

LCA INSIGHT SPECIAL REPORT

# Labour's First 100 Days

And what it means for the built environment





October 2024

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### Foreword



**Nick Bowes**Managing Director,
Insight

"Ever since President Roosevelt, way back in 1932, launched his 100-day onslaught on the Great Depression, it's this nice round figure that has become the standard moment at which the performance of new governments are judged."

92 years on, and Keir Starmer has burst through his first three months residency in 10 Downing Street. And in this report, we catalogue the Labour Government's progress across the built environment – a key area of focus for Keir Starmer and his Cabinet in their attempt to kickstart economic growth and get Britain building.

While Labour was clearly match fit for the moment Rishi Sunak called the General Election – the scale of the party's victory testimony to their campaign readiness – the last few months would suggest Starmer's team were not quite so prepared for running the country. They've learned the hard way that while winning elections is tough, effective government is even tougher.

That's not to diminish the challenges the new Government faced – they were immense, from the international situation to prison overcrowding and the state of the public finances. Almost immediately, and out of the blue, Starmer faced the stern test of civil unrest across the country. But the Labour Government has also become prone to self-inflicted wounds – stories about donors, politicians taking freebies and dysfunction at the heart of 10 Downing Street filling column inches and the airwaves for months.

But it's fair to say that the honeymoon is well and truly over. And now we find ourselves in the remarkable situation of a new Government using the 100-day milestone as a reset moment to try to regain the initiative. That being said, the built environment is one area where the Government can rightly claim credit at the progress achieved. A new National Planning Policy Framework published, housing targets restored, a plan for releasing Green Belt for development, more Ministerial interventions to approve decisions and a New Towns Taskforce up and running – just a flavour of the Government's early weeks activity which we have captured in this report.

As we look beyond the 100 days, all eyes are on the Budget on 30 October and the Spending Review that follows. Many decisions on infrastructure and public services are on hold awaiting news from the Treasury whether funding is forthcoming. From HS2 to affordable housing to nuclear power to the Bakerloo Line Extension, the pressure is on the Chancellor to find the money to unlock multi-billion pound transformatory projects.

Politics doesn't stand still for long. Defeated, dusted down and with a new leader, how the Conservative Party responds to a pro growth, pro building agenda will be fascinating to watch. Here in LCA's Insight team, we'll be monitoring developments every step of the way.

Don't forget, the best way to keep abreast of all the latest built environment news is to sign up to receive our flagship weekly LDN newsletter straight to your inbox.



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# The General Election

In facts and figures



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## The General Election Result in Facts & Figures



## Longest campaign in recent history...

Former Prime Minister Rishi Sunak caught many by surprise by naming 4 July as polling day. Going into the campaign, the polls had consistently recorded double-digit leads for Labour over the Conservatives, with little change for nearly two years. This continued into the campaign itself, with opinion polls almost universally predicting a Labour landslide and a Tory wipeout.



## A Labour landslide and a Tory meltdown...

Once all the votes were counted, Labour did indeed win big - their second biggest majority ever, and in fact the second biggest majority for any government in the last 100 years. It was the worst result for the Conservatives in the last 200 years - their smallest share of the vote and the lowest number of MPs. The Lib Dems had a good night, recording a nine-fold increase in their representation. The SNP had a terrible result, with the Greens and Reform gaining a handful of extra MPs each.

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## The General Election Result in Facts & Figures

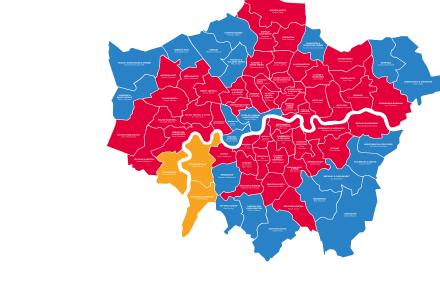
#### **Labour's Share of MPs**

63%



#### Labour's Share of the Vote

34%





## Labour's win was broad, but shallow...

The size of Labour's win masks some underlying trends - the party's share of the vote was barely up on 2019 and the lowest ever for a single party majority government. Turnout was also down sharply. Average majorities halved, Labour suffered in areas where the conflict in the Middle East was a priority for voters.

### Red London but future battlelines are drawn...

In London, it wasn't quite the wipeout for the Tories the polls predicted - but it was still the party's worst-ever result in the capital. Inner London is now without a Tory MP for the first time ever. The Green Party have emerged as the left alternative to Labour, coming second in 18 constituencies, a sign of the likely political battlegrounds ahead in the 2026 local elections.

#### **LCA Expert Take**



Nick Bowes, Managing Director, Insight

"A thumping win for Labour, but scratch below the surface and the country is much more marginal, with the share of the vote for the two main parties the lowest since the war. Reform will worry both Labour and Tories, the Lib Dems are on the rise in the Home Counties and the Greens are snapping at Starmer's heels in the big cities."

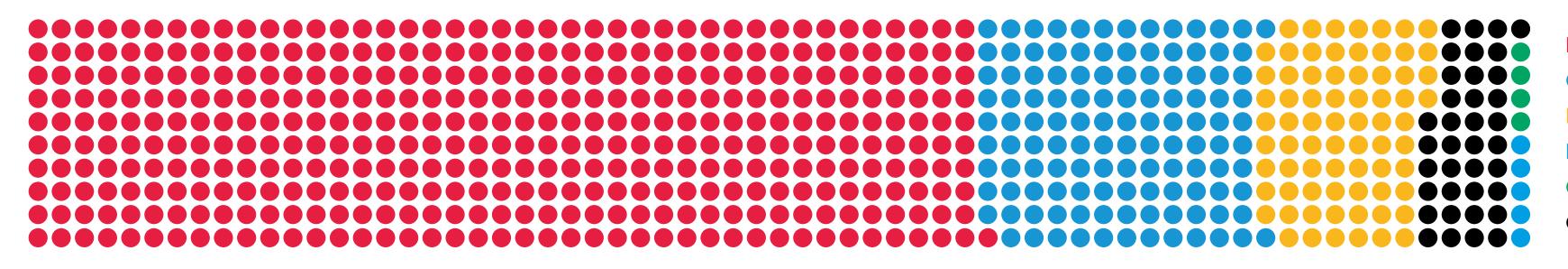
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100 DAY'S

## The General Election Result in Facts & Figures

Once the votes were counted, the 2024 General Election was record breaking in many ways. Labour more than doubled the party's number of MPs. But Labour won 63% of all MPs with just 33.8% of the vote - the widest divergence in history.



Labour 411 (+209)
Conservative 121 (-244)
Liberal Democrat 72 (+61)
Reform 5 (+5)
Green 4 (+3)
Other 37 (-32)



#### **Record Breaking Election:**

- Biggest number of gains ever by one party (Labour, +251)
- But the lowest vote share
   (33.8%) for a party winning a majority
- Second lowest turnout in history (59.9%)

- Second biggest majority since 1945 (174)
- Lowest ever number of Tory MPs (121)
- Lowest ever Tory share of the vote (23.7%)



#### A very different look to the new Parliament:

- Highest number of new MPs ever (336 out of 650)
- Most number of female MPs ever (263, 40%)
- Most number of ethnic minority MPs ever (87)



#### An even redder London:

- Highest number of Labour MPs in London ever (59)
- Fewest number of Tory
   MPs in London ever (9)
- No Tory MPs in Inner London for first time ever



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# The New Government

#### LCA | INSIGHT LABOUR'S FIRST

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**100 DAY'S** 

## The New Government

#### **The New Cabinet**

Keir Starmer quickly confirmed his top table within days of the election result. The majority of those taking up seats at the Cabinet table held the same roles in opposition, with one or two exceptions.

Lisa Nandy stepped into the Culture, Media and Sport role after Thangham Debonnaire lost her Bristol Central seat and Jonathan Ashworth is absent after he failed to hold his Leicester South constituency.

Richard Hermer QC joined as Attorney General, a position Emily Thornberry filled in opposition.



**Starmer KCB KC MP** 

Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury Minister for the Civil Service, and Minister for the Union

The Rt Hon Shabana

Lord Chancellor and

Secretary of State

**Mahmood MP** 

for Justice



**Rayner MP** 

Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government



Exchequer

Chancellor of the



McFadden MP

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Minister for Intergovernmental Relations



Lammy MP

Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and **Development Affairs** 



**Cooper MP** 

Secretary of State for the Home Department



**Healey MP** 

Secretary of State for Defence



Secretary of State for Business and Trade and President of the



The Rt Hon Jonathan **Reynolds MP** 

Board of Trade



The Rt Hon **Peter Kyle MP** 

Secretary of State for Science, Innovation and Technology

#### **LCA Expert Take**



Robert Gordon Clark, Partner & Senior Advisor

"Of the new Cabinet, only three have previously been Cabinet Ministers (Cooper, Miliband and Benn). Meanwhile the Prime Minister wasn't even an MP the last time Labour were in Government. So experience is, not surprisingly, lacking much like 1997. What's interesting from a London perspective is that there are three Cabinet Ministers and 17 other Ministers representing London seats. Whether this will help or possibly hinder the case for the capital remains to be seen."



aigh MP Secretary of State for Transport



The Rt Hon Wes

Secretary of State for

**Streeting MP** 

Health and

Social Care

**Reed OBE MP** Secretary of State for Environment, Food

and Rural Affairs



The Rt Hon Bridget

Secretary of State

for Education and

Minister for Women

Phillipson MP

and Equalities

Nandy MP

Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport



The Rt Hon Ed

Secretary of State for

Energy Security and

**Miliband MP** 

Net Zero

Secretary of State for Northern Ireland



The Rt Hon Liz

Secretary of State for

Work and Pensions

**Kendall MP** 

lan Murray MP Secretary of State for



Secretary of State for



Powell MP

Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons



**The Rt Hon Baroness Smith of Basildon** 

Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords



Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury (Chief Whip)



Jones MP

Chief Secretary to the Treasury



Attorney General



**Anneliese Dodds MP** 

Minister of State (Minister for Development) and Minister of State (Minister for Women and Equalities)



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# Labour's Manifesto

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### Labour's Manifesto

#### Change

The built environment and getting Britain building featured heavily housing mentioned 41 times and planning 17. London got no mentions.

#### **LCA Expert Take**



Nick Bowes,
Managing Director, Insight

"Labour's manifesto was long on words but short on details. But that wasn't a surprise, given the lead the party held in the polls the strategy was very much one of not taking risks. It did include a set of headline pledges and "Six First Steps for Change" and was very much built around Keir Starmer the person."





#### 1. Deliver economic stability

with tough spending rules, so we can grow our economy and keep taxes, inflation and mortgages as low as possible.

#### 2. Cut NHS waiting times

with 40,000 more appointments each week, during evenings and weekends, paid for by cracking down on tax avoidance and non-dom loopholes.

#### 3. Launch a new Border Security Command

with hundreds of new specialist investigators and use counter-terror powers to smash the criminal boat gangs.

#### 4. Set up Great British Energy

a publicly-owned clean power company, to cut bills for good and boost energy security, paid for by a windfall tax on oil and gas giants.

#### 5. Crack down on antisocial behaviour

with more neighbourhood police paid for by ending wasteful contracts, tough new penalties for offenders, and a new network of youth hubs.

#### 6. Recruit 6,500 new teachers

in key subjects to prepare children for life, work and the future, paid for by ending tax breaks for private schools.

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## Key Built Environment Commitments – Housing, Planning, Infrastructure and the Environment

Labour's manifesto included very strong commitments in the built environment - from getting Britain building, to clean energy and a publicly-owned railway system.



1.5 million new homes built in this parliament



Housing targets to be re-introduced



So-called 'Grey Belt' Green Belt to be reviewed



300 extra
planning officers
to be recruited





Ben Donson,
Insight Executive

"Labour's Manifesto is undeniably ambitious, with transformative plans for the built environment. However, the lack of specific details raises questions about the feasibility of these commitments. The Government's ability to deliver remains uncertain, particularly considering the significant challenges ahead. A key test will be their pledge to build 1.5 million new homes, which faces hurdles, especially given that planning permissions are currently at a record low. Time will tell whether they can overcome these obstacles and turn their bold promises into reality."



New rules on 'Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects'



New generation of New Towns – new locations to be identified by a Taskforce



Secretary of
State to be more
interventionist to
get plans approved



Reform compulsory purchase and abolish 'hope value'



Giving local people 'first dibs' for new homes before overseas investors



Abolish no fault evictions, introduce Awaab's Law and reform leasehold/freehold



Establish Great
British Energy, a
publicly owned clean
power company



Set up Great British Railways, unifying infrastructure and train operations, and bringing them into public ownership



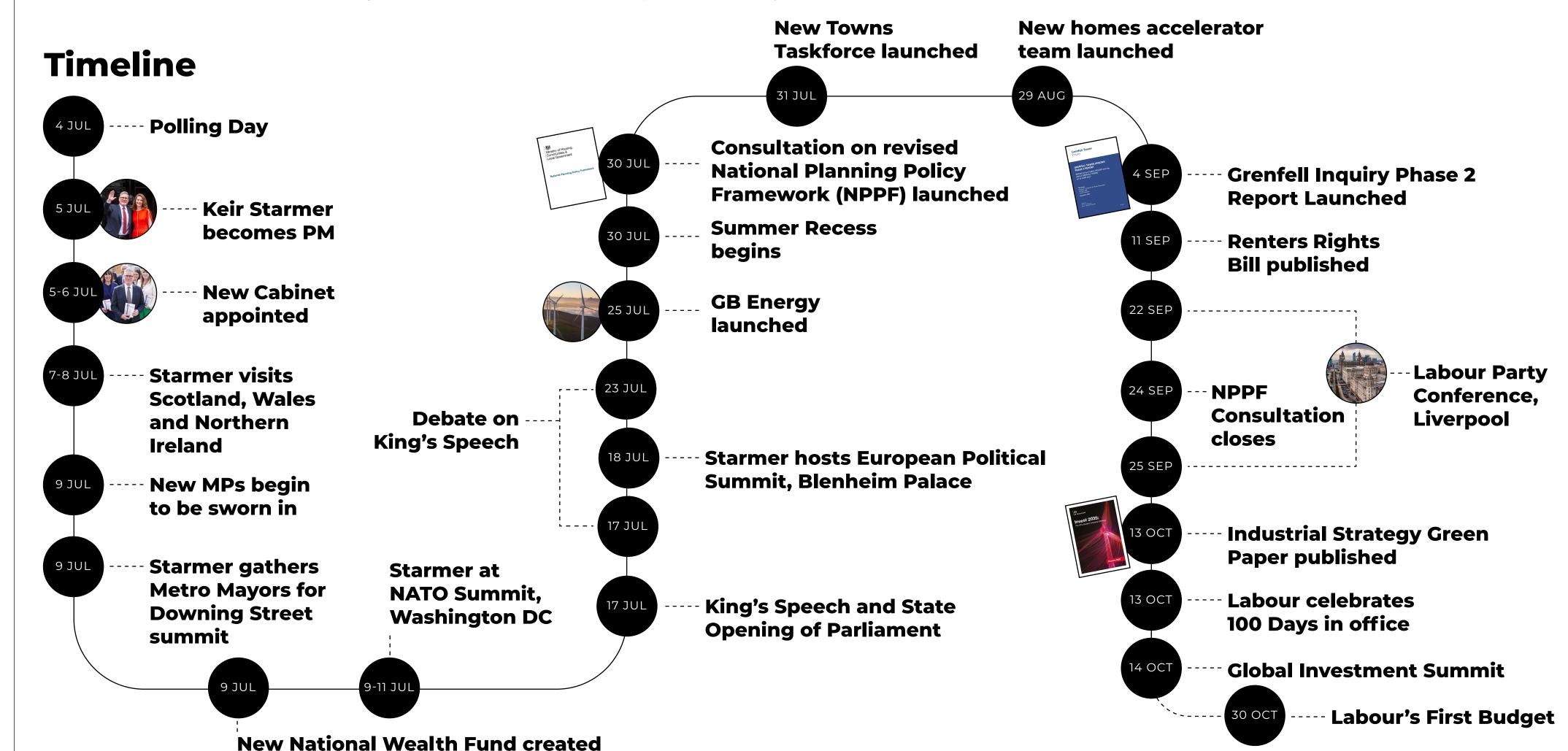
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## First 100 days

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## First 100 days

It's been a busy first 100 days for the new Government, and particularly so on the built environment front. All of this is against a backdrop of challenging international events and, following the horrific events in Southport on 29 July, the riots across the UK.



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## King's Speech

Labour's King's Speech included 40 bills, with a number of these having particular relevance for the built environment.

A commitment to 40 bills is very ambitious - as a comparison, the incoming Coalition Government in 2010 had 24 bills and the new Labour Government in 1997 just 10.

#### **Key bills**



Budget Responsibility Bill



Great British Energy Bill



National Wealth Fund Bill



Skills England Bill



Railways Bill



Renters' Rights Bill



Planning & Infrastructure Bill



Draft Leasehold & Commonhold Reform Bill



English Devolution Bill



Passenger Railway Services (Public Ownership) Bill



Better Buses Bill



Keir Starmer Prime Minister

"This is a King's Speech that returns politics to serious government, that returns government to public service, and that returns public service to the interests of working people. That is the path of national renewal, the rebuilding of our country, and we take another step today."

#### **LCA Expert Take**



"While not quite a record number of bills, the new Government's King's Speech included the highest number since 2005, highlighting the number of issues the Government has committed to addressing. While in previous governments, Bills have been long and wide-ranging, we can expect that under this Labour Government, pieces of legislation will be shorter and therefore, at least in theory, be implemented faster."



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## Pro-Growth Agenda

Labour has placed increasing economic growth at the heart of their agenda, with early interventions from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rachel Reeves MP and Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government, Angela Rayner MP.

The new Government is also adopting a missions-based delivery model, which will be new to the established ways of working in Whitehall. Five missions which cut across government departments will be the focus of Labour's attention. While all five missions matter in one way or another for the built environment, it is kick starting economic growth and the clean energy superpower missions which will be of particular relevance.

Keir Starmer, Angela Rayner, Rachel Reeves and Pat McFadden will form a ministerial quod that oversees progress on the five missions.

#### Missions-based delivery – a revolution in Whitehall

#### The Government's Five Delivery Missions

#### Kickstart economic growth

With good jobs and productivity growth in all parts of the country

#### Make Britain a clean energy superpower

To cut bills, create jobs and deliver energy security

#### Build an NHS fit for the future

Investment hand in hand with reform, moving beyond a sickness service to one focused on preventing ill health

#### **Take back our streets**

Cutting serious violent crime and raising confidence in the police and criminal justice system

#### Break down barriers to opportunity

Reforming childcare and education

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**100 DAY'S** 

## The Return of MHCLG

One of the first activities of the new Government was to return the Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities to the previous name of Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government.

Secretary of State Angela Rayner has six ministers in her team. Two (Jim McMahon and Baroness Taylor) provide strong local government experience as former council leaders. Two are London MPs – Matthew Pennycook, who holds one of the most critical briefs in government of housing and planning, and Rushanara Ali, who leads on building safety and homelessness.

#### The new Ministerial team



Deputy Prime Minister

Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government



#### **Matthew Pennycook MP**

Minister of State (Minister for Housing and Planning)



#### **Alex Norris MP**

Parliamentary
Under-Secretary of State
(Minister for Democracy
and Local Growth)



#### Baroness Taylor of Stevenage

Parliamentary
Under-Secretary of State
(Minister for Democracy
and Local Growth)



#### Jim McMahon OBE MP

Minister of State (Minister for Local Government and English Devolution)



#### Rushanara Ali MP

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State (Minister for Building Safety and Homelessness)



#### **Lord Khan of Burnley**

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State (Lords Minister for Faith, Communities and Resettlement)

#### **LCA Expert Take**



#### Jane Groom Partner & Co-Managing

Director, Politics, Engagement and Planning

"Given the new Government has made getting Britain building such a top priority, MHCLG will be one of the most important departments if they're to succeed. Having at the helm a Cabinet heavyweight in Deputy Prime Minister Angela Rayner has so many parallels to when John Prescott headed up the super-department of Environment, Transport and the Regions back in 1997. As was the case then, Rayner's big hitter status is what might prove crucial today if the Government is to deliver on planning reform and a major step up in the number of homes built."



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## Progress So Far

Labour committed to get Britain building, and there's certainly been a lot of activity in the first 100 days, including:



Consultation on the new National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) launched and closed



Mandatory housing targets re-introduced, with a new formula for calculating numbers



A new definition of 'grey belt' published



Introduction of Planning Passports for brownfield sites



More intervention in planning decisions



Regulations that allow the removal of 'hope value' brought into force



Expert teams established to accelerate stalled housing sites



Ban on offshore wind lifted, decisions on large infrastructure projects to be taken at a national level



Great British Energy Bill published, Jurgen Maier appointed as interim chair



Investment opportunities with planning considerations to be directed to Housing Secretary and Chancellor

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## The Return of Housing Targets

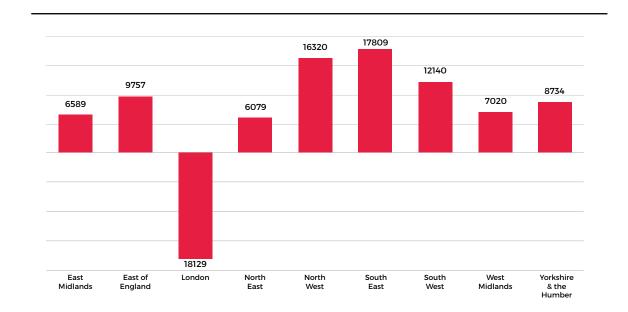
#### 1.5 million new homes

Labour committed to restore mandatory housing targets for local planning areas as part of an overall national target of 1.5 million new homes built in this parliament.

It's fair to say that the 1.5 million target has raised eyebrows, with many sceptical it will be achievable in this parliament.

The new Government has also published new annual targets for individual planning areas outside of London, and this has led to further controversy. Every region in the country except London sees an increase, and in a number of satellite towns around London the housing targets have gone up considerably.

To note, while the Government has set an overall housing target for London, it is for the Mayor of London through the London Plan process to allocate borough housing targets.





All regions see increases in their annual housing targets, except London

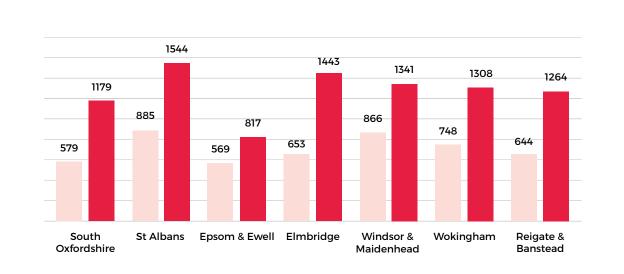
London's falling share of the national annual housing target

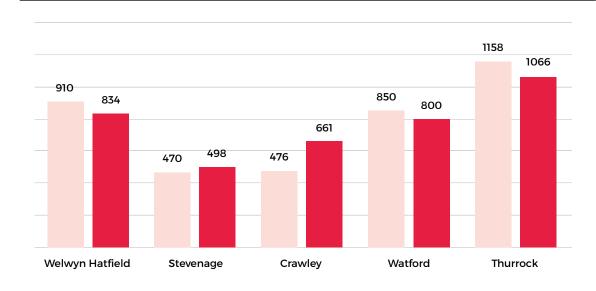
#### **LCA Expert Take**



Jay Allan
Director

"While the return of housing targets is welcome, the 1.5 million figure is more than ambitious—it's unrealistic and overly reliant on private sector delivery. It's surprising that the Government is pinning a lot of hope on a key election promise that is more than likely to fail. However, by increasing targets in historically 'non-Labour' areas, they may be positioning themselves to divert blame elsewhere."





Some local authorities around the edge of London see big increases in annual housing targets...

...while others see only small increases or even falls

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## Affordable Homes

66 A new planning framework will unlock the door to affordable homes and provide the biggest boost to social and affordable housing in a generation... with an ambition to build more social homes than we lose, within the first financial year of this Labour Government. 99



Angela Rayner
Speech to Labour Party Conference
22 September 2024

#### **LCA Expert Take**



Harriet Shone

"Planning reform is a great place to start but it's not clear that changing the system will deliver affordable homes by default. A key blockage for social housing delivery is that there's not enough money. While making navigating planning easier, and therefore cheaper, is a help, on its own it won't solve the key issue at hand. Meanwhile, the sector waits with bated breath - and growing impatience - for government grant announcements or at least a tangible plan to unlock outside investment - perhaps forthcoming at the next Spending Review?"

### Building not just more homes, but more affordable homes, is a central plank of the new Government's agenda.

But this ambition is set against a challenging backdrop, with falling numbers of new affordable homes started over recent months and housing associations faced with serious financial pressures squeezing their ability to build new.

Housing Associations are looking to the new Government for long-term rent stability, and there is some suggestion that the forthcoming Budget may give them what they want.

We're also promised a long-term housing strategy later in the year.

But whether there'll be any additional investment in affordable housing we will have to wait for the Spending Review in Spring 2025.

'Perfect storm' blocking thousands of desperately needed social homes

BBC News, 7 October 2024

Starts by London housing associations down 92% as work begins on just 150 homes

Inside Housing, 30 September 2024

'It's decimated': Rayner faces a battle to boost social housing

Labour wants action. But rent caps, rising interest rates and restrictions on councils have hit the affordable homes sector hard

Observer, 6 October 2024

UK chancellor plans to raise social rents to boost affordable housebuilding

Move aims to give councils and housing associations more certainty over cash flows

Financial Times, 20 August 2024

Labour warned of £54bn price tag to build enough affordable homes in London

G15 group of housing associations urges ministers to unshackle the social sector

Evening Standard, 23 September 2024

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## Defining Grey Belt

Having made a lot of noise about the 'grey' parts of the Green Belt in the run up to the election, it was in the revised National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) that the Government finally provided a definition:

"Grey belt is defined as land in the Green Belt comprising Previously Developed Land and any other parcels and/or areas of Green Belt land that make a limited contribution to the five Green Belt purposes".<sup>1</sup>

The Government has also been clear that any development on land released from the Green Belt must follow a new set of 'golden rules':

- · at least 50% affordable housing, with an appropriate proportion being Social Rent
- · necessary improvements to local or national infrastructure
- · the provision of new, or improvements to existing, local green spaces that are accessible to the public

1 | The five Green Belt purposes can be found here: gov.uk/guidance/national-planning-policy-framework/13-protecting-green-belt-land

#### **LCA Expert Take**



Jonny Simmonds
Director

"Whilst the NPPF's definition of the 'grey belt' helps Labour point to some action in their first 100 days, much remains unclear. It is going to take a little longer to see how this all works in practice, and the politics that come into play will also be key. Developing on Green Belt, whatever the definition, is inherently political. The new Government has made some serious YIMBY noises, but as campaigns grow and headlines mount will they continue to intervene to get Britain building? A number of Green Belt constituencies and local authorities have flipped from Conservative to Labour in the past year, so the local vs national political dynamic will be fascinating to watch."



66 Without changing its purpose or general extent, Labour will take a more strategic approach to Green Belt land designation and release to build more homes in the right places. The release of lower quality 'grey belt' land will be prioritised and we will introduce 'golden rules' to ensure development benefits communities and nature. \*9\*

Labour Party Manifesto, p37-38

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## A New Generation of New Towns

In the election campaign, Labour pledged to deliver a new generation of New Towns, emulating the post-war programme which saw 32 new settlements delivered across the UK, becoming home to 2.8m people.

In July, the Government announced the creation of the independent New Towns Taskforce spearheaded by Chair Sir Michael Lyons and Deputy Chair Dame Kate Barker. The group has been tasked with identifying appropriate locations for new towns by summer 2025.

The Government has been clear that each New Town will comprise at least 10,000 homes and be governed by a 'New Towns Code', setting out rules that developers will need to follow to ensure that the new developments are well-connected, sustainable and attractive, providing adequate and appropriate infrastructure and public services. Each New Town will be expected to deliver 40% affordable housing, with an emphasis on providing social rented homes.

In October, Housing Minister Matthew Pennycook clarified that the New Towns programme would include standalone New Towns, as well as urban extension or regeneration projects.

66 In partnership with local leaders and communities, a Labour government will build a new generation of new towns, inspired by the proud legacy of the 1945 Labour government. Alongside urban extensions and regeneration projects, these will form part of a series of large-scale new communities across England 39

Labour Party Manifesto, p37–38

#### **LCA Expert Take**



"The post-war Attlee Government — which the current Cabinet openly admires — delivered the largest housing programme in British history, building one million homes between 1945 and 1951. A staggering achievement, yet still a third less than the current government's ambitious target.

Ask today's housebuilders, and they'll claim that with the right incentives, trust, and policy support, they could shoulder the burden. But they may have to wait: the New Towns Taskforce won't even provide a list of potential sites until a year into this government's first term, and the revised NPPF is still pending. Local authorities also have until December 2026 to update their Local Plans, adding yet another potential delay.

Labour has hinted that "New Towns" might not be entirely "new," but could instead mean expanding existing towns — a more feasible route for faster delivery. Whatever the case, if Labour is serious about hitting its targets, the focus will need to go well beyond New Towns alone."

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## Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects

The Government's aim to make
Britain a clean energy superpower by
2030 is reliant on ensuring that the
country has the renewable energy
infrastructure required to do so.

In her first speech as Chancellor, Rachel Reeves announced that the de facto ban on onshore wind in England had been lifted. The revised NPPF also proposes that onshore wind is brought back into the Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects (NSIP) regime, meaning that permission for these projects can be taken at the national level.

In July, Secretary of State for Energy Security and Net Zero Ed Miliband granted planning permission for three solar farms in the east of England, part of the Government's commitment to trebling solar power by the end of the decade.

The revised NPPF also included some changes to the NSIPs, including changes to the thresholds under which solar, wind and water projects are determined under the regime.

The NPPF also called for views on whether other types of projects should be determined under the NSIP regime, such as data centres, laboratories and gigafactories.

#### **LCA Expert Take**



Francesca Sidoli

"It's all very well to set ambitious housing targets and plan new towns, but without a reliable energy source, Labour's plan falls flat. The real question is: where's the power coming from? We need to think holistically about the grid and diversify our energy mix to ensure security, especially after the lessons of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and with the conflict in the Middle East rapidly escalating.

With the UK shutting down its last coal-fired power plant and Great British Energy poised to deliver renewable power, it's encouraging to see the Government making serious investments in clean energy. However, the industry is not satisfied with the status quo and is eager for a stronger push toward other sources, particularly nuclear. Ed Miliband, once muted on nuclear, is now showing real openness—and that shift is promising."



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## A More Interventionist Approach to Planning

The Government promised a more interventionist approach to unlock planning decisions and get Britain building. It's clear from what we've seen so far that the Ministers are prepared to take difficult decisions and override local opposition.

Our map has captured the Government's interventions to date – it is not just housing, but other projects such as data centres, airport capacity and energy infrastructure.

#### **LCA Expert Take**

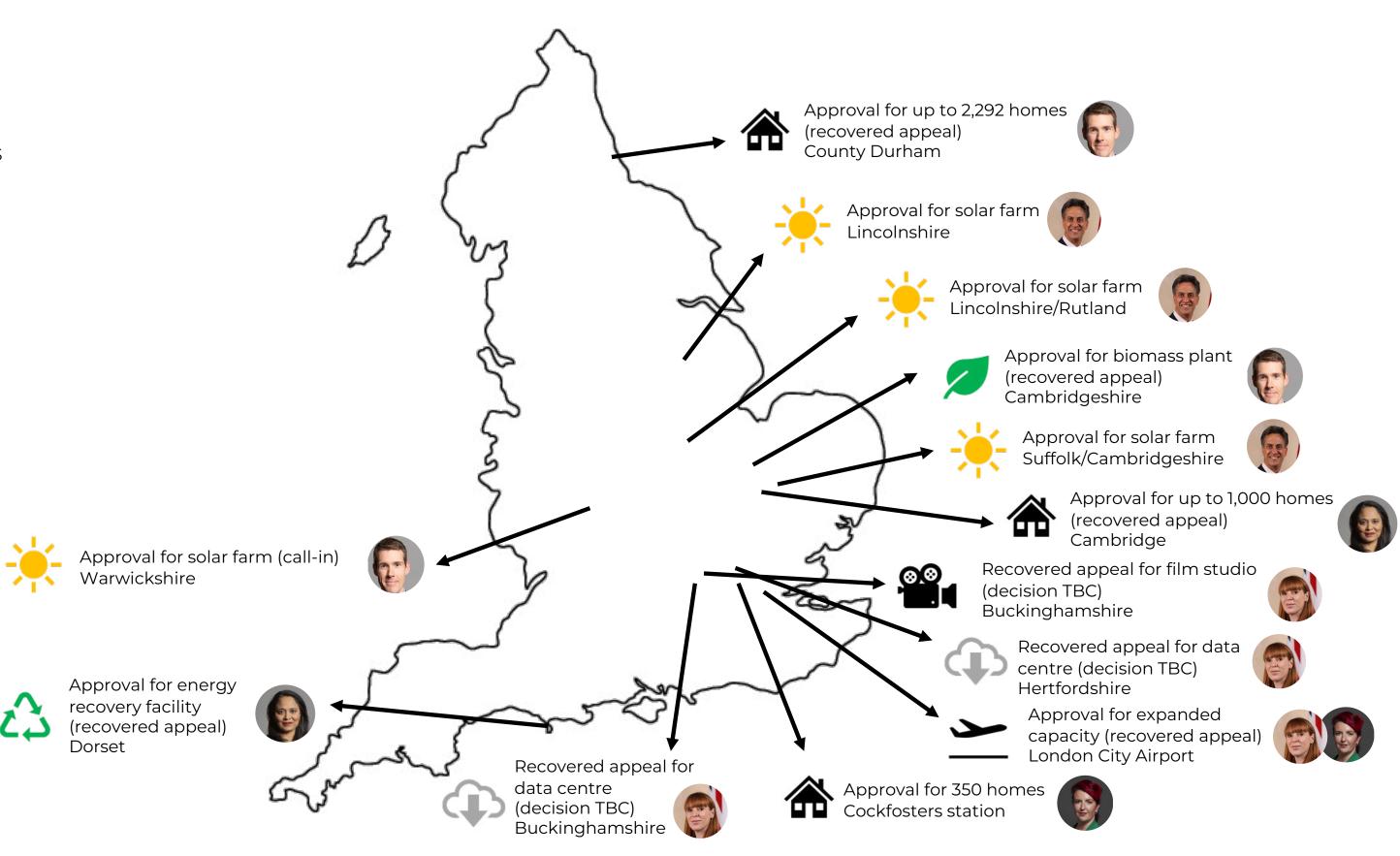


Emily Clinton
Insight Manager

"With the Government so focused on economic growth, housing delivery and net zero, it's hardly surprising that Ministers have intervened in the planning system to grant permission for stalled schemes. What will be interesting to see is how they manage clashes with their own side, whether it be with councils, mayors or MPs.

With the M&S Oxford Street plans still in limbo, all eyes are on Angela Rayner to watch her next moves on this key flagship West End redevelopment."

#### Mapping the new Government's Planning Interventions





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# What does this mean for London?



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## What does this mean for London?

Over the history of the existence of the Mayor of London, for only a two year window 2004-6 did any party hold City Hall, control of London Councils and the Government in Westminster. The periods when the Government and Mayor were from different parties were often characterised by disagreement and conflict, most notably over recent years.

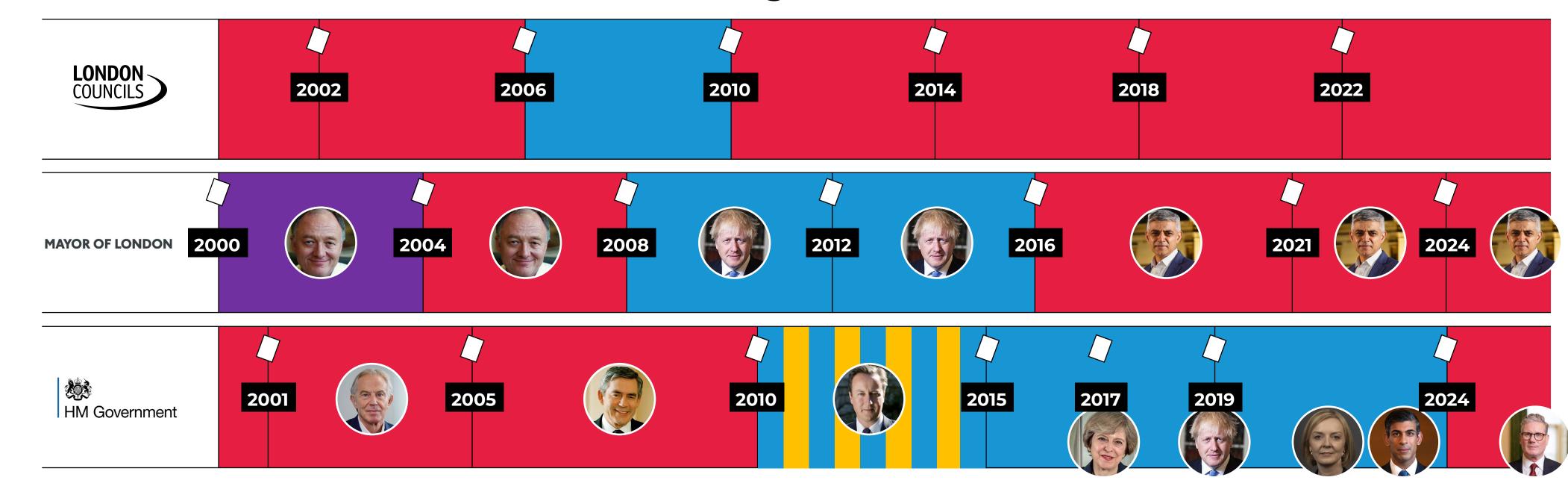
Now for the first time since May 2006, London has majority Labour councils, a Labour Mayor and a Labour Government.

This political alignment could bring real opportunities for the city after a long period where the Government and Mayor were from different political parties leading to periods of conflict.

During the General Election, Keir Starmer promised to stop the London bashing and committed to work in partnership with the city's leaders



#### Political control across the three tiers of government in London since 2000



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## But it won't all be plain sailing for London, and some difficult choices lie ahead both for the Government and the Mayor:

01

The Government's expectation that Sadiq Khan's new London Plan will see a large increase in housing targets and whether the city can significantly ramp up the building of new homes.

The Mayor is also leading on production of a new London Growth Plan, expected to be published in the coming months, which will focus on inclusive growth and generating more jobs in the city.



04

Whether HS2 comes to Euston Station and will the money be forthcoming for a full redevelopment of the station and the surrounding area.

With Thames Water's finances looking precarious, the Mayor and the Government will be contingency planning for all eventualities including the key utility going bankrupt.



07

Will the deal between Sadiq Khan and the Labour Government to establish a Mayoral Development Corporation on Oxford Street herald a new period of closeworking designed to kickstart development and promote growth across the city?



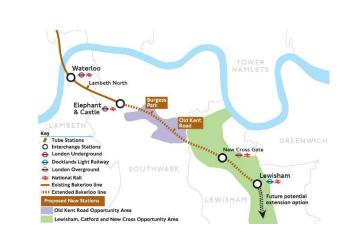
02

How the Mayor then allocates borough housing targets, and what the balance is between inner and outer London and whether this leads to conflict with the boroughs.



05

Will TfL receive a long-term funding settlement that includes funding for the pipeline of infrastructure projects like the Bakerloo Line Extension, West London Orbital and DLR Extension to Thamesmead?



**LCA Expert Take** 



Jonny Popper
Partner & Chief Executive

"After a long period of conflict between the Mayor of London and the previous government, the built environment is desperate for a more productive relationship between Sir Keir Starmer's new regime and City Hall. No-one expects London to suddenly get everything it wants from the new Government, but the early signs are good.

The swift agreement on a new Mayoral Development Corporation for Oxford Street shows the trust is there for London to take ownership of and seek to deliver difficult projects. Similarly, the removal of Michael Gove's previous direction of changes to the London Plan provides some immediate direction. Clearly much will now rest on the Budget, and what money might be available for infrastructure projects and, critically, the social housing sector. With housing starts at a record low, it will require a combination of strong political direction, policy flexibility that responds to the serious viability challenges that exist, and public investment to turn this around."

03

What the next Affordable Homes
Programme settlement will
be and whether London will
receive a larger chunk of the
funding from the Government.



06

If the new Government's enthusiasm for devolution includes additional powers for London's councils and the Mayor, and will London be allowed to raise more to fund investment in infrastructure?



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October 2024

# Beyond the First 100 Days

October 2024

## End of the Honeymoon?

Despite a landslide election victory, the honeymoon period for the Prime Minister appears to have been one of the shortest in modern times.

Faced with a difficult inheritance and international instability, cracks have shown within his own Government leading to Keir Starmer shuffling his team at 10 Downing Street just months after the election.

#### **Negative Press:**

The Government has faced a slew of donor stories and coverage of politicians receiving freebies, and internal power struggles within 10 Downing Street saw the departure of Sue Gray as the Prime Minister's Chief of Staff. Additionally, some policy decisions have sparked public backlash, particularly the move to scrap winter fuel payments for some pensioners.

## Recent by-election results and opinion polls:

The Prime Minister's popularity has taken a dramatic hit. His approval rating has fallen even below that of Rishi Sunak, and Labour's lead over the Conservatives has narrowed to just one point.

This fall in popularity has resulted in some challenging by-election results since 4 July. With over 70 local council by-elections, Labour's vote share has fallen sharply with councillors lost in many parts of the country.

#### **Opposition:**

With a new leader announced on 2 November, the Conservative Party has a chance to mount an effective and more focused opposition. If the new leader can unite the party behind a clear vision, the Labour Government's problems could mount further.

Sir Keir Starmer declares gifts and freebies totalling more than £100,000 - the highest of any MP

Sky News, 19 September 2024

#### Keir Starmer now less popular than Rishi Sunak, poll suggests

Opinium poll for the Observer finds a 45-point drop in the prime minister's approval rating since he won the election

The Guardian, 21 September 2024

Sir Keir Starmer now as unpopular with public as Nigel Farage, polling suggests

YouGov's latest polling appears to show Labour's honeymoon period in office has ended, with all Cabinet ministers judged unfavourably by those polled.

The Independent, 8 October 2024

Sue Gray quits as Starmer resets his top team in bid to regain control over chaos

This comes after weeks of speculation around tensions between Gray, outgoing cabinet secretary Simon Case and Keir Starmer's director of political strategy Morgan McSweeney

The Independent, 6 October 2024

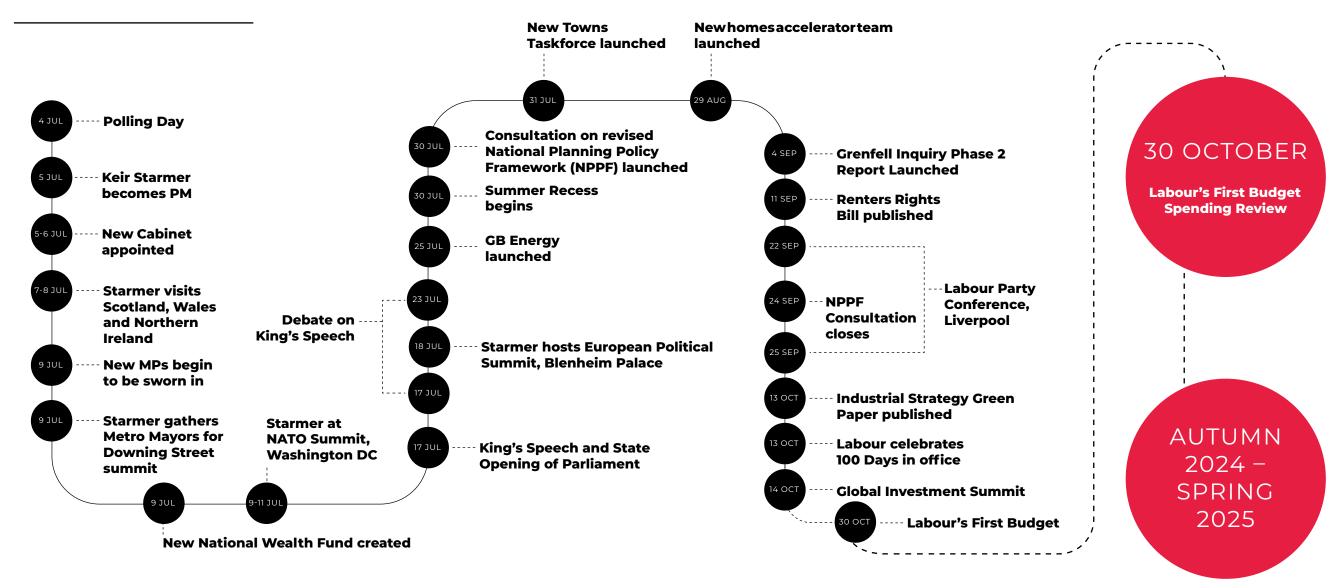
#### Poll: Half of Labour voters disappointed in Starmer's Government

Almost half of 2024 Labour voters are disappointed by the start made by Sir Keir Starmer's Government, according to a new YouGov poll.

Daily Telegraph, 11 October 2024

October 2024

## Beyond the First 100 Days



#### **Budget**

Labour's first Budget is on 30 October and there is considerable pressure on Chancellor Rachel Reeves to free up funding for investment in key infrastructure. Expect some announcements on infrastructure, including possibly decisions on HS2 and Euston Station.

#### **Spending Review**

Following the Budget, the Government will embark on a Spending Review to be published in the Spring. This will set out three-year spending plans across government departments with a clear plan for capital investment. Major decisions such as on large infrastructure projects are most likely to come as part of the Spending Review.

#### **LCA Expert Take**



#### Chris Madel

Partner & Board Director

"After quick moves post election on energy, with the overturning of a de facto ban on onshore wind, and housebuilding through new targets and a raft of policies to speed up the planing process, the public will be expecting the budget and spending review to include some clear plans for addressing the country's creaking infrastructure. Commitments to new capital projects and rolling stock on the railways and the end of the stop-start HS2 saga with confirmation of a Euston terminus and potentially even a reversal of the previous government's cancellation of the northern leg will be welcomed by most of the country. Plans to improve school buildings and hospitals are also expected to feature with a much-rumoured return to the PFI agenda last seen in the Blair days.

Any infrastructure commitments will be welcomed by Labour MPs keen to shift the narrative away from the PM's clothes and concert tickets and a new Government that will deliver on its growth and productivity mantras. But set against this will be the Government's need to cut costs and borrow within the fiscal rules set out by the Chancellor."

## Legislation and Other Announcements

The coming months will see the other bills promised in the King's Speech published, most notably the Planning and Infrastructure Bill. This will include proposals on reforming compulsory purchase, changes to planning fees and other measures to speed up delivery of new homes and infrastructure.

Also, the Government will respond to the consultation on the NPPF and has committed to publish a long-term housing strategy and a ten year infrastructure strategy alongside the Spending Review.



#### **LCA CONTRIBUTORS**

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#### LDN

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