



The Cost of Khan.

Counting the cost to Londoners from two years of Khan



By Gareth Bacon AM
GLA Conservatives.

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Cost of Khan: Half Term Report.

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This report will explore and detail the Mayor's continuing inability to improve the lives of Londoners

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Last year we published *Cost of Khan 2017*. This report, amongst other things, highlighted Sadiq Khan's propensity to renege on, or diverge from, his election promises. Now that we are two years into this mayoralty, a clear picture is emerging on how Sadiq Khan manages City Hall and how effective he is on fulfilling the promises he was elected to deliver.

From the research undertaken as part of this report, it is becoming apparent that there are three core themes that run through all of Khan's policy and leadership failures.

First, Sadiq Khan seems to have contempt for communities in Outer London and has, through his Draft London Plan, declared war on those living in the suburbs through his dictatorial planning policies.

Secondly, Sadiq Khan is overseeing one of the worst spikes in violent crime in decades. Despite the Mayor having the same number of police officers as Boris Johnson did in 2013, he is losing control of the streets to criminal gangs.

Finally, Sadiq Khan repeatedly promised during his election campaign to exceed the housebuilding performance of his predecessor. Yet, on his watch, construction has slowed dramatically and the quality of homes has deteriorated. Put simply, he is failing to deliver the homes Londoners desperately need.

These three themes run through all of Sadiq Khan's failures. This report will explore and detail the Mayor's continuing inability to improve the lives of Londoners.

Declaring war on the suburbs

For all of his talk of being a “Mayor for all Londoners”, Sadiq Khan has shown little willingness to understand the specific character and attitudes of those living in Outer London. Nothing has demonstrated this borderline contempt more under this mayoralty than Sadiq Khan's Draft London Plan, which was published at the end of 2017.

This Plan highlights several ways in which Sadiq Khan is undermining life in the suburbs:

the push to reduce garden land; the promotion of tall buildings in low-rise neighbourhoods; and the removal of requirements for parking spaces for new developments.

Garden land

The previous London Plan under Boris Johnson helped local boroughs resist the development of back garden land. This was a hard-won policy that successfully protected many back gardens from development. Before the introduction of these safeguards, the London Wildlife Trust estimated that nearly 500 gardens were being lost every year due to housing development.^[1] This was equivalent to 6 hectares every year, with the average development losing 200 sqm of garden land.

Shockingly, despite the clear success of the previous system in protecting gardens, Sadiq Khan has removed these valuable safeguards from his new London Plan. This not only ensures that London will once again begin to lose back gardens, but also undermines the power of the London boroughs to ensure developments are sensitive to their local areas and respectful of green space.

The loss of back gardens will harm local character and local biodiversity, which cannot necessarily be adequately

replaced by new 'green cover' elsewhere. Indeed, the London Wildlife Trust recently told the London Assembly Planning Committee, in relation to the new London Plan, "There are real concerns that the further loss of gardens will have a negative effect on biodiversity."^[2]

It is clear that Sadiq Khan has little respect for the character of Outer London neighbourhoods and is entirely comfortable with the decrease in natural capital through the undermining of biodiversity in back gardens, that will result from the introduction of his London Plan.

Tall buildings

The Draft London Plan removes the part of the previous Plan that was termed the 'housing density matrix'. This means that there are now no guidelines on density limits for new developments. This prevents local councils from ensuring that new developments are in keeping with the local character and respectful of the needs of local communities. The density matrix has been replaced by much more vague guidance around aspects such as design, which leaves this wide open to interpretation by developers.

As a result of the new Draft London Plan, with its removal of density ceilings, boroughs will now be under significant pressure

^[1] <http://www.wildlifetrusts.org/news/2011/06/17/new-report-reveals-scale-london%E2%80%99s-garden-loss>

^[2] London Assembly Planning Committee meeting, 30 January 2018

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to approve denser, taller developments in areas of London where most homes are low-rise. Historic England recently told the London Assembly that it was concerned at the potential for very tall buildings to damage the setting of world heritage sites.^[3] Given this and the likelihood that the suburbs will witness a new generation of high-rise tower blocks being constructed in Outer London, it is clear that Sadiq Khan cares little about the unique character of suburban London.

On top of the removal of density ceilings, boroughs have also been undermined by the new requirement from Khan that local councils must go out of their way to identify sites for new tower blocks. This removes powers from communities and local boroughs to resist the construction of high-rise development where they are not wanted. Forcing tower blocks on communities will erode the unique character of local areas in Outer London and will not solve the housing crisis.

Parking spaces

For most people living in Outer London, due to a lack of public transport links, owning and regularly using a car or other vehicle is essential. This is why Sadiq Khan's new policy on parking in housing developments is particularly unfathomable. The trend in previous London Plans had been to increase flexibility for

boroughs regarding parking provision in new developments. Sadiq Khan's prohibition on new parking spaces goes completely against this previous policy.

Removing car parking spaces will not necessarily reduce car ownership or car usage. More likely, residents will still own cars, but will park them elsewhere, leading to parking overspill and a greater level of congestion and inconvenience for others. The way to achieve modal shift is to provide better options than car usage, not to try to restrict parking supply for people who do not have adequate alternatives.

Failure to provide sufficient parking spaces undermines local support for new homes. It also undermines the roll-out of electric vehicles, because people will have fewer opportunities to charge their cars at home.

It would be preferable to leave parking provision to the discretion of boroughs, who know their respective areas best. Not only is Sadiq Khan's requirement to make new developments 'car free' impractical, it is highly insulting to those living in the suburbs who require a car to do their weekly shop or visit family or friends.

With his Draft London Plan, Sadiq Khan has patently declared war on the suburbs. His proposals remove protections against building on gardens; abandons restrictions on high-rise

^[3] London Assembly Planning Committee meeting, 30 January 2018

developments; and ensures that housing will be built without any spaces for family cars.

Losing control of the streets

Perhaps the Mayor's greatest failure has been his inability to tackle the recent rise in crime, especially violent crime. In his Manifesto¹, Sadiq Khan said: "Keeping your community safe will be my top priority". On his own measure he is clearly coming up short.

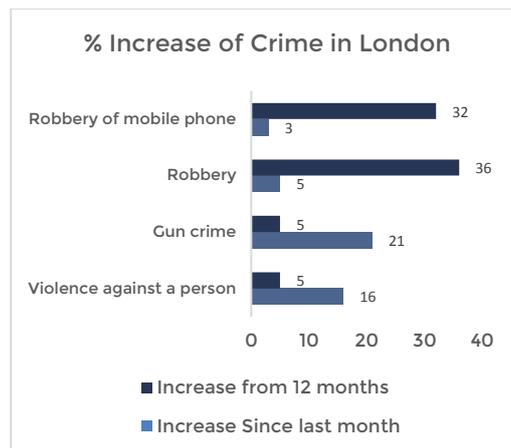
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On the rise in crime, the Mayor has shamelessly attempted to shift blame from City Hall to Whitehall

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When assessing Sadiq Khan's record on crime, the statistics speak for themselves. In 2017 the total number of murders was 130 and in 2016 it was 101². The murder rate in London so far this year has already reached 67³. If the current trend this year continues, the murder rate will reach 171 by the end of the year. London now has a worse murder-rate than New York for the first time in history.

Looking further at statistics over the last year, crime is up across the board.



On the rise in crime, the Mayor has shamelessly attempted to shift blame from City Hall to Whitehall. Sadiq Khan has suggested that police cuts are to blame, but an exploration of the reduction in police funding shows a complex picture.

The previous Mayor had to implement cuts worth £600m⁴, which he did by 2014. From the following year, and prior to the current Mayor taking up his office, the Metropolitan Police were asked to find another £400m⁵.

The fact of the matter is that most of the savings asked of the MPS from 2010 onwards were found by the previous Mayor. In fact, due to actions taken by the Government, Sadiq Khan has had his funding increased by £110m from increases in council tax and business rate revenues. These increases ensure that the MPS will now not be in deficit until 2020⁶.

¹ http://www.sadiq.london/a_manifesto_for_all_londoners

² <https://www.met.police.uk/stats-and-data/crime-data-dashboard/>

³ <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/5963434/london-murder-rate-2018-overtake-new-york-victims-world-capital-islington-latest/>

⁴ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-41633205>

⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/oct/31/met-police-chief-warns-further-cuts-will-make-it-harder-to-fight-crime>

⁶ https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/part_2_-_explanation_of_proposals_2018-19_pdf_0.pdf

The Mayor has also said that these cuts, which were largely managed under his predecessor, have led to a significant fall in police numbers, which in turn has led to the spike in violent crime seen in London. This is despite the fact that MPS still has the highest funded police force in the country by some way

Force	Budget £	Population	Per capita spend
Met	3,038,800,000.	8,630,000	£352.12
Cumbria	141,506,000	497,900	£284.21
Merseyside	313,102,721.	1,406,400	£222.63
GMP	580,310,000	2,782,100	£208.59
Surrey	214,600,000	1,067,200	£201.09
Dorset	142,158,000	711,900	£199.69
West Midlands	567,560,000	2,864,900	£198.11
Cleveland	119,770,000	608,000	£196.99
TVP	405,994,000	2,100,000	£193.33
Cheshire	200,104,000	1,048,100	£190.92
Sussex	306,382,000	1,609,500	£190.36
West Yorkshire	436,280,000	2,299,700	£189.71
Northumbria	£266,245,000	1,420,400	£187.44
Kent	£333,300,000	1,820,400	£183.09
Lancashire	£271,878,000	1,485,000	£183.08
Avon and Somerset	£285,000,000	1,590,000	£179.25
South Yorkshire	£247,571,000	1,385,000	£178.75
Hertfordshire	£208,800,000	1,176,700	£177.45
West Mercia	£211,000,000	1,190,000	£177.31
Hampshire	£323,923,000	1,829,500	£177.06
Warwickshire	£98,203,000	556,800	£176.37
Devon and Cornwall	£290,200,000	1,650,000	£175.88
Northamptonshire	£127,108,000	733,100	£173.38
Norfolk	£154,555,000	892,900	£173.09
Humbberside	£196,045,000	1,140,200	£171.94
Leicestershire	£176,255,000	1,031,300	£170.91
Nottinghamshire	£193,100,000	1,136,000	£169.98
Suffolk	£125,000,000	745,300	£167.72
Staffordshire	£183,400,000	1,120,300	£163.71

Essex	£294,726,000	1,802,200	£163.54
Derbyshire	£169,170,000	1,042,000	£162.35
Cambridgeshire	£137,117,000	849,000	£161.50
Bedfordshire	£105,226,000	664,500	£158.35
Wiltshire	£105,899,000	706,300	£149.93
Durham	£116,116,000	859,600	£135.08
North Yorkshire	£141,689,000	1,145,700	£123.67
Gloucestershire	£109,800,000	900,800	£121.89
Lincolnshire	£122,738,000	1,073,300	£114.36

Source: PCC Budgets

The Mayor's arguments on police numbers are also false in another way. In 2013, the previous Mayor had police numbers almost identical to the current Mayor, and yet on his watch Sadiq Khan has overseen a 12% increase in crime over his mayoralty with these same numbers. His argument simply do not stack up.

But these arguments do not take away from the fact that many Londoners simply do not feel safe in this city. It is the top priority that all violent crime is urgently tackled in London. In doing this, perhaps the greatest threats to Londoners have been the sharp spikes in knife crime, acid attacks and moped-enabled crime. Combating these crimes perhaps deserves greater levels of attention.

Knife crime

It is widely known that knife crime is on the rise in London. However, prior to this mayoralty, from 2011 to 2015 the number of knife crimes actually fell by 32 per cent. Sadly, over the past two years, under Sadiq Khan the trend

has reversed, with knife crime rising by 52 per cent over the course of this mayoralty⁷.

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Tragically, knife crime is mostly against vulnerable young people, with BAME Londoners being highly over-represented amongst the victims. Indeed, knife crime disproportionately affects young people. In 2017, 21 per cent of those who were proceeded against for a knife offence were aged 10 to 17. For the New Year stabbings at the beginning of the year, three of the four victims were teenagers. All of which highlights the tragic nature of the rise in this type of crime.

In response to this spike, in June 2017, the Mayor and his team launched a Knife Crime Strategy. By launching the strategy, the Mayor rightly acknowledges that there is a serious problem in the Capital. However, as a strategy, it is clearly insufficient to meet the challenge that London is now facing. Violent crime is on the rise in the Capital and, tragically, it seems to be driven by an ongoing behavioural shift in young people. The Mayor's strategy lays a basic foundation, but it does not deliver the community engagement, joined-up working and long-term violence prevention that young Londoners need. Without a systematic intervention that targets the forces driving the increase in violence, the police can only suppress the symptoms of knife crime rather than the causes.

⁷ <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/mayors-office-policing-and-crime-mopac/data-and-statistics/mopac-performance-framework>

⁸ <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/acid-attack-violence-in-london-soars-by-more-than-78-per-cent-a3736516.html>

Acid attacks

Acid attacks, where a corrosive substance is thrown at a person, are truly horrific crimes. Intended to cause disfigurement rather than death, these attacks leave survivors with permanent physical and psychological scars. In the UK, a recent spike in these attacks has generated media attention and generated, as well as significant amounts of fear. The latest statistics from the MPS show that acid attacks are up 65 per cent, from 260 in 2015 to 429 at the end of 2017. Few suspects are ever actually identified or charged with an offence. Overall, just 37 per cent of the suspects were identified and only 19 per cent were charged: shocking statistics⁸.

Official figures also highlight that younger people are most likely to be a victim, with over 50 per cent of offences targeted at individuals between the ages of 10 and 29. The average age of a victim is 29. Also, victims were predominantly either White European, African or Caribbean⁹.

⁹ <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/acid-attack-violence-in-london-soars-by-more-than-78-per-cent-a3736516.html>

As with the rise in general crime, the Mayor attempted to shift blame towards the national government, forgetting once again that he is the Police and Crime Commissioner for London: it is his responsibility. Sadiq Khan has supported the Government's strengthening of the sentencing guidelines, but he himself has done very little to indicate how the police under his mayoralty will alter their tactics to thwart perpetrators of this horrific crime.

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So called
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Moped-enabled crime

Crimes involving mopeds are also on the increase. Aside from knife crime, moped-related offences represent perhaps the largest growing threat to public safety in London. Since taking office, the Mayor has been slow to react to growing levels of youth violence, including the recent emergence of moped-enabled crime as a leading crime type.

Alongside the violent nature of this crime, the mopeds used in these offences are often stolen. To prevent moped thefts, the Mayor must get tougher with manufacturers to improve their security and cut this problem off at the source.

In 2015 the Metropolitan Police logged 4,663 moped-enabled crimes, but in the year 2017, they recorded a staggering 23,869 crimes. This shows that moped

crime has increase by 19,206 (412 per cent) since 2015.¹⁰

Metropolitan Police data shows that Oxford Street is the worst hit, with 291 offences last year. Dr Simon Harding, associate professor of criminology at the University of West London, said moped-enabled theft is the "crime of the moment" as it is "ridiculously easy" to do.

The Mayor has tasked manufacturers¹¹ with improving the design of new motorcycles to make them more difficult to steal. He would also like to see a range of short-term actions introduced to tackle the problem in existing models, such as retrofitting security devices and closer collaboration between manufacturers and the Met on the Be Safe campaign, launched to raise awareness with scooter riders of what they can do to reduce the risk of their vehicle being stolen.

But as with acid attacks, the Mayor is still to publish a detailed strategy as to how he would prevent the rise in this form of violent crime. There is the usual shifting of blame to the Government and moped manufacturers, but a clear lack of will from the Mayor to use levers to steer the MPS. Londoners deserve better leadership.

Failing to build the homes we need

¹⁰ http://questions.london.gov.uk/QuestionSearch/search/client/questions/question_298423

¹¹ <https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/mayoral/mayor-working-to-end-moped-related-crime>

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Khan will have to significantly accelerate his housebuilding programme if he is to build the homes Londoners need.

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During his mayoral campaign, Sadiq Khan stated that London would need to build 50,000 homes a year to meet the housing demands of the Capital.¹² His Manifesto made clear that his top is housebuilding. During the campaign. Perhaps Sadiq Khan’s most memorable promise during the election campaign was his pledge that at least “50 per cent of all new homes in London would be affordable”. Many Londoners will have voted for him based upon this commitment. Another pledge was his promise to build 80,000 homes every year.¹³ Not only has the Mayor failed to meet these promises (discussed in more detail in the Broken Promises section), his housing record overall is very disappointing.

Sadiq Khan’s actual housing record

Near the beginning of his term, negotiations were initiated between him and the Government. As a result, the Government awarded to the GLA a record £3.1bn for the construction of affordable homes, which will result in the building of an additional 90,000 affordable homes for London.¹⁴ In the Spring Statement for 2017, the Government awarded another £1.7bn to London for affordable homes.¹⁵ So the Mayor now has

funding for 117,000 affordable homes, to be built by 2022.

The Government has clearly provided significant funds to the Mayor for his housebuilding programme, but his record in fulfilling his commitments to voters and the Government has been poor.

In order to meet his targets, Sadiq Khan would have to build roughly 19,000 every year. In the first year of his mayoralty he built a paltry 8,935 affordable homes, a shortfall of more than 12,000.¹⁶

In his second year, he started 12,526 affordable homes. This is an improvement on his previous year, and is to be commended, but it is still down on the previous Mayor’s high of 16,531 in 2010/11, and down on the previous Mayor’s second-year performance in 2009/10 of 15,629.¹⁷ These figures from the previous Mayor are all the more impressive given that state of the housing market at the time.

Further, because of Sadiq Khan’s poor performance in his first year, he is still playing catch-up and currently not on target to meet his affordable housing commitments. Khan will have to significantly accelerate his housebuilding programme if he is to build the homes Londoners need.

¹² http://www.sadiq.london/homes_for_londoners_manifesto

¹³ http://www.sadiq.london/homes_for_londoners

¹⁴ <https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/mayoral/mayor-sets-out-plans-to-deliver-90000-homes>

¹⁵ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/spring-statement-2018-what-you-need-to-know>

¹⁶ https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/affordable_housing_starts_and_completions_-_end_of_march_2017.pdf

¹⁷ https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/affordable_housing_starts_and_completions2_-_end_of_march_2018.pdf

Family homes and overcrowding

Overcrowding is a problem that many families in London currently struggle with, particularly those from poorer backgrounds. The latest figures indicate that 360,000 children under 16 live in overcrowded homes in London. In total, 34 per cent of children in social rented housing and 22 per cent of children in private rented housing are considered to be residing in overcrowded properties.¹⁸

A failure to build sufficient numbers of family-sized homes would make this problem worse, when we should be striving to make it better. Yet the Mayor's Strategic Housing Market Assessment (SHMA), which accompanies the London Plan, claims that 55 per cent of all new homes should be one-bedroom units, and within low-cost rented housing, 21,318 homes a year should be one-bedroom units, out of a total of 30,972, which is 69 per cent of the total. It claims just 4,343 low-cost rented homes a year should be three or four-bedroom units, or 14 per cent of the total.¹⁹

His Housing Strategy lacks any targets designed to meet family housing needs, despite the Mayor's predecessor publishing a target of 36 per cent in his 2014 strategy.²⁰

¹⁸ <https://files.datapress.com/london/dataset/housing-london/2017-01-26T18:50:00/Housing-in-London-2017-report.pdf>

¹⁹ https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/london_shma_2017.pdf

The GLA has been given £3.15bn from the Government to build 90,000 affordable homes by 2021. Targets for family homes are crucial to ensure that this money is not spent solely on smaller and high-rise flats, which do not meet the needs of families and increase the risk of overcrowding. Not only is Sadiq Khan failing in the numbers of homes built, he is also failing to build decent homes for poorer families.

Rough sleeping

The Mayor has rightly highlighted that rough sleeping in the Capital is something that should be tackled as a matter of urgency. The previous Mayor had a scheme called "No Second Night Out". The current Mayor looked to go one step further than this and launched his "No Night Out" scheme, which is to be a London-wide taskforce to oversee the implementation of the Mayor's rough sleeping work and funding priorities.

But despite the hype, like many things associated with this mayoralty, the delivery of the projects failed to live up to the rhetoric.

The data for rough sleeping in London is found in the CHAIN database, organised by the GLA. In the last quarter of 2017, 2,630 people were categorised as new rough sleepers in London. Of these, about one fifth spent more

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https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/gla_migrate_files_destination/Housing%20Strategy%202014%20report_lowresFA.pdf

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than one night on the streets. During the same period, 383 people were recorded as permanently living on the streets, which is 8 per cent higher than the same period in the previous year.²¹

The charity that runs the *StreetLink* rough sleeping app has said that they and other charities in this field were “overstretched”. They said that more than 2,000 referrals for rough sleeping were made using their app during the year’s coldest months.²²

While it is admirable that the Mayor has sought to prioritise ending rough sleeping in London, his performance so far has been less than desired. He needs to ensure not only that most rough sleepers do not spend more than one night on the streets, but also that those permanently living on the streets should be found suitable accommodation.

Evidently, Sadiq Khan has so far failed to live up to his own hype. Housing starts are down and, despite record funding granted to him by the Government, he is going backwards on affordable housebuilding. Many Londoners voted for Sadiq Khan based upon his housing pledges. They have a right to feel short-changed.

²¹ <https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/chain-reports>

Mismanagement at City Hall and the cost to Londoners.

Boris Johnson had, over the course of his two terms, reduced the GLA’s call on the London council tax by 28 per cent in real terms. He did this while increasing the number of homes delivered, improving the levels of investment in the transport network and ensuring that the Metropolitan Police could afford to hit their strategic target of 32,000 officers. Sadiq Khan’s record in his two years in office, when measured against his predecessor, does not compare favourably.

Below are five examples of profligacy under this mayoralty.

TfL upgrade cancellations and the ‘pause’

On 10th October last year, Transport for London announced that plans to buy 27 new Tube trains for the Jubilee and Northern Lines had been “paused”. These trains would have been crucial in increasing

²² <http://www.itv.com/news/london/2018-02-28/record-number-of-rough-sleepers-referred-to-helpline/>

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capacity and reducing overcrowding on two of the London Underground's busiest lines.

The then Deputy Mayor for Transport Val Shawcross explained that their scrapping would mean a £600 million saving to TfL.

On this, it is worth noting that Sadiq Khan's manifesto promised:

"My plan to freeze transport fares will be funded by making TfL a more efficient, and profitable operation, not by cuts to spending on better services and more capacity."

So, by scrapping these long-planned new trains, which would have meant a better service and more capacity, Sadiq Khan was breaking yet another manifesto promise.

It could be reasonably argued that cancellations like this were inevitable as soon as Sadiq Khan promised Londoners "Londoners won't pay a penny more for their travel in 2020 than they do today." Even though the Mayor broke that promise, the partial fares freeze he did introduce will cost TfL at least £640 million in foregone revenue. His decision to cancel vital infrastructure upgrades is the inevitable result.

has chosen to employ an additional 100 members of staff at the GLA, instead of repurposing or retraining staff. Since then, it has emerged that the Mayor has increased the staff complement at City Hall by at least 120 new personnel. In fact, the number of staff at City Hall is now so large, the GLA has started renting additional desks in buildings outside City Hall. This unmanaged expansion is unjustified at a time when other members of the GLA family, including the police, are having to reduce overall staffing numbers.

One area of the GLA that has seen an increase in size and budget is the External Affairs team. This budget is primarily used for PR, marketing, events and international affairs purposes. Since the last Mayor's final year in office, this budget has grown by £1.6m (a 17 per cent increase).

Alongside this, at a time when the police budgets are being squeezed, the Mayor has chosen to expand his own office by £0.9m since the beginning of this mayoralty (an 18 per cent increase). This additional spending is being used to increase the Mayor's PR presence and expand his team of personal advisers. Sadiq Khan is clearly signalling to Londoners what his top priorities are with these hires.

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Sadiq Khan's press and PR budgets

As was pointed out in last year's Cost of Khan report, the Mayor

Transport for London executive pay

The number of staff at Transport for London who were paid over £100,000 increased by 25 per cent last year – despite the Mayor’s promises to ‘cut flab’ at the organisation. Those employees taking home six figure salaries rose from 458 in 2016 to 576 last year – with one senior staff member raking-in over £945,000.

The increase in corporate-level salaries comes at a time of huge financial stress at the transport operator. A leaked memo in February revealed that TfL is heading for a £1bn operational deficit. At a time when TfL is cancelling new capacity-boosting trains on the Northern and Jubilee lines, scrapping all proactive road maintenance and has pulled out of major projects including the Metropolitan Line extension, it is hard to justify such overly generous pay.

Before he became Mayor, Sadiq Khan repeatedly described TfL as “good but flabby”. Increasing the number of TfL staff on bumper pay packets does not look like ‘cutting the flab’, as the Mayor had promised he would. Having cost TfL hundreds of millions of pounds with schemes like his partial fares freeze, this is just the latest example of the dire financial mismanagement that has left the organisation in disarray.

²³ https://consultations.tfl.gov.uk/environment/air-quality-consultation-phase-2/user_uploads/consultation-information-document.pdf-1

T-Charge

The Mayor of London’s T-charge started on 23rd October 2017. The T-Charge (the Toxicity Charge) is a £10 levy on all vehicles which do not meet Euro 4 emissions standards – typically those registered before 2006 entering the centre of London. It is estimated that it will cost to Londoners of £23million a year despite the Mayor’s own Impact Assessment saying it will have only a ‘negligible’ impact on pollution.²³ This has now been borne out by real world data from the first six months of the charge.²⁴

	PM10 Particulate (ug/m ³)	PM2.5 Particulate (ug/m ³)
Oct-2017	20.0	10.9
Nov-2017	22.2	13.4
Dec-2017	17.6	9.9
Jan-2018	18.9	10.3
Feb-2018	23.1	11.9
Mar-2018	26.0	15.0
Apr-2018	26.1	16.8

Transport for London’s own assessment concludes the £10 daily charge for vehicles that are over ten years old will save just 1-3 per cent of NOx (nitrous oxide) emissions. The assessment also concludes the anticipated reduction in air pollution will be ‘low’. Small businesses with older vehicles will be hardest hit, facing charges of £2,600 a year or having to spend between £3,000 and £7,000 to renew their

²⁴ <https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/london-average-air-quality-levels>

vehicles. The minimum vehicle replacement cost (taking into account trade-in value and depreciation) is £2,400 for cars and £3,000 for vans.

The T-Charge therefore is viewed by many as simply a publicity exercise for the Mayor that helps him present the case to Londoners and the media that he is being proactive in implementing measures to improve air quality. However, as we have seen, this policy will deliver little actual benefit to Londoners.

The funding used to deliver this policy could be better spent on other measures that would deliver more value in terms of improving air quality, but would also do so without penalising poorer motorists and small businesses, who often own older vehicles.

Nominees passes

For many years now, campaigners in London have consistently lobbied all three London mayors to scrap nominee passes. It is a strange and puzzling phenomenon that, at a time when TfL needs to 'cut the flab' and become sustainable now that the body is self-financing, Transport for London (TfL) offers, as an employee perk, free and non-taxable travel on the TfL network for nominees of their staff. Nominee passes are not only open to a family member, they are also available to any one

person residing in the staff member's household - be they a lodger or a flatmate.

Neither the Metropolitan Police Service nor the London Fire Brigade, which are widely considered as more vital organisations, offer such passes to nominees of their staff. So why does TfL continue this unaffordable and unfair practice? Although TfL have stated that the provision of free travel to staff nominees is nil because the number of such journeys is insufficient to require additional services, this is disingenuous as there is a reduction in income from the loss of fare revenues.

The latest figures from TfL suggest that there are 19,341 TfL employees who have a Nominee Pass and 20,543 employees of London bus operators who have Nominee Passes: 39,884 in total. If it is assumed that the average journey undertaken by commuters is one between Zone 1 and 3, and that only half of those with a Nominee Pass would purchase a Travelcard if this was removed (a conservative estimate), then the additional fares revenue that TfL could expect to raise would be £32 million.²⁵

It is grossly unjust, at a time when the average commuter has seen their fares rise, that flatmates and lodgers of TfL staff receive such benefits.

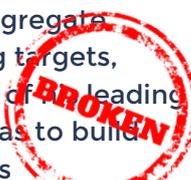
²⁵ A Zone 1-3 Annual Travelcard currently costs £1,600



Sadiq Khan's broken promises.

Annual target of 80k homes

On his campaign website, during his election campaign Sadiq Khan promised to support housing associations to build 80,000 homes every year. In his two years as Mayor, he has given no indication that he intends to fulfil this promise and has stated he is not interested in “aggregating numbers” or housing targets, despite the fact one of his leading election promises was to build more homes than his predecessors. Clearly the Mayor is not very confident in his ability to deliver as many homes as he initially promised.



Affordable housing targets

Perhaps Sadiq Khan's most memorable promise during the election campaign was his pledge that at least “50 per cent of all new homes in London would be affordable”.²⁶ Within his first six months he had reneged on this promise, suggesting instead that he would aim towards the long-term strategic goal of half of all homes being affordable, but would only impose a real target of 35 per cent on new developments; meaning that he will build, at most, roughly 30,000 fewer affordable homes across his term than first promised. This is despite the fact he is, two years in, still struggling to meet his



²⁶

http://www.sadiq.london/a_manifesto_for_all_londoners

housing targets (detailed previously in the report).

Ensure tall buildings respect local character

Despite promising that tall buildings should respect local character, in practice Sadiq Khan's new London Plan places huge pressure on local authorities to approve denser, taller developments. He has abolished the 'density matrix' which set limits on different locations, making it harder for boroughs to resist tall buildings. Historic England recently told the London Assembly that it was concerned at the potential for very tall buildings to damage the setting of world heritage sites. In addition, Khan has already imposed tower blocks on boroughs through his planning decisions, even when these have been rejected by local planning committees, ignoring limits set by boroughs.



Prioritise development on brownfield sites

Sadiq Khan's new London Plan represents a shift in priority from brownfield land development to green spaces and back gardens. The new Plan includes a policy that there should be 'no net loss' of industrial floorspace in 'strategic' locations, including areas already designated for housing. At the same time, Khan has deliberately removed protections against the loss of back garden land. His 'small sites' policy actively promotes the loss of garden land by applying a 'presumption in favour' of

conversions, redevelopments or outbuildings of up to 25 units within the boundaries of existing family homes and gardens.

Give Londoners first dibs on new properties

Sadiq Khan's election manifesto promised to "give first dibs to Londoners on new homes" and to use "the Mayor's planning powers to their fullest extent". In February 2018, Khan finally set out an agreement with developers that he claimed would deliver on this pledge, whereby homes of up to £350,000 would be marketed to UK buyers for three months before being made available to overseas buyers. However, this is merely a voluntary agreement and very similar in principle to the previous Mayor's 'Concordat', which Khan said had not been "robust or effective". There are no planning policies proposed to support this policy, contrary to Khan's manifesto commitment. In addition, the policy applies to all UK buyers, rather than just Londoners, so this cannot in any way be described as 'first dibs' for Londoners.



Four-year fares freeze

The Mayor promised in his election manifesto that Londoners "won't pay a penny more for their travel in 2020 than they do today". In actual fact, he only froze Transport for London (TfL) fares, leaving all of London's Travelcard holders, the fares for which are set in partnership with mainline rail providers, with a fares hike. In total, 4.5m people are now paying more in fares than when Sadiq Khan first took office,

and despite this 'freeze' only being partial, it will still create a £640m black hole in TfL's finances by 2020. So not only did he break his promise, he significantly undermined TfL's ability to run a balanced budget and invest in future projects.



Zero days of strikes

During the mayoral election campaign, Sadiq Khan said that strikes are "ultimately a sign of failure", and that there would be "zero days of strikes" under his leadership.²⁷ This promise was broken in the first few months of his term. So far, the Mayor has had 12 strikes on TfL transport services, which means he now has the worst record for strikes of any mayor. Both of Khan's predecessors had fewer strikes each year on average.²⁸



A reduction in bus fares

Alongside his now debunked 'fares freeze', Sadiq Khan promised that "there will be a first-year cut and then a freeze in bus fares".²⁹ While bus fares have been frozen alongside all other TfL fares, the bus fares in London were not cut as pledged during the mayoral campaign. All Londoners will have to pay for this broken promise, which the Mayor, despite repeated asking and two years of him being in office, has not given any indication that he intends to fulfil.



The creation of a mayoral energy company

The Mayor pledged in his manifesto to establish a not-for-profit company (Energy for Londoners) to promote energy efficiency in the Capital. Not only did he make this promise, when he first came to office he said he wanted to expand this to a fully-licensed energy retailer, selling affordable energy to Londoners. However, having reviewed the feasibility of a fully-licensed energy retailer and other options, the Mayor decided to backtrack and offer out a tender to an existing supplier. Energy for Londoners will now not operate in London: a very clear broken pledge.



The planting of more trees

During his mayoral campaign, Sadiq Khan promised to plant an extra two million trees in London by 2020. Very early on his term he and his Deputy Mayor for Environment, Shirley Rodrigues, confirmed that London would instead only receive a five per cent increase in tree coverage, which is equal to 420,000 trees and over 1.5m short of Sadiq Khan's electoral promise. This seriously undermines his goal to make London a 'zero-carbon city'.



The building of the Metropolitan Line Extension

In the last few months of Boris Johnson's second term, the then Mayor pledged £49m towards the extension of the Metropolitan

²⁷ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/labour/12136316/Sadiq-Khan-Zero-days-of-public-transport-strikes-if-I-am-electedMayor.html>

²⁸ When calculating a mayoral term on an annualised basis.

²⁹ <http://www.sadiq.london/transport>

Line from Croxley to Watford Junction. The Mayor's contribution was the investment needed to attract central government funding and make the project viable. Sadiq Khan has now removed this funding from his business plan. It's not hard to see how the £640m black hole created by the fares 'freeze' has had an effect on the financing of transport infrastructure projects in Outer London.



Cancelling the Olympic Precept

During the mayoral campaign, Sadiq Khan promised to keep council tax as low as possible and that he supported the decision to cut the Olympic Precept on London tax bills for the next financial year.³⁰ But not only is he raising council tax, the Mayor is choosing to maintain the 'Olympics Tax' despite the fact that his own budget discloses that the GLA has now completely repaid the Government for funding the 2012 Olympic Games, which was the entire premise for having an Olympic Precept on council tax. This particular broken promise and effective tax hike will, in total, cost Londoners £23m per annum.



³⁰
http://www.sadiq.london/a_manifesto_for_all_londoners



Busting Sadiq Khan's spin.

In promoting his brand or responding to criticism, Sadiq Khan has a number of well-rehearsed lines and arguments he uses to either deflect blame or self-aggrandise. Listed are some examples of these.

Khan's Claim: he is the most pro-business Mayor ever

Reality: Khan has refused to renew Uber's licence, which threatens to put 40,000 people out of work and could potentially deprive the 3.5 million users of Uber. His attack on this technology platform damages the Capital's business credentials in the eyes of entrepreneurs across the world.

His assault on the private hire industry through hiked licence

fees and increased regulation poses a risk to the entire industry, jeopardising thousands of jobs across London. According to the Licensed Private Hire Car Association, his measures could

"wipe out many, many Operators, leaving the futures of many drivers, industry suppliers and others connected to the industry in jeopardy too."

In the coming year Sadiq Khan will give an organisation called London and Partners a £13.7m grant to 'promote London'. For much of its existence London & Partners has been dependent on City Hall funding and even at its most optimistic only expects to generate half of its income from commercial sources. Some of this taxpayers' money is used to sponsor London-based awards

shows or is spent to duplicate the marketing activity already carried out by airlines, hotel groups and visitor attractions. It also spends time and effort duplicating information which is already easily found elsewhere – for example on how to register companies and intellectual property in the UK.

On top of this, and instead of effectively promoting London internationally as London & Partners is supposed to, Khan has spent taxpayers' money – over £40,000 of it – commissioning a downbeat and one-sided report on how Brexit, regardless of the outcome of the Government's negotiations, will damage London. Instead of attempting to improve London's economy, he constantly and consistently talks London down.

The Mayor claims he wants London to be open for business, but his actions say otherwise. He is failing in his statutory responsibility to promote London's economic development.

Khan's Claim: he will make London the greenest city on earth

Reality: The Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, said on 23 February 2018: *"London boasts an incredible array of green spaces that I want to protect and improve as we aim to become the world's first National Park City. By making our city one of the greenest on earth, we can improve air quality, conserve wildlife and develop a green*

infrastructure to benefit all Londoners."

Khan's pledge to develop green infrastructure and protect green spaces is somewhat arguable. On the surface the Mayor has protected some green spaces and has pledged £1.1m grants to help transform and create local green spaces across the Capital. However, in other areas of policy there is a dilution of his commitment to green spaces.

The draft London Plan that was published on 29 November 2017 had an important policy missing that is contained within the current London Plan which was brought in under the previous Johnson Administration. Since 2011 (under Boris), the London Plan has enabled boroughs to protect back gardens from development: *"Boroughs may in their LDFs introduce a presumption against development on back gardens or other private residential gardens where this can be locally justified."* (London Plan March 2016, Policy 3.5, page 102).

This allowed boroughs to put back garden protections in their Local Plans, and the support given in the London Plan enabled boroughs to give this sufficient weighting in their planning decisions. Before that time, the London Wildlife Trust estimated that 500 gardens, or parts of gardens, were being lost a year due to housing development. This is equivalent to 6 hectares a year, with the average development losing 200 sqm of garden land.

In addition, the new London Plan appears to actively encourage back garden development through a new 'small sites' policy – a presumption in favour of development on small sites of up to 25 units: *“boroughs should apply a presumption in favour of the following types of small housing development which provide between one and 25 homes which would cover gardens for example:*

- 1.) infill development on vacant or underused sites
 - 2.) proposals to increase the density of existing residential homes within PTALs 3-6 or within 800m of a Tube station, rail station or town centre boundary through:
 - a) residential conversions
 - b) residential extension
 - c) the demolition and redevelopment of existing buildings
 - d) infill development within the curtilage of a house
 - 3.) The redevelopment or upward extension of flats and non-residential buildings to provide additional housing.”
- (Draft London Plan 2017, Policy H2, pages 152-153 – emphasis added)

The removal of the protection for back gardens from the London Plan is in conflict with national planning policy, which includes protections for back gardens. Gardens are green spaces and Khan's removal of the protection of gardens puts him at odds with his claim to want to make London the greenest city on earth as garden space will be lost.

Khan's Claim: he would make London safer and tackle gangs and knife crime

The reverse is true. There have already been 62 murders this year, of which 39 involved knives and 10 guns. Knife crime is up 52.3%, murder is up 48.5%, rape is up 37.4%, violence is up 10.4% and moped crime is up 412%, yes, that's right, four hundred and twelve per cent. What does the Mayor do about it? Send out a few recycled press releases.

Many of the services that the Mayor has responsibility for are now in a state of decline: the common factor here is Sadiq Khan. Just like the other services, the Met is suffering from poor leadership from a Mayor who is out of his depth.

Khan's default position for all problems in London is to blame the Government, saying he needs more money. He got more money, and carried on singing the same tune. This year, he has an additional £110 million to use. Of course, he sent out a press release saying there will be additional money to tackle the violence epidemic but, as with most financial commitments made by the Mayor, it lacks any details on how the money will be spent, and how he ensure it will have an impact.

The Met police already have the highest spending per capita in England and Wales: £352.12 per a person. That's over double what Lincolnshire spend, who spend £114.36 per person. Even if you

take into account an increased daytime population in London, including commuters and tourists, the spend per a person is £302.48. The Met police would still retain its place as the highest spend per capita in the England and Wales.

When standing for election, Khan also promised to keep the target of 32,000 police officers; this was one the of the first (of many) promises that he broke. As the 32,000 figure was a target under Boris, the actual number of police officers was often below this number. In fact, in much of 2013 police numbers were similar to what they are now. Crime levels were much lower than they are

now. The only difference is the leadership.

Sadiq Khan is the Mayor, he is in charge of the Metropolitan Police Service. Yet, when asked if has done anything wrong, he responded by saying, "I don't think we have done anything wrong in London". Noone, in any career, can claim this, yet Sadiq Khan, with his refusal to accept responsibility for anything, did. He will never solve the problems of London if he can't look at a policy and say, this isn't working, let's try something new. This leads to the question, what's the point of Khan?

“ I don't think we have done anything wrong in London.

– Mayor of London, 10th May 2018, on the surge of crime in London.