



## DEBATE PACK

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# E-petition 331453, relating to funding for Transport for London

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## Summary

A Westminster Hall debate on an e-petition relating to funding for Transport for London [free transport for under-18s ] is scheduled for Monday 30 November 2020, from 6-7:30pm. Elliot Colburn MP of the Petitions Committee, will open the debate.

## Contents

<b>1.</b>	<b>Background</b>	<b>2</b>
1.1	Covid-19 impacts on public transport	2
1.2	Transport for London (TfL) finances	2
1.3	TfL bailouts	3
1.4	End to free transport for under 18s in London	5
	E-petition	6
	Why remove free travel for under 18s?	6
	How much does the scheme cost?	7
1.5	What happens next?	8
<b>2.</b>	<b>Press Articles</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>3.</b>	<b>Press notices/Websites</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>4.</b>	<b>Parliamentary material</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>5.</b>	<b>Further reading</b>	<b>17</b>

The House of Commons Library prepares a briefing in hard copy and/or online for most non-legislative debates in the Chamber and Westminster Hall other than half-hour debates. Debate Packs are produced quickly after the announcement of parliamentary business. They are intended to provide a summary or overview of the issue being debated and identify relevant briefings and useful documents, including press and parliamentary material. More detailed briefing can be prepared for Members on request to the Library.

# 1. Background

## 1.1 Covid-19 impacts on public transport

The onset of the Covid-19 pandemic has resulted in significant reductions in demand for public transport across the country. London has been no exception, where for most of March and April daily tube use was around 5% of normal levels and bus use was around 18% of normal levels. Whilst passenger levels have risen, since lockdown regulations were loosened, they have remained stubbornly far below normal pre-pandemic levels. The recent re-imposition of an England-wide lockdown has again reduced passenger levels.<sup>1</sup>

## 1.2 Transport for London (TfL) finances

Prior to Covid-19, TfL's finances were stretched. The organisation had previously received grants from Central Government although in 2015 the then Chancellor, George Osborne, agreed to phase out the operating revenue element of the grant – around £700m per year. TfL therefore became more reliant on passenger fare income. In 2018 TfL generated almost £5 billion in fares, which amounted to around 70% of its total income. Business rates from mayoral funding, the congestion charge, commercial revenue and other income streams make up the rest.<sup>2</sup> The London Assembly has stated that 'the loss of [the] Government operating grant within just a few years has been the single largest change to TfL's income streams and makes London one of the only cities in the world that does not receive government funding to support the operating costs of its transport network'.<sup>3</sup>

The shift towards a greater emphasis on passenger income to support operations coincided with decreases in passenger use and a 'fare freeze' which is estimated to cost around £640m per year.<sup>4</sup> Between 2015 and 2019 the overall number of passenger journey's on TfL's network declined by 2% (with journeys on buses declining 8%).



### 1.3 TfL bailouts

The fall in passenger numbers has presented TfL with an unprecedented financial challenge; fares income fell by 90 per cent in March and April.<sup>5</sup> The Mayor of London described Covid-19 as having a “catastrophic impact on TfL’s finances – as it has on every transport provider in the UK.”<sup>6</sup>

The financial challenge prompted TfL and the Mayor of London to call for Government support. In May, the Mayor wrote to the Chancellor calling for urgent financial support for TfL, because:

The situation is now critical. TfL can’t provide their staff, suppliers or lenders certainty that it can pay them beyond the next payment run. This will inevitably start to impact the services TfL is able to operate. This is at the precise time when we know Government want us to be working towards a full restoration of our services.<sup>7</sup>

Following negotiations between the Government, Mayor and TfL agreement was reached on an extraordinary funding and finance package for TfL worth up to £1.6 billion for the period up until October 2020.

This funding package came with several conditions for TfL on service levels, including temporary suspension of free travel for under 18s in order “to optimise the use of the available safe transport capacity”. (see box 1 for further details on other service level agreements in the

<sup>5</sup> Mayor of London, [Statement from the Mayor of London regarding Transport for London](#), 15 May 2020

<sup>6</sup> Mayor of London, [Statement from the Mayor of London regarding Transport for London](#), 15 May 2020

<sup>7</sup> [MGLA190520-2101 - FOI response](#): Letter from Mayor of London to Chancellor 10 May 2020; Letter from Transport Secretary to Mayor of London, 14 May 2020

funding package). Speaking after the funding agreement had been reached, the Mayor of London said:

“I want to be completely honest and upfront with Londoners – this is not the deal I wanted. But it was the only deal the Government put on the table and I had no choice but to accept it to keep the Tubes and buses running.”<sup>8</sup>

The Mayor noted TfL’s heavy on reliance fares income, and called for:

“a new funding model with Government – which will involve either permanent funding from Government or giving London more control over key taxes so we can pay for it ourselves - or a combination of both.”<sup>9</sup>

Following a two week extension to the original funding package, In November, the Government and the Mayor of London agreed a second [extraordinary funding and financing package for TfL](#) worth up to £1.7 billion for the period to 31 March 2021. It replaces the agreement signed in May. Transport Secretary Grant Shapps MP said:

This deal is proof of our commitment to supporting London and the transport network on which it depends. Just as we’ve done for the national rail operators, we’ll make up the fare income which TfL is losing due to COVID-19. Londoners making essential trips will continue to be able to use tubes, buses, and other TfL services, thanks to this government funding.

At the same time, the agreement is fair to taxpayers across the country. The Mayor has pledged that national taxpayers will not pay for benefits for Londoners that they do not get themselves elsewhere in the country.

Over the coming months, as we look to move beyond the pandemic, I look forward to working with London’s representatives to achieve a long-term settlement, with London given more control over key taxes so it can pay more costs of the transport network itself. This agreement marks the first step towards that, potentially allowing a longer-term, sustainable settlement for TfL when the course of the pandemic becomes clearer.<sup>10</sup>

### Box 1: TfL bailout May 2020 service level agreements

During the Support Period, Transport for London will work in unison with HMG on taking steps to support the safe restart to the transport system and agrees to joint action and oversight by the London Covid Transport Task Force, terms of reference for which are attached. Subject to TfL’s statutory responsibilities (particularly in relation to safety), TfL agrees to:

- a) Maximising service levels on all networks to full normal service, apart from Night Tube, weekend night buses and any other services agreed by the London Covid Transport Task Force as soon as possible but within four weeks;
- b) Employing traffic demand management agreed by the London COVID Transport Task Force;

<sup>8</sup> Mayor of London, [Statement from the Mayor of London regarding Transport for London](#), 15 May 2020

<sup>9</sup> Mayor of London, [Statement from the Mayor of London regarding Transport for London](#), 15 May 2020

<sup>10</sup> DfT, [Government bailout to keep London transport running](#), 1 Nov 2020

- c) Agreeing communication messages between DfT and TfL to ensure consistent advice is provided to travellers;
- d) Pushing forward an ambitious Active Travel Plan to promote cycling and walking, including new segregated cycle lanes, closures of roads to through traffic, and pavement extensions, utilising at least the £55m allocated in the Support Period. The detail of the plan will be agreed and overseen by a dedicated oversight group comprising TfL and HMG;
- e) Bringing forward to the London COVID Transport Task Force travel demand management proposals as soon as practicable to optimise the use of the available safe transport capacity, including but not limited to temporary suspension of free travel for Freedom Pass and 60 plus card holders during peak and the suspension of free travel for u18s, subject to discussions in the working group about how it is to be operationalise
- f) To support revenue collection, as soon as practicable, placing card readers by the operating entrance doors on all buses, and immediately require passengers to use the approximately 2000 readers which are already so placed;
- g) Providing regular reporting to the London COVID Transport Task Force on the absence rates for its staff and take all practicable steps to manage absence levels to support delivery of services; and
- h) The immediate reintroduction of the London Congestion Charge, LEZ and ULEZ and urgently bring forward proposals to widen the scope and levels of these charges, in accordance with the relevant legal powers and decision-making processes.

**Source:** [MGLA190520-2101 - FOI response](#): Letter from Mayor of London to Chancellor 10 May 2020; Letter from Transport Secretary to Mayor of London, 14 May 2020

## 1.4 End to free transport for under 18s in London

London has been one of the most generous authorities when it comes to [discretionary fare schemes](#). The May 2020 funding agreement added a condition requiring TfL to end these generous schemes for both the over 60s and under 18s. Statutory concessionary schemes are excluded from the conditions placed upon TfL as part of the funding agreement (i.e. for those people over state pension age) and local authorities are must still fulfil their legal duty under the *Education Act 1996* to facilitate home-to-school travel arrangements for eligible children. You can read more about concessionary fare schemes in the Commons Library briefing, [Concessionary bus travel](#).

The end to free travel for under 18s was due to come into effect after the October half term, but London's Transport Commissioner, Andy Byford, told the London Assembly Budget Committee in October this could not happen until spring 2021, because "there is so much that you need to get right in terms of consultation, equality assessments and so on".<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> London Assembly Budget and Performance Committee, [Transcript of Item 4 - 2020-21 Budget Review – Transport for London](#)

## E-petition

The agreement to end free travel for under 18s has been controversial. [E-petition 331453](#), which has received over 170,000 signatures, calls on the Government to: "Scrap removal of free transport for under-18s from TfL bailout". The petition states:

To not decide to scrap free travel for those who are under 18. As a teenager who has relied so much on free travel, it has allowed for me to go to school without the worry of an extra expense and explore around the beautiful city of London also. Destroying free travel would hurt so many of us.

By scrapping this as part of a £1.6bn TfL bailout package, those from poorer backgrounds will be forced to pay to go to school. This will impact those who cannot freely travel to school (driving, cycling or walking). As there are fines put in place for children who do not return to school in September 2020, this will further increase economic problems for many families in the UK. This will increase poverty within the UK, causing more people from poorer backgrounds to fall further into debt.

The Government responded to this petition on 10 August:

The suspension of free travel for 11-17 year olds will help reduce demand for public transport at peak times during the Covid-19 pandemic. This was agreed by the Government and the Mayor of London.

The Covid-19 pandemic has given rise to an unprecedented health and public safety emergency. The £1.6 billion Extraordinary Funding and Financing Agreement agreed by Government and the Mayor of London to enable Transport for London (TfL) to continue operating services contained a series of conditions to facilitate safe travel on public transport in London.

The suspension of free bus and tram travel for 11-17 year olds will help to reduce demand for public transport so that those who need to use it can do so safely.

The Department for Transport continues to work closely with TfL, the Department for Education, the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government and other key partners on how the suspension can be operationalised, whilst ensuring that any child eligible for free home to school travel under national legislation will still receive it.

## Why remove free travel for under 18s?

The condition to end free travel for under 18s was added as condition to the bailout so as "to optimise the use of the available safe transport capacity" i.e. demand management. The Secretary of State told the Transport Committee the temporary suspension of free travel for under-18s was necessary to manage demand on the Tube and ensure enough space for key workers. In October 2020, London's Transport Commissioner questioned whether this was still needed. He told the London Budget committee he felt TfL had in fact already achieved its demand management aims:

If ultimately the goal was always about providing extra capacity, then I think that what we have already done has been spectacularly successful because we have seen the Zip card's usage go down by 30%. Removal of the under-18 concession, we believe, would only suppress demand by up to 5% or 6%, and at

the moment, from a purely logistical perspective, we do not need to do that. Having said that, that is still a requirement on us, we are still working with Government and we are waiting for responses back from them on that point.<sup>12</sup>

The Transport Secretary also raised the point with the Transport Committee that “if you are anywhere outside London, you might rightly be asking yourself why these funds should be going to support free travel for children in London but not elsewhere.” In October, Deputy Mayor Heidi Alexander criticised this approach, describing it as “levelling down”. In evidence to the London Budget Committee, she said

Repeatedly, though, it has been said to me that we cannot have a situation where children in London get one thing and children in Barnsley get something else, and so it is my view that this is about equalising concessionary fares across the whole of the country. It is my view that this is, in essence, about levelling down. Government talk about levelling up but this is levelling down to the lowest common denominator. The other point I would make is that in London we are a lot more heavily dependent upon the public transport system than elsewhere in the country. Our levels of car ownership are lower than even other big conurbations. The importance of the public transport system for children and young people getting to school and getting around to do other things is absolutely critical. We are still making these points to Government, “Be honest what you are trying to do here and why you are trying to do it”<sup>13</sup>

The second bailout settlement letter published on 1 November 2020 goes into further detail on this point of fairness in the funding settlement, explaining:

If the Mayor and TfL wish Londoners to continue to benefit from travel concessions and/or other benefits above those typically available elsewhere in England (specifically free travel for all Londoners aged under 18 and 60-65, excluding statutory entitlements including under the Education Act 1996) then TfL/the Mayor recognises that the costs of these additional benefits will not be met by HMG funding; and commits to meeting the costs of these additional benefits over the Financial Year 2021/22, without recourse to additional borrowing, savings, service changes or deferrals. TfL and the Mayor have proposed that this could potentially include proposals to maintain the Congestion Charging changes implemented in June 2020, subject to consultation and due process; and / or by an increase to the existing TfL element of the GLA council tax precept from 1 April 2021 provided HMG will take all the necessary steps to enable such a precept, subject to approval of the House of Commons. TfL/the Mayor will submit their proposals, by 11 January 2021, alongside the financial sustainability plan.<sup>14</sup>

## How much does the scheme cost?

Information is not published on the annual cost to TfL for the under-18 travel concession. The proposed temporary removal of free travel for under-18s as a condition for the funding agreement between the

<sup>12</sup> London Assembly Budget and Performance Committee, [Transcript of Item 4 - 2020-21 Budget Review – Transport for London](#)

<sup>13</sup> London Assembly Budget and Performance Committee, [Transcript of Item 4 - 2020-21 Budget Review – Transport for London](#)

<sup>14</sup> DfT, [Transport for London settlement letter](#), para 12, 1 Nov 2020

Department for Transport (DfT) and TfL led to [London Councils](#) (the organisation which represents London's 32 borough councils) estimating that it would cost around £27 million for councils to continue offering the concessionary travel. They also estimated a £83 million cost burden would be created for parents and their children. It is not clear if this was the cost of replicating the concession in total, or if it just covered travel to school.

In discussing the proposals for removing concessionary travel at the [London Assembly](#) [p. 10], Andy Byford (Commissioner at TfL), when asked about what he thought of the London Councils estimates stated the following:

"I am just a public servant - but there are two elements here: there is cost and there is revenue.

There is definitely a cost to implementing the change to the under-18 provision and that is the cost of changing systems and the cost of replacing photocard, which by the way we think will run into the millions. I cannot give you an exact figure but it is no small undertaking. It is a huge administrative exercise. There are potentially additional costs associated with supporting customers as well, so there is definitely cost to this.

Conversely, then, you look at what the revenue generation might be because you always have to look at both sides of the equation. It is actually very difficult to say what the revenue impact will be until we are absolutely crystal clear on what we are being asked to do. Because of the complexity of this the debate has moved backwards and forwards, the date has moved backwards and forwards, and the actual exclusions - or inclusions, if you look at it the other way - keep changing. Which exemptions are we talking about? Children age 10 and under, children aged 11 to 17 who live more than 2 miles away, kids with social workers as well as education, health and care plans? There are a lot of exemptions. Plus, we have this success in suppressing demand but then again, the weather might change. It is very difficult to model what the revenue impact will be."

The Mayor of London has also raised concerns over the disproportionate impact the removing free travel for under 18s would have on black, Asian or minority ethnic communities. In July 2020, he told the Transport Committee:

To give you an idea of the scale of the challenge, we think 60% of those affected [by the removal of free travel for under 18s] are black, Asian or minority ethnic. [...] in London many children do not go to their nearest school; they often travel a long distance. Many of those children made the decision about which school to go to or which further education college to go to in the expectation that they would have free travel for the lifetime of them going to that school. The goalposts have now moved. They will still go to those schools or that FE college but are now being told that they have to pay to use public transport.<sup>15</sup>

## 1.5 What happens next?

The Government's second funding package for TfL expires on 31 March. The Government expects TfL to prepare proposals for achieving financial

<sup>15</sup> Q491, [Oral evidence: Coronavirus: implications for transport](#), HC 268, 22 July 2020



sustainability by 11 January 2021. In a letter to the Transport Committee Chair on 20 November, the Transport Secretary said:

Our objective is to work with TfL towards achieving a financially sustainable position for the organisation as soon as possible, with a target date of 2023. Many of the activities set out in our agreement with TfL are to support this goal. This includes a comprehensive plan with options to achieve financial sustainability, with an assessment of the impact of possible post-pandemic passenger demand scenarios. We will consider the full picture from this plan for financial sustainability from TfL, in determining the most appropriate approach for the next funding negotiations. We have been clear that we aim to be in a position where a longer-term settlement is possible from March 2021, when this funding package expires. This will only be possible however, if HMG can be satisfied that the measures set out in the funding agreement have been progressed.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> [Letter from Transport Secretary to Transport Committee Chair Re: Transport for London funding settlement](#), 20 Nov 2020

## 2. Press Articles

**[Transport minister: 'I'm spending money like water at the moment'](#)**

Independent  
11 November 2020

**[TfL has a fresh £1.8bn bailout - but at what cost?](#)**

BBC News  
2 November 2020

**[Free travel for under-18s saved in TfL bailout deal](#)**

TES  
2 November 2020

**[Coronavirus showed the way cities fund public transport is broken](#)**

Independent  
10 October 2020

### 3. Press notices/Websites

#### [Are the rules for children and young people under 18 travelling going to change?](#)

**Mayor of London**

**Accessed 26 November 2020**

In mid-May, the Government announced a £1.6 billion funding and financing package for Transport for London (TfL). This was necessary because COVID-19 has had a dramatic impact on TfL's finances, as it has on every transport provider in the UK. Fares income fell by 90 per cent at the peak of the crisis earlier this year because Londoners did the right thing and stayed at home and have continued to comply with changing travel advice. This has meant there simply isn't enough money coming in to pay for transport services.

On 31 October, the Mayor of London reached another eleventh-hour agreement with the Government on a further six-month funding deal to keep tube, bus and other TfL services in the capital running until March 2021. The Mayor was successful in defeating the very worst Government proposals, including the proposal to scrap free travel for under-18s. The current rules for children and young people travelling on TfL's services are therefore not going to change.

For many families free travel is a lifeline, especially at the moment when finances are stretched more than ever. An online YouGov poll commissioned by Child Poverty Action Group's 'Don't Zap the Zip' campaign found over half (54 per cent) of parents believe they would have to cut back on something else if the suspension went ahead, with 41 per cent saying they would have to cut back on food.

The Mayor thanks the many young campaigners on this issue for their action and their success in making the Government rethink these proposals.

Ministers made clear that if the Mayor wanted to keep free travel for under-18s and the 60+ Oyster card, they expected TfL and the Mayor to cover the cost of these concessionary fares. The Mayor has reluctantly accepted that he may need to everyone to pay a bit more to help some of the poorest families. We are now exploring ways to raise the additional income for TfL that is needed, so we can protect these vital concessions. This may include a modest increase in council tax next year. This is not something the Mayor would do lightly as he fully recognises that times are challenging for many households, so we will make sure that any increase is as modest as possible

**Update on Government funding agreement for TfL  
Transport for London  
2 November 2020**

A funding agreement with government has been reached, currently forecast to be worth around £1.8bn subject to actual levels of passenger revenue. The agreement will enable Transport for London (TfL) to continue to support the capital for the remainder of the financial year as discussions on longer-term sustainable funding continue.

Andy Byford, London's Transport Commissioner, yesterday said:

"Reaching this agreement with the government allows us to help London through this next phase of the pandemic. We will continue to work with the Mayor and the government on our longer-term funding needs. As always, our staff are working tirelessly to serve London's people and businesses; supporting the city's economy and providing an excellent, safe and reliable service to our customers every day."

Notes to Editors:

Before the coronavirus pandemic, TfL was on the path to achieving a level of financial self-sufficiency almost unheard of for transport authorities around the world. But the pandemic has massively impacted TfL's finances and significantly reduced fares revenue, necessitating ongoing financial support from the government.

The funding and financing support package agreed between TfL and the Department for Transport will ensure funding is available to TfL to address its forecast funding shortfall, arising from the loss of passenger revenue as a result of the coronavirus pandemic.

The Funding Package will provide TfL with a core amount of £1bn for the period between 18 October 2020 and 31 March 2021 and comprises the following:

An Extraordinary Support Grant of £905m payable under section 101 of the Greater London Authority (GLA) Act 1999;

Incremental borrowing by Transport for London from the Public Works Loan Board of £95m.

The above funding amounts assume that the passenger demand over the Support Period will stay at approximately 65% of pre-coronavirus levels. This is higher than the ridership assumptions in TfL's revised budget, published in July 2020, which forecast a funding shortfall of approximately £2bn for the second half of 2020/21.

In recognition of the high level of uncertainty in predicting the future passenger revenue over the Support Period, the Funding Package permits modification of the total amount of support up or down depending on actual passenger revenues. It is expected to provide approximately £1.8bn of funding based on the amount of passenger revenue assumed in TfL's revised budget, but this could increase if actual revenues are lower than that.

As part of the Funding Package, TfL will commit to contributing approximately £160m to the forecast funding shortfall in the form of additional income or savings through a mixture of lower capital and operating expenditure supported by stronger financial control measures.

The current temporary changes to the Congestion Charge will be maintained as a continuing response to the coronavirus pandemic, as will the current temporary removal of free travel in the morning peak for holders of 60+ / older persons freedom pass

Over the course of the support period, TfL and DfT will continue to work on long-term funding plans to ensure TfL's financial sustainability over the medium to long term.

Discussions on funding the additional costs to complete the Crossrail project are not included as part of this funding package but are being progressed in parallel, remain constructive and are expected to conclude soon

**[Government bailout to keep London transport running](#)  
**[An additional £1.7 billion government funding and financing package for Transport for London.](#)****

**Dept for Transport**  
**1 November 2020**

The government has agreed a second extraordinary funding and financing package for Transport for London (TfL) worth up to £1.7 billion.

The package, which will provide financial support until March 2021, is focused on protecting services and ensuring the capital's transport network stands ready to support the recovery from coronavirus (COVID-19). Government funding will ensure those who need to, such as NHS staff, can continue to be able to travel as the nation enters tougher national restrictions.

As with the national rail operators, buses and tram systems, the government will make up all the fare revenue which TfL has lost due to the COVID-19 pandemic through this support package.

National taxpayers will also continue to fund free travel concessions to standard English levels and free travel to school for children who qualify under national legislation. Nearly all the package will be grants and £95 million will be loans.

The Mayor has also chosen to make £160 million in savings over the next 6 months in TfL and raise fares by RPI+1%.

The Mayor has further stated that, if he wishes to maintain Londoners' concessions above the English level, he will raise the money to pay for them himself. If he decides to do this, he will come forward with a plan to raise revenue to fund this.

In the agreeing the bailout, the Mayor proposes that he could, pay for these concessions by retaining the central London congestion charge at its current level and by increasing the existing TfL element of the GLA's council tax precept. He must make his final choice by January 2021, at the same time as he presents a plan for the long-term financial sustainability of TfL.

Expanding the congestion charging zone to inner London has been ruled out by both the government and the Mayor. The Freedom Pass for pensioners will continue as now, as it is not funded by TfL or the Mayor.

The 2 government special representatives will continue to sit on TfL's board. A new government-chaired government oversight group will monitor the implementation of the agreement and the sustainability plan.

The Transport Secretary, Grant Shapps, said:

This deal is proof of our commitment to supporting London and the transport network on which it depends. Just as we've done for the national rail operators, we'll make up the fare income which TfL is losing due to COVID-19. Londoners making essential trips will continue to be able to use tubes, buses, and other TfL services, thanks to this government funding.

At the same time, the agreement is fair to taxpayers across the country. The Mayor has pledged that national taxpayers will not pay for benefits for Londoners that they do not get themselves elsewhere in the country.

Over the coming months, as we look to move beyond the pandemic, I look forward to working with London's representatives to achieve a long-term settlement, with London given more control over key taxes so it can pay more costs of the transport network itself. This agreement marks the first step towards that, potentially allowing a longer-term, sustainable settlement for TfL when the course of the pandemic becomes clearer.



## 4. Parliamentary material

### [Transport for London: Finance](#)

**Asked by:** Baroness Randerson | **Party:** Liberal Democrats

To ask Her Majesty's Government further to the letter sent by Baroness Vere of Norbiton to Transport for London (TfL) on 31 July, whether the suspension of free travel for 11 to 17 year olds in London, as a condition of Government financial support for TfL during the COVID-19 pandemic, has been implemented; if not, why not; and what plans they have to insist upon that suspension as a condition of funding.

**Answering member:** Baroness Vere of Norbiton | **Party:** Conservative Party  
| **Department:** Department for Transport

The Government agreed a further finance package for TfL of up to £1.7bn to ensure the continuation of essential services.

This deal is clear that while the national tax payer will continue to fund free travel to school for children who qualify under national legislation, if the Mayor wishes to maintain free travel for all under 18's, over and above the English baseline, he

[Free Travel for Under-18s: London](#), House of Commons Adjournment debate, 8 July 2020

[Parliamentary material on TfL funding 2020-](#)



## 5. Further reading

[Don't zap the zip campaign briefing](#), Child Poverty Action Group, August 2020

["Free transport means everything to me"](#), Partnership for Young London, 27 July 2020

[Concessionary bus travel](#), House of Commons Library, 20 July 2020 [see pp16-18 in particular]

[Budget and Business Plan information 2019 –](#), Transport for London

[Review of reduced and concessionary fares in England outside London](#), TAS Partnership, Oct 2019 [see chapters 3 and 4 in particular]

[Under 18s free travel rules begin](#), Transport for London, 1 June 2008

[Free under-16s bus and tram travel begins](#), Transport for London, 1 September 2005

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