

Congestion charging

The public concerns behind the politics

December 2002

Transport

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Greater London Authority
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Foreword



By February next year, the eternal refrain from London's drivers - 'when is someone going to do something about the traffic?' will be answered. 'What have they done?!' may well be the next question.

The majority of our Committee wants to see a Congestion Charging Scheme which benefits London. We have sought a constructive approach to scrutinising the Scheme's development and implementation while keeping the interests

of Londoners uppermost in our mind.

We have been very disappointed that the Mayor and Transport for London have not always approached this scrutiny in the same manner. The Congestion Charging Scheme is a publicly funded scheme costing hundreds of £millions, affecting the centre of this country's capital and the home of 7.5 million people. In our view, Londoners deserve to be made aware of all the potential risks - not only for basic accountability but because excessive secrecy or news management may encourage suspicion and a backlash against the proposed scheme.

This second Assembly report on congestion charging distils our findings in a responsible and, I hope, accessible fashion. The report particularly focuses on defining a number of tests that will allow us to better judge the success of the scheme. This is a useful check on the scheme in any event but was made more necessary because the Mayor has consistently declined to be tied down on the tests he will apply. Our work will continue after the scheme goes live and I intend that we will provide an informed public judgment, independent of the Mayor, on its operation.

As this report makes clear, alleviating congestion in central London will inevitably involve some disruption. It may however come at the cost of frustrating, inconveniencing and alienating large numbers of Londoners, and that is its greatest risk. The public interest in this innovative development of transport policy is intense and we, like many, wish it fair passage. Our fingers are crossed.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "John Biggs".

John Biggs
Chair of the Transport Committee

Membership of the Transport Committee

John Biggs	- Chair (Labour)
Lynne Featherstone	- Deputy Chair (Liberal Democrat)
Tony Arbour	- Conservative
Roger Evans	- Conservative
Nicky Gavron	- Labour
Sally Hamwee	- Liberal Democrat
Samantha Heath	- Labour
Jenny Jones	- Green
Eric Ollerenshaw	- Conservative

The Transport Committee's general terms of reference are to examine and report on transport matters of importance to Greater London and the transport strategies, policies and actions of the Mayor, Transport for London, and the other Functional Bodies where appropriate. In particular, the Transport Committee is also required to examine and report to the Assembly from time to time on the Mayor's Transport Strategy, in particular its implementation and revision.

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Executive Summary

The Mayor's Congestion Charging Scheme is now only two months from going live. Barring any last minute challenges or problems, Londoners will be paying £5 daily to drive in the centre of their city from February.

Understandably, the scale, complexity and cost of the Mayor's Congestion Charging Scheme have raised many questions in the minds of Londoners - how will the Scheme operate? What will its impact be on our roads, on areas outside of the central zone, on businesses and our ability to travel safely and comfortably in London? What if it fails?

The Mayor has told Londoners that he expects the Scheme to result in:

- a reduction of total traffic within the charging zone by 10-15 per cent;
- an increase in traffic speeds of 10-15 per cent; and
- a reduction of congestion (measured in vehicle delays) by 20-30 per cent.

The majority of the Committee supports these objectives and wants to see the Scheme provide a net benefit to London. However, our investigation over the last two years has highlighted broader social, economic and environmental impacts which may affect many Londoners' lives and stretch well beyond the narrow traffic criteria outlined above.

The Mayor has told us that he expects congestion in central London to reduce but that the Scheme will put more pressure on an overcrowded public transport system, displace some traffic around the charging zone and adversely affect some businesses and people in London.

As a Committee, we have been astonished that the Mayor has spent £200 million of public money on setting up the Congestion Charging Scheme but has given little indication of his expectations of its broader impacts nor how much Londoners will have to pay if the Scheme should fail. We believe this is unacceptable and will be pursuing this information on behalf of Londoners.

Since the Mayor declines to tell Londoners his performance criteria for the Scheme, we have established a set of tests which will guide our evaluation of the Scheme and its impact on London. We believe that:

- any reduction in congestion must be real and sustainable;
- the Scheme should generate revenue for transport initiatives and improve bus services; and
- the Scheme should have no adverse effects overall on London's business, environment or people (especially low income).

We have pushed Transport for London (TfL) to make certain that its monitoring programme will allow our Committee to assess adequately the impact of the Scheme on London's roads and public transport as well as its social, economic and environmental effects.

The Mayor has said that if the Congestion Charging Scheme doesn't work, people will elect someone else. If the Scheme does fail or reduces congestion at high cost to London, a bruised ego for the Mayor will be the least of Londoners' concerns.

1 Introduction

- 1.1 From 17 February next year, approximately 150,000 drivers will be paying £5 per day to enter central London.
- 1.2 The Mayor's Congestion Charging Scheme represents one of the most significant changes to transport in London in the post-war years and will be the most ambitious and complex urban charging scheme in the world (a summary of the Scheme is outlined in Appendix C).
- 1.3 The London Assembly has been scrutinising the development and implementation of the Congestion Charging Scheme since it was first formed in July 2000. This report outlines the extent to which our concerns about congestion charging have been answered, where more work needs to be done to protect Londoners from adverse effects and what else Londoners should be told about the Scheme.
- 1.4 This report also sets out how the London Assembly, through its Transport Committee, will be assessing the impact of the Congestion Charging Scheme on Londoners and their city.
- 1.5 It does not seek to question the fundamental elements of the Mayor's Congestion Charging Scheme nor propose other models to address congestion. Suggested modifications to the Scheme and alternatives to congestion charging have already been canvassed extensively in previous Assembly reports (see for example *Alternatives to congestion charging*¹ and Assembly's first report on the Scheme).
- 1.6 The Congestion Charging Scheme² and its commencement date are confirmed³. The Mayor believes that it will deliver real benefits to London – traffic will return to 'school holiday' levels all year round, business efficiency will be improved and the Scheme will raise £130 million per year for transport improvements. Critics fear the Scheme will damage London's economy, displace congestion from the centre of the Capital to other parts of London and further overburden public transport services.
- 1.7 To some extent, the full impact can only be gauged once the Congestion Charging Scheme goes live. We are convinced that there needs to be public monitoring of the Scheme and believe that the London Assembly's Transport Committee is well placed to fulfil this role.

London Assembly's scrutiny of Congestion Charging Scheme

- 1.8 The Mayor committed himself to examine the feasibility of an urban charging scheme for central London and to consult widely on the details of any such scheme as part of his election manifesto.⁴

¹ *Alternatives to Congestion Charging*, April 2002.

² *Statement by the Mayor Concerning his decision to confirm the central London Congestion Charging Scheme*, 26 February 2002

³ 'Mayor confirms start date for congestion charging', GLA Press Release, 11 October 2002.

⁴ *Ken Livingstone's Manifesto for London*, 2000

1.9 His initial proposals for a scheme were outlined in a discussion paper⁵ released in July 2000. In November 2000, the London Assembly produced a report on these proposals⁶ which raised the following issues:

- **Timing of implementation:** congestion charging should not be rushed and implementation must allow sufficient opportunity for consultation and testing of systems;
- **Project management:** the project management of a congestion charging scheme (particularly the Information Technology component) needed careful management and TfL's suggested approach was not appropriate;
- **Consultation:** there should be proper opportunity for all stakeholders to comment on every detail of the proposed scheme;
- **Impacts around the charging zone:** much more work must be done to measure any adverse impacts on congestion outside of the zone and to demonstrate the effectiveness of measures to mitigate these impacts.
- **Impacts on London's economy, air quality and people (especially low income workers):** the Mayor should commission objective studies of issues such as the impact on areas just outside the cordon, the environment, improvements in public transport/other modes of travel and, most crucially, the actual effect on congestion.
- **Public transport improvements:** congestion charging must not be introduced unless complementary public transport improvements have been made and service targets have been set and achieved.

One further key concern, not raised in the first report but pursued subsequently by our Committee, has been:

- **Mayor's performance criteria:** the Mayor must make clear his expectations for the Scheme by issuing clear targets in a range of key areas (for example, the extent to which congestion charging will improve bus journey times).

1.10 On behalf of Londoners, the Transport Committee has pressed the Mayor and Transport for London (TfL) to provide satisfactory answers to these key concerns. This has involved regular meetings with senior TfL officials to discuss progress on the Scheme. These meetings have been supplemented by bi-annual progress reports from TfL (providing information on financial, legal and operational issues) and by oral and written questions from Assembly Members to the Mayor. Expert advice on the Scheme's implementation and monitoring programme has been provided by a consultant to the Committee, Martin Richards.

1.11 The following chapters outline in detail the extent to which these concerns have been met. Chapter 7 provides our views on remaining key risks to the Scheme and Chapter 8 outlines exactly how the Transport Committee will ensure that Londoners' views are heard once the Congestion Charging Scheme commences.

⁵ *Hearing Londoners' Views: A discussion paper on the Mayor's proposals for congestion charging in London*, Greater London Authority, 2000

⁶ *Congestion Charging: London Assembly Scrutiny Report*, GLA, November 2000.

2. Timing of implementation, project management and consultation

- 2.1 By the time congestion charging starts in London, approximately £200m of public money will have been spent on the Scheme. We have always stressed that this money must be spent effectively and the Mayor's desire to implement the scheme quickly should not compromise consultation on the scheme nor proper testing of all systems.
- 2.2 The Congestion Charging Scheme was originally scheduled to commence in December 2002. The London Assembly received evidence from project management experts that this timetable seemed unrealistic and would not allow sufficient time to ensure the systems were robust. The Mayor has now confirmed that the Scheme will commence later - in February 2003.
- 2.3 We have raised particular concerns about management and integration of the technology for the Congestion Charging Scheme. The TfL officer in charge of the Scheme, Derek Turner, stated that systems are currently being extensively stress-tested and he is confident 'at this stage' that these systems will be fully integrated and operational before the Scheme commences.⁷
- 2.4 Some elements of the Scheme are already operational. The Congestion Charging Call Centre was established in October and is now fielding initial enquiries on discount application, issuing registration forms and taking some payments. The public information campaign on congestion charging, including leaflets to households, radio and press advertising, began in mid-October 2002.
- 2.5 However, experience has shown that the delivery of major systems projects in the public sector requiring integration between different sources and streams of information is very problematic. Delays and serious technical problems, both leading up to February and in the first few months of operation remain a distinct possibility. That said, on the evidence we have received to date, the project appears to be on track. If the Scheme is fully operational and trouble-free by February 2003, TfL is to be commended on its management of the implementation of a vastly complex and logistically difficult scheme.

Consultation

- 2.6 We have consistently recommended that there must be an opportunity for full consultation on the proposed congestion charging scheme, based on adequate and balanced information and allowing proper debate and discussion among all interested parties.
- 2.7 The Mayor has conducted extensive consultation on the Scheme but has not held a public inquiry as requested by some London organizations and local authorities. He has declared that he is satisfied that he can 'fairly and properly assess the information and weigh the conflicting views, without holding a public inquiry.'⁸

⁷ Minutes of Transport Committee, 17 October 2002.

⁸ *Statement by the Mayor concerning his decision to confirm the central London Congestion Charging Scheme*, 26 February 2002, p.6

- 2.8 Similarly, the Mayor rejected the need for an Environmental Impact Assessment on the grounds that 'there are not likely to be any significant environmental effects from traffic, and that in terms of noise and atmospheric pollution any negative impacts will be small.'⁹
- 2.9 Several organisations and individuals have sought to challenge the Congestion Charging Scheme – most notably, Westminster City Council and the Kennington Residents Association. On 31 July 2002, the High Court dismissed claims for a Judicial Review of the Mayor's decision to implement the current Scheme. In deciding to dismiss these claims, the High Court noted that neither an Environmental Impact Assessment nor a Public Inquiry was required by law.
- 2.10 While we accept that the Mayor was under no legal obligation to hold a Public Inquiry or conduct an Environmental Impact Assessment, we believe that he does have an obligation to take public opinion, including that of key opinion formers and affected parties, with him if the Scheme is to succeed. A more thorough examination of the Scheme would have allowed such parties to have their concerns examined in public. Clearly, this approach would also have provided a platform for opponents of the Scheme. However, many of those who cautiously support his Scheme have outstanding concerns and we believe that the Scheme might have been benefited from this public examination process.

We are pleased that the Congestion Charging Scheme has been delayed to allow greater time for testing and consultation.

We note assurances that programme is on-track. However, the history of major systems projects in the public sector is not good and there remains a risk of delay or technical difficulties.

We note that the Mayor has chosen not to conduct a Public Inquiry or an Environmental Impact Assessment. We believe the Mayor has underestimated the importance of consulting and taking public with him.

⁹ *Statement by the Mayor concerning his decision to confirm the central London Congestion Charging Scheme, 26 February 2002, p.7*

3. Impacts around the charging zone

- 3.1 Since the Congestion Charging Scheme was first proposed, one of our major concerns has been that the scheme will lead to a displacement of congestion from within central London to the areas immediately outside and encourage 'rat-running' around the edges of the zone to avoid the charge.
- 3.2 In February 2002, TfL predicted that the impacts of displaced traffic, even during the morning peak hour, would be restricted to routes within a few kilometres of the Inner Ring Road. They anticipated that traffic using the Inner Ring Road would increase by about 10 per cent and by about 1 per cent to 3 per cent on other orbital roads near to the charging zone.¹⁰
- 3.3 TfL also estimated that average traffic speeds would fall by about 7-10 per cent on the Inner Ring Road itself. Changes to traffic signals to favour traffic moving along the Inner Ring Road (rather than across it) should offset the increase in congestion.
- 3.4 Most of these changes will be achieved through TfL's traffic management system, Real Time Traffic Management (RTTM). Using data collected from traffic detectors, enforcement cameras and CCTV, RTTM will allow staff in the London Traffic Control Centre to monitor, and where necessary, modify traffic flows through changes to traffic signal timings. Over 300 separate traffic plans have been produced for different areas around the zone based around best case, worst case and 'most likely' scenarios
- 3.5 Our persistent requests for more information have revealed that the RTTM will be crucial to managing congestion outside of the zone. Traffic is likely to get much heavier at key points on, and adjacent to, the Inner Ring Road. TfL maps obtained by the Committee show that the following roads are expected to experience higher volumes of traffic – at least 200 more vehicles per hour during the morning peak:¹¹
- Tower Bridge Road;
 - Kennington Lane;
 - Vauxhall Bridge Road;
 - Southwark Bridge; and
 - some roads in Spitalfields, Shoreditch and Marylebone (Commercial Street, Shoreditch High Street, City Road and Edgware Road)
- 3.6 TfL also anticipates rat-running around the edges of the zone, particularly in the boroughs of Southwark, Lewisham and Westminster, across the Battersea and Chelsea Bridges and through the Rotherhithe Tunnel.
- 3.7 TfL has told us that they have been working with London boroughs, particularly those on the edge of the zone, to minimise the diversion of traffic onto

¹⁰ *The Greater London (Central Zone) Congestion Charging Order 2001: Report to the Mayor, February 2002*, p.7-3.

¹¹ Observations taken from TfL charts showing changes in traffic flows with the introduction of the Scheme during the AM peak hour.

unsuitable local roads through traffic management schemes¹². However, of the 165 Borough-managed complementary transport schemes, almost 75 per cent (127 schemes) will be completed after the Scheme goes live on 17 February 2003. Since TfL acknowledge that these schemes are 'desirable for the efficient operation [of the Scheme]'¹³, these delays would seem to increase the risk that traffic may divert into local roads around the zone, raising both the levels of traffic and the amount of congestion. Reacting to changed traffic patterns after the Scheme has commenced runs a significant risk that those living near the zone will continue to be affected long after February 2003.

In view of the expected congestion and rat-running outside on the edge of, and outside the zone and the delay in implementing traffic control measures in those areas, we remain concerned that the Scheme will have a significant impact on the areas immediately outside of the charging zone.

¹² For example, environmental traffic management measures and controlled parking zones

¹³ *Third Progress Report on the Congestion Charging Scheme*, September 2002.

4. Public transport improvements

- 4.1 In its report to the Mayor on the readiness of public transport for the Congestion Charging Scheme, TfL stated that there will be sufficient public transport capacity to accommodate the 20,000 people they anticipate will transfer from car to public transport in the busiest period (7am – 10am).
- 4.2 London commuters will already guess that this additional capacity will not come from Underground or rail services. TfL accept that there is 'very little spare capacity' on these services and expect only a small number of additional passengers will transfer to Underground and rail services. In fact, these services will experience a slight increase in the current levels of overcrowding (especially during the morning peak hour).¹⁴
- 4.3 Additional rail and Underground passengers are expected to be those commuting from outer London; these passengers are expected to displace commuters currently taking shorter journeys to work. In effect, inner Londoners will either have to wait longer to get onto the morning tube or train or will start commuting by bus. For those living on the edge of the charging zone this amounts to a 'double whammy' – more overcrowding on trains to work and greater likelihood of 'rat running' in their local streets.
- 4.4 Most of the additional public transport passengers resulting from the Scheme will be catered for by bus. About 14,000 of the 20,000 expected to shift to public transport are anticipated to travel by this form of transport. In the 8am to 9am morning peak hour alone, TfL anticipates 7,000 additional bus passengers¹⁵. TfL expects to provide 11,000 additional spaces for this group (increasing the total number of available buses spaces in the morning peak hour from 48,000 to 59,000). TfL believe this will be sufficient to cater for additional capacity as well as those spaces which will be absorbed by current excess demand (that is, current commuters shifting from overcrowded buses to less crowded buses). This extra capacity will be achieved by providing three new routes, increasing frequency on certain services, and introducing larger buses (double deckers and articulated buses) on some routes.
- 4.5 While the physical numbers of seats to deal with additional passengers may be in place, it remains to be seen whether Londoners will view this as a credible alternative or will be frustrated by the continuing high levels of crowding they will have to tolerate. We have consistently maintained that congestion charging must not be introduced until there has been a real improvement in the reliability and journey times of the vast majority of bus services serving or feeding central London. Londoners should not be compelled to use the bus system simply because they cannot board overcrowded trains.
- 4.6 Substantial improvements have been made to London's bus system and we acknowledge the hard work already done by TfL and the boroughs; similarly, bus

¹⁴ *TfL Report to the Mayor on the Readiness of Public Transport for the Central London Congestion Charging* September 2002. p.4

¹⁵ *TfL Report to the Mayor on the Readiness of Public Transport for the Central London Congestion Charging* September 2002. p.4

services over the last two years have become more reliable¹⁶ and customer satisfaction with services has improved. Given that 40 per cent of all bus journeys within London are on routes which serve central London, we would also expect that a significant reduction in congestion should improve bus journey times.

- 4.7 However, more work should be done to ensure that public transport travellers are actively encouraged to take buses. TfL's publicity campaign to make commuters aware of bus services in their area (part of the Congestion Charging communications strategy) is a start but there is still some way to go. For example, a quarter of all low frequency bus services still do not run on time, there have been delays to improving bus information (especially roll-out of electronic 'Countdown' signs) and implementation of elements of the London Bus Initiative, which aims to improve the quality of service on buses, have been much slower than anticipated.
- 4.8 We are also concerned about the longer-term sustainability of this approach. According to the Mayor's London Plan, central London is likely to see an increase in new jobs (up to 216,000 new jobs by 2016) yet a major increase in rail and Underground capacity to carry these employees is unlikely to occur until 2008 at the very earliest¹⁷. In essence, buses will have to continue to carry the bulk of additional public transport passengers over the next five years at least.
- 4.9 Yet the Mayor has acknowledged that continuing to expand London's bus services is likely to create serious financial problems for TfL. His commitment to freeze bus fares and hold Underground fares to the level of inflation, together with the increased take up of subsidised bus fare packages (eg. Bus Saver carnets, reduction in night bus fares) has reduced the level of fare revenue available for expansion. TfL expect to have over a total net funding shortfall of £700m within three years (much of it due to additional outlays on bus services).
- 4.10 The Mayor is hoping that the Government will fund this gap (over and above the annual transport grant). This is a high risk strategy and there is no certainty that this will occur. Increasing bus fares to reduce this gap would undermine the Mayor's strategy of complementing the Scheme with cheaper public transport. The fact remains that, at the moment, the strategy of using buses to shoulder the public transport burden of the congestion charging scheme in the long-term is not sustainable.

We are concerned about the long-term sustainability of using buses to address the additional demand on public transport given the dramatic increases in bus outlays and stress on the current system.

We are also concerned that the provision of extra transport capacity will do little to reduce crowding or increase the reliability of transport services. The introduction of the Scheme, without a significant improvement in commuter journeys (particularly by rail) risks leading to further public frustration.

¹⁶ Comparison with bus performance five years ago is less favourable. See 'Is London's Public Transport System ready for the Congestion Charge', *Capital Transport Bulletin* Oct-Nov 2002, p.3

¹⁷ *The draft London Plan: Draft Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London*. Greater London Authority, June 2002. pp.72 & 75

5. Mayor's performance criteria for the Scheme

- 5.1 The Congestion Charging Scheme is likely to have an impact far beyond the levels of traffic in London. We believe that Londoners - who have effectively funded the establishment of the Scheme and will have to deal with its effects - are entitled to know what they can expect from congestion charging.
- 5.2 To date, the only targets that the Mayor or TfL is prepared to provide publicly are that the Scheme should achieve:¹⁸
- a reduction of total traffic (measured in vehicle miles) within the charging zone by 10-15 per cent;
 - an increase in traffic speeds of 10-15 per cent; and
 - a reduction of congestion (measured in vehicle delays) by 20-30 per cent.
- 5.3 The Mayor and TfL have not told Londoners when they expect the Scheme to achieve these targets. They have also made it very clear that they will not be releasing any additional performance criteria and have told the Committee that it is 'neither possible nor desirable to reduce the assessment of the success of the scheme to a simple figure or score.'¹⁹ The acknowledgment by the TfL officer in charge of the Scheme, Derek Turner, that the 'likely effects of the Scheme are difficult to determine'²⁰ only compounds our concern.
- 5.4 Their reluctance to tell Londoners what they expect from the Scheme troubles us for two reasons. Firstly, reducing congestion in central London is a means to an end, not an end in itself. Improved business efficiency, greater use of public transport and a better environment for walking and cycling are three anticipated benefits from the Scheme yet the Mayor declines to reveal how he will judge whether the Scheme has achieved these benefits or when the traffic related targets will be achieved.
- 5.5 Secondly, the Mayor's refusal to outline broader performance criteria for the Scheme effectively makes him the sole arbiter of its success or failure. When asked in September 2002 how he would evaluate the Scheme's success, the Mayor noted that he would consider the findings of the congestion charging monitoring programme but the decision to modify or withdraw the Scheme will be 'mine and mine alone..and if Londoners don't like it, they'll get themselves another Mayor.'²¹
- 5.6 We are particularly concerned that this may lead to arbitrary, and costly, decision-making. According to the Mayor, a decision to withdraw the Scheme could occur as early as eight weeks after its commencement. Should he choose to withdraw the scheme for reasons other than an unforeseen disaster or contractor default, TfL will be liable for compensation payments to contractors, in addition to the £200 million in start-up costs already incurred. These payments could run to hundreds of millions of pounds.²²

¹⁸ See *Congestion Charging Fact Sheet*, 26 February 2002 and www.cclondon.gov.uk

¹⁹ *Third Progress Report on the Congestion Charging Scheme*, para 7.3.1

²⁰ Minutes of Transport Committee meeting, 10 September 2002

²¹ *Mayor's Question Time*, 18 September 2002.

²² Mayor's letter to the Assembly's Budget Committee (7 February 2002) noted, 'the provider is entitled to proven costs incurred, outstanding funding, and after a prescribed event such as commencement of discount processing, loss of profit.'

Contract with Capita

- 5.7 The largest contractor for the Scheme, Capita, will be paid £273 million of public money over the next five years. Yet, the Mayor and TfL steadfastly refuse to release the Capita's key performance indicators (which cover elements like expectations for customer service and call-centre operation) because 'it would enable people who are opposed to congestion charging to mount a campaign to positively disrupt [it]'²³. They also declined to reveal the possible cost of compensation payments to Capita on the grounds of commercial confidentiality and that this information may affect the company's share price.²⁴ TfL has even refused to make public the sections of the contracts which contain these confidentiality clauses!
- 5.8 These clauses allow the Mayor to neatly side-step his commitment to open and accountable government. The Mayor admitted in November last year that *'a culture of the old London Transport...still pervades the TfL structure, which is very secretive and takes the view that it is doing good for the public and will tell them when it has done it. That is not acceptable to Bob Kiley or to me...'*²⁵
- Yet, one year later, the Mayor appears to have done little to address this 'culture of secrecy'. Despite claiming that his 'gut instinct is that this [key performance criteria] should be made public'²⁶ he has not acted to ensure that this occurs.
- 5.9 We find it astounding that a scheme which will have a major impact on London, which will cost £200 million of public money to set-up and roughly £80 million per year to run can be arbitrarily withdrawn without any published performance criteria by which it can be publicly judged.
- 5.10 We also find it unacceptable that Londoners are not privy to the costs that will be incurred if the Scheme is withdrawn or the criteria by which the Scheme's major contractor will be paid on the grounds that it may affect a commercial company's share price.
- 5.11 Because of the Mayor's reluctance to establish a schedule of success (or failure) criteria, we have created our own set of benchmarks against which the success or otherwise of the scheme can be judged. These are set out in Chapter 7. We will also be pursuing TfL and Capita to ask that the information that we have identified is released in the public interest.

We believe Londoners should be told what they can expect from the Scheme. In the absence of criteria from the Mayor, we are establishing our own set of success/failure indicators.

We find it unacceptable that Londoners are not privy to the costs of terminating the Scheme or contractors' performance indicators. We believe it is unacceptable that such a major use of public funds should proceed with so little public information. We will therefore be pursuing the costs of termination payments and Capita's key performance indicators in the interests of Londoners.

²³ Minutes of Transport Committee meeting, 17 October 2002

²⁴ Minutes of Transport Committee meeting, 17 October 2002

²⁵ Minutes of Mayor's Question Time, 21 November 2001

²⁶ Minutes of Mayor's Question Time, 20 November 2002

6. Impacts on London's economy, air quality and people

- 6.1 While modelling can provide a best estimate of the likely traffic or transport impacts of the Congestion Charging Scheme, many effects and interactions will only become apparent once the Scheme is fully implemented.
- 6.2 In its report to the Mayor, TfL warned that, while the Scheme should improve transport conditions and enhance business efficiency in central London, 'it may also have an adverse effect on certain businesses, individuals or locations.'²⁷ The Mayor, himself, has acknowledged that the Scheme's introduction is going to be 'very painful for many people' and there will be those who lose out.²⁸
- 6.3 For this reason, we have been particularly keen to ensure that the TfL will comprehensively monitor the Scheme's impacts – not only on traffic flows and public transport but also the social, economic and environmental effects on London.
- 6.4 We have been particularly concerned that high quality information is gathered on:
- the effects of the charge on lower income households who are dependent on the use of cars for necessary travel to central London;
 - the impact of the scheme on journey times by cars, commercial vehicles and buses within and outside the charging zone; and
 - the effect on small businesses.
- 6.5 TfL outlined how it intends to monitor the traffic impacts of the scheme as well as its social, economic and environmental effects earlier this year.²⁹ Briefly, this will involve specific surveys supplemented by existing performance monitoring systems and new sources of information (for example, the new GLA London Economics Unit). There will also be a single area (located on the boundary of the Inner Ring Road in north-East London) where several monitoring studies will be concentrated in order to interpret impacts together.
- 6.6 TfL has taken on board many of our suggestions for improving and expanding its monitoring programme (for example, measuring parking demand around rail hubs in outer London, surveying the impact on small freight operators) and we acknowledge that the monitoring programme is extensive.
- 6.7 However, we remain concerned that some elements of the programme are not yet finalised (particularly surveying of walking and cycling and railhead parking) and that adequate 'before' data will not be obtained in time. The Committee's consultant has warned that baseline data gathered between now and February 2003 may be distorted by the 'seasonal effects' of Christmas and New Year, end of year sales and winter weather. Without reliable data about the situation

²⁷ *TfL Report to the Mayor on the Readiness of Public Transport for the Central London Congestion Charging* September 2002. p.7-13

²⁸ Minutes of Select Committee on Transport, 23 October 2002, question 98

²⁹ See *Central London Congestion Charging Scheme: Scheme Impacts Monitoring Programme, a technical overview*. TfL, February 2002.

before the introduction of the Scheme, it will impossible to assess the Scheme's real impact on London's transport, economy, environment or citizens.

- 6.8 We will be pressing TfL to assure Londoners that sufficient baseline data will be gathered across all areas of the monitoring programme to be able to accurately assess the Scheme's effect on London. We also remain to be assured that TfL's intended sample of small businesses throughout the charging zone and the area immediately outside is adequate.

Monitoring results must be made public

- 6.9 We believe it is essential that the findings of the monitoring programme are made public. Given the Mayor and TfL's attitude to releasing performance criteria for the Scheme, we are very concerned about their readiness to be open about the results of the monitoring programme – particularly where those findings might be unfavourable.
- 6.10 The Mayor has stated publicly that the level of detailed information provided through the monitoring programme should allow the London Assembly and Londoners to 'decide whether or not [the Scheme has] worked, as much as me.'³⁰ We want to ensure that this happens.
- 6.11 TfL have stated that 'where appropriate, first-level reports from contractors will be made more widely available' and 'material from the database and library will be available to bona-fide independent researchers according to prevailing TfL terms.'³¹ We will be requesting TfL to provide us with the regular updates from the monitoring programme and for TfL officers to attend our meetings at which they will discuss these findings in public.

We continue to ask TfL to assure us that adequate 'before' data will be gathered so that the Scheme's real impact can be properly assessed.

We will be pressing for the Mayor to provide a public document outlining all the baseline information by which Scheme can be judged.

We will be asking the Mayor to make all findings from the monitoring programme available to the Committee.

³⁰ Minutes of Mayor's Question Time, 18 September 2002

³¹ See *Central London Congestion Charging Scheme: Scheme Impacts Monitoring Programme, a technical overview*. TfL, February 2002. p.3

7. Our criteria for assessing the Scheme

- 7.1 The Mayor has said that if the Congestion Charging Scheme is not performing as expected, he will ask TfL to consider adjusting the level of the charge or modifying traffic management and complementary public transport measures.³²
- 7.2 Given that TfL accept that there may be adverse effects and the Mayor continues to refuse to explain how he will be judging the Scheme's performance, it is difficult to determine in which circumstances changes might be made. We have serious concerns that the Scheme may be considered to have 'successfully' addressed congestion in central London at the expense of other parts of London or the city's people, economy or environment.
- 7.3 These concerns have been heightened by TfL's response to questions about risks to the Scheme. When we asked TfL to outline what it saw as the key risks to its successful operation, only one of the Committee's identified risks – that the Scheme may displace traffic and congestion – was mentioned. The rest were largely operational problems, for example:³³
- technological systems failure;
 - reductions in the level of customer service due to demand; and
 - the Congestion Charging Scheme call-centre being swamped with callers at commencement.
- 7.4 Clearly, mitigating these technical and operational risks is important, particularly in the early days of the Scheme and we note that TfL has provided the Committee with some information on the processes and measures it has in place to respond to such eventualities, as they occur.
- 7.5 However, as we have pointed out in this report, there are potential adverse impacts beyond those identified by TfL which include pressures on London's public transport system, as well as economic, social, environmental and reputational risks.
- 7.6 In the absence of any performance criteria from the Mayor, we have set out a series of tests against which we believe the Scheme should be measured. For some of these areas, TfL monitoring data exists; for others it will need to be gathered or estimated. These tests are intended to highlight the areas and data will be looking at as part of our assessment of the Scheme. Appendix A summarises this information.

Congestion Charging Scheme must be shown to deliver a real and sustained reduction in congestion in central London (over and above conclusion of major roadworks and changes to traffic signals)

- 7.7 The Mayor claims that drivers spend half their time in traffic jams. It is true that vehicles in central London are moving more slowly. Over the last twenty years, traffic speed in central London has dropped from 12 to almost 9 mile per hour.³⁴

³² Minutes of Mayor's Question Time, 18 September 2002

³³ TfL letter to the Transport Committee, 13 November 2002

³⁴ *Transport Statistics for London 2001*, TfL, p.8

Yet the number of vehicles entering central London over the same period has remained relatively constant.

- 7.8 TfL's explanation for this anomaly is that the available road space in central London has become smaller (due to roadworks and the introduction of bus lanes) and that changes to traffic signals and additional pedestrian crossings have caused the traffic flow to become more constrained. In simple terms, the same number of vehicles are now trying to use a smaller roadspace and having to give more time to pedestrians.
- 7.9 In the last six months, TfL has recorded an 8 per cent reduction in traffic coming into central London and admit that their major road works programme (for example, at Shoreditch Triangle, Vauxhall Cross and Trafalgar Square) and recent changes to traffic signals have contributed significantly to this reduction.³⁵
- 7.10 All of TfL's major works within the charging zone are scheduled to be complete before congestion charging begins. A few traffic signals, especially those around Trafalgar Square, will also revert to their previous patterns before February 2003.³⁶ These changes are likely to improve traffic conditions in central London from their current level.
- 7.11 In our view, it is essential that this effect and seasonal fluctuations in congestion are disaggregated (as much as possible) from the impact of the congestion charge itself. Everyone driving in central London wants to see a reduction in congestion. However, if Londoners are to pay a total of £185 million a year in congestion charges³⁷, we believe they deserve to know that it is the charge - and not the conclusion of major roadworks or traffic signals engineering - which has created this reduction.

The Congestion Charging Scheme must be shown to deliver a real improvement to bus journeys in London

- 7.12 Our concerns about the Scheme's impact on public transport have been outlined in Chapter 4. We would expect a major improvement in bus journey times and waiting times, as well as a reduction in delays.

The Congestion Charging Scheme must not disadvantage Londoners (particularly low-income groups)

- 7.13 We remain concerned that the £5 charge takes no account of income and therefore may particularly disadvantage those on low incomes who have a legitimate need to use their car in central London (for example, carers).
- 7.14 The Mayor argues that the majority of people on low incomes in inner London cannot afford a car and are totally dependent on public transport³⁸ and that measures have been put in place for some key workers. We will be examining very closely the extent to which these assumptions are borne out once the Scheme goes live.

³⁵ Minutes of Transport Committee meeting, 17 October 2002

³⁶ Minutes of Mayor's Advisory Cabinet, 12 November 2002

³⁷ *Third Progress Report on the Congestion Charging Scheme*, Section 2

³⁸ Minutes of Mayor's Question Time, 21 November 2001

The Congestion Charging Scheme must not have an adverse impact on the areas outside of the charging zone

- 7.15 Our concerns about rat-running and the possible impacts on those areas outside of the zone, particularly on residents and roads on the edge of the charging zone have been outlined in Chapter 3.

The Congestion Charging Scheme should not have an adverse effect on London's economy or services

- 7.16 The Mayor claims that congestion costs London between £2 and £4 million every week in terms of lost time caused by congestion and believes that the introduction of the Congestion Charging Scheme will significantly reduce this cost.³⁹
- 7.17 After the Scheme's introduction, the Mayor will need to show clearly that there is a net benefit to London businesses, taking into account the cost of paying the charge and any additional staff-hours lost due to employees being delayed on public transport. He must also show that there are not adverse impacts which indirectly affect London's economy. Business organisations have already cited the costs of transport in London as one of the possible barriers to inward investment.⁴⁰
- 7.18 We will be looking particularly at the Scheme's impact on small companies who may need to enter or travel within the charging zone as part of their business but who may be less able to absorb, or pass on, the costs of the charge.

The Congestion Charging Scheme should not have an adverse effect on London's environment

- 7.19 TfL acknowledge that the Scheme will not contribute significantly to improving air quality or reducing noise in central London since most of the vehicles which generate the most noise and high emissions will continue to enter central London.⁴¹ In fact, the predicted increase in the use of buses and taxis (which have diesel engines) is predicted to lead to slightly higher emissions in the short-term.⁴²
- 7.20 We will be closely monitoring not only the effect on air quality and noise but also the environmental impact of signage and cameras on London's streetscape.

The Congestion Charging Scheme should deliver net revenue to fund transport initiatives

- 7.21 The Mayor claims that even if there were no net revenues from the Scheme, he would still consider the scheme to be an important part of his transport policy. Yet we have heard that public acceptability of charging in London is very closely related to its ability to increase the funds available for investment in improved

³⁹ 'Where can I find out about the central London congestion charge?', TfL pamphlet, 2002, p.4

⁴⁰ See for example, London First Centre submission to the Economic and Social Development Committee on inward investment

⁴¹ *Scheme Impacts Monitoring Programme: a Technical Overview*, February 2002, TfL, pp.45-48

⁴² *The Greater London (Central Zone) Congestion Charging Order 2001: Report to the Mayor*, February 2002, TfL, p.7-18

transport for the city.⁴³ We also note that advertisements for the Congestion Charging Scheme identify spending on better public transport as one of the benefits of the Scheme.

- 7.22 The Mayor initially expected that the Congestion Charging Scheme would 'raise a net revenue of some £130 to £150 million annually (excluding a further £30 million predicted from penalty charges)⁴⁴. TfL now expect the Scheme to realise approximately £100 million annually and a further £30 million from penalty charges. We have learned that this surplus may be further reduced through reimbursements to fire brigade officers, undercover Metropolitan Police and NHS staff (re-imbursements are estimated to cost £0.25 million, £1 million and £3 million respectively).⁴⁵
- 7.23 Under the *Greater London Authority Act 1999*, net surplus from the Scheme must be spent on proposals which further the Mayor's Transport Strategy. The Mayor's Scheme Order proposed several priority areas where this revenue could be spent:⁴⁶
- Bus network improvements (including interchange improvements and increases to late night public transport)
 - Improving safety, security and accessibility of public transport
 - Accelerating road and bridge maintenance programmes
 - Additional funding for borough transport initiatives (including improving the cycling, walking and street environment)
 - New tram or segregated bus services
- 7.24 TfL's *Business Plan 2003/04* proposes using revenue from the charge to:
- improve bus services in London – increasing the number of day and night bus services, enhancing the bus network and improving security.
 - make London's roads safer – funding Safer Routes to School and increasing resources for implementing TfL's Road Safety Plan
- 7.25 Identifying congestion charging revenue and spending on these initiatives will be very important in maintaining public support for the Scheme.

The Congestion Charging Scheme should not penalise 'innocent' drivers

- 7.26 Drivers who fail to pay the daily congestion charge by 10pm on the day it has been incurred will be charged an additional penalty of £5; failure to pay before midnight will result in a Penalty Charge Notice of £80⁴⁷, rising to £120 if not paid within a month. Clearly, it is important to ensure that drivers are not incorrectly penalised.

⁴³ See for example, *Scrutiny of the Mayor's Proposals for Congestion Charging: Report of Findings*, GLA, October 2000. p.22

⁴⁴ *Statement by the Mayor Concerning his decision to confirm the central London Congestion Charging Scheme*, 26 February 2002, p.15

⁴⁵ Minutes of Assembly Budget Committee meeting, 5 November 2002

⁴⁶ *The Greater London (Central Zone) Congestion Charging Order 2001*, Annex 2

⁴⁷ This penalty is reduced to £40 if paid within a fortnight.

- 7.27 We have asked about the likelihood that car number plates will be misread. TfL have told us that the average detection rate of number plates by cameras and associated Automatic Number Plate Readers is estimated to be between 79 to 81 per cent for all vehicles driving in the charging zone, rising to 85 per cent detection when a vehicle is viewed by more than one camera. Accompanied by manual checking of images of low quality, TfL anticipate that 'the percentage of misread number plates resulting in the incorrect identification of the owner will be negligible.'⁴⁸
- 7.28 However, even accurate reading of the number plate may not ensure that drivers are treated fairly. Identification of a vehicle's owner relies on that vehicle's number plate being registered on the Driver and Vehicle Licencing Agency's (DVLA) database. According to reports⁴⁹, this database is 'wildly inaccurate' and as many as a quarter of all penalty fines under the Scheme may be sent to the wrong person or address. We also understand that DVLA do not have valid keeper records for some 10 per cent of vehicles in London, rising to 20 per cent of vehicles in parts of inner London. Given that TfL are paying the DVLA £650,000 to link its number plate readers to the database and £500,000 each year for at least the next five years for system support and maintenance, we will be looking closely at the accuracy of the system. We note that an appeals system against incorrect Penalty Charge Notices has been put in place using the existing Parking and Traffic Appeals Service infrastructure in London and will be monitoring both the number of appeals and successful challenges against the charge.
- 7.29 We suggest that TfL could be doing more to dissuade Londoners who may be contemplating evading the charge. The notion that it may be possible to avoid paying the charge by deceit (for example, obscuring your number plate, spraying it with substances, using a false plate) seems to have gained widespread currency in London's pubs, clubs and cafes. TfL has policies to deal with persistent evaders and is developing protocols with other enforcement agents in London to co-ordinate a removal service to tow away and impound unregistered vehicles. We believe TfL should challenge these 'urban myths' as well as explaining how registered and unregistered offenders will be treated. Otherwise, London risks an increase in unregistered vehicles and civil disobedience, at least in the short term.

⁴⁸ TfL letter to Transport Committee, 23 July 2002

⁴⁹ See for example, 'Chaos hits London traffic charge', *The Observer*, 10 November 2002, p.19

8. Assessing the Scheme's impact on London

- 8.1 The Transport Committee has the power⁵⁰ to require the Mayor, TfL Board Members and TfL officers to provide information about the Congestion Charging Scheme and to appear before the Committee to answer questions.
- 8.2 As we have outlined in Chapter 5, the Committee is considering exercising these powers to make public the termination payments that could be paid to contractors and the performance criteria by which these contractors will be paid.
- 8.3 Once the Congestion Charging Scheme commences, the ability to exercise these functions will become more – not less – important.
- 8.4 Combined with the representational nature of the London Assembly, the Transport Committee will be uniquely placed to monitor the effects of the congestion charge and to serve as a public forum in which Londoners' views about the benefits or problems of the Scheme can be raised.
- 8.5 We will be discussing with TfL the best way to ensure that results from the Scheme's monitoring programme are made publicly available and will be asking for regular updates from the monitoring programme.
- 8.6 We will be assessing the Scheme through these findings, using the tests listed in the previous section to guide our work. We will also be consulting experts in the traffic, economic, social and environmental fields as required to make certain that our analysis is robust and to ensure that TfL is telling Londoners the full story about the Scheme.
- 8.7 We will also be liaising with ALG who will be conducting an independent evaluation of the Congestion Charging Scheme which will focus on validating TfL's results as well as examining the more localised impacts of the scheme.

We will be judging the Scheme through regular scrutiny. The tests listed in the previous section will guide our work and we will urge others to follow these. We will also be monitoring the scheme against criteria summarised at Appendix A.

We will work with ALG, TfL and other organisations in London to ensure that the Committee is privy to all monitoring information.

⁵⁰ These powers derive from the *GLA Act 1999* and have been delegated to the Transport Committee by the London Assembly

Appendix A: Transport Committee's criteria for assessing the Scheme

Key tests	Indicators we will use
Congestion Charging Scheme must be shown to deliver a real and sustained reduction in congestion (over and above conclusion of major roadworks and changes to traffic signals)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real reductions in traffic on central London roads • Increase in available road capacity per vehicle • Clarity about how this new road space is allocated
Scheme must be shown to deliver a real improvement to bus journeys in London	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bus journey times • Bus reliability and service quality indicators • Bus journey ridership numbers • Waiting time for buses
Scheme must not disadvantage Londoners (particularly low-income groups)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A study of how low income and shift workers are affected by the charge • A study of how communities, particularly but not exclusively low income communities within and adjoining the zone are affected by its operation.
Scheme must not have an adverse impact on the areas outside of the charging zone.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No significant increase in rat-running in areas adjoining the zone • No deterioration in air quality in areas outside the zone • No significant reductions in traffic speeds in the area just outside and on roads leading into zone. • A facility for rapid and responsive amelioration measures if such effects are found.
Scheme should not have an adverse effect on London's economy or services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding through survey and response to evidence from affected groups and their representatives of economic effects on existing business, both retail and other and on investment decisions inside and adjoining the zone. • Identification and responsiveness of Mayor/TfL to such effects and a clarity on ameliorative measures where these are possible with possible other action where they are not.
Scheme should not have an adverse effect on London's environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No deterioration in air quality, noise or congestion in areas inside the zone, adjoining the zone or elsewhere. • TfL's responsiveness to such effects
Scheme should deliver net revenue to fund transport initiatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Net revenue from the Scheme • Proposals identified in TfL Business Plan 2003/04
Scheme should not penalise 'innocent' drivers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Performance figures on number plate recognition, successful appeals to the charge and complaints made to the charging service. • Monitoring of the registration system • A response by the Mayor/TfL to such issues, including a commitment by TfL to an early review of the scheme in the light of its performance. • Development of ideas for the technical improvement of the scheme, if it continues, to address the problems of equity and fairness to key road users and communities.

Appendix B: Summary of Committee's conclusions

Consultation and implementation on the Congestion Charging Scheme (p.6)

We are pleased that the Congestion Charging Scheme has been delayed to allow greater time for testing and consultation.

We note assurances that programme is on-track. However, the history of major systems projects in the public sector is not good and there remains a risk of delay or technical difficulties.

We note that the Mayor has chosen not to conduct a Public Inquiry or an Environmental Impact Assessment. We believe the Mayor has underestimated the importance of consulting and taking public with him.

Impacts on areas around the Congestion Charging Zone (p.8)

In view of the expected congestion and rat-running outside on the edge of, and outside the zone and the delay in implementing traffic control measures in those areas, we remain concerned that the Scheme will have a significant impact on the areas immediately outside of the charging zone.

Public Transport provision (p.10)

We are concerned about the long-term sustainability of using buses to address the additional demand on public transport given the dramatic increases in bus outlays and stress on the current system.

We are also concerned that the provision of extra transport capacity will do little to reduce crowding or increase the reliability of transport services. The introduction of the Scheme, without a significant improvement in commuter journeys (particularly by rail) risks leading to further public frustration.

Mayor's Performance criteria for the Scheme (p.12)

We believe Londoners must be told what they can expect from the Scheme and how the Mayor will be assessing the success or failure of the Scheme. In the absence of criteria from the Mayor, we are establishing our own set of success/failure indicators.

We find it unacceptable that Londoners are not privy to the costs of terminating the Scheme or contractors' performance indicators. We believe it is unacceptable that such a major use of public funds should proceed with so little public information. We will therefore be pursuing the costs of termination payments and Capita's key performance indicators in the interests of Londoners.

Monitoring of the Congestion Charging Scheme's impacts (p.14)

We continue to ask TfL to assure us that adequate 'before' data will be gathered so that the Scheme's real impact can be properly assessed.

We will be pressing for the Mayor to provide a public document outlining all the baseline information by which Scheme can be judged. We will be asking the Mayor to make all findings from the monitoring programme available to the Committee.

Appendix C: Summary of the Congestion Charging Scheme

Location of the Congestion Charging Zone

The Congestion Charging Zone incorporates 8 square miles of central London. The boundary of the zone will be the 'Inner Ring Road' linking Euston Road, Pentonville Road, City Road, Commercial Street, Mansell Street, Tower Bridge, Elephant and Castle, Vauxhall Bridge Road, Park Lane and Marylebone Road. See the map below.



There are 174 entry and exit boundary points around the zone and a total of 130 information signs are planned for installation outside the congestion charging zone to advise drivers approaching the zone. Approximately 450 enforcement cameras have been installed within and beyond the Scheme's boundary to monitor vehicles travelling within and through the zone. Number plates will be identified through information held on the Department of Vehicle Licensing Authority database.

How will the Congestion Charging Scheme work?

Drivers will pay a flat fee of £5 for entering this zone between 7am and 6.30pm Monday to Friday (except public holidays). This fee is a daily charge meaning that drivers can cross into and out of the zone in a single day for a single payment of £5. Motorbikes and bicycles will be exempt from the Scheme and residents within the zone will be eligible for a 90% discount from the charge⁵¹. The other main groups receiving concessions under the scheme will be:

- Black cabs and licensed minicabs (exempt)

⁵¹ Note that for residents, the minimum payment is for a period of one week (5 consecutive charging days at a cost of £2.50).

- Disabled people, or institutions for disabled people, holding a Blue Badge (exempt if registered)
- Emergency service vehicles, some local government vehicles and accredited breakdown vehicles (exempt)
- Some NHS vehicles and NHS employees, Fire Brigade and police officers (reimbursed)
- Buses and vehicles with 9 seats or more (exempt if registered)

Drivers will be able to pay the charge in advance or on the day at selected newsagents, convenience stores and petrol stations in Greater London, by SMS texting and at 40 Post Offices and 100 self-service machines in car parks in the zone.

Number of 'chargeable' vehicles entering the Zone

The Mayor has previously estimated that 266,000 vehicles will be in the zone per day (median estimate) of which 92,000 will be exempted or benefit from a discount under the Scheme.⁵²

Latest traffic flow counts indicated a 16 per cent reduction in the number of 'chargeable' vehicles entering central London. On these estimates, TfL have confirmed that approximately 150,000 drivers are expected to pay the charge per day.

⁵² Mayor's letter to the Assembly's Budget Committee, 7 February 2002

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Scrutinies:

- aim to recommend action to achieve improvements;
- are conducted with objectivity and independence;
- examine all aspects of the Mayor's strategies;
- consult widely, having regard to issues of timeliness and cost;
- are conducted in a constructive and positive manner; and
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