Is Tower Hamlets rich or poor? Part II: The Economy, Skills and Opportunities Evidence Pack



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Is Tower Hamlets rich or poor?

Part II: The economy, skills and opportunities evidence pack

This evidence pack provides background reading for the second public meeting of the Tower Hamlets Fairness Commission on employment, skills and opportunities in the borough as well as changes to the economy. It covers a series of topics and provides key facts and data, an overview of some of the key challenges and opportunities within each topic and an introduction to some of the key policy debates. Where relevant, some useful reports are included, with summaries.

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Section One The Tower Hamlets economy

Key facts

Worth over £6 billion per year, the Tower Hamlets economy is larger than that of Jersey, Monaco and Malta. It has undergone massive growth in the past decade, with a rise in employment of 75,000 jobs between 1998 and 2008 alone, a 60% increase.

The economy has managed to outgrow even a rapidly increasing population. There are around 1.4 jobs for every working-age person resident in the borough.

Despite constituting only 1% of London's land, the borough is responsible for 5% of the capital's total employment, with over 200,000 jobs.

The Tower Hamlets economy is dominated by large firms with 45% of jobs in companies with 500 staff or more. This is principally accounted for by Canary Wharf.

Financial and business services have been the main source of growth. The anticipated 25-50% growth in jobs in the borough over coming decades is likely to be in these areas.

By the time of the millennium, Tower Hamlets accounted for 40% of all new office space being built in London as a whole.

The regeneration of Canary Wharf has been the most important catalyst for economic growth in Tower Hamlets. It has become a global hub for large banks and financial services companies. Its growth has had positive effects on the rest of the Tower Hamlets economy, bringing in related support industries such as law, accountancy and consultancy services, as well as retail and leisure. A key challenge for the council, and the borough as a whole, is how to manage the impact of Canary Wharf and extend its benefits to all of the borough's residents.

When the financial crisis begun in 2008 it was suggested that Tower Hamlets was in an especially vulnerable position given its reliance on the financial services industry, at the time in turmoil and subject to new regulations and scrutiny. That and the 30,000 public sector jobs subject to possible government cuts, placed the borough at risk. Yet research by Oxford Economics suggests that Tower Hamlets has successfully weathered the economic storm, exhibiting a general slowdown but no downturn in growth. The report also forecast a slight slowing of output growth in 2012 in line with the after-effects of the recession and a dip in jobs in the public sector and finance but this has not come to fruition. Along with the City of London, Tower Hamlets is expected to outperform London as a whole in the coming years.

Occupations

Most jobs (92%) in Tower Hamlets are in what is broadly defined as the services sector.

The largest section of this is financial and IT which accounts for 55% of all jobs. The borough also has a high proportion of jobs in the creative and cultural industries, with between 18,000 and 30,000 roles.

Although overall there has been a dip in employment, in line with London and UK, there is a sharp distinction between different sectors. Business services and property sectors, among others, saw strong increases whilst there have been continued decreases in employment in wholesale and manufacturing, which have both experienced a decline of over 20% in recent years.

Self-employment figures are lower than the London average, and this is especially true for men, where the gap is 3.1 percentage points. Nationally, self-employment tends to be low skilled, but in Tower Hamlets the self-employed tend to have higher levels of skills and incomes.

Commuting

Under one-fifth of all the jobs in Tower Hamlets are taken by those living within the borough. Most are taken by those commuting in, with the skills and qualifications to work in the growth employment areas. The specialisation of the Tower Hamlets economy towards financial services has increased the demand for workers with skills not present in the borough. The daytime population of Tower Hamlets is 380,349, compared with the resident population of 237,896. The borough has a commuting profile more like central London boroughs rather than the traditional east London model.

Commuting from within Tower Hamlets to other parts of London is also a significant trend, but only amongst those who are actually working; the problem of immobility is generally a feature of those who are out of work and unwilling to travel outside the borough. Two-thirds of the employed population in Tower Hamlets travel to work outside the borough, with more than half working in central London, mainly in the City. A third of all commuters out of Tower Hamlets work in business services, whereas most who commute into Tower Hamlets work in financial services

The historic changing economy

During the period of economic expansion between 1801 and 1910 the population of the area saw a twenty-fold increase to 600,000 people. However, industrial change, including shifts in world trade to other locations and the impact of containerisation upon shipping, changed the area entirely. By 1981, the population had fallen to 150,000. There are few precedents for this kind of demographic boom and bust, before or since.

There has been a 40% decline in manufacturing since 1998. It has dwindled to 10,000 jobs, half of which are concentrated in newspaper publishing. Manufacturing accounts for only 2% of the borough's employment. This is in the context of a UK-wide shift from predominantly industrial production to a model of post-industrial production. Examples include jobs in service sector, call centre employment, the creative and cultural industries, digital and high-tech labour in the ICT sector and care work. These are all employment growth areas that require different skills of recruits. One of the main challenges of this structural change is the loss of livelihoods and the redundancy of skills that has followed. On

the other hand, post-industrial employment has arrived heralding the promise of new, freer, more pleasurable and more flexible working practices, and a move away from hazardous industrial conditions.

Whilst there are clearly benefits to the ongoing transformation of the economy, it has had some pernicious effects too. The decline of manufacturing mostly likely accounts for the high numbers of older people who have been out of work for a long time, and particularly, the disproportionate number of men claiming incapacity benefits (four-fifths of the 12,000 claimants in the borough).

The wider shift from manufacturing towards a post-industrial service economy has been compounded by land use and the costs of business space. The inflation of land value has precluded start-up enterprises and small and medium businesses from affording work and office space in the borough. Although there are some areas in the borough where SME businesses have been able to develop, such as Fish Island, these are being reduced by the high demand for housing. The continued growth of financial services in Canary Wharf and high-density residential development elsewhere has taken precedence over other economic uses.

Section Three Changing nature of employment

Despite the slight recovery since the 2008 crash, inequality and poverty will continue to increase in coming years according to the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.¹ This is due to the changes taking place in the structure of employment. For men, the manufacturing jobs that once sustained median incomes, skills sets and career progression have disappeared. For women, the white collar administrative work that performed the same function has also been reduced. In both cases, technology is a key catalyst of change. For some Tower Hamlets represents a polarised labour market. There are bankers, and the cleaners who clean their offices, and little in between².

However, there are opportunities to effect change in this area, through apprenticeship programmes and the living wage campaign. Inequality is often discussed in the context of the national distribution of wages and profits, but it is also associated with the distribution of wages within companies.

Insecurity and precariousness

Contemporary employment has been characterised in academia as being subject to increasing *precariousness*, whereby many jobs lack stability and security. With the move from an industrial to post-industrial economy, the labour market has become more flexible. Traditional skilled and unskilled manufacturing jobs have been moved abroad. This has destabilised the labour market and introduced this sense of precariousness between work, income and the economy. People find themselves in a permanent grey-area between employment and unemployment. According to economist Guy Standing, the contemporary economy has brought about a life of unstable, contingent labour which results in a state of perpetual insecurity whereby workers are locked into jobs with no prospect of progression, or no work at all.³

The proportion of the population subject to poverty or worklessness at any one time is not static.⁴ Nationally, at any one time it is likely that 1 in 6 live in low-income circumstances, yet over the past four years 1 in 3 will have been in that position at some point. Similarly, although 1.6 million people will be claiming JSA at any one time, 4.8 million people have spent at least one period on JSA in the last two years. This churn and turnover of people in and out of poverty and worklessness is a good indicator of insecurity and precariousness that afflicts many sections of the population, including many in Tower Hamlets.

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation have said more should be done to regulate the labour market, encouraging employers to offer permanent employment which offers a route out of poverty, rather than the rapidly proliferating temporary, contract, ad-hoc and agency work. An example would be full implementation of the Agency Workers Directive which came into

¹ Mike Brewer *et al*, Poverty *and Inequality in 2020: Impact of Changes in the Structure of Employment*, May 2012

² Paul Sissons, Work Foundation. Source: personal correspondence.

³ Guy Standing, *The Precariat*, Bloomsbury, 2011

⁴ Joseph Rowntree Foundation, *Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion*, November 2012

force in a redacted form in October 2011 and which, in its full application, would offer all agency workers the same protections and terms and conditions afforded to permanent staff.⁵

The history of Tower Hamlets illustrates that this precariousness is not necessarily a new phenomenon. At the peak of the area's powers as a hub for global trade, Tower Hamlets was home to a variety of economic practices and activities which sat outside more traditional business culture of the City. With this developed a labour force reliant upon casual low-skill, low-wage work in a variety of Dock -related roles and without any of the security or rewards enjoyed by those employed in the more typical industrial occupations found elsewhere.

Job Inequality

When jobs are scarce and so much effort is expended getting people back to work, one job is treated as being as good as any other. However, policymakers have begun to think about the jobs market in a different way, considering the inequality that exists between 'good' and 'bad' jobs in the UK economy.

Rather than the white-collar jobs cull initially forecast, the recession has actually seen the retention of high-skilled, high-income posts and the decline of skilled and non-skilled manual and non-manual jobs earning median wages. Combined with an increase in low-skill, low-wage 'elementary' jobs at the lower end of the service sector, these trends have exacerbated what has been referred to as the 'hollowing out' of the UK labour market. The jobs available are either 'good' ones for the minority at the higher reaches of the skill and wages spectrum, and 'bad' ones for everyone else. The recession has therefore sped up a number of structural changes hollowing out the middle ranks of the occupational structure giving the UK labour market an 'hourglass' shape.⁶

One of the characteristics of 'bad' work is that it offers no earnings mobility. People used to spend the beginning of their career at the lower rungs of the occupational ladder before an ascent through the organisational hierarchy. Now this low-wage, low-skill service-sector employment rarely offers any clear path of progression or opportunity for promotion and development. Estimates suggest that two-thirds of those in the bottom three deciles of income in 2001/2002 remained there in 2008/2009. This is indicative of the extent to which the new 'bad' jobs, far from acting as a path into employment with greater pay and better prospects, is instead a dead-end.⁷

The Work Foundation has proposed how policymakers can step in to create decent work with clear progression routes and prospects. They suggest the UK should look across the Atlantic where, in Canada and the USA, moves have been made to upgrade service sector work with regard to pay and progression. Employers, training providers and the bodies which set sector-specific skills structures should work together to set clear and rigorous development paths so that mobility is made both more transparent and more achievable.

⁵ Joseph Rowntree Foundation, *Globalisation, UK poverty and communities*, March 2011

⁶ Paul Sissons, *The Hourglass and the Escalator: Labour market change and mobility*, The Work Foundation, July 2011

⁷ Sissons, 2011

Lifelong learning is also suggested as an effective means by which workers trapped in lowwage 'bad' jobs can attain new skills with which they could develop their career paths.

Section Four Skills and qualifications

Key facts

In 2011 Tower Hamlets exceeded the national average in terms of educational attainment at the secondary level, with over two-thirds of children achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade C or above, making Tower Hamlets one of the most improved areas in the country. This increase in educational attainment has not yet translated into job prospects and career advancement.

In 2011, The Mayor introduced the Mayor's Education Award to replace the scrapped government EMA scheme which provided young people from 16 - 19, with financial support to stay on in full time education. This award provides young people who meet an income, resident and attendance criteria with £200 pounds twice a year to contribute towards the costs of travel, books and educational equipment. In the first year the scheme provided support to 760 pupils.

46% of working-age residents possess a qualification at NVQ Level 4 or above in line with the London average, and 76% have a qualification at NVQ Level 2 or above, slightly below the London rate. 14% possess no qualification at all, which is higher than the London average of 9.3%⁸

Only 40% of those without qualifications are in employment.

The skills gap

The rise of Canary Wharf has had many positive effects on local employment through the spread of associated service industries but the ability of residents to access the benefits is limited by a shortfall in their skills and qualifications. The skills of many residents are ill-suited to the new jobs being created. This in turn increases the competition for elementary jobs requiring a lower level of skills and educational attainment. The demand for low-skilled jobs among those seeking work far exceeds supply in Tower Hamlets. Yet in growth sectors, demands of employers will exceed the supply of potential workers locally.

Of the 94,000 vacancies expected to open up in Tower Hamlets between 2007 and 2017, three-quarters will be targeted at qualified, experienced professionals. As the majority of jobs are created by large multi-national companies, these global companies recruit from a global market. Furthermore, in the national economy at large there has been a shift towards high-value services and manufacturing that increasingly replace low-skilled service and manufacturing jobs. Although the economy of Tower Hamlets will benefit over the course of these trajectories, the residents of Tower Hamlets will not, unless the skills set of those living in the borough radically changes.

⁸ Annual Population Survey 2012

The other option is that the economy changes to suit the skills of residents. This would require an active industrial strategy to encourage growth of other sectors which provide a wider range of job opportunities for local residents. A shift in the local economy capable of meeting the needs of residents would require a more balanced model of growth in the future, with a broader, more diverse range of economic activities. Public planning would be an important element of this as business space would be needed for new enterprises to grow. Fish Island may provide a potential basis for the encouragement of new growth sectors in the borough.

A viscous cycle of low skills and low wages

Research by the Work Foundation on skills under-utilisation suggests that between 35 and 45% of existing employees feel that the skills they possess are not used to their full extent. This is especially acute at the lower end of the jobs spectrum in service occupations such as retail and hospitality, where employers have little or no demand for many of the existing or potential skills of their workforce and first tend to compete on the grounds of cost rather than quality. Wright and Sissons⁹ label this a vicious cycle in which the low wages that stem from the low level of skill demanded in the production of poor-quality low-cost products and services, leads to a limited marketplace for higher-quality products and services which require more skill to produce and perform. Thus, the UK economy is stuck in a downward spiral of quality, wages and skills utilisation. One solution is to raise the minimum wage, encouraging employers to move off a low skills path.

Addressing the skills gap

Policies aimed at the addressing skills problem face severe constraints. Free provision of training and support has been cut back nationally and there is low demand for skills in jobs at the bottom end of the labour market. Active intervention in jobs design would be required to address this.

Through planning and procurement the public sector could influence the way that jobs are designed in local companies.¹⁰ Joe Cox of the Compass think tank argues that UK national and local government procurement policy has been 'value free' in recent years, with the short term cost of delivery the only criteria for investment, rather than medium and long term considerations such as the country's skills base.¹¹

Local areas might boost progression opportunities through career ladder programmes. Canary Wharf companies typically possess well-developed internal labour markets with clearer career ladders. Harnessing these structures for the benefit of low-skilled workers, by opening up, reinforcing and extending these career ladders inside and outside these firms could be prioritised.¹² Tower Hamlets has made progress in this area, recently outsourcing its ICT services to a contractor with offices in Canary Wharf, but requiring that training and development opportunities are made available to staff and apprenticeships for local young

⁹ Jonny Wright and Paul Sissons, *The Skills Dilemma: Skills Under-Utilisation and Low-Wage Work*, The Work Foundation, January 2012

¹⁰ source: personal correspondence

¹¹ Joe Cox, Plan B: What Britain Can Learn from the German Economic Recovery, Compass, 2012

¹² source: personal correspondence with Sissons of the Work Foundation

people are created. In January 2013 the council introduced a new procurement plan which formalised the requirement for contracts to have social value.

Another way in which the skills problem could be addressed is by stimulating employer demand for skills so they are used effectively and there becomes greater impetus towards upskilling and retraining. The presence of high-income earners in Canary Wharf creates a market for higher end goods and services locally, increasing the demand for higher skilled workers in the local economy and this could be fostered. For example, planning may be oriented in such a way that it favours artisan bakeries rather than high-street enterprises. Here, the skills of worker are more in demand as a more complex set of working practices and personal expertise and knowledge go into the creation of the product.

Section Five Opportunities

Any future national economic strategy will have implications for Tower Hamlets and may change again the character of the local labour market. There may be more stringent regulation of the financial sector or efforts to re-balance the economy, creating a more diverse range of workplaces and more intermediate roles. On the other hand, the financial sector based in Canary Wharf and the City is one of the UK's few globally competitive industries and that is unlikely to change in the near future.¹³

Public and private sector

The split between public and private sector employment in Tower Hamlets is similar to central London boroughs. 86% of jobs are in the private sector. The public sector has grown by two-fifths in the last ten years. The growth of the public and the private sectors are interlinked – it was with government support that Canary Wharf was redeveloped, infrastructure put in place and the financial sector deregulated. More recently, the Crossrail project is bringing jobs and promoting growth in the area.

Regeneration

The booming economy of Tower Hamlets is directly attributable to the regeneration of areas such as Canary Wharf, and its future will be influenced by the regeneration of opportunity areas like the City Fringe, the Lower Lea Valley and the Isle of Dogs (where it is anticipated that 100,000 more jobs and 3,500 homes will be created by 2016). Regeneration though requires land and increased infrastructure; demand for business space is in direct competition with space for house building, increasing the cost of building houses. Furthermore, demand for investment properties, particularly by overseas investors, drives up house prices even more.

Clustering

One way of increasing growth is clustering of industries in a particular area, attracting others. This already happens in Canary Wharf and the City Fringe and is developing in Fish Island.

Canary Wharf is often viewed as being isolated from the rest of the borough's economic activity, a financial hub which inhabits a global space removed from its immediate surroundings. Yet it has this clustering effect, whereby the concentration of financial services attracts other industries to the area including consultancy services and creative, media and design industries. Estimates suggest that for every job in banking or insurance work, another job in the tiers below is created and supported. This multiplier effect is one of the reasons given for the openness of local planning policy to the presence and further development of Canary Wharf and other such business centres.¹⁴

¹³ Tower Hamlets Local Economic Assessment 2010

¹⁴ Tower Hamlets Enterprise Strategy January 2012

Clustering is also having a beneficial effect in the City Fringe, which has a more diverse range of businesses. It spans four boroughs – Camden, Islington, Hackney and Tower Hamlets – and in Tower Hamlets includes the wards of Spitalfields and Banglatown, St Katherine and Wapping, Weavers and Whitechapel. The area has established itself as a desirable location to live and work principally through the provision of affordable space for artists, galleries and creative industries. This has grown a range of entrepreneurial activities, not least the rapid expansion of high-tech enterprises, which is now known as Tech City.

In the search for lower rents, and more flexible spaces, this creativity and innovation is already spreading east to places such as Fish Island. This will bring more regeneration potential and job opportunities to other parts of the borough, but also increases the challenge of ensuring the benefits of such growth are accessible to all of the borough's residents.

Creative, cultural and 'knowledge-intensive' industries

Creative industries have long been associated with bringing new employment and other opportunities to formerly deprived areas.¹⁵ The borough already has a high proportion of jobs in the creative and cultural industries, with 30,000 such roles in Tower Hamlets, mainly concentrated around the City Fringe. These industries have been growing in Tower Hamlets in the last decade at a much faster rate than in London as a whole, contributing more to the local jobs market than the education, health and social care sectors combined.

The Tower Hamlets Enterprise Strategy describes the creative and cultural industries as accompanying financial and business services as a 'second plank' of the borough's move towards more 'knowledge-intensive' industries. Other examples include financial services, professional services, health and education and digital industries. The proportion of knowledge intensive work in the UK is 52%, 60% in London and 70% in Tower Hamlets.

Given the risks to the growth of the financial sector, on which Tower Hamlets is very dependent, the creative industries are an area which could be nurtured to create growth and increase the diversity of industries.

Internships and apprenticeships

If the growth of Tower Hamlets economy is to be equitable, opportunities will need to be made more accessible to a wider group of people, particularly young people. Youth unemployment is high in Tower Hamlets; as well as appropriate skills and qualifications this is often attributed to a lack of social networks and confidence to access certain sectors or roles.

Many young people access jobs in the knowledge economy through unpaid work experience and internships. These usually require financial support and are not feasible for many, particularly those from low-income families in Tower Hamlets. A report by the Social Market Foundation identified three constraints faced by young people in accessing these opportunities: money, networks (who you know) and information (careers support, education etc.).¹⁶

¹⁵ Tower Hamlets Annual Business Inquiry 2007

¹⁶ Shorthouse, 2012

The role of the council

The council is a major employer and business in the borough, employing over 8,000 people with an annual budget of over £1 billion. It is therefore well-placed and committed to providing and facilitating employment and business opportunities for local people and enterprises. This includes employment projects, training and job brokerage services, procurement initiatives, use of Section 106 agreements and the London Living Wage campaign.

The council has a strong track record of recruiting locally, often through innovative projects, ensuring it has a workforce which reflects the local community. These include:

- A pre-apprenticeship scheme for vulnerable young people needing additional support to apply for employment and training opportunities. The programme works with people with learning disabilities, young people leaving care or with behavioural problems.
- A long-established apprenticeship scheme in both administration and health and social care. Between 2010 and 2012 there were 136 apprentices, 48% went on to secure employment, three-quarters of which are with the council. 38% continued their studies to a higher level.
- An internship programme, offering paid work placements for young people who are in, or leaving, care. These are young people who are at university or have graduated, but who often find it harder to secure employment.
- A graduate management programme, involving an 18-month employment contract and a postgraduate diploma in management. Since the programme began in 2000, 160 local people have taken part, many of whom have gone on to secure employment with the council.
- Specialist schemes for financial management, trainee solicitors, social care and teaching.

The council also runs a job brokerage and skills training service, Skillsmatch, which works closely with Job Centre Plus, Tower Hamlets College, businesses and third sector agencies. It specialises in hospitality, retail, security and cleaning and has recently opened a dedicated construction desk. In 2011/12 Skillsmatch successfully placed 596 people into sustainable employment. It also delivers a GLA Employability Programme and is approved to provide subcontracted services to one of the three Work Programme providers in the area.

The council spends approximately £445 million each year with a wide range of suppliers. It is committed to using its role as a major procurer to secure economic benefits for local people and businesses. This approach has a number of objectives:

- Creating local employment and training opportunities by incorporating provisions in contracts for local workforce, training and apprenticeship opportunities and helping contractors use local services.
- Supporting local businesses, especially small and medium sized enterprises and alternative providers, by making processes more transparent and accessible.
- Promoting workforce diversity and equality of opportunity by incorporating provisions for a 'workforce which reflects the community' into contracts and providing support for BME businesses.

• Promoting fair employment practices by seeking to incorporate payment of the Living Wage into contracts and promoting good workforce practices. The council has been a signatory to the London Living Wage campaign since 2008 and implemented a London Living Wage policy in December 2011.

Fairness and sustainability

The New Economics Foundation (NEF) has developed a series of policy ideas aimed at creating a 'better' economy, based on shorter working hours, more sustainable patterns of production and consumption and a lower, but greener, model of growth. Andrew Simms from NEF suggests that the fairness and sustainability agendas are inextricably linked. A fairer economy is more sustainable, and a more sustainable economy is fairer¹⁷.

NEF argue that shorter working hours would gear the economy to a state of lower productivity, and move away from the cycle of work, consumption and endless growth. This is replaced by a focus on a core economy of care, maintenance and repair, freeing up people's time for family and personal life which could step in andprovide security and safety nets, currently being depleted by cuts in government spending.

This brings time as well as natural resources into an alternative approach to productivity and growth. NEF have proposed a 21 hour week and have researched the feasibility of this. They suggest that considerable benefits for health and wellbeing could be gained from distributing jobs more equitably throughout society. They argue:

A 'normal' working week of 21 hours could help to address a range of urgent, interlinked problems: overwork, unemployment, over-consumption, high carbon emissions, low well-being, entrenched inequalities, and the lack of time to live sustainably, to care for each other, and simply to enjoy life¹⁸.

An innovative project linked to the 21 hours idea is for 'national gardening leave', which ties the shorter working week together with the increasing popularity of allotments and localised food production¹⁹. The project recommends that organisations offer spaces for gardening and growing to their employees, highlighting the advantages of shared activity for the cooperation and morale of the workforce. More broadly, NEF suggest people can spend more time on care, maintenance, re-using and recycling, with the extra time they are given. Goods would spend more time in circulation and reduce the cost of living²⁰.

¹⁷ Source: personal correspondence

 ¹⁸ Anna Coote, Jane Franklin and Andrew Simms, 21 Hours: Why a shorter working week can help us all to flourish in the 21st century, New Economics Foundation, 2012
 ¹⁹ Andrew Simms and Molly Conisbee, National Gardening Leave: Why Britain would be better off if we all

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 ²⁰ Andrew Simms and Ruth Potts, The New Materialism: How our relationship with the material world can

²⁰ Andrew Simms and Ruth Potts, *The New Materialism: How our relationship with the material world can change for the better*, New Economics Foundation, 2012

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- Corporate Research Unit Research Briefing 2011-04, August 2011: Employment and Enterprise in Tower Hamlets Evidence from National Statistics Business Demography and Business Register & Employment Survey
- Tower Hamlets Fairness Commission Communities and Housing Evidence Pack 2012
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