





# LONDON VOICES The journey to full participation

the3million Young Europeans Network
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## LITERATURE REVIEW

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## Successful civic and democratic participation taking place across London

#### Intro

Prior to the pandemic, participatory initiatives were taking place on multiple fronts across London. At the borough level, work focusing on civic participation and community welfare (livelihoods, livability and social cohesion) was taking place. At the grassroots level, there have been ongoing efforts to address the barriers to participation faced by ethnic and racial minorities, migrant groups, low-income people and youth. The third sector has been bridging the divide between grassroots and governance level initiatives amidst calls for greater collaboration.

## A Local borough & metropolitan councils have been focusing on:

- Needs assessments conducted through community listening, evidence hearings, surveys and mapping by local councils helped identify existing services and outline recommendations. Some initiatives have created new programmes to protect low income renters and others to implement community resilience projects by strengthening support networks.<sup>(1)</sup>
- Environmental planning was also highlighted as an entry for democratic participation, identifying interconnections between environmental, social and economic issues in London. (2) In line with this, Newham Council implemented an effective Climate Change assembly. (3)
- Talk London, the online community forum of City Hall, has made connecting with local authorities and policy-planning more accessible. Meanwhile, the Local Government Association's Be a Councillor Programme has supported communities with civic education and contributed to more diverse leadership.

### B Civic participation is experienced unevenly for different communities:

- Barriers to an inclusive civic and democratic participation have been identified particularly for **1** minority ethnic groups, **2** migrants in London and **3** young people.
   Causes of low civic and democratic participation:
  - A low sense of belonging<sup>(5)</sup> is a barrier to all groups, but especially to migrants (via insufficient language services; lack of buy-in and social isolation; policing and surveillance of migrant communities; low socioeconomic status);

- For ethnic minorities, such issues are exacerbated by discrimination, institutional racism and policing, and potentially lower socio-economic status, leading to disenfranchisement from political processes;<sup>(6)</sup>
- Young people often perceive the political system to be alienating, and also face a lack of information about their rights and civic processes;<sup>(7)</sup>
- A lack of representative elected officials presents an obstacle for the democratic engagement of especially ethnic minorities and young people. This has further implications for policy-making;<sup>(8)</sup>
- Unstable housing conditions make participation difficult, with high mobility resulting in disconnection from [local & larger] political processes (i.e., private renters, the homeless, and low income);<sup>(9)</sup>
- Disabilities may also present barriers to involvement through lack of accessibility and mobility. Carers may not be informed about their role in encouraging voter registration;<sup>(10)</sup>
- Practices to overcome these barriers have highlighted intersectional and local measures that require popular buy-in and support from community leadership:
  - Community associations and informal community centers/spaces;<sup>(11)</sup>
  - Mutual aid groups & digital networks (especially during the pandemic);<sup>(12)</sup>
  - 3 Local projects addressing systemic & institutional racism via trainings and forums; (13)
  - Democratic participation projects (mayoral, local council levels), including youth councils and forums.<sup>(14)</sup>

#### • The participation sector and the demand for a democracy network:

- In 2018, the UK civic space was declared as 'narrow' from a democratic point of view. (15) While the democracy/participation sector involves a large number of organisations and groups, there is limited coordination and capacity due to: ① lack of funding, ② need for better connections within and across the sector, ③ growing pressures and restrictions on advocacy work.
- In 2019, the Lobbying Act has been met with calls for revision because of its new measures and requirements which, as major charities have pointed out, restricted them from representing marginal social categories.<sup>(16)</sup>
- In 2020, the Charity Commission Chair Baroness Stowell addressed a public warning which framed charities'

- advocacy activity as "culture wars". The Chair's public intervention was met with strong reactions from the sector's leaders. (17)
- In this context, organisations and the sector at large can benefit from **better public engagement**, and the **creation of an up-to-date map** of who is working in the field; this kind of collaboration will both make the sector more efficient and support creativity by engaging with different levels (grassroots, local authority, international hubs).<sup>(18)</sup>
- To support representation and advocacy work, donors can and should invest in the creation of both effective physical and digital network hubs in the democracy sector, and emphasize collaborative work through shared grants and funding for group initiatives.



## The impact of major events like Brexit, the pandemic and BLM protests on civic and democratic participation

#### Intro

Brexit, the pandemic and the Black Lives Matter protests, among other major events, have affected different groups of Londoners in distinct ways. Blows were dealt to civic and democratic participation at all levels--ranging from the marginalisation of the House of Commons during the pandemic to the ways in which the sense of belonging among everyday EU citizens and ethnic minorities has been undermined. Below, we list a breakdown of some of the key ways in which this has taken place.

#### (A) Impact on civic and democratic participation

- In many ways, the government's approach to the House of Commons during Covid has led to the marginalisation of MPs. This is especially via the erosion of parliamentary control when it comes to emergency legislation, regulations, and money, and denying MPs' equal participation rights, and wholesale and unnecessary use of proxy votes. (19) Parliamentary control can validly be limited in times of emergency, but there has been a sense that the government has been taking advantage of this. Further, these measures should be taken only in extenuating circumstances, and justifying taking advantage of these concessions a year on is difficult, as there is a real risk of this sidestepping of parliamentary control to become the norm.
- Local elections in England due in May 2020 were postponed due to Covid. In order to ensure elections go ahead in 2021, various provisions were made such as for postal and proxy votes (including emergency proxies) throughout the United Kingdom for the various electoral processes taking place. Fewer signatures were needed for candidates' nomination papers. However, the combination of polls also led to a highly complex election, especially in England. (20)
- Brexit has had wide-ranging effects, exacerbated by the pandemic (which variously necessitated or threatened delays to an already strained process).
   The Democratic Audit noted a backlash MPs faced by pro-Brexit media whenever they expressed any doubts about the consequences of Brexit, curtailing open debate. (21)

## **B** Impact on interventions aimed to increase civil and democratic participation

- While plans were already underway to ensure more students registered to vote, (22) the disproportionate effect of the pandemic on students required a revised approach to secure the civic and democratic participation of students. This rendered the need for participation in decision-making more urgent, with Student Union officers in various universities actively campaigning for the wellbeing of the students, speeding up action from their universities, and in some cases, from the government. Speaking up online also proved, for some, more accessible and less daunting, but also left others out, especially when they have not been able to access university resources due to travel restrictions, for example.
- Following the BLM protests, there was an attempt at accelerated civic engagement with targeted actions for underrepresented groups. The UK government tasked the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities to look into race relations in the United Kingdom, (23) producing what is now the infamous "Race Report", which a United Nations Working Group categorically rejected and condemned. (24) This would certainly need to be revisited, and the paucity of literature on disaggregated ethnic minorities addressed (for example literature reflecting the distinctions between the civic and political participation of Black British and Commonwealth citizens).
- The levelling up agenda has been made 4 times harder in some places outside the Greater South East, according to Centre for Cities research, though the pandemic left no part of the UK unaffected, including the poorest parts of the South East.

### **©** Potential effect of government-led policy in this area

- Long-term impact with **high risk for underrepresented groups:** the introduction of voter ID.
- Medium-term impact with high risk for ethnic minorities: the ban of postal vote harvesting.
- Long-term impact with benefits for disabled voters: current campaigns from the civil society are focused on making the process of democratic participation more inclusive and deliberative.
- Long-term impact with benefits for British citizens and permanent residents abroad who are getting votes for life.
- Long-term impact with high risk for London's poorest: the neglect of London in the levelling up agenda is questionable, particularly considering that the highest

- child poverty rate and the two most deprived local authorities in England are in London, with conditions only being exacerbated by the pandemic.
- Long-term impact with high risk for electors: the scrapping of the Fixed-term Parliaments Act bears the risk of disenfranchising electors, especially those living overseas, largely due to the lack of lead-in time, lowering voter registration and postal voting levels.
- High risk to the independence of the Electoral Commission and its ability to safeguard our democracy in view of the Government's plan to manage its oversight and curtail its powers.
- The disenfranchisement of EU citizens who arrive in England and Northern Ireland after 31 December 2020 and are not from an EU country with whom Britain has bilateral treaties (Spain, Portugal, Luxembourg and Poland). (25)



## Lessons from other cities and regional authorities in UK and worldwide

#### Intro

The literature on civic and democratic participation at local and regional levels in the UK and worldwide has so far identified a series of best practices described here below. These best practices can be described as **mechanisms** and **tools** to promote civic and democratic participation. Moreover, this literature suggests that such best practices can contribute to healing existing political divisions.

- At grassroots level, advocacy organisations embed civic and democratic participation methods in social and cultural events. This new mode of engagement forms politically literate audiences and brings forward social issues.
- Youth groups organise social activities to promote cohesion in diverse and disadvantaged communities.<sup>(26)</sup>
- Civil society institutions conduct research projects to identify new ways of engaging young citizens for democratic participation, such as volunteering around social justice as a route to the ballot box.<sup>(27)</sup>
- Community organisations run social events involving performances, short films, music videos and documentaries.<sup>(28)</sup>
- **Community organised theatre** (Slung Low's People's Leeds Theatre and Brighton People's Theatre, which have a long tradition in community civic engagement).<sup>(29)</sup>
- Organisations of local residents run festivals. (30)
- **B** Local authorities in the UK support civic and democratic participation by:
- **Promoting public discussions** on young people's right to vote (e.g. in Scotland, public discussions around the Scottish independence referendum<sup>(31)</sup> have highlighted the need to develop youth-centric policies in order to rebuild public trust in politicians and the political system).<sup>(32)</sup>
- Introducing participatory and deliberative processes to address poverty, emergency responses and inclusive community management. For example, during COVID19, the West Midlands Combined Authority opened a citizens' panel, (33) Kingston conducted a public survey, (34) Bristol implemented a citizen assembly, (35) and Fife has set up a participatory budgeting initiative. (36) The think tank *Involve* has thoroughly explored both the overall

- effect of Covid-19 on democracy across the UK and analysed local case studies.<sup>(37)</sup>
- Addressing intersectional issues: in March 2021, Bristol Council called for more local initiatives to "help communities still suffering from systemic poverty many years after the trafficking of African people", in order to address the "long shadows" cast by slavery and address inequality and exclusion within Bristol. [38] It is important to note that London, too, has been trying to address the issue of commemoration, and has actively tried to diversify commemoration in the public realm. [39]
- Fostering flexible, informal, and technologicallyfriendly community powered networks and new initiatives which can be embedded in future best practices. (40)
- Adopting progressive policies: as an example, Scotland recently extended voting rights to all people with right to remain, including people with refugee status and those serving short-term prison sentences.<sup>(41)</sup>
- Local authorities from around the world support civic and democratic engagement by
- Promoting an open government model: for instance, the Taiwanese promoted an **open government model** to prevent the "landslide effect of distrust"<sup>(42)</sup> by ① relying on already-existing and well-trusted systems and actors within the community such as pharmacists, ② roping local nightclubs into the COVID fight and ③ digital innovation was also crucial for civic and democratic participation.
- Ensuring methods of transparent handling of public resources, such as OECD countries' mechanisms to ensure parliamentary control over public spending. (43)
- Adopting digital platforms to promote civic participation, as developed by the Madrid City Council in Spain. (44)

#### • Inclusive devolution as a solution for deep divisions and an opportunity for social cohesive action, economic prosperity and transparent governance:

- Devolution, by giving more power to local and regional authorities, can support more accountable and transparent governance. But current devolution processes have not gone far enough, power is still highly concentrated in Whitehall and Westminster whose "un-strategic thinking" has hampered engagement processes.
- London has the highest rates of poverty and inequality in the country. (45) London and the South East accounted for 47% of jobs increase in the UK in the past decade; however, ¾ of these increases have been in management-level and professional white-collar positions, leaving lower-skilled labour and service sector workers in insecure and deeply unequal conditions.
- Recommendations suggested include reforming central-local relationships, including via a new constitutional convention. If these relations are reformed, there may be opportunity for more cohesive

action amongst various local authorities. IPPR's recommendations include: an inclusive devolution process for all England, devolution of fiscal powers; develop a locally-led regional tier of government; devolve powers to small cities, regions and on-urban areas; permanently reform central-local relationships with a new constitution.<sup>(46)</sup>

## Opportunities to develop potential inter-regional collaborations include:

- **Developing collaborative practices** with similar local councils (Bristol is a most appropriate choice, given the aforementioned practices).
- Seeking increased support from the UK Government to develop the Democracy Network (see 1.3) and to support collaboration across sectors and regions.<sup>(47)</sup>
- Establishing a **supraregional collaborative network** (an initiative like that of SANE The Solidarity Action Network<sup>(48)</sup> a platform for civil society actors and advocates with a up-to-date Solidarity Playbook, could be an effective way to share best practices at the regional and supraregional level).



## New and innovative models on civic and democratic participation in London, the UK and around the World

#### **Intro**

Recently, innovative models of civic and democratic participation have been adopted in London, the UK and worldwide to promote citizens' engagement, especially the engagement of younger citizens as well as that of different faith communities and disabled people. Below are examples of such innovative models and how they can be adapted to foster citizens' engagement in London and beyond.

#### Media and Political Literacy Education for Civic and Democratic Engagement in London's Schools and Colleges

- Academic studies show that experiencing civic education at school and civic education exams increase political knowledge, especially among students least likely to encounter this information outside school. (49) Other studies also show how school education focused on civic education leads to long-term increases in voter turnout and registration. (50)
- The GLA has taken strategic measures to ensure inclusive media and political literacy in schools. These include the first Political Literacy resources produced by a regional authority in collaboration with Shout Out UK, part of the GLA's London Voter Registration Week, to help young people understand their democratic rights, the political system, critically interact with traditional and social media, act on their global citizenship and activism. [51] Furthermore, in 2020, the Mayor of London initiated a diversity review of the curriculum in London. Conducted in partnership with The Black Curriculum, the review aimed to help identify relevant themes for my London Curriculum's three history resources. [52]
- To enable more Londoners to give their time and resources to help the social integration of refugees, the GLA is actively promoting community sponsorship, which brings together the goodwill and expertise of businesses, faith and local communities to welcome refugees. (53)
- The Citizenship Foundation suggests that when developing ideas of national identity amongst pupils it is imperative that the curriculum does not impose a single view of what it means to be 'English' and/or 'British' and that pupils are given opportunities to recognise the complexity of the term 'Britishness'.

The Foundation argues that such a comprehension would allow pupils 'whatever their primary cultures and values to become knowledgeable and competent citizens' (Citizenship Foundation, 2003:22). (54)

- The Mayor of London, the Greater London Assembly and ACT have developed a dedicated London citizenship education pack for teachers.<sup>(55)</sup>
- Recommendations to promote media literacy and civic and democratic engagement include governmentfunded media literacy campaigns, as well as support for public libraries. Additionally, interactive education formats (like blogging) are deemed effective in increasing political knowledge and participation long-term.<sup>(56)</sup>

### **B** The Role of Technology in Civic and Democratic Education and Participation

- Academic research has so far found tentatively positive evidence on how the internet and social media affect citizens' electoral turnout and other forms of political participation. For instance, research by Campante et al. (2018) show both how the internet has facilitated the emergence of online grassroots movements, but also how the effect of internet on turnout may change over time as new political actors emerge than can mobilise disenchanted or demobilised voters.<sup>(57)</sup>
- However, other research has also highlighted the negative effects of the internet and social media on turnout and political participation. This situation is mostly due to the crowding out of attention, as citizens may turn their attention to entertainment or other activities other than political participation.<sup>(58)</sup>
- Other research also suggests that digital politics and online participation may replicate, or worse exacerbate, existing inequalities in political participation.<sup>(59)</sup>

- Examples of digital divides in the UK: young people who engage in online political participation are usually more likely to be of high socio-economic status, and high in early family socialisation in politics; (60) gaps in who uses cultural offers online/museums online are even bigger than offline; (61) the already more engaged are also more likely to comment on news stories online; (62) a quarter of the UK adult population are internet non-users, or 'limited users' because they have unreliable broadband connections, share devices or lack digital skills. (63)
- Political participation, even in an online format or through apps, increases efficacy and feelings of belonging to the local community. A mixed-methods case study on mySociety, a UK online platform making it easier for citizens to contact their local councillor, shows that users are already more engaged but that online participation further increased efficacy and feelings of belonging to the local community, and also translated to offline participation.<sup>(64)</sup>
- Digital access needs to encompass digital and media literacy training for all Londoners, not just school children, as well as an expert assessment of how digital technology may replicate or exacerbate existing inequalities between Londoners, and what actions need to be taken to remedy these.<sup>(65)</sup>

#### Influencers' Impact on citizens' civic and democratic participation

- There is a body of evidence from the United States, and some examples from the UK, about the role of influencers (be they community and faith leaders, bloggers, social media, movie, music or sport celebrities). Replicable examples are voter registration initiatives at music festivals and concerts<sup>(66)</sup> and the initiative of some social media platforms<sup>(67)</sup> to promote voter registration thus fostering trust in democracy and empowering civil and democratic participation, especially around issues of social justice and representation.<sup>(68)</sup>
- The academic literature points out that community leaders have different and diverse roles and they are also expected to play them differently. As an example, community leaders can be involved in approaches to planning at the local council level, being linked with elected representatives in forms of authority and decision-making.<sup>(69)</sup>

## **D** Tools and Resources Necessary to ensure the Full Participation of Disabled Londoners

- Inclusivity must be embedded in the design of a participation process from the start - this requires adequate planning, funding, staff and resources.<sup>(70)</sup>
- People with disabilities should be actively recruited to be involved in the planning of a participatory process or event from the outset.
- Best practice examples include Camden's citizens' assembly on health and care organised by Kaleidoscope Health and Care. The event included hearing loops, British Sign Language interpreters and captioning, child care facilities, accessible facilities, as well as space to listen and respond to feedback.<sup>(71)</sup>

### Opportunities for Deliberative Democracy in London

- Deliberative democracy tools, such as citizens' assemblies, mini-publics or citizen forums can be an effective way of involving citizens in local decisionmaking and increasing trust in political institutions.<sup>(72)</sup>
- Deliberative democracy has been shown to increase out-group empathy and acceptance, as well as generate interest in future political participation.<sup>(73)</sup>
- A best practice example in London comes from Newham, which used a citizen's assembly to formulate its policy on the climate emergency. The Newham Democracy and Civic Participation Report recommends more permanent citizen assemblies to meet twice a year to support the formulation of policy in Newham.<sup>(74)</sup> A similar model could be adopted London-wide, as well as by other London boroughs.
- Collaboration with researchers and third sector organisations to plan, pilot and evaluate citizens' assemblies in London is key to making these new tools a success.

#### How increased civic and democratic participation can support London's Social and Economic Recovery, as well as Britain's Soft Power

• Resident-led community initiatives can contribute to employment and enterprise development, combat loneliness, increase wellbeing and contribute to future involvement in the community.<sup>(75)</sup>

- The London Recovery Programme includes two key tenets: Building Strong Communities and A New Deal for Young People. To build strong community networks and empower young people it is necessary to improve democratic participation opportunities at the community-level, as well as London-wide. (76)
- The Talk Together report also suggests increased citizens' influence in decision-making, as well as
- opportunities to engage in respectful, meaningful deliberation and discussion this is essential for rebuilding trust and bridging divides between different parts of the community.<sup>(77)</sup>
- Academics Foa and Mounk (2018:5) claim: 'that the experience of democracy leads to the strengthening of civil society networks and participation, and that these in turn reinforce democractic performance and legitimacy, again, leading to a positive feedback loop'.<sup>(78)</sup>



## Our Report's Contribution to Existing Research

While so far we have outlined the existing evidence on initiatives, tools and resources used in London, across the UK and the wider world to promote civic and democratic participation, here we highlight the contribution of our report.

- First, we produce a detailed mapping of the grassroots organisations in London that seek to foster the civic and democratic engagement of different communities in the city.
- Secondly, we show through our survey but also in the case studies below - how these organisations actually work on the ground with diverse communities from young people to disabled Londoners to promote the civic and democratic engagement the city needs to thrive. That is, we present concrete examples of how communities
- engage on the ground, lessons learned, and innovative initiatives undertaken that encompass the world of the arts and sports.
- Third, we also show how grassroots community organisations relate to upper-level institutions such as local councils, mayors' offices, ministries and governments.
- Additionally, we conclude with a set of recommendations for what local and national institutions can concretely do to support the work of grassroots' community organisations.

- (1) Hackney Council carried out a significant residential engagement project (based on surveys/interviews with 4500 residents and a deliberative panel) which informed the council's 2018-2028 Strategy. See "Hackney: A Place for Everyone: A Residents' View of Hackney in 2015-16" at https://drive.google.com/file/d/1a2Aadi\_GxgZfcTLD-s2kTj9w6LBoeEXi/view. Also see London Councils (2020). Hounslow Social Integration projects.
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- (4) Mitchell, J. (2018). Who's missing and why? Underrepresentation in voter registration, candidacy, informedness and turnout. Democracy Club. https://democracyclub.org.uk/reports/whos\_missing/#people-with-disabilities.
- (5) The Migration Observatory (2020). Migrants' Social Relationships & civic participation in the UK. https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-social-relationships-identity-and-civic-participation-in-the-uk/
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  Also see Mapping for Change project on Romany and Irish Travelers living in London https://mappingforchange.org.uk/projects/mapping-the-pathway-to-equality/
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- (24) BBC News, "Race Report: UN Experts Say Conclusions Could 'Fuel Racism," BBC News, April 19, 2021, sec. UK Politics, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-56800763
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- (30) GoDown Arts Centre in Nairobi, Kenya, with a project to explore the anxieties of belonging and identity in a postcolonial city via a festival "Nai ni Who?" (Who is Nairobi?) in Joy Mboya and Garnette Oluoch-Olunya, "Nai Ni Who?: Exploring Urban Identity, Place, and Social (Re)Construction in Nairobi," Critical Interventions 11, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 58–72, https://doi.org/10.1080/19301944.2017.1309943
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- (35) Bristol's project "Your City Our Future: https://bristol.citizenspace.com/bristol-city-council/your-city-our-future/
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