bidding process so that boroughs can apply for the Fund.

TfL needs a longer-term solution to funding transport in growth areas. Fiscal devolution would give the Mayor a sustainable source of investment to support London's growth.

Extension of the Growth Fund

- 3.1 The size of the Growth Fund – currently £360 million – means that it can only support a relatively small number of projects over the Fund's 10-year lifetime. And it has almost run out; TfL has allocated £355 million of the Fund so far.
- 3.2 Not all longlisted places in TfL's Growth Areas programme have received the funding they need for new or improved transport. At least six longlisted projects did not receive funding from the Growth Fund, and we heard that while some of these projects have received support from other sources, others have not.⁵³
- 3.3 We heard calls for additional funding to support transport in growth areas in outer London. For example, LB Lambeth argued that while the Growth Fund provides a good model for regeneration in Opportunity Areas, areas outside the Central Activities Zone often lack adequate support, as they are likely to receive less through the Community Infrastructure Levy. Similarly, the Lea Valley/ Poplar Joint Programme Board has identified transport investment priorities in east London following a gap analysis, and the group argues that TfL should include these areas in Growth Fund allocations.⁵⁴
- 3.4 The next Mayor and TfL should extend the Growth Fund. Isabel Dedring and Alex Williams suggested at our meeting that TfL may expand it in the 2016/17 budget cycle. Based on the evidence about the growth that the Fund is helping to unlock, and the pipeline of projects that could benefit from similar support, we support expansion to unlock regeneration in places that currently lack adequate support.
- 3.5 The next Mayor faces difficult choices, however, about how to prioritise TfL's budget. Following the Chancellor's announcement that TfL will no longer receive its general government grant from 2018/19 (worth around £600

⁵³ Written evidence from TfL

⁵⁴ Lea Valley/ Poplar Joint Programme Board

million in 2015/16), and TfL underestimating the cost of the Sub-Surface Underground Upgrade programme by over £1 billion, TfL may have less funding to put towards programmes such as the Growth Fund. Alongside maximising other sources of revenue, TfL will have to decide which activities to prioritise in its reduced funding envelope. In our view, there is a strong case for extending the Growth Fund, given the capacity of relatively small amounts of top-up funding to leverage significant investment from other stakeholders. Extending it over TfL's next 10-year business planning cycle will enable the Mayor to unlock more land for development, lever in other funding, and meet some of London's acute need for new housing.

Recommendation 1

The next Mayor should renew the Growth Fund, with a commitment to extending it to 2026/27. In its 2016/17 Business Plan, TfL should set out the total quantum of funding that it will make available.

Improving administration of the Growth Fund

- 3.6 In the next round of the Growth Fund, TfL should implement a series of changes to how it allocates this investment. Isabel Dedring indicated that TfL was open to re-examining its approach to allocating future funding.⁵⁵ Evidence from our stakeholders suggests that TfL should 'rethink' where and how it spends the Growth Fund,⁵⁶ to address the challenges we explored above.

Selection criteria

- 3.7 To enhance the credibility of the Growth Fund, TfL must exercise greater consistency and transparency about how it allocates support to projects. While the Fund is performing a valuable role in pump-priming transport improvements, stakeholders deserve clarity about how TfL decides where to spend it.
- 3.8 TfL should move away from informal discussions with boroughs, to a formal bidding process. Stakeholders such as Camden Town Unlimited argued that TfL should review how it uses borough guidance about the places with highest need for transport improvements. We support calls for an open bidding process. This would allow boroughs and multi-stakeholder groups to submit proposals for funding, which would make the allocation process more democratic and transparent.⁵⁷
- 3.9 Furthermore, TfL should prioritise areas that the London Plan has already identified as requiring new or improved transport to catalyse growth. At the Committee's meeting on 3 November, Faraz Baber, Executive Director of

⁵⁵ Isabel Dedring and Alex Williams, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 7

⁵⁶ Written evidence from Camden Town Unlimited, LB Lambeth

⁵⁷ Written evidence from Camden Town Unlimited

Policy for London First, criticised the GLA's lack of clarity about which of the OAs it would target to bring forward development. Faraz went on to challenge the GLA to prioritise specific OAs for investment.⁵⁸

- 3.10 The Mayor should start by prioritising OAs in an expanded Growth Fund. As the map on page 13 shows, there are a number of Growth Areas (including Kingston Town Centre, Sutton Tramlink, and Golden Mile (a section of the A4 Great West Road, leading to the M4)) which did not receive Growth Fund allocations in this round, but which lack formal mayoral planning designation or Housing Zone status. Rather than selecting these areas in an expanded Growth Fund, we argue that future investment should be concentrated in the Opportunity Areas, because they are the areas that the Mayor has identified will accommodate much of London's growth. This will ensure that the Growth Fund is consistent with the Mayor's spatial planning priorities, enabling the Mayor to capitalise on existing growth activity.

Recommendation 2

Expansion of the Growth Fund should be subject to an open, formalised and transparent bidding process. TfL should establish clear selection criteria so that boroughs can propose schemes for the Fund, prioritising those in Opportunity Areas. TfL should explain the bidding and allocation process that it will use in its draft 2016/17 Budget.

Local engagement

- 3.11 TfL could improve its approach to maximising the value of transport investment for local areas. Successful transport delivery and wider regeneration will depend on TfL working collaboratively with local communities, boroughs, and wider stakeholders. TfL would benefit from reviewing its models of engagement in order to understand the views of local communities and local authorities at an earlier stage. Better engagement would also complement moves towards greater transparency, as we call for in this report.

Recommendation 3

TfL should examine opportunities to use engagement models such as the SUBT programme board in east London, with a view to introducing a consistent approach to consultation and communications when proposing new/improved transport programmes in regeneration areas.

TfL's commercial expertise

- 3.12 TfL could benefit from consolidating its business expertise to take a wider view of commercial opportunities. TfL has recently invested in expanding its

⁵⁸ Faraz Baber, Regeneration Committee, 3 November 2015 transcript p. 8

commercial team, to support revenue generation through its property development and sponsorship strategies.⁵⁹

- 3.13 We want to see TfL use its enhanced commercial capacity to take a more proactive approach to working with developers to secure additional investment from the private sector. Specifically, TfL should broaden the range of measures for which it approaches developers for contributions. We encourage TfL to review how it could deploy the business acumen within its expanded commercial team to better exploit opportunities to extract value from developers.

Sustaining future investment in transport for growth

- 3.14 Looking further ahead, the Assembly supports the Mayor's case for localisation of stamp duty— which the London Finance Commission proposed in 2013 – to provide a mechanism to capture rising land values and reinvest in London's growth.⁶⁰ The Deputy Mayor acknowledged that it would be better for TfL to fund transport projects for growth from a long-term reliable funding stream:

'...ultimately you would want to be in a situation where [a Growth Fund] is only an intermediate solution, and ultimately there is a way to better reflect these kinds of projects within the prioritisation system so that you do not have to ring-fence a pot of funding'.⁶¹

- 3.15 The Chancellor's recent decision to devolve 100 per cent of business rates revenue to local government⁶² is promising. The announcement recognises the benefits of incentivising local areas to take responsibility for driving economic activity, giving areas freedom over how they reinvest in the local economy.
- 3.16 If the Mayor and TfL could harness some of the land value uplift in areas that have benefitted from TfL's investment, the Mayor could reinvest this money in transport connectivity in other growth areas, creating a revolving and more sustainable fund. The Committee will continue to support the Mayor's lobbying of central government to devolve Stamp Duty.

Recommendation 4

The next Mayor should look to produce a detailed proposal for devolution of stamp duty. As a first step the GLA should commission a technical study on how a local stamp duty could work.

⁵⁹ Letter from Graeme Craig to John Biggs AM, 5 February 2015, p. 8

⁶⁰ Devolution Working Group (September 2015) A New Agreement for London

⁶¹ Isabel Dedring, Regeneration Committee, 2 July 2015 transcript p. 4

⁶² <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/chancellor-unveils-devolution-revolution>

Conclusion

Timely new and improved transport links will have a strong bearing on London's ability to accommodate the strong population growth forecast over the next 15 years. High quality public transport is also key to maintaining London's international competitiveness. Furthermore, communities in economically deprived areas experience a double disadvantage as a result of low transport accessibility to jobs.

The next Mayor has important choices to make about how he or she uses transport to bring forward the development that London needs. The Growth Fund has provided a valuable source of funding to unlock growth in a small number of areas. However, TfL has allocated almost all of this funding. We think there are strong arguments for extending the pot of money available until 2026/27. In an expanded Fund, TfL should prioritise Opportunity Areas in the London Plan, and adopt an open bidding process for boroughs. There are also lessons for TfL about how it consults with communities and how it maximises value from the private sector. In the long term, however, the Mayor and TfL should continue to make the case for devolution of stamp duty revenue, so that TfL can both protect and reinvest its spending.

Appendix 1 – Recommendations

Recommendation 1

TfL should renew the Growth Fund, with a commitment to extending it to 2026/27. In its 2016/17 Business Plan, TfL should set out the total quantum of funding that it will make available.

Recommendation 2

Expansion of the Growth Fund should be subject to an open, formalised and transparent bidding process. TfL should establish clear selection criteria so that boroughs can propose schemes for the Fund, prioritising those in Opportunity Areas. TfL should explain the bidding and allocation process that it will use in its draft 2016/17 Budget.

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The next Mayor should look to produce a detailed proposal for devolution of stamp duty. As a first step the GLA should commission a technical study on how a local stamp duty could work.

Appendix 2 – How we carried out our investigation

On 2 July 2015 the Committee agreed the scope and terms of reference for its investigation:

1. To examine how the Mayor and TfL use transport investment to promote regeneration and how they work with a range of stakeholders to identify transport improvements;
2. To examine how TfL is using its Growth Fund, including the rationale for allocating £360 million to the Fund, the criteria used to decide how it should be spent, and its potential impact on different types of regeneration (i.e. economic, physical and social), and on different groups;
3. To clarify the choices facing a future Mayor on the use of transport investment to support regeneration.

Our investigation used a range of methods to gather information. On 2 June, we visited Nine Elms Vauxhall to receive a briefing on TfL on how it has used the Growth Fund to support transport improvements at Vauxhall gyratory. We also met with other stakeholders, including the Nine Elms Vauxhall Partnership, New Covent Garden Market, and developers CLS and Berkeley St James.

On 2 July we held a formal meeting to discuss the Growth Fund with the following guests: Isabel Dedring, Deputy Mayor for Transport; Alex Williams, Director of Borough Planning, TfL; Dr Helena Titheridge, Senior Lecturer, Department of Civil, Environmental and Geomatic Engineering, University College London; and Martyn Evans, Creative Director, Cathedral Group.

We also invited stakeholders to provide written evidence to the Committee, and we received 8 submissions; copies of which are available with this report. In addition we gave individuals and community groups the opportunity to contribute to the review via an online survey, which we targeted at groups local to Growth Fund-supported projects.

Appendix 3 – Growth Fund allocations

TfL Growth Fund schemes: Oct 2015	Mode	Nature of project	Expected completion date	Growth Fund contribution (rounded)	Scheme total cost (rounded)	Homes	Jobs	Benefit to Cost ratio ⁶³
Barking Riverside Extension	Rail & Underground	Extension of the London Overground to serve a key development area	2020	£30m	£263m	7,000	2,200	2.0 : 1 ⁶⁴
Tottenham Hale station	Rail & Underground	Tube station upgrade that forms part of a wider suite of interventions to create an iconic gateway to Tottenham and the Upper Lee Valley	Autumn 2017	£32m	£32m	5,000	4,000	2.0 : 1
West Ham station	Rail & Underground	Tube station upgrade will include a new western entrance that will unlock the GLA's Stephenson Street site for development	2019	£13m	£10-15m	2,500	500	TBC
Woolwich Crossrail station	Rail & Underground	A new station that will greatly enhance public transport and provide a major oversite development and new public space, helping to transform and regenerate Woolwich	Spring 2018	£24m	£79m	3,500		2.8 : 1
Elephant & Castle Northern line ticket hall	Rail & Underground	Tube station upgrade to provide significant extra capacity to support this major central London development area	Early 2020s	£70m	£130m			TBC ⁶⁵
Elephant & Castle Northern Roundabout	Surface	Remodelling the roundabout to provide two-way traffic, improved public realm, dedicated cycle lanes and safer pedestrian crossings at surface level	Phase 1: Spring '16 Phase 2: Early 2020s	£15m	£25m	4,000	5,000	0 : 1

⁶³ A number of schemes are still at an early stage and precise benefit to cost ratios have not been calculated yet

⁶⁴ BCR falls to 1.1 : 1 if third party funding excluded

⁶⁵ A business case for an earlier proposal had a BCR of 2.3 : 1

Bromley-by-Bow	Surface	Redesigning the junction, removing the roundabout and flyover to greatly reduce severance and create new, integrated public spaces	Interim: Summer '16 Full: Early 2020s	£12m	£67m	2,800	3,000	TBC
Fiveways	Surface	Remodelling Croydon Fiveways junction to increase road capacity and support forecast growth in economic activity and population	2019	£43m	£66m	10,000	7,500	TBC
Wandsworth Ram Brewery gyratory	Surface	Removing the gyratory to reduce the dominance of traffic in Wandsworth High Street, supporting the regeneration of the town centre and creating new opportunities for businesses.	2019	£33m	£67m	670	300	3.6 : 1
Vauxhall Cross	Surface	Removing the gyratory to provide two-way traffic; improving the public realm and interchange facility; and providing dedicated cycle lanes integrated with CS5	2019	£38m	£50m	3,500	8,000	4.1 : 1
White Hart Lane station	Rail & Underground	Rail station upgrade to support major development proposed in the area	Autumn 2018	£11m	£15m	2,000		2.0 : 1
STAR	Rail & Underground	Railway capacity upgrade to support regeneration in the Upper Lee Valley and pave the way for Crossrail 2	Spring 2018	£10m	£121m	9,000		1.9 : 1
Beam Park station	Rail & Underground	Delivery of a new rail station to serve a key development site	2019	£9m	£18m	2,500		2.7 : 1
Croxley Rail Link	Rail & Underground	Extension of the Metropolitan line to Watford Junction will contribute to economic development in Watford and support the planned Watford Health Campus	2019	£16m	£284m	<i>Growth benefits primarily outside Greater London</i>		

Appendix 4 – Community survey

Introduction

As part of our investigation, we invited members of the public to respond to a questionnaire on the impact of transport developments on their experiences of living in the local area.

We asked 3 open-ended questions, followed by an opportunity for further comments, as follows:

- *What difference do you think improved local transport will make to you?*
- *What effect do you think new transport improvements will have on your local area?*
- *Tell us if TfL or your borough council has consulted you about the transport improvements and how you found this process.*

The questionnaire was available on the Committee's webpage and was disseminated via social media, specifically targeted towards community groups in areas where the Growth Fund is being spent.

Overview

The Committee received 35 responses to the survey between June and August 2015.

While the survey asked respondents to comment on transport in regeneration areas, a large proportion of respondents commented on general changes to London's transport system. This means that some responses did not relate to transport improvements in regeneration and development areas.

Given the small number of responses and the qualitative nature of the survey, this summary does not aim to draw generalised conclusions, but it provides a flavour of some of the issues raised.

Thematic analysis

The difference improved local transport makes to individuals and local areas

Respondents identified some **positive** impacts that would result from improved transport upgrades, including:

- Faster journey times;
- Improved transport can support the development of new housing for people of working age;
- Better connections with central London help places such as Peckham become better integrated with London's economy (making it easier for residents to travel for work), and cultural life;
- Public transport improvements could reduce pressure on the roads, along with reducing pollution and congestion. For example, two

respondents in South East London identified improved public transport in the region as a priority. One called for cleaner, more efficient local rail services, and another for cycle storage at transport hubs to allow better interchange options;

- There were also requests for more efficient bus connections, so that residents have to make fewer changes between services.

Other respondents identified a number of **problems** associated with transport improvements, including:

- There is no evidence of obvious improvements;
- Local residents may observe new developments taking place, along with promises of improved transport, but they are sceptical about whether capacity will increase, and therefore what benefit it will have for them. For some, improvements are seen as a sweetener for private sector development, with major infrastructure such as Crossrail and the Overground extension pushing up prices;
- Linked to this, others consider that visitors and tourists benefit most from transport improvements, rather than local people;
- Road maintenance works are particularly disruptive, with changes to local traffic management can cause major inconvenience for local groups. Some respondents do not want to see non-local traffic routed through town centres, observing that busy roads reduce the liveability of inner London neighbourhoods;
- Others see pedestrian and cycling works leading to slower traffic with increased air pollution;
- Some specific schemes – such as the Garden Bridge – are seen as bringing extra visitors (tourists) to the area and increasing the burden on transport connections;
- Some considered parts of boroughs to have been forgotten in TfL's plans (for example, North Richmond, and Bexleyheath town centre shopping areas).

Additionally, some respondents were ambivalent about whether impacts on the local community would be positive or negative, commenting that **transport improvement schemes can be double-edged**. For example, improvements can generate new connections, but they have traffic congestion side effects. Several respondents noted increased congestion resulting from new cycle lanes, which take space from roads and pavements. Alongside this, there were several requests for greater investment in roads to keep traffic moving.

In some places, population changes have put new demands on transport but improvements have not been put in place until new communities have moved into the area. TfL should **plan for future demand**.

Respondents mentioned a range of improvements they would like to see to transport, with a particular emphasis on east London, including: extensions of river transport (to Erith, for example), rail, DLR or tube bridges in east London, and Overground extensions and tram links.

Consultation from TfL or the borough

We received a range of comments on how local communities are consulted on transport improvement schemes, including:

- One person commented that the consultation on changes to Elephant and Castle roundabout was very helpful;
- Several responses stated that there was **no consultation** (this comment was made both in respect of TfL and boroughs), or residents were not aware of any, in some cases due to poor advertising;
- Local people want to be **involved from the beginning**. One person said that people were consulted, but only after proposals had been drawn up. They wanted to be involved at the conceptual stage;
- One voiced concern that their local council was only interested in improvements in locations where development was taking place;
- Another noted that changes in their area had taken place following a third round of consultation on parking charges;
- Some complained that residents were **only consulted on a limited range of options** (for example, in the case of river crossings, consultees were only asked about road crossings, and not rail or sustainable travel modes);
- A respondent noted they had been consulted by various means, including survey and drop-in events, however, they felt some **information on the implications of growth was missing**, which had a negative effect on public trust.

Other comments

Finally, respondents used the 'other comments' section to mention a range of transport issues, including:

- A lack of rail upgrades to services in outer London;
- Investment in the Garden Bridge, which they considered wasteful;
- Calls for more investment in cycling and walking;
- Calls for road improvements (identifying a need for roads to be freed up for commercial deliveries), while others do not want them;
- Poor accessibility for wheelchair users on the Tube;
- A call for TfL to give more thought to the public realm within 500m of train stations; and
- The need to recognise that there are winners and losers when transport improvements are delivered (with a perception that newcomers benefit more than existing residents).

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Hindi

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