



BORIS JOHNSON: THE FIRST 100 DAYS

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1. INTRODUCTION

“ It is my ambition is to have a fairer, greener and safer London ”



Boris Johnson, 31st July 2008

The turnaround that Boris Johnson made during his campaign for Mayor, from the Henley MP and journalist better known for his jokes and gaffes, to the serious contender ready to take on the mantle of leading London from Labour's Ken Livingstone, was one of the most memorable political transformations in a generation. Teetotal throughout his campaign, and with his blond mop firmly in check, the serious Boris, who claims big ideas for tackling social problems, knife crime, London's transport system and the environment, has now begun to make his mark on London in his first 100 days.

Within a week of taking office, Johnson had announced a ban on drinking alcohol across London's transport network, a key manifesto commitment. Despite criticism from unions that there had not been proper consultation on the measure, and that transport staff were inadequately equipped to deal with its enforcement, Boris' ban came into force on 1st June. Johnson seemed to emerge fairly unscathed by the resulting 'Tube parties', where thousands of young revellers descended on the network to have their 'last drink on Boris', and the ban has now been welcomed by transport police and alcohol charities.

Another key election issue for Johnson was delivering value for money, and he immediately made good on his election promise to cut £2.9 million from City Hall's publicity budget, claiming that instead he would use the money to plant more trees in deprived areas of London.

A few days after winning the Mayoralty, he also announced the formation of a 'forensic audit group', headed by the former *Sunday Telegraph* editor, Patience Wheatcroft, to look into claims of financial mismanagement at the London Development Agency and the Greater London Authority. Despite Boris' claims to be 'rooting out cronyism', there was some debate around how independent the group was in its analysis and how seriously its findings should be taken, as the majority of the membership of the group comprised only prominent Conservative politicians and members of the Conservative Party.

When the group announced its findings in July, they recommended cutting up to 15 per cent of the GLA's overall budget in efficiency savings. The Mayor and his team are currently considering the report and have made no final spending decisions, however First Deputy Mayor Tim Parker has refused to rule out job cuts or transport fare increases in the savings drive. Johnson will issue a draft budget for consultation in December and present the draft budget proposals to the London Assembly in January. It is likely that Johnson will be keen to cut costs wherever possible and particularly look to scale back on staff throughout the 'GLA Family' as he seeks to balance his budget and demonstrate that he is delivering the tax payer value for



money. With the general public feeling the impact of the economic slowdown alongside fuel and food increases, Boris will be keen to demonstrate that he is in touch with public concerns.

Tackling crime has been another priority for the new Mayor in his first 100 days. With media attention focussed on the spate of knife crimes in the capital - 21 teenagers stabbed to death in London alone this year – the pressure has been on Johnson to address the issue head on. He showed his commitment to tackling the problem, and the priority he placed on the issue, with the high-profile appointment of Ray Lewis as Deputy Mayor for Young People. The scandal that surrounded Lewis' resignation less than two months into the job, therefore, had the potential for a significant loss of face for the Tory team in this area, however Johnson has worked hard to appear committed to combating the problem. Following the apparent success of Operation Blunt 2, the anti-knife crime operation, he announced £700,000 of new funding at the end of July for three youth projects steering young people away from gun and knife crime.

Perhaps it will be in October, however, that the Mayor's real impact on crime in the capital will be felt, as he takes over the chairmanship of the Metropolitan Police Authority. The Mayor has already courted controversy with the public clash between the Met Commissioner, Sir Ian Blair, and his Deputy Mayor for policing, Kit Malthouse AM. This resulted in leaked emails appearing in the media in which the Deputy Mayor had sought legal advice on how the Mayor would be able to remove the Commissioner. It is well known that there are tensions between the new administration and New Scotland Yard, and it will be interesting to see whether the Mayor does try to oust Sir Ian when he assumes his new position.

Boris' first 100 days have been eventful, and he has started to put in place a structure and policies that make a real break from Livingstone's regime as the first Mayor of London. With the Conservatives riding high in the polls and looking likely to win the next General Election, commentators are examining Boris' leadership of the capital for indications of what a Conservative-controlled Britain might now look like.

2. CITY HALL

Johnson's approach to the Mayoralty has been distinctly different to Ken Livingstone's. His management style appears to be much more collegiate and his approach to running his office much less hands on. In turn, this means that more power resides with key advisers and Johnson himself is happy to be engaged on a strategic level with detail mastered by his trusted team.

Whilst some have welcomed the more *laissez-faire* approach to running City Hall, it may also store up problems for Boris, particularly when put under pressure around specific policy details. It has also yet to be seen how he will manage policy or political conflicts within his team; his looser management structure leaves more room for inconsistency and confusion of message. It will also be interesting to see how Boris and his team members, particularly some of the younger high-flying Conservative apparatchiks, handle any future tensions between London policy and the wider development of David Cameron's national platform.

Since assuming the Mayoralty at the beginning of May, Johnson has made several high-profile appointments to his team in City Hall. However, during their first 100 days in power, Johnson's



team has been blighted by scandal, with the departure of two key appointments. Political advisor, James McGrath, was sacked after saying that African-Caribbean people living in London should move to the Caribbean if they were unhappy with a Conservative-controlled London, and the Deputy Mayor for Young People, Ray Lewis, resigned amid allegations of financial irregularities. Following the departure of these two senior members of Boris' team, the London Assembly has announced an inquiry into the Mayor's appointment of key staff and advisers at City Hall.

Deputy Mayors

In a departure from the structure of the Mayoral team under Ken Livingstone, Johnson has chosen to create several Deputy Mayor positions, each with different areas of responsibility, along with the 'statutory' Deputy Mayor required by the Greater London Authority Act. This is much more in line with the US model of Mayors where the elected post-holder is able to appoint several deputies to cover main delivery departments. It also keys into the interest the Conservatives have paid to New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg, who was one of the high-profile international guests at City Hall following Boris' victory.

Tim Parker is Boris' First Deputy Mayor, Chief Executive of the GLA group and Chair of Transport for London. Parker was brought in from the private sector on a nominal salary. Richard Barnes, the 'statutory' Deputy Mayor and a London Assembly member, has responsibility for communities, health, social inclusion issues, equalities (including disability), and the diversity aspects of procurement. He was leader of the Conservative Group of the London Assembly in the last administration and previously leader of the Conservative administration in London Borough of Hillingdon.

Ian Clement, former leader of Bexley Council, is the Deputy Mayor for Government relations, and leads on the Mayor's relationships with the Government, London Boroughs, and on international relations. Deputy Mayor for Policing, Kit Malthouse, also a London Assembly member and a former Deputy Leader of Westminster Council, has been brought in to advise the Mayor on community safety.

One of Boris' first key appointments to his Mayoral team, Ray Lewis, was given the Deputy Mayor role with responsibility for young people. The appointment of Lewis was highlighted by the Conservatives as showing their commitment to working with young people to combat

PROFILE:

TIM PARKER

**First Deputy Mayor,
Chairman of TfL, and
Chief Executive of the GLA group**



A controversial former boss of Clarks shoes, Kwikfit and the AA, Tim Parker was brought into City Hall on the nominal annual salary of £1. Well-known for his 'slash-and-burn' reputation in previous roles, there was disquiet from some quarters about how Parker would change the GLA, given the broad range of responsibilities he has been handed by the Mayor, and indeed Parker has warned that Boris' aim to cut the City Hall budget by 15 per cent is unlikely to be met through efficiencies alone. Whilst past experience has shown Parker to enact major changes within organisations in the first 100 days of assuming office, he appears to be taking a little time to settle in and learn more about the grand remit he now has under his control.



PROFILE: IAN CLEMENT

**Deputy Mayor for
Government Relations**



Ian Clement resigned his leadership of Bexley Council to take up the position on Boris' team responsible for liaison with local government in London. Since assuming his new role, he has been at the centre of apparent policy U-turn controversies in his relations with London Boroughs. He has given support for a proposed £75 million redevelopment of Queens Market in East London, which is alleged to go against the Mayor's promises to block 'inappropriate' towers in London's suburbs. Similarly, in contrast to Johnson's election commitment to social housing, Clement refused to stop Hammersmith & Fulham Council's plans to reduce social housing to 0 per cent.

Part of Clement's remit is also to lead on international relations for the Mayor, and he is heading-up a value-for-money exercise assessing the benefits of closing London's international 'embassies', set up under Ken Livingstone. These offices cost nearly £1.5m a year to run, and the Caracas office is already earmarked for closure in August, following the cancellation of Livingstone's 'oil for advice' deal with Venezuela.

issues such as knife crime and youth unemployment. However, allegations surfaced at the beginning of July of inappropriate behaviour and financial irregularities during his time as a vicar in east London in the late 1990s and as head of a youth academy scheme in 2003, and Lewis was eventually forced to resign from City Hall when it also emerged that the Mayor had been told wrongly that he was a serving justice of the peace. The damage to Boris' Mayoralty, and to the Conservatives' rebranding of their social justice agenda more generally, of the Lewis scandal, while a media headline at the time, has generally appeared to have been contained. The allegations of misconduct have not been substantiated, and high-level Tories, like Shadow Chancellor George Osborne have come out in support of Ray Lewis and the kinds of policies that he had been pushing.

Following the resignation of Ray Lewis, Johnson nominated his unpaid planning advisor and leader of Westminster Council, Sir Simon Milton, as Deputy Mayor for Policy and Planning. Sir Simon has since resigned his council positions and chairmanship of the Local Government Association, and is due to take up the Deputy Mayoralty following an interview panel with the GLA Chief Executive. The promotion of Sir Simon to Deputy Mayor, along with the planning portfolio, adds another high-profile appointment to the top team at City Hall and should help to focus attention back on Boris' policy priorities following the Ray Lewis scandal.

PROFILE: SIR SIMON MILTON

**Planning Advisor
(soon to be Deputy Mayor for
Policy and Planning)**



Milton has caused some controversy since joining Johnson at the Greater London Authority in his original unofficial role of senior planning adviser, the day after Johnson was elected as Mayor. The former Westminster City Council leader was accused by Labour and Green Party London Assembly members of breaching local government rules by refusing to relinquish his position at the London borough while acting as a senior Mayoral adviser. Milton has since stood down as a councillor and as chairman of the Local Government Association to become Deputy Mayor for Policy and Planning. The appointment has also been notable as Milton had been an outspoken critic of the planning powers granted to the Mayor during Ken Livingstone's reign. Livingstone has accused Simon Milton's "insular views" on planning in the capital as a result of his focus on Westminster.



Other appointments

Other significant appointments to the Mayoral team include former BBC political correspondent Guto Harri as Director of Communications, Labour MP Kate Hoey as an unpaid Commissioner for Sport, and Anthony Browne, former head of think tank Policy Exchange, as Director of Policy. Kate Hoey's appointment has caused some unrest in the Labour party, with her local constituency party calling on her to stand down from her role in City Hall, and potential moves to try to deselect her.

3. LONDON DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

The Mayor's agency responsible for driving London's sustainable economic growth, which oversees a regeneration budget of over £500 million, was subject to a 'forensic audit' within weeks of Boris assuming the Mayoralty. Under Ken Livingstone, the audit group concluded, the LDA was "treated like the Mayor's personal cheque book", and Johnson has made it a central pledge to cut what he saw as 'waste' and 'cronyism' at the agency.

However, the Mayor has come under fierce criticism since announcing the new LDA board, scrapping any Labour representation, and appointing a significant donor to his Mayoral campaign. Edmund Lazarus, a former Tory councillor who currently also sits on the board of a private equity firm, donated over £20,000, which Labour's deputy leader on the London Assembly, John Biggs, has said casts doubt on Johnson's "promise to end cronyism".

Other significant appointments to the board are the First Deputy Mayor, Tim Parker, who thereby increases his already wide remit in the governing of London, and Steve Norris, the former Conservative Mayoral candidate, who has also been given a position of the board of Transport for London.

The lack of any Labour member marks the first time the official opposition has not been represented on the board. Given the LDA's major focus on the Olympics and the regeneration of east London, the absence of Labour members has caused concern for some.

4. BOROUGH RELATIONS

During his election Boris made a considerable play for votes in the outer London boroughs, claiming that Ken Livingstone had ignored their needs. In return, the suburban areas helped deliver Boris his victory on polling day; Ken Livingstone winning the popular vote in inner and east London.

The new Mayor has continued to place much greater emphasis on the needs and importance of the outer London boroughs, and the views of suburban London will be more important in the new administration. Boris has already set up an outer London Commission to look at the issues affecting the suburbs.



The new Mayor has also indicated that he wants to work more collaboratively with local authorities in London, and has drawn many of his key advisers from local government. One of his key appointments was Ian Clement, formerly the Leader of the London Borough of Bexley, to act as his liaison between local and regional government.

His housing and planning strategy is committed to giving more flexibility to local authorities. Rather than the top-down approach of Ken Livingstone, where affordable housing targets were set and enforced rigidly, Boris wants to encourage development by being more flexible about targets.

London Councils, and particularly the Local Government Association, are likely to have far greater influence with Boris than they did with Ken. With local government increasingly dominated by the Conservatives and with the LGA building closer links to the Conservatives in general and to Boris specifically, the new leader of the LGA is likely to retain close links with Sir Simon Milton as Milton takes up his full time position in City Hall.

5. CRIME

“ Crime is the number one issue for Londoners. Tackling the long-term root causes of crime and violence and ensuring a visible police presence on the streets must become the priority for the entire GLA group

”

Boris Johnson, 22nd July 2008

Boris Johnson launched his election manifesto with his top priority the aim of reducing crime in London. His manifesto promises included the provision of an extra 50 British Transport Police for the ‘worst’ stations in outer London, the trial of live CCTV cameras on buses, to force under-18s to earn back their right to free bus travel through community service projects and the introduction of crime maps to show the crime levels in each of the city's neighbourhoods.

Despite criticisms during the campaign from rival candidate, Brian Paddock, that he was “clueless about crime” and from Green’s candidate Sian Berry that his crime policies “would not work”, Boris Johnson has pushed forward on crime issues since taking office. He has supported firm new action to tackle knife crime with the use of more stop and search powers and the placement of more knife arches at Underground stations. He also banned alcohol on transport and stations across the capital and, in May, announced an additional 440 uniformed officers to improve public transport safety. He has also asked TfL and the Metropolitan Police to press ahead with plans to crack down on illegal cabs.

Following a spate of teenage deaths from stabbing incidents in London, Boris Johnson welcomed the Metropolitan Police’s announcement in May that officers will use more stop and search powers to prevent knife crime, and in his recently-published budget guidance document he outlined a specific commitment to tackling youth violence through ‘preventative measures’ and increasing youth opportunities. Johnson aimed to deliver a key manifesto promise on 29



July with his announcement of a £700,000 funding package to help tackle knife and gun crime among young people. The money is set to fund projects which hope to 'steer youngsters away from violent crime'; the funding will be split across two educational programmes – 'Calling The Shots', run by The Boyhood To Manhood Foundation, and 'Watch Over Me', run by the Kids Taskforce.

The Mayor also promised in his manifesto to introduce crime mapping, a way to make geographical information about where crimes are committed publically available. This was also being considered by the Home Office at the time, and was subsequently announced by Jacqui Smith, the Home Secretary, in July. Johnson then pledged that crime mapping would be introduced across London in August.

Kit Malthouse, Deputy Mayor for Policing, said Boris Johnson "made crime mapping a key manifesto commitment and it is an integral part of our strategy to make London safer" and welcomed the Home Secretary's scheme saying it was a "conversion" to their policy.

Following the launch of new British Transport Police Neighbourhood Policing Teams, the Mayor announced on 1 August that 30 dedicated policing teams would be put out on patrol at Tube stations and on trains. Like the Safer Neighbourhood Teams introduced by former Mayor Ken Livingstone, the additional teams are comprised of police constables and police community support officers; the new Mayor said they will work alongside the additional 440 uniformed officers for the bus network that he announced in May, in an effort to use "a visible police presence" as a reassurance of safety within the city.

Whilst Boris Johnson has undoubtedly made a media focus on tackling crime and policing, many of the measures he has announced since taking office are in reality extensions of pre-existing policies by the Met and GLA. Opposition politicians have also highlighted the question of where the additional officers will come from or be deployed from, as the Met is already recruiting at record rates.

6. HOUSING AND PLANNING

The Mayor's first substantive consultation and policy publication was 'Planning for London', which set out his key principles for reviewing the London Plan. In this document Boris explains how his approach will be more "consensual" and how all stakeholders "will have knowledge, experience and resources to bring to bear; all will be needed and the contributions of each will be welcomed and respected". Boris is clearly keen to distinguish himself as more of a team player than Ken Livingstone, willing to listen and take on board a range of views. However, in reality, it is unclear how this effective this approach will be in terms of delivering change in London and in supporting Johnson to meet his ambitions.

This is particularly true when we look at affordable housing and the Mayor's ambition to deliver 50,000 more affordable homes in London by 2011 and renovate just over 84,000 vacant properties to assist low-income Londoners off waiting lists.



Boris said in his 'Planning for London' document that "overall outcomes will matter more than processes or structures" and "there will therefore be less emphasis on targets." In the same vein, he also seems to have abandoned Ken Livingstone's 50 per cent affordable housing target. In one of the first tests of this policy, Boris has allowed a development in Hammersmith and Fulham to go ahead with no social housing element at all. Whilst it could be argued that this is just one development, it sends a symbolic message to developers and local authorities, and it will be interesting to examine the impact on the Mayor's affordable housing ambitions in the longer term.

The Mayor has expressed his concern that the existing London Plan is "unwieldy" and insisted it was in need of revision to give proper account to local needs while also being easy for developers and local boroughs to use.

In other commitments Boris has promised to help first-time buyers and low-paid Londoners frozen out of existing government schemes by releasing GLA-owned land for new housing, and to increase shared ownership schemes by a third. These key manifesto pledges have remained firmly on Boris' agenda. When asked, Johnson named housing as the most significant issue facing London.

Boris has unveiled a £60 million package to bring long-term empty homes in London back into use as affordable homes. A register gives details of listed buildings at risk of being lost through neglect, and the new funding will be used to bring such abandoned properties back into residential use. The announcement follows Johnson's manifesto commitment to reduce long-term empty homes to 1 per cent of London's housing stock. The news was welcomed by the Chief Executive of the Empty Homes Agency. David Ireland, who said, "With the credit crunch causing housebuilders to down tools, this is a sensible and timely way of creating more homes."

The Mayor has also inherited the fruits of one of the major policy drives of his predecessor who successfully negotiated with the Government to take over the Housing Corporation budget. Boris is now responsible for directing around 40 per cent of the Government's overall housing budget and directing the money spent on housing in the capital. Over the next three years, Johnson will control the £3.3 billion portion of a countrywide pot of £8.4 billion. He will be advised by Sir Simon Milton, former leader of Westminster Council, who has become Deputy Mayor on policy and planning issues.

To help first time buyers, Johnson's proposed First Steps Scheme will aim to provide low cost, high quality housing discounted by at least 20 per cent of market rate by releasing surplus brownfield land held by the GLA estate. The Mayor has said that he believes that 50,000 new homes are needed to correct London's affordable housing crisis. The Regional Housing Pot will fund these schemes.

By introducing much greater flexibility into delivering affordable housing the new Mayor may well be storing up future tensions with some parts of local government. In reality, allowing boroughs more discretion to choose where and how to deliver on social and affordable housing, means that some will move very slowly on the issue. This is likely to increase pressure on some of the most densely populated boroughs in inner London, which already have major



developments around in-fill and brownfield sites, to take up the slack in meeting overall affordable targets. Cynics will point out that many of these boroughs, such as Lambeth, tend not to support the Conservatives.

7. TRANSPORT

Since becoming Mayor, Boris Johnson has pursued a number of high-profile transport objectives.

One of his first and most media-worthy initiatives was the ban on drinking alcohol and carrying open containers of alcohol on the tube. He similarly delivered another promise made in his election manifesto by ending proposals for the CO2 Charge, which would have charged owners of large family cars £25 a day to drive in the Central London Congestion Charge zone. Johnson has estimated that ending the CO2 charge at this stage means that Transport for London (TfL) will save approximately £10 million that had been set aside for implementing the scheme, although reduce future predictions for funds it would generate and putting him at odds with environmental groups and green supporters.

Following his manifesto commitment to oppose a third runway and mixed mode at Heathrow, he also initially expressed opposition to the Thames Gateway Bridge scheme, sighting significant infrastructure issues. However, it now seems that Johnson has not ruled out the planning application, and is now waiting for a report from TfL exploring the proposed bridge's criticisms. He has, however, courted controversy with green voters, by stating his ambition for the construction of a new London airport in the Thames Estuary, which is projected to cost £30bn. The Mayor has expressed similar support for the development of a cable car system in east London, which could be built cheaply by 2012. Another major initiative of the Mayor's was launched on 4 July: a competition to design a replacement for the bendy-bus, which will be changed by 2015.

With the emphasis on money saving that has come out of the new administration in City Hall, the First Deputy Mayor, Tim Parker, has said he would consider a bus and tube fare rise in order to "properly fund" TfL. This is also a result of the scrapping of the deal between London and Venezuela, set up by Ken Livingstone with the Venezuelan premier, Hugo Chavez. Under the deal, which Johnson has labelled "morally bankrupt", the Caracas Government exchanged cheap diesel for technical advice and assistance, helping to keep transport prices down in London.

An enthusiastic cyclist himself, Johnson supported TfL's *Workplace Cycle Challenge* in June, which aimed to encourage London's commuters to take to two wheels. His team is also looking at the feasibility of introducing cycle superhighways through London and a cycle 'hire' system should be a reality before the Olympics.

He has also outlined plans to issue DNA spit kits to all London bus drivers. These would be used to help prosecute passengers guilty of assaults involving spitting, enabling a driver to take a DNA sample of the suspect. Johnson also announced that the Metropolitan Police Service's



Transport Operational Command unit was to set up a workplace violence unit to investigate workplace violence against bus drivers across London.

8. CONCLUSION

In the first 100 days for Boris, there have been some indications of what is to come over the next four years of this Mayoral term. A focus on tackling crime, and delivering value for money, are likely to remain key areas for this Mayoralty, although signs of cracks in his leadership style have already emerged, with key resignations and accusations of 'cronyism'.

With the Olympic Games just starting, and concluding with the handover from Beijing to London, the Mayor is likely to remain in the public eye for the first part of his next 100 days. He will need to show that he is not only a strong leader for London, but his bigger responsibility is to show that the Conservatives are ready to govern across the country.