

# What do Londoners Think About Climate Change?

Results from London Councils' 2021 climate change polling



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COUNCILS**

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## Introduction

Boroughs are delivering action on climate change. 30 London boroughs have now committed to net zero targets before 2050, and at least 25 have published Climate Action Plans setting out how they will meet those ambitions, with all boroughs due to publish a Climate Action Plan in due course.

In December 2019, London Councils published a [Joint Statement on Climate Change](#). This statement made a commitment to “Act ambitiously to meet the climate challenge that the science sets out, and find political and practical solutions to delivering carbon reductions that also secure the wellbeing of Londoners”.<sup>1</sup> This statement also commits to collaborative action in seven key areas: retrofitting; new build/planning; transport; energy; consumption emissions; green economy; and resilience and adaptation. Boroughs, with London Councils, are now leading programmes in these areas, effectively driving action around both mitigation and adaptation.

To most effectively drive that work forward, local government actors need to understand public opinion, and how that is shifting as climate change continues to rise as a public policy priority and action is taken.

To support this, we are pleased to present the findings of London Councils’ second annual opinion polling of Londoners on the topic of climate change.

## Methodology

This study was conducted in London by Kantar via LondonBus, an Internet omnibus survey. A sample of 1011 London adults aged 16+ were interviewed, and interviewing was conducted by online self-completion from 2nd - 7th September 2021.

The sample has been weighted to represent the adult population of London 16+. Where unweighted base figures are less than 100, data should be treated cautiously, as large margins of error are possible.

We surveyed Londoners across six areas: concern, impact from, and motivation to act; their understanding of climate change; sources of information on climate change; responsibility for solving climate change; how climate change impacts decision-making; and their current and potential behaviour. A full list of the questions can be found in the appendix. By repeating questions from our 2020 survey, we can begin drawing trends.

## Key findings

We first carried out this annual polling of Londoners on the topic of climate change in 2020.<sup>ii</sup> In these latest data more Londoners say that they are very concerned about climate change, more say that they have been more concerned about climate change in the past 12 months, and more say that their lives have been greatly affected by climate change.

### Key statistics:

- 1. Awareness of climate change is very high among Londoners, with 94% of Londoners saying they are somewhat or very aware of climate change. Significantly more Londoners than last year say they are very aware of climate change (49% in 2020, 53% in 2021).**
- 2. Not only are Londoners aware of climate change; they also are concerned about it: 82% of Londoners say they are concerned about climate change, and concern is high in all age groups.**
- 3. People are becoming more worried about climate change: 66% of Londoners say their level of concern has changed slightly/a lot, a significant increase from 57% in 2020. In this year's data 28% of Londoners say their level of concern has increased a lot, a big increase from 20% in 2020.**
- 4. High levels of concern around climate change mean that Londoners are strongly motivated to act: 89% of Londoners are very or somewhat motivated to help prevent climate change, and there is a high motivation to help across all age groups.**
- 5. 61% of Londoners say that their day-to-day decisions are affected by climate considerations.**
- 6. 55% of Londoners say their day-to-day life in London has been impacted by the changing climate, and significantly more people than last year say their life has been greatly affected (15% in 2020, 20% in 2021).**
- 7. 50% of Londoners think COVID-19 has made it financially more difficult for them to take action to help prevent climate change, compared to 40% who think it hasn't.**

## Londoners' awareness and concern around climate change

Awareness of climate change is very high among Londoners, with **94% of Londoners saying they are somewhat or very aware of climate change**, the same figure as in last year's polling. However, significantly more people say they are **very** aware of climate change – up to 53% in 2021 from 49% in 2020. Men are significantly more very aware about climate change with 58% of men reporting they are very aware of climate change in comparison with 49% of women, however when combining 'very aware' and 'somewhat aware', there is not a significant gender difference on awareness. Those in social grade ABC1 are more aware of climate change than those C2DE, with 97% of ABC1s saying they're very or somewhat aware of climate change, compared with 91% of those C2DE.

Those people aged 35-44 and 25-34 are significantly more very aware than other age groups, at 60% and 59% respectively, against 48% of those 16-24, 53% of those 45-54, 42% of those 55-64 and 49% of those 65 and over. However, as with gender differences when combining 'very aware' and 'somewhat aware', there is not a significant age difference on awareness.

Awareness of climate change is very high across all the sub regions<sup>iii</sup> of London, with no significant differences between them:

- 97% in North Central say they are somewhat or very aware of climate change
- 94% in Central
- 91% in North West
- 95% in South West
- 94% in South East
- 94% in North East

Not only are Londoners aware of climate change; they also are concerned about it: **82% of Londoners say they are concerned about climate change**. This matches last year's polling exactly. The polling data shows that while concern is high in all age segments, there is some variation in concern by age group, with those aged 35-44 significantly more concerned about climate change, than any other age group.

Londoners reject climate denial: only 2 per cent of Londoners responded that they do not believe in climate change when asked 'How concerned are you about climate change?'. This matches last year's result.

### Q3. How concerned are you about climate change?

Base: All Londoners 16+ (n=1011)

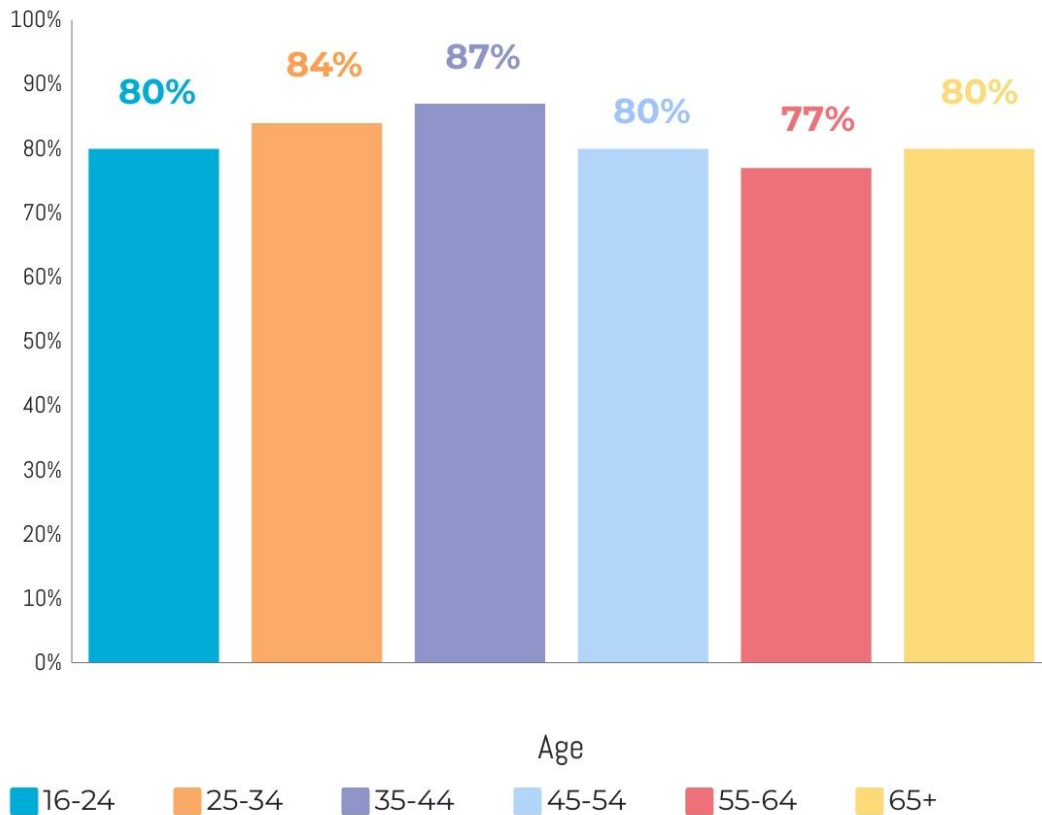


Figure 1: percentage of people who are very or somewhat concerned about climate change by age (2021 data)

There is also a statistically significant difference between social grade, with 85% of ABC1s and 79% of C2DEs concerned about climate change, and between parents, 86% of whom are concerned about climate change and non-parents (80%).

People are becoming more worried about climate change: **66% of Londoners have had an increased level of concern about climate change in the last 12 months.** This is a statistically significant increase on last year's polling, where 57% had been more concerned about climate change over the last 12 months. As part of this, 28% of Londoners say their level of concern has increased a lot, significantly more than 20% last year.

Different age groups have become more concerned than others over the last 12 months, with 70% of those aged 25-34 being more concerned compared to 53% of those aged 55-64, as the following graph shows. Concern between age groups other than 55-64 is not statistically significant.

#### Q4. Has your level of concern over climate change changed in the last 12 months?

Base: All Londoners 16+ (n=1011)

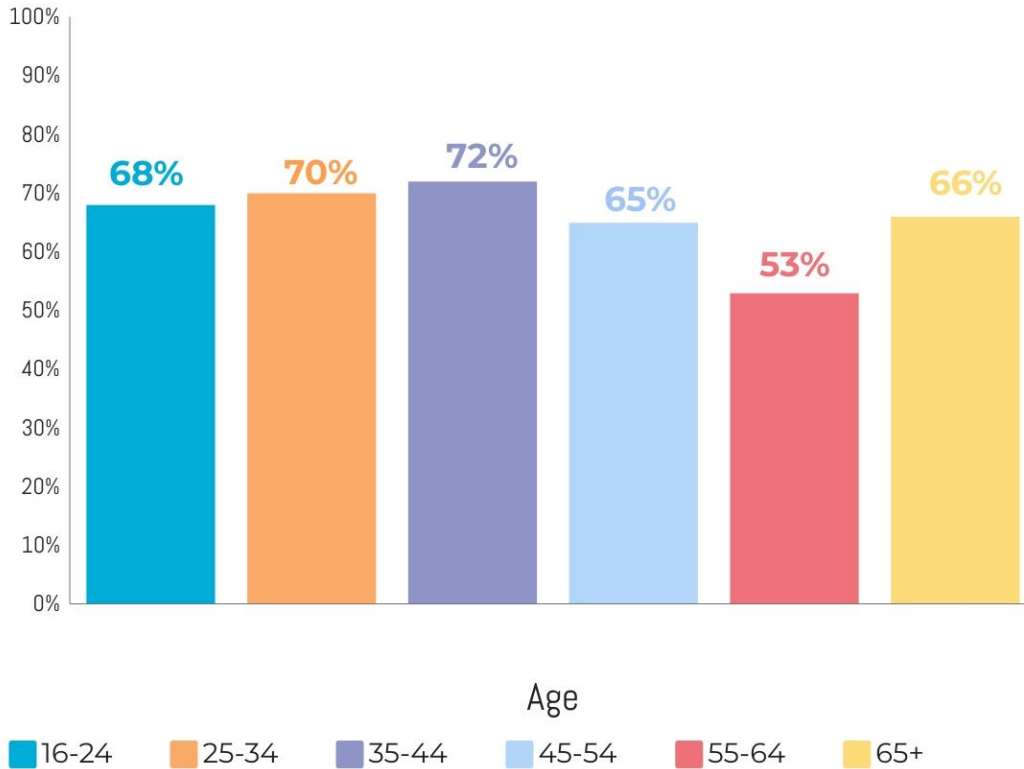


Figure 2: percentage of people whose concern about climate change has increased in the last 12 months by age (2021 data)

There are also some other significant differences in how concern has risen among some groups. 75% of parents have become more worried about climate change in the past 12 months, versus 62% of non-parents. 70% of people in the ABC1 group have become more worried about climate change in the past 12 months, compared with 61% in the C2DE group. These changes are driven by rises in the percentage of people who say they are very concerned.

## Londoners are motivated to tackle climate change

High levels of concern around climate change are leading to strong motivation to act in Londoners, as **89% of Londoners are very or somewhat motivated to help prevent climate change**, similar to the 87% from last year's data.

Those aged 35-44 and 25-34 are significantly more motivated to help, with 93% and 92% (respectively) of them somewhat or very motivated. While those in other ages groups are statistically significantly less motivated to help, there is still a high motivation to help across all age groups.

### Q5. How motivated are you to help prevent climate change?

Base: All Londoners 16+ (n=1011)

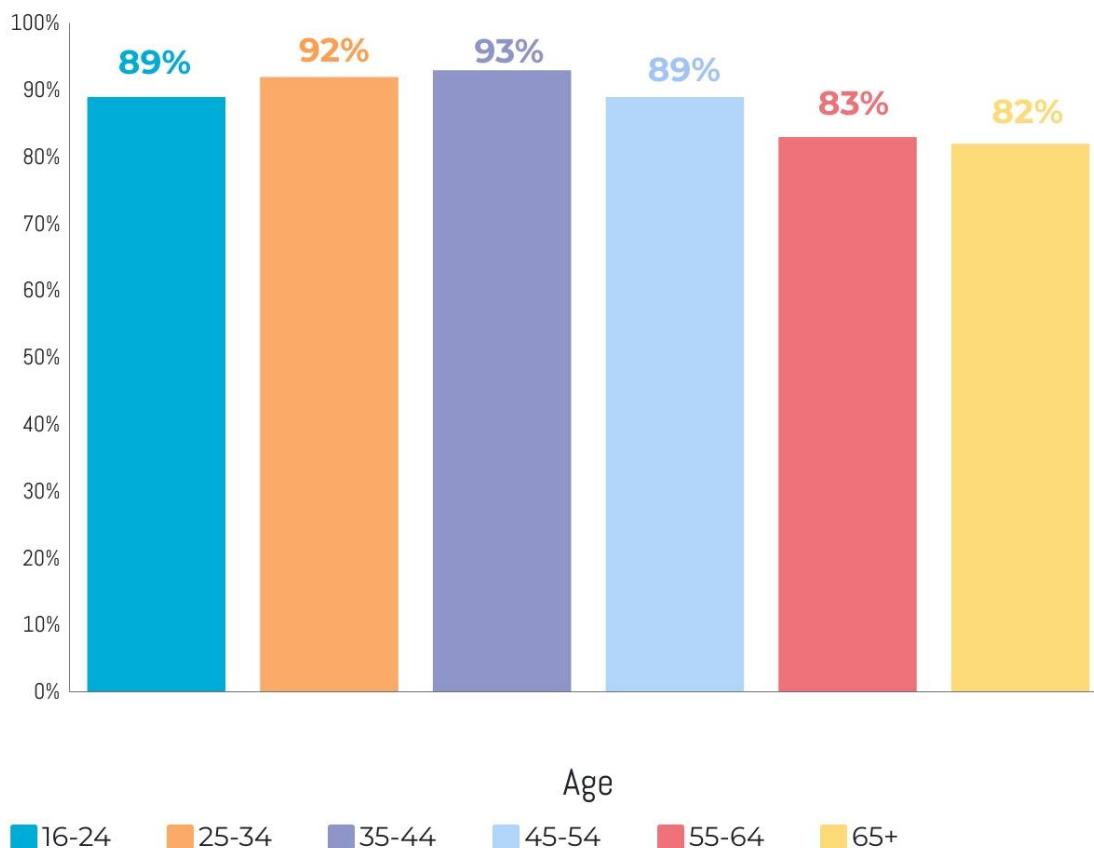


Figure 3: percentage of people are very or somewhat motivated to help prevent climate change, by age group (2021 data)

92% of those in work say they are motivated to help prevent climate change, against 83% of those not working, this is driven by a difference between the groups of those who say they are very motivated (35% vs 23%). 35% of those in inner London say they are very motivated to help prevent tackle climate change, significantly more than outer London residents of whom 28% say they are very motivated. 44% of parents say they are very motivated to help prevent climate change, significantly more than 25% of non-parents.

We also asked people what motivates them to act, with all suggested reasons coming out statistically equal:

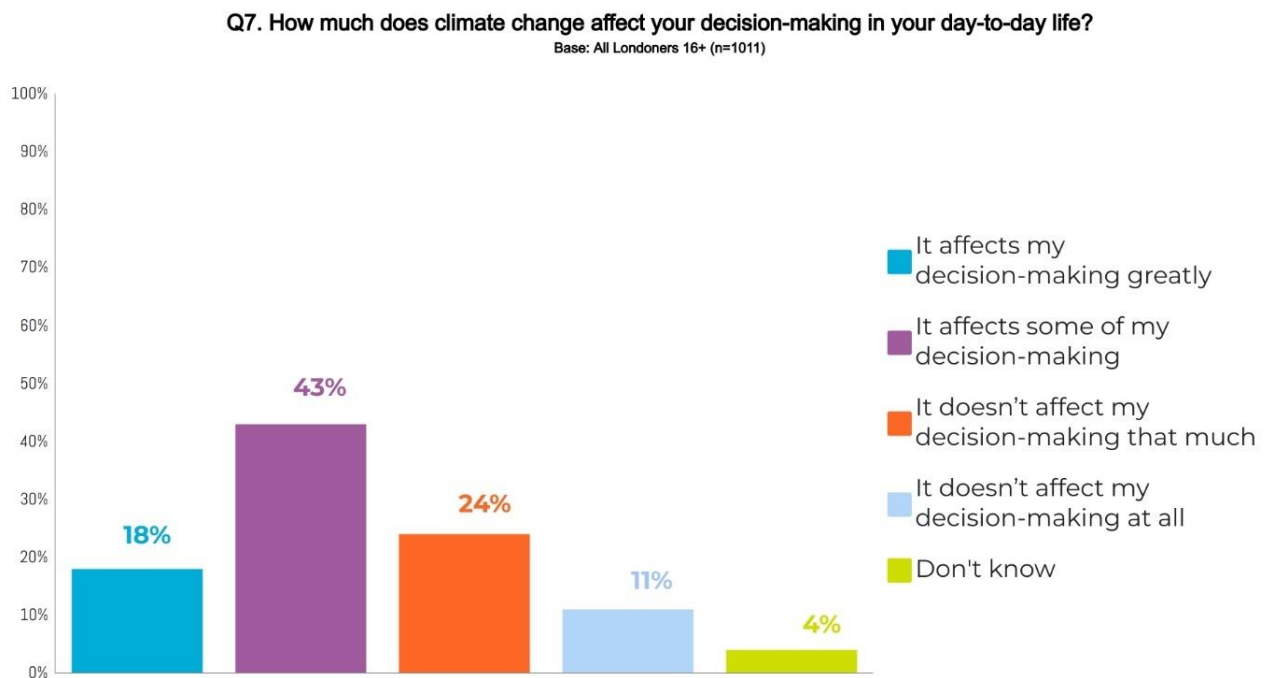


- 90% find environmental impacts around the world (forest fires/droughts/floods) motivating
- 90% find the risk to other species such as polar bears motivating
- 89% find a sense of personal responsibility motivating
- 89% find wanting to leave behind a healthy planet for future generations motivating

56% of people also listed other motivations, including the impact on people’s health, taking action being a good thing to do, and tackling pollution.

## Londoners’ day-to-day decisions affected by climate change

**61% of Londoners say that their day-to-day decisions are influenced by consideration of climate change**, similar to 59% in the previous year’s data. As the following graph shows, only 11% of Londoners say climate change doesn’t affect their decision-making at all.



*Figure 4: percentages of Londoners who say climate change affects or doesn’t affect their decision-making in their day-to-day life (2021 data).*

Across all types of decisions we asked about, those aged 25-34 and 35-44 are significantly more likely (70%) to say their day-to-day decisions are affected than other age groups. 57% of those aged 16-24, 55% of those 45-55, 54% of those 55-64 and 51% of those 65 and over say they change their decisions due to climate change. People in younger age groups are also more likely to say their decisions are greatly affected, with 29% of those 35-44, 23% of those 25-34 and 18% of those 16-24, compared with 14% of those 45-54, 8% of those 55-64, and 8% of those 65+.

82% of those in work say they change their day-to-day decisions due to climate change, compared to 65% not working. Parents are more likely to change their decisions, with 88% saying climate change affects their day-to-day decisions, compared with 71% of non-parents. Those in social grade ABC1 are more likely than those in grade C2DE to say they change their decisions, at 79% and 72%.

People change their decisions in different areas at different rates:

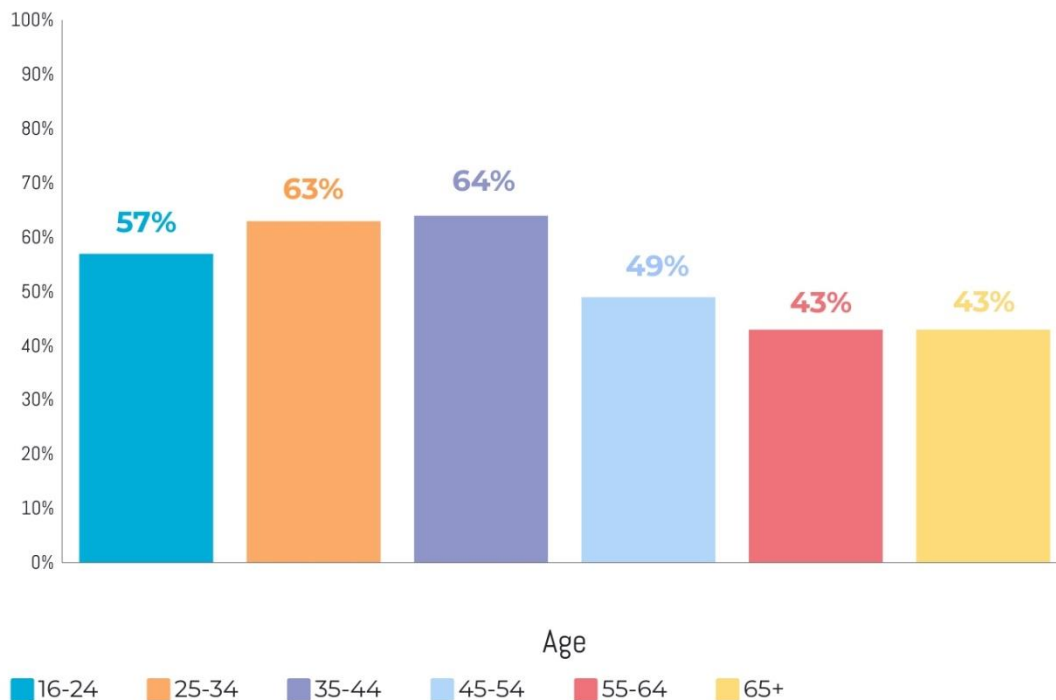
- 44% of people see climate change as a factor in their day to day purchasing decisions such as routine shopping, eating or buying clothes.
  - Women are significantly more likely to change decisions in this area, likely pointing towards gendered differences in shopping patterns. 49% of women say they make changes here, compared to 39% of men.
- 29% of people see climate change as a factor in major purchases such as buying a car or house or choosing somewhere to rent
  - Men are more likely to say that major purchases are affected by climate considerations (32% of men compared with 26% of women).
- 13% of people see climate change as a factor in planning major events such as weddings, birthdays, and religious festivities
  - 20% of parents say this, significantly more than the 10% of non-parents who say this.
  - 21% of those with children at home say this, significantly more than the 9% of those who don't who say this.
  - Younger people are more likely to say this, with 16% of those aged 16-24, 21% of those 25-34 and 18% of those 35-44 – all significantly more than the 7% of those 45-55, 5% of those 55-64 and 8% of those 65+ who say this.
- 26% of people see climate change as a factor in planning their commute or how to travel to work
  - Those aged 35-44 are most likely to say this, at 38%, followed by 30% of those 25-34.
  - 33% of those in work say this, significantly more than the 13% of those not working.
  - 31% of people from inner London say this, significantly more than 23% of those in outer London
- 23% of people see climate change as a factor in planning a holiday.

## Londoners have already been impacted by climate change

55% of Londoners say their day-to-day life in London has been impacted by the changing climate, such as heatwaves or flooding. This is up slightly from 52% in last year's polling. Younger people say they have been affected more, with 64% of people aged 35-44 and 63% of those aged 25-34 affected, followed by 57% of those aged 16-24, 49% of those aged 45-54 and 43% of both those aged 55-64 and 65 and over.

**Q19. Do you feel your day-to-day life in London has been impacted by the changing climate, for example in terms of heatwaves or flooding?**

Base: All Londoners 16+ (n=1011)



*Figure 5: percent of Londoners who feel their day-to-day life in London has been greatly or slightly impacted by the changing climate, for example in terms of heatwaves or flooding (2021 data)*

60% of people working say they have been impacted, compared with 43% of those not working. 71% of parents have been impacted, against 47% of non-parents. There also appears to be a geographical difference, with 61% of those in inner London impacted, compared with 50% of those in outer London.

## Londoners think everyone should have a role in tackling climate change

When asked who is responsible for preventing and adapting to climate change in London, the majority (56%) say that everybody has a role – an exact match to last year’s data. 53% say that one or more levels of government are responsible. More people think that central government has a role (37%) than their local council (29%). More people this year think that their local council has a role: up from 24% in 2020 to 29% in 2021.

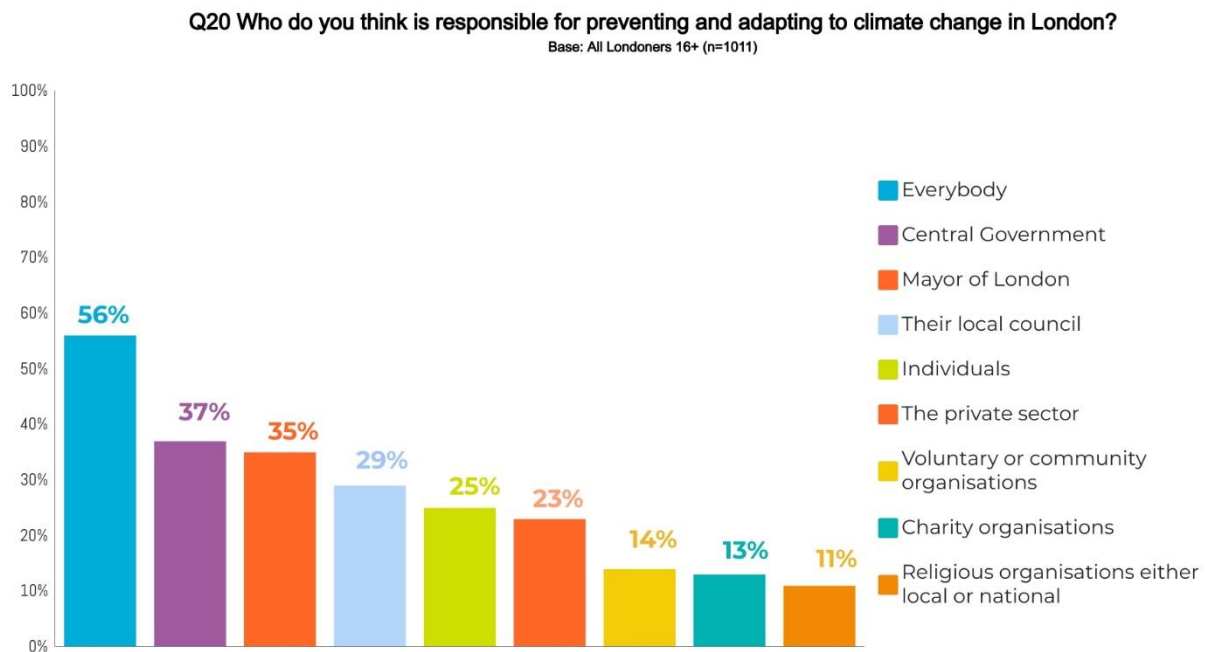


Figure 6: percentages of Londoners who think that each actor is responsible for preventing and adapting to climate change in London (2021 data).

## Londoners find out about climate change from various sources

Londoners find out about how to help stop climate change from various organisations and people. 64% find out information from some form of media source, with 39% finding information from any level of government.

### Q9 From whom or where do you find information about how to help stop climate change?

Base: All Londoners 16+ (n=1011)

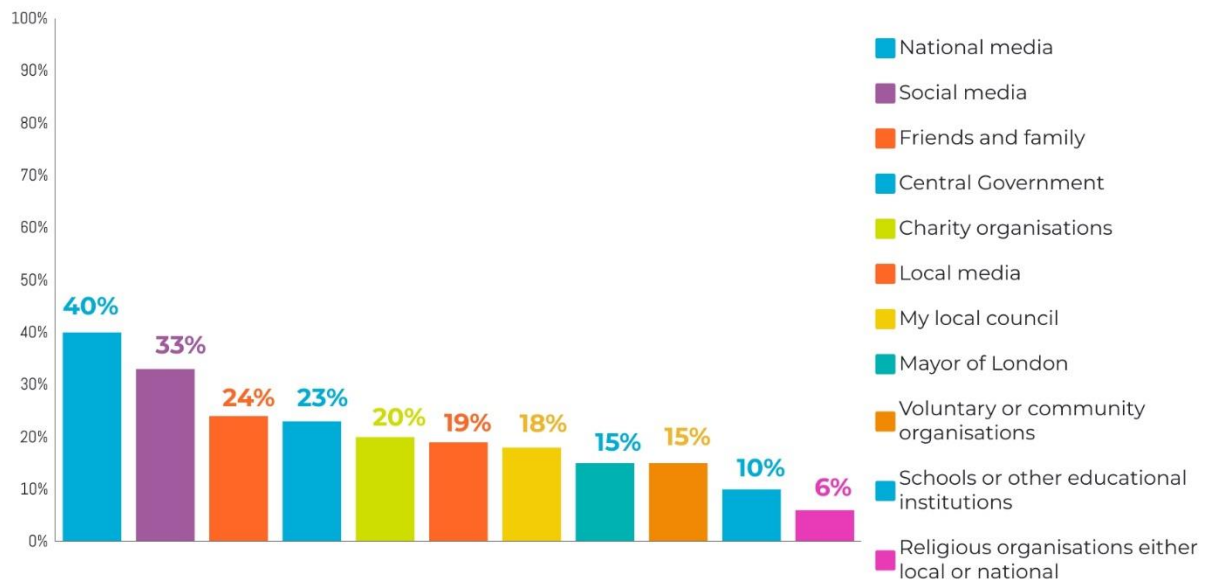


Figure 7: percentages of people who find information about how to help stop climate change from these groups (2021 data)

Women are significantly more likely to find information from their local council, compared to men (21% vs 16%).

Inner London residents are more likely to list the Mayor of London as a source of information compared to outer London residents (20% vs 13%).

Older people are more likely to list central government and national media as a source of information compared to under 55s.

## Some Londoners say COVID-19 has affected how they can tackle climate change

50% of Londoners think COVID-19 has made it financially more difficult for them to take action to help prevent climate, compared to 40% who think it hasn't. More of those aged 25-34 and 35-44 think that COVID-19 has made more of a financial difference than any other age group, at 64% and 63% respectively.

### Q31 Do you think COVID-19 has made it financially more difficult for you to take action to help prevent climate change?

Base: All Londoners 16+ (n=1011)

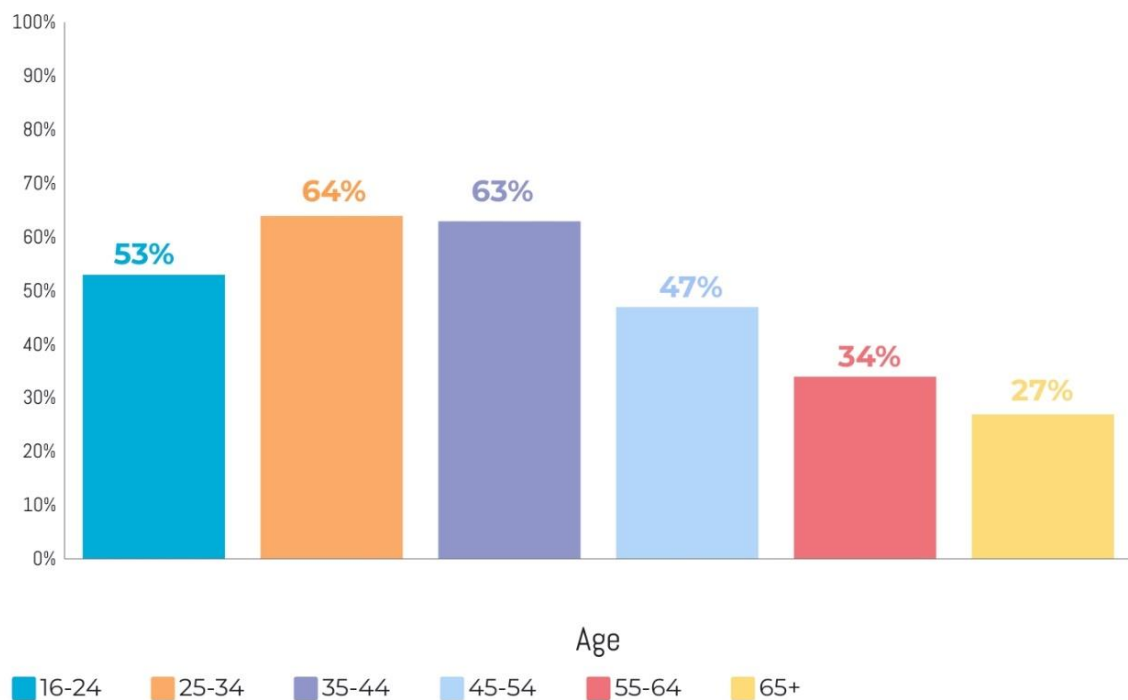


Figure 8: percentages of Londoners who think that COVID-19 has made it greatly or slightly financially more difficult for them to take action to help prevent climate change. (2021 data)

More parents (71%) than non-parents (41%) think COVID-19 has made it financially more difficult for them to take action to help prevent climate. There is a noticeable trend of younger people and those under 55 who say this compared to lower levels for those over 55. 58% of those in inner London and 45% of those in outer London answered yes. A higher proportion of BAME people (61%) than white people (47%) said COVID-19 has made it financially more difficult for them to take action to help prevent climate. Those in work are also significantly more likely to say this is an issue compared to those who are not working (56% vs 40%).

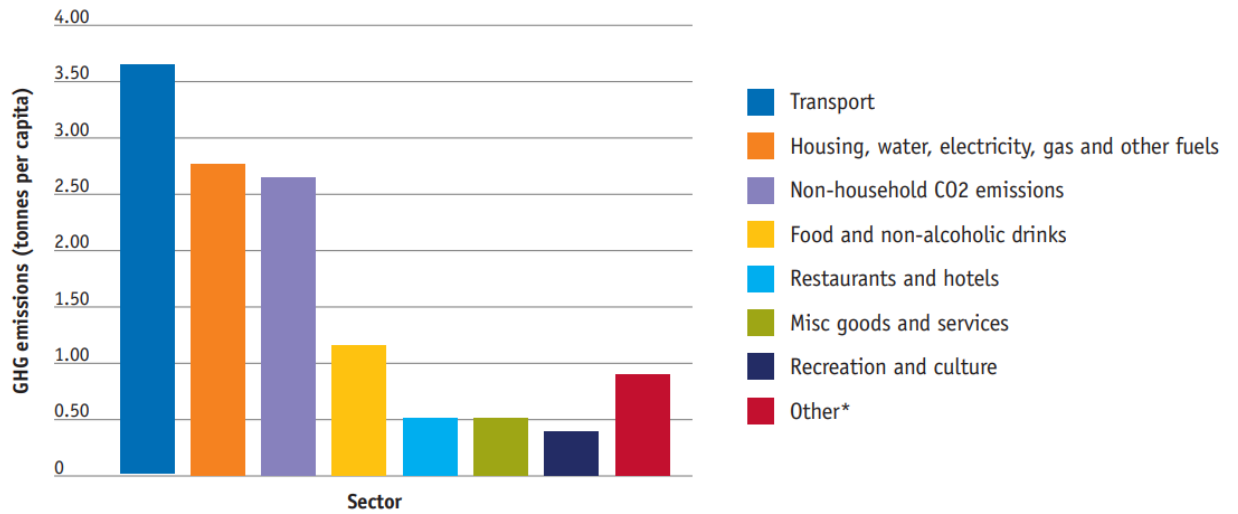
## Londoners think some things contribute more than others to climate change

Londoners think that motorised transport such as cars, buses, motorcycles, and trains has the biggest contribution to climate change, followed (in order) by aviation, consumer goods and services, food, homes, office space, and leisure activities (restaurants, pubs, nightclubs, hotels).

	<i>Food</i>	<i>Motorised transport such as cars, buses, motorcycles, and trains</i>	<i>Aviation</i>	<i>Buildings – office space</i>	<i>Buildings – homes</i>	<i>Consumer goods and services</i>	<i>Leisure activities (restaurants, pubs, nightclubs, hotels)</i>
<b>1 - No contribution (1)</b>	5%	5%	7%	7%	6%	5%	7%
<b>2 (2)</b>	12%	9%	8%	14%	13%	12%	17%
<b>3 (3)</b>	37%	25%	27%	37%	36%	33%	40%
<b>4 (4)</b>	27%	29%	27%	27%	27%	28%	23%
<b>5 - Very large contribution (5)</b>	19%	33%	32%	16%	19%	21%	12%

Figure 9: what Londoners think is responsible for contributing to climate change, from 1 for no contribution through to 5 for a very large contribution (2021 data)

As the data found last year, and is repeated this year, Londoners do not have a correct understanding of which sectors are the biggest contributors to climate change (see figure 10 for a consumption-based emission breakdown). While Londoners correctly identified transport and buildings as major contributors, they appear to have overestimated the impact of the other sectors. If ensuring that Londoners understand their own impacts is key to preventing climate change, then efforts will be needed to highlight the impact of high contributing sectors such as transport and buildings and enable Londoners to make sustainable choices in these areas.



Source: Owen and Barrett, 2020. "Consumption based Greenhouse Gas Emissions for London (2001 - 2016)". University of Leeds.

Figure 10: London's 2016 consumption-based GHG emissions



## Some Londoners are happy to change their behaviours

In order to prevent climate change, scientists have said that the general public will need to change their behaviour alongside government and private sector action. We have asked people whether they would consider changing their behaviour in four key areas: transport, housing, food, and consumer goods and services. In line with the previous year's polling, and results already presented in this report, the data finds that Londoners are undertaking a number of actions that can help reduce their carbon footprint.

Across most actions, the levels of people willing to act compared to last year are very stable. However, in the transport section more people have said that they are buying hybrid cars, ride sharing, or joining a car club. More people also said they are taking staycations rather than foreign holidays, although this may have been driven more by COVID-19 restrictions than climate change.

When it comes to heating their homes, more people said they are installing solar panels. In regard to consumer goods, more people this year said they are hiring clothes for special occasions, and more would consider recycling old clothes and electrical goods.

Where Londoners weren't considering undertaking a certain action, the poll asked them what the main barrier for them was for taking this action. This information is crucial for implementing policy that can overcome these barriers.

## Changing what we eat

Meat production is a source of greenhouse gases, the main source of emissions from food, and the average levels of meat consumption must be reduced for us to meet our emissions targets, so we asked Londoners if they would be happy to change their meat intake to help tackle climate change.

33% of people said they are currently going meat-free once a week, with 48% saying they would or might consider doing this. On the other end of the lifestyle change spectrum, 9% of people said they are already vegan, with 41% saying they would or might consider doing this. 49% of people said they wouldn't or definitely wouldn't consider going vegan. 22% already swap some animal products (e.g., meat, fish, dairy, eggs) for plant-based alternatives, but 29% wouldn't consider doing this. None of these results are significantly different to last year's data, except that more people (17%) would consider eating cultured meat, up from 14% last year.

Some people stated that they are already eating cultured meat, which is currently under development and not available to buy in the UK, but it is viewed as a potential means by which meat can be produced with a very low environmental impact and thereby enable meat eating to continue at current levels. That people selected this suggests there is a lack of understanding around the topic, as 9% of respondents claimed to eating meat not yet available. It is possible that people thought of meat replacement products.

**Q11 Please indicate which options you are doing currently and which you would consider doing in the future to help prevent climate change**

Base: All Londoners 16+ (n=1011)

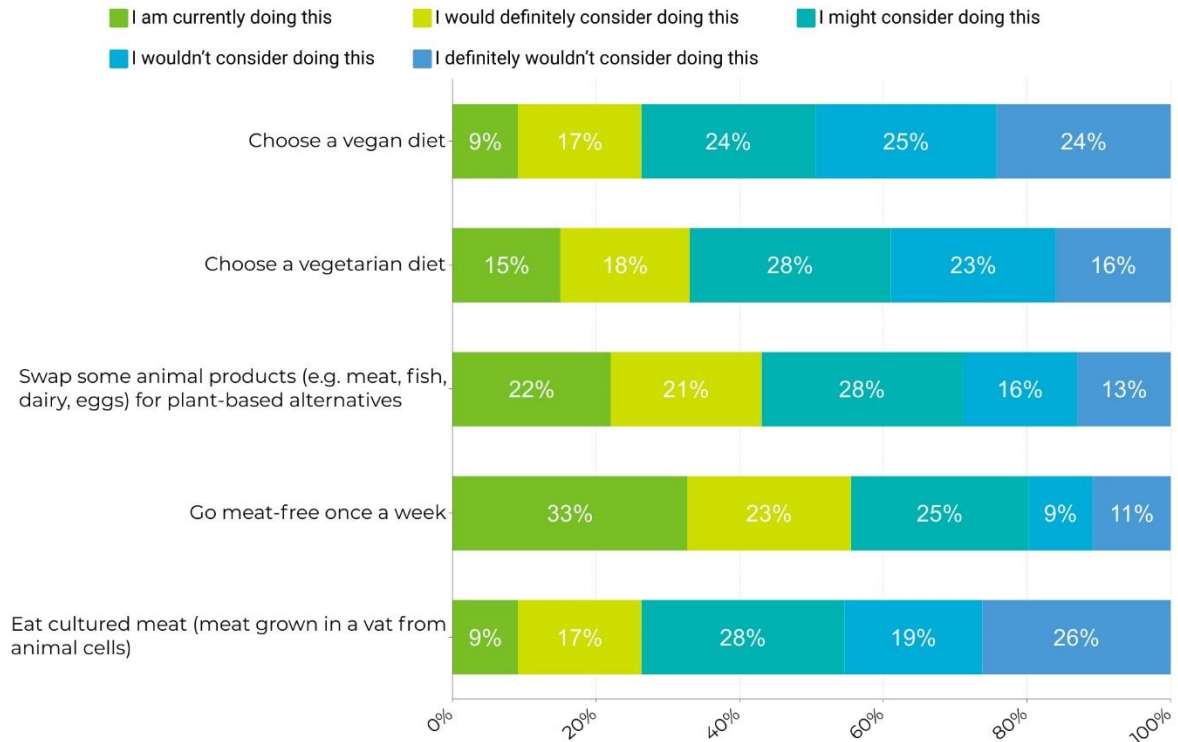


Figure 11: percentages of Londoners who would and wouldn't consider changing their diet to help tackle climate change (2021 data)

As the following graph shows, the main barriers to changing meat consumption were the same for each option: *preference*.

*NB: In the questions, preference is defined as something "I don't think I would like this/I don't want to do this" and interest as "it isn't a priority for me".*

### Q12. What is the main barrier to you doing this?

Base: All possible rejectors. (Choose a vegan diet n=749, Choose a vegetarian diet n=678, Swap some animal products (e.g. meat, fish, dairy, eggs) for plant-based alternatives n=575, Go meat-free once a week n=449, Eat cultured meat (meat grown in a vat from animal cells) n=746.)

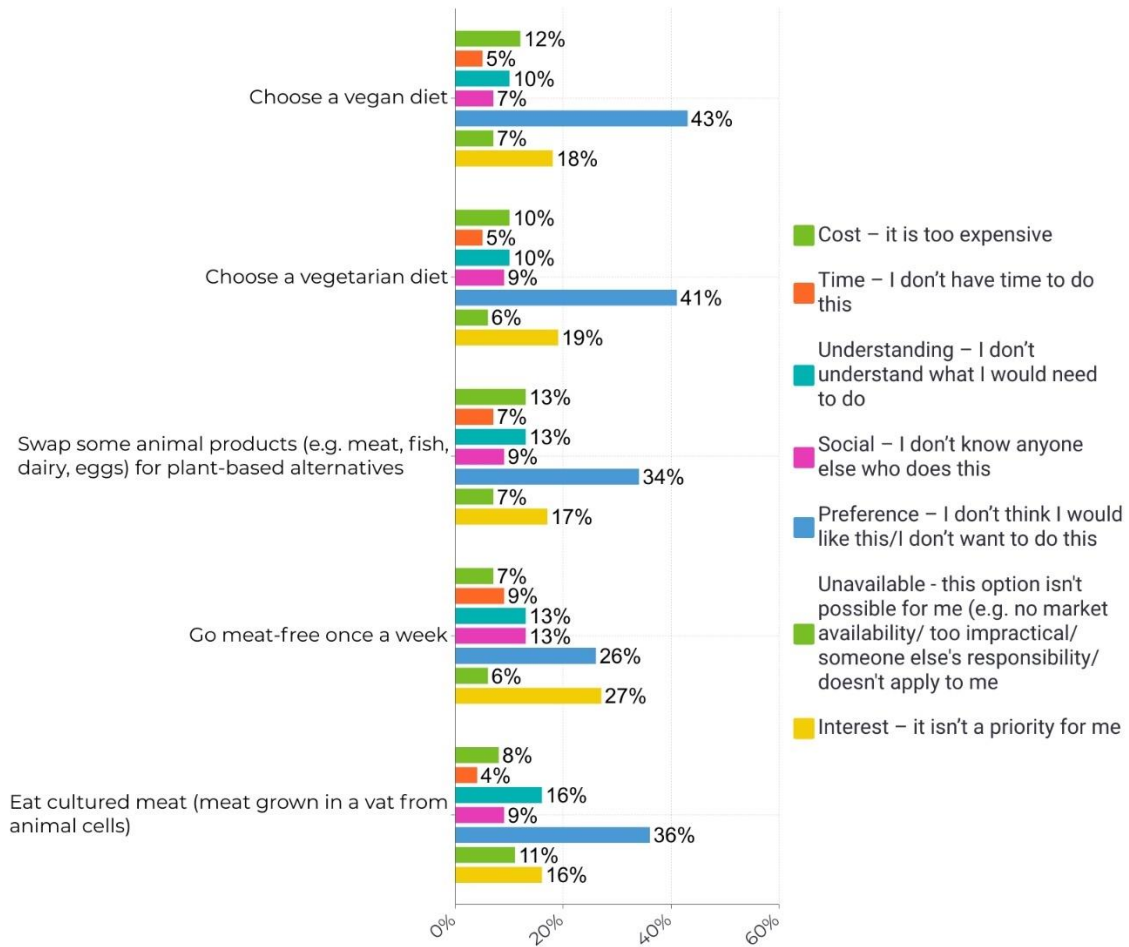


Figure 12: what are the barriers to Londoners changing their diets? (2021 data)

## Modal shift on and off the commute, and willingness to fly less

Tackling transport emissions is a key part of tackling climate change, so people’s willingness and ability to take more sustainable forms of transport is a crucial section of the net zero puzzle. These data show that Londoners are already using or are willing to consider more sustainable modes of transport. For example, 41% of Londoners are using public transport outside of the commute and 42% for their commute.

Compared with last year, more people have said that they are buying hybrid cars, ride sharing, or joining a car club. There are no other significant year-on-year changes.

There is some resistance to giving up flying, with 45% of Londoners saying they definitely wouldn’t or wouldn’t consider doing this, and 15% saying they already are doing this and 39% of Londoners would consider doing this.

### Q13 Please indicate which options you are doing currently and which you would consider doing in the future to help prevent climate change

Base: All Londoners 16+ (n=1011)

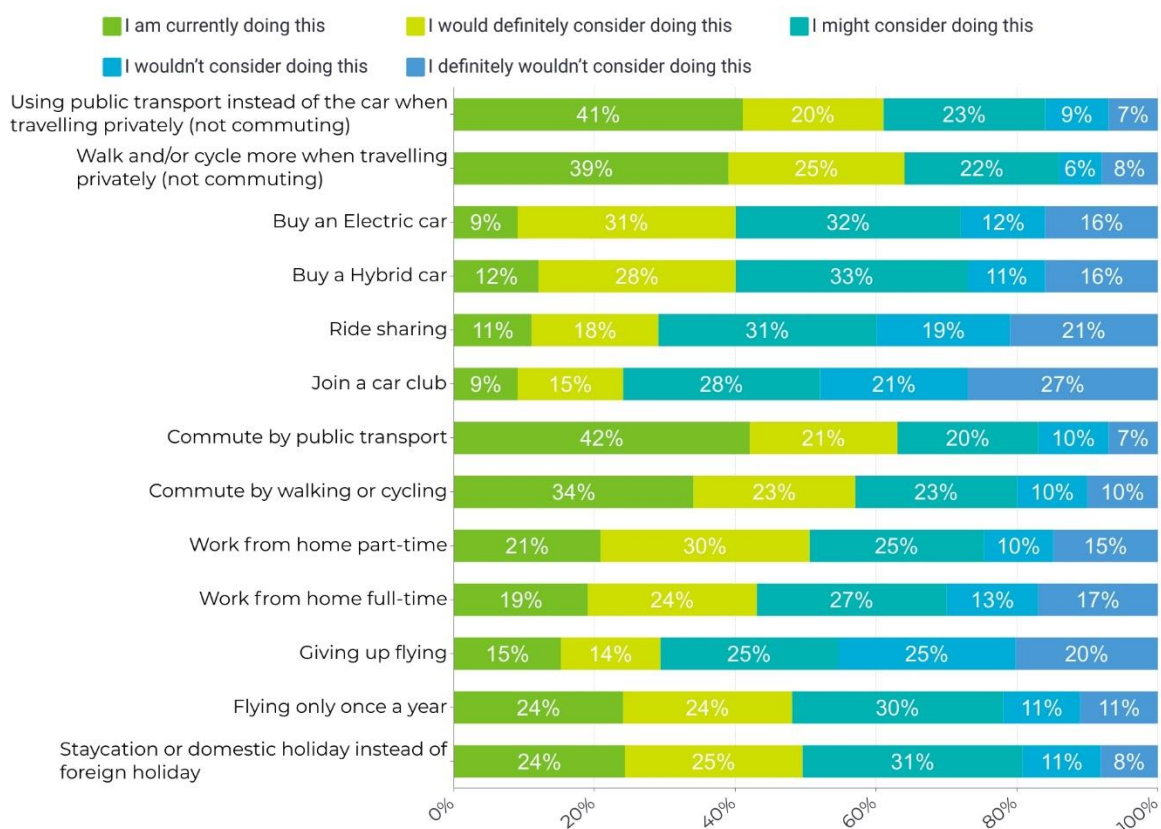


Figure 13: which transport options are Londoners doing currently and which would they consider doing in the future to help prevent climate change (2021 data)

## Q14. What is the main barrier to you doing this?

Base: All possible rejectors. (Using public transport instead of the car when travelling privately (not commuting) n=400, Walk and/or cycle more when travelling privately (not commuting) n=371, Buy an Electric car n=599, Buy a Hybrid car n=601, Ride sharing n=713 Join a car club n=772.)

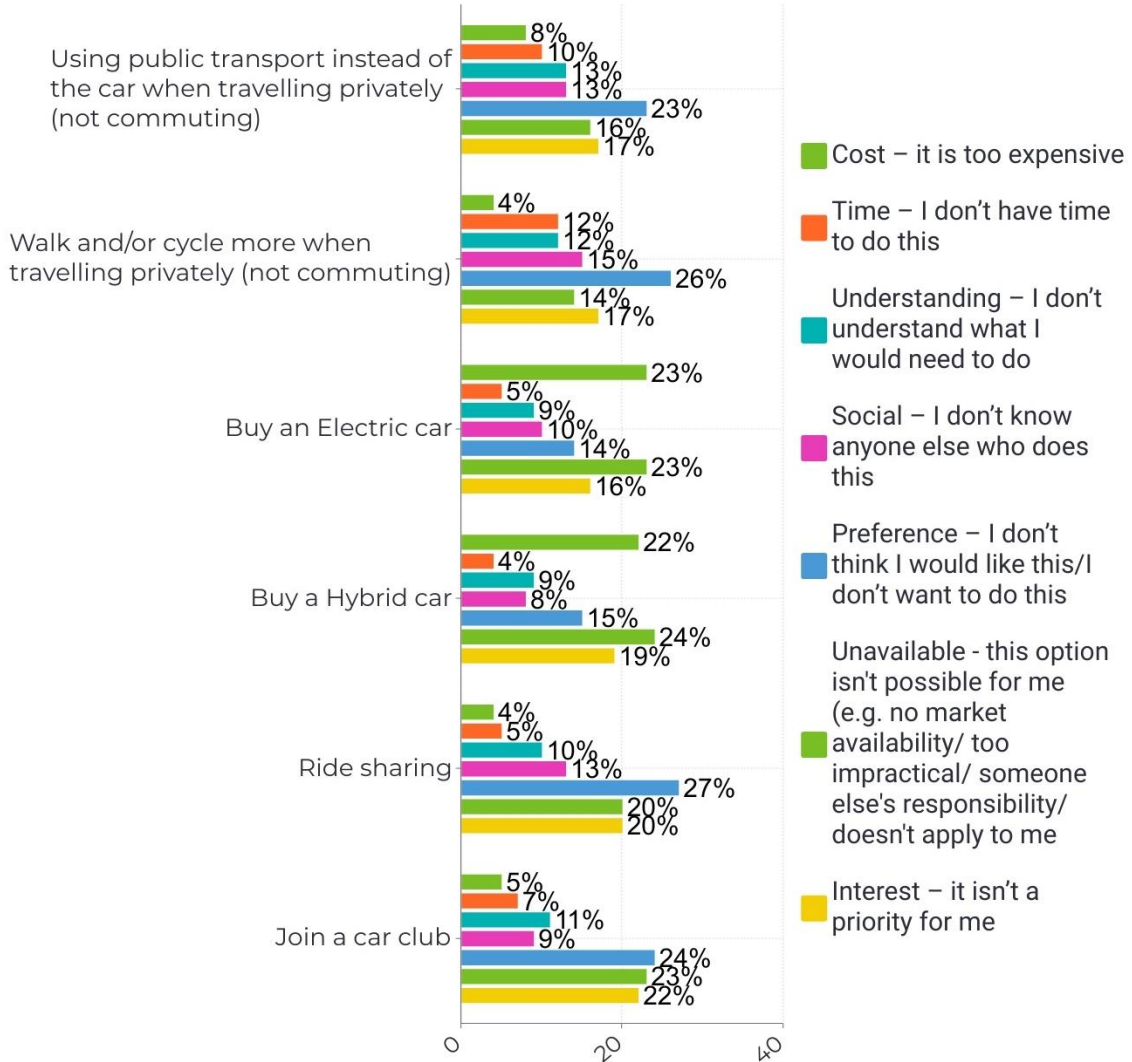


Figure 14a: what are the barriers to Londoners changing their transport habits? (2021 data)

### Q14. What is the main barrier to you doing this?

Base: All possible rejectors. (Commute by public transport n=373, Commute by walking or cycling n=436, Work from home part-time n=499, Work from home full-time n=575, Giving up flying n=710, Flying only once a year n=520, Staycation or domestic holiday instead of foreign holiday n=513)

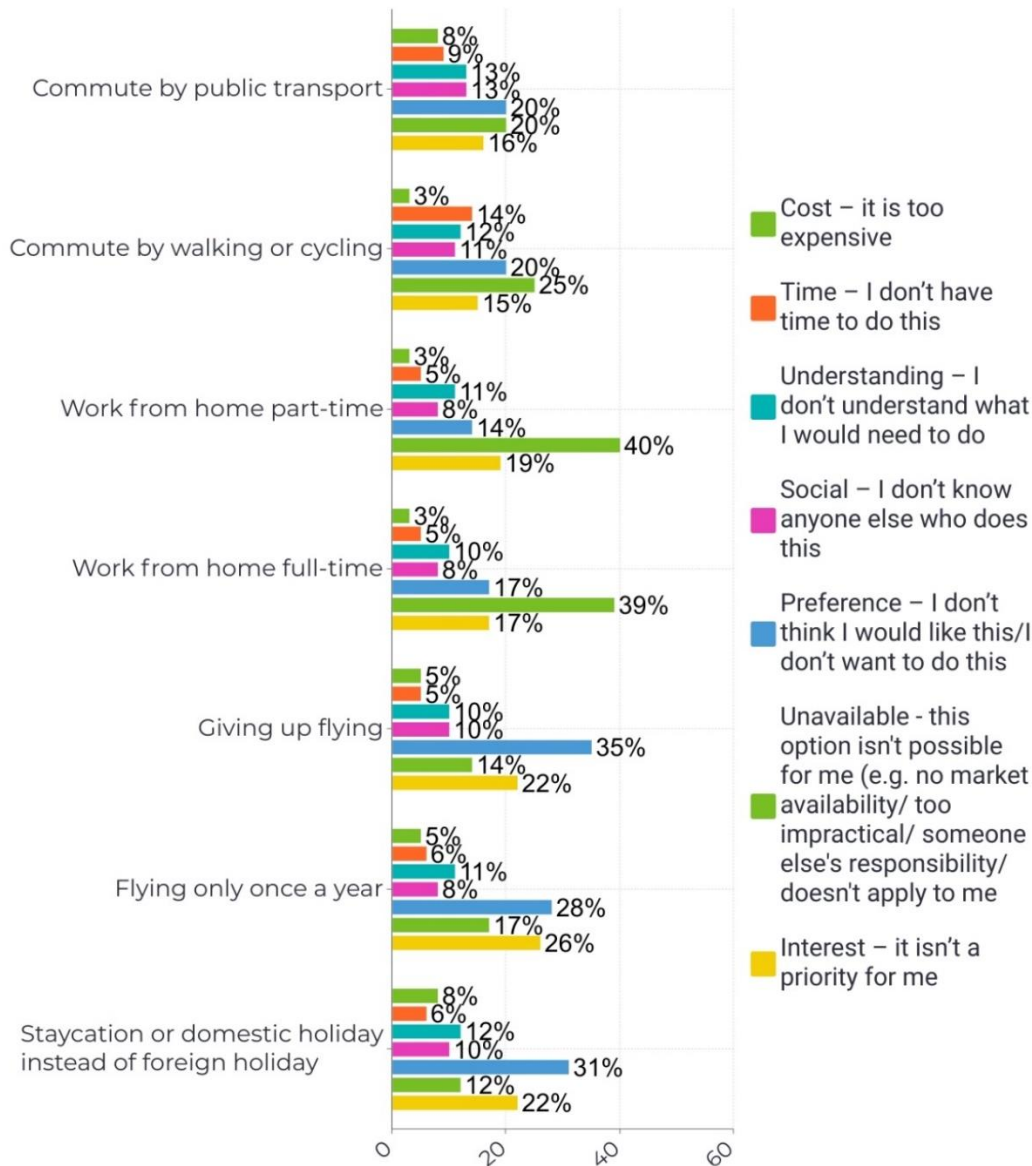


Figure 14b: what are the barriers to Londoners changing their transport habits? (2021 data)

The main barriers people see to commuting by public transport are preference and availability, with the lowest being cost, suggesting that more people would pick this more sustainable mode of transport if there were more routes and/or more regular services. 25% of people say that walking or cycling to work is ‘unavailable’, likely due to distance. Outside of the commute preference is a clear main barrier to the use of public transport and walking and cycling.

When it comes to purchasing a greener vehicle, either a hybrid or an electric car, cost and availability are the clear main barriers. Many people also report not being interested in this – possibly people in inner London who have no need for a private car.

When asked about why they wouldn't give up flying or only fly once a year, cost and time were the least cited barriers. Instead, people cited their preference and interest. This suggests that people might be happy to take more expensive train journeys for holiday, if this is promoted more as an option.

## Making changes to energy and heating arrangements

Housing in London is a major source of the city's climate emissions. Many Londoners are already taking action in this area, for example 30% are already insulating their homes, 24% are already on a renewable energy tariff, 44% reducing electricity use and 33% lowering the temperature of their home. The data show a willingness to make changes here, for example 64% would or might consider replacing their gas heating.

Compared to last year, more people said they are installing solar panels. There were no other significant changes year on year.

16% of people said they currently pay more for a green heating option, 25% would or definitely would consider this, and 34% might consider doing this.

### Q15 Please indicate which options you are doing currently and which you would consider doing in the future to help prevent climate change

Base: All Londoners 16+ (n=1011)

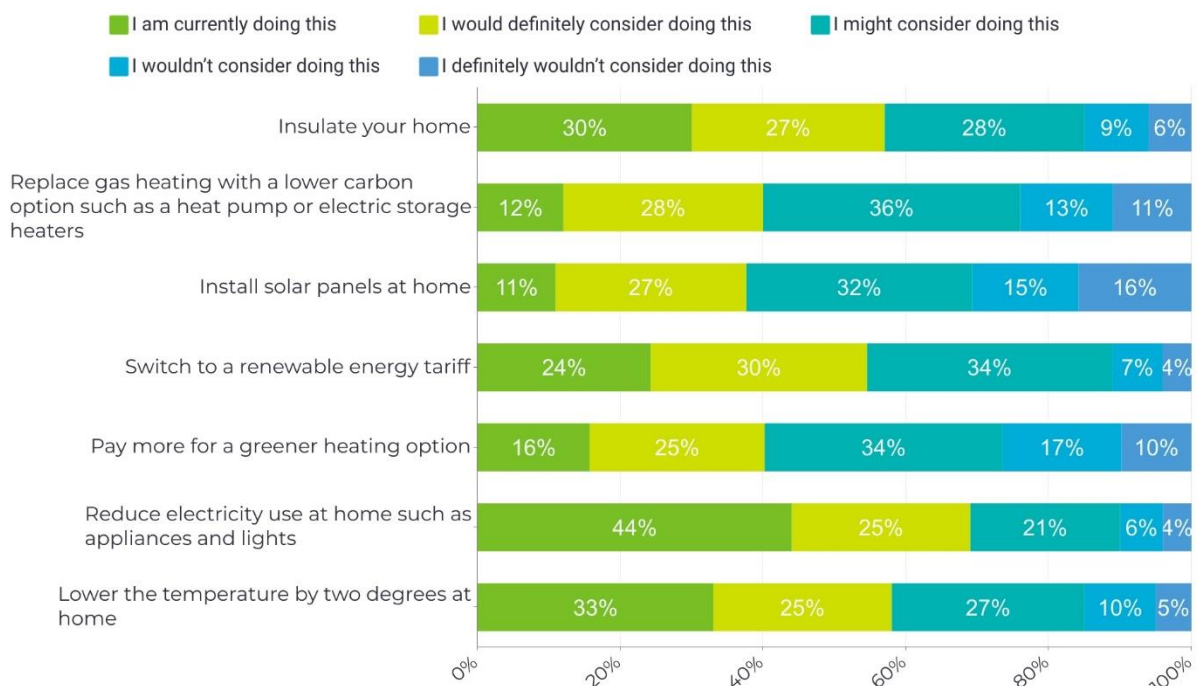


Figure 15: which home energy and heating options are Londoners doing currently and which would they consider doing in the future to help prevent climate change (2021 data)

### Q16. What is the main barrier to you doing this?

Base: All possible rejectors. (Insulate your home n=433, Replace gas heating with a lower carbon option such as a heat pump or electric storage heaters n=611, Install solar panels at home n=629, Switch to a renewable energy tariff n=466, Pay more for a greener heating option n=605, Reduce electricity use at home such as appliances and lights n=309, Lower the temperature by two degrees at home n=418.)

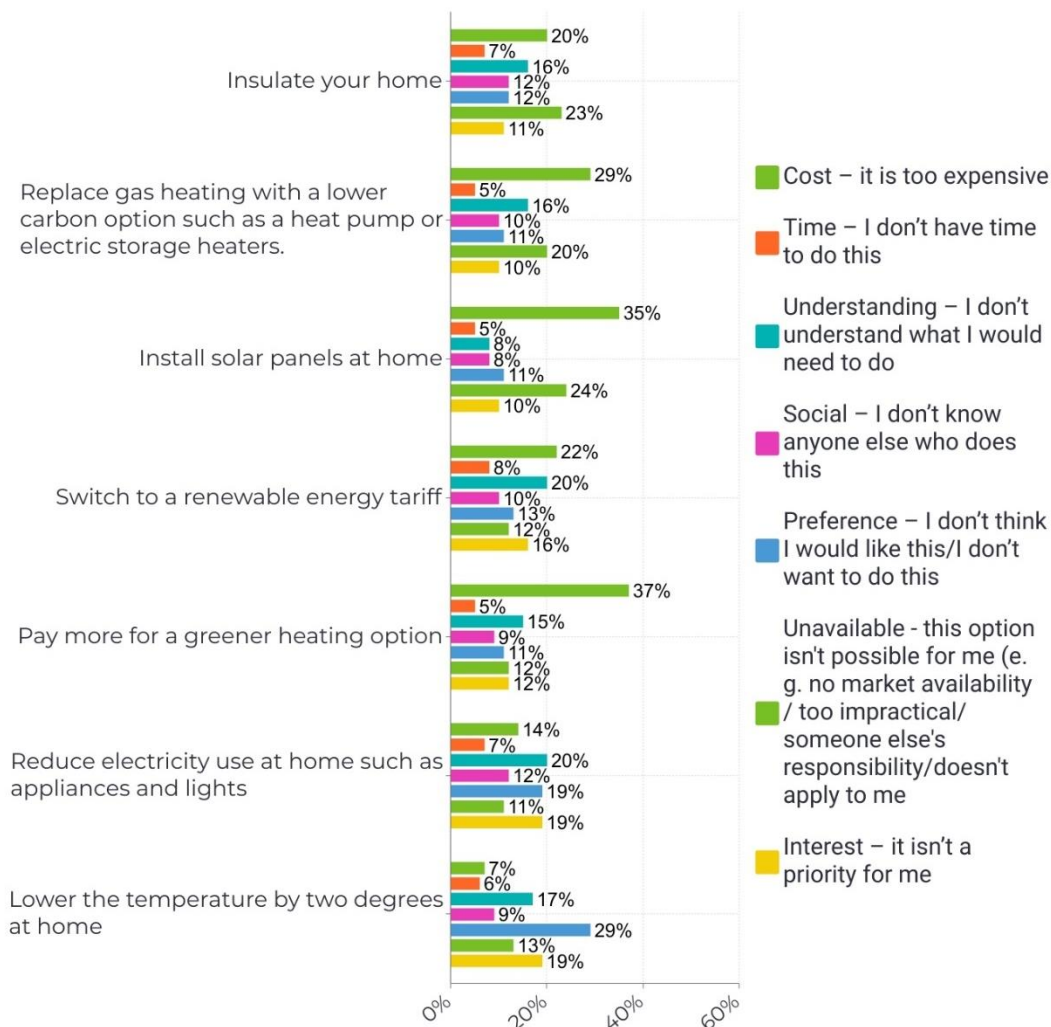


Figure 16: what are the barriers to Londoners changing their energy and heating options? (2021 data)

For replacing heating systems with lower carbon options and installing solar panels the cost of doing the action is cited as the main barrier. For home insulation, this is a strong second. These findings demonstrate the importance of central government funding for people to make changes in this area.



## Changing clothing and electronics purchasing habits

Consumer goods and services comprise a smaller proportion of Londoners' greenhouse gas footprints, but they do show how willing Londoners are to making lifestyle changes to help tackle climate change.

### Q17 Please indicate which options you are doing currently and which you would consider doing in the future to help prevent climate change

Base: All Londoners 16+ (n=1011)

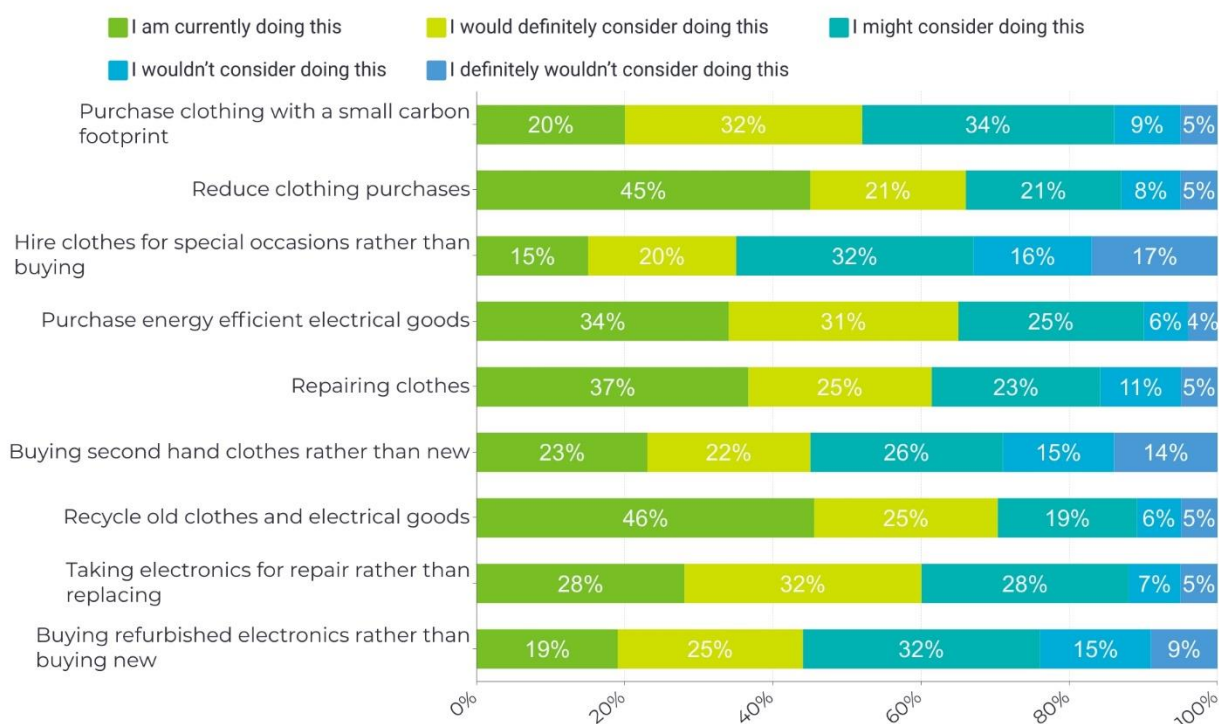


figure 17: which consumers options are Londoners doing currently and which would they consider doing in the future to help prevent climate change (2021 data)

Londoners are currently reducing their impact across a range of behaviours. 46% of Londoners are recycling old clothes and electrical goods. This is followed by reducing clothing purchases (45%), repairing clothes (37%) and purchasing energy efficient electrical goods (34%).

## Q18. What is the main barrier to you doing this?

Base: All possible rejectors. Purchase clothing with a small carbon footprint n=482, Reduce clothing purchases n=341, Hire clothes for special occasions rather than buying n=658, Purchase energy efficient electrical goods n=351, Repairing clothes n=391, Buying second hand clothes rather than new n=557, Recycle old clothes and electrical goods n=296, Taking electronics for repair rather than replacing n=405, Buying refurbished electronics rather than buying new n=563.)

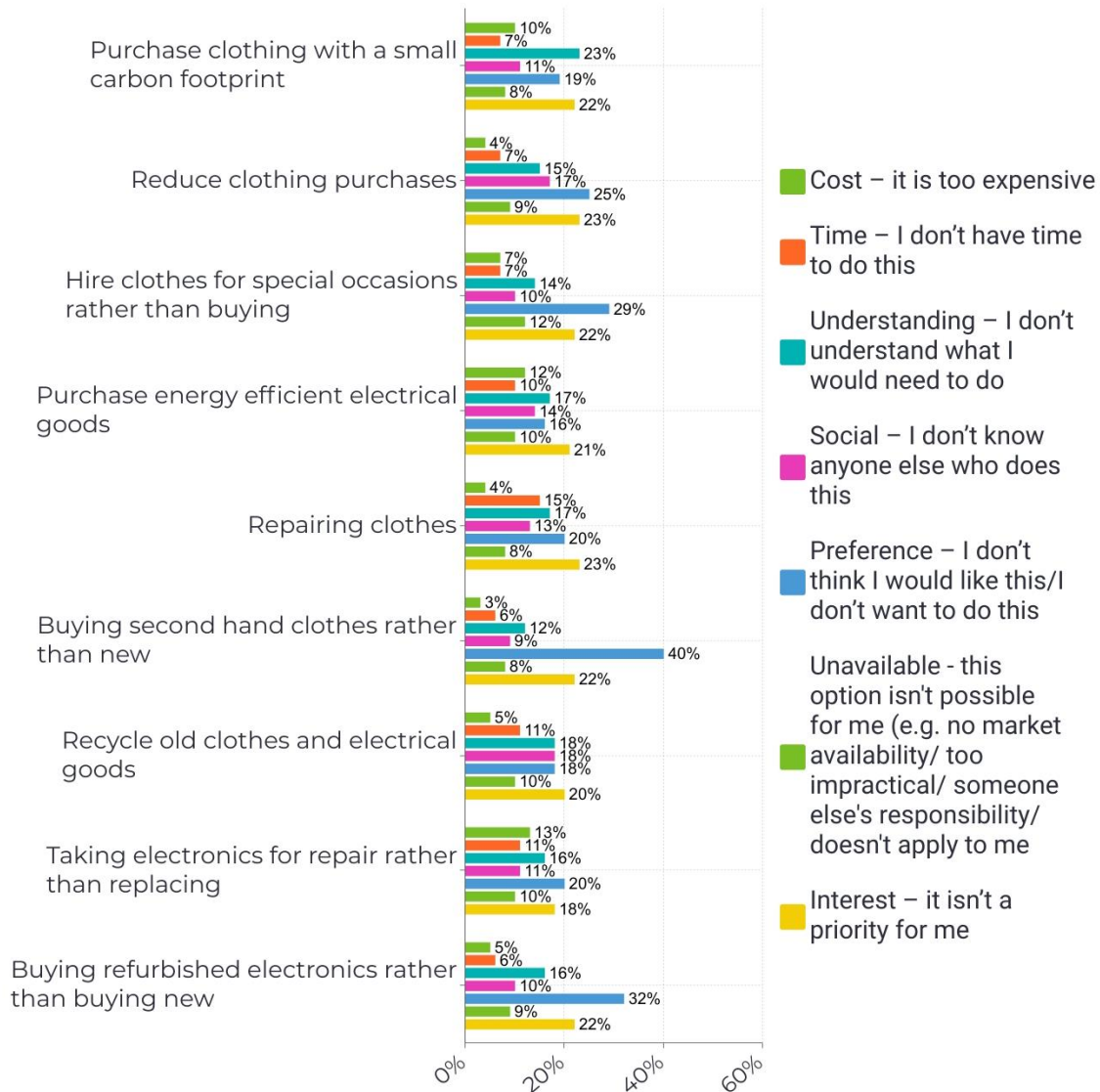


Figure 18: what are the barriers to Londoners changing their consumer habits? (2021 data)

Across most options, the reasons for not taking actions are fairly evenly split. When it comes to buying second-hand clothes, 40% of people cite preference as the reason they wouldn't do this or consider it.

## Conclusions

The polling data clearly shows that Londoners are well informed about climate change and concerned about its effects. That concern is increasing. But this isn't leading to climate despair – Londoners want to see action and they want to be part of that change. The public clearly support ambitious action, which will require decision makers to lead the changes needed, including enabling greater action by individuals.

We know that local government will be a key player in delivering that transition to net zero, thanks to its unique understanding of local context and strong local relationships. National government must support local government in its delivery of climate action and a just transition that creates good jobs.

## References

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<sup>i</sup> <https://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/our-key-themes/environment/climate-change>

<sup>ii</sup> <https://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/press-release/16-november-2020/large-majority-londoners-feel-climate-change-significant-threat>

<sup>iii</sup> Sub-regions: North Central: Barnet, Camden, Haringey, Enfield, Hackney, Islington. Central: City of London, Kensington and Chelsea, Lambeth, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, Westminster. North West: Brent, Ealing, Hammersmith and Fulham, Harrow, Hillingdon, Hounslow. South West: Kingston, Merton, Richmond, Wandsworth, Sutton. South East: Bexley, Bromley, Croydon, Greenwich, Lewisham. North East: Barking and Dagenham, Havering, Newham, Redbridge, Waltham Forest.

