



**NATIONAL  
POLICY FORUM**  
REPORT 2018





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## NPF Elected Officers

### NPF Chair



Ann Black  
*(CLPs/Regions)*

### NPF Vice Chairs



Katrina Murray  
*(CLPs/Regions)*



Mick Whelan  
*(Trade unions and affiliates)*



Shabana Mahmood  
*(Elected representatives)*

## Foreword

Welcome to the 2018 edition of the National Policy Forum (NPF) Report.

This year the National Policy Forum was tasked with a programme of activity to build on the manifesto so we are ready for government whenever the next General Election comes. As a growing movement, with a large number of new members, our priority was to put in place a process which engaged both new and long-serving members. Therefore, our goal was to deliver a consultation on eight key areas that allowed as many as possible to get involved and share their expertise and experience with us.

When I was elected to the post of NPF Chair in April I took on responsibility, together with the other NPF Officers, for this busy programme begun by our former Chair, Ann Cryer. I would like to take this opportunity to thank her for the work she did on behalf of the NPF.

The year began with each of the policy commissions drafting a consultation document focusing on a key area from the manifesto. The consultation was launched in March following a two-day meeting in Leeds in February where NPF Representatives held discussions on the eight documents, as well as on Brexit, the NHS and the Party Democracy Review. From then until the end of June, dozens of meetings and events were organised by party offices in the regions and nations, and by local parties where Labour members and stakeholders could come along and have their say on these important policy issues.

To support this work, the Labour Policy Forum website, the principal medium for members, supporters and stakeholders to submit their views, had specially designed new pages, integrated with the main Labour website, to promote the consultation and provide a range of materials including policy documents, guides to getting involved, news about consultation events around the country, and further information about the policy making process. Activity was also publicised through the Labour Policy Forum (@labpolicyforum) Twitter feed with a unique hashtag #NPFConsultation2018.

As part of their meetings throughout the year, the NPF policy commissions held evidence-taking sessions to hear from invited experts in the field and examine submissions from members, CLPs and people attending consultation events across the

country. This year, this included policy commission meetings in Cardiff and Gateshead respectively so that NPF representatives could hear evidence about the impact of specific policies on the ground. We are grateful to all those who took the time to play such a valuable part in our work.

An added element this year was the National Education Service Roadshow which ran alongside the consultation. Events were held in every English region to discuss the principles of the proposed National Education Service Charter and these discussions fed into the Early Years, Education and Skills consultation document which you can find later on in this report.

As in recent years, the policy commissions appointed Equality and Sustainability champions to ensure these issues were considered as an integral part of policy discussions. In addition, although the topic of Brexit lies within the remit of the International Policy Commission, given its wide-reaching nature, each policy commission held dedicated discussions on how Brexit could affect the policy areas for which they are responsible, and a special Brexit representative was identified on each policy commission to feed this back.

The detailed work of the policy commissions since Annual Conference last year is set out in the following pages. These reports demonstrate the breadth of work undertaken by the NPF because, as ever, in addition to the consultation topics the policy commissions continued to examine submissions from the Party on issues across the broad remits they cover throughout the year.

I am pleased that we will once again be running a programme of policy seminars at Conference where delegates can raise ideas, discuss their views and share their experiences with members of Labour's Frontbench teams and NPF Representatives. You can find out more about these by visiting the Party Stand in the ACC, Liverpool.

To end, I would like to thank everyone who got involved in this year's consultation and the National Policy Forum process. I hope you enjoy reading about our work.

### **Ann Black**

Chair of the National Policy Forum

## About this document

The Labour Party is a democratic socialist party. We agree policy through a rolling programme of discussion and development across a Parliamentary cycle. The National Policy Forum (NPF) – which is made up of representatives from all sections of the Party – is the body responsible for drafting documents, taking evidence and consulting with the Party. Every year the NPF reports on this work in the ‘NPF Annual Report to Conference’. This document is the 2017/18 edition; in it you can read about the work of the NPF’s eight policy commissions since Conference 2017.

To get involved visit [policyforum.labour.org.uk](http://policyforum.labour.org.uk) the online home of Labour’s policy development process. On this website you can find policy consultation documents published by the NPF, make submissions, get involved in the debates and get feedback from your representatives on the NPF. You can also follow the NPF on Twitter [@labpolicyforum](https://twitter.com/labpolicyforum) for updates and details of new consultations and events near you.

We want as many people as possible to get involved, so please do take part. Together we can build a policy platform to tackle the challenges our country faces, and build a Britain for the many not just a few.





**Early Years,  
Education  
and Skills**

## Membership 2017/18

### HM Opposition

Tracy Brabin MP  
Mike Kane MP  
Gordon Marsden MP  
Angela Rayner MP\*

### NEC

James Asser\*  
Rachel Garnham  
Eddie Izzard†  
Sarah Owen

### CLPs and Regions

Peray Ahmet, *Greater London Region*  
Simeon Elliott, *South East Region*  
Natalie Fleet, *East Midlands Region*  
Sarah Hayward, *Greater London Region*  
Emma Toal, *Eastern Region*  
Fiona Twycross, *Greater London Region*

### Affiliates

Jasmin Beckett, *North West Youth*  
Eda Cazimoglu, *Labour Students*  
Clare Lally, *Scottish Policy Forum*  
Callum Munro, *Community*  
June Nelson, *BAME Labour*  
Maggie Ryan, *Unite*  
Richard Watts, *Association of Labour Councillors*  
Anne Western, *Local Government Association*

### Elected Reps

Lucy Powell MP  
Julie Ward

\* Co-Convenor

† Replaced Christine Shawcroft

### Policy Development

The Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission is responsible for developing policy on a range of topics related to the wellbeing, development and care of children, as well as education, training and skills from childhood through to adulthood.

This year, the Commission has been tasked with developing the principles of the National Education Service (NES) as its priority issue. It has met several times to discuss and hear expert evidence on a range of topics related to the National Education Service, including youth services, staff within the NES, inclusion, Sure Start and alternative provision for pupils who do not attend mainstream school.

The Commission held a policy seminar at Annual Conference, which began with opening remarks from the Shadow Education team. Gordon Marsden MP, Shadow Minister for Higher Education, Further Education and Skills, Tracy Brabin MP, Shadow Minister for Early Years, Mike Kane MP, Shadow Minister for Schools and Lord Watson were all in attendance and discussed a range of issues with delegates, including Labour's offer for students and young people, the Government's failing 30 hours childcare policy and school funding cuts.

Sure Start proved a popular topic for delegates with many highlighting how centres had been closing in their areas and the concerns they had for parents that might struggle to travel to their nearest Sure Start centre. Delegates also spoke about children's mental health, with many arguing that the current assessment model in England is contributing to the crisis in mental health.

The Commission met in December and had discussions on the submissions that were sent in and the motions from Annual Conference 2017. These included points on holiday hunger, stopping the expansion of grammar schools and increasing democratic control over academy chains.

At this meeting, the Policy Commission agreed that the priority area to be taken forward for consultation would be 'Towards a National Education Service', to build on the 2017 manifesto promise and the speech Angela Rayner, Shadow Secretary of State for Education, gave at Annual Conference in 2017.

The Commission met again in January where they heard from Angela Rayner who spoke on the National Education Service, the draft principles underpinning it and the need to take this work forward through a programme of stakeholder engagement. Mike Kane was also in attendance and discussed the issue of teacher retention and recruitment with the Commission and the need for better working conditions across schools.

The reference back on school policy, moved by Colne Valley CLP at Conference, was considered by the Commission at this meeting. A discussion was held on the paragraphs referenced back by Conference and it was noted that ongoing policy work could help to clarify the position of the Party and the shadow team on the issues which were referenced back.

The Commission had a thorough discussion on the submissions received from Party members, with a particular focus on faith schools, higher education, a National Education Service, secondary schools, early years and the wider curriculum.

In February, the National Policy Forum met in Leeds. Three breakout sessions were held over the weekend on the consultation topic of 'Towards a National Education Service'. Each of the breakout sessions had a panel including Angela Rayner and Tracy Brabin representing the shadow education team. During these sessions, NPF Representatives highlighted that the relationship between the health and education sector is particularly important with regards to early years and it was suggested that further work could be undertaken with other policy commissions, for instance the Health and Social Care Commission.

They also discussed the need for the National Education Service to take into account education devolution in the UK, suggesting that there are lessons the NES could learn from the different education systems in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

Brexit was a recurring theme throughout the weekend and it was noted that Erasmus + is important to protect. Representatives also emphasised that leaving the European Union, combined with technological changes, could provide challenges in retraining the current workforce. Representatives also had a discussion on the importance of informal social education for young people, stressing the need to understand what good alternative provision looks like.

## Early Years, Education and Skills

The Commission met again in March, where they heard an update from Jo Platt MP, a member of the shadow education team, and Tracy Brabin MP on the work of the Shadow Education Team. They discussed Sure Start and early intervention and many took the opportunity to stress that the health and education sectors are entwined.

Themes of the submissions discussed by the Commission at the meeting included the National Education Service, selective education, faith schools, academies, the curriculum, and apprenticeships. The Commission heard evidence from two expert witnesses on the themes of alternative provision and youth services. These two areas were chosen after the National Policy Forum weekend, as they were identified as areas the National Education Service could look to develop.

The Commission heard evidence from Kiran Gill on the subject of alternative provision and pupil referral units. Kiran is the founder of The Difference, a charity which aims to upskill school leaders in supporting mental health and reducing exclusions.

In the same session, they heard evidence from Anntoinette Bramble, Deputy Mayor of Hackney Council, on the subject of youth services.

The Commission had a variety of different discussions on the issues raised by Kiran and Anntoinette. Commission members spoke about the low quality education some students receive in some alternative provision settings, and how this has been exacerbated by the increase in autonomous academies. They also discussed the link between poverty and social exclusion, as well as local authorities that currently provide high-quality alternative provision.

Commission members also discussed the impact austerity is having on children and young people, as well as how the National Education Service charter could better reflect youth services and present a wide offer that extends beyond school based education.

In April, Angela Rayner launched the National Education Service Roadshow in Swindon. The NES Roadshow ran alongside the NPF consultation “towards a National Education Service” and involved events in the nine English regions.

These events were attended by Angela and members of the Shadow Education Team and were

an opportunity for CLP members to engage in the consultation and to discuss education issues with the Shadow Education Team.

As part of the Roadshow, the Shadow Education Team hosted a roundtable with many representative organisations from across the education sector on the principles of the National Education Service. Emma Lewell-Buck MP, Shadow Minister for Children and Families, hosted a roundtable specifically on children and adults with Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND) within the NES and Mike Kane also hosted an NES Roadshow event in Manchester with teachers and education professionals.

The Commission met again in May, where Angela Rayner gave an update on the work of the Shadow Education Team and the National Education Service Roadshow and consultation. The chair also gave an update on the work of the Joint Policy Committee (JPC).

The Commission heard evidence from expert witnesses on the themes of staff within the National Education Service and Special Education Needs (SEND) and inclusion.

In the first part of the meeting the Commission heard evidence from Kevin Courtney, joint General Secretary of the National Education Union (NEU) and Sally Hunt, General Secretary of the Universities and College Union (UCU) on the issue of staff within the NES.

Sally Hunt thanked the Labour Party for its support during the recent pension strikes and Commission members had detailed discussions on a number of issues, including academies and accountability, the governance of schools, pensions and the marketisation of education.

The Commission also heard evidence on inclusion from Navin Kikabhai, chair of The Alliance for Inclusive Education (ALLFIE), Richard Rieser, consultant for the World of Inclusion and Micheline Mason, an inclusion campaigner.

A detailed discussion was had on how cuts to school budgets are impacting on high needs provision. It was suggested that budget cuts are leading to a decline in teaching assistants, a reduction in SEND support from local authorities and growing class sizes which are leading to increased exclusions both official, as well as big increases in illegal off-rolling (where pupils disappear from the school registers).

The Commission met again in June for a joint meeting with the Health and Social Care Policy Commission, which took place in Cardiff. The Commissions met to discuss early intervention measures, with a particular focus on what Labour's Sure Start offer could learn from Flying Start, Wales' early years programme for families living in disadvantaged areas.

Members were joined by Huw Thomas, Leader of Cardiff Council, Huw Irranca-Davies AM, Minister for Children, Older People and Social Care and Vaughan Gething AM, Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Services who gave an overview of the current early years and education policies in Wales.

Members had detailed discussion on a number of the issues raised, including how local authorities can ensure they balance competing priorities, the importance of joined up care in early years, with a particular focus on the 'team around the family', the need for minimum standards of qualification in early years, procurement and Wales' emerging childcare offer.

The Commission also heard evidence on Flying Start from Natalie Macdonald from the University of Wales Trinity Saint David. Natalie outlined that much like Sure Start under Labour, the four key elements of Flying Start are; Health Visiting; Early Language Development; Childcare and Parenting. Natalie also told the Commission about the long term impact of quality early years provision and the need for a PGCE pathway.

Members had lively discussions on a number of points made including how to ensure Flying Start reaches groups which are typically hard to reach, the pay of early years staff and the reduction in maintained nurseries.

Commission members also discussed the impact of formal testing on young children, the importance of alleviating child poverty and the need to professionalise early years educators. The value of ensuring equal access to further and higher education, as well as the need to create parity of esteem between further and higher education was also underlined.

At this meeting, the Commission had a thorough discussion about the Party Democracy Review and the role of the National Policy Forum.

In July, the Commission met to consider the submissions received during the consultation,

including those from the many events and discussions had at local parties across the country.

Angela Rayner thanked everyone for their involvement in the process. She told the Commission that as part of their ongoing work in developing the NES, the Shadow Education Team are considering the structure of the National Education Service and the details and legalities that surround it. She reiterated to the Commission that while the finer details are in development, all education institutions that receive funding within the National Education Service will have to abide by the final principles.

### Consultation: Towards a National Education Service

In the 2017 General Election manifesto Labour launched the framework for a unified National Education Service (NES) to move England towards cradle-to-grave learning that is free at the point of use.

The manifesto set out a vision for the NES to be built on the principle 'every child and adult matters'. It has always been one of Labour's central beliefs that everyone, whatever their background, should be given the opportunity to reach their potential, to succeed not just in the world of work but in their own development. The NES seeks to extend this opportunity to everyone, at any time in their life, regardless of their circumstances or background.

The development of the National Education Service is the key focus for Labour in developing education policy before the next General Election, which means it is vital to get the framework right.

At Labour Party Annual Conference 2017, the Shadow Secretary of State for Education, Angela Rayner MP, launched the draft charter for the National Education Service, which outlined ten principles that will underpin the development of the NES in years to come.

This year the Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission have focused on developing these principles further. In April, the Commission launched the consultation document "Towards a National Education Service."

The Commission took evidence on a range of issues relating to the NES from:

- Kiran Gill, The Difference
- Anntoinette Bramble, Deputy Mayor of Hackney
- Kevin Courtney, National Education Union (NEU)
- Sally Hunt, Universities and Colleges Union (UCU)
- Richard Rieser, World of Inclusion
- Micheline Mason, Inclusion Campaigner
- Navin Kikabhai, Alliance for Fair and Inclusive Education (ALLFIE)
- Huw-Irranca Davies AM, Minister for Children, Older People and Social Care
- Vaughan Gething AM, Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Services

- Huw Thomas, Leader of Cardiff Council
- Natalie MacDonald, University of Wales Trinity Saint David

The Commission would like to thank these speakers for coming to give evidence. They would also like to thank every individual person, CLP and organisation who contributed to the consultation, whether online through the Labour Policy Forum website, a written submission or by taking part in person at a local party, NES Roadshow or other NPF consultation event.

#### THE PURPOSE OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SERVICE

*"[Education should] engage children and young people, enabling them to develop their interests and broaden their horizons, giving them the best life chances possible to participate fully in the life of the nation as equal citizens, modern, responsible and engaged, and as fully rounded, happy human beings, motivated to continue learning throughout their lives."*

National Education Union

Over the past eight years the Conservatives' austerity agenda has had an untold impact on the lives of millions of people across the country. Their economic and social policies have disproportionately affected the most disadvantaged in our society, who have seen their wages fall in real terms, their housing costs rise and their social security relentlessly cut.

The number of children living in poverty is growing year on year and there are now 4.1 million children living in poverty in the UK. Unsurprisingly, the consequences of this can be seen in the classroom and since 2010 the attainment gap between the most persistently disadvantaged and their peers has risen and poor mental health amongst children and young people is widespread.

Theresa May claims her Government are "building an education system which unlocks everyone's talents", yet education and skills are often deprioritised by the Treasury and as a result our nurseries, schools, colleges and universities are facing funding crises.

## THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SERVICE DRAFT CHARTER

1. Education has intrinsic value in giving all people access to the common body of knowledge we share, and practical value in allowing all to participate fully in our society. These principles shall guide the National Education Service.
2. The National Education Service shall provide education that is free at the point of use, available universally and throughout life.
3. The National Education Service provides education for the public good and all providers within the National Education Service shall be bound by the principles of this charter.
4. High quality education is essential to a strong and inclusive society and economy, so the National Education Service shall work alongside the health, sustainability, and industrial policies set by democratically elected government.
5. Every child, and adult, matters, so the National Education Service will be committed to tackling all barriers to learning, and providing high-quality education for all.
6. All areas of skill and learning deserve respect; the National Education Service will provide all forms of education, integrating academic, technical and other forms of learning within and outside of educational institutions, and treating all with equal respect.
7. Educational excellence is best achieved through collaboration and the National Education Service will be structured to encourage and enhance cooperation across boundaries and sectors.
8. The National Education Service shall be accountable to the public, communities, and parents and children that it serves. Schools, colleges, and other public institutions within the National Education Service should be rooted in their communities, with parents and communities empowered, via appropriate democratic means, to influence change where it is needed and ensure that the education system meets their needs. The appropriate democratic authority will set, monitor and allocate resources, ensuring that they meet the rights, roles, and responsibilities of individuals and institutions.
9. The National Education Service aspires to the highest standards of excellence and professionalism. Educators and all other staff will be valued as highly-skilled professionals, and appropriate accountability will be balanced against giving genuine freedom of judgement and innovation. The National Education Service shall draw on evidence and international best practice, and provide appropriate professional development and training.
10. The National Education Service must have the utmost regard to the well-being of learners and educators, and its policies and practices, particularly regarding workload, assessment, and inspection, will support the emotional, social and physical well-being of students and staff.

Despite her assertions, the actions and policies of the Government clearly demonstrates a lack of any kind of progressive vision for education in the UK. The inability to create a policy narrative that advocates for education has led to years of chaos and turmoil for the sector and it is our children and young people that are missing out.

The National Education Service (NES) seeks to offer an alternative vision for education under a Labour Government; a vision that is built with our members. As such, the consultation posed the question of what the NES should be for and what values it should embody.

## Early Years, Education and Skills

In response, members and stakeholders used the opportunity to reiterate the fundamental importance of education. Many of the submissions received, and the discussions held by the Commission over the year, focused on the significance of education to both the individual and the wider society. There was universal agreement that education is a human right, which holds an intrinsic value to the individual and is a public good to society.

*"We need our education to work for all, no matter what background anyone comes from or what subjects they are good at. Education is the most important human right"*

**Laura, South East**

*"Education can be viewed as a cost or an investment - either a drain on resources or the future of the economy."*

*The NES must not only portray education as a social right but also as investment with sound economic benefits."*

**Unison**

Submissions consistently underlined that the impact of education on an individual is much broader than just allowing people to access knowledge and that the National Education Service should recognise this. Indeed, submissions stated that education involves a wide range of skills development that supports people to fully engage in a democratic society.

*"Learning and education is more than acquiring a common body of knowledge. It also involves skills development (cognitive, language and communication, emotional, social, physical, life management), meaningful application and needs to address ethical and moral rights and the responsibilities that form the bedrock of living in a democratic society."*

**The Association of Educational Psychologists**

Many members are concerned that this vital role of education is being lost under the Conservatives and this could be seen in the countless discussions and submissions received on the curriculum. Many feel that the current curriculum, with its focus on "teaching to the test" is having a detrimental impact on children and young people. While the problem appears to be most acute in schools, we heard concerns about the narrowing of the curriculum in early years and further education too. The submissions received highlighted the need for a broad curriculum which supports young people to access, engage and learn a wide range of skills.

*"We should be aiming to give students an enquiring mind to help them develop a wide range of skills and knowledge."*

*The talents and abilities of all students should be recognised and fostered."*

**Taunton Deane CLP**

*"An education system that enables and encourages young people to not only achieve through attainment, but also provides access to build skills of teamwork, leadership, staying positive, aiming high, listening, presenting, problem solving and creativity of character, enterprise and employability, is one that is going to ensure that all young people regardless of postcode or family income are able to build successful working lives."*

**Business in the Community**

Labour recognises that the issue of curriculum and assessment is something the National Education Service will need to address, which is why the 2017 manifesto committed to launching a commission to look into curriculum and assessment, starting by reviewing Key Stage 1 and 2 SATs.

Members and stakeholders were keen to stress that whilst education is vital for the economy, the National Education Service should have a broader purpose than just supporting people to access the workforce. Submissions outlined how the current direction of education under the Conservatives is focused almost entirely on preparing people for the world of work, and less focused on developing inquisitive, critical individuals.

*“We need a clearer and more multi-faceted definition of education that underlines our policy. We should stress that education is not functionalist - it is about the whole person, throughout their life and touches on all their talents, all their social skills, not just the knowledge and skills required for working life.”*

**Gordon, Yorkshire and the Humber**

Throughout the year the Commission also discussed the need for the National Education Service to include the entirety of the education system, and to be understood by the public as such. Many submissions commented on the fact that policy makers and the media often focus on schools-based education at the expense of other parts of the system. Whilst this focus is understandable, submissions stressed the need for the National Education Service to be for everyone, and that equal weight and priority should be given to all parts of the education sector.

*“The National Education Service should embody opportunities. Far too often when we think of education we think of schools. The NES should foster life skills so every individual has the potential to success in the 21st Century”*

**Hackney South & Shoreditch CLP**

### THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SERVICE CHARTER

This year one of Labour’s proudest achievements, the NHS, celebrated its 70th birthday. Despite the challenges it faces the NHS continues to enjoy unwavering support among the public, which endures across different Governments and different generations. One of the main reasons for this is the British public’s commitment to its founding principles.

The development of the National Education Service is learning from the best parts of the NHS. At Labour Party Conference 2017 Angela Rayner launched a draft charter for the National Education Service, which outlined ten key principles. The National Education Service charter will underpin the development of all education policies in the lead up to the next manifesto and general election, so ensuring the principles reflect our shared values is crucial.

The consultation asked members to submit their views on the draft charter. The submissions and the discussions held by the Commission and members at NES Roadshow events demonstrated that there is unanimous agreement on the need for the NES to be guided by strong values and ethos. There was broad consensus and support for the charter, particularly with regards to ensuring education is available universally, as well as the principle of ensuring education is free at the point of use.

*“All members of the Education group warmly welcomed this manifesto and thought it a sound and inspiring document on which to build.”*

**Canterbury Labour Education Group**

*“Unite is also supportive of the principles spelt out within the NES charter, particularly those around universality, life-long learning and valuing staff.”*

**Unite**

*“We see significant resonance between the proposed NES principles set out in the National Education Service ‘charter’ and our co-operative values. This is something we clearly welcome.”*

**Co-operative Education**

### Lifelong Learning

Many of the submissions and discussions in the Commission meetings focused on the importance of lifelong learning, and there was universal agreement that this is a vital and often overlooked part of the education system.

*“The NES should be designed to encourage and support more adults to improve and update their skills and to retrain over their working lives. It should also encourage more adults to engage in informal learning opportunities, and to help and support people to progress from there into formal learning that can help them progress in work”*

**The Open University**

*“CWU believes that the National Education Service can and should be the harbinger of a learning society, where every individual is encouraged and supported to develop the skills and knowledge they possess – and where they are given the opportunity to use those skills for the betterment of our society.”*

**CWU**

Lifelong learning has been deprioritised by the Conservative Government, which lacks any kind of considered or cohesive strategy for the future of adult education. Submissions highlighted that the number of adults accessing education is in sharp decline. Since changes to the student funding system in England in 2012/13, the number of adults aged 21 and over accessing higher education has fallen by 42 per cent. As such, submissions were pleased to see the principle of lifelong learning enshrined in the charter.

Some submissions stressed that lifelong learning takes place in environments not typically associated with education and there was agreement that the reference to other forms of learning outside of educational institutions in the draft charter is important.

*“Value and reward the work of the adult and community sector in reaching adults whom traditional providers find hard to engage. There are thousands of hyperlocal community organisations who play a role in adult learning which is rarely seen or acknowledged by policy-makers... Online Centres are found in community centres, public libraries, village halls, places of worship (churches, mosques, synagogues and temples), cafes, social housing, mobile buses, pubs and much more.”*

**Good Things Foundation**

### **Different forms of learning**

Many submissions highlighted the need to recognise the difference between formal, informal and non-formal learning within the National Education Service. This was particularly pertinent when the Commission heard from Anntoinette Bramble, the Deputy Mayor of Hackney, on the issue of youth services.

Anntoinette discussed the impact of youth services on young people and how this interplays with education. Anntoinette told the Commission that the non-formal education and support young people receive whilst accessing youth services in Hackney means they have seen a reduction in the number of young people entering the formal youth justice system. At the time of writing, the Labour Party are consulting on a statutory youth service.

*“We need clarity that education does not simply equate to schooling, and any National Education Service must include provision for informal education (including youth work) with young people outside of formal education”*

**Tania, London**

### **Early years**

Submissions also emphasised the vital importance of early years and welcomed the consultation's focus on improving the quality of early years education.

Submissions received through the consultation demonstrated the vital importance of early years. The Sutton Trust told us that the attainment gap between disadvantaged children and their more advantaged counterparts is already evident when children begin school aged five, with a gap between them the equivalent of 4.3 months of learning. This gap more than doubles to 9.5 months at the end of primary school, and then more than doubles again to 19.3 months at the end of secondary school.

The volume of submissions received on early years led the Commission to invite Natalie Macdonald from Institute of Education to give evidence on Flying Start in Wales. Natalie told the Commission that a key element of Flying Start provision is the early years workforce. As such, Social Care Wales (SCW) set a minimum level of qualifications for Flying Start practitioners and managers which is above the minimum qualifications set out for day care, childminders and sessional care.

This is in line with many of the submissions received by individual members and CLPs. Members highlighted the need for early years education to be provided by skilled professionals. There is broad agreement that the party needs to focus on improving the quality of early years provision.

*“The main priority should be around improving the quality/status of early years teaching – the first three/four years of any child can be crucial to their life chances.”*

**Blackpool South CLP**

### **The relationship between health and education**

Submissions also highlighted the vital importance of the relationship between health and education, and welcomed the focus in the draft charter on the National Education Service working alongside health. Some submissions suggested the principle should be expanded in the charter to recognise the interrelationship between health, education and social care.

### **Staff within the National Education Service**

Members were in agreement that the principles of the National Education Service should explicitly reference staff within the charter. The submissions and discussions had throughout the year underlined that the status of staff within the education profession has been consistently undermined by the Conservative Government.

*“GMB welcomes the draft charter. We specifically welcome the commitment in principle 9 that support staff ‘will be valued as highly-skilled professionals’ under the National Education Service.”*

**GMB**

*“We welcome the NES principles that set out to value school staff as highly skilled professionals, who should be allowed to exercise their judgment and creativity, based on a sound evidence base, and the intention to have regard for their wellbeing.”*

**National Association of Head Teachers**

Whilst recognising the vital importance of educators and the teaching profession, submissions also made clear that there is a need for consistency in the charter, and it is important to ensure every principle refers to all staff that work in education, not just educators.

*“While we welcome a focus on the well-being of students and educators, we believe it is particularly incumbent on the Labour Party to have a principle around the working conditions of all staff - not just academics and educators, and not just education related staff.”*

**National Union of Students**

### **Academic and vocational education**

There was significant agreement in the submissions and discussions of the Commission that there should be more parity between academic and vocational learning, and members were pleased to see this referenced in the charter.

*“Those who do not choose the academic route should have ready access to practical skills training, technical and engineering skills and apprenticeships. The FE sector should be recognised for its expertise in this work and properly funded to deliver these programmes to enable a skills escalator to flourish.”*

**Amin, Greater London**

*“Vocational education should be more highly esteemed; skills are transferable and valuable to employers. Proper apprenticeships that employers value for the skills they give rather than the opportunities for low pay they provide need to be re-established.”*

**Rochford & Southend East CLP**

The Commission know it is critically important for the National Education Service to address the public perception of technical and vocational education. The Open University told us that the UK suffers from a significant productivity gap that is in a large part driven by a skills gap where many people lack the basic, intermediate and advanced technical skills needed. The Commission believes this is partly due to the perception of technical education in society.

Many members and third sector organisations suggested that improving careers information, advice and guidance and embedding this within the National Education Service could help to improve the status of vocational education and learning. The Career Development Institute told

## Early Years, Education and Skills

the Commission that the Conservative Government has overseen the dismantling of the career guidance service for young people.

*“Continuing access to support for developing career management skills, and to career guidance, should be available throughout adult and working life.”*

**Career Development Institute**

Submissions also stressed that whilst it is necessary for the National Education Service to address the status of technical education, it is important to recognise that educational institutions are not linear and that many modern universities provide what is considered ‘vocational’ learning and many further education providers provide ‘academic’ learning.

### Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND)

The issue of children and adults with Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND) was consistently mentioned in the submissions received, as well as the discussions the Commission held throughout the year. As part of the consultation Emma Lewell-Buck also held a roundtable with sector experts on the issue of SEND within the NES.

We heard a clear call in the contributions to the consultation that there needs to be an explicit reference to children and adults with SEND in the charter.

*“The Labour Party has an opportunity to create a National Education Service that meets the needs of all children and young people, including children who are autistic or who have other types of special educational needs or disabilities, and enables them to thrive and succeed”*

**National Autistic Society**

*“The National Education Service should give SEND learners the same level of priority that is afforded to those who are socio-economically disadvantaged, this will ensure that schools prioritise the outcomes of SEND.”*

**Driver Youth Trust**

Many submissions also stressed the need for the Party to continue building on its 2017 manifesto pledge to create an inclusive education system, and so the Commission invited Richard Rieser, Micheline Mason and Navin Kikabhaio to come and give evidence on the issue of inclusion within the National Education Service.

The crisis in SEND, and the need for the NES to address it, was a consistent feature of submissions and discussions of the Commission this year, with many referencing the cuts to high needs funding. The Commission believes that the children, young people and adults with special education needs and disabilities are being failed by the current Government. The Government’s own figures show that over 4,000 children with an Education Health and Care Plan (EHCP) or a Statement have no educational provision and are not in school at all. This figure has increased by more than five times over the last five years.

### FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE NES

The National Education Services provides an opportunity to bring radical change to the way education is currently delivered and perceived in England. However, it is clear from the submissions that there are a number of issues that the Commission will need to consider and address as our policies develop over the coming years.

A frequent concern highlighted by members was how a Labour Government will address the funding crisis that is facing the education sector. Indeed, the issue of funding, or lack thereof, has formed a central part of the Commission’s discussions this year, as well being consistently highlighted in the written and verbal submissions.

*“Essential investment made by previous Labour governments in our schools has been reversed under the Coalition and Conservative governments and massive real term funding cuts to education are damaging the ability of schools to deliver effective education”*

**South East Cornwall CLP**

The Commission understands why funding featured so heavily in submissions.

Over the past eight years Government has cut funding for almost every area of the education sector and this is having a detrimental impact on the education of children and adults in England.

In Early Years, young children and families are missing out on the ability to access life changing opportunities as over 1000 Sure Start centres have closed since 2010.

In schools we have seen evidence that shows budget cuts are placing an intolerable pressure on teachers' ability to provide a high quality education to every child, and schools have been clear that the funding pressures are leading to cuts to support staff and teachers, as well as rising class sizes.

In further education, funding per student is at similar level in real terms to 30 years ago meaning many colleges and providers are struggling to provide young people and adults the skills and qualifications they need.

Labour has been clear that we will provide the education system with the investment it needs. Though, as submissions emphasised, the serious financial challenges facing the sector now will impact the education system Labour inherits and so the development of the NES will need to give this due consideration.

### Devolution

Another consideration frequently raised by the submissions was the impact of local and national devolution on the NES. Many submissions underlined the devolved nature of education in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland and the impact this will have on how the NES operates. The success of the National Education Service is dependent on working with our devolved counterparts, as well as working with local authorities. This is something the Commission will consider in more detail as the National Education Service develops.

*"A future Labour government would also need to be aware of the interconnected nature of education systems in the context of devolution. This is particularly true for higher education, where changes to funding arrangements in England have*

*significant effects in other nations, particularly Wales and Northern Ireland. Any future Labour government should therefore work with its devolved counterparts in implementing its National Education Service."*

**Universities UK**

### Teacher recruitment and retention

Another issue that featured heavily in the submissions and NES Roadshow event discussions was the challenge of teacher recruitment and retention. Members frequently highlighted that the teaching profession is being undermined by the Conservatives, which is causing thousands of teachers to leave the profession and making it much harder for Heads to recruit them.

*"Labour must address urgent issues around the professional needs of teachers and head teachers: workload, unreasonable levels of accountability, punitive inspection, recruitment and retention."*

**Stone CLP**

*"Teachers need to be held in esteem, treated with respect and recognised for their commitment and dedication."*

**Montgomeryshire CLP**

Earlier this year, the Public Accounts Committee released a damning report about the Government's failures in teacher recruitment and retention. The report stated that the Department for Education has "failed to get a grip on teacher retention", as well as highlighting that workload is a significant barrier to teacher retention with classroom teachers working 54.4 hours on average a week.

The evidence given by NEU and UCU, as well as many submissions, suggested that the teaching recruitment and retention crisis is being exacerbated by the current models of testing and assessment, the competitive nature of the education system and the current Ofsted model.

*"There is currently too much emphasis on testing, targets and league tables."*

**Rochford and Southend East CLP**

## Early Years, Education and Skills

*“Ofsted has to be more supportive of schools before and after inspections and become more of a supportive, community organisation.”*

### Shipley CLP

We recognise this issue must be addressed as staff are a vital part of our education system. Labour believe that the world's most successful education systems use more continuous assessment which avoids 'teaching for the test', which is why we are committed to removing baseline assessments in primary schools and will launch a commission to look into curriculum and assessment. We will also reintroduce the Schools Support Staff Negotiating Body and national pay settlements for teachers to ensure our education staff get the pay they deserve.

We have heard concerns that the current inspection framework is not fit for purpose and this is something the Commission will look to address as we build a policy platform ahead of the next General Election.

### Accountability

The accountability of education institutions within the National Education Service weighed heavily in submissions. Many highlighted considerable concern about the lack of local accountability in academies, Multi-Academy Trusts and Free Schools.

*“All institutions should have governance arrangements that represent parents (where appropriate), students, staff and the wider community.”*

### Socialist Education Association

The accountability of these schools is a growing concern in Parliament too. This year the Chair of the Education Select Committee wrote to Lord Agnew, the Minister for Academies, explaining the Education Select Committee's concerns with Multi Academy Trusts. The letter argued that 'parents, staff and students are in the dark over who is running their schools' and that 'decisions are being taken behind closed doors.' This followed the collapse of Wakefield City Academies in 2017,

which was accused of transferring millions of pounds into its own account before collapsing.

Members also told the Commission they are concerned about the lack of parental voice in academies, highlighting that they were originally meant to be parent-centred but now only 15 per cent of them are. They drew attention to the excessive pay some CEOs in Multi Academy Trusts receive and suggested this is something the National Education Service would need to consider.

A large proportion of submissions reiterated that many parts of the education system are already accountable to their local communities and that there are lessons that can be learned from these sectors. This was particularly apparent in submissions from organisations that work in and represent further education and adult education.

*“Adult education providers are firmly rooted in local communities and both student profile and governance structures tend to reflect this. We recognise that the education system as a whole could do more to be transparent and accessible to the whole community – through the use of school and college facilities for example.”*

### Institutes for Adult Learning

*“For the last 25 years, colleges have been funded by and accountable to national government, but they have always worked closely with local councils at all levels.”*

### Association of Colleges

Labour is clear that all education institutions that receive funding within the NES will be transparent and accountable to the public, communities, parents and children that it serves. Though it is apparent from the submissions and discussions this year that there is more for the Commission to do. As we build our policy platform ahead of the next General Election, ensuring the local accountability of education institutions within the National Education Service is something that will need addressing.

## Other issues

### Alternative Provision

The quality of alternative provision for those not in mainstream school is a growing concern for many in England. The Commission heard evidence from Kiran Gill, who highlighted that both official and unofficial exclusion rates are rising under the Tory Government, with 40 pupils excluded each day.

In July the Education Select Committee published their report “Forgotten children: alternative provision and the scandal of ever increasing exclusions”, which found that the number of permanent exclusions has risen by 40 per cent in the past three years.

The Commission believes that the issue of alternative provision is a topic that needs further consideration in order to ensure that the most vulnerable are able to access the high quality education they deserve. Labour must continue to put pressure on the Government to properly address the issue and hold them to account in the coming months.

### Grammar Schools

Despite their U-turn during the General Election, earlier this year the Government announced plans to invest £50 million a year to allow existing grammar schools to expand, either by providing more places or by building new annexes or satellite campuses. Since the announcement it has been revealed that one in five grammar schools have applied for this funding.

In June, the organisation Comprehensive Futures found that since 2016 grammar schools have been awarded £52.6 million from the Condition Improvement Fund (CIF) to help them expand. This almost matched the amount awarded to non-selective secondary schools, which received £52.8 million, even though there are 163 selective schools but more than 3,200 comprehensives. This works out at roughly £323,000 per grammar school and £16,500 per comprehensive.

While the Schools Minister, Nick Gibb MP, confirmed in July that grammar schools will no longer be able to use the CIF to expand pupil numbers, it is clear that in the last two years grammar schools have received disproportionate amounts of Government funding.

The Labour Party has been clear in its opposition to this policy. It is completely unjustifiable that the Conservatives are investing so heavily in grammar schools, whilst thousands of maintained schools are facing cuts to their schools budgets.

We know that the Government’s continued obsession with grammar schools will do nothing for the vast majority of children and it is absurd for Ministers to push ahead with plans to expand them when the evidence is clear they do nothing to improve social mobility. The Commission will watch this issue as it develops over the coming months and will continue to oppose it unequivocally.

### Access to Higher Education

The accessibility of higher education has dominated discussions surrounding HE this year. In June it was revealed that six of Cambridge’s 29 undergraduate colleges admitted fewer than ten black British students in five years, whilst the proportion of black UK students admitted to Oxford last year was less than two per cent.

While it is vital elite institutions like Oxford and Cambridge are subjected to scrutiny, the Commission know that the accessibility of higher education to BAME students, working class students, disabled students and other marginalised groups is a problem that expands beyond these two institutions.

The Labour Party are committed to ensuring that higher education is accessible to all which is why the 2017 manifesto committed to abolishing tuition fees in higher education and restoring maintenance grants. The Commission will continue to put pressure on the Government to address the inequalities that pervade the higher education system.

### Young people not in Education, Employment or Training (NEETs)

In June, provisional participation figures from the Department for Education showed that the proportion of 16 year olds not in education, employment or training had risen for the first time since the end of 2011, and for the first time since the Government raised the participation age to 18 in 2015.

The number of 16 year old NEETs increased by 20 per cent to 23,400.

## Early Years, Education and Skills

The rise in the number of 16 year old NEETs is a concern for the Commission. However, we are aware that this is a multifactorial issue that extends into the work of many of the other policy commissions, including Economy, Business and Trade and Work, Pensions and Equality. Labour are committed to improving the opportunities for young people and we will continue to monitor the situation over the coming months to ensure that every young person has access to education, employment or training opportunities.

### **Brexit**

The impact of Brexit on the education system, particularly with regards to skills and apprenticeships, is a concern for many and featured frequently in discussions and submissions this year. The Commission heard from UCU who highlighted in their evidence session that Brexit is already impacting on the education system, as the international standing of further and higher education is being undermined by the process.

The education sector will face significant challenges over the next few years as a result of Brexit. As negotiations continue and the NES develops, the Commission will keep a close eye on the implications Brexit will have on changes to workers' rights, as well as its impact on EU students, lecturers and teachers and EU funded programmes like Erasmus +.

### Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2017/18 the Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Academy schools
- Access to Work
- Adult education
- A-Levels
- Apprenticeships
- Automation
- Child poverty
- Childcare
- Childcare
- Class sizes
- Closing the wealth gap
- Community ownership
- Comprehensive schools
- Curriculum
- Digital & IT Skills
- Disability equality
- Discrimination
- Diversity
- Early Years
- EMA
- Equality
- Exams
- Faith schools
- First aid
- Free schools
- Funding
- Funding Formula
- Further education
- GCSEs
- Graduate workforce
- Grammar schools
- Green economy
- Higher education
- Inclusive education
- Independent schools
- League tables
- Libraries
- Lifelong learning
- Local Government
- Mental health
- National Education Service
- Ofsted
- Poverty
- Primary schools
- Private School Charitable Status
- Public schools
- Religion
- Research and Development
- Rural communities
- School Admission Testing
- School systems
- Secondary schools
- SEND Policy
- Sexual health education
- Sixth form colleges
- Skills development
- Social media
- Student accommodation
- Sure Start
- Targets
- Teacher training
- Teachers
- Teaching assistants
- Technology and science
- Testing
- The Arts
- Tuition fees
- Universities
- Vocational education
- Work experience
- Young offenders
- Youth workers





**Economy, Business and Trade**

## Membership 2017/18

### HM Opposition

John McDonnell MP\*  
Barry Gardiner MP  
Rebecca Long-Bailey MP  
Chi Onwurah MP

### NEC

Andy Kerr\*  
Lara McNeill  
Pete Willsman

### CLPs and Regions

Jackie Baillie MSP, *Scottish Policy Forum*  
Boyd Black, *Northern Ireland*  
Karen Constantine, *South East Region*  
Fiona Dent, *South East Region*  
Jos Gallacher, *International*  
Jeevan Jones, *West Midlands Region*  
Eva Murray, *Scottish Labour Party*  
Katrina Murray, *Scottish Labour Party*  
Sam Pritchard, *Welsh Labour Party*

### Affiliates

Tony Burke, *Unite*  
John Hannett, *USDAW*  
Claire McCarthy, *Co-operative Party*  
Dave Prentis, *Unison*  
Tim Roache, *GMB*  
Dave Ward, *CWU*

### Elected Reps

John Howarth MEP  
Chris Leslie MP  
Mary Maguire

\* Co-Convenor

## Policy Development

The purpose of the Economy, Business and Trade Policy Commission (the Commission) is to develop Labour's policy in these areas. In order to perform this function, it meets regularly to consider evidence and submissions on areas within its remit with a particular focus, this year, on the "Future of Work".

At Annual Conference 2017, there were composites on Workers' Rights, Growth and Investment as well as Public Sector Pay. The Workers' Rights composite recognised the precarious nature and poor pay of much employment in the UK and welcomed Labour's vision on employment, including its commitment to the real Living Wage and strengthening collective employment rights. The composite on Growth and Investment noted the Conservatives' failure to adequately invest and supported Labour's commitment to public investment and public ownership, including the National Transformation Fund and the National Investment Bank. Finally the Public Sector Pay composite condemned the one per cent pay cap and welcomed Labour's commitment to end it. The Women's Conference debates covered issues including the public sector pay cap and low pay, both of which disproportionately affect women.

The Commission held an extremely well attended seminar at Annual Conference 2017 with a large number of delegates contributing. Many spoke about Labour's anti-austerity campaign and industrial strategy, stressing the need for a skills strategy, for the jobs of today and tomorrow. Trade was also discussed including the need to oppose parallel investor-state dispute systems for multinational corporations. A number of delegates welcomed John McDonnell's speech on bringing Public Finance Initiative contracts back in-house. The need to crack down on tax avoidance was also raised. Delegates spoke about the risks that the Conservatives' plan for Brexit entailed, such as deregulation and making Britain a tax haven. Many also spoke about the public sector pay cap, supporting Labour's pledge to abolish it.

The Commission first met in December 2017 to begin the 2017/18 round of meetings. The Chair, Jennie Formby, updated members on the timetable of NPF activity and members discussed and agreed the priority area for the Commission this year, namely the "Future of Work".

John McDonnell, Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, updated the Commission on the Autumn Budget 2017. He described some of the problems the UK economy confronted, namely that its investment is among the lowest of the world's major economies, with the Tories presiding over a productivity crisis. He described how the pay cap was making people worse off and that people's wages were lower today than they were in 2010. He then set out Labour's key demands which he made ahead of the Autumn Budget: (i) provide funding to scrap the public sector pay cap, (ii) invest in infrastructure, (iii) pause and re-design Universal Credit, (iv) invest in public services, such as health and education, and (v) launch a house-building programme by the public sector. John McDonnell also highlighted that the Budget rushed through measures that privatised housing associations and planned cuts to the Bank Levy. He also spoke about the need to deliver a jobs-first Brexit and keep the Government's feet to the fire on this issue. The Commission discussed these issues along with submissions received since the General Election and the composites and motions from Annual Conference, Women's Conference, and Youth Conference. There was also a substantial discussion about the Democracy Review and the NPF more generally. Finally, the Commission also chose representatives on Equalities, Sustainability and Brexit.

The Commission met again in January 2018. John McDonnell discussed the background to the consultation paper on the Future of Work. The Shadow Chancellor spoke about falling living standards for many workers across the country, and that jobs growth has been accompanied by stagnating wages. The Shadow Chancellor also spoke about the collapse of Carillion, and the risks that outsourcing public services entailed in terms of jobs and services. Barry Gardiner, the Shadow Secretary of State for International Trade, spoke about the flaws in the Government's Trade Bill ahead of its second reading in Parliament. He criticised the Bill on a number of grounds and said that Labour would try to amend it and ensure democratic accountability. The Commission discussed the matters that had been raised by the Shadow Cabinet. Much of the discussion was also driven by submissions provided by members which covered areas from the EU to taxation policy.

## Economy, Business and Trade

In February 2018, the Economy, Business and Trade Sessions took place at the meeting of the NPF to discuss the Future of Work. Representatives raised the importance of building on Labour's 20-point plan for employment rights, especially on collective bargaining and raising worker voice in companies. There was also a discussion about the need to ensure future trade deals protect workers' rights. Social mobility was also discussed, noting that education and training were key ways to improve social mobility. A further topic was the need for councils and government to insource many services, but that capacity needed to be built up for this to happen.

The next Commission meeting was held in March 2018. Rebecca Long-Bailey, Shadow Secretary for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, discussed the Corporate Governance Review which the Party had launched. She emphasised how relevant this had become in light of the collapse of Carillion. The Shadow Business Secretary also discussed the inadequacy of the Government's response to the Taylor Review and a wider discussion was had regarding employment law by the Commission. John McDonnell talked about the Spring Statement 2018, emphasising the Government's failure to commit more funding to local government and the NHS. The Commission also discussed Labour's Financial Sector Review and the Party's commitment to tackling tax avoidance and evasion. Submissions from members were also a focus of discussions and ranged across topics including Brexit and pay.

The Commission reconvened in May 2018. The Shadow Chancellor's office gave an update on the work that was being done on PFI contracts and the upcoming annual State of the Economy Conference which was being held later in the month, focussing on Labour's industrial strategy, public ownership, tax and spending. The Commission considered submissions which had been received via the Labour Policy Forum website, praising the high quality of submissions from CLPs and how these were an important part of discussions at meetings. There was also an update on the recent Joint Policy Committee meeting from the Chair and the Commission agreed to send through contributions towards the policy-making section of the Democracy Review to the NPF chair.

The penultimate meeting of the Commission was held in June 2018. Rebecca Long-Bailey updated

the Commission on the work she had been doing on the proposed ASDA and Sainsbury's merger. She also reminded the Commission about the Corporate Governance Review which was being carried out, along with the work on energy policy. She also informed members that she had been pushing the Government to publish a steel sector deal and reach a decision on the Swansea Tidal Lagoon, as well as securing an opposition day debate on the retail sector.

Barry Gardiner discussed the importance of instituting robust anti-dumping measures arguing that the Government had not done this. Labour wanted to amend the Customs Bill to change this, but had been voted down by the Government. Labour also wanted to amend the Trade Bill to allow greater parliamentary scrutiny of deals. The Shadow Secretary of State for International Trade argued that Trump's actions on tariffs may end up undermining the World Trade Organisation trading regime. John McDonnell's office also updated the Commission on the annual State of the Economy Conference, which was attended by 800 people, with keynote speakers such as Adair Turner, former chairman of the Financial Services Authority and Chair of the Institute for New Economic Thinking. Members discussed the issues which had been raised by the Shadow Secretaries of State. Contributions to the Labour Policy Forum also provided another topic of debate. There was a lengthy discussion about Brexit, its implications and the party's position.

The Commission met for the final time in July 2018. There was a general discussion about the submissions received during the year along with the consultation paper on 'The Future of Work'. Representatives discussed the draft and agreed to send in their final comments.

## Consultation: The Future of Work

### THE CONTEXT

Work should be meaningful, secure and provide a good income. But for too many in the labour market this is not the case.

The headline employment figures mask deep underlying problems. First, the jobs being created are unproductive. Second, they are insecure. And third, they are poorly paid. But looking at the problem through statistical aggregates can often hide the harsh reality experienced on a personal level by many people.

The labour market is also changing. Robotics and Artificial Intelligence have the potential to transform society for the better, but in the wrong hands may potentially cause job losses. More and more people are becoming self-employed. In some cases this is a genuine choice. But often a relationship of self-employment between a worker and an employer is constructed by the employer to remove employment rights, as has been the case in many parts of the gig-economy.

A Labour government will transform the labour market and tackle its problems head on. A fundamental step towards this was contained in the 20-point plan on the labour market adopted at General Election 2017. It sought both to strengthen individual and collective employment rights.

But there are other levers that Labour will seek to pull in order to improve the labour market. Among these are a significant investment programme over ten years, our industrial strategy, the establishment of a National Investment Bank and network of regional development banks, and creating or encouraging alternative models of ownership, including co-operatives and new forms of democratic public ownership.

Labour must build on our existing proposals. As such, the Commission examined 'The Future of Work'. The Commission wanted to hear evidence on three principal issues: the current state of the labour market, the likely challenges it would face in the future and the mechanisms to tackle both the present and future problems.

In order to answer these questions, the Commission launched a consultation document (which is available here) inviting submissions on these topics. The Commission received evidence through the Labour Policy Forum website, written submissions through post and e-mail, as well as oral evidence at the Commission meetings. As such, it wishes to thank the IPPR, GFC Economics, the TUC, Manufacturing Trade Remedies Alliance and War on Want for their presentations to the Commission and meetings held at local parties across the country. The Commission would also like to thank the business groups and unions who sent in written evidence along with the members and CLPs who provided such a rich seam of evidence.

The findings of this exercise are summarised under the three broad issues the Commission wanted to hear evidence on: the current state of the labour market, the future state of the labour market and the mechanisms to solve present and future problems.

### THE PRESENT

The headline employment and unemployment figures mask deep underlying problems. Many of the submissions from members and others discussed these. The main themes to emerge were: (i) insecurity, (ii) productivity, (iii) pay and (iv) inequality.

The Commission heard evidence about the present state of the labour market. There are now 3.2 million people in insecure work. Furthermore, real earnings are also lower than they were ten years ago and productivity has barely risen above its level a decade previously. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation submitted evidence showing that 14 million people live in poverty in the UK and 8 million in families where at least one person is in work. Inequality between people also remains a big problem in the UK and is higher than it had been in the early 1990s. Trade union membership has also fallen dramatically since the 1980s. Many submissions from CLPs also shared this assessment.

*"Growing insecurity at work is the issue of our times [and] wages have been falling as a percentage of GDP since the 1980s"*

**Burnley CLP**

*“Recent changes especially since 2008, have seen the emergence of the gig economy with zero-hours contracts, low skilled employment, falling productivity, erosion of workers’ rights and fall in trade union membership and influence. All leading to a diminution in the quality of work itself and suppression of wages.”*

**Banbury CLP**

But beneath the broad aggregates of labour market statistics, there exists a great deal of regional variety: an unemployment rate in the North East of around six per cent, compared with about three per cent in the South East. There are also disparities between the sexes, and disparities between age groups.

The Commission noted these features of the contemporary labour market with concern and the need for a Labour government to tackle them.

### THE FUTURE

The Commission received written and oral submissions on the future challenges the labour market faces. These fell into four issues: (i) Automation, (ii) The Gig Economy, (iii) Self-employment, and (iv) Brexit, Trade and Jobs.

#### Automation

Automation often featured in submissions given to the Commission. Many recognised the exciting new possibilities it afforded. But equally there was a recognition that unless handled correctly, it may lead to net job losses as well as increases in inequality.

Carys Roberts from the IPPR gave evidence to the Commission on ‘Technological change and the future of work’. She thought that automation was going to be one of the big trends in the labour market. She argued that the increasing use of robots and artificial intelligence would not lead to jobs being eliminated but rather jobs being transformed. However, a likely negative side-effect of automation is an increasing gap between the poor and rich, as those who own the technology would be able to command large profits whereas those who operate it would not. In addition, those whose work is complemented by technology would earn more while those who compete with robots and artificial intelligence would earn less.

Many contributors echoed these thoughts, seeing both the tremendous opportunities automation afforded as well as the risks which would need to be managed by government, business and unions.

*“Automation is a feature that will need to be addressed, and [...] it should not be something to worry about as it has positive and negative features. We do however need to work with all sectors of industry, education and finance to ensure this change is well managed and that profit is not the main mover in this. We need to ensure the jobs lost to automation will be replaced with well-paid alternatives.”*

**Neath CLP**

#### The Gig Economy

A very prominent theme in evidence provided to the Commission was the gig economy. Indeed, Carys Roberts, from the IPPR, argued that digital platforms will probably be, in addition to automation, the second most significant technological development in the future labour market.

Here again it was noted that whilst digital platforms hold out the possibility of flexible work which can fit around an individual’s life, there was also a recognition from many contributors that they posed risks. Chief amongst these was the concern that such platforms could lead to bogus self-employment, the reduction of rights and insecurity unless the law kept up. The current legal definitions of employment status, which determine the rights an individual will receive, were often seen as inadequate and that new more robust definitions are needed to keep up with the changing nature of work.

*“Changing technology makes it more urgent than ever to adapt labour laws and regulations. New technology and online platforms often rely on high risk entrepreneurs, unpaid contributors and content creators, as well as short term contracts.”*

**Benjamin, Scotland**

## Self-employment

The Association of Independent Professionals and the Self Employed (IPSE) stated that a growing proportion of the workforce is now self-employed and currently constitutes 15 per cent of the workforce and that this figure was set to rise. This has been driven by a number of demographic factors. The number of women working for themselves has risen as well as the number of 16 to 24 year olds.

However, IPSE also stated that there is not enough being done to help self-employed people save, especially for retirement.

*“As self-employment has boomed, a problem has emerged: people in this rapidly growing sector are simply not saving enough for later life. Shockingly, just 31 per cent of self-employed people are currently paying into a pension”*

**IPSE**

*“I have a friend who is an unemployed single parent and would find it difficult to take the risk of uncertain self-employment as he would likely lose his benefits or go through lengthy re-assessment.”*

**Hannah, North West**

## Brexit, Trade and Jobs

A further theme to emerge from the submissions was the challenges Brexit would pose to a well-functioning labour market. These can be broken down into three issues. First, there were concerns about the impact of Brexit upon the labour market, especially if a bad deal is struck. For example, the British Ceramic Confederation is concerned about the impact of a bad deal upon the sector given over 50 per cent of ceramic exports from the UK are sold to the EU. Second, there were concerns about the erosion of labour rights after Brexit. There were fears that a Conservative Brexit would lead to a deregulation of the labour market and the erosion of working conditions. Third, there were concerns about the impact of future trade deals on labour rights, especially without adequate public oversight. Jean Blaylock of War on Want argued that trade deals often cover issues not directly connected with trade which are negotiated and decided upon without proper public scrutiny or parliamentary oversight.

*“We should ensure that existing rights that have come from the EU are retained after Brexit and not thrown out with false claims of red tape.”*

**North Somerset CLP**

## A Positive Vision

Although many contributors to the Commission talked about the risks as well as the opportunities that these challenges posed, many offered a positive vision for the future of the labour market.

Submissions often focused on the need to create an economy where workers have more control of and meaning in their working lives. Contributions were also made on the need to create a society which provided more leisure time to workers.

*“[Labour should] seek to ensure that vocation and meaning through work is introduced through ambitious programmes, e.g. in public provision, such as in the care sector.”*

**North East Hertfordshire CLP**

The Commission welcome the huge volume of evidence which was submitted on the future challenges and opportunities in the UK labour market. They noted and agreed with the four problems outlined above, recognising the risks they posed and the opportunities they created. And the Commission also supported the positive vision put forward by many contributors.

## THE MECHANISMS

The Commission received submissions on combatting both the current and future problems of the labour markets. These included improved employment rights, greater public ownership, greater public investment and the use of trade policy.

## Rights

One of the surest ways to guard against the current and future risks in the labour market, outlined above, is to give workers better labour rights and collective strength to deal with these risks.

## Economy, Business and Trade

Several submissions noted that greater collective employment rights were key in this regard. Strong trade unions are integral to addressing many of the current problems of the labour market: low pay, insecurity, inequality and the enforcement of rights.

This is no less the case in the gig economy where unions can help enforce rights and prevent bogus self-employment. Many submissions therefore agreed with Labour's policy of guaranteeing unions access to workplaces and rolling out collective sectoral bargaining. Many submissions also agreed that the Trade Union Act 2016 needed to be repealed.

*"Labour must reverse attacks on trade unions, such as the draconian Trade Union Act of 2016... Strong trade unions can also help employers to identify problems, find solutions, and prepare for challenges and opportunities arising from changes to technology and workplaces"*

**ASLEF**

*"Strengthen legislation for workers' rights and Trade Unions; [Provide] better access for unions in work places"*

**Walkley BLP**

*"Active encouragement of sectoral collective bargaining to establish fair standards, and competition of quality or performance, not poor conditions and a race to the bottom."*

**Burnley CLP**

The Commission was delighted by the positive contributions and lively debate on this topic. It agreed with the need to improve collective rights by repealing the Trade Union Act, rolling out sectoral collective bargaining and guaranteeing a union right to access workplaces. However, it noted that Labour's task was now to deepen these ideas.

There were also calls to improve individual rights as a way of countering present and future labour market problems. Members welcomed Labour's plan to introduce a real Living Wage to tackle low pay and the banning of zero-hour contracts to eradicate at least one source of insecurity for many people.

*"Zero-hours contracts should be banned as employees are unable to predict their earnings or to take out loans"*

**Reigate CLP**

A further issue to emerge was the definition of employment status. Although many contributors agreed that the current definitions of employment status were inadequate, there was less certainty as to what should replace them.

The Commission agreed that individual employment rights needed to be extended and strengthened. Labour's plan to give all workers equal rights from day one was integral to this, as well to establish as an adequately resourced Ministry of Labour to enforce those rights. The Commission also welcomed the contributions on employment law status.

### **Greater Democratic Ownership and Control**

The Commission received a large number of submissions on ways to increase worker ownership and control, often seen as a method to combat risks connected to automation, digital platforms, inequality and insecurity more generally.

One method to do so is to promote the creation of worker co-operatives. Co-operatives are enterprises which are jointly-owned and democratically controlled. They currently only constitute a small fraction of firms in the UK. Carys Roberts at the IPPR argued that co-operative type structures like employee owner trusts and mutuals are methods to guard against the risks posed by automation as they enable workers to share in profit. However the Government needed to provide much more support to these business models if they were to be a success. This was echoed by many submissions to the Commission which recognised the importance of co-operatives but the need for strong Government support if this sector was ever to grow. Suggestions of Government support ranged from making it easier to get loans of capital to tax breaks.

*“The number of co-operatives should be expanded significantly... Successful co-operatives such as Riverford and Tiptree should be examined to see how they operate. Companies following the same policies should be given incentives by Government.”*

**East Hampshire CLP**

The Commission supported the view that co-operatives were an important way of increasing worker voice and control. But they recognised that more needed to be done to find practical ways of encouraging their growth. The Commission thought Labour’s Conference on Alternative Models of Ownership was an important contribution to this debate.

A further suggestion to increase democratic control was increasing worker and stakeholder voice within companies, including by putting workers on the boards of large companies.

*“The next Labour government should legislate for there to be representatives of workers on the boards of all large companies.”*

**Edinburgh Central CLP**

The Commission agreed with increasing worker and stakeholder voice within companies. They welcomed the fact Labour had commissioned a review on Corporate Governance which would consider these matters.

There was also support expressed on the Labour Policy Forum website for public ownership of key public utilities and services, as well as for insourcing various government services which were currently sub-contracted.

The Commission agreed it was important to bring the National Grid, water companies, railways and the Royal Mail back into public ownership.

### **Industrial Strategy and Jobs**

A further important strand of policy, which came through in submissions from the Party, is the need to institute a strong industrial strategy to ensure that the UK economy and labour market is protected against the current and future risks. Effective public investment in skills, technology and infrastructure can help re-balance the economy,

reducing the large regional disparities that were described earlier. An intelligent investment programme in skills and infrastructure will also help boost productivity and through that pay, as well as generating the high quality jobs which can be more resilient to the challenges of automation.

*“...as we transition to a low carbon economy and the growth in automation... the industrial strategy is the foundation to meeting these challenges and making the most of the opportunities it offers”*

**Unite**

However, evidence from Graham Turner of GFC Economics highlighted how the UK is falling behind the world in terms of technology and research and development. Many submissions expressed support for the kinds of programme which feature in Labour’s industrial strategy. Labour’s industrial strategy builds upon the work of the renowned economist Mariana Mazzucato in its advocacy of a mission led industrial strategy where the public sector makes strategic investment to catalyse the private sector to meet the key challenges of our time such as climate change and create the industries of the future. Sitting alongside the mission orientated approach are two further layers to the strategy: first, horizontal policies to strengthen the business environment such as the establishment of a National Investment Bank and regional development banks alongside the National Education Service; and, second, sector specific support where Britain has an actual or potential comparative advantage.

Many submissions made suggestions about where investment should be targeted. Housing and transport were named as two. Stimulating these industries would have knock-on effects in terms of stimulating the construction industry, the steel industry and machine building. Investment in transport would also have the further advantage of connecting up localities. Investment in the green and renewable economy was also mentioned. Scientists for Global Responsibility argued that investment could be targeted at, for example, electric vehicles and battery storage given their importance to a future green economy. Investment will also need to be found to replace that which has been lost from the EU.

## Economy, Business and Trade

Submissions also stressed the necessity of the industrial strategy to re-balance the economy regionally to combat the local inequalities in the labour market and elsewhere. Some stressed the importance of a place-based industrial strategy, so that the localities and regions could have some say in the decision-making process of the local industrial and investment strategy. The National Investment Bank and network of regional development banks contained in the manifesto were also seen as one mechanism to do this. A further suggestion was investment in transport to better link up the towns and cities of the UK's regions.

*“Regional investment banks and investment in transport infrastructure will be extremely important underpinnings for growth that is well balanced across the different regions and nations of the UK.”*

**Walthamstow CLP**

Much of the evidence submitted also explored the importance of upgrading skills as a method to combat many of the current and future problems the labour market faces, such as low productivity and pay. Many submissions stressed the importance of supporting apprenticeships, while others also recognised the importance of life-long retraining.

*“EEF's own research shows that three-quarters of manufacturers have struggled to fill engineering roles in the past three years with little confidence in their ability to fill these roles in the coming years.”*

**EEF**

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation also suggested a way to upskill and improve the performance of low productivity sectors was increasing the amount of on-the-job training, improving management practice, increasing the percentage of workers using ICT and reducing the number of temporary workers.

The Commission agreed with many of the submissions on this topic – noting the centrality of industrial strategy to Labour's vision. They argued that the need for public investment in the economy

was key to boosting private investment – and noted the suggestions about where that investment should take place to realise Labour's mission based industrial strategy.

### **Brexit and Trade Deals**

Another theme to emerge through the submissions was the importance of trade to solve the post-Brexit problems described above.

The first aspect to this was the importance of reaching a good trade deal with Europe to ensure the jobs and the economy are protected in Britain post-Brexit.

*“With around 50 per cent of ceramic export sales going to the EU27, a tariff free and barrier-less relationship with the EU is vital.”*

**British Ceramic Confederation**

The second theme to emerge was the possibility of using trade deals to protect workers' rights. Rosa Crawford from the TUC argued that trade deals should enhance workers' rights. Trade deals should not only contain a chapter protecting labour rights, but an independent enforcement mechanism for those rights. She recommended that an independent body be set up to enforce labour standards as part of the trade agreement.

However, Jean Blaylock, from War on Want, argued that 'non-trade' subjects should be excluded from trade deals. This is because trade deals are not subject to sufficient public scrutiny and, as such, are not the best space for policy development on topics outside of trade.

*“Any trade deal should be negotiated transparently with full civic society involvement (trade unions, NGOs etc). Parliament should be fully involved.”*

**Martin, Greater London**

The Commission noted that although trade had dropped off the agenda in recent decades, with Brexit its importance has risen again. While understanding the reasons why an EEA option would not be appropriate for the UK, the Commission favoured a close economic partnership with the EU. The Commission was

pleased with the direction of Labour's trade policy and also noted that the invited experts were highly supportive of Labour's agenda on trade. The Commission also agreed trade deals needed to be subject to more public scrutiny.

### **Early conclusions**

The Commission heard evidence that the current employment figures mask a multitude of problems in the labour market from insecurity to poor pay. Evidence was also presented to the Commission on the future challenges the labour market will face, from automation and the digital economy to Brexit.

Evidence was submitted to the Commission on the mechanisms to deal with these challenges. Many argued for stronger labour rights, especially collective rights. The Commission welcomed Labour's proposals on these but noted Labour's task was now to deepen the ideas. Evidence was also submitted on greater democratic ownership and control, through mechanisms such as co-operatives, democratic public ownership and improved worker participation. The Commission therefore welcomed Labour's Conference on Alternative Models of Ownership and review into Corporate Governance. The Commission also supported Labour's industrial strategy and noted the suggestions of where investment should be directed. Finally, the Commission heard evidence on trade and its impact on the labour market and the importance of a close economic relationship with the EU.

## Other Issues

### Trade Remedies

Given the UK's exit from the European Union, the importance of Britain's trade strategy has increased.

One integral part of an independent trade policy is to establish a trade remedies regime. The Commission heard evidence that the Government's proposed trade remedies regime would be amongst the most liberal of any developing country and expressed concern about this in terms of ensuring a well-balanced economy. The Commission believes that developing the full range of trade remedies necessary to support key sectors affected by unfair practices, such as dumping, is required. The Commission also heard evidence that the Government was still a long way off from running a functioning trade remedies authority next year, which the Commission expressed concern about.

### Takeovers

Over the years there have been a number of high profile takeovers which have raised public interest concerns because of their potential impact on UK jobs and industry. Examples of this include the takeover of BHS, the takeover of Cadbury's and the takeover of GKN.

The problem in this field concerns the limited ability of the Government to act – even though the economy may be damaged, jobs lost and investment in R&D reduced. Many have called for a revision of the UK takeover regime so that more matters of public interest can be taken into account.

The Commission noted the importance of trying to include wider public interest factors in the UK takeover regime and welcomed Labour's calls on the Government to broaden the public interest test.

### Carillion

The collapse of Carillion highlighted the perils of bad business practices and corporate governance. Suppliers were often paid late, dividends were paid out as the company ran further and further into

debt and little concern was given to the long-term. The case of Carillion was particularly bad given its integration into the provision of public services.

The Commission noted with concern how bad corporate governance can be the undoing of a company, with adverse consequences for the employees, clients and suppliers. The Commission was pleased that some of Labour's existing policies dealt with these issues, like policies on late payment, and that a review on Corporate Governance had been commissioned.

### Treasury

The Commission heard from members of the Shadow Treasury Team about preparations for Labour's first Budget in the case of an early election, as well as analysis of the Government's Autumn Budget and Spring Statement.

## Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2017/18 the Economy, Business and Trade Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

Access to Work  
 Artificial Intelligence  
 Austerity  
 Automation  
 Banks  
 Brexit  
 Business rates  
 Businesses  
 City regions  
 Climate change  
 Collective bargaining rights  
 Community ownership  
 Consumer rights  
 Co-operatives  
 Corporate governance  
 Corporation tax  
 Debt  
 Employees  
 Employers  
 Equality  
 European Union  
 Exports  
 Financial services reform  
 Free movement  
 Free trade  
 Gig economy  
 Globalisation  
 Green economy  
 Income tax  
 Industrial strategy  
 Infrastructure  
 Interest rates  
 Investment  
 Living standards  
 Local economies  
 Low paid workers

Macro-economic policy  
 Manufacturing  
 Minimum wage  
 Ministry of Labour  
 National debt  
 National Insurance  
 National Investment Bank  
 National Living Wage  
 Nationalisation  
 Outsourcing  
 Post Offices  
 Privatisation  
 Public regional banks  
 Public services  
 Regional development  
 Renewable energy  
 Research and development  
 Savings  
 Self-employment  
 Shared ownership  
 Single market  
 Small business  
 Tax  
 Tax credits  
 Tax evasion  
 Technology and science  
 Technology start-ups  
 Trade  
 Trade agreements  
 Trade unionism  
 Trading standards  
 Transparency  
 UK Sovereign Wealth Fund  
 Universal basic income  
 VAT  
 Wages  
 Work experience  
 Workers' rights  
 Zero-hours contracts





**Environment,  
Energy  
and Culture**

## Membership 2017/18

### HM Opposition

Sue Hayman MP\*

Steve Reed MP

Tom Watson MP

Alan Whitehead MP

### NEC

Margaret Beckett MP\*

Joanne Cairns

Richard Leonard MSP

Wendy Nichols

### CLPs and Regions

Amber Courtney, *Welsh Policy Forum*

Suzi Cullinane, *Scottish Labour Party*

George Downs, *South West Region*

James Elliott, *South East Region*

Andrew Furlong, *East Midlands Region*

Estelle Hart, *Welsh Labour Party*

Carolyn Harris MP, *Welsh Policy Forum*

Simon Henig, *Northern Region*

Joanne McCarron, *South West Region*

Isobel Morris, *Eastern Region*

Wendy Simon, *North West Region*

### Affiliates

Tracey Fussey, *CWU*

Dean Gilligan, *GMB*

Isabelle Gutierrez, *MU*

Gloria Mills, *BAME Labour*

Melanie Smallman, *SERA Labour Environment Campaign*

### Elected Reps

Seb Dance MEP

Luciana Berger MP

\* Co-Convenor

## Policy Development

The Environment, Energy and Culture Policy Commission considers issues connected to Environment, Food, Rural Affairs, Energy, Climate Change, Digital, Culture, Media and Sport.

The Commission held a policy seminar at Annual Conference 2017. At this session there was a panel consisting of Sue Hayman MP from the Shadow Environment team, Alan Whitehead MP from the Shadow Energy and Climate Change team and Kevin Brennan MP from the Shadow Culture team.

At the event delegates spoke of the need for environmental and climate issues to be represented throughout Labour's policy offer and for the United Kingdom to take a leading global role in climate action. Points were also raised about forthcoming nuclear power projects and the wider transition to a low-carbon economy. Media plurality was discussed as was the need to consider issues such as digital rights and high-speed broadband provision.

The Policy Commission reconvened after Conference in December. Shadow ministers gave updates from the Environment, Energy and Climate Change and Culture teams. Updates covered topics ranging from progress on the carbon budgets, the proposed Swansea tidal lagoon, and the impact of Brexit on environmental protections to cross-departmental initiatives to promote exercise and wellbeing. Following shadow ministerial updates discussions were held on the regulatory gap emerging from Brexit, Labour's position on wind power and on the future of North Sea assets.

In the December meeting it was agreed that the priority area to be taken forward for consultation would be 'A greener Britain' which would allow for the consideration of a wide range of issues under the Commission's remit. The Commission agreed in this meeting to take forward three specific topics as part of the consultation; the natural environment, clean energy and air pollution.

The Commission also considered motions from Annual Conference 2017 and motions from Women's and Youth Conference and submissions received by the Commission since it last met. Submissions covered issues including climate change, waste and recycling, and the water industry.

At the January meeting of the Commission updates were received from shadow teams. Updates covered topics including; the Government's emissions plans, fisheries, flooding, the role of fossil fuels and charities regulation. Following updates discussions were had on how to work across policy areas to better deliver environmental safeguards and on funding for youth initiatives.

During the January meeting of the Commission submissions received since December were considered. Issues on which submissions were particularly aligned were; decentralisation, renewable energy and resource scarcity.

At the January meeting of the Commission representatives were chosen for equality, sustainability and Brexit to ensure that these areas were properly considered as part of the Commission's work throughout the year.

The National Policy Forum met in Leeds on 17 and 18 February. Three breakout sessions were held over the weekend on the consultation topic of 'A greener Britain'. The meetings had a panel including Sue Hayman MP, Alan Whitehead MP and Holly Lynch MP representing the Shadow Environment, Energy and Climate Change teams with the sessions chaired by Seb Dance MEP.

A recurring theme across NPF discussions was the risk posed to environmental standards by Brexit. Other topics of discussion included: the green economy, air quality, recycling and the need to ensure that environmental and climate measures were not levied regressively on households. Other contributions were raised on: fuel poverty, new nuclear and incineration.

At the NPF the sustainability representatives chosen by each Commission met in a session which was led by Alan Whitehead MP and a discussion was held on how to promote the sustainability agenda across each Commission.

The Commission met again in March where updates were heard from the Shadow Energy and Climate Change team. The updates focused on Labour's pledge to insulate four million homes across the next Parliament and how this would be led by local government.

At the March meeting of the Commission a discussion was held on the National Policy Forum meeting and on those issues raised by NPF representatives across the three sessions on 'A

greener Britain'. The Commission considered other events across the NPF weekend including the plenary sessions on health, Brexit and the Party Democracy Review.

The Commission again considered those submissions which had been made by members. These included issues such as animal welfare, the protection of the marine environment and climate action. The March meeting prepared a list of suggested invitees to give expert evidence to the Commission at future sessions.

The National Policy Forum consultation was launched in March. It invited submissions to be made to each of the eight Policy Commissions in response to the questions posed by the consultation documents and was scheduled to close at the end of June.

A number of external organisations contributed to the 'A greener Britain' consultation process including: Energy UK, Renewable UK, National Grid, ClientEarth, Green Alliance UK and WWF.

The Environment, Energy and Culture Policy Commission held its first evidence session in May. This evidence session focused on the consultation topics of the natural environment and air pollution, with expert evidence being heard from Green Alliance UK and ClientEarth. The need for new environmental legislation to underpin standards after Brexit was noted, as was the need for a new environmental body to enforce any future standards. A discussion was held on how to better integrate environmental thinking and action across departments along with the potential introduction of a new environmental charter.

Evidence at the May meeting of the Commission also raised the role of green spaces in delivering benefits for health, wellbeing and in cleaning up air. Other evidence discussed the reform of the Common Agricultural Policy to deliver innovation in agriculture, better land management and preservation of biodiversity.

The Policy Commission heard updates from shadow ministerial teams in May. Updates focused on: using civil society to help tackle issues facing the economy and wider society, food self-sufficiency, and food standards concerns in relation to future trade deals following Brexit.

The Policy Commission considered submissions received since the meeting in March. Issues

of significance were: the smart meter rollout, financing for emerging renewable technology and issues facing rural communities.

A roundtable event supporting the consultation was held in May hosted by FTI consulting and chaired by Alan Whitehead MP. This event was attended by a number of stakeholders from across the energy sector. There was discussion of a number of wide-ranging issues across energy policy including decarbonisation, decentralisation and future grid infrastructure. Written evidence collating the points raised by attendees was submitted to the Commission following the session.

The Environment, Energy and Culture Policy Commission held its second evidence session in June. The evidence at this session was focused around the future energy system of the United Kingdom and how this related to the 'clean energy' section of the consultation document. At this session expert evidence was heard from National Grid, Energy UK and Renewable UK.

Witnesses at the June session spoke of the rapidly changing nature of the energy sector with new smaller scale generation capacity coming on-line and the rollout of smart meters. The need for the energy system to be flexible, account for increased generation by renewables and the challenge of providing electric vehicle charging infrastructure was noted. Investing in battery storage and carbon capture and storage programmes were spoken of as ways to smooth the energy transition. This is in line with Labour's plans to bring parts of the energy system back into public ownership and make the investments in the grid needed for energy transition, and invest in renewable energy through the National Transformation Fund.

Evidence was heard on the falling cost of new renewable technology especially onshore wind. It was raised that renewable investment could encourage exports and that new projects could promote the use of British steel and generate new jobs. The challenges of decarbonising heat were raised throughout the session with a focus on poor insulation in many UK homes and how this can relate to fuel poverty. Evidence givers spoke of the need to ensure energy projects were not funded regressively, and the role played by the European Union in promoting low-carbon initiatives.

The Policy Commission held a discussion on civil society in June. During the discussion it was noted that civil society has been downgraded as a priority by the Government with the negative impact of the Lobbying Act on the third sector being notable. The devolution of power and decision making down to individuals was discussed and that reflecting local communities in decision making could allow services to be better tailored.

In June the Commission also considered submissions received since the meeting in May. Submissions were received on a mix of issues including: electric vehicles, rural communities, fisheries and access to public parks.

In June the Commission considered the ongoing Party Democracy Review and held a discussion on how to improve the NPF process and prepared points to be made as a submission to this review.

Additional consultations were launched by the Shadow Environment, Food and Rural Affairs team throughout the year on the issues of: fishing; coastal communities and animal welfare. Updates on the progress of these consultations were given to the Policy Commission during its regular meetings.

### Consultation: A greener Britain

Labour believes that investing in our environment is an investment in our future and that developing a clean economy is the most important thing we can do for future generations.

Labour has a strong record in tackling climate change. It was a Labour Government that passed the Climate Change Act, placing in law a duty to reduce carbon emissions. Labour put at the heart of its industrial strategy at the General Election the target of ensuring 60 per cent of the UK's energy comes from zero-carbon or renewable sources by 2030 and support for emerging renewable technologies and projects. This presents a strong base on which to build to continue to reflect the importance of these issues.

Labour believes that environmental protections play an important part in helping to safeguard our environment and that existing protections should be defended and extended. The stewardship of the environment should be founded on sound scientific principles. A future environmental approach should be developed considering future farming and fishing regimes, preserving biodiversity on land and in the seas and leading the world in animal welfare and food standards.

Three areas were singled out by the Policy Commission as specific issues on which to invite responses; the natural environment, clean energy and air pollution.

#### The natural environment

The consultation document invited submissions on the natural environment with a specific focus on how to adapt environmental rules and regulations for the future and on improving access to, and the function of, green spaces.

The natural environment cannot be considered without looking at the impact of leaving the European Union with an estimated 80 per cent of environmental rules and regulations currently originating at a European level.

Submissions from across the membership reflected the strength of feeling on Brexit and spoke of the great risk that this could pose should

existing environmental rules and regulations concerning things such as biodiversity and water quality be either watered down or abolished. There was overwhelming agreement amongst submissions and expert evidence that these rules should be maintained as a minimum.

*“Currently, EU laws protect our coastal areas, rivers, estuaries, [and] the sea, from pollution, which benefits wildlife & human activity. If we leave the EU, I believe it is imperative that these regulations be upheld permanently in British law.”*

**Christine, North West**

Alongside these rules and regulations, leaving the European Union could mean that an ‘enforcement gap’ emerges, with European-level enforcement bodies with the power to hold governments to account on environmental standards no longer having a remit over the UK. Across the year it was discussed how a new domestic regulatory body could be introduced with the power to oversee and enforce environmental standards to ensure that existing protections do not fall. This point was raised by expert witnesses and it was also suggested that a new and ambitious environmental policy would need to be backed by sound principles and measurable goals.

*“New laws should build on the strong foundations of the full body of existing environmental law and result in: 1. Ambitious and measurable goals for nature’s recovery and a healthy environment. 2. Strong principles to underpin fair and far-sighted decision making. 3. Independent institutions to uphold environmental law, champion citizens’ rights and prevent the roll-back of existing environmental protections.”*

**Evidence from the Royal Society  
for the Protection of Birds (RSPB)**

Submissions spoke of increasing protections for existing protected areas such as National Parks and Areas of Special Scientific Interest. There was a clear consensus that policy solutions for the environment could generate benefits such as improved flood protection, carbon sequestration and contribute to other priorities like clean air.

*“Green spaces should have the strongest possible legal protection, strengthened and extended.”*

**Maggie, South West**

*“In addition to protect[ing] landscape[s], wildlife and communities greater consideration needs to [be] made of natural flood protection measures with nature and not against it.”*

**Sussex branch of SERA,  
Labour’s Environment Campaign**

During the year there was a large number of high-profile campaigns calling for action to tackle plastic waste. These campaigns demonstrated public support for measures to reduce the use of single-use plastics, such as the implementation of a deposit return scheme which was called for in Labour’s 2017 manifesto. The ambition of these campaigns was praised by the Commission which was updated on initiatives and campaigns led by the Shadow Environment team throughout the year.

Submissions spoke of the need to focus on plastic pollution, particularly across the oceans, and on promoting a low waste and circular economy. Suggestions for reducing waste included the increased use of biodegradable materials, investment in recycling facilities and a consideration of how best to use the tax system to change the behaviour of both consumers and producers.

Since Labour highlighted the scandalous operation of the privatised water system and committed to bringing it back into public ownership, private water companies have attracted growing criticism throughout the year, from across the political spectrum. Public ownership will be a way not only to tackle monopoly profits and tax avoidance, but also to improve the environmental standards of our water system, for example, by investing to reduce leakages of treated water over the long-term.

*“A big problem with recycling at the moment is the over-abundance of non-recyclable materials being used in packaging, in particular packaging made from mixed materials, rather than two separate layers, or even simple all-paper options.”*

**Iain, Scotland**

*“I want to see Labour committing to building new high-capacity recycling plants in Britain and investing in new technologies to make recycling more effective for a wider range of materials.”*

**Louise, South East**

With the introduction of a new agricultural system to replace the Common Agricultural Policy there is potential to reshape the system to better accommodate other priorities alongside beneficial environmental initiatives. These benefits could include increased funds made available for scientific research and for the new regime to place particular focus on food insecurity across the country by promoting domestic agricultural production. Submissions made to the Commission were keen to speak of the benefits of redirecting agricultural investment towards scientific and technological programmes which could be of long-term benefit to the industry.

*“Labour should also consider introducing a new support system that values the labour that sustains the countryside, rebalanced towards small-scale and marginal farms as well as the provision of public goods.”*

**Benjamin, North West**

Submissions called for any future agricultural and fisheries regimes to favour sustainable production, environmental stewardship and public goods, and for a future environmental framework to consider the value of natural assets. It is expected that the Government will introduce new agriculture and fisheries bills, through which new domestic regimes will be outlined, in this Parliament. The Commission believes that this is an area where there is opportunity to frame Labour’s position around these principles and one which be under close scrutiny in the coming year.

*“Reform of domestic agricultural policy as a unique opportunity to put in place the foundations that will deliver a sustainable, profitable and progressive farming and horticulture sector. Farming’s future must be at the heart of a dynamic and resilient UK food chain, respected and rewarded both for the food we produce and the public goods we deliver for all parts of society.”*

**Evidence from the National Farmers’ Union (NFU)**

### Clean energy

The consultation document invited further submissions on the issue of clean energy. Views were sought on how to meet future climate targets, the preservation of jobs as part of a low-carbon transition and how to make the future energy system work for consumers.

The strength of feeling on this consultation topic was made clear by members, with climate change and clean energy being the most common themes associated with submissions made to the Commission throughout the year. These submissions called for action to meet the Paris Climate Agreement, domestic targets and for the UK to take a leading global role in climate issues.

Submissions and evidence noted the importance of Labour’s landmark 2008 Climate Change Act which put into law the UK’s obligation to reduce carbon emissions. Despite this it was raised across the year, through both submissions from members and the evidence we received, that the UK is on track to miss a number of the targets as set out by the Climate Change Act. This presents an immediate problem which a future Labour government should seek to solve.

*“The Labour Government in 2008 introduced the Climate Change Act which set out the course of action necessary to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.”*

**William, Scotland**

Action to reduce climate change and to promote the transition to a low-carbon and green economy requires large-scale action across society and across Government – something reflected in Labour’s commitment to bring parts of the energy

system into public ownership. As Jeremy Corbyn set out in a speech at Labour’s Alternative Models of Ownership conference in February, this will allow government to provide the strategic planning and investment needed for rapid transition to a sustainable energy system. It was raised in submissions from members and local parties that climate action should form a key part of Labour’s wider industrial strategy with an increased focus on transport, housing and local government where measures could be rolled out to complement Labour’s priorities across these areas.

The decarbonisation of heat presents a real challenge for climate action with poor insulation and gas boilers commonplace across UK housing stock. Submissions throughout the year called for action on this issue and the need for heat to be considered as an infrastructure priority was raised by expert witnesses when giving evidence to the Commission. This challenge allows for solutions such as requiring new homes to be built to strict energy efficiency standards, establishing large-scale trials of new technologies and for the roll out of insulation and other measures particularly in conjunction with Labour’s existing pledges on social housing. In line with this, Labour has committed to insulating four million homes in its first term in office, as an ambitious step towards achieving strong minimum standard of insulation for all low-income homes by 2030, and all homes by 2035.

*“The energy efficiency of a building can be significantly improved through insulation measures. Insulation reduces heat losses and therefore ensures a building’s heating system can operate efficiently, providing only the heat required. For existing fossil fuel systems, whilst these remain in properties, good insulation ensures that carbon emissions are kept to a minimum whilst reducing the costs to occupiers.”*

**Evidence from Kingspan, a company specialising in building materials and insulation**

*“All new buildings, domestic and commercial, must be [reviewed] at planning stage by the Environment Agency to ensure that their environmental impact has been minimised.”*

**Alan, South East**

A common theme across submissions was the need for a long term strategy from central government on schemes to promote energy efficiency in homes and it was repeatedly noted that, in recent years, repeated policy changes have meant that the sector has lacked stability and clarity. Submissions mentioned the reintroduction of the zero-carbon homes policy and providing support for homeowners who do not qualify for existing support schemes.

In recent years energy bills have continued to rise with households forced to pay more for the same level of energy consumption. There is therefore need for domestic fuel bills to be fairly priced so that consumers are not left worse off. For this reason, it is right that fairness is reflected throughout the energy system. It remains the case that a number of renewable schemes are met through a levy on bills which can unfairly burden the poorest households.

*“SSE has long advocated a switch to a centralised scheme funded through general taxation as this would enable a programme funded progressively with households contributing based on their ability to pay. The present scheme is regressive by nature as fuel poor consumers contribute to the cost of the scheme, whereas non-fuel poor consumers, who are more likely to be supplied by non-obligated energy suppliers, do not have to contribute.”*

### Evidence from SSE plc

With bills remaining high there is an express need for both tax and bill payers to benefit from reductions in the cost of energy. The Commission heard from expert witnesses of the decreasing cost of wind power and believe it is right that new technologies are offered clarity and support to ensure that cost benefits for consumers can be delivered.

Onshore wind is now the cheapest form of new-build energy generation but strict planning permission restrictions remain on new onshore wind developments. Submissions to the Commission called for the existing planning regime to be looked at. As costs continue to fall the case to re-examine planning requirements will strengthen.

*“Planning regulations for onshore wind should be returned to the same rules as for any other development, with planning of larger projects dealt with by national/devolved authorities.”*

### Michael, Yorkshire and The Humber

Other renewable technologies have seen growth in recent years, for example, with small-scale solar forming a growing proportion of our energy mix. The uncertainty and uneven playing field created by current Government policies have seen a sharp drop in renewables investment and have acted as a barrier to further investment. Labour's policies should offer clarity to the renewables sector so that technologies can continue to be developed and so that the UK is not left behind in a global energy transition.

*“There should be an effective route to market for all forms of generation. Presently the least-cost sources of low-carbon generation, such as onshore wind, biomass conversion and solar are denied a route-to-market and we believe that their full participation in the mix would reduce costs for consumers whilst helping our efforts to mitigate climate change.”*

### Evidence from Energy UK

Submissions from Party members and expert evidence repeatedly called for policies to foster the development and adoption of renewables and associated technologies such as carbon, capture, utilisation and storage and tidal lagoons including the proposed Swansea Tidal Lagoon. The rapid changes being seen across the renewables industry were highlighted with focus on efficiency improvements and the falling costs of development and installation.

*“Renewables in the form of wind, solar, and biomass[...] are sustainable, carry relatively few disadvantages, have the potential to meet an increasingly large part of our future requirements, are becoming increasingly affordable, and are mainly produced locally.”*

### Derek, Wales

*"We need policies which will encourage the development and implementation of all kinds of renewable energy production, including onshore wind, offshore wind, solar, tidal and hydropower."*

**Andy, East Midlands**

An important part of a low-carbon future is the potential for the creation of new jobs across the green economy. The Commission heard how such jobs could be high-skilled and focused in historically industrial areas, for example in Hull, where wind power developments are taking place. It was also noted across submissions that a low-carbon transition doesn't mean that jobs are lost across existing fossil-fuel industries with options for retraining and transferable skills, particularly in offshore developments.

*"Retraining of those working in fossil fuels industries to transfer to renewable industries."*

**Freya, South East**

Clean energy investment offers wider benefit to the UK economy with the country well placed to exploit existing competitive advantages of skills, manufacturing and research. This could see the UK export knowledge and British-built products across the world as other countries also seek to take advantage of renewable technologies.

Submissions spoke of new nuclear projects as a way to minimise carbon emissions but stressed that this should only be done at the right cost. Concern was raised by several submissions of the potential environmental impact of nuclear power moving forwards. Submissions received from external stakeholders highlighted the role that nuclear plays in UK energy generation and the high proportion of low-carbon power that it provides.

*"The energy industry has led the way in working towards a low carbon economy, and the nuclear sector has played a key role in this. Nuclear currently provides around 20% of the UK's electricity and 40% of our low carbon generation. The power generated avoids the emission of around 23million tonnes of carbon dioxide a year – the equivalent of taking around a third of Britain's cars off the road."*

**Evidence from Nuclear Industry Association**

The Commission supports the need to transition away from fossil fuels and submissions repeatedly spoke of fracking being incompatible with climate targets and with a vision for a clean energy system across the UK.

The energy system of the UK is changing with the adoption of new smaller-scale generation and with households increasingly conscious of their energy decisions with the national rollout of smart meters. Expert evidence spoke of how the changing energy market could offer benefits to consumers, for example, with the adoption of community energy projects with local production feeding in to nearby homes when there was local demand, or selling into the grid when there was not. It was raised to the Commission that the existing regulatory framework across the energy system of the UK is complex and acts as a barrier to new entrants and connections. If this was simplified and opened up then wider innovation and greater adoption of small scale energy projects could be delivered.

### **Air pollution**

The final issue highlighted by the consultation document was the topic of air pollution where it was noted that it is an issue affecting millions across the UK and is associated with tens of thousands of deaths each year.

*"Bad air affects towns and cities across the country, it is a national issue, not just a problem for London."*

**Evidence from ClientEarth**

As with other environmental issues a large amount of the regulations and standards applying to air quality are set at a European level. The impact of Brexit has particular resonance on this issue with the UK presently being in breach of air quality standards and with the UK Government having lost in the courts over the inadequacy of plans to bring pollution within legal limits.

Submissions received backed Labour's manifesto commitment on the introduction of a new Clean Air Act through which air quality standards could be set and would place upon the Government a new legal obligation to deliver clean air across the country with levels at, as a minimum, the current level as is required by EU law.

*"The Labour Party should introduce a Clean Air Act in [the] British Parliament. The Labour Party should provide funding and expertise for urban governments to reduce the impact of polluting automobiles in their cities, including providing cheaper and more efficient public transport, constructing more green spaces, and designing more car-free zones."*

**Andrea, South East**

Expert evidence noted that, after Brexit, those laws determining air quality standards could be piecemeal with different levels of regulation at national or at local level and that a new Clean Air Act could help to unify air quality standards across the country.

The UK remains in breach of EU air quality standards which are presently enforced by the European Commission which has the power to take the UK Government to court and issue fines for continued non-compliance. This means that a Brexit 'enforcement gap' would be particularly damaging for progress on clean air. The Policy Commission agrees with submissions from members and from experts which point to the need for a new domestic body to monitor and enforce standards after Brexit.

Submissions spoke of the historic role played by the power sector in generating harmful emissions and of the need to continue to bear down on these emissions by embracing cleaner policies of decarbonisation by adopting renewables and other sources of energy.

*"Emissions of nitrogen oxides (NOx) are the main issue for the power sector, which has made significant progress in reducing emissions. Between 1990 and 2015, emissions reduced by 76%, and by a further 52% between 2005 and 2015."*

**Evidence from RWE**

Air quality is an issue which can only be tackled with wide-reaching interventions from across national and local government and government departments. With a large amount of pollution originating from vehicles it was often raised that the promotion of electric vehicles could be of benefit. The Commission believes that the required infrastructure to charge such vehicles is not yet present across the country and, until solved, could act as a barrier for the wider uptake of electric vehicles.

*"Improving our air quality obviously also flows from the wider decarbonisation of our transport system and having an integrated transport system."*

**Evidence from Unite**

Invited experts told the Commission that the charging infrastructure for electric vehicles could, in the future, be developed alongside a new smarter energy system which is flexible and can accommodate changing demands. It was heard how, as new generation capacity comes online it will need connecting to local and national energy grid infrastructure and this offers potential for charging points to be installed more thoroughly across the country.

*"The main area of policy focus currently sits around how [electric vehicle] charging infrastructure should be delivered. In our view it will be important for the market to deliver solutions where customers and their behaviour patterns can be rewarded to support a flexible and decentralised model."*

**Evidence from Centrica**

## Environment, Energy and Culture

Submissions also spoke of the ban on the sale of new diesel and petrol cars due to come into force in 2040 as a positive measure which could improve air quality. It was proposed that this date could be brought forward to address poor air and that this could be done alongside new targets for low emission vehicles. This issue gained additional prominence during the year with the Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, calling for an end to the sale of new petrol and diesel cars from 2030.

*“The recent announcement of the intention of the Government to ban the sale of new internal combustion engines (ICE) from 2040 is a welcome start, but we believe that action should be taken sooner in this sector to address air quality [and] the impact of carbon emissions. This could include bringing forward the ban on the sale of new ICE vehicles earlier than 2040 and introducing interim targets to the rollout of ultra-low emission vehicles.”*

**Evidence from Drax**

*“One of the largest contributors to both global and local air pollution is the transport sector.”*

**John, West Midlands**

The Commission also heard that the use of public transport should be better promoted to reduce the number of vehicles on the road and to reduce the amount of harmful emissions hotspots. Submissions spoke of the need to better facilitate walking and cycling schemes as a means to tackle pollution. The Commission believes that such measures have merit and should be considered alongside other public health measures.

## Other Issues

### Brexit

The impact of leaving the European Union will continue to affect all areas covered by the Commission. Large numbers of rules, regulations and enforcement mechanisms are set at a European level and, without direct transposition or other domestic replication, Brexit will lead to a loss of environmental protections and safeguards.

Areas of significant impact and change following Brexit include: the need to establish new farming and fisheries regimes as we leave the Common Agricultural and Fisheries Policies; the relationship of the UK with Euratom; food standards; carbon trading and a vast number of regulatory standards.

The future relationship that the UK has with the European Union will determine the rules which will apply and the standards which will need to be met at the end of the Brexit process. As this eventual relationship is subject to ongoing negotiations between the UK and the EU the impact of Brexit across areas under the remit of the Commission will need to be continually assessed across the coming year.

### Climate change, renewables and low carbon energy

The Commission believes that climate change, and action to mitigate against it, should continue to remain high on Labour's policy agenda. The UK is on course to miss domestic climate targets and new investment in renewables dropped dramatically in the last year.

Throughout the year the most popular topic of submissions to the Commission concerned the transition to a green economy and of investing in renewable and low carbon technologies to mitigate against climate change. Submissions spoke of the benefits of these technologies in creating new jobs, driving exports and promoting British industries. Many responses spoke of the need for the Party to maintain its stance on fracking as something which is incompatible with climate and pollution targets.

Many submissions raised the need for the UK to play a leading role in tackling climate change globally and referenced the decision by the US President to withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement.

As renewable technologies continue to mature their costs have continued to fall. The Commission believes all new and existing renewable technology should therefore be considered to help reduce bills, address fuel poverty and move the UK towards meeting climate goals. Significant mention should be made of the falling cost of wind power over the course of the last year.

### Sport and access to public spaces

The Commission heard throughout the year the role that physical activity can play in delivering public health benefits and that policy interventions on this issue would require cross departmental action.

The Commission believes that it is important to increase uptake of physical activity across all parts of society, with special focus on underrepresented groups. The Commission believes that this is achieved, in part, by making public spaces open and accessible to all. Increasing access to green spaces should be considered and playing fields and pitches should continue to be provided for local communities and schools. The popularity of the World Cup has highlighted the public appetite for sport and this should be encouraged, in part, so that the Olympic legacy is preserved and sports participation is improved.

Schemes to promote the uptake of cycling and walking should be encouraged as should efforts to increase the uptake of sports at a grassroots level. Many submissions throughout the year spoke of making professional sports take into account the wishes of fans with calls for increased accessibility and for safe-standing to be allowed at higher tier football matches where there is demand.

### Civil society and digital inclusivity

The Policy Commission considered civil society issues throughout the year and held a discussion on civil society and the third sector in June.

The third sector has been hit hard by policies with the Lobbying Act in particular creating a hostile environment towards charities and limiting their work. More needs to be done to listen to and deliver the necessary support for organisations across the third sector and the importance of this sector in job creation, charitable work and wider economic contributions should be acknowledged.

The Commission believes in reducing inequalities and is of the position that this can be achieved, in part, by giving individuals greater control over the decisions which impact their lives. As council budgets continue to be squeezed, innovative solutions which empower individuals to tailor services to their needs could be of great social benefit.

As society undergoes technological change more and more services are being offered through digital platforms. This digitalisation offers the potential for a more convenient experience for consumers but also runs the risk of leaving behind those who do not possess the necessary digital skills and efforts should be made to provide training to those who need it.

Equality of access to digital services remains important with regional variations on accessibility and speed of broadband services with rural areas still offering particularly poor services. The Commission believes that poor rural broadband provision and broadband speeds across the country should be addressed alongside ensuring that everyone has the skills required to benefit from digitalisation.

The security of users and their personal data will continue to be an important issue and submissions made to the Commission during the year made reference to the Cambridge Analytica scandal and the data obtained from Facebook. As more services and data move to online platforms it is vital that personal information is properly secured and that data breaches are protected against.

### Preserving biodiversity and recycling

The Commission heard throughout the year how action on environmental issues should be taken across society with existing green spaces across the country valued and preserved for the future.

The Commission believes that there is a need to increase protections for existing green spaces such as National Parks and Areas of Special Scientific Interest. The Commission agreed with responses which spoke of the need to expand Marine Protected Areas and to take action against plastic pollution across the seas and oceans.

With plastic packaging and recycling remaining high on the policy agenda following a number of high profile campaigns throughout the year the Commission is of the position that incentives for consumers and producers to adopt beneficial practices should be considered.

Submissions to the Commission spoke of the need to address the decline in biodiversity and the numbers of native species across the UK. The wider value of the natural environment should be considered moving forwards with appreciation of the role that such green and natural spaces can play in flood prevention, biodiversity preservation and in improving air quality.

## Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2017/18 the Environment, Energy and Culture Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Agriculture
- Airports
- Animal welfare
- Art
- Austerity
- BBC
- Biodiversity
- Brexit
- Businesses
- Buses
- Carbon capture and storage
- Carbon dioxide emissions
- Clean air
- Cleaner drinking water
- Climate change
- Coastal defences
- Common Fisheries Policy
- Community ownership
- Consumer rights
- Cooperatives
- Countryside
- Cycling
- Decarbonised economy
- Diesel fuel
- Diet
- Electric vehicles
- Electricity
- Emissions & air quality
- Energy prices
- Environmental regulation
- European Union
- Farming
- Fisheries
- Flooding
- Fly tipping
- Food
- Footpath lighting
- Fracking
- Free trade
- Funding
- Gang culture
- Gas
- Gender
- Green belt
- Green economy
- Greenhouse gases
- Housing
- Industrial strategy
- Investment
- Land reform
- Land Registry Database
- Land tax
- Local economies
- Local government
- Manufacturing
- Mental health
- National Planning Policy Framework
- Nuclear power
- Nutrition
- Oceans
- Parks & green spaces
- Planning laws
- Plastics
- Public services
- Recycling
- Refugee crisis
- Regional development
- Renewable energy
- Research and development
- Resource scarcity
- Reusable packaging
- Re-wilding
- Rural communities
- Safe standing at football grounds
- Shared ownership
- Small business
- Smart meters
- Solar energy
- Sport
- Sustainability
- Swansea Tidal Lagoon
- Targets
- Tax
- Technology and science
- The media
- Transport

## Environment, Energy and Culture

- TV License
- Unethical food production
- Universities
- Walking
- Water
- Wind turbines



**Health and  
Social Care**

## Membership 2017/18

### HM Opposition

Jonathan Ashworth MP\*  
Sharon Hodgson MP  
Barbara Keeley MP  
Justin Madders MP

### NEC

Keith Birch\*  
Paddy Lillis  
Pauline McCarthy  
Darren Williams

### CLPs and Regions

Tony Beddow, *Welsh Labour Party*  
Mark Dempsey, *South West Region*  
Joanne Harding, *North West Region*  
Linda Hobson, *Northern Region*  
Donna Hutton, *Welsh Labour Party*  
Mariam Khan, *West Midlands Region*  
Richard Oliver†, *East Midlands Region*  
Karen Reay, *Yorkshire and Humber Region*  
Joanne Rust, *Eastern Region*  
Joyce Still, *South East Region*  
Jacqueline Taylor, *West Midlands Region*

### Affiliates

Neil Andrews, *UCATT*  
Cheryl Barrott, *Co-operative Party*  
Jean Butcher†<sup>2</sup>, *UNISON*  
Gail Cartmail, *Unite*  
Jennifer Elliot, *Unite*  
Mary Hutchinson, *GMB*

### Elected Reps

Huw David, *Welsh Local Government Association*  
Catherine McKinnell MP

\* Co-Convenor

† Replaced Rory Palmer

<sup>†2</sup> Replaced Eleanor Smith MP

## Policy Development

The Health and Social Care Policy Commission is responsible for developing policy on a number of issues, including the future of the NHS, social care, mental health and public health services. As such, it meets regularly to consider issues on a broad range of relevant and developing topics in this area. Issues considered by the Commission this year have included NHS and social care funding, NHS performance and wider issues around the NHS workforce. The Commission have also considered issues related to public health, children's health and mental health.

The Shadow Health and Social Care team have worked throughout the year to implement policy as agreed at Annual Conference 2017. In particular the immediate priority following Annual Conference was to continue the campaign against the unfair public sector pay cap, where Labour's campaigning forced the Government to propose a new pay offer to NHS staff. Labour also successfully pressed the Government into halting the privatisation of the NHS staff agency, NHS Professionals. Jeremy Corbyn and Jonathan Ashworth tabled an Early Day Motion in Parliament demanding full scrutiny and a vote on moves to Accountable Care Organisations forcing government to delay plans. In addition, a focus has been to continue campaigning against the sale of NHS assets, and cuts introduced through Sustainability and Transformation Plans (STPs) as well as making clear the NHS should be excluded from free trade agreements.

This year, the Commission has focused on health inequalities as its priority issue. This has led to conversations on topics such as health visiting services, local government initiatives to tackle inequalities, early intervention services, and how other policy areas can impact on health, for example housing, social security and education policy.

At Women's Conference 2017 a policy debate took place on health. Issues raised included the winter crisis, mental health and support for the NHS workforce. At Annual Conference there were two composite motions, on the NHS and social care. The NHS motion focused on opposing Accountable Care Systems (ACSs) in the NHS, and the Naylor Report. The motion on social care noted Labour's

commitment to addressing the funding crisis facing the social care sector.

A policy seminar on health and social care was held for delegates at Annual Conference. There was a wide-ranging and thorough discussion on issues including mental health, public health services and fragmentation of NHS services. Cuts to GP services were discussed, and delegates raised concerns about other local closures and the introduction of STPs. A section of the annual report on privatisation was referenced back for the Commission to reconsider at a future meeting.

The Commission met in December and chose Brexit and Equalities champions for the Health and Care Commission. The December meeting heard updates from Barbara Keeley MP, Shadow Minister for Social Care and Mental Health, on the current picture of social care funding, and in this discussion Commission members raised concerns about the current funding arrangements for the health and social care system. Workforce issues, including the impact of Brexit on recruitment of health professionals, were also raised as concerns by members in submissions. Commission members addressed the NHS workforce crisis, and the impact that scrapping the NHS bursary is having on recruitment of nurses and other allied health professionals. Other issues highlighted in the meeting were the under-funding of mental health services, and the review of the Mental Health Act, as well as considering new NHS structures such as Accountable Care Organisations/Systems (ACOs/ ACSs) and their introduction in the NHS.

Members of the Commission discussed the motions from Women's Conference, Youth Conference and Annual Conference. The Commission also examined the "reference back" on the Health and Social Care section of the annual report at Annual Conference. At the January meeting it was further discussed and agreed that the specific wording in the Annual Report was no longer the agreed position and would not be used in future.

The Commission met in January, where a key focus of the meeting was the winter crisis facing the NHS. Justin Madders, Shadow Health Minister, raised concerns about the care of some patients, and highlighted examples of patients being treated in hospital corridors over the winter period. The Commission also spoke about the impact that NHS England's decision to allow trusts to cancel elective

operations might have on waiting lists. Mental health pathways and waiting times in A&E were also raised as concerns by members. Other topics for discussion included bringing private contracts back into the NHS, the impact that privatisation and new structures in the NHS were having on communities, and the social care workforce. The Commission also discussed the Health and Social Care consultation document, tackling health inequalities, and the questions posed in the document.

At the meeting of the National Policy Forum in February, two sessions, including a plenary focusing on the future of the NHS, took place. All attendees of the NPF attended to hear from a panel of speakers on key issues facing the NHS in its 70th year. A wide-ranging discussion took place on public health approaches to tackling health inequalities, such as health visiting, Sure Start and health promotion. Representatives also had a lively discussion on key health and care issues in their local area, as well as steps to take in tackling health inequalities.

In the break out session, early intervention was felt to be a key issue where representatives were in agreement that reducing health inequalities for a wide range of groups in society is important, including children and people experiencing mental health problems. Sure Start Centres were seen by participants as a key Labour policy which had tackled health inequalities in local areas. The Shadow Health Secretary has set out Labour's intention that children in the UK should be the healthiest in the world, and therefore food policy and its links to health inequality was a key topic for discussion. It was raised that a more comprehensive strategy to tackle childhood obesity is required. Workforce in both the NHS and the social care sector were felt to be significant issues, where pay and staffing shortages were raised. Representatives discussed the impact that Brexit would have on the NHS, focusing specifically on the challenges this would pose for recruitment and retention of NHS staff from the EU.

In March, the Commission met to hear evidence on the specific role of health visitors and other health professionals in tackling health inequalities, building on discussions from the National Policy Forum. A health visitor gave evidence to the Commission, outlining the role of Health Visitors in local communities, including how this role had

changed in recent years as services were faced with cuts in funding. Sharon Hodgson spoke about her work on limiting junk food advertising and access to sugary and energy drinks. Other issues discussed included progress into a review of vaginal mesh implants, women's mental health and how privatisation is having a significant impact on the standards of care both in the NHS and in the social care sector.

May's Commission meeting heard updates from the meeting of the Joint Policy Committee (JPC) and members of the Shadow Health Team. As part of the evidence gathering process, the Commission chose to focus their meeting on local initiatives to tackle health inequalities, and invited the Chair of the London Assembly Health Committee, the Greater Manchester Health and Care Partnership, the Local Government Association and a local Councillor to discuss initiatives in their areas in more detail. A focus of discussions was how local areas can deliver health services, and it was felt strongly that local areas should have greater power over spending to choose their own local priorities linked to population need. How health and social care services work collaboratively in Manchester was discussed. Specific projects outlined to the Commission included projects to tackle physical inactivity, improve primary care, and improve dementia and cancer services.

Other issues covered in discussions included the way public health funding is allocated and spent, and a lack of investment by the Government in early intervention services for children between 0-5 years old.

The need for greater collaboration across local boundaries was highlighted and discussed by the Commission, with examples of how health needs such as tooth decay, sexual health and conditions such as tuberculosis cannot be dealt with in isolation. In London, a key challenge for London's health was identified as local communities being unable to hold their Clinical Commissioning Groups (CCGs) to account over services, described as a "democratic deficit". The case for joining up local and national health policy was made and this was felt by the Commission to be important.

Submissions to the Commission from the wider party had strongly emphasised the impact that early intervention services can have on tackling health inequalities. Therefore in June, the Commission held a joint meeting with the Early

Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission in Cardiff, Wales to consider relevant issues that covered both tackling health inequalities, and early intervention for children and families. At the meeting the Commission heard evidence from the Welsh Government's Cabinet Secretary for Health, and the Minister for Children and Social Care, as well as the leader of Cardiff Council, and a Researcher from the University of Wales, Trinity St David.

A focus of the meeting was how the Welsh Labour Government had implemented policies to tackle health inequalities and improve early education for children. Discussions focused on Flying Start, a targeted early intervention programme working with families in deprived communities. Members of the Commission also discussed how the Welsh Government are increasing their spending on the NHS. Workforce issues were discussed, and members heard how supporting the Early Years workforce with ongoing training and development was important to ensure they were able to deliver high quality early intervention services that had a lasting impact for children and their families. The Commission discussed the substantial vacancies in the NHS workforce, and heard how the Government's policies on Brexit and immigration were contributing to this.

June's joint meeting also included a thorough discussion on the Labour Party Democracy Review and the role of the National Policy Forum in the policy making process. The Commission submitted their views to the NPF chair.

The Commission discussed key developments affecting health and social care at a further meeting at the end of June. After the Government's announcement of more funding for the NHS, it was agreed by the Commission that the funding promised was not enough, and would mean the pressures facing the NHS would only continue.

Members of the Commission heard how the promised funding would not include money for public health services, training for NHS staff, or funding to address the backlog of maintenance issues in the NHS. The Commission heard from Jonathan Ashworth about how a Labour Government would ensure the NHS would receive more funding up front than the Conservatives are offering. Further discussed was Labour's opposition day motion to the House of Commons demanding government publish all papers relating

to NHS privatisation. Had this motion passed it would have been the most significant advance in the campaign against privatisation in the Commons this year.

Sharon Hodgson discussed the recently announced Part 2 of the Government's obesity strategy with the Commission. The Commission were concerned to hear how the strategy outlines the intention for Government consultations rather than action. It was noted that a number of Labour policies were included in the strategy, including limiting the sale of energy drinks, and limiting TV advertising to children. Minimum unit pricing for alcohol was also discussed, with members of the Commission raising how to balance the effect this policy might have on the cost of alcohol for different groups of society.

Barbara Keeley updated the Commission on the key issues facing the social care workforce, including ongoing 15 minute care visits, job insecurity and increasing workloads and pressures. The failure on the part of the Government to deal effectively with the sleep-in crisis and back pay for workers was noted as a concern by the Commission.

### Consultation: Tackling Health Inequalities

In order to build on our manifesto commitments and develop views on this important area, it was decided that the Health and Social Care Policy Commission take a focused approach to discussing the steps needed to effectively tackle health inequalities. Health inequalities can have a significant, detrimental impact on physical health, mental health and life expectancy. The Labour Party is committed to ending unacceptable variation in health across the country, and prioritising initiatives that address inequality where it exists in society.

The Health and Social Care Commission posed questions on workforce, funding and addressing the impact of health inequalities in all areas of society, in order to better understand the steps a future Labour government should take in this area.

During the consultation, the Commission heard from a wide range of people and organisations on the priorities for addressing health inequalities. This has included academics, health professionals, and politicians from local and devolved Governments. The Commission would like to thank the speakers who gave evidence to the Commission, and the organisations, CLPs, members, and supporters who submitted written evidence, and the CLPs and local groups who held events to discuss this topic in further detail. Throughout the year, the Labour Party has continued to hold the Government to account on both standards of care and funding of the NHS, and on their continued inaction on social care, both of which are significant factors in health inequalities.

Health outcomes and inequality are inextricably linked, as those living in the most deprived areas of the country are likely to experience fewer years of good health than those living in the least deprived areas. It is therefore vital that tackling health inequality and the determinants of health are prioritised alongside investment in acute and primary care services.

From the wide range of submissions received by the Commission, it is clear that the chronic underfunding of the NHS is a factor in the growing health inequalities in society. Submissions

highlighted how social care, public health services, and acute hospital services all need urgent investment. Labour believes it is vital to address health inequalities in society at an early stage, by prioritising and investing in early intervention and prevention services. Properly funding health and social care services, and supporting the NHS workforce are also vital to ensure we can reduce the impact of health inequalities in the UK.

#### **Addressing the impact of health inequalities in all parts of our society**

The consultation posed questions on how to address the specific health inequalities faced by different groups in society, including in different areas of the UK.

*“A recent IPPR North report showed a link between the level of investment in health research and health outcomes of a particular area. Public funding for research and innovation leads to localised health and wealth benefits from understanding new ways of diagnosing, managing and treating disease.”*

**Northern Health Science Alliance**

Both in discussions and in submissions to the Commission it was clear that certain parts of society are more likely to experience poor health. The Commission had the opportunity to discuss early intervention services with a health visitor, hearing how health visitors can identify early health needs, and support both families and infants. The Commission heard how the number of health visitors is declining, and at the same time, the caseloads of the profession are rising. Evidence given to the Commission outlined how health visitors can play a significant role in some of the most disadvantaged areas of the country, and that in these cases early identification of health needs is vital. The Commission discussed the positive impact that Labour's policy to increase the number of mandated health visitor visits would have for families.

The role that health visitors play in the early identification and sign posting to other professions, such as speech and language therapists, has been viewed by the Commission as vital in tackling health inequalities. Ensuring children and families are

able to access support from these professionals is therefore a key issue.

*“In areas of social disadvantage, the proportion of children starting school with delayed language or other Speech, Language and Communication Needs rises to 50 per cent, putting these children at increased risk of a range of negative outcomes, including exclusion from school, mental health problems, unemployment and involvement in the criminal justice system.”*

**Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists**

Stopping cuts to Sure Start centres was widely felt in submissions from members as being crucial to improving the health of children and tackling the health inequalities that exist within areas. The benefit of both targeted and universal services was discussed in a meeting of the Commission, examining evidence from Wales, where the Commission discussed in more detail the targeted service Flying Start and its impact on Welsh communities.

*“Sure Start centres were important in working with families on healthy eating & home economic skills and need to be re-established and expanded under a Labour Government.”*

**Astley & Buckshaw, Euxton North and Euxton South BLP**

*“Re-instate Sure Start, and protect services for the future.”*

**Newcastle North CLP**

Other areas where early intervention services for children can have a significant benefit include services for looked-after-children, and investing in training and support for the workforce to further develop these services to ensure children who need support are able to access it.

Improving access to dental services for children has also been highlighted as an area where investment can significantly reduce health inequalities.

*“5-year-olds living in the most deprived areas of England, Northern Ireland and Wales are at least three times more likely to experience severe tooth decay than their peers living in the most affluent areas.”*

**Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health**

Cuts to vital services are having a disproportionate effect on those in our society who may need more support, for example, older people and those with disabilities, women and people from the Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) communities. As healthcare services change and modernise, it will be important to ensure these groups are considered when designing new services.

*“The 11.3 million people who lack basic digital skills are also those most likely to experience poor health.”*

**Good Things Foundation**

From submissions, it was particularly clear that inequalities exist in access to mental health services. In addition, recovery rates from the Improving Access to Psychological Therapies (IAPT) service are lower for people who identify as LGBT, when compared to those who don't. Banbury CLP highlighted the need for health services to be tailored to LGBT people. Access to mental health services for transgender people was also highlighted in submissions as an area of concern, noting that services should be tailored appropriately to ensure they have the greatest benefit. Mental health services for BAME people were also felt strongly as an area where improvement is needed, with recovery rates lower for BAME people compared to white people. Another submission highlighted how BAME communities are disproportionately affected by mental health problems.

We heard more about the health inequalities faced by older people, with a Lambeth Councillor raising how the borough introduced initiatives to tackle social isolation. Age UK highlighted in their response to the consultation how public and community transport services are vital for older people.

*“Currently, around 25 per cent of bus journeys taken by people aged 65+ are for medical appointments, yet many struggle with inaccessible or irregular bus services.”*

Age UK

It is clear to the Commission that joining up health with other areas of policy making, including housing and transport are vital in reducing health inequalities. The link between health and housing has been raised both in discussions on mental health and on supporting other vulnerable sections of society, and it is clear that this is an area that needs further discussion and focus.

*“Activities that bring older people together such as lunches, exercise classes and day centres have become harder to access.”*

Philip, Greater London

Variation in quality and availability of social care provision has been raised in submissions, and the Commission discussed how the quality of social care services varies across the country, with services in the most deprived areas of the country more likely to be rated as requires improvement or inadequate. Ensuring social care is properly funded and resourced was a key issue in submissions from CLPs and members.

*“The long-term funding of social care is among the most important problems we face.”*

Leighton-Linslade BLP

A number of submissions to the Commission highlighted the lack of support for unpaid carers in both managing their own health, and supporting them to manage the health of the people they care for. It was felt in submissions and in evidence presented by invited speakers that action was needed to adequately support carers, and the Government’s Carers Action Plan is inadequate.

*“Carers are more likely to have a long term health condition with 61 per cent of carers having a long-term health condition, compared to 52 per cent of people not in a caring role. Carers are also more likely to report problems associated with anxiety or depression and mobility.”*

Carer’s Trust

### Funding to tackle health inequalities

The consultation document asked how a future Labour government can ensure the health and care service is properly funded to reduce health inequalities. Submissions focused on the impact that sweeping cuts to public health budgets are having on services. Government public health budget allocations are set to be cut by £800 million between 2015/16 and 2020/21, and Unite noted in their submission that the transfer of public health to English local authorities in 2013 fragmented public health from the wider NHS.

*“A long-term funding settlement for health and social care based on need is overdue, to eliminate precarity and prioritise well-regulated community services.”*

Julie, South East

More widely, funding for health services has been cut back and provision has been reduced since 2010. For example, there has been a fall in the number of health visitors in England and social care budgets continue to fall. Research from the Institute of Fiscal Studies has found that council funding of adult social care is 9 per cent lower per person now than in 2009/10.

Sure Start centres, a major Labour achievement that plays a vital role in health promotion and reducing health inequalities in society, are closing or at risk of being closed by this Government. It was clear in evidence and submissions received how early intervention is crucial in reducing health inequalities, and the role that health professionals such as health visitors can play in this.

*“As a Public Health Consultant, I have seen first hand the decimation of public health initiatives by funding cuts since our move in to Local Authorities.”*

**Rebecca, South East**

Submissions called for greater investment in public health, and the ring-fencing of public health budgets to enable local areas to effectively tackle health inequalities and other public health challenges. Budget constraints faced by local authorities have led to staff cuts in some areas, and in others, staff being transferred to private providers to deliver services.

*“As seen with tobacco control and stop smoking services, we are concerned that should the responsibility for tackling children’s obesity fall on local authorities, the impact of cuts could be largest in the most deprived parts of the country, exacerbating existing health inequalities.”*

**Cancer Research UK**

As public health budgets continue to fall as a result of Government cuts, the Commission was keen to hear how local authorities can tackle health inequalities. A local councillor highlighted in her evidence to the Commission how health priorities should be integrated with other areas of work such as housing, which was also raised in a number of other submissions.

*“Against a background of an ageing population with increasing numbers of people living with multiple, long term conditions we need to make sure we are utilising all the collective resources of a ‘place’ to benefit our local communities. This includes working with wider Local Authority services such as housing.”*

**NHS Confederation**

The Commission also heard evidence from the Chair of the London Assembly and the Chair of the Greater Manchester Health and Care Partnership. Both speakers emphasised how giving communities control over health funding could help devolved administrations tackle inequalities specific to their locality, and as an example the

Commission discussed the impact this was having on primary care services in Greater Manchester.

It was noted in submissions that cuts to other areas of the health service were also having a detrimental impact on health. Pressure from hospitals to discharge people more quickly following an admission, and the difficulties in getting GP appointments were both noted in submissions as issues that could have a longer term impact on health.

A number of submissions also highlighted the negative impact that privatisation is having on the NHS. Privatisation in our NHS is being driven by the 2012 Health and Social Care Act. Unite noted in their submission that for-profit companies have won £3.1 billion worth of new contracts in the NHS in 2016/17. Unite’s submission also highlighted how privatisation had led to fragmentation in the health service, which goes against the principles of building a whole person patient-centred system, and developing a healthcare system that prioritises prevention, reduces demand and prevents variation in quality and availability of services and health outcomes. UNISON shared evidence of how patient transport services in particular have been impacted by privatisation in the health sector.

*“Patient Transport Services (PTS) have been particularly badly affected by privatisation in recent years. Some of the service provided by companies has been substandard and the experience of staff transferred to private providers has, in many cases, been extremely poor.”*

**UNISON**

Failed private contracts have wasted millions of pounds of public money, and there are instances where, because of underfunding, some local health Trusts have turned to the private sector, with serious consequences. Privatisation impacts the most vulnerable people using our health service. The submissions received by the Commission were strongly opposed to privatisation in the NHS, and the detrimental impact this was having on patients.

The Commission heard evidence on how Flying Start services in Wales support children and families in the most deprived communities. It was clear from discussions that the Welsh Government’s Family First programme was an

effective way to support both children and parents in an integrated way.

In order to learn from existing practice, the Commission discussed initiatives launched by the Welsh Government that would have an impact on reducing health inequalities, including maintaining and increasing access to social housing. The Commission also heard how the Valleys Taskforce has been introduced by the Welsh Government to support post-industrial communities to improve wellbeing and access to employment in these areas. This includes the Better Jobs, Closer to Home project where public investment and contracts are supporting disadvantaged workers in deprived communities. This discussion echoed submissions that highlighted the need for joined up policy making.

### **Tackling obesity and other factors that contribute to ill health**

Tackling childhood obesity was a pledge of Labour's 2017 manifesto and building on this commitment, addressing other factors that contribute to ill health and health inequalities was posed as an area for consideration as part of the consultation.

Action from the Government on childhood obesity has been slow. Obesity is twice as prevalent in the most deprived 10 per cent of the population as the most affluent. This is a particular concern as obesity is a risk factor for other health conditions, for example diabetes, and people from BAME backgrounds are at higher risk of diabetes. The link between different health conditions and their impact on different groups of society highlights how important it is to ensure services are accessible to all and are integrated to ensure co-morbidities are addressed.

*"Tackling childhood obesity requires better community provision for children and young people. Focus on youth service and parks to tackle obesity through activity."*

**Gabalfa, Whitchurch and Tongwynlais BLP**

A submission from Cancer Research UK highlighted how services to tackle obesity should target the whole population, rather than specific groups of society, and that a whole population approach is an effective way to design these services. It also noted that smoking and obesity rates are most prevalent amongst the most disadvantaged groups of society, and are leading risk factors for cancer. It welcomed Labour's 2017 manifesto commitment on children's health, including Labour's support for a 9pm watershed on junk food marketing, and called for this to be extended to online and on demand viewing services.

The large number of submissions received on the issue of obesity underlined the significant work needed in this area, with suggestions on limiting junk food advertising, and ensuring access to low cost fruit and vegetables. Other initiatives highlighted as measures to tackle health inequalities included ensuring children's meals contain less sugar, salt and fat, limiting children's access to fast food and takeaway apps. It has been clear that tackling high sugar and salt contents in food should be a priority for the next Labour Government.

Funding for, and access to, other health promotion and prevention services has also been raised as a key way to tackle health inequalities. The Commission discussed the impact that cuts to local authority public health budgets is having on these services in a discussion with the Local Government Association. Smoking cessation services are an area where submissions highlighted the significant benefit properly funding these services can bring.

It was felt strongly by the Commission that investing in other public health services, such as sexual health and drug and alcohol services would bring long term benefits to the health of the population. Prescription charges, eye tests and access to dental services were all covered in submissions. Tackling workplace pressures and causes of ill health was also raised as an important step in improving health.

*“About a third of all new instances of work-related ill health can be attributed to stress. According to the HSE, over 10 million working days are lost each year. Contributory factors to workplace stress include overwork and job insecurity. Unions can play a key role in tackling this if given access to organise, collective bargaining and proper facility time arrangements and Labour commitments to improve security and equality in the workplace are welcome.”*

**Unite**

### Creating a sustainable workforce

As part of the consultation, the Commission asked how the Labour Party can create a sustainable health and social care workforce strategy to effectively tackle health inequalities. It was clear in both discussions with the Commission and in submissions that investing in and supporting the health and social care workforce should be a priority.

There are almost 100,000 vacancies in the NHS and the Government have consistently failed to meet recruitment targets for GPs. The Government’s failure to award visas to a number of healthcare professionals from overseas over the winter period was highlighted in several submissions.

*“There is a crisis in this area, exacerbated by the Conservative Government’s ‘hostile environment’ and aggressive visa controls. It is essential such controls are lifted.”*

**Banbury CLP**

*“Improve Community Nursing by increasing staff, making sure they are properly trained and paid.”*

**Anne, North West**

Unison highlighted the concern from the public about the NHS workforce shortage, with the number one reason for a lack of satisfaction with the NHS in a recent survey given as “not enough staff”. Ensuring safe staffing levels are maintained was also raised as an important issue in submissions.

Another focus of submissions was training and support for the health and social care workforce. The Commission heard how access to ongoing training and supervision was important in staff retention.

*“UNISON members working in operational services have highlighted a need for protected time for training to ensure that it remains a priority, particularly at times when finances are tight – training tends to be one of the first budgets to be cut when funding is squeezed.”*

**UNISON**

Reinstating the NHS bursary for allied health professions and nursing students was also highlighted, raising the impact this was having on student numbers. The wider impact of this cut was also raised, with Unison highlighting how the Government’s decision to scrap the bursary had meant smaller, more specialist courses have had to close, and the NHS was no longer able to plan future workforce numbers.

*“The lack of bursaries particularly disadvantages BAME applicants which means the nursing workforce will not represent the local community in Lewisham.”*

**Lewisham Deptford CLP**

Submissions also welcomed Labour’s commitment to reinstate the NHS bursary, which would enable the NHS to effectively plan staff numbers and recruit and train staff. Adequate pay for NHS staff has been raised in a number of submissions, paying doctors and other clinical NHS staff higher wages in order to recognise their contribution to the NHS and ensure they remain in the NHS workforce was also highlighted.

There were a number of views expressed on new health professional roles in the NHS. New medical associate professionals have been introduced in the UK, a move which has been noted as positive by some medical royal colleges. There was also concern in submissions that these new roles are not effectively regulated.

## Health and Social Care

*“We strongly believe that an enhanced care team involving Physician Associates and surgical Care Practitioners supports the safe and effective delivery of patient care.”*

Royal College of Physicians

A number of submissions highlighted how more is needed to support the social care work force with adequate pay, training and support and it is evident from the strength of feeling amongst the Commission that this should be a priority for the next Labour Government.

Brexit has the potential to significantly impact workforce numbers if the number of health professionals from the European Union coming to work in the UK continues to fall. Other areas in which Brexit could impact the NHS include difficulties in accessing medicines if we leave the European Medicines Agency and the single market for pharmaceutical products, and in reduced funding for the NHS if Brexit harms public finances.

From discussions with NHS staff and from submissions it is clear that staff in the health and social care sector play an invaluable role in helping to reduce health inequalities. The Labour Party highly values the dedicated, hardworking staff in the NHS and supporting NHS staff will continue to be a priority.

## Other Issues

### The 70th Birthday of the NHS

The Commission reflected on the NHS' 70th birthday, including events planned in their areas to commemorate this. Members of the Commission wished to extend their thanks to NHS staff for their dedication and commitment, and join with the Labour Party in recognising their contribution to the health service. The NHS is Labour's proudest achievement, and the Commission felt strongly that this should continue to be recognised, particularly as part of local and national celebrations for the NHS.

### Funding for NHS services

The Conservatives announced more funding for the NHS in June 2018, but at a level that was strongly criticised as being inadequate. The Commission heard how the new funding announced by the Government would mean the NHS would continue to face pressures next year. Labour's proposed approach to funding for the NHS was praised by the Commission; Labour would have invested nearly £9 billion extra this year in the NHS and social care, while asking the wealthiest and big corporations to pay their fair share of tax.

The Commission were concerned to hear the Government were considering scrapping key NHS targets, a development that the Commission were in agreement that they are opposed to. The Commission discussed how targets ensured the NHS was able to maintain standards of care and deliver better outcomes for patients.

### The state of the NHS

The Commission have reflected on the state of the NHS. With the worst ever performance across a range of performance measures, the NHS experienced the worst winter crisis in 2017/18. Thousands of people waited more than 12 hours on trolleys in A&E because of bed shortages, and the 62 day waiting time target for cancer treatment hasn't been met in over three years. There are now over 4.2 million people on the NHS waiting list, and hospital trusts are £960 million in deficit. The Commission received a number of submissions

on the current state of NHS services and how underfunding and workforce issues relate to these. The Commission heard how the Shadow Health Team were regularly challenging the Tories on the state of the NHS and the Commission believes greater investment is needed to help the NHS meet targets and deliver high standards of care.

The nature of health services in devolved nations was considered in discussions, and the Commission heard from representatives from the Welsh Government on how integrating health and social care and addressing health inequalities were key priorities.

### Privatisation and the future of the NHS

Commission members discussed how to end the privatisation of the NHS, and received a large number of submissions on this topic, including on the NHS Reinstatement Bill. Commission members have been in agreement that the Labour Party remains opposed to privatisation, and committed to reversing the Health and Social Care Act and restoring a public NHS. It has been felt that Government cuts have impacted patient care, and submissions have highlighted how local services are being affected by the Conservative-made crisis in the NHS.

Privatisation in the NHS, new NHS structures and the introduction of new ACSs continue to be a key focus of the Commission. The Commission will continue to monitor any move towards ACOs that introduce privatisation and invite private companies to bid for million pound NHS contracts. The Commission continues to monitor whether under Conservative plans hospitals will face closures. Opposing all privatisation in the NHS and reinstating the powers of the Secretary of State for Health to have overall responsibility for NHS have been highlighted as key priorities for the Commission. The Commission is supportive of Labour's position that under a Labour Government, there will be a presumption that NHS contracts come back in house. A focus of the Commission in future will be to consult with and engage the whole Labour Party, including trade unions representing NHS staff, on the appropriate structures for the future of the NHS. This will include how we restore our fully-funded, comprehensive, universal, publicly-provided and owned NHS without user charges, as per the NHS Bill (2016-17).

The creation of wholly owned subsidiaries by hospital trusts has also been a concern, and the Commission has heard how the Shadow Health Team has spoken out and supported local campaigns about their creation, and campaigned against cuts to local services. The Labour Party has been critical of government policy in this area and a priority will be to maintain pressure on this issue in the coming months. The Commission were supportive of a campaign in Wigan against the introduction of a wholly owned subsidiary company by Wrightington Wigan & Leigh NHS Trust, and are pleased to hear this will no longer be introduced.

### Workforce

The need for increased support for workers in the social care system was highlighted by submissions and in discussions with the Commission, and the Government's inaction on social care funding was raised as a significant concern. The Commission were concerned to hear how 15 minute care visits continued to take place in some social settings, and the impact that high workloads are having on staff in the care sector. Submissions highlighted the lack of ongoing training and professional support for the social care workforce.

### Social Care

The crisis in social care has been a topic of focus for the Commission this year. Conservative inaction and delay in publishing a Green Paper on social care funding, along with prolonged under-funding, has left local authorities struggling to meet the needs of people who use social care services. Councils have less money to spend per person on social care services than they did in 2010-11, and there are rising levels of unmet need.

The Commission received a number of submissions focusing on the impact that social care services can have for people with disabilities, and how important social care services are for this group.

Additionally, submissions were also received on the topic of support for unpaid carers, and young carers. Submissions highlighted the significant contribution carers make to society, and how it is important that carers are given support to continue caring, and are able to access respite services.

### Mental Health

It was clear from discussions and submissions that mental health was a key issue, and that action is needed to ensure both children and adults receive appropriate support from services. In a joint discussion with the Early Years, Education and Skills Commission, members heard how social media and exam pressures are impacting on the mental health of children and young people. Other submissions and discussions with Commission members focused on ensuring mental health services are properly funded, and the need to end out of area placements where people needing mental health support are placed in settings far from home.

The Commission will continue to monitor progress on mental health and how we achieve parity of esteem in the context of falling mental health budgets.

### Public Health

Current issues that Labour has influenced in recent months include the inquiry into the use of vaginal mesh implants, the new childhood obesity strategy, and the soft drinks levy. Minimum unit pricing for alcohol has been considered by the Commission, discussing how the introduction of this policy in Scotland would be monitored closely to ascertain the benefit this might have in England. Public health issues will continue to be monitored in future work of the Commission.

## Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2017/18 the Health and Social Care Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- A&E
- Abortion
- Allied Health Professionals
- Alzheimer's Disease
- Austerity
- Black and minority ethnic (BAME) health
- Bed shortages
- Care costs
- Care homes
- Carers
- Child poverty
- Childcare
- Childhood obesity
- Cost of prescriptions
- Cycling
- Dental treatment
- Diet
- Digital technology in healthcare
- Disabilities
- Disability equality
- Discrimination
- Doctors
- Drugs
- Elderly care
- Emergency Services
- End of life care
- England
- Equality
- European Union
- Food
- Funding
- Further Education
- Global health
- GP appointments
- Health and safety
- Health inequalities
- Health insurance
- Hospital closures
- Hospitals
- Junior doctors
- Justice
- LGBTQ education for health professionals
- Life expectancy
- Local Government
- Medicinal cannabis
- Mental health care
- National Social Care Service
- Nationalisation
- NHS
- NHS funding
- NHS staff
- Nurse bursaries
- Nurses
- NVQ
- Outsourcing
- Palliative care
- Parking
- Parks & green spaces
- Pharmaceuticals
- Poverty
- Prescriptions
- Privatisation
- Psychotherapy
- Public health
- Public services
- Recruitment and retention
- Research and development
- Rights for Trans patients
- Service delivery
- Sexual health
- Sheltered housing
- Skilled migration
- Smoking regulations
- Social care
- Social housing
- Social security
- Speech and Language Therapy
- Structural health inequalities
- Sustainability and Transformation Plans
- Tax
- Technology and science
- Transparency
- Treatment delays
- Veganism
- Women's healthcare
- Youth Services





**Housing, Local Government  
and Transport**

## Membership 2017/18

### HM Opposition

Andrew Gwynne MP\*

John Healey MP

Andy McDonald MP

Melanie Onn MP

### NEC

Jim Kennedy\*

Nick Forbes

Andi Fox

Jon Lansman

Ian Murray

Mick Whelan

### CLPs and Regions

Rufia Ashraf, *East Midlands Region*

Lorraine Beavers, *North West Region*

Lyndsay Clelland, *Scottish Labour Party*

Nicky Gavron AM, *Greater London Region*

Neil Guild, *South West Region*

Carol Hayton, *South East Region*

Sandy Martin MP, *Eastern Region*

George McManus, *Yorkshire and Humber Region*

Nick Wallis, *Northern Region*

Brenda Weston, *South West Region*

Katie Weston, *Northern Region*

### Affiliates

Emma Burnell, *Fabian Society*

Mick Carney, *TSSA*

Collette Gibson, *ASLEF*

Andrew Pakes, *Co-op Party*

Tony Woodhouse, *Unite*

### Elected Reps

Angela Cornforth

Sharon Taylor

Stephen Timms MP

\* Co-Convenor

## Policy development

The Housing, Local Government and Transport Policy Commission is tasked with looking at issues affecting Communities and Local Government, Housing and Transport. This year the Commission has been tasked with giving particular attention to considering 'how to give people the power to shape their local communities'.

In September 2017, Women's Conference had a detailed discussion on housing whilst at Annual Conference motions on Housing, Rail and Grenfell were debated on the conference floor. In addition, Jim Kennedy led the Housing, Local Government and Transport Policy Seminar in Brighton. Andrew Gwynne, Shadow Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government; John Healey, Shadow Housing Secretary; Andy McDonald Shadow Transport Secretary; and Rachael Maskell, Shadow Transport Minister, attended the meeting and discussed a range of topics with delegates. Discussions focused on a range of important issues including airport expansion, taking the railways back into public ownership, giving local authorities greater powers over bus services and tackling homelessness.

The Housing, Local Communities and Transport Policy Commission held its first meeting in December. Brenda Weston was appointed the Equalities Champion, Carol Hayton the Sustainability Champion and Andrew Pakes the Brexit Representative for the Policy Commission. The Commission discussed motions and topics arising from Women's and Annual Conference. Topics debated at the meeting included: the banning of letting agent fees; guaranteeing long-term, stable tenancies with genuinely affordable rents; building more eco-friendly housing; and tackling the 'buy to leave' market which is leading to an empty homes crisis. Discussions also drew on submissions by members made directly to Representatives. Themes raised included greater investment in transport infrastructure such as Crossrail for the North and HS2, reforming council tax, and improving public transport safety and accessibility for disabled people.

It had been agreed that 'giving people the power to shape their local communities' would be the focus of the work of this year's policy commission cycle. Representatives discussed the importance

of this issue as submissions showed that for too many people politics is too distant from them. Too many decisions that have an impact on their lives are made in Whitehall and fail to reflect their needs and priorities. This year's work will give the Commission the opportunity to build on Labour devolution pledges as outlined in the 2017 General Election manifesto.

The Commission met again in January. Issues raised included topics around Brexit and its impact on the hiring of new skilled workers to build the homes our country needs and Uber and self-driving cars and regulation of the taxi industry. Themes brought up at the meeting included the need to raise public understanding of democratic rights and structures, and the responsibilities of different tiers of government. There was also a discussion about the types of devolution and the various forms of powers that should be devolved to different areas, especially in relation to housing and transport responsibilities. Learning from current devolution deals and removing barriers to participation so people can play a greater role in society were identified as key priorities. These priorities formed the basis of the consultation document produced by the Commission.

National Policy Forum representatives from across the country met in Leeds on the weekend of 17 and 18 February 2018 to discuss key policy issues across the spectrum as well as around the issues raised in the consultation document. In three dedicated breakout discussions held on putting power in the hands of local people, representatives spoke of the unequal devolution across the country and a need to ensure that everyone has a sense of community. There was a long discussion around the impact on local accountability of outsourcing of contracts by local authorities. In light of the collapse of Carillion, representatives discussed the need to tackle the outsourcing agenda. They discussed the so called 'Preston community wealth model' and further points around supporting councils to bring services in-house. Discussions also drew on submissions made directly to NPF Representatives. Topics raised included airport expansion in the South East of England, reforms to council tax and the closure of libraries around the country due to cuts to local government budgets.

Commission members met again in March. There was a discussion of future transport and housing policy proposals with Andy McDonald and John

## Housing, Local Government and Transport

Healey. The Commission welcomed Peter Robbins, the head of Local Government Association Labour group who had been invited to give evidence. In the discussion that followed representatives agreed that local council leaders needed to play a greater role in the decision making around devolution deals due to their local knowledge about what powers are needed. There was also agreement that more training was needed for existing and aspiring councillors to help them understand the role and how to best do the job. There were several points made on how best to increase the number of women councillors.

At the fourth meeting, the Commission received an update from the Joint Policy Committee meeting and on the status of the policy development review. They received expert evidence from John Denham, former Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government and Jonathan Schifferes, Interim Director of Public Services and Communities at the RSA. After the introductions, representatives noted that outside London, local areas in England were not devolved any meaningful powers during the time when the last Labour Government was in power. Representatives were concerned that new devolution deals cannot just be about shifting funding and responsibilities from councils to new regional combined authorities but should also shift powers and funding from Westminster itself.

The fifth meeting of the Commission was held in mid-June with Naomi Clayton from the Centre for Cities and Dr Andrew Blick, devolution expert at King's College London giving evidence. Commission members discussed the 2004 referendum for directly elected mayors. Issues were raised about the global nature of the economy, suggesting limited capacity for devolution to help boost local economies. Members also expressed a need for the Party to provide greater clarity about devolution red lines and what potential powers could be devolved. Representatives also held a dedicated discussion on the Party Democracy Review.

The final Commission meeting of the cycle discussed updates to the consultation document and the draft annual report. It was noted that there had been a welcome increase in submissions from CLPs and branches with topics ranging from creating a second homes' tax and airport expansion in the South East of England including the Government's decision to press ahead with the expansion of Heathrow, investing in ports and rebalancing regional transport spending.

## Consultation: Giving people the power to shape their local communities

The Commission wishes to express its thanks to all those who have made submissions and who have taken the time to attend one of the many regional Policy Forum events held around the country. The Policy Commission wishes to note its particular thanks to the experts who came in to give evidence in person: Peter Robbins (LGA Labour group), John Denham (former Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government and founder of the English Labour Network), Jonathan Schifferes (RSA), Naomi Clayton (Centre for Cities) and Dr Andrew Blick (King's College London).

### The Challenge

Everyone around the country deserves the right to be able to have a real say in what their communities look like and how they are run.

Tackling the loss of trust in politics is a key Labour priority. As the recent elections have shown there is a growing dissatisfaction with Tory central Government, which has been viewed by many, especially in deprived communities in the North, seaside towns and rural areas, as failing to address their needs. This has created a sense of general dissatisfaction with Westminster Government. There are key questions to ask about how this model works and what changes could be made to give people more power at a more local level.

Submissions received by the Commission also reflected the challenges facing local councils and the people who rely on their vital public services. While the Government talks of devolving powers to local people, in reality they are devolving more responsibilities to councils along with cuts in funding for local services. By the end of the decade local government will be facing a funding gap of £5.8 billion which will have a devastating impact on local public services.

Submissions supported Labour's strong manifesto commitment to put local government funding on a secure footing so councils can ensure that they meet the needs of their communities. Voices the Commission heard from were pleased with our recognition in the manifesto of the need to help tackle the housing crisis in local areas by devolving powers and funding to get Britain building and to give local areas and local people greater control over transport. This will help councils can ensure that they can meet the needs of their communities.

This document makes just the first step in Labour's ambition to build on the policies outlined in the 2017 Labour manifesto. It addresses the debate about where power will sit in the future and how key services will be run and funded in a post-Brexit economy. Devolution should not be used as a cover for Government cuts, but as a genuine move designed to enable decisions to be taken much closer to local people to improve their lives. As such it must be designed and implemented to ensure that its intended positive effects are felt across the whole country and not just in local areas where Labour holds power.

### Learning from current devolution deals

From the outset the Commission was keen to see what could be learned from devolution deals that already exist. Submissions underlined that Labour truly is the party of devolution, the previous Labour Government delivered historic devolution settlements to London, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. However, they were also clear that devolution only works when it helps deliver a better quality of service for ordinary people.

*"Devolution is not an end in itself, it needs to deliver improvements in service delivery and satisfaction of electors. Trust in the political system in the UK is diminishing. Taking a holistic view of devolution and the configuration of local authorities throughout the UK would give Labour the opportunity to show that we believe in shared prosperity, not devolved cuts."*

**Matthew, East Midlands**

*“Properly accountable and resourced devolution presents opportunities, including the potential for: sustainable regional growth, development and investment; support for new skills and expanding private sector employment; secure, decent public sector jobs; public services more responsive to local need; better control and regulation of fragmented services (e.g. local bus services); stronger, more inclusive communities. Crucially as well the devolving down of powers and funding will allow local councils to build the homes, particularly council homes, our country needs.”*

**Unite**

The Commission invited Naomi Clayton from the Centre for Cities think tank to help further develop thinking on the effects of uneven devolution across the country. She argued that places should be able to focus on what matters to them and against a one-size fits all approach.

*“There is already a postcode lottery in the UK, as there’s huge variation in multiple indicators including pay, education and service provision such as buses. Done right, devolution can democratise the state, increase accountability and allow for a more co-ordinated policy design in a way that can’t be done at a national level.”*

**Naomi Clayton, Centre for Cities**

Submissions from members highlighted the need for devolution to go hand in hand with funding. Local authorities have faced eight years of cuts from central Government which is having a devastating impact on local services. A success cannot be made of giving more powers to local communities if it comes with continued austerity.

*“Conservative devolution has been predicated on severe funding cuts for local government and driving competition rather than cooperation between regions. The Tory Government has used devolution to pass responsibility for central government spending cuts to local authorities and devolved administrations.”*

**Unite**

The Commission heard from John Denham, former Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government under the previous Labour Government. He raised the need for the Labour Party to continue to consider the fundamental question of whether it is right that laws that only apply to England continue to be heard, and voted on, by MPs from across the UK in the Houses of Parliament.

There were conflicting views in submissions and from the Commission around the topic of regional parliaments. Some proposed establishing parliaments similar in style to that of Scotland or a North East Parliament as proposed John Prescott imagined.

*‘Instead of the current approach to devolution in the regions of England, based on elected mayors, there is a need for a proper system of regional government for economically significant regions, such as Greater London, the South East, North East etc. These regions should have powers similar to the Scottish Parliament for making laws and raising taxes. Specific policy areas such as housing, transport co-ordination and employment are areas where regional government should have control.’*

**Ivan, Yorkshire and Humber**

Others proposed extending the metro mayoral system to areas centred on a single big city or a number of large conurbations. It was suggested to the Commission that this model of devolution would be easier to extend as an ‘off the shelf’ agreement between Whitehall and city halls can be more easily produced. There is acknowledgement by the Commission that this question requires future consideration.

Another area that requires further consideration by the Commission is the role that referendums should or need to play in the devolution process. The Commission invited a specialist in devolution issues, Dr Andrew Blick from King’s College London, to discuss this topic. He suggested that precedent was set during the Labour years in power that prior to devolving powers a referendum would be held to confirm that the Party’s devolution agenda was in line with the wishes of the electorate. When it was not, the proposed plans were halted. Dr Blick suggested that since 2010, this precedent has been lost. Labour is therefore left with a unique

opportunity to chart its own course through this thorny issue.

*“Labour Governments in the past have made the introduction of devolution to different parts of the UK dependent upon referendums. If sufficient support was demonstrated in a public vote in the area concerned, then devolution was introduced. But if there was a no vote - or in the case of Scotland in 1979 - a threshold was not met, then devolution was not established. This principle also applied to the introduction of directly elected mayors. However, the devolution deals for English local government devised and implemented since 2014 have not involved referendums being held. The clear implication is that the downward transfer of power is no longer dependent upon prior authorisation through a referendum. Should a future Labour government wish to pursue a policy of English regional devolution, it could reasonably do so without first needing to obtain popular approval through referendums.”*

**Dr. Andrew Blick, Kings College**

The Commission was keen to discuss the impacts of the EU referendum result on the local government landscape. Many submissions were concerned that Brexit will leave local communities worse off with the reduction in European structural funds, and the potential impact on business rates if businesses move abroad or downsize. However, the Commission was keen to highlight that Brexit does offer an opportunity to address the devolution question. It was raised that a noted reason given for why so many voted for Brexit was the ambition to ‘take back control’ from Brussels to not just Westminster but to their individual localities. This opens up a fundamental question raised by different submissions and expert witnesses over what powers and which policy areas should different local areas have control over.

*“Brexit should not simply mean a transfer of powers from Brussels to Westminster, Holyrood, Stormont and Cardiff Bay. It must lead to new legislative freedoms and flexibilities for councils so that residents and businesses benefit. Taking decisions over how to run local services closer to where people live is key to improving them and saving money.”*

**Peter Robbins, LGA**

## Encouraging people to play a greater role in society

The Commission heard from both invited specialists, and in submissions, of the importance of building a sense of community. Many of those the Commission heard from noted that it is those on the ground in their local communities who are best placed to guide their elected representatives in measures to achieve this. For many, if they feel they have little say over the decisions which affect them and their local communities, they can feel disconnected and powerless to shape them. This was a view widely expressed by submissions; of special concern was ensuring that people know who and where to approach to get more involved.

*“Constituents don’t know who to approach, how to organise or how to go about things... Accessibility and accountability is needed; need to meet where the public can reach them, feedback should be given on progress when a local initiative is under way”*

**Stoke Central CLP**

However, it is not just knowing where to go. The Commission is particularly concerned that the way people are able to engage with decision makers needs to be simplified. For many, engaging with government of any tier can be overly bureaucratic. Consultations may be launched but the mechanisms for responding often create barriers to participation. Submissions were clear that as a general principal the path to engagement must be as easy to navigate as possible.

*“The lack of relevance, appropriateness and accessibility of institutions creates barriers for local people to shape their local communities. Institutions can have a tendency to be bureaucratic and use methods, processes and jargon that are unfamiliar to local people and will prevent people getting involved. It is essential that institutions are accessible and user friendly and that a variety of means of engagement and involvement are provided to local people. Concerns over health and safety, liability etc is a very real concern and creates a definite barrier.”*

**Beth & Mary, Wales**

## Housing, Local Government and Transport

Some of those that contributed to the work of the Commission were also keen to point out that more training is needed for local elected representatives and those wishing to become representatives. Submissions were keen to highlight that the local government sector has been stripped of capacity and a future Labour Government will have to do a lot of work to put institutional knowledge back into the sector. In addition, if Labour devolves more powers to local communities and councils we need to ensure those that are delivering these new programmes and projects are properly paid and resourced.

*“There is a need to ensure there is fair and equal pay for workers underpinned by continuing training and development.”*

**Unison**

The Commission supports Labour’s direction of travel towards further devolution, recognising that more consideration needs to be given to establishing how positive devolution can be delivered in those areas where Labour is not currently in power. Careful deliberation, along with further submissions from local parties and public at large, will help ensure that we make a success of our policy development on this important issue. If we take this approach we will put communities in charge, allowing them to protect what is important to them and deliver radical and creative improvements.

## Other issues

### Delivering affordable housing for the many

The Commission received many submissions which highlighted the urgent need to build more genuinely affordable housing, especially new council housing. The Commission is concerned that there have been huge cuts to investment in new affordable homes to rent and buy. Since 2010 the number of new affordable homes built for social rent has fallen to a record low, with fewer than 1,000 new government funded homes for social rent built last year. There is a growing shortage of lifetime homes and other accommodation for people with mobility problems.

Submissions to the Commission have been clear Britain's housing system is broken. Building on the discussions from the Policy Commission, John Healey and Jeremy Corbyn launched a Green Paper 'Housing for the many' on tackling the affordable housing crisis. The Commission is keen to highlight that the consultation is still open for submissions. As a first step to tackling the affordable house building crisis, a Labour Government proposes to define a new 'affordable housing' linked to local incomes and scrap the Conservatives' so-called 'affordable rent' homes priced at up to 80 per cent of market rates. A Labour Government will also build one million genuinely affordable homes over ten years, a majority of which will be for social rent. This will include the biggest council house building programme in a generation. Submissions also highlighted Labour's strong commitment to tackling the systemic problems in the private rented sector, including a cap on rents and an end to 'no fault' evictions. Developing the policies our country requires to build the affordable homes needed is an ongoing priority for the Commission.

### Grenfell

The Labour Party stands in solidarity with the victims of the Grenfell Tragedy and will continue to fight for justice for all those affected. Over the year the Commission has heard from many people about how the failures in social housing provision exist, not just in relation to cladding and insulation, but also in relation to wider issues of stigmatisation, under investment and a lack of quality control.

The Commission is clear that Theresa May needs to make good on her commitment to social housing after the fire and back a Labour commitment for a £1bn fire safety fund to make social housing tower blocks safe, including to retrofit sprinklers in all council and housing associations blocks. Submissions have also welcomed Labour's strong commitment to guarantee there is fair funding for local government and devolved nations to ensure that councils have the capacity to make the full safety checks needed to safeguard their communities.

### Tackling Homelessness

Many submissions received this year concerned the state of homelessness in this country. Britain is too decent and too well off to put up with the scandal of homelessness. Rough sleeping has more than doubled since 2010 according to government figures, rising from 1,768 in 2010 to 4,751 in 2017. Submissions from Party members and members of the wider public highlighted how increasing homelessness is a clear visible sign of the Government's eight years of failure on housing.

The Commission welcomes that Labour has committed to establishing a taskforce on ending rough sleeping by the end of the next Parliament, making the links between housing, health, social security and work. Labour will overhaul the way rough sleeping is measured so that we know how many people are sleeping rough and more about how we help them. We will also make 8,000 additional homes available for those with a history of rough sleeping. Work on the important issue of tackling homelessness is a continuing theme of work for the Commission and a topic it is keen to pick up on further in the coming months.

### A railway network fit for the 21st Century

Submissions to the Commission highlighted that the fragmented structure of our rail industry created by the Government's botched privatisation is a key factor in the poor quality of service passengers receive. Since 2010 rail fares have rocketed by 32 per cent, three times faster than wages. Commuters were always told that higher fares would fund investment, but vital projects have been delayed for years and passengers are paying ever more to travel on increasingly overcrowded

## Housing, Local Government and Transport

and unreliable trains. This year we have seen the fiasco of failed timetable changes, the East Coast franchise holders being stripped of running the route and the ongoing concerns around Driver Only Operation.

The Commission welcomed Labour's policy to bring our railway franchises back into public ownership with the aim of improving the quality of service passengers enjoy. They further highlighted the continued need to call on the Government to take those franchises that are failing such as Southern and Northern back into public hands immediately. Submissions to the Commission also highlighted grave concerns with understaffing on our transport network which impacts heavily on the safety of passengers particularly women and on access for disabled people. This is an ongoing area of interest for both the Commission to develop policy on, and the wider Labour party to challenge the Government on.

### **Creating a universal bus network**

The Commission is clear that insufficient attention has been given to the most common forms of transport: walking, cycling and the use of buses. Buses are the lifelines of our cities, counties, towns and villages – they reduce congestion, get people to work, drive economic growth and keep communities connected. Yet since 2010-11, there has been a net reduction in funding of £172 million from supported bus services in England, a cut of 46 per cent. Under this Government nearly 500 bus routes have been cut every year. Building on the work of the Policy Commission the Labour Party committed this year to extending free bus travel for those under 26 and give local councils renewed powers to oversee and manage local bus services.

Submissions were concerned that extreme cuts to local government are also meaning that councils have to find savings, such as by turning street lights off at night or not maintaining local roads which are all having an impact on the safety of those that use our local roads and pavements. Building a transport network which encourages greener forms of transport will be an issue of continued interest for the Commission.

## Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2017/18 the Housing, Local Government and Transport Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Airport expansion
- Affordable housing
- Automation
- Brexit
- Building on brownfield sites
- Bus investment
- Bus powers
- Business Rates
- Buy-to-leave market
- Buy-to-let market
- Canals
- Charging points
- City region control
- Coastal transport
- Community ownership
- Council housing
- Council Tax
- Crossrail
- Crossrail 2
- Cuts to local government
- Cycling & walking initiatives
- Cycling lanes
- De-regulation of buses
- Devolving bus powers to local authorities
- Disabled access to transport
- Eco housing
- Eco-friendly public transport
- Economic impact of transport
- Electric vehicles
- Emissions & air quality
- Energy policy
- Energy standards in new homes
- Farm land
- First time buyers & starter homes
- 'Fit for letting' certification
- Fracking
- Freight to rail
- Green energy from waste
- Help to Buy Scheme
- HGV safety
- Homelessness
- Housing and Planning Act
- Housing benefit
- Housing cooperatives
- Housing costs
- Housing for the poorest areas
- HS2
- Hybrid and Electric Vehicles
- Increasing property ownership
- Interest rates
- Insurance cover for tenants receiving benefits
- Investment in infrastructure
- Land Tax
- Land Registry Database
- Letting agent fees
- Libraries
- Local Government models of governance
- London Airport Capacity
- Low carbon tax breaks for employees working from home
- Mortgage lending
- National Investment Bank
- Parking policy
- Pedestrian only town centres
- Planning law
- Powers for local councils
- Private rented sector
- Private housing supply
- Private rent controls
- Property revaluation
- Public ownership of the railways
- Public regional banks
- Publicly owned letting agency
- Railways
- Rail freight investment
- Recycling
- Reducing car usage
- Reducing transport fares
- Regional development
- Regional housing policy
- Regional transportation infrastructure
- Regulating the taxi industry
- Renewable energy to power rail
- Road Safety
- Right to buy
- Right to buy discount ceiling

## Housing, Local Government and Transport

- Rights of tenure
- Rural broadband investment
- Rural school closure
- Second home tax
- Self-driving cars
- Shared ownership
- Shipping
- Short hold tenancies
- Smaller airport runways
- Speed cameras
- Social housing supply
- Solar panels
- Stamp Duty exemptions
- Student accommodation
- Smart land planning
- Sustainable local bus services
- Talking buses
- Taxi regulation
- Toll roads
- Transit Oriented Development



**International**

## Membership 2017/18

### HM Opposition

Emily Thornberry MP\*  
Nia Griffith MP  
Kate Osamor MP  
Keir Starmer MP

### NEC

Cath Speight\*  
Richard Corbett MEP  
Yasmin Dar  
George Howarth

### CLPs and Regions

Iona Baker, *Scottish Labour*  
Beverley Clack, *South East region*  
Nick Donovan, *Greater London Region*  
Glyn Ford, *South West region*  
Jame Frith MP, *North West region*  
Wajid Iltaf Khan, *North West region*  
Alexandra Mayer, *Eastern region*  
Trudie McGuinness, *West Midlands region*  
Bryony Rudkin, *Eastern region*

### Affiliates

Len McCluskey, *Unite*  
David Quayle, *Unite*  
Gordon McKay, *Unison*

### Elected Reps

Sue Lent  
Sonny Leong  
Clare Moody MEP  
Emma Reynolds MP

\* Co-Convenor

## Policy development

The Labour Party is and always has been an internationalist party, with our commitment to social justice, equality and human rights transcending national borders. The International Policy Commission is responsible for developing Labour Party policy on Foreign Affairs, Brexit, International Development and Defence.

The past year has seen serious upheaval across the world, with the ongoing rise of far-right movements and parties, the continued aggressive activities of the Putin Government and the disruptive effect of the US Presidency on the international rules-based system. The civil war in Syria, the ongoing refugee crisis in the Mediterranean, the Saudi blockade of Yemen, the worsening situation in Israel/Palestine and the Rohingya crisis were some of the most urgent international issues discussed this year by Policy Commission members. At home, the Brexit negotiations continued to dominate the political agenda, and Commission members had ongoing discussions regarding the Government's positions and Labour Party policy on the issue.

A Foreign Policy and Brexit debate took place at Women's Conference, with delegates from CLPs across the country raising issues including the effect of Brexit on Northern Ireland, the status of EU citizens in the UK, and the effect of Brexit on women. There was consensus on the need for Labour to outline a clear plan for the country post-Brexit, as the Shadow Cabinet did over subsequent months.

There were two policy seminars at Annual Conference, one related to International policy and one related specifically to Brexit. At the International Policy Seminar, delegates had the opportunity to speak with Glenis Wilmott MEP, NEC in Chair; Nia Griffiths MP, Shadow Defence Secretary; Emily Thornberry MP, Shadow Foreign Secretary; Helen Goodman MP, Shadow Foreign Office Minister and Kate Osamor MP, Shadow International Development Secretary, NEC. They discussed subsidised housing and other welfare issues for the Armed Forces, the issue of steel dumping by China, and international development, particularly in the context of the humanitarian response to Hurricane Irma. Delegates also raised the issue of conflict between Israel and Palestine, and LGBT rights in Chechnya, which

Emily Thornberry MP agreed should be on Labour's agenda. There was an NEC statement backing Labour's position on Brexit.

At the Brexit policy seminar, a packed room of delegates discussed issues related to Brexit with Glenis Wilmott MEP, NEC, in Chair; Emily Thornberry MP, Shadow Foreign Secretary; Keir Starmer MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Exiting the EU and Barry Gardiner MP, Shadow Secretary of State for International Trade. Several delegates raised the need to protect workers' rights during any new trade deals struck after leaving the EU, and there was widespread agreement that some Conservatives wish to use Brexit to pursue an agenda of deregulation. There was a discussion on Freedom of Movement, the Henry VIII powers of the EU Withdrawal Bill, and what will happen to EU funding for infrastructure in the devolved regions once Britain leaves the EU. Finally, delegates expressed anger at EU citizens being used as "bargaining chips" by the UK Government, with Keir Starmer MP stating that Labour had been consistently calling on the Government to protect the rights of EU citizens in the UK.

The International Policy Commission then met in December 2017, with subsequent meetings in January, March, May and June 2018, with a final meeting in July 2018 to finalise the contents of the Annual Report.

At the first meeting after Conference, the Policy Commission discussed the submitted contemporary and non-contemporary motions on topics including Brexit, North Korea, nuclear weapons and Saudi Arabia. Policy Commission members also discussed the agreed priority area for the Commission, "A Global Britain: Achieving Britain's Sustainable Development Goals". They decided on a structure for the report and agreed that the Commission should hear evidence from a range of experts during the course of the consultation. As the Joint Policy Commission has asked each Commission to pay special attention to issues of equality, environmental sustainability and Brexit through their discussions, representatives for these areas were appointed by the Commission. Glyn Ford was appointed as Brexit representative, Sue Lent appointed Equalities Champion, and a decision made to appoint the Sustainability representative at the following meeting.

Kate Osamor MP updated members on the work of the frontbench team on the crises in Yemen and Myanmar and her recent speech at the Overseas Development Institute (ODI). The Commission discussed the Government's poor handling of the Brexit negotiations, and the situation in North Korea.

At the second meeting in January 2018, Emily Thornberry MP updated Commission members on the work of the Shadow Foreign Team, highlighting that there are a number of crises and flashpoints around the world which Britain should be taking a lead on responding to, including the murder and displacement of Rohingyas in Myanmar and the ongoing conflict in Yemen. However, the point was made that the UK Government is unable to respond appropriately to these crises as the Government is only focused on negotiating amongst itself on the terms of Britain's departure from the European Union.

Kate Osamor MP updated the Commission on her new opposite number, Penny Mordaunt MP, and the continued threat of repurposing international development spending through funding reallocation away from the Department for International Development (DFID). Commission members discussed the submissions received since the last meeting, noting that Brexit and international development were the topics with the most submissions.

In February, there was an NPF meeting in Leeds which included an extended Brexit plenary session. During this session, NPF representatives had the opportunity to discuss Brexit with panel speakers including Frances O'Grady from the TUC, Keir Starmer MP, Richard Corbett MEP, Rebecca Long-Bailey MP and Barry Gardiner MP. NPF representatives had the opportunity to ask a series of questions to the panel on issues around employment, skills, and industrial strategy after Britain leaves the EU, and to discuss some key questions on Brexit and the future relationship between the UK and the European Union. The Brexit reps from each Policy Commission had the opportunity to meet to discuss issues being raised by their Commissions, and to meet with Keir Starmer MP in advance of the plenary session.

There were also two international policy breakout sessions on "Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals".

At the third meeting in March 2018, Emily Thornberry MP updated the Commission members on Labour's response to the nerve agent attack in Salisbury, and the ultimately successful attempts to force the Government to amend its Sanctions and Anti-Money Laundering Bill to target the assets of human rights abusers from Russia, Myanmar and other countries. Emily Thornberry MP also reiterated Labour's support for the Government's expulsion of Russian diplomats after the attack in Salisbury.

Nia Griffith MP updated the Commission on Labour's two per cent spending commitment to NATO, the problems caused by outsourcing recruitment in the Armed Forces, the defence industrial strategy, and ensuring better support for veterans and families in the Armed Forces. Matthew Pennycook MP updated the Commission on the work of the Shadow Brexit team, and spoke about Labour's policy of negotiating a new customs union with the EU after Brexit. The Commission was also updated by Mark Nowotny from Kate Osamor's office on the progress of a report being written by her office in consultation with an international development taskforce, entitled "A World for the Many". The meeting ended with an evidence session from Ken Bluestone from Age International, who spoke about leadership and accountability towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), followed by a question and answer session from Commission members.

At the fourth meeting in May 2018, Nia Griffith MP updated the Commission on the work being done by the Shadow Defence Team in holding the Government to account on misuse of LIBOR fine money, their work with Labour-led councils to deliver for veterans, and Labour's push for a War Powers Act, particularly in the context of the recent military action in Syria which took place without a parliamentary vote. A discussion ensued on the Defence Industrial Strategy, covering defence diversification and how Labour can use defence procurement to bring benefits to the regions. Commission members enquired whether the procurement policies outlined in Labour's defence industrial strategy were compatible with EU single market policies, and it was confirmed that they were. Commission members also reiterated their commitment to the UK remaining in the Eurofighter programme. They were also updated by Shadow Foreign Minister Liz McInnes MP,

who spoke about the recent Urgent Question on the Iran nuclear deal, and Shadow International Development Minister Preet Gill MP, who updated members on the work of Labour's Shadow DFID team, including the launch of a new Green Paper, parliamentary debates on development issues, and the recent Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting (CHOGM). There was an evidence session on the SDGs by Aisha Dodwell from Global Justice Now, who spoke approvingly of Labour's "A World for the Many Document", which was followed by a discussion about changing public attitudes towards foreign aid. Commission members raised the issue of domestic austerity leading to negative attitudes towards aid spending, and it was suggested that linking international development goals like universal healthcare to domestic policy issues, like the importance of the NHS, as a good way to lead on the issue.

This was followed by a joint meeting of the International and Home Affairs Policy Commissions in order to discuss Brexit and immigration policy. During this meeting, there were Shadow Ministerial updates from Paul Blomfield MP, who updated Commission members on the votes won by the Lords on the EU Withdrawal Bill, and on the expected progression of the Trade and Customs Bills. He expressed Labour's concerns about obtaining settled status for EU citizens, family reunification issues and onward Freedom of Movement for British citizens in EU countries, which are not being adequately addressed by the Government. Afzal Khan MP updated the Commission on the effects of Brexit on the NHS, noting that there are currently thousands of NHS vacancies. In the discussion that followed on immigration policy post-Brexit, comments were made on a range of issues including: the potential for regional systems for immigration; technical difficulties with border controls, including the possibility of border checks at Welsh ports; a seasonal agricultural workers' scheme; and what would be necessary for a Brexit deal to meet Labour's six tests.

At this evidence session, Commission members heard from Matthew Percival from the CBI, Rosa Crawford from the TUC, Dan Hurley from Universities UK and the academic Jonathan Portes. Matthew Percival spoke about building a long-term immigration system after Brexit that was both open and controlled. Jonathan Portes noted that Brexit

has already had an impact on migration, with net migration from the EU to the UK peaking around the time of the Referendum. He noted that most EU migrants are medium-skilled, and highly-skilled migration is falling. Rosa Crawford spoke about immigration in the context of workers' rights, and the importance of immigration not being used as a scapegoat for domestic policy failings. She spoke about the role of unions in helping migrant workers to integrate, and to stand up for their rights at work. Finally, Dan Hurley spoke about Britain's position as a global leader in higher education, noting that international students help underpin university excellence in the UK. He highlighted the importance of providing legal certainty on their status to EU staff in UK universities, and voiced fears about a reduction in the number of European students coming to study in the UK in the future.

At the fifth meeting in June 2018 updates were received from Nia Griffith MP and Helen Goodman MP, who spoke about the upcoming "Build it in Britain" campaign, which will be calling for Government procurement policies to be used as part of a wider UK industrial strategy, and which will build on Labour's recent calls to bring shipbuilding back to UK shipyards. Finally, the recent North Korea summit was discussed.

Commission members also discussed the NPF and the policy making process itself within the Labour Party. Points were raised on how to enable the NPF to meet more with members, and how to make sure new members learn how they can get involved with the policy making process.

The discussion was followed by an evidence session from the World Wildlife Fund UK, who spoke about the SDGs in relation to wider processes within United Nations, and the progressive development agenda that a Labour Government could pursue which goes beyond protecting 0.7 per cent.

### Consultation: Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals

The Labour Party's beliefs in social justice, solidarity, equality, human rights and internationalism have shaped our commitment to international development at every turn. From establishing an independent Department for International Development (DFID) in 1997, to the Make Poverty History campaign of 2005, Labour has a proud history of taking the lead on international development issues. In its 2017 manifesto, Labour committed to fully supporting the SDGs, to developing a cross-government strategy for their implementation, and to government reporting annually to Parliament on its performance towards achieving these goals. Building on this, the International Policy Commission was tasked with producing a consultation report on how Labour can work to build public support for the SDGs, and how a Labour Government can build a progressive development agenda focused on the SDGs.

*"The leadership of the Labour Party must spearhead a vigorous and high profile nationwide Labour campaign to keep the International Aid budget at 0.7 per cent and to maintain at least the current level of aid to those in need around the world. Labour must be seen to refuse to allow the people who have been victims first of disasters, then of aid workers, to become victims a third time by our withdrawal of aid."*

**Finchley and Golders Green CLP**

The challenge for an incoming Labour Government would be to implement its vision of a transformative international development agenda, which includes working towards all of the Sustainable Development Goals, as well as influencing the direction of the global post-2030 international development agenda to ensure it is transformative, progressive and achievable. We must also not lose sight of the fact that the SDGs apply to domestic as well as international development policy.

In addition to the Policy Commission Consultation, the "A World for the Many" report produced this year by Kate Osamor's office provided a blueprint for a progressive international development agenda under a Labour Government. This policy document proposed that for the first time DFID would be tasked with the twin goals of reducing poverty and reducing inequality, with the reduction of income inequality becoming a key metric in the countries DFID partners with.

The Conservatives have consistently undermined the value of foreign aid, and there is an ongoing threat of DFID merging with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), which Labour opposes in the strongest terms. It is also concerning that an increasing proportion of Britain's foreign aid budget is being spent via other Government departments, which do not share DFID's strategic goals, nor DFID's levels of scrutiny and accountability.

The SDGs are a collection of 17 global goals, encompassing 169 targets, which were adopted by the United Nations in 2015. The SDGs succeeded the framework of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), but unlike the MDGs, SDGs apply to all countries, whether developing and developed, with countries expected to report back to the UN at intervals about their progress towards these goals.

*"Internationally, we should be pressing for clear and easily understandable objectives for SDGs, for international buy-in, and effective monitoring and implementation mechanisms. We should be using our 0.7 per cent Official Development Funds exclusively to support this agenda, and focus on specific elements of the SDGs where we can make a difference."*

**Derek, Wales**

Of all the submissions we received on the consultation topic, the vast majority were supportive of the SDGs. Of the responses received from relevant organisations, there were some critiques of the SDGs, with responses suggesting how Britain can go beyond their framework to pursue a more transformative sustainable development agenda.

*“The SDGs are based on internationally agreed human rights, and are consistent with our manifesto having a strong emphasis on the reduction of poverty and inequality and a commitment to promoting gender equality.”*

**Sushila, Eastern region**

As Britain decides on its future role on the international stage, Labour is clear that the SDGs should shape not only our international development agenda, but also those of our foreign, defence and international trade policy, as only a cross-departmental approach can maximise our ability to achieve the SDGs in the countries we partner with abroad.

The Commission received a large number of submissions related to the SDGs and discussed many aspects of their implementation. In particular, the Commission invited submissions on the subject of how Labour can build a movement in support of the SDGs, how can the SDGs galvanise action across communities and workplaces in the UK, and how a Labour Government could monitor progress on SDG implementation, particularly post-Brexit.

### Public support for the SDGs

Although the Government has so far maintained its commitment to spending 0.7 per cent of GDP on international development, it is clear that the right of the Conservative party has a concerted anti-aid agenda, with some MPs suggesting that the 0.7 per cent target is reduced, alongside calls for the abolition of DFID as an independent department.

The former Minister for International Development, Priti Patel MP, often chose to highlight individual programmes which she believed were examples of wasted aid spending, all of which fed into a right-wing agenda which seeks to undermine the moral good and purpose of international development spending.

In light of this, Commission members discussed how Labour can make the case for international development, noting how public attitudes appear to have shifted in the past few years. Some Commission members suggested this was as a result of austerity, with a reduced level of funding for public services leading people to believe the UK should prioritise public spending on alleviating poverty at home. It was also noted that there is

## THE 17 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGS) TO TRANSFORM OUR WORLD:

- GOAL 1:** No Poverty
- GOAL 2:** Zero Hunger
- GOAL 3:** Good Health and Well-being
- GOAL 4:** Quality Education
- GOAL 5:** Gender Equality
- GOAL 6:** Clean Water and Sanitation
- GOAL 7:** Affordable and Clean Energy
- GOAL 8:** Decent Work and Economic Growth
- GOAL 9:** Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure
- GOAL 10:** Reduced Inequality
- GOAL 11:** Sustainable Cities and Communities
- GOAL 12:** Responsible Consumption and Production
- GOAL 13:** Climate Action
- GOAL 14:** Life Below Water
- GOAL 15:** Life on Land
- GOAL 16:** Peace and Justice Strong Institutions
- GOAL 17:** Partnerships to achieve the Goal

Source: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/envision2030.html>

## International

widespread misinformation about the amount of money Britain spends on aid programmes, with many people greatly over-estimating the proportion of GDP that is spent on international development.

*“I think that it is very important for Labour to make the case to the world that development is not a top-down affair, but can be achieved by the labouring classes in their struggles against exploitation and for better conditions.”*

**Benjamin, South East**

Commission members discussed the need to reframe our achievements in international development as an element of our foreign policy that the British public can be proud of, noting how the Make Poverty History campaign of 2005 garnered mass public support. They also discussed how global issues such as universal healthcare can be framed in similar terms to the urgency of fighting for the NHS at home, helping to make the case that people all over the world, and not just in the UK, are entitled to the universal health coverage that we rely on.

### Gender equality

Gender inequality was a key topic within the “A World for the Many” report, and the consultation particularly invited submission responses regarding how Labour can achieve a truly feminist international development agenda. Across the developing world, women and girls suffer disproportionately from poverty, lack of jobs, and access to education, as well as facing issues including forced and early marriage, reproductive coercion and FGM. Across the world, women are under-represented in leadership positions and locked into cycles of disempowerment.

*“A world for the many not the few would be a world without gender inequality. A world where women and girls do not shoulder the burden of unpaid care work. A world where girls affected by conflict and crises are not 2.5 times more likely to be out of school than boys. Globally, gender inequality is an unjust and pervasive barrier to achieving the SDGs. By delivering a truly feminist*

*international development policy, with the rights of adolescent girls at its core, a Labour Government could help deliver a world for the many, not the few by 2030.”*

**Plan International submission**

Of the five key and connected priorities laid out in “A World for the Many”, the third is “a feminist approach to development”. Based on the principles of gender justice, rights, intersectionality and solidarity, it aims to put tackling the structural causes of gender inequality, transforming gender norms and challenging patriarchy at the heart of everything DFID does.

### Reducing inequality

*“A Labour Government should ensure all international policy commitments and funds are directed towards reducing global poverty and inequality.”*

**Caroline Pinder, WISE Development**

On inequality, Labour is clear. It is unacceptably high in the UK, and it is unacceptably high in the wider world. As “A World for the Many” underlined, the past year has seen the richest 1 per cent of the world’s population accumulate 82 per cent of the world’s wealth. SDG 10 focuses on the need to reduce inequalities within and between countries, and a Labour Government would address this urgent issue by, for the first time, repurposing DFID with a twin agenda of reducing both poverty and inequality in the countries it works with. “A World for the Many” outlines how, in the first year of a Labour Government, DFID would hold a global inequality summit, to work with like-minded Governments from around the world about ways to tackle this deep-seated and growing problem.

*“The SDGs offer a development agenda that goes beyond the poverty reduction of the MDGs. In particular, Goals 8 and 9 have reintroduced employment creation and inclusive and sustainable industrialisation, while Goal 10 concerns the closely related issue of inequality reduction. However, the SDGs framework still under-values the central role of production transformation and good employment generation in sustainable development.”*

**Julian, Greater London region**

In order to do this, we would use the Palma Ratio (the ratio of income between the richest 10 per cent and the poorest 40 per cent) and the Palma Premium (the extent to which the incomes of the poorest 40 per cent are growing faster than the richest 10 per cent) in order to measure inequality ratios, and work to tackle them.

## Climate change

The SDGs are explicit in putting climate change and environmental sustainability at the heart of international development. Climate change, amongst much else, is a driver of poverty and inequality, and Britain cannot pursue a progressive development agenda abroad without a radical plan to cut carbon emissions at home, and to work within international frameworks to drive down carbon emissions across the world.

*“Although we all suffer, it is the world’s poorest and most vulnerable people that suffer most. Those who contribute the least to greenhouse gas emissions are paying the highest price. Climate change already costs the global South more than US\$500 billion per year – far more than they receive in aid. If global warming exceeds 2°C, poverty and hunger will increase to catastrophic levels”*

### A World for the Many report

A Labour Government would not only remain committed to the Paris Climate agreements to reduce carbon emissions, but also take a lead role in tackling climate change internationally.

*“Feedback recommends that Labour adopt binding targets to implement the Sustainable Development Goal 12.3 of halving food waste from farm to fork by 2030 as a way of addressing the UK’s climate targets. Food waste, if it were a country, would rank as the third largest emitter of greenhouse gases after China and the US (FAO 2013).”*

### Submission from Feedback (charity)

## Civil society

*“Labour should work with a broad spectrum of social movements, trade unions, progressive NGOs, progressive political parties, academic institutions, diaspora organisations and liberation movements in the UK and internationally, who share its vision of a world for the many.”*

### Progressive Development Alliance

Labour is clear that the Government needs to engage with civil society actors to shape its development policy. Our consultation document, “A World for the Many”, was created in conjunction with a Task Force of twelve experts and activists, and took evidence from 18 different expert witnesses, 55 different trade unions, NGOs, and individuals, including from activists in the Global South.

Policy Commission meetings took evidence from groups including Age International, Global Justice Now and the World Wildlife Fund UK.

*“If one applies the adage “give a man a fish, you feed him for a day. Teach him how to fish, you feed him for a life time”, then surely a new bottom-up alternative approach to delivering international aid is needed rather than the present failing top-down model?”*

### Abdul, North West region

During this year, the development sector was hit by news of the scandal of sexual exploitation by some aid workers, leading to cuts in funding to NGOs including Oxfam. While Labour is clear that any misuse of power by aid workers needs to be rooted out and dealt with immediately, we also believe that this scandal must not be used to pursue an anti-aid agenda, and we are clear that Labour should continue to engage with NGOs, advocacy groups and the wider international development sector to deliver programmes and shape policy.

## International

*“Labour can support UK civil society organisations to participate in the monitoring of the UK Government’s progress domestically. It can also provide funding for civil society organisations and coordinate civil society consultative spaces, in countries where the Department for International Development (DFID) has bilateral programmes.”*

**International HIV/AIDS Alliance**

### The SDGs and global governance

*“A key task for the next Labour Government will be to establish how it is going to cooperate with the EU and other like-minded donors in developing countries in order to meet each of the 17 SDGs.”*

**Linda McAven MEP**

The UK’s historic investment in international development, and the world-class standards of our Department for International Development, have allowed us to shape the international development agenda globally. With the Government using the rhetoric of “Global Britain” to describe its current foreign policy agenda, Policy Commission members discussed how a truly “Global Britain” needs to live up to its international commitments, and to work with our allies to build a fairer and more just world.

*“Historically, the UK has led the HIV response, and drove the Gleneagles commitment to universal access to treatment in 2005. The UK’s considerable financial investment means the UK is well placed to continually lead the response both financially and politically.”*

**International HIV/AIDS Alliance**

Britain is currently the third-largest contributor to the EU aid budget, which in itself provides half of the world’s funding for international development. The money we send to the EU contributes to our 0.7 per cent target, and will return to DFID if it is rescinded from EU programmes. The Government needs to provide clarity on what this money will be spent on after Brexit, particularly in light of the worrying comments from the former Minister for International Development, Priti Patel MP, that this money could be spent on “trade and economic development”, and not on poverty reduction, which is DFID’s central mission.

### A transformational approach

*“We have to aim to meet all the SDGs, or we will fail to meet any of them.”*

**Linda McAven MEP**

The SDGs are an interconnected set of goals and targets, and one cannot be pursued at the expense of others. They do not fall solely under the remit of DFID, nor even under the remits of departments which deal with international issues. All countries which are signed up to them are expected to periodically report their own progress towards the SDGs at UN High Level Meetings.

*“The Government is trying to limit the application of the SDGs to development policy alone, because they have no intention of trying to reach the SDGs in the UK and know that their domestic policies don’t stack up against the SDG targets. We should be calling them out on that, and pushing for the inclusion of the SDGs as a key goal in every policy area - and encouraging our colleagues working in other policy areas to do the same.”*

**Linda McAven MEP**

The SDGs are a transformative agenda, not just for developing countries, but for the developed world as well. The progressive goals of the SDGs should guide UK domestic policy as well, to ensure we build a fairer, more equal and more sustainable society here in the UK. The Government has not embedded the SDGs in its domestic policy, and has limited their role in international policy primarily within the remit of DFID. A Labour Government would put the SDGs at the heart of government policy.

*“In order to counter and reduce the global threats we face, Unite welcomes commitments from Labour on aid and development spending. It does so in a broader context of the UK’s trade and foreign policy as there are still many areas where the UK Government and UK companies are actively causing problems for the world’s poor.”*

**Unite**

*“Business as usual will not deliver the goals. We will not meet the goals without changing how we fuel and structure our economies, how we measure ‘progress’ and growth, how we use and manage our natural resources, how we distribute wealth and opportunities and how we make decisions.”*

**World Wildlife Fund UK**

*“The challenge to building a movement for sustainable development and the achievement of the SDGs is twofold: 1) The complexity and inter-relatedness of the goals, which makes coordination and communication difficult and 2) low levels of awareness amongst domestic organisations, domestic Government departments and the public to inspire agency. Coupled with low ambition from the Government to address these issues and low levels of intention to deliver against the goals has put the UK behind a number of countries in their commitments and institutions to deliver the Goals.”*

**Fabian society**

## Other issues

### Brexit

The negotiations to leave the European Union (EU) continue to dominate the political agenda. Both the Government and Labour's policy positions were a key topic of discussion for the Policy Commission this year, with Brexit receiving a very high number of submissions from individual members and from CLPs. These included submissions about Britain's future relationship with the single market and customs union, the Irish border issue, freedom of movement, Labour's "six tests" for Brexit, and the possibility of a vote on the final deal.

Many submissions mentioned the Irish border issue, with fears expressed about any jeopardy to the Good Friday Agreement in the event of a border in Ireland. The impact of leaving the European Union on Gibraltar was also discussed, with concerns around a potential border with Spain. Of all the submissions received, the vast majority opposed any kind of "no deal" or "hard" Brexit, with the impact on jobs, trade and the economy cited as primary reasons. Many expressed scepticism that new trade deals with other countries could replace the tariff-free trade Britain currently has with the EU, and expressed concern about changes to consumer and environmental standards were the UK to open its markets to secure a trade deal with countries such as the US.

As the International Policy Commission has specific responsibility for Brexit, it has been a vital part of its work programme this year. Given the importance of the issue, and the fact that it touches on many areas of policy, the NPF put in place a number of measures to ensure it was properly discussed.

The NPF met in Leeds in February to discuss Brexit. This was a thorough discussion covering many of the policy challenges posed by Britain's departure from the European Union and what Labour's response should be. This session, and the submissions we receive from the Party, inform our policy approach going forward. To support this work each of the eight NPF Commissions appointed a dedicated Brexit representative to better coordinate work across the whole NPF.

Policy Commission members remain deeply concerned that more than two years after

the referendum vote, the Government is still negotiating amongst itself on what Britain's future relationship with Europe will look like. As the clock ticks down to Britain's departure from the EU in March 2019, the complete lack of any unified position from the Government has led to a stalemate in the talks with Brussels, with businesses and trade unions calling for much greater clarity on the progress of negotiations in order to safeguard jobs.

Labour is clear, in order to secure a Brexit deal that protects jobs, the economy and rights, we would seek to negotiate a new comprehensive UK-EU customs union and a new single market deal. We have consistently pushed the Government to drop its threats of leaving the EU with "no deal", arguing that this would cause great and unnecessary harm to the UK economy, jobs and living standards.

Recent reports of businesses threatening to relocate jobs and investment from the UK are extremely worrying, as is the lack of progress on the Irish border issue and a failure to secure Britain's continued participation in key EU programmes such as Galileo and Erasmus.

Labour has committed to negotiating a new customs union with the EU after Brexit, and committed to seek a new single market deal which would include full access to EU markets with no new impediments to trade, shared common standards and protections, all underpinned by shared institutions and regulations. We believe this is the best way to protect jobs and business.

Labour has called on the Government to provide legal certainty to EU citizens in Britain, particularly in the wake of the Windrush scandal. Labour campaigned for a meaningful vote in Parliament on the withdrawal deal, and have promised to oppose any Brexit deal which fails to pass Labour's six tests. We have also raised concerns with the Government over Britain's future participation in EU programmes.

These issues were discussed by the Policy Commission, who looked at issues including Britain's future trading relationship with Europe and the rest of the world, regulatory alignment, EU citizens' rights in the UK, the effect of Brexit on jobs and the economy and the issue of a People's Vote on the final deal.

Due to the importance of this topic to the Policy Commission, Brexit was discussed throughout the year, including at a plenary session at the National

Policy Forum meeting in Leeds in February. At this session, the NPF had the opportunity to discuss and debate the priorities of voters and members on protecting jobs and trade following the vote to leave the EU chaired by Richard Corbett MEP, with Keir Starmer MP, Barry Gardiner MP, Rebecca Long-Bailey MP and Frances O'Grady, General Secretary of the TUC.

### Middle East

Throughout the year, Commission members continued to discuss the civil war in Syria, and wider issues in the region. The conflict is no closer to a peaceful solution, and has been estimated by the UN to have caused over 400,000 deaths, as well as displacing millions of refugees who have sought asylum across the Middle East and in the West. Following a reported chemical weapons attack on the city of Douma, the UK Government took military action against the Assad regime without first seeking Parliamentary approval. Following this action, Labour forced a debate and vote on the action in the Commons, arguing for a War Powers Act which would ensure that future UK military action must be subject to a vote in the Commons.

Labour is committed to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East based on a two-state solution – a secure Israel alongside a secure and viable state of Palestine. There can be no military solution to this conflict and all sides must avoid taking action that would make peace harder to achieve. That means both an end to the blockade, occupation and settlements, and an end to rocket and terror attacks. Labour will continue to press for an immediate return to meaningful negotiations leading to a diplomatic resolution. A Labour Government will immediately recognise the state of Palestine.

In that context the decision to move the US Embassy to Jerusalem was described by Labour as a “breathhtakingly dangerous decision”, and we called on the Government to condemn the US administration for it unequivocally.

The Commission also expressed great concern about the role of the Israeli military during the violence in Gaza which occurred this year, condemned the shooting of over 100 unarmed Palestinian protestors, including children, and the ongoing illegal blockade of Gaza.

In Yemen, the Saudi blockade and continued civil war caused severe shortages of food and medicine and was heavily criticised by international actors. The Labour Party urged the Government to call for a UN investigation into war crimes in Yemen, halt all arms sales to Saudi Arabia pending the outcome of the investigation and to use the UK's role as penholder on Yemen at the UN Security Council to press for an immediate ceasefire and a lasting political solution. While the blockade has now been lifted, the humanitarian crisis in the country continues, with the UK working through DFID in the country to alleviate food shortages and tackle the cholera crisis. Commission members noted that the UK's policy towards Yemen is an example of our foreign policy contradicting our International Development policy, as the UK continues to sell arms to Saudi Arabia, who are a major actor in the conflict, while also working to alleviate the results of the crisis through DFID.

Commission members also condemned President Trump's unilateral abrogation of the Iran deal, raising concerns about its effects on peace in the region, and also for its likely impact on jobs in Europe.

### Myanmar

In Myanmar, the persecution of the Rohingya people continued, with ongoing reports of attacks on Rohingyas by Burmese security services, amid a climate of widespread anti-Muslim sentiment expressed by religious and political leaders. The mass displacement of the Rohingya, mostly to Bangladesh, has led to calls for full citizenship rights for the Rohingya so that any and all returns to Myanmar are informed, voluntary and safe.

Commission members discussed the crisis from a political and humanitarian perspective, discussing what action the Foreign Office could be taking to apply diplomatic pressure to lead on the crisis, as well as the emergency humanitarian support offered by DFID to support the Rohingya refugee camps, which are currently home to millions of people.

### International development

Throughout the year, the Commission received a high number of submissions from members on the subject of international development. With

the US indicating it will walk away from the Paris Agreement, it is more crucial than ever that the rest of the developed world remains committed to the implementation of climate change agreements and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

With international development under sustained assault from the right of the Tory Party, and the continuing issue of aid money being reallocated away from DFID towards other Government departments without DFID's high levels of scrutiny and accountability, Policy Commission members reaffirmed their commitment to spending 0.7 per cent of GDP on foreign aid, and their support for Labour's progressive development agenda as outlined in Labour's "A World for the Many" policy document. There were several discussions around changing public perceptions around foreign aid, with Commission members noting that public support for foreign aid appears to have declined over recent years, perhaps as a result of austerity in the UK, and the Commission was in agreement about the need to reverse this trend and re-establish a broad base of public support for international development.

Commission members discussed raising the importance of international development at CLP and trade union meetings, to spread the message to members and supporters about the good that Britain's foreign aid programmes do across the world.

### **Defence Industrial Policy**

Labour's Shadow Defence team has been working on a defence industrial strategy this year, with Commission members being updated on its progress by the relevant Shadow Ministers during meetings. Commission members discussed the use of procurement policies to bring defence manufacturing back to the UK, as this would increase tax revenue, build a wider skills base, and ensure investment in research and development. It was noted how an "off the shelf" procurement policy from abroad means that the UK is not developing the skills base needed to maintain and repair equipment, and leads to deskilling and a loss of industry at home.

The Commission discussed how a policy of defence diversification could be used to bring economic benefits to small-town economies. Along with Jeremy Corbyn's speech on shipbuilding in May,

Policy Commission members agreed that Labour are right to push for defence and shipbuilding contracts to be brought back to the UK.

## Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2017/18 the International Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Agriculture
- Aid
- Armed Forces
- Arms trade
- Asylum
- Brexit
- Climate change
- Commonwealth
- Community ownership
- Conflict
- Customs union
- Data protection
- Defence
- Diplomacy
- Discrimination
- Emissions & air quality
- Equality
- European Union
- Exports
- Food
- Free movement
- Free trade
- Further Education
- Gender
- Global health
- Globalisation
- Green economy
- Higher Education
- Housing
- Human rights
- Immigration
- Industrial strategy
- International development
- Investment
- Israel and Palestine
- Justice
- LGBT equality
- Mental health
- Migration
- NATO
- Northern Ireland
- Nuclear deterrence
- Nutrition
- People's Vote
- Poverty
- Recycling
- Refugees
- Regional development
- Renewable energy
- Research and Development
- Second Referendum
- Sexual health
- Sustainability
- Syria
- Trade
- Trade agreements
- Transparency
- Transport
- United States of America
- Voter engagement
- War crimes
- Water
- Women's rights
- Workers' rights





**Justice and Home Affairs**

## Membership 2017/18

### HM Opposition

Richard Burgon MP\*  
Diane Abbott MP  
Jon Trickett MP

### NEC

Alice Perry\*  
Carwyn Jones AM  
Keith Vaz MP  
Claudia Webbe

### CLPs and Regions

Russell Cartwright, *Eastern Region*  
Ann Cryer, *Yorkshire and Humber Region*  
Unmesh Desai, *Greater London Region*  
Annabelle Harle, *Welsh Labour*  
Simon Lightwood, *Yorkshire and Humber Region*  
Mike Payne, *Welsh Policy Forum*  
Brynnen Ririe, *Northern Region*  
Dave Watson, *Scottish Labour*  
Joyce Watson AM, *Welsh Policy Forum*  
Christian Weaver, *East Midlands Region*  
Linda Woodings, *East Midlands Region*

### Affiliates

Siobhan Endean, *Unite*  
Nadine Grandison-Mills, *BAME Labour*  
Ian Hodson, *BFAWU*  
Ash McGregor, *Chinese for Labour*  
Fiona Wilson, *USDAW*

### Elected Reps

Lucy Anderson MEP  
Simon Blackburn  
Ellie Reeves MP  
Lord Dave Watts

\* Co-Convenor

## Policy Development

The Justice and Home Affairs Policy Commission was constituted following Annual Conference 2016, covering the Home Affairs, Justice, Cabinet Office, and Devolved Administrations portfolios.

At Annual Conference 2017, Alice Perry chaired a Justice and Home Affairs Policy Seminar with a packed audience of delegates contributing to a wide-ranging discussion. Alice was joined by Diane Abbott MP (Shadow Secretary of State for the Home Office); Richard Burgon MP (Shadow Justice Secretary); and Laura Smith MP (PPS to Jon Trickett) taking contributions from the floor before responding to points raised. Several delegates addressed issues relating to electoral reform, with calls to introduce a system of proportional representation. Strategies to improve voter registration and turnout were also discussed, including auto-enrolment on the electoral register when moving house and online voting, while plans for voter ID pilots were condemned as an attempt at voter suppression. David Lammy's review into biases against people from BAME backgrounds in the justice system was also highlighted. It was suggested there was a need for a wider examination of class and race biases in others parts of the public sector. Delegates felt that the cuts to the courts system had been so severe that staff can no longer do their jobs properly. Others noted that victims of domestic abuse still had to face their abusers in court. The continuing crisis in prisons was raised, with the levels of understaffing, overcrowding, and violence making rehabilitation nearly impossible. Delegates highlighted concerns around treatment of women in the prison system, as well as emphasising the importance of library services to improving the lives of offenders. The disastrous effect the part-privatisation of probation has had on staff morale and on the effort to tackle reoffending was highlighted by delegates who worked in the sector, and a delegate who had spent time in prison explained the difficulties he had faced trying to find employment.

The Justice and Home Affairs Commission held its first meeting in December. The Commission received updates from Shadow Home Secretary, Diane Abbott MP, and Shadow Prisons Minister, Imran Hussein MP, and then proceeded to discuss the priority issue "Protecting communities and

turning lives around". Investigating penal reform was considered a priority, given the dire situation outlined by the Shadow Prisons Minister. The Commission also decided to build upon the findings of the Lammy Review as part of the consultation and, following an update from the Shadow Home Secretary and with reference to our 2017 manifesto commitment to review Prevent, members also agreed to examine counter-extremism strategy. A report was considered covering submissions received since the Commission last met, motions from Women's Conference and Youth Conference, with members noting a large number on electoral reform and democratic engagement. There was also consideration of a write-up of the policy "speed-dating" event for new members at Annual Conference and a discussion on how best to respond to submissions made on Labour Policy Forum.

The second meeting of the Commission was held in January, during which a draft consultation document was considered. Members went on to discuss who should be approached to give evidence in person. The Commission then considered the possibility of a joint session with the International Policy Commission, with experts invited to speak to both Commissions about immigration policy after Brexit. And the Commission discussed the timings of the Party's democracy review. Submissions on electoral reform, immigration, voting rights of Irish citizens, and drugs policy were considered. Members also discussed how to encourage more submissions. During these first two meetings, the Commission also appointed Christian Weaver as Equality Champion, Annabelle Harle as Brexit Representative, and Ash McGregor as Sustainability Champion.

At the NPF meeting in February, three breakout sessions were held over the course of the weekend on Protecting Our Communities and Turning Lives Around. Representatives had discussions touching upon issues highlighted in the consultation document, as well as wider issues within the remit of the Policy Commission. Richard Burgon MP and Police and Crime Commissioner for West Yorkshire, Mark Burns-Williamson, spoke to attendees about areas such as prison, probation, sentencing, policing and counter-extremism. The sessions also benefitted from hearing first-hand of the ongoing

crisis in the criminal justice system from a number of representatives who have worked in different part of the sector.

The Justice and Home Affairs Policy Commission held its third meeting in March. Gloria de Piero MP updated members on the work of the Shadow Justice Team, in particular issues around court closures, legal aid, and victims' rights. The Commission also received an update from Chris Matheson MP on Shadow Cabinet Office issues including civil service resilience; business appointments for former ministers and senior public servants; and cyber security. Members then discussed NPF activity, including the consultation document, an update on the breakout sessions at the NPF weekend, and next steps – including potential guests for evidence sessions and for expert written evidence, as well as the best ways to consider consultation responses. Finally, the Commission considered submissions received since the last meeting, noting that electoral reform was once again the most frequent submission topic.

In May, the Commission held two evidence-gathering sessions. In the first session on prisons and probation, Joe Simpson, Deputy General Secretary of the Prison Officers Association (POA), explained that the prison system was in a state of crisis, fuelled by overcrowding, understaffing, and a drugs epidemic. He noted that while more staff were being recruited, there were still thousands fewer than in 2010 and the high rate of turnover meant the service was continuing to haemorrhage experienced staff. Joe thought too little was done to teach offenders the life skills that would help them cope upon release, and added that frontline officers stood ready to take on more responsibility for rehabilitating the offenders they supervise, but that this would require further training. Tania Bassett, National Officer at the National Association of Probation Officers (Napo), then updated the Commission on the experiences with probation following the part-privatisation of the service. She highlighted the failure of the "Through the Gate" programme which is supposed to see Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) working with local prisons to get inmates ready for release. Tania said that while the principle of greater support for those leaving prison was sound, the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) had failed to define what they wanted from the service leading to CRCs engaging in tick-box

exercises. In her concluding remarks, Tania called for an independent review into the entire prisons and probation system with a view to developing a long-term programme of reform which focused on a more holistic approach with joined up working between the two services, as well as with health services and local government.

The next guest speaker was David Lammy MP who gave evidence on the review carried out into systematic biases against people from BAME communities in the criminal justice system. David began by noting that a bias against people from BAME backgrounds existed at every stage of the justice system, including the use of police power such as stop and search, the likelihood of being arrested, the quality of legal advice received when in custody, the severity of sentencing, treatment received when in prison, and the level of support received from probation. The cumulative effect of these biases throughout the criminal justice system had the potential to permanently hinder a person's ability to rehabilitate and turn their life around. As such, David felt a key recommendation from his review was to institute a process to allow criminal records to be sealed, with a presumption to look favourably on those who committed crimes either as children or young adults. David's review also highlighted the lack of diversity in the judiciary, despite a number of BAME QCs from which to select. He suggested that talented individuals should receive more support at an early stage in their careers to gain the experience needed to progress to the judiciary and also that systems should be put in place to fast-track BAME lawyers working across the public sector to become judges.

The Justice and Home Affairs Commission also held a joint meeting with the International Commission on immigration and Brexit in May. Shadow Brexit minister Paul Blomfield MP updated Members on the Parliamentary progress of the EU (Withdrawal) Bill and other Brexit-related legislation. Afzal Khan MP, Shadow Minister for Immigration, updated the Commission on the damaging effects of the Government's immigration policy on the public sector, with growing vacancies in the health service. Commission members were then joined by a panel of four guest speakers who presented evidence to the joint meeting and fielded questions from NPF Representatives. The CBI's Matthew Percival said that the most important part of building a post-Brexit immigration system was building a long-

term system which commands public confidence, and that is both open and controlled. Jonathan Portes from King's College London noted that Brexit has already had an impact on immigration, with net migration from the EU to the UK peaking at around the time of the referendum, and that fewer EU citizens are now coming to live here. TUC's Rosa Crawford highlighted the importance of immigration policy not being used as a scapegoat for failures in domestic policy, and called for radical investment in skills policy. Universities UK's Dan Hurley highlighted Britain's position as a global leader in third level education and research. For this to continue, Dan felt it was crucial that the UK maintained access to key EU programmes.

The next evidence-gathering sessions were held at the June meeting. The Commission heard from Louis Reynolds, Policy and Research Manager at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, on counter-extremism. On Prevent, Louis said improvements needed to be made, however, he did not think it should be scrapped altogether. He said a key consideration was to take a broad social view, noting that radicalisation of any form thrives in areas where community cohesion is low. Those most at risk were people who had issues with their sense of identity and belonging. Louis felt efforts at improving community cohesion had been securitized under Prevent, and that a possible solution would be to give a greater role to the Ministry of Housing, Communities, and Local Government (MHCLG) and local authorities in carrying out counter-extremism work that is separate from Prevent in areas with poor community relations. He added that more resources were needed, as well as a better working relationship between local authorities and the police/security services, however another factor to be considered was the level of funding for community cohesion work that currently came from the EU and what would happen following Brexit. Finally, Louis pointed out that the current poor conditions in prisons support radicalisation. Efforts to de-radicalise individual prisoners can be successful but ultimately, if the staff, resources, and conditions are not in place, radicalisation will continue.

For the evidence session on alternatives to custody, the Commission heard from Phil Bowen, Director at the Centre for Justice Innovation (CJI). Phil identified police diversion programmes as a highly effective

programme used in the youth justice sector, which he felt could be extended to adult offenders. Phil said research the CJI carried out had shown that in England and Wales there had been a sharp decline from 2011 onwards, however, this was not case in Scotland and Northern Ireland. He said that the relationship between the courts, judges, and probation providers had deteriorated since the introduction of the Government's Transforming Rehabilitation reforms and their part-privatisation of probation. Phil thought that if both CRCs and the National Probation Service (NPS) improved their performance in sending pre-sentencing reports to court, that could help to increase confidence in giving community sentences. More broadly, Phil said there was much greater scope for courts to get more involved in the lives of the people who appear before them. He noted the success of the problem-solving court model, whereby people with specific problems that are driving their offending are placed in programmes to help deal with the root-causes of their criminal behaviour rather than being sent to prison. Phil thought there had been too much focus on structures and not enough on what was best practice. He said the model used by Youth Offending Teams had been very successful and should be replicated for adult offenders with a link to police forces. The Shadow Justice Secretary noted that there were several different models of public ownership to consider, and that the shadow team was carrying out work on how and when to take probation back into public ownership. Richard Burgon MP concluded by saying that it was crucial to develop a robust narrative around rehabilitation so it was not seen as a soft option – namely, that turning lives around will protect communities.

The Commission held its final meeting before Annual Conference in July. Members considered a draft of the Justice and Home Affairs section of the Annual Report which had been circulated in advance of the meeting. The Commission was then updated by Hardyal Dhindsa, PCC for Derbyshire and Association of Police and Crime Commissioners Lead on Alcohol & Substance Misuse, on issues surrounding the debate on drugs policy. Hardyal said that while views differed on the way forward, it was clear that an approach that focuses exclusively or primarily on enforcement will not succeed. He noted that the Government had released an updated drugs strategy last year, but added that there was little new in it, other than the creation of an inter-departmental group designed

to coordinate action between departments and agencies tasked with reducing the harm from drug use. He pointed out that there were a wide range of organisations across the public sector that had to act together to develop a successful drugs policy, but at the moment policy implementation is not joined-up and he felt PCCs had an important role to play at a local level to ensure better coordination. The Commission then had a discussion on electoral reform, noting that there are a number of different potential voting systems to consider and that the Constitutional Convention promised in the manifesto was the best forum for such deliberations. Members then considered a number of submissions received on the issue of transgender prisoners. Finally, the Commission discussed Brexit and security in light of recent pronouncements from the European Commission on how the red lines set out by the Government will mean diminished cooperation with EU agencies and reduced access to European law enforcement databases.

## Consultation: Protecting our Communities and Turning Lives Around

Labour believes we should both ensure people are held to account for the harm they have caused, but also that they have a genuine chance to rehabilitate and reintegrate into law-abiding society. However, with prisons seeing significant reductions in funding in recent years and the probation services having undergone a major structural overhaul, this has become increasingly difficult. As a consequence, in seeking to protect communities and turn lives around, this year the Justice and Home Affairs Policy Commission sought to develop new strategies for effective prison and probation reform. Building upon commitments made in the manifesto, the Commission also investigated how to eliminate institutional biases against BAME communities within the criminal justice system, and consulted on how to reformulate counter-extremism strategy in order to address this evolving threat in a way that is effective and commands the support of all communities. Over the course of the consultation, we benefitted from expert evidence from guests speakers from the Prison Officers Association (POA); the National Association of Probation Officers (Napo); the Centre for Justice Innovation (CJI); the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD); and David Lammy MP, who all came to speak to our Commission in person. We were also thankful for the thoughtful and insightful written evidence we received from third sector organisations, trade unions, CLPs, party members and members of the public via the Labour Policy Forum website. The Commission would like to thank all those who took time to submit evidence to our consultation this year.

### Prisons, probation and sentencing

The prison and probation system should protect communities from dangerous offenders, whilst also ensuring that those who face criminal sanction have a real opportunity for rehabilitation. However, it is clear from submissions received over the course of the consultation that the ability to protect society and rehabilitate offenders have been seriously undermined in recent years. In May, the POA gave evidence to the Justice and Home Affairs

Commission, setting out how the prison system was in a state of crisis, fuelled by overcrowding, understaffing, and a drugs epidemic. They said that while levels of self-harm and suicide had begun to reduce, they had still reached record levels in recent times. Meanwhile, record levels of violence showed no signs of abating, with around 26 attacks on officers and 40 on prisoners every single day. The appalling conditions in many of Britain's prison were also highlighted through submissions.

*“Growing drug use and lawlessness in prisons, gang culture, religious extremism, poor quality educational programmes, low paid staff, inadequate training in regards to drug counselling and dealing with matters in relation to mental health.”*

**High Peak CLP**

The POA agreed that in order to truly offer someone the chance to rehabilitate, staff need to be trained on how to spot people with issues such as drug abuse and mental health problems. They added that a certain baseline number of staff are required if rehabilitation is to take place and noted that while there has been a drive to hire more frontline staff in the last two years, there are still thousands fewer staff than in 2010 and that this recruitment drive was being undermined by very high leaving rates due to the continued poor working conditions in most prisons. This was a point made in submissions received by party members as well.

*“The drop-out rate of new recruits to the prison service is such that the shortage is not being addressed.”*

**Evelyn, South East**

Concern at the levels of private sector involvement in the prison and probation service was a constant theme throughout this year's consultation. Napo shared with the Commission their experiences of probation following the part-privatisation of the service. We heard how around 70 per cent of probation work was now carried out by the private sector following the Government's Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) programme and that, halfway through their contract period, Community

Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) have had to be bailed out with millions more in payments from the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) than are contractually required just to keep them afloat. Napo also highlighted the failure of the “Through the Gate” programme which is supposed to see CRCs working with local prisons to get inmates ready for release. Unison felt that communities, service users and probation staff are all being put at risk because of the systemic failure of the TR reforms. The POA added that prison staff used to be able to rely on close cooperation with the National Probation Service (NPS), ensuring continuity between prisons and probation, but since the part-privatisation that working relationship has been lost with CRCs.

Submissions received from CLPs and through the Labour Policy Forum website also made clear the strength of feeling on this subject.

*“The next Labour Government must take back the private prisons and the probation service into the nationally run public service.”*

**Astley & Buckshaw, Euxton North & Euxton South CLP**

*“The next Labour Government should ensure that every part of the criminal justice system is in the public sector, administered by public employees, with no part in private hands.”*

**Brighton Pavilion CLP**

*“The next Labour Government should stop the back door privatization of the prison system and ensure that all services are run by the state.”*

**Burnley CLP**

*“No private sector investment in Prisons or probation.”*

**Delyn CLP**

*“The privatisation of services should be halted they are at present run for profit with a lack of accountability. Criminal Justice provision including the prison service should be run by the public for the public in order to create a society we want.”*

**Weaver Vale CLP**

Many submissions focused on the moral aspect of not making a profit from depriving a human being of their liberty, however, the practical benefits of bringing prisons and probations back into public control were also highlighted. Unite noted how bringing services back in-house would make it easier to integrate it with wider public services such as mental health services. Submissions made clear that there is also an important role for not for profit and charities supporting people who are leaving prison to reduce reoffending.

*“Charities and third sector bodies may have a role to play inside prison and following release in areas like building up literacy and numeracy skills and securing housing/employment opportunities. But the business of incarceration – prison officers and management of prisons should be for the state and for the state alone.”*

**Leeds West CLP**

However, Napo noted that while it had been expected that charities and voluntary bodies would work closely with CRCs to help rehabilitate offenders, this has not happened. Similarly, David Lammy noted that in theory the creation of CRCs, and the potential for closer working with charities and third sector organisations, could have helped meet specific needs of different BAME groups. However, the expected subcontracting to those with specialist expertise within privatised probation has not materialised to the extent originally anticipated.

In terms of how privatised services can be taken back into public control, Unite felt that Labour should pursue all options, from ending early those contracts that are not delivering to their contractual terms, as well as taking back in-house contracts that are due to end. Unite suggested looking to examples within other sectors of how this would be possible, particularly within local authorities.

*“We agree with the dissolution of PFI contracts and wholeheartedly endorse taking the prison and probation services back into public hands.”*

**Banbury CLP**

We asked how the next Labour Government could ensure a coordinated approach to rehabilitation and what are the key considerations when designing a support package for ex-offenders. The POA thought too little was done to teach offenders the life skills that would help them cope upon release, such as basic financial management, cooking, cleaning, and accessing public services. They highly recommended the approach taken at HMP Askham Grange, which has a very low reoffending rate.

The role of education in helping to rehabilitate prisoners and turn people's lives around featured prominently in submissions received. The Prisoners' Learning Alliance pointed to research by the MoJ and Department for Education (DfE) which demonstrated that prisoners who take any form of learning activity have a significantly lower reoffending rate on release from prison than their peers.

*"If we want to achieve greater reductions in reoffending, it is therefore vital we ensure prisoners get access to varied and high-quality, including higher-level, learning opportunities in custody and on release on temporary licence (ROTL), as well as continued support through-the-gate to build on and progress their learning."*

**Prisoners' Learning Alliance**

*"There should be greater investment in offender education to improve the employability of offenders, and that probation should include focus on improving offender self-esteem."*

**Walthamstow CLP**

In addition, we heard how lack of housing can drive offending and that it was crucial for rehabilitation that ex-offenders are not released into homelessness.

*"We should be tackling homelessness. Some people are committing crimes just to get a bed for the night."*

**Sittingbourne and Sheppey CLP**

*"Poor social conditions and poor housing lead to more crime, and must be addressed".*

**Bracknell CLP**

Difficulty in finding employment was also identified as a serious impediment to rehabilitation. The charity Unlock thought the Government should do more to recognise and champion those employers that are already employing people with convictions. They suggested piloting the reduction of National Insurance contributions for those employers who actively employ people leaving prison and those on probation.

In his evidence to the Commission, David Lammy told us that he felt a key recommendation from his review was that there should be a process to allow criminal records to be sealed, with a presumption to look favourably on those who committed crimes either as children or young adults. He pointed to testimony he received from officers working the Metropolitan Police Service's Trident anti-gang unit who said they often dealt with men in their mid-to-late twenties who clearly wanted to turn away from crime but who, due to lack of employability, end up being trapped in gang culture. At regional NPF events, Commission members also heard how the law on joint enterprise has been used disproportionately on men from a BAME background. In addition, the decades-long misinterpretation of this law has produced miscarriages of justice, as seen with the first quashed murder conviction in April this year. Victims, their families and the wider public must have faith in our justice system, and to achieve that our justice system must deliver certainty. In order that the law around joint enterprise is interpreted clearly and that it is not applied unfairly to people because of their ethnicity, a full review into its operation should be carried out.

Through submissions we saw how the treatment of women offenders is an area of particular concern for CLPs and party members. It was noted that first-time female offenders are sentenced more severely than male equivalents.

*“Members noted concerns over the disproportionate numbers of women imprisoned for first time minor offences and would like to see a strategy to help protect the mental health of female prisoners.”*

**Gainsborough CLP**

David Lammy told us that while this was a problem for women offenders in general, it was especially pronounced for black and Muslim women, with the role that men have played in encouraging their offending often overlooked. Through submissions it was suggested that greater consideration be given in sentencing to issues such as the effect on any children and whether the offender is a danger to the public.

*“More flexible sentencing particularly with consideration of responsibilities for child care and general access to children”*

**Sarah, Eastern Region**

*“Too many prisoners – including almost all women prisoners – are serving short sentences which have little effect on rehabilitation, and usually the opposite, because of their disruptive effect on families, accommodation and employment – the three things that research has shown contributes most to effective resettlement and rehabilitation.”*

**Trish, South East**

The charity Women in Prison (WiP) suggested introducing a statutory presumption against short sentences, as has happened in Scotland. Other suggestions included part-time sentencing, allowing offenders to maintain family and employment links.

*“For non-violent crimes perhaps part-time sentences over longer periods to allow people to stay in work. Go into prison on Friday evenings - let out on Mondays.”*

**David, South East**

WiP felt the key to reducing offending lies in enabling people to address issues such as mental ill-health, substance misuse, homelessness, poverty, and experience of trauma and abuse

which, to ensure long-term change, can only be addressed in a community setting. They called for a new probation model which is person-centred, and which is understanding and responsive to the barriers of resettlement, and WiP thought that the women’s cohort (15 per cent of total probation caseload) provides an opportunity for testing this new model. Napo noted that women were effectively excluded from TR as they made up such a small proportion of the overall population. They said the private providers were unwilling to invest the money needed for target services for women offenders, and added that there were also serious problems with women receiving disproportionate sentences when compared to men who have committed the same offence.

The Commission also sought evidence on what role restorative justice and community sentencing could play in taking people out of a cycle of reoffending. The Restorative Justice Council (RJC) pointed to the success in the youth justice sector of restorative justice in helping to divert young people from the justice system. Although restorative justice has become a part of the work of most Youth Offending Teams in England and Wales, the RJC told us that it is sometimes seen as an add-on to their core work of rehabilitating young people. Labour’s Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) for Cleveland, Barry Copping, told us how his office runs a restorative justice service in partnership with the Prison & Probation Service, local councils and the Victim Care & Advice Service, consisting of a multi-agency team of local trained practitioners. He added that the initiative provides an opportunity for the victim of crime to meet the person who has offended against them and can provide a positive step to repairing the harm that they have experienced. The CJI noted that the use of community sentences had fallen sharply in England and Wales since 2011, but not in Scotland and Northern Ireland. They felt this had to do with a breakdown in the relationship between courts, judges, and probation providers and while the Government’s Transforming Rehabilitation reforms (TR) had made things worse, there were longer-term problems as well. TR was thought to be too focused on structures, with not enough emphasis on good practice.

Building on the question of the role of restorative justice, submissions received also pointed to the successes seen in diversionary measures carried out by the police at point of arrest, such as

community resolutions, instead of formal outcomes such as cautions and low-level court convictions. The charity Unlock felt that such an approach would minimise the numbers of people affected by the lifelong stigma of a formal criminal record, which is what flows from a caution or conviction. WiP agreed that Police Diversion Programmes can be highly effective, but they argued the key to success is the ability of the police to be able to divert people to independent support services which can facilitate longer-term engagement. The CJI felt that “point-of-arrest” diversion in the youth justice system was particularly beneficial, as it allows children to “age out of crime”. The work of Youth Offending Teams was also praised, and the CJI suggested this model should be replicated for adult offenders. Except for those who have committed the most serious of crimes, the Labour Group of PCCs told us we should consider if young offenders who have pled guilty at court can be referred back to youth offending panels for more appropriate sanction.

Improving accountability was seen to be crucial to improving the support and monitoring of ex-offenders.

*“Outsourced providers don’t have enough democratic accountability and cannot evidence better competence.”*

**Weaver Vale CLP**

*“Key concerns were the lack of accountability of the private sector delivering services and their short-term and target-lead approach to people with complex lives and long-term need of support”*

**Stoke-on-Trent North CLP**

David Lammy told us that while privatised probation companies did have theoretical obligations to tailor support to people from ethnic minority backgrounds, in reality the ability to hold CRCs to account for failure to achieve BAME-specific outcomes was very limited.

When considering where this accountability function should lie, submissions received suggested a preference for this to take place at a local rather than national level.

*“Probation to be brought under local democratic control”.*

**Bournemouth East CLP**

Barry Coppinger, the PCC for Cleveland, and Ron Hogg, the Police, Crime and Victims Commissioner for Durham, told us they believed greater local oversight of, and involvement in, probation contracts would support the work of rehabilitative services more effectively than current arrangements. Unison called for the return of political and managerial control of probation to a local level again. Once the privatised CRC contracts come to an end in 2022, or sooner if the existing CRC contracts are terminated, the CRCs should be returned initially to public ownership. Unison thought that Police and Crime Commissioners were well-placed to provide the democratic scrutiny for probation, as the senior elected Criminal Justice Service representatives in each local police force area. The CJI also thought that probation providers have a closer working relationship with the police than with prisons and that PCCs oversight might be a way to return all offender management back to the public sector. The charity the Howard League for Penal Reform believed that probation service provision under TR lacked a national strategic focus, while also creating a two-tier system due to an artificial split between NPS and CRCs. They recommended the creation of a new Community Justice Agency, separate from the Prison Service, to provide strategic leadership, promote best practice, and ensure a level of consistency in local service delivery. Local service delivery would then be provided by Community Justice Partnerships consisting of representatives from the police, local authorities, voluntary groups, members of the community, sentencers, health boards and regional prison management.

Looking at best practice in other penal systems was also suggested in a number of submissions.

*“Review of Norway and Dutch prison system and what can be applied to the UK.”*

**Daniel, via [policyforum.labour.org.uk](https://policyforum.labour.org.uk)**

## Justice and Home Affairs

In particular, the Norwegian prison system was highlighted as one from which lessons could be learned both in terms of offender management, but also in regard to the size of prisons.

*“developing smaller, rural ‘prison villages’ on the Norway model where prisoners would be expected to cook and clean their room for themselves, alongside working, studying and/or undertaking rehabilitation/mental health support.”*

**Johnny, South East**

*“The Norway model of smaller, rural prison villages produces the lowest reoffending rates in Europe; prisoners cook and clean for themselves, work and get paid, and prison officers have a supportive role. A trial of this, at the least, is worth pursuing.”*

**Newbury CLP**

*“Abolish mega prisons and have small ones for worst offenders.”*

**Delyn CLP**

In addition, submissions from Wales suggested learning from the approach taken by the Welsh Government in encouraging all public bodies (including within the justice system) to take a longer-term view of the effects of their policy decisions.

*“The prison service should be re-organised in keeping with the Welfare of Future Generations Act with regard to the fulfilment of the needs of offenders.”*

**Cardiff North CLP**

The charity Clinks told us about their work as part of the Making Every Adult Matters Coalition which advocates for improved coordination of services for people with multiple needs who face a combination of problems including homelessness, substance abuse, and mental ill health.

Finally, if the prison and probation system is to function in a way that commands public confidence, it is crucial that lessons are learned from past mistakes. However, it became all too clear over the course of our consultation that this is not happening at the moment.

*“There have been several scathing reports from the Inspector of Prisons which the government has failed to act on.”*

**Bracknell CLP**

We asked what could be done to ensure a more transparent and constructive approach to inquests. Better funding and staffing of inquests, as well as introducing a statutory presumption in favour of openness were suggested.

*“Properly funded, resourced and staffed inquest provisions that also speed up the process and do so in the context of a prison service that is likewise properly funded, so that it is not defensive of admitting when it has made mistakes. Change laws so that there is a general policy that makes all decisions properly open to public scrutiny unless there are specific reasons for not doing so (either generally or in specific cases), rather than the assumption being that proceedings are better kept behind closed doors.”*

**Sarah, Eastern Region**

Better support for bereaved families was also identified as a key factor.

*“Ensure Legal Aid is available to families of deceased persons.”*

**Brighton Pavilion CLP**

The Commission notes that, despite terminating the CRCs' contracts two years early and having to bail these private providers out with more than half a billion of taxpayers' money, the Government appear to be determined to press on with their failed model of privatised probation. As such, the Commission is pleased that Lord Ramsbotham has agreed to conduct a review that will outline how to return all of the probation service to the public sector under the next Labour government.

### Community relations

It is crucial that the justice system works in the interests of all communities. That is why Labour pledged to work to eliminate institutional biases against BAME communities in our 2017 manifesto. Submissions received this year highlighted the necessity of this commitment.

*"We cannot afford to have communities living in disharmony. A system that is visibly fair to all is essential. BAME communities, the young in particular, seem to be given short shrift by the justice system."*

**Newbury CLP**

*"Tackling unconscious bias within the legal profession and judiciary, as well as institutional racism throughout the justice system, is essential if we are to end the over-representation of people from ethnic minorities in our prisons and their under-representation on 'the Bench'."*

**Brighton Pavilion CLP**

The Commission was fortunate to have David Lammy come and give evidence on the review he carried out into the treatment of BAME people in the criminal justice system. David told us that a bias existed at every stage of the justice system, including the use of police power such as stop and search, the likelihood of being arrested, the quality of legal advice received when in custody, the severity of sentencing, treatment received when in prison, and the level of support received from probation. He added that the cumulative effect of these biases throughout the criminal justice system has the potential to permanently hinder a person's ability to rehabilitate and turn their life around. Submissions from members highlighted ongoing concerns around stop and search in particular, and the importance that the use of such powers is intelligence-led and proportionate.

*"Stop and search has to be proportionate and done without any racial profiling or institutional bias. Intelligence led policing needs to have the confidence of the public to be successful."*

**Trish, South**

*"There was agreement that stop and search laws are in need of reform. CLP members believe that Section 60 powers in particular need to be much more clearly specified, and should require greater justification to be used and should be monitored more carefully."*

**Walthamstow CLP**

David Lammy noted that while much of the discrimination within the criminal justice system was relatively well-known, before he carried out his review there had been less focus on what happened in court. He found evidence that BAME defendants were less likely to receive the best advice from their counsel in terms of minimising any sanction/sentence imposed. He added that this was not limited to BAME communities, however, noting that those from a Traveller background consistently received the worst legal advice and as a consequence had practically no chance of being bailed following arrest. David suggested that talented individuals should receive more support at an early stage in their careers to gain the experience needed to progress to the judiciary. Submissions received made clear that improving workforce diversity was seen as an important step in removing these biases from the system.

*"Better representation of BAME communities in legal professions and the judiciary should probably start with better engagement at school level."*

**Burnley CLP**

*"There exists a narrow spectrum of people who sit at the highest levels of the justice system. (Older, white men who have attended public schools), yet the prisons are populated by the opposite end of the socio-economic spectrum. Representatives need to be drawn from a more diverse pool with an understanding of how the vast majority of people actually live."*

**Weaver Vale CLP**

*"Judges and Barristers are insufficiently diverse, we require measures to ensure equal opportunity of access. We demand public funding of training, and apprenticeships."*

**Lewisham Deptford CLP**

In addition to clients being stereotyped, David's review found many BAME defendants did not trust advice they received from their legal representative to plead guilty in order to receive a reduced sentence, and also that many felt they would receive a fairer hearing at the Crown Court than from magistrates, despite the higher sentencing powers of the former. To help mitigate this, David

suggested adopting a similar system of pleading to that of New Zealand where, in addition to “guilty” and “not guilty”, there is a third option of “not contested” for the first or second offence. This option includes taking action to tackle the root causes of the offending behaviour, such as drug treatment, skills training, or access to mental health services.

Labour must now build on the work of the Lammy Review and the commitment in our manifesto to ensure that the justice system is more representative of modern society so that people from all backgrounds are treated fairly and with respect.

### Counter-extremism

A string of attacks in Britain over the past year demonstrate that terrorism and extremist ideology pose a serious and growing threat to community safety. Submissions received throughout the consultation made clear that current counter-extremism strategy does not command the support of all communities.

*“We should review the Prevent strategy by consulting the public and communities. We need to tackle the toxic atmosphere stoked up by much of the press and media (e.g. headlines and articles on anti-refugee, asylum seekers, negativity around Muslims whilst ignoring mainstream British Muslim opinion about jihadists) which sours community relations and makes minority communities suspicious of attempts to tackle terrorism.”*

**Trish, South East**

*“The CLP believes that the current counter-terrorism strategy is dividing communities and is therefore counter-productive and insensitive. Austerity cuts have led to decreased funding for all manner of community initiatives and projects, which has further served to isolate and alienate communities.”*

**Gainsborough CLP**

*“Clear messages should be made by the UK Government that the PREVENT strategy become no longer seen as targeting particular ethnic or religious views.”*

**Geraint, South West**

We heard evidence from the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD), who told us that they felt Prevent has some strategic flaws inbuilt and that it needed to be improved, but not scrapped. They felt Prevent as it currently operates does not take enough account of the role of women in radicalisation, noting that they made up around a third of the people who returned from ISIS-controlled Iraq and Syria but only a tenth of referrals to the Channel programme. The ISD also felt community cohesion (or lack thereof) was a hugely important driving factor in radicalisation, however this element had been securitized within Prevent and that a separate strand of work operating from the Ministry for House, Communities, and Local Government (MHCLG) would commend more confidence. Submissions received also reflected a desire for a more communitarian approach.

*“Change from attempts to turn schools, parents, religious leaders, etc. into policeman to a policy that supports groups that may include disaffected members of society.”*

**Ipswich CLP**

*“Regular meetings between community/faith leaders and Police and Crime Commissioners.”*

**High Peak CLP**

The role of social media in radicalisation was highlighted through both submissions and expert evidence. The ISD told us that policy-makers often lack a nuanced understanding of the digital world and therefore have unrealistic solutions. For instance, taking material down within 24 hours may seem effective at first, but content can be disseminated across the internet within a day making the removal of the source material ineffective. Submissions raised further concerns around freedom of speech.

*“Control of internet output is likely to be difficult and may invoke complaints re censorship and right to free speech.”*

**Newbury CLP**

Unite told us there has been an emboldening of far right extremism and rises in hate crime and violence, including the rise in prominence of far-right street protest led by the English Defence League, Football Lads' Alliance and others that deliberately target and intimidate minority communities. The ISD said it was concerned about the high levels of international cooperation between far-right groups. They argued that such groups feed off a misplaced sense of victimhood.

From the evidence received, it is clear that for counter-extremism policy to succeed it must command the confidence of the public at large, which is not the case at the moment. The Commission believes the current counter-extremism strategy needs to be reformulated with a stronger focus on community cohesion, with a more nuanced understanding of the different forms of extremism and the type of people who are particularly susceptible to radicalisation, and with the appropriate resources available to adequately support a more holistic approach.

## Other Issues

### Drugs

A number of recent cases have highlighted the inadequacy of current drugs policy. Children have been put at risk and experienced extraordinary suffering because the Government delayed granting cannabis oil licences for their medical treatment. The Commission welcomes the announcement that Labour in government will allow the legal prescription of cannabis oil for medical purposes. However, submissions received throughout the year highlighted the failure of the Government's approach more generally and emphasised the need for a wider review of drug policy. The Commission heard how cash-strapped local authorities have been forced to reduce the amount they spend on drug and alcohol treatment, leading to a fall in the number of people accessing such services which has coincided with a disturbing increase in the number of deaths from overdoses. Furthermore, evidence considered throughout the year demonstrated how the growing market for illicit narcotics has helped to fuel the current increase in violent crime. Rival organised crime gangs are using extreme violence to protect their operations, while vulnerable teenagers are being trafficked from big cities to smaller towns by organised criminals in order to open up new drug markets. The Commission believes the overriding priority of any government should be preserving the life and well-being of its citizens and welcomes the commitment to hold a review of drugs policy to ensure the next Labour government always acts with compassion.

### Policing and crime

Sadly over the last year, serious violence crime has continued to rise, bringing misery to communities across the country. In April, Jeremy Corbyn hosted a roundtable on violent offending and set out how Labour's approach to tackling this crisis would be shaped by those with first hand experiences of working on the front line. This has been reflected in our Commission's work this year. Submissions received have shown how CLPs and Party Members feel Labour's manifesto commitment to ending damaging Tory cuts to police numbers and putting more officers on our streets is essential,

but only one part of the solution. We heard there was a need to empower local communities to address the causes of violent crime, with resources provided and the support of public services. This includes the need to reinvest in youth work, health services and local education services, as well as youth justice.

The Commission is concerned that reductions in Government funding have seen officer numbers at the Metropolitan Police Service fall below 30,000 for the first time in 15 years. However, the Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, has once again demonstrated Labour's commitment to investing in public safety by making extra funding available to put 1,000 more officers on the frontline, as well as setting up the Young Londoners Fund to help young people at risk of being caught up in crime. Evidence received from the Labour Group of PCCs told us that public services should collaborate to ensure that "cradle to grave" management processes are put in place to reduce demand on neighbourhood policing and ensure that people receive the right support. Labour PCCs are already using such collaboration to enhance preventative action. For example, Safer Gwent is a partnership between Gwent Police, five local authorities, a range of third sector organisations and the Welsh Government acting together to improve public safety.

In Merseyside, a tri-force collaboration programme has led to better sharing good practice, and seen a consequent raising of service standards. Greater Manchester Police's Integrated Custody Healthcare and Wider Liaison & Diversion Service acts to ensure that vulnerability is identified at the earliest opportunity, such as the custody suite, and that appropriate liaison and referral into health services can take place, the Northumbria Appropriate Adults Scheme is a collaboration between Northumbria Police and Sunderland University, providing students to volunteer to safeguard the welfare and rights, and ensure the effective participation of, children and vulnerable adults detained or interviewed by police. In Derbyshire, a mental health triage service works to support those with mental health issues who come into contact with the criminal justice system as a victim or an offender, to ensure that they receive the right support. The four force areas in Yorkshire and the Humber areas have come together to set up a Sexual Assault Referral Centre which provides one service to victims of rape and sexual assault across the region.

The Commission notes that Police Scotland's Glasgow Violence Reduction Unit has had real success in tackling violent crime by implementing an integrated approach, where the police have worked with education, health and other public services. Over the course of the year, the Commission received submissions highlighting how the Conservative Government's wider agenda of austerity has helped to create the conditions for crime to thrive. There is need to look at how early years, family life, education policies and toxic cultures contribute to young people becoming involved in violent crime.

We welcome the ongoing development of a National Education Service which will increase opportunities for young people, helping to tackle these underlying problems. The Commission recognises the role of evidence-based stop and search, undertaken by officers embedded in communities, where they can build close relationships and operate on an intelligence-led basis. It is clear that the erosion of neighbourhood policing over the last eight years has meant many forces lack the capacity to develop these crucial relationships.

### **Northern Ireland and abortion**

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Good Friday Agreement. The Commission is proud of the role our party played in this historic agreement and believes the reinstatement of power-sharing arrangements is the best way to ensure peace and stability for the people of Northern Ireland. In particular, the recent debate around abortion in Northern Ireland, as well as the result of the referendum on Article 8 of the Constitution of the Republic of Ireland, once again demonstrates the need for a fully operational power-sharing Executive at Stormont to govern in the country's best interests. It is imperative that women in Northern Ireland have access to safe and legal abortion services and the Commission commends the work done to ensure Northern Irish women now have access to NHS abortions in England. However, this cannot be a substitute for a solution which works within Northern Ireland. All parties must now come together in the interest of maintaining the integrity of the devolved institutions and facing up to the challenges ahead for Northern Ireland. Submissions received show how the treatment of women in Northern Ireland

also raises questions about abortion in the rest of the UK. The Commission welcomes the campaign to decriminalise abortion in the UK as a whole, and notes that the forthcoming domestic violence bill presents an opportunity to adopt a modern medical approach to abortion across the UK, including in Northern Ireland, which could put women's safety at the heart of future legislation. The Commission also supports the efforts to promote legislation to enable councils to establish exclusion zones for protests against abortion outside clinics.

### **Immigration**

Seventy years ago, the HMT Empire Windrush arrived at Tilbury Docks in Essex. This is a time to celebrate the contribution of all those who undertook the long journey from the Caribbean to make this country their home. That ship gave its name to a generation of people who helped to rebuild post-war Britain. However, over the year we have heard how many of the Windrush Generation have been left destitute by the systematic indifference of the Home Office and the Conservatives' hostile environment policy. People with serious illnesses have been refused medical treatment; some have been denied benefits they are entitled to; others have been made homeless; while others still lost their jobs when an employer insisted on documentation they had never had. British people with every right to be here have been unlawfully locked up in immigration detention centres; others refused entry back into this country after going to the Caribbean for a holiday. And some have been deported. The Commission believes the Government's response has been totally inadequate, dragging its feet on revealing the true scale of the problem, failing to acknowledge the systematic nature of this scandal, and presiding over unacceptable delays in rectifying the serious harm and misery their policies have caused.

This scandal should also serve as an opportunity for reflection on immigration policy more widely. Submissions received by the Commission throughout the year have demonstrated that it is not only the Windrush Generation who have suffered under the Conservatives' dehumanising hostile environment. We have heard how this cynical policy now covers nearly every area of life, from schools and universities to employers, banks,

state agencies and landlords. The Commission agrees that the hostile environment was not the product of serious analysis of economic or social need, but rather a politically motivated attempt at dividing communities and setting people against one another. We welcome the Shadow Home Secretary's pledge to end the hostile environment, overhaul the UK's detention system and invest savings into services for survivors of slavery, trafficking, and domestic violence.

This commitment to a humane immigration policy, with fair rules and reasonable management of migration, is given added significance within the context of Britain preparing to leave the EU. The Justice and Home Affairs Commission was pleased to hold a joint meeting with our colleagues in the International Commission on post-Brexit immigration policy. We heard from the TUC how many EU nationals feel insecure about their future in this country and look towards Labour for solidarity and a fight for their rights. The CBI told us that any system of checking a person's status by a potential employer should be simple, quick, and unobtrusive. Professor Jonathan Portes pointed out that as a country we cannot pick and choose the highest skilled migrants as there is decision-making on both sides – by the potential migrant and host country – and he reiterated that both real and perceived control is needed over the post-Brexit immigration system. Universities UK cautioned that any new immigration system must protect the pipeline from study to work in the UK, and continue to recruit PhD-level staff from across the EU. We also heard how there are serious concerns about the Home Office's ability to process over three million EU nationals within a two-year period. The Commission notes the apparent change of approach in the Government's EU Settled Status Scheme, with a presumption to grant settled status and a wider range of acceptable evidence of proof of residence. However, given the Government's previous attempts to use EU nationals as a bargaining chip, the toxic culture they have engendered at the Home Office, and the questions around capacity within the department, the Commission remains sceptical about this supposed change of heart. We believe our party's commitment to a fair and compassionate immigration system, coupled with our tradition of international solidarity, will serve well in developing a post-Brexit migration policy that commands the confidence of people both here and in Europe.

### **Brexit and security cooperation**

Brexit has featured prominently in the work of the Commission since the Referendum, reaching as it does every aspect of society. The Commission notes with serious concern warnings from the European Commission that the Government's reckless and ideological approach to the Brexit negotiations could see Britain lose access to crucial security cooperation arrangements, such as participation in the European Arrest Warrant, access to European databases, or membership of decision-making boards in agencies such as Europol or Eurojust. The Commission believes this cooperation is crucial and should not be undermined by artificial red lines. Labour's pragmatic approach to future cooperation highlights our party's commitment to maintaining and prioritising the safety and security of the British people.

### **Justice**

Once again, this year submissions received by the Commission have highlighted how access to justice is under assault through cuts to legal aid and advice services, as well as through continued court closures. The Commission welcomed the ruling by the Supreme Court that the introduction of employment tribunal fees was unlawful, but is nevertheless concerned with the slow pace of compensating people left out of pocket and the repeated threats by ministers to reintroduce a similar scheme. The withdrawal of legal advice in many housing cases has weakened tenants' rights, which can only benefit rogue landlords. The Commission was therefore very pleased with the announcement by the Shadow Justice team of a new policy to restore legal advice in all housing cases. At the Justice and Home Affairs Policy Seminar at Annual Conference 2017, the Shadow Justice Secretary Richard Burgon MP highlighted the final report from the Bach Commission. The Commission is pleased that Lord Bach's recommendations are being considered for inclusion in a future Labour manifesto. The crisis in legal aid goes much wider than just the civil legal aid sector. This Commission believes that when a person's liberty is at stake, no one should be left unrepresented in a court. However, that is exactly what the Government's changes to the payments for the criminal legal aid system have achieved. Despite the £15m extra funding for the Advocates

Graduated Fees Scheme announced by ministers, it still fundamentally changes the way in which criminal defence advocates are paid for carrying out publicly funded work in the Crown court and should be put on hold until the concerns of legal practitioners have been addressed. Since 2010 the Government has closed hundreds of courts and axed thousands of vital court staff. Now a substantial courts reform program is underway that will fundamentally change the way justice is delivered. The Commission is concerned that the courts closures and job losses associated with this programme will further diminish access to justice; that insufficient research has been carried out into the impacts of digital courts; and that there has not been proper public or parliamentary scrutiny.

The Commission is clear that the initial decision by the Parole Board to release John Worboys highlighted deep flaws in the Parole Board and underlined the need for the Government to take urgent measures to guarantee greater transparency in Parole Board decisions. But the failures in this case go much wider than the rules governing the Parole Board, which is why the Commission welcomes calls for a thorough end-to-end examination of the handling of this case, from the first reported attack to the police by a victim right through to the parole board hearings. This will be crucial in re-establishing public confidence in our justice system and ensuring that victims are not let down again.

The collapse of several trials recently due to failures in disclosure highlights the damage being done to our criminal justice system from chronic underinvestment. If police forces do not have the resources they need, they cannot recruit enough staff with the right training to cope with the proliferation of evidence they are expected to comb through as a result of technological changes. Moreover, at the same time as barristers are expected to examine increasingly large volumes of material recovered from mobile phones and laptops, the MoJ has modified the payment model to disincentivise taking on more complex cases. These disclosure failings can then lead to inappropriate charges, unnecessary delays in court proceedings and potential miscarriages of justice, further eroding public confidence in the justice system. The Commission notes the joint National Disclosure Improvement Plan launched by the National Police Chiefs' Council and Crown

Prosecution Service to support police and prosecutors with their disclosure duties. However, these failings have the potential to be repeated while the Government continues cutting resources going into the criminal justice system.

### **Electoral and constitutional reform**

Throughout the year, the Commission received many submissions relating to electoral reform and in particular calling for a more proportional voting system for Parliamentary and local government elections. However, the evidence we have considered this year reveals a wide variety of views and strong differences of opinion on this issue. It is also clear that changing the electoral system would constitute a fundamental change in how British democracy operates. Similarly, our Commission received submissions this year on the constitutional future of Britain, including on federalism and the future of Scotland within the UK, and suggestions on reform of the Upper Chamber. The Commission believes these are exactly the kinds of policy that should be fully investigated and debated through Labour's Constitutional Convention which will seek to address the growing democratic deficit across Britain. The Commission also received submissions and updates from the Shadow Cabinet Office team throughout the year on the Government's actions which put democratic engagement at risk, including the rushed introduction of Individual Electoral Registration, the Voter ID pilot, the use of the Lobbying Act to gag trade unions and campaigning organisations, and the upcoming Boundary Review which seeks to strengthen the power of the executive at the expense of backbenchers. The Commission calls on Labour to continue to oppose any measures that seek to suppress voting or to weaken the ability to hold the Government to account.

## Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2017/18 the Justice and Home Affairs Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Armed Forces
- Asylum
- Austerity
- BAME community relations
- Brexit
- Citizenship
- Community ownership
- Community rehabilitation
- Counter-Extremism
- Counter-Terrorism
- Crime
- Criminal records
- Cyber security
- Data Protection
- Disability equality
- Discrimination
- Drugs
- Early Years
- Electoral reform
- Employers
- England
- Equality
- Evidence-based policy
- Extremism
- Family Courts
- Fraud and financial crime
- Free movement
- Funding
- Gang culture
- GDPR
- Hate crime
- Homelessness
- House of Lords Reform
- Housing
- Human rights
- Immigration
- Internet freedom
- Justice
- Legal aid
- Legalising cannabis
- Local Government
- Mental health
- Migration
- National Legal Service
- Non-violent offenders
- Northern Ireland
- Parliamentary reform
- Parole & probation
- Penal System
- Police surveillance law
- Policing
- Policing in local communities
- Prisons
- Proportional Representation
- Public services
- Race equality
- Radicalisation
- Referenda
- Refugee crisis
- Refugees
- Rehabilitation
- Religion
- Reoffending rates
- Restorative justice
- Scotland
- Sentencing
- Short sentencing
- Social care
- Social media
- Sport
- Surveillance
- Tax
- Technology and science
- Terrorism
- Unaccompanied child refugees
- Voter engagement
- Voting age
- Wales
- Women in prison
- Women's rights
- Worker's rights
- Young offenders



**Work, Pensions  
and Equality**

## Membership 2017/18

### HM Opposition

Margaret Greenwood MP\*

Debbie Abrahams MP†

Dawn Butler MP

Jack Dromey MP†<sup>2</sup>

### NEC

Diana Holland\*

Ann Black

Shabana Mahmood MP

Rhea Wolfson

### CLPs and Regions

Christopher Bloore, *West Midlands Region*

Martyn Cook, *Scottish Labour Party*

Gerard Coyne, *West Midlands Region*

Dawn Elliott, *East Midlands Region*

Jack Falkingham, *Greater London Region*

Mary Foy, *Northern Region*

George Norman, *Yorkshire and Humber Region*

Skeena Rathor, *South West Region*

Jen Smith, *Welsh Labour Party*

Agnes Tolmie, *Scottish Policy Forum*

Steve Turner, *North West Region*

### Affiliates

David Allan, *Disability Labour*

Astrid Walker, *LGBT Labour*<sup>†3</sup>

Lisa Johnson, *GMB*

Susan Matthews, *Unite*

Liz Snape, *Unison*

Steve Turner, *Unite*

### Elected Reps

Steve Bullock

Anna Turley MP

Mary Honeyball MEP

Alicia Kennedy

\* Co-Convenor

† Formerly Co-convenor

†<sup>2</sup> Replaced Alex Cunningham MP

†<sup>3</sup> Replaced Rhys Goode

## Policy Development

The Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission is charged with developing Labour's policy on social security, poverty and equalities. In addition to this, over the course of the last year, the Commission has consulted specifically on in-work poverty and working-age inequalities building on policies set out in Labour's 2017 General Election manifesto.

The Commission began this year's policy cycle with a seminar held at Annual Conference 2017. The seminar was chaired by Diana Holland as co-convenor and included a panel of Debbie Abrahams MP, Margaret Greenwood MP and Alex Cunningham MP in discussion with Conference delegates. At the well-attended meeting, a large number of delegates made contributions on a wide range of issues that fall under the remit of the Policy Commission. Among those issues raised were changes to the State Pension age for women born in the 1950s, Trans rights, Job Centre closures, the take-up of tax credits, race equality, universal basic income and the Government's plans for extending in-work conditionality. Across all of the contributions made, there was a clear view of the need to continue challenging the Government's narrative based on austerity and to build a social security system that works for all.

During compositing at Annual Conference 2017, a motion was agreed on improving support for disabled workers. It highlighted the disability pay gap and called for Work Choice to be properly funded and expanded as well as championing the use of reserved contracts in public procurement. Four paragraphs of the Work, Pensions and Equality chapter of Annual Report 2017 were referenced back by Annual Conference. The paragraphs related to Labour's commitments to improve support for disabled people.

The Policy Commission reconvened in December where it agreed the priority area to be consulted on this year would be 'Addressing in-work poverty and working-age inequalities'. Commission members discussed the priority area and the issues that it should touch on, including Universal Credit, housing benefit, auto enrolment, the impact of zero-hours contracts and insecure work, lack of opportunities for young people, the Equality Act, sexual harassment, the role of

union equality representatives, and the growth of inequality. There was also a specific discussion about the effect of Brexit in relation to equalities legislation.

A discussion was also had about pension equality for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans (LGBT) people, including the Government's refusal to accept amendments to the Equal Marriage Bill in 2013, and the issue of maternity discrimination was also raised during the meeting. A motion from Youth Conference was discussed in relation to age-discrimination and the Living Wage. The major impact and possible effects of automation, including on self-employed workers, were also discussed by the Commission.

The Commission then discussed contemporary and non-contemporary motions that had been submitted to Annual Conference 2017 and Women's Conference, including on pay and banning conversion therapy. Representatives also discussed the high levels of participation at Women's Conference and the four policy debates that were held on the NHS and social care, housing, economic and business policy and foreign policy and Brexit.

The Joint Policy Commission (JPC) had asked each Policy Commission to pay special attention to the cross-cutting issues of equality, environmental sustainability and Brexit. At the December meeting, members of the Commission therefore appointed representatives in these areas. Mary Honeyball MEP was appointed Brexit representative, Susan Matthews was appointed Equalities Champion and Ann Black was appointed Sustainability Champion.

Shadow Ministerial updates given at the meeting covered support for disabled people, including a report by the United Nations Committee into the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD), which described the Government's treatment of disabled people as a "human catastrophe". The updates also covered a recent report by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC), which highlighted the severe effects of cumulative cuts to support for disabled people, an issue that has been raised frequently in submissions.

Based on discussions held at the December meeting, a draft version of the consultation document was sent in advance of the January meeting. The document was then finalised

## Work, Pensions and Equality

at the January meeting and representatives discussed issues in the consultation document, including growing levels of period poverty and the increasing reliance on foodbanks.

Under Shadow Ministerial updates in the January meeting, Debbie Abrahams MP raised the inadequacy of social security support for self-employed workers, in particular with regards Universal Credit and auto enrolment, issues of vital importance to members. Debbie also discussed the recent collapse of Carillion, highlighting pension liabilities of hundreds of millions of pounds.

Shadow Secretary of State for Women and Equalities Dawn Butler MP then updated the Commission on her work, including continued efforts to push the Government to publish full cumulative equality impact assessments. Dawn also discussed 86 per cent of the burden of austerity since 2010 falling on women and stressed that the Government need to publish the impact of cuts on women and Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities.

The Commission also discussed the four paragraphs of the Work, Pensions and Equality chapter of the National Policy Forum (NPF) Annual Report 2017 that were referenced back at Annual Conference 2017. The paragraphs related to spending on support for disabled people and the Government's broader cuts to social security including in relation to Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) and Personal Independence Payments (PIP). In discussing these paragraphs, Commission members referred to Labour's 2017 General Election manifesto and Labour's commitments to reverse the Government's cuts to ESA and implement the High Court judgment on PIP as well as possible crossover effects with the Economy, Business and Trade Policy Commission. The Commission also discussed submissions received since the previous meeting and plans for the National Policy Forum (NPF) weekend in February.

The NPF met in Leeds on 17 and 18 February. The Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission held three breakout sessions across the weekend on the topics of the consultation document. The sessions covered a wide-range of issues with many contributions from NPF representatives, which included personal and local experiences.

During the sessions, Debbie Abrahams MP emphasised the focus of the Commission's work in addressing the failings of the Conservative Government. Among other issues, she highlighted the fact that there are now eight million working-age adults living in poverty, the fact disabled people have borne the brunt of the Government's austerity agenda and the many problems that Universal Credit is creating, reflecting concerns that had been raised in many submissions from members.

In the discussion that followed, there was a clear focus on developing an alternative vision to the Tories and building on policies set out in Labour's 2017 General Election manifesto, in particular to tackle the scourge of low pay and build a more equal society. This had also been reflected by contributions and submissions made by members. There were then specific discussions on the two parts of the draft consultation document, in-work poverty and working-age inequalities.

Issues discussed by representatives included the gender pay gap, the Support for Mortgage Interest scheme, the two child limit on tax credits and Labour's plan for a Real Living Wage of £10 an hour for all workers. There was agreement on a number of points made in relation to the casualisation of labour under this Government and there was wide-ranging support for Labour's plans to scrap Work Capability Assessments and assessments for Personal Independent Payments.

At the NPF weekend, there was also a specific meeting of Equality Champions from across the eight Policy Commissions. At that meeting, Equality Champions discussed equalities issues that cut across all eight of the draft consultation documents as well as discussing broader equalities priorities.

At the March meeting, the Commission discussed the points raised during the NPF weekend and the submissions received since the previous meeting. Specific submissions that were discussed included on pensions and on the minimum wage.

The importance of pension issues to members had been reflected through the large volume of submissions that had been received on the Labour Policy Forum website and by email relating to pensions, including on changes to the State Pension age for women born in the 1950s.

Given the importance of pension issues to members, the Commission invited Colin Meech, Adviser to the Shadow DWP team, to give evidence to the Commission and to lead a specific discussion on pensions. During the session, Colin gave a presentation that reflected many of the issues that had been raised through submissions.

He covered a large number of issues, setting out the context and current status of Defined Benefit and Defined Contribution schemes. He also discussed auto enrolment, stressing that unless the Government acts, it could lead to pensioner poverty in the future as the contributions are not adequate and those enrolled will need to rely on the state pension.

Commission members then discussed further pension issues including pension freedoms, the lack of transparency in the management of pension pots, changes to the State Pension age for women born in the 1950s and sectoral pension arrangements.

During the meeting, Shadow Secretary of State for Women and Equalities, Dawn Butler MP, also gave an update to the Commission in which she discussed Labour's recent policy announcement to require action to close the gender pay gap. She raised Labour's proposals to require all private and public employers to obtain government certification of their gender equality practices or face fines and further auditing, a development that was welcomed by Commission members.

In May, the Commission discussed recent JPC activity and how to ensure all parts of the NPF are able to be fully involved and to strengthen participation in the process. Commission members then heard from the following experts: Alice Hood, Joint Head of Equality at Trades Union Congress; Josh Bradlow, Policy Officer at Stonewall; Sarah Veale, former Commissioner of the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) (speaking in a personal capacity); and Dr Mary-Ann Stephenson, Director of the Women's Budget Group.

Alice Hood emphasised the crucial role of union equality representatives and said she believes that cuts to the EHRC budget of around 70 per cent over the last ten years has affected the organisation's ability to do its job. She said more needs to be done to ensure race equality at work. She outlined evidence that shows half of

women have experienced harassment at work, with women in casualised work often being more vulnerable to encountering harassment.

Evidence then given by Josh Bradlow highlighted that one in five LGBT people have experienced discrimination at work and one in eight trans workers have been physically attacked by a customer or colleague. He also raised concerns about intersecting oppressions and the importance of ensuring Brexit doesn't affect hard won LGBT rights.

On civil partnerships, he emphasised Stonewall's view that they should be retained and are supportive of them being extended to heterosexual communities. He also criticised the Government's delays in consulting on a Gender Recognition Act, saying the failure to consult had created a political vacuum and it was essential the Government brought the consultation forward as soon as possible. (The Government launched this consultation in July 2018.)

Sarah Veale said there are huge problems with the casualisation of work, which is having a drastic impact on women in particular, many of whom are unable to access a mortgage and pension or to plan for family absences. She also spoke of the importance of enacting the specific socio-economic duty of the Equality Act to tackle wider socio-economic and class inequality in communities, saying that it would better enable employers to put together a more diverse workforce. She too spoke about the valuable role of union equality representatives and the importance of strategies to prevent discrimination and harassment.

Mary-Ann Stephenson gave a presentation looking at the impact of the Government's austerity agenda on BAME women. She said the Government had failed to conduct equality impact assessments, in particular in relation to changes to tax and social security. Her presentation highlighted the fact that, in every income group, women have lost more than men. The presentation also highlighted that single pensioners have also lost out when public services are taken into account, something often overlooked.

Mary-Ann Stephenson said it showed how an intersectional analysis could be undertaken despite the Treasury's claims that it is not

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possible. She also said the Equality Act should be strengthened to ensure this analysis is undertaken during the initial stages of the policy-making process. She said that the Government's legislation has had a chilling effect on the EHRC and their ability to undertake such analysis.

In June, the Commission met in Gateshead to discuss policy development in relation to tackling in-work poverty. Gateshead and Newcastle are areas where Universal Credit has been substantially rolled out and where its effects are being acutely felt. Commission members heard evidence from Alison Dunn, Chief Executive of Gateshead Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB); Michael Walker, Poverty Lead at Gateshead Council; and Mandy Cheetham, Researcher in Public Health. All presented on different aspects of the impact of Universal Credit but it was clear from all that Universal Credit is having a detrimental impact on the mental health of claimants.

Alison Dunn gave a presentation showing Universal Credit claimants are significantly more likely to have debt problems than those on legacy benefits. She said that, since going live on Universal Credit, Gateshead Council has seen a significant rise in rent arrears mainly due to the waiting period. She highlighted the fact that last year saw a substantial rise in demand for food parcels at Gateshead foodbanks compared with the previous year.

Specific suggestions were made to fix Universal Credit, including re-assessing the work allowances of Universal Credit, reviewing the impact of the Minimum Income Floor, introducing greater flexibility around the monthly assessment period and ensuring budgeting support and information is available to anyone receiving Universal Credit.

Michael Walker, Poverty Lead at Gateshead Council then gave evidence to the Commission. He highlighted the impact of Universal Credit on levels of rent arrears, which he says are directly attributable to Universal Credit. He also warned about the dangers of fuel poverty, saying that a third of elderly residents are living in fuel poverty in Gateshead and outlined the seven themes of the Council's anti-poverty strategy, 'Making Gateshead a place where everyone thrives': 1. Child poverty 2. Food poverty, 3. Fuel poverty 4. Housing 5. Financial inclusion 6. Financial education 7. Employment, skills and wages.

Mandy Cheetham, Researcher in Public Health, Teesside University then gave evidence. She introduced herself and explained her ongoing research, which is looking into the impact of Universal Credit, including looking at the public health impact. Her research is at the very early stages and she will update the Commission once it has finished. It is based on qualitative research, including interviews with Universal Credit claimants. Her early findings point to the inaccessibility of the online system with many claimants undertaking repeat visits for digital support.

During the June meeting, the Policy Commission also held a dedicated session on the Party Democracy Review, giving members of the Commission the opportunity to feed thoughts and comments into the process.

In July, the Policy Commission further discussed key issues in Shadow Ministerial updates, reviewed the many and wide-ranging submissions received on the consultation document, and finalised the Commission's report to Annual Conference 2018.

### Consultation: Addressing in-work poverty and working-age inequalities

Labour has a proud record of championing equality and social justice and fighting discrimination and poverty in all its forms. We believe in equality for all and a social security system that is supportive, enabling and, for people of working-age, makes work pay. As a society, we believe that we achieve more when poverty and inequality are reduced across all people and regions of the UK.

However, under this Government, many families are struggling to make ends meet. In-work poverty is at record high levels, real wages are lower today than they were ten years ago, pay gaps and discrimination against women, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities, disabled and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans (LGBT) people persist. At the same time, people of working-age have seen substantial cuts in support from the social security system. The combined result has been almost eight years of rising poverty, increasing insecurity and a less equal society.

Labour's challenge is to develop and implement policies that will reverse this and build a country for the many, not the few. That's why the Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission has this year consulted on how to tackle in-work poverty and reduce working-age inequalities. As a Commission, we received a large number of submissions through the Labour Policy Forum website, as well as by email and by post. We would like to thank everyone who has taken the time to give evidence in these crucial policy areas.

#### Tackling in-work poverty

With in-work poverty at record high levels, the system of social security is crucial to working families. That's why Labour's 2017 General Election manifesto committed to the reform and redesign of Universal Credit. Our consultation asked a specific question about Universal Credit so as to build on this commitment. The evidence that we heard shows the programme is causing hardship and that it urgently needs addressing.

*"The Tory Universal Credit System has failed people all across Britain. It has also caused debt, poverty and evictions in Britain"*

Dean, West Midlands

*"Universal Credit should be a good start. The trouble is it's used to try to cut costs instead of to assist people."*

Deborah

*"The rollout of Universal Credit has been seen to cause hardship to many, driving more working families into debt, homelessness and poverty."*

Evelyn, South East

*"Please continue to speak out against the horrors of Universal Credit, pushing the unemployed, the working poor, and sick & disabled [people] into destitution."*

Julie, North

The failings of Universal Credit were also made clear to the Commission from evidence given during the May and June meetings. Alice Hood, Joint Head of Equality at the TUC, stressed that there are "enormous problems" with Universal Credit.

These comments were reiterated when the Commission met in Gateshead, a part of the UK where Universal Credit has been substantially rolled out. During that meeting, Alison Dunn, Chief Executive of Gateshead Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB), presented a number of case studies that highlighted the financial losses for working households on Universal Credit. She said the programme risks leaving some workers' financial stability "hanging in the balance" and diminishes some people's incentive to work or increase their hours. She also said 2.1 million low-income families will lose an average of £1,600 a year.

Michael Walker, Poverty Lead at Gateshead Council, said there has been a 54 per cent increase in food parcels distributed in the years following 2015/16 and that delays and changes to social security make up nearly half of the reason for that increase. The risks of Universal Credit cuts on poverty and on homelessness were also presented to the Commission.

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*"In-work poverty is the problem of our times and is hitting families with children particularly hard. Cuts to in-work top ups made in 2015 will exacerbate in-work poverty for this group, trapping 310,000 more people in poverty in 2020/21."*

**Joseph Rowntree Foundation**

*"Analysis of Shelter case notes shows that, between July and December 2017, we opened cases for 342 clients who are experiencing issues with Universal Credit. Half of these (170) were assessed as at risk of homelessness by Shelter advisors and caseworkers."*

**Shelter**

Mandy Cheetham's evidence highlighted the detrimental impact that Universal Credit is having on people's health, including the mental health of claimants. Her evidence also emphasised that claimants require far more assistance with accessing and managing their Universal Credit claim which is presenting challenges for local advice and support services.

As well as highlighting the damage that Universal Credit is causing, many submissions also spoke of the underlying causes of in-work poverty, including the decline in real wages over the last eight years and the proliferation of casualised labour under this Government including on zero-hours contracts.

*"For too long in this country the overall direction has been to remove employment rights, dismantle ways to act collectively and to erect barriers to enforcing the workplace rights that people do have. While the Government continues to boast about the high headline employment rate, in recent years the work that has been created is increasingly insecure and concentrated in lower paid occupations."*

**Unite**

*"We should tackle the crisis of in-work poverty by ensuring all companies pay a fair living wage and banning zero-hours contracts from the majority of workplaces."*

**Burnley CLP**

*"Labour must scrap [zero-hours contracts] and possibly introduce a contract where if a worker is told that he/she is not needed because there is no work they would still get paid a certain amount and not go back home without getting money at all."*

**David, Wales**

*"Legislation is needed to address the abuse of [zero-hours contracts], so that workers who want it can expect a regular minimum number of hours work."*

**Anthony, Eastern Region**

Many submissions focused on the inadequacy of the Government's so-called "National Living Wage" with much support for Labour's plan for a Real Living Wage of £10 an hour. Submissions noted that the "National Living Wage" had been introduced alongside cuts to in-work support. Age differentials under the Government's "National Living Wage" for workers aged 25 under were also seen as unfair and as holding young people back.

*"Our £10 an hour national minimum wage represents an excellent start in tackling in-work poverty and making work really pay."*

**Alex, South West**

*"Age discrimination differentials do not come up to the independently set level of the Living Wage set by the Living Wage Foundation and should be abolished."*

**UNISON**

*"The minimum wage should be a living wage, and paid at the same rate for all age groups. The case for it should be presented as follows: paying higher wages would result in a lesser need for social security payments, and thus in the end lower tax bills for those paying the wages."*

**Bracknell CLP**

*"Introduce a national living wage, and make it the same wage for all age groups. Younger people still pay the same rent yet don't make as much."*

**Daniel, North**

Submissions highlighted pay disparities that are arising for young people because of age-differentiated pay. Through the responses to the consultation, the Commission also heard of unfair pay disparities for disabled people as well as specific questions that were asked in the consultation about the gender pay gap and the BAME pay gap. The Shaw Trust also pointed to intersectional pay disparities.

*“The discrimination faced by disabled people, is often compounded by discrimination on the grounds of other protected characteristics, such as gender. For example, the disability employment and pay gap is even worse for disabled women, than it is for disabled men.”*

**Shaw Trust**

The Commission has received much evidence about the scale of the gender pay gap and the need to tackle it in order to create a more equal society. There was a clear direction of travel from submissions that it is not enough to just report on the gender pay gap, but action should be required to close it. This echoes the policy announcement made in March that a Labour Government will move beyond reporting to requiring action to close the gender pay gap. What form it should take will be the subject of future consultative work by the Policy Commission and the Shadow Secretary of State for Women and Equalities, Dawn Butler MP.

*“Continue and build on the current gender pay gap reporting requirements. Require [an] independent audit of sample of employees chosen at random every year.”*

**Amy, South West**

*“Legislation around discrimination, for example the gender pay gap, should be strengthened so that offenders could be taken to court.”*

**Edinburgh Central CLP**

Based on submissions received, it was also made clear that closing the gender pay gap would bring wider economic and societal benefits, including helping to reduce poverty, which has grown under this Government.

*“Enabling more women to stay in work after having children could reduce poverty in the short, medium and long term, with potential effects on women’s incomes in later life. Heriot-Watt modelling suggests that reducing the gender pay gap would reduce poverty. For example, closing the gap by 2041 could lead to a reduction in poverty of between 3.6% and 9.5% (depending on the measure of poverty used).”*

**Joseph Rowntree Foundation**

One of the underlying causes of the gender pay gap, and unequal pay more broadly, is discrimination at work. Our consultation asked about how to tackle different forms of discrimination. Many of the responses focused on the specific issue of maternity discrimination, levels of which have grown under this Government.

Labour’s 2017 General Election manifesto committed to extending the time period for applying for maternity discrimination to the employment tribunal from three to six months. Many submissions echoed the need for stronger legislation in relation to discrimination against pregnant women and new mothers.

*“Legislate (with teeth) equalities legislation that forces all employers to carry out policies that stop discrimination of all sorts in the work places.”*

**Bournemouth East CLP**

*“As women disproportionately work in jobs that offer little hope of progression - part-time, on zero-hours contracts, on seasonal work, as temps and as casual and fixed-term employees - to make statutory provision to accommodate maternal and caring activities, and to strengthen maternity legislation to prevent discrimination against pregnant employees.”*

**Montgomeryshire CLP**

Based on submissions that had been received earlier in the year, the Commission invited Alice Hood, Joint Head of Equality at the TUC to give evidence on discrimination in the workplace. Alice spoke specifically about the importance of union equality representatives in preventing and

## Work, Pensions and Equality

tackling discrimination, also outlining the fact that representatives have reported that supporting disabled people is the biggest piece of casework.

In our consultation, the Commission asked specifically about how statutory rights for union equality representatives would help tackle discrimination at work, building on Labour's twenty point plan for security and equality at work included in Labour's 2017 General Election Manifesto. The response highlights the crucial role that equality representatives play and the importance of ensuring they have statutory rights.

*"The work of union reps brings huge benefits to our economy and their work results in millions of pounds of savings to employers by reducing the number of Employment Tribunal cases, reducing working days lost due to workplace injury and reducing work related illness."*

**ASLEF**

*"Union equality reps have been ensuring equality in workplaces across various sectors. Unite has been calling for statutory rights for union equality reps."*

**Unite**

Based on the submissions and evidence that have been received over the last year, the Commission believes there is a crisis of in-work poverty. Moreover, that in-work poverty can only be properly tackled with a social security system that works for all, better paid and more secure jobs with stronger workers' rights and measures in place to tackle unfair pay practices and discrimination at work. This will form the basis of the Commission's continued policy development in this crucial area.

### Working-age inequalities

The second part of the consultation document focused on working-age inequalities; however the Commission heard a clear overlap between policies that are increasing in-work poverty and compounding inequalities. Chief among those is Universal Credit, which the Commission heard is disproportionately affecting women and BAME people. The Commission also heard how the design of Universal Credit could worsen economic abuse against women.

*"Women's Aid is concerned that the design of the current Government's major welfare reform programme - Universal Credit (UC) - will exacerbate economic abuse, as the single monthly payment to one member of the household risks increasing perpetrators' economic control."*

**Women's Aid**

Based on submissions that had been received outlining the negative impact of Universal Credit on women and BAME people, the Commission invited Dr Mary-Ann Stephenson, Director of the Women's Budget Group, to give evidence outlining the effects of Universal Credit and wider social security reforms in more detail as well as looking at possible remedies.

During her presentation, Mary-Ann Stephenson provided an intersectional analysis of the impact on net income of security changes since 2010. Her analysis showed that the Government's so-called "National Living Wage" and increases in the personal allowance fall well short of compensating for losses elsewhere. It also showed that black women are facing substantial losses from austerity of up to £5,000 a year. The Commission also discussed the impact of pension age changes on working-age inequalities, particularly changes faced by women who first entered the workforce with fewer legislative protections concerning sex discrimination and unequal pay.

Similar analyses, most notably from the Equality and Human Rights Commission, show that disabled people have disproportionately been affected by the Government's austerity agenda. Our consultation asked what steps can be taken, further to policies set out in Labour's 2017 General Election manifesto, to reduce the number

of disabled people living in poverty and build a social model of disability that restores dignity and removes the barriers that restrict opportunities and real choices for disabled people.

The submissions that have been received provided even more evidence that the Government is failing to support disabled people.

*“The current culture of monitoring and sanctions is demeaning and reinforces an “us and them” attitude from the public.”*

**Jamie, Eastern Region**

*“The United Nations Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCPRD) delivered its own verdict on that aim in August 2017, when its Chair told the UK Government that its cuts to social security and other support for disabled people had caused ‘a human catastrophe’, which was ‘totally neglecting the vulnerable situation people with disabilities find themselves in’.”*

**Robert, Wales**

*“Recent research by Scope shows that over 900,000 households with a disabled person are currently living in fuel poverty.”*

**Burnley CLP**

Submissions emphasised support for policies set out in Labour’s distinct manifesto on support for disabled people, “Nothing About You, Without You”, including scrapping the Work Capability and Personal Independence Payment assessments and replacing them with a personalised, holistic assessment. Many submissions also focused on the hardship that sanctions are causing, supporting Labour’s policy to scrap the Government’s sanctions regime.

The Commission also heard how – in order to support disabled workers – it is crucial employment and workplace policy is developed in collaboration with disabled people. This echoes discussions Commission members had throughout the course of the year, including on Access to Work. Labour’s 2017 General Election manifesto committed to commissioning a report on expanding the Access to Work programme and this poses a possible area of further investigation by the Commission.

*“Employment laws should incorporate that disabled workers need more flexibility in their working patterns and availability, the economy should be managed so that people with disabilities who want to work can.”*

**Gateshead CLP**

*“To make the radical difference to the disability employment rate that is required, significant policy change is needed. At the heart of this is bringing in policy which identifies and reaches all disabled people who can, and want to work and producing policy solutions in collaboration with disabled people.”*

**Shaw Trust**

The Commission also heard about how the Government is failing to progress LGBT rights. Based on submissions received, the Commission invited Josh Bradlow, Policy Officer at Stonewall, to give evidence. During the evidence session, Josh discussed a number of issues relating to LGBT rights, including the need to legislate to improve reporting incidents of discrimination and bullying, as well as the need to properly fund the EHRC and supporting statutory rights for union equality representatives.

The Commission also heard about the scale of discrimination facing LGBT people, with one in five LGBT people having experienced discrimination at work and one in eight Trans workers having been physically attacked by a customer or colleague. The Commission also heard how the Government’s delays in consulting on a Gender Recognition Act had created a political vacuum. The Commission believes it is essential the Government acts as soon as possible so that Trans rights can be protected. Other submissions focused on broader measures to progress LGBT rights.

*“Pardon all previous convictions related to gender and sexuality, better education – acceptance, understanding, campaign to remove the gender question and sexuality question, encourage young people to discuss openness, encourage reporting hate crime.”*

**Dunfermline CLP**

## Work, Pensions and Equality

*“All employers and service providers to promote gender, race, disability, LGBT, religion/belief, and age equality, including recognition of caring responsibilities, a requirement to carry out an equal pay audit, and to ensure equality in public procurement and sub-contracting.”*

**Unite**

It was clear from many of the submissions that a suitable avenue for strengthening equalities legislation would be through the Equality Act. For this reason, the Commission invited Sarah Veale, former Commissioner at the Equality and Human Rights Commission, to give evidence.

Speaking in a personal capacity, Sarah discussed the potential economic and societal benefits that could be had from enacting the specific socio-economic duty of the Equality Act. The possibility of enacting the specific duty was also raised in a number of other submissions and would be a possible area of further investigation by the Commission.

*“Equality Act 2010 Socio-economic inequalities provisions to be implemented immediately.”*

**Stoke Central CLP**

*“[The duty] had been part of the anti-discrimination act when introduced by Labour in 2010 but slipped out by Conservatives later on in the year. The socio-economic Clause of the 2010 Act ensures that public bodies consider the impact of their policies on the poorest [...] A moderate and sensible policy to work towards tackling discrimination by social class.”*

**Hal, South West**

*“The UK Government should commence all the outstanding clauses of the Equality Act 2010 and in particular the socio-economic duty (Part I).”*

**JustFair**

In addition to this, “tackling socio-economic inequalities under the Public Sector Equality Duty” was also cited as a gap in the equalities legislative framework in evidence submitted to the Commission by Unite.

Many submissions also focused on the role of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, following evidence given to the Commission that the EHRC has faced cuts of up to 70 per cent in its budget.

In particular, giving evidence to the Commission, a number of invited experts raised the large scale of cuts that the EHRC has faced, undermining its ability to carry out its essential work.

*“Give [the EHRC] proper funding, staffing and resources, give it proper backing in law. Make sure that its staff all understand the difference between ‘equality [of opportunity]’ and ‘equality’.”*

**Sarah, Eastern Region**

*“The Equality and Human Rights Commission should be [facilitated] to become more proactive. For instance it should have real powers and even requirements to inspect workplaces and interview employees on a range of issues including working hours, discrimination, pay levels, failure to provide duty of care, in-work poverty.”*

**Helen, Greater London**

The consultation also asked about how to tackle and prevent sexual harassment in all its forms. During the Commission's evidence session in May, Alice Hood referenced the TUC report into sexual harassment, published in 2016. The report shows the horrifying extent of sexual harassment and that much more needs to be done to highlight that sexual harassment will not be tolerated.

A number of other submissions suggested policy development to tackle and prevent sexual harassment and economic abuse. These provide areas of further investigation by the Commission, possibly working jointly with the Justice and Home Affairs Policy Commission.

*“Workplaces should have policies and procedures for preventing, reporting and investigation of sexual harassment. These should be backed up by training for all managers and staff. Essential to make it easier for cases of sexual harassment to be brought to tribunal. Employers should also carry out regular surveys to ensure that cases are not going unreported. Trade union equalities reps should have full rights.”*

**Forest Hill Labour branch**

*“Women’s Aid proposes reforms in four main areas - changes to training, awareness, policy and practice, support in crisis, welfare reform policy, and to Universal Credit - to better support women experiencing economic abuse and ensure they can leave abusive relationships safely.”*

**Women’s Aid**

Underpinning all policy development in relation to both in-work poverty and working-age inequalities is the issue of Brexit. Many submissions raised the need to ensure hard-fought for equalities legislation is protected after Brexit, which is why the consultation included a specific question on this issue. A large number of submissions expressed concern at what could happen to equalities rights after Brexit.

*“Existing EU equality law should be seen as only the minimum standard of protections, many of which could be improved.”*

**Unite**

Many submissions suggested policies to ensure that hard-won rights are protected. Working with the International Policy Commission and the Brexit representatives, this is an area that the Policy Commission will need to investigate further on an ongoing basis. The Commission also notes the concerning comments made by senior Cabinet Ministers in relation to the possibility of Brexit diluting workers’ rights.

*“We should, despite Brexit, follow the European Pillar of Social Rights. Its 20 principles include addressing gender equality, equal opportunities for disadvantaged groups, assistance in finding good quality employment, right to fair wages, adequate income, social protection for those not in employment, and pensions that ensure an adequate income.”*

**Jos**

*“It should be Labour policy to not legislate for any new UK standards that go below/are lesser than any of the standards and protections currently set by the EU. Let us continue to be a leading example to the world.”*

**Amy, South West**

Across submissions, it was made clear that there is pride in Labour’s fundamental commitment to equality. It was also made clear that the Government is failing to guarantee crucial equalities principles and – through its austerity agenda, cuts to social security and public services and failure to consider the equalities impact of their policies – is making society less equal. Building on policies set out in Labour’s 2017 General Election manifesto, the Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission will continue to oppose every attack on equalities and develop policies that create a more equal society so we can build a Britain for the many, not the few.

## Other Issues

### Tackling poverty and inequality

The Commission has received many submissions aimed at tackling growing poverty and inequality. Further to policies set out in Labour's 2017 General Election manifesto, the Commission has heard of the urgent need to fix Universal Credit, which is causing poverty and hardship wherever it has been rolled out, as well as pushing children into poverty.

Child poverty and pensioner poverty have substantially increased since 2010 and many of the submissions received by the Commission over the last year stress the impact the Government's austerity agenda is having on levels of poverty. Commission members will continue to focus attention and develop policies that will tackle growing poverty for families across the country.

The Commission has examined a large volume of evidence showing that Universal Credit is compounding high levels of in-work poverty. It is no longer the case that work necessarily provides a route of poverty and many submissions raised the growing nature of low-waged, insecure work and casual labour, emphasising a weakening of workers' rights under this Government.

### Social security and pensions for all

Over the last year, Labour has forced the Government to climb down on a number of issues relating to social security. Cuts to housing support for 18-21 year olds have been scrapped, a number of concessions have been made to Universal Credit and the High Court judgment on PIP is now being implemented. However, it is clear from submissions that the Government's cuts to social security continue to cause poverty and hardship.

The Commission has heard how policies such as the two child limit on tax credits (including the "Rape Clause"), cuts to Employment and Support Allowance, the benefit cap, the Bedroom Tax and Universal Credit are causing suffering for people across the country. The Commission has also heard evidence that disabled people are bearing the brunt of the Government's austerity agenda.

It is for this reason that many of the submissions welcomed Labour's policy to scrap Work Capability and Personal Independence Payment assessments and abolish the Government's sanctions regime.

A further issue that has been frequently raised by members and CLPs over the last year has been the Government's changes to the State Pension age for women born in the 1950s. Submissions spoke of how those affected have been unfairly penalised and denied their rightful state pension without adequate notification. The submissions reiterate the urgent need for justice and compensation for those affected. The Government's plans to raise the State Pension age have also been raised in many submissions reiterating support for Labour's policy to oppose any increases.

Following evidence heard by the Commission in March, it is clear there are wide-ranging pension issues that require further investigation. They include the inadequacy of auto enrolment, pension freedoms, pensions equality and the future of occupational pensions.

### Creating a more equal society

The Commission has heard evidence of the Government's continued failure to publish equalities impact assessments as well as their refusal to use the Equality Act to help create a more equal society, including in relation to the socio-economic duty. Submissions have also outlined how the Government's policies and austerity agenda are having a disproportionate impact on women, BAME, disabled and LGBT people.

Many submissions have outlined the inadequacy of the Government's approach to tackling the gender pay gap saying that tougher action is needed. The Commission also heard evidence detailing how the proliferation of casualised labour, including zero-hours contracts, and additionally the introduction of Universal Credit, have undermined women's independence and financial security. A large number of submissions also raised the need to protect equalities legislation post-Brexit to ensure that workers' rights are not diluted.

Submissions and evidence have also demonstrated the need for an intersectional analysis of the Government's policies. For example, evidence showing that BAME women have been most affected by the Government's changes to tax and social security. Such analysis is especially important given the Government's failure to publish impact assessments.

The Commission has also heard how the Government is failing to protect Trans people by not yet bringing forward reforms to the Gender Recognition Act. Submissions and evidence have also reiterated the discrimination that LGBT people continue to face. Submissions also raised the issue of ensuring full pension equality for LGBT people in relation to surviving same sex spouses and civil partners.

The Commission also heard how the Equality Act should be used to protect workers against third party harassment. The Commission believes the Government should reinstate Section 40 of the Equality Act to ensure greater transparency and access to justice.

## Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2017/18 the Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Access to Work
- Adult education
- Apprenticeships
- Austerity
- Automation
- Bedroom tax
- Benefits system
- Brexit
- Businesses
- Care homes
- Carer's Allowance
- Child poverty
- Childcare
- Collective bargaining rights
- Community ownership
- Cooperatives
- Data Protection
- Debt
- Disabilities
- Disability equality
- Discrimination
- Domestic violence
- Employee Benefits
- Employees
- Employers
- Employment and Support Allowance
- Employment protection
- Employment tribunals
- Equality
- European Union
- Free movement
- Gender
- Gender pay gap
- Globalisation
- Health and safety
- Health insurance
- Higher Education
- Human rights
- Equality and Human Rights Commission
- Immigration
- Income tax
- In-work poverty
- Legal aid
- LGBT equality
- Manufacturing
- Maternity rights
- Mental health
- Migration
- Minimum wage
- National Insurance
- National Living Wage
- NHS
- Paternity rights
- Pensions
- Personal Independence Payments
- Poverty
- Race equality
- Redundancy
- Religion
- Retirement
- Slavery
- Social housing
- Social Security
- Standard working week
- State Pensions
- Tax
- Tax credits
- Trans Rights
- Universal basic income
- Universal Credit
- Wages
- WASPI women
- Women's rights
- Work Capability Assessments
- Work experience
- Workers' rights
- Zero-hours contracts



**Appendices**



### Submitting Local Parties

Abbey BLP  
 Aberavon CLP  
 Aberdare East BLP  
 Alston Moor BLP  
 Arfon CLP  
 Ashby de la Zouch BLP  
 Astley & Buckshaw, Euxton North  
 & Euxton South BLPs  
 Banbury CLP  
 Basildon & Billericay CLP & South Basildon  
 & East Thurrock CLP Joint General Council  
 Bath CLP  
 Bedford CLP  
 Bewdley BLP  
 Birmingham Edgbaston CLP  
 Birmingham Hall Green CLP  
 Birmingham Selly Oak CLP  
 Bishopston & Ashley Down & Redland BLP  
 Bitton & Oldland Common BLP  
 Blackpool South CLP  
 Blaydon CLP  
 Blyth Valley BLP  
 Bolton South East CLP  
 Bolton West CLP  
 Bootle CLP  
 Bournemouth East CLP  
 Bracknell CLP  
 Braintree CLP  
 Brecon & Radnorshire CLP  
 Bridgwater BLP  
 Bridport & District BLP  
 Brigg & Goole CLP  
 Brighton Pavilion CLP  
 Brighton Kemptown CLP  
 Bristol East CLP  
 Bristol South CLP  
 Bristol West CLP  
 Bromsgrove CLP  
 Brussels Labour Party  
 Burgess Hill BLP  
 Burnley CLP  
 Bury St. Edmunds BLP  
 Canterbury & Whitstable CLP  
 Cardiff North CLP  
 Carlisle CLP  
 Central Suffolk & North Ipswich CLP  
 Chapel Allerton BLP  
 Chatham BLP  
 Chichester CLP  
 Clapham Town BLP  
 Clwyd South CLP  
 Coventry North East CLP  
 Cynon Valley CLP

Delyn CLP  
 Devizes CLP  
 Doncaster Central CLP  
 Dorchester & District BLP  
 Dover & Deal CLP  
 Downend, Staple Hill & Winterbourne BLP  
 Dudley South CLP  
 Ealing North CLP  
 East Hampshire CLP  
 Edinburgh Central CLP  
 Elmet & Rothwell CLP  
 Epsom & Ewell CLP  
 Ettrick, Roxburgh & Berwickshire CLP  
 Exeter CLP  
 Exmouth BLP  
 Falkirk East CLP  
 Faversham & Swale East BLP  
 Felixstowe BLP  
 Filton & Bradley Stoke CLP  
 Finchley & Golders Green CLP  
 Forest Hill BLP  
 Gabalfa, Whitchurch & Tongwynlais BLP  
 Gainsborough CLP  
 Gateshead CLP  
 Golcar BLP  
 Goole BLP  
 Gower CLP  
 Great Ayton & Stokesley BLP  
 Greenwich & Woolwich CLP  
 Guildford CLP  
 Hackney South & Shoreditch CLP  
 Haltemprice & Howden CLP  
 Hamilton, Larkhall & Stonehouse CLP  
 Hastings & Rye CLP  
 Hengrove & Whitchurch Park BLP  
 Hertford & Ware BLP  
 High Peak CLP  
 Highbury East BLP  
 Hitchin & Harpenden CLP  
 Hove & Portslade CLP  
 Hyndburn CLP  
 Ipswich CLP  
 Islington North CLP  
 Islington South & Finsbury CLP  
 Kenilworth & Southam CLP  
 Killamarsh BLP  
 Labour International  
 Labour North Region  
 Labour North West Region  
 Labour West Midlands Region  
 Labour Yorkshire & Humberside Region  
 Leeds West CLP  
 Leicester West CLP  
 Leighton Linlade BLP  
 Lewisham Deptford CLP  
 Lewisham West & Penge CLP  
 Liphook BLP  
 Littleover BLP

## Appendix 1.1: Submitting Local Parties

Liverpool Riverside CLP  
Liverpool Wavertree CLP  
Lockleaze BLP

Malvern BLP  
Meon Valley CLP  
Meriden CLP  
Mid Sussex CLP  
Midlothian North & Musselburgh CLP  
Montgomeryshire CLP  
Morecambe & Lunesdale CLP

Neath CLP  
New Forest East CLP  
New Forest West CLP  
Newbury CLP  
Newcastle upon Tyne Central CLP  
Newcastle upon Tyne North CLP  
North Devon CLP  
North Dorset CLP  
North East Bedfordshire CLP  
North East Derbyshire CLP  
North East Hertfordshire CLP  
North East Somerset CLP  
North Somerset CLP  
Northolt Mandeville BLP  
North Yorkshire Labour Party  
Local Campaign Forum  
Norwich North CLP  
Norwich South CLP  
Nottingham North CLP  
Nottingham South CLP

Oldham East & Saddleworth CLP  
Orpington CLP

Paulton BLP  
Pendle CLP  
Penistone & Stocksbridge CLP  
Penkridge BLP

Poole CLP

Redcar CLP  
Reddish North BLP  
Reddish South BLP  
Reigate CLP  
Rhiwbina & Heath BLP  
Rhondda CLP  
Richmond (Yorks) CLP  
Rochester & Strood CLP  
Rochford & Southend East CLP  
Rossendale & Darwen CLP  
Rottingdean Coastal BLP

ShIPLEY CLP  
Shrewsbury & Atcham CLP  
Sittingbourne & Sheppey CLP  
Skipton & Ripon CLP  
Solihull CLP  
Somerton & Frome CLP  
Somerton & Frome CLP Youth  
South Derbyshire CLP  
South East Cambridgeshire CLP  
South East Cornwall CLP  
South Suffolk CLP  
South Thanet CLP  
Southampton & Romsey LCP  
Spelthorne CLP  
Stafford CLP  
Staffordshire Moorlands CLP  
Stamford Hill West BLP  
Stockport CLP  
Stockton North CLP  
Stockton South CLP  
Stoke-on-Trent Central CLP  
Stoke-on-Trent North CLP  
Stone CLP  
Stroud CLP  
Suffolk Coastal CLP  
Sutton & Cheam CLP

Tatton CLP  
Taunton Deane CLP  
Tavistock & District BLP  
Thornton, Allerton, & Sandy Lane BLP  
Tynemouth BLP

Uddingston & Bellshill CLP

Victoria BLP

Walkley BLP  
Walthamstow CLP  
Walthamstow East BLP  
Wantage CLP  
Warley CLP

Warwick & Leamington Spa CLP  
Watford CLP  
Waveney CLP  
Weaver Vale CLP  
Westmorland & Lonsdale CLP  
Wimbledon CLP  
Windmill Hill BLP  
Wirral West CLP  
Wish & Westbourne BLP  
Witney CLP  
Wolverhampton South West CLP  
Woodbridge BLP  
Worthing West CLP

### Submitting Organisations

Age UK  
Alcohol Health Alliance  
Alliance for Inclusive Education  
Allied Health Professions Federation  
ASLEF  
Association of Colleges  
Association of Educational Psychologists  
Association of Employment and Learning Providers  
  
Bicycle Association of Great Britain  
Biofuelwatch  
Board of Deputies of British Jews  
Bond SDG Group  
Brighton Kemp Town Labour Party  
Environment Forum  
British Ceramic Confederation  
British Red Cross  
Business in the Community  
  
Cancer Research UK  
Career Development Institute  
Careers England Ltd  
Carers Trust  
Central YMCA  
Centre for Research in Early Childhood  
Centrica  
Chopwell Regeneration Group  
Clinks  
Collab Group  
Comprehensive Future  
Confederation of British Industry  
Coventry City Council Cabinet  
  
DiEM25  
Diversity Art Forum  
Drax Group plc  
Driver Youth Trust  
  
Early Childhood Studies Degree Network (ECSDN)  
EDF Energy  
Edge Hill Students' Union  
End Child Poverty Coalition  
Energy UK  
Environment and Animal Protection Coordinator for the Totnes CLP  
Eon  
  
FAB fireworks campaign group  
Fabian International Policy Group  
Fabian Society  
Feedback  
Freedom and Autonomy for Schools National Association  
  
Gateshead College  
GFC Economics  
GMB  
Good Things Foundation  
Greenpeace  
  
Hackney Labour Discussion Group  
Howard League for Penal Reform  
  
Impetus-PEF  
Independent Schools Council  
Innogy Renewables  
Institute for Public Policy Research  
Interlink Foundation  
International HIV/AIDS Alliance  
IPSE - The Association of Independent Professionals and the Self-Employed  
  
Kingspan Insulation Ltd  
  
Labour Autism Group  
Labour PCCs  
Learning & Work Institute  
Leeds Labour Council Group  
Lloyd Russell-Moyle MP, Chair of the AAPG for Youth Affairs  
  
MEDA UK  
Medact  
Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium  
MillionPlus  
Momentum London  
Montessori St. Nicholas charity  
  
NAHT - association for School Leaders  
National Association of Independent Schools and Non-Maintained Special Schools  
National Association of Secondary Moderns  
National Bargee Travellers Association  
National Children's Bureau  
National Council for Voluntary Organisations  
National Deaf Children's Society  
National Education Union  
National Farmers' Union  
National Governance Association  
National Grid  
National Trust  
National Union of Students  
New Schools Network  
New Visions for Education Group  
NHS Confederation  
North West Trade Union officers and members  
  
Northamptonshire Adult Social Services  
Northern Health Science Alliance  
Nottingham Peace Project  
Nuclear Industry Association  
  
Ørsted  
  
Parentkind  
Partnership for Jewish Schools  
Pension Reform Group  
Plan International UK  
Prince's Trust  
Prisoners Learning Alliance  
Progressive Development Forum  
  
Reclaiming Education  
Reclaiming Schools  
Red Green Study Group  
Renaissance UK

## Appendix 1.2: Submitting Organisations

Renewable Energy Systems Group  
Rescue our Schools  
Restorative Justice Council  
Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health  
Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists  
Royal College of Surgeons  
Royal Dutch Shell  
Royal Society for the Protection of Birds  
RWE - Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk

Save the Children  
Scientists for Global Responsibility  
Scottish Power  
SERA: Greater Manchester group  
Sheffield Local Campaign Forum  
Shelter  
Shire plc  
Siemens Gamsea UK  
Sixth Form Colleges Association  
Socialist Education Association (Brighton)  
Socialist Education Association (South Tyneside)  
Socialist Educational Association  
Society of Authors  
Society of Independent Brewers  
Southend Labour Group  
Space Youth Services  
SSE plc  
Statkraft  
Stoke Newington Women's Meetings  
Sussex SERA  
Sustainable Aviation  
Sustainable Energy Association  
Sustrans  
Sutton Trust

TACTYC – Association for Professional Development in Early Years  
Tesla  
The Careers & Enterprise Company  
The Co-Operative Party  
The Donkey Sanctuary & World Horse Welfare  
The Open University  
The Prince's Trust  
The Scout Association  
The Wildfowl & Wetlands Trust  
Think Global  
This Is Rubbish  
Tipping Point North South  
Torah Education Committee  
Trade Union Congress

Uniper  
Unison  
Unite  
Universities UK  
Unlock – for people with convictions  
War on Want  
Wohl Ilford Jewish Primary School  
Women in Prison  
Women's Aid  
World of Inclusion  
World Wildlife Fund UK  
Yavneh College Academy Trust

### National Policy Forum membership

(CLP) East Midlands Region..... Rufia Ashraf  
 (CLP) East Midlands Region..... Dawn Elliott  
 (CLP) East Midlands Region..... Natalie Fleet  
 (CLP) East Midlands Region..... Andrew Furlong

(CLP) Eastern Region..... Russell Cartwright  
 (CLP) Eastern Region..... Sandy Martin  
 (CLP) Eastern Region..... Alexandra Mayer  
 (CLP) Eastern Region..... Joanne Rust

(CLP) Greater London Region..... Peray Ahmet  
 (CLP) Greater London Region..... Unmesh Desai  
 (CLP) Greater London Region..... Nicky Gavron  
 (CLP) Greater London Region..... Fiona Twycross

(CLP) North West Region ..... Lorraine Beavers  
 (CLP) North West Region ..... James Frith  
 (CLP) North West Region ..... Joanne Harding  
 (CLP) North West Region ..... Wajid Iltaf Khan

(CLP) Northern Region ..... Mary Foy  
 (CLP) Northern Region ..... Laura Pidcock  
 (CLP) Northern Region ..... Brynne Ririe  
 (CLP) Northern Region ..... Nick Wallis

(CLP) Scottish Labour Party..... Iona Baker  
 (CLP) Scottish Labour Party..... Martyn Cook  
 (CLP) Scottish Labour Party..... Suzi Cullinane  
 (CLP) Scottish Labour Party..... Katrina Murray

(CLP) South East Region..... Beverley Clack  
 (CLP) South East Region..... Fiona Dent  
 (CLP) South East Region..... Simeon Elliott  
 (CLP) South East Region..... Joyce Still

(CLP) South West Region ..... Mark Dempsey  
 (CLP) South West Region ..... Glyn Ford  
 (CLP) South West Region ..... Joanne McCarron  
 (CLP) South West Region ..... Brenda Weston

(CLP) Welsh Labour Party ..... Anthony John Beddow  
 (CLP) Welsh Labour Party ..... Annabelle Harle  
 (CLP) Welsh Labour Party ..... Donna Hutton

(CLP) West Midlands Region ..... Christopher Bloore  
 (CLP) West Midlands Region ..... Mariam Khan  
 (CLP) West Midlands Region ..... Trudie McGuinness  
 (CLP) West Midlands Region ..... Jacqueline Taylor

(CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region ..... Ann Cryer  
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region ..... Emma Ann Hardy  
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region ..... George McManus

(CLP-YTH) East Midlands Region..... Christian Weaver  
 (CLP-YTH) Eastern Region..... Isobel Morris  
 (CLP-YTH) Greater London Region..... Jack Falkingham  
 (CLP-YTH) North West Region..... Jasmin Beckett  
 (CLP-YTH) Northern Region..... Katie Weston  
 (CLP-YTH) Scottish Labour Party..... Lyndsay Clelland  
 (CLP-YTH) South East Region..... James Elliott  
 (CLP-YTH) South West Region ..... George Downs  
 (CLP-YTH) Welsh Labour Party ..... Sam Pritchard  
 (CLP-YTH) West Midlands Region ..... Jeevan Jones  
 (CLP-YTH) Yorkshire and Humber Region ..... George Norman

(TU) ASLEF..... Collette Gibson  
 (TU) BFAWU ..... Ian Hodson  
 (TU) Community ..... Callum Munro  
 (TU) CWU..... Tracey Fussey  
 (TU) CWU..... Dave Ward  
 (TU) GMB..... Mary Hutchinson  
 (TU) GMB..... Lisa Johnson  
 (TU) GMB..... Tim Roache  
 (TU) GMB..... Dean Gilligan  
 (TU) Musicians Union..... Isabelle Gutierrez  
 (TU) TSSA..... Mick Carney  
 (TU) UCATT ..... Neil Andrews  
 (TU) UNISON ..... Gordon McKay  
 (TU) UNISON ..... Dave Prentis  
 (TU) UNISON ..... Jean Butcher  
 (TU) UNISON ..... Liz Snape  
 (TU) Unite..... Tony Burke  
 (TU) Unite..... Gail Cartmail  
 (TU) Unite..... Jennifer Elliot  
 (TU) Unite..... Siobhan Endean  
 (TU) Unite..... Susan Matthews  
 (TU) Unite..... Len McCluskey  
 (TU) Unite..... David Quayle  
 (TU) Unite..... Maggie Ryan  
 (TU) Unite..... Steve Turner  
 (TU) Unite..... Tony Woodhouse  
 (TU) USDAW ..... John Hannett  
 (TU) USDAW ..... Fiona Wilson

(Region) East Midlands Region ..... Richard Oliver  
 (Region) East Midlands Region ..... Linda Woodings  
 (Region) Eastern Region ..... Bryony Rudkin  
 (Region) Eastern Region ..... Emma Toal  
 (Region) Greater London Region ..... Nick Donovan  
 (Region) Greater London Region ..... Sarah Hayward  
 (Region) North West Region ..... Wendy Simon  
 (Region) North West Region ..... Steve Turner  
 (Region) Northern Region ..... Simon Henig  
 (Region) Northern Region ..... Linda Hobson  
 (Region) Scottish Labour Party ..... Eva Murray  
 (Region) Scottish Labour Party ..... Dave Watson  
 (Region) South East Region ..... Karen Constantine

## Appendix 2: National Policy Forum membership

(Region) South East Region .....	Carol Hayton	LGBT Labour .....	Astrid Walker
(Region) South West Region.....	Neil Guild		
(Region) South West Region.....	Skeena Rathor	Disability Labour .....	David Allan
(Region) Welsh Labour Party .....	Ivan Monckton		
(Region) Welsh Labour Party .....	Jen Smith		
(Region) West Midlands Region.....	Gerard Coyne		
(Region) West Midlands Region.....	Stephanie Peacock	Scottish Policy Forum (chair).....	Agnes Tolmie
(Region) Yorkshire and Humber Region.....	Simon Lightwood	Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair) .....	Jackie Baillie
(Region) Yorkshire and Humber Region.....	Karen Reay	Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair) .....	Clare Lally
		Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair) .....	Paul O’Kane
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors .....	Angela Cornforth		
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors .....	Sue Lent	Welsh Policy Forum.....	Amber Courtney
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors .....	Mary Maguire	Welsh Policy Forum.....	Joyce Watson
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors .....	Richard Watts	Welsh Policy Forum (Chair) .....	Mike Payne
(LG) COSLA (Confederation Scottish Local Authorities).....		Welsh Policy Forum (Vice Chair).....	Carolyn Harris
	Michael Ross		
(LG) Local Government Association.....	Simon Blackburn	Shadow Cabinet .....	Margaret Greenwood
(LG) Local Government Association.....	Steve Bullock	Shadow Cabinet .....	Jonathan Ashworth
(LG) Local Government Association.....	Sharon Taylor	Shadow Cabinet .....	Richard Burgon
(LG) Local Government Association.....	Anne Western	Shadow Cabinet .....	Andrew Gwynne
(LG) Welsh Local Government Association .....	Huw David	Shadow Cabinet .....	Sue Hayman
		Shadow Cabinet .....	John McDonnell
Socialist Societies.....	Emma Burnell	Shadow Cabinet .....	Angela Rayner
Socialist Societies.....	Ashton McGregor	Shadow Cabinet .....	Emily Thornberry
Socialist Societies.....	Melanie Smallman		
		Co-operative Party (General Secretary) .....	Claire McCarthy
BAME Labour .....	Nadine Grandison-Mills	Co-operative Party.....	Cheryl Barrott
BAME Labour .....	Sonny Leong	Co-operative Party.....	Andrew Pakes
BAME Labour .....	Gloria Mills		
BAME Labour .....	June Nelson		
		National Executive Committee .....	Jeremy Corbyn
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Luciana Berger	National Executive Committee .....	Rebecca Long-Bailey
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Chris Leslie	National Executive Committee .....	Kate Osamor
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Catherine McKinnell	National Executive Committee .....	Jon Trickett
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Lucy Powell	National Executive Committee .....	Ann Black
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Ellie Reeves	National Executive Committee .....	Yasmine Dar
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Emma Reynolds	National Executive Committee .....	Rachel Garnham
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Stephen Timms	National Executive Committee .....	Jon Lansman
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Anna Turley	National Executive Committee .....	Eddie Izzard
		National Executive Committee .....	Claudia Webbe
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Lucy Anderson	National Executive Committee .....	Darren Williams
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Seb Dance	National Executive Committee .....	Peter Willsman
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Mary Honeyball	National Executive Committee .....	Rhea Wolfson
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	John Howarth	National Executive Committee .....	Tom Watson
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Clare Moody	National Executive Committee .....	Richard Corbett
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Julie Ward	National Executive Committee .....	Nick Forbes
		National Executive Committee .....	Alice Perry
Labour Students .....	Eda Cazimoglu	National Executive Committee .....	John Cryer
		National Executive Committee .....	Margaret Beckett
House of Lords.....	Alicia Kennedy	National Executive Committee .....	George Howarth
House of Lords.....	Dave Watts	National Executive Committee .....	Shabana Mahmood
		National Executive Committee .....	Richard Leonard
Northern Ireland.....	Boyd Black	National Executive Committee .....	James Asser
		National Executive Committee .....	Keith Vaz
Labour International.....	Jos Gallacher	National Executive Committee .....	Diana Holland
		National Executive Committee .....	Keith Birch
		National Executive Committee .....	Joanne Cairns
		National Executive Committee .....	Andi Fox

## Appendix 2: National Policy Forum membership

National Executive Committee.....	Jim Kennedy
National Executive Committee.....	Andy Kerr
National Executive Committee.....	Paddy Lillis
National Executive Committee.....	Pauline McCarthy
National Executive Committee.....	Ian Murray
National Executive Committee.....	Wendy Nichols
National Executive Committee.....	Sarah Owen
National Executive Committee.....	Cath Speight
National Executive Committee.....	Mick Whelan
National Executive Committee.....	Carwyn Jones
National Executive Committee.....	Lara McNeill
National Executive Committee.....	Nick Brown
National Executive Committee.....	Ian Lavery









