



NATIONAL POLICY | FORUM

REPORT 2019



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Foreword

Welcome to the 2019 National Policy Forum (NPF) Report.

As we continue to build on our popular 2017 manifesto, the NPF was this year tasked to consult on eight key areas of policy, with an increased focus on participation and engagement from CLPs.

Each of the policy commissions agreed a consultation document focusing on a key area of policy development. These were put together in packs, alongside a guide for local parties on how to arrange discussions and send in responses. The consultation was launched in February, with every CLP receiving two copies of the consultation pack, and an email to all Party members from Jeremy Corbyn MP encouraging them to get involved.

In the following months, hundreds of CLPs and Branch Labour parties responded, holding meetings, and sending in views drawing on the expertise of local members. Labour regions also held several policy conferences and policy commission roadshows across the country, hosted by NPF representatives and shadow ministers. In addition members of the shadow frontbench attended roundtable events with business and other stakeholders, and held online question and answer sessions with members on Brexit.

To further support members and to make our policy making as accessible as possible, the Labour Policy Forum, our digital platform for policy development, had a specific hub created for members to read the documents and submit their views. The website also hosted materials to help members engage with policy making, along with details on how members could request accessible versions of the consultation documents. Activity was further published through social media, including through the Labour Policy Forum Twitter account (@labpolicyforum) with the hashtag #LabourPolicy.

To further promote accessibility and understanding on the consultation a number of animated videos were produced to explain how the consultation works and the topics which were being discussed. Training was also provided to members both through webinars and Labour's eLearning platform, Achieve.

Throughout the year the policy commissions held evidence-taking sessions to hear from invited experts in these policy areas and discussed submissions from members, local parties, and other stakeholders.

The work done by each commission to consult with members, local parties and stakeholders is set out in detail in the following report. Each section demonstrates the wide ranging work of the NPF both within the priority area examined this year and broader sets of policy questions which fall under their remit.

The NPF will again be holding a series of seminars at Conference this year where delegates can discuss ideas and raise questions with Labour's frontbench teams and NPF representatives. You can find out more about these by visiting the Party stand.

Andrew Fisher
Executive Director of Policy & Research

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 2018/19 edition; in it you can read about the work of the NPF’s eight policy commissions since Conference 2018.

To get involved visit 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 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 Policy Commission



MEMBERSHIP 2018/19

HM Opposition

Angela Rayner MP*

Tracy Brabin MP

Mike Kane MP

Gordon Marsden MP

NEC

James Asser*

Huda Elmi

Rachel Garnham

Michael Wheeler

CLPs and Regions

Grant Aitken – Scottish Labour Party

George Downs – North West Region

Joy Gough – South East Region

Owen Hooper – Eastern Region

Clare Lally – Scottish Policy Forum

Cameron Matthews – Eastern Region

George Norman – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Elly Owen – Welsh Labour Party

Tom Pearce – South West Region

Brenda Weston – South West Region

Adele Williams – East Midlands Region

Affiliates

Anntoinette Bramble – Local Government Association

Eda Cazimoglu – Labour Students

Phillipa Marsden – Unite

David McCrossen – Usdaw

June Nelson – BAME Labour

Barbara Plant – GMB

Maggie Ryan – Unite

Elected Representatives

Lucy Powell MP

Tim Swift – Association of Labour Councillors

Julie Ward MEP

* Co-convenor

Policy development

The Early Years, Education and Skills (EYES) 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 adulthood.

At Annual Conference 2018, delegates passed a motion on the school system. Following the passing of this motion, this year the Commission has been tasked with considering the issue of local, democratic accountability in the education system as its priority issue. The Commission has met several times to discuss and hear expert evidence on a range of topics related to the National Education Service (NES) and local accountability, including on further education, lifelong learning and Ofsted.

The Commission began this year's policy cycle at Women's Conference 2018 and Annual Conference 2018.

At Women's Conference, delegates debated a composited motion on childcare. The motion noted that vital support for families with young children has been systematically destroyed by the cuts to, and closure of, children's centres and Sure Start over the past eight years and it called on the Labour Party to keep public nurseries publicly run.

During the debate, delegates discussed a wide range of issues pertaining to childcare including the importance of Sure Start and its interrelation with survivors of domestic violence; the cost of childcare being too high for working parents and the importance of early intervention and diagnosis for children with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND). These are issues that the Commission has also considered throughout the year in their discussion of members' submissions.

Although the motion was not carried through to Annual Conference, the issues raised by delegates at Women's Conference were still addressed.

During his speech at Annual Conference 2018, Jeremy Corbyn announced Labour's plans for a radical expansion and transformation of free universal childcare. He told Conference that a Labour government will ensure that 30 hours of high quality, genuinely free childcare is available to all 2, 3 and 4-year-olds, with no means testing and that Labour will provide additional subsidised hours of childcare on top of the free 30 hour allowance.

At Annual Conference 2018, delegates also debated a composited motion on the school system. The motion noted that academisation is incompatible with an egalitarian and democratic education system serving the many, not the few and argued that the main task in education for a Labour government will be to recreate a coherent, planned and appropriately funded national public system which is accountable to its various stakeholders and communities.

This was an issue that had also come through very clearly during last year's consultation process.

As a result, in her speech to conference Angela Rayner, Shadow Secretary of State for Education, announced that the next Labour government will tackle the fragmentation and privatisation of our school system by ending the current free schools and academies programmes. Angela Rayner told Conference that Labour will integrate academies and multi-academy trusts by developing and moving towards a new system under which all schools will follow the same rules, centred on giving schools, parents and communities an active role in decision-making and meaningful power over the schools in their areas.

At Annual Conference 2018 the Commission held a policy seminar with members of the Shadow Education team. At the seminar, delegates discussed a wide range of issues relating to the remit of the Commission, including the decimation of Sure Start, the issue of off-rolling and the teacher recruitment and retention crisis. During the discussion, delegates also expressed their concern about the narrowing of the curriculum and the current assessment methods that are used in our schools, arguing that formative assessment is needed.

In January, the new Commission met for the first time, following the NPF elections that had taken place over the summer. At this meeting Angela Rayner thanked previous Commission members for their involvement in the 2018 consultation and welcomed the new members. She introduced the document for the 2019 consultation, highlighting that it focuses on local democratic accountability within the National Education Service. She told the attendees how the consultation this year will build on the work of the previous year, as well as the motion passed by Annual Conference and the announcements she made at Labour Party Conference 2018.

At this meeting the Commission noted the motions and reference backs that were submitted to Annual and Women's Conference. Angela Rayner confirmed that her team were beginning to develop proposals around the motion that was passed by Annual Conference 2018. The Commission also selected their Equality and Sustainability Champions, and Brexit Representative.

The Commission met again in February, where they heard evidence on the issue of further education and lifelong learning in the National Education Service from David Hughes, CEO of the Association of Colleges (AoC), Stephen Evans, CEO of the Learning and Work Institute and Ruth Spellman, CEO of the Workers' Education Association.

David argued that the National Education Service needs a coherent post-18 system. He argued that the current system is a mess; English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) and digital skills provision has been decimated, the National Retraining Scheme is

barely functioning and the apprenticeship programme is failing to meet its targets. He argued that a post-18 system needs to help people refresh and renew skills, and retrain throughout life. To do this you need to view it as one system.

Stephen told the Commission that the numbers of adults engaging in education has fallen dramatically. Since 2010, the number of adults gaining qualifications has halved and there has been a 35 per cent fall in the number of adults improving numeracy and literacy. Stephen said that responses are at a 20 year low to the Learning and Work Institute's survey about participation in learning. He told the Commission that there are several reasons for this including national education funding cuts, cuts to other public services and an over-focus on apprenticeships. Stephen argued that this means the NES needs a national strategy for lifelong learning that aims to raise participation.

Ruth argued that in order to address educational inequality and disadvantage, you need to think about people who are not benefitting from the current system and you need to encourage collaboration rather than competition. She told the Commission that education serves a whole range of purposes, including gaining employment, participation in democracy, health outcomes and re-engagement in the community.

The Commission then had a number of different discussions on the issues raised by David, Ruth and Stephen in their presentations and argued that the issue of parity of esteem between further and higher education is vital. This was an issue that had also featured heavily in submissions from members on this topic.

In this meeting Commission members also had a discussion on the motion that was passed by conference and questions were asked about the work the Education team are undertaking to take the motion forward. Mike Kane explained that it is a hugely complex issue, but he reiterated that the Education team are discussing the legal implications with experts.

In February, the first standalone Women's Conference for many years took place. At this conference, delegates debated a composited motion on the early years education system and childcare. The motion noted that children's centres are a lifeline for parents, carers and children, providing vital services and opportunities for socialisation but that councils have been forced to make cuts and closures to children's centres across the country. It also noted that at present the early years system depends very heavily on the private sector, which has led to unequal access, and which relies on poorly paid and poorly trained staff.

The motion called on the Labour Party to ensure that the early years system is fully accessible to all young children; that it is accountable to parents and local communities and to ensure the system is fully funded for the task it sets out to do, with fair pay and

conditions, including funding for initial and in-service training for staff. The motion was passed unanimously.

During the debate, delegates discussed a wide range of topics, including the impact of baseline assessment on the early years curriculum, the lack of strategy for early years from the government and the vital importance of support for children with SEND in early years. Delegates highlighted that the issue of childcare should not just be seen as a woman's issue, even though it is women who disproportionately shoulder the responsibility for it.

In March, the Commission met and discussed the relationship between the Lifelong Learning Commission that Jeremy Corbyn launched in February and the work of the Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission. They also considered the submissions that had been received since the previous meeting. There were a number of topics that consistently came up in submissions, including the need to abolish league tables, reforming of Ofsted and the accountability system, exclusions and off-rolling.

A discussion was had on a motion submitted to the Commission which detailed the increasing number of staff who are being assaulted in schools. Commission members highlighted the work of the GMB in bringing this issue to the public's attention. Members also talked about the issue of children with SEND in the education system, with members highlighting the many problems they currently face. They highlighted a submission which called for the appointment of advocates for parents who are seeking help for children with SEND.

The Commission then held an evidence session with Mary Bousted, joint general secretary of the National Education Union (NEU), Jon Richards, Head of Education, UNISON and Matt Waddup, Head of Policy, University and College Union (UCU) on the subject of the consultation this year.

Mary argued that Ofsted is in need of reform and suggested that it is not that most effective model for holding schools to account. She argued that Ofsted cannot be relied upon to make accurate and valid judgements of school quality as its judgements are closely correlated with the demographics of its pupil intake. She told the Commission that the NEU believes schools need to be accountable to a wide range of stakeholders, and that schools deserve, and need, valid, reliable and intelligent accountability – which, she argued, Ofsted does not provide.

Matt told the Commission that local accountability is a key issue in further and higher education, but that there are several issues which needed to be contended with in order to bring local, democratic accountability back to the system, including: the reversal of the marketisation agenda that has been pursued by the Conservative Government; stopping

the drive to a competitive rather than co-operative model in further and higher education; and an end to the exploitative employment model that pervades higher education.

Matt argued that there is a desperate need to broaden the governance models in further and higher education and that staff must have a legitimate voice in the institutions they work in. He also suggested that provision in these sectors is highly fragmented largely due to inefficient funding models.

The Commission then heard from Jon Richards, who started his presentation by discussing the 'myth of autonomy' that has driven the accountability regime. He argued that there is no evidence that school autonomy improves performance and that the results of Multi Academy Trusts demonstrate this. He argued that the autonomy agenda has distorted local accountability, but that one must remember that the Local Authority system of accountability that existed prior 2010 was not perfect; it often worked well in middle class areas, but not in disadvantaged ones. He suggested there is a need to find a new democratic body to hold schools to account, which could be the local authority but could also be a new local education authority or a body for the NES and that this needs to be better linked up with the local community, particularly in higher education.

After the three presentations concluded, a number of discussions were had by the Commission on the submissions submitted by CLPs and individual members, with a particular focus on the role of league tables, the new Ofsted framework, grammar schools, the marketisation of higher education and vice chancellor salaries.

In early June, a roundtable event was held with business stakeholders to discuss a wide range of issues relating to skills training and lifelong learning. Roundtables were organised around a number of themes including: future proofing against automation; vocational education and apprenticeships; careers information advice and guidance; upskilling and retraining in later life; and equality and skills.

Later in the month, Jeremy Corbyn and Angela Rayner held a roundtable event with members and education stakeholders in Birmingham to discuss disadvantage in education. At this event, Angela announced Labour's plans to launch a Social Justice Commission and focus on social justice rather than social mobility. At the event, discussions were held on a number of different topics including: the barriers that disadvantaged groups face when accessing education; the need to ensure equitable access to education for these groups; and the attainment and achievement rates of disadvantaged groups.

When the Commission met in June they held an evidence session with John Bolt and James Whiting from the Socialist Education Association (SEA) on local accountability in

the National Education Service. In their session John and James argued that Labour's vision for education should reflect both a broad understanding of what it means to be an educated citizen in the first half of the 21st century and the needs of society as a whole. They suggested that it needs to take account of how our society is changing, the transformative impact of technology and the kinds of skills and knowledge that will be needed in families, communities and at work.

They argued that whilst there will need to be a consistent overall framework for the NES, it shouldn't be a single management structure with all decisions ultimately being taken by central government or its agencies. The SEA suggested that all providers of education should be first and foremost accountable to their learners and their families and that the next level of accountability should be to the wider local community and to other local providers of education, arguing that peer review should be central and there should be a presumption of collaboration rather than competition between providers.

Members of the Commission discussed the submissions that had been submitted since the previous meeting which focused on a wide range of topics including a National Youth Service, private and grammar schools, skills gaps, holiday hunger and an 'NES baby box'. The Commission also discussed a submission which spoke about the potential of opening up schools to the wider community by introducing an informal hour and a half period after school for sessions that aren't included in the curriculum, such as debating, financial management and cooking.

The Commission met in July for the final meeting of this policy cycle, where they considered the submissions that had been received in response to the consultation, as well as the draft consultation response. In this meeting Angela Rayner gave an update on the work of the Shadow Education team and the work that has been undertaken this year to address the reference backs from Annual Conference 2018.

Angela Rayner discussed the reference back from Islington North CLP and she reiterated that it is still Labour's position to support the 2017 manifesto commitment and ensure that development of a National Education Service is based on inclusivity, with sufficient funding and staff training to make this a reality. She told the Commission that Labour is committed to ensuring SEND services are well funded to support inclusion and the fact the NPF report does not always reference existing policy does not mean there has been a policy shift.

She also discussed the reference backs from Colne Valley CLP and the Socialist Education Association. Angela noted that these reference backs were submitted before she made her speech to Annual Conference in 2018, in which she laid out Labour's plans to stop schools being converted into academies and bring existing academies back into an integrated National Education Service.

She told the Commission how last year she'd announced a number of policy proposals to achieve this. These policies included: integrating academies and multi-academy trusts by developing and moving towards a new system under which all schools will follow the same rules; cracking down on related party transactions; returning powers to schools and local government by giving schools more autonomy from Multi-Academy Trusts (MATs) and making local authorities responsible for all school admissions in their areas and granting them powers to open and commission new schools to meet the need for school places in their communities.

Angela Rayner told the Commission how the consultation this year is a first step in developing a new regulatory framework for schools, as part of a wider regulatory framework for the NES as a whole, and that this work will continue over the coming year.

She also reiterated the points she had made in previous meetings regarding the motion that was passed by Conference 2018, telling the Commission that her team are taking the work forward and that they will continue to meet with legal and policy experts on the issue.

The Commission had a discussion on the recent launch of the campaign against private schools, as well as on the issue of 'hidden extras' in the education system, such as school trips, books and uniforms.

Consultation: Local Accountability in the National Education Service

Since 2010 the education of our citizens has been treated as a commodity, something which can be bought and sold. From the tripling of tuition fees in higher education to the acceleration of the academies programme, the Conservative Government has adopted a market-based approach to education and consequently the system has become increasingly fragmented, opaque, and individualistic.

Over the past nine years there has been an increase in the number of education institutions that are no longer rooted in their local communities, with the needs of the private sector prioritised instead. As a result local democratic accountability has been eroded. Every day across the country parents, learners, and local communities are shut out of decisions that affect them, while private companies are bolstered to drive educational change.

This has perhaps been most visible in the school system, but the voice of the local community is noticeably absent across other parts of the education system as well.

The decimation of Sure Start centres and maintained nurseries, combined with an increase in private, voluntary and independent nurseries (PVIs) means that local and parental voices are crucially missing from early years education. In further education the Government consistently favours the opinion of employers over the local community, learners, or parents.

This doesn't just have a negative impact on local communities and learners, it's bad for wider educational outcomes, and for society too.

After nine years of Tory and Lib Dem coalition Governments it's clear that this approach to education has to change and with Labour, it will.

Through consultation with members and stakeholders in 2018, the Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission developed the principles of the National Education Service (NES) which set out our alternative vision for education, one which centres the needs of children, families and learners.

As the development of the NES is a key focus for Labour ahead of the next General Election, this year the Commission has been tasked with developing policies in this area.

It has specifically focused on principles 6 and 7 of the National Education Service Charter and has sought to build on the policy passed by Labour's Annual Conference last year.

In 2018 Annual Conference agreed that 'the main task in education for a Labour government will be to recreate a coherent, planned and appropriately funded national public system which is accountable to its various stakeholders and communities.'

This followed the announcement by the Shadow Secretary of State for Education, Angela Rayner MP, that Labour will end the academies and free schools programme and bring all publicly funded schools back into the mainstream public sector, ensuring they are democratically accountable to the communities that they serve.

The Commission took evidence at its meetings this year on issues relating to the NES from;

- David Hughes, Association of Colleges (AoC)
- James Whiting, Socialist Education Association (SEA)
- John Bolt, Socialist Education Association (SEA)
- Jon Richards, UNISON
- Mary Boustead, National Education Union (NEU)
- Matt Waddup, University and Colleges Union (UCU)
- Ruth Spellman, Workers' Education Association (WEA)
- Stephen Evans, Learning and Work Institute

The Commission would like to thank these speakers for coming to give evidence. It would also like to thank every single person, local party 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 or other NPF consultation event.

The National Education Service Charter

Education is a public good and all providers within the National Education Service shall be bound by the principles of this charter:

1. Education is a human right and all citizens have the right to learn. **The National Education Service shall provide education that is free at the point of use, available universally and throughout life.**
2. Education should empower individuals to become critical, active and engaged members of society. **The National Education Service aims to ensure learners receive a holistic and rounded education, where they gain the knowledge, skills, qualities, values, creativity, and confidence needed to create and participate in a just society.**
3. **Every child and adult matters, so the National Education Service is committed to tackling the structural, cultural and individual barriers which cause and perpetuate inequality.** It will work alongside the health and social care, sustainability, housing and industrial policies set by a democratically elected government to create a strong and inclusive economy, enhance social cohesion and achieve greater equality.
4. **Every child and adult can learn and achieve, so the National Education Service will be inclusive and equitable.** All individuals will be given appropriate support to access and succeed in education, regardless of age, gender, disability, race, religion, class, sexual orientation or any other social or personal characteristics.
5. Learners with special educational needs and disabilities face additional barriers in accessing education throughout life. **The National Education Service will give due consideration, resource and support to these learners to ensure that high quality education is accessible to all.**
6. As education is a public good, ensuring that all citizens receive a high quality education is a collective endeavour. **The National Education Service will promote collaboration and cooperation between learners, the education workforce, parents and carers, trade unions, governing bodies, civic society, and employers.** It will be structured to encourage and enhance cooperation amongst all parts of the education system and across different boundaries and sectors.

7. **Staff, learners, parents and carers, local communities and the public will be collectively responsible for the National Education Service and the education institutions within it.** They will be 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.
8. All types of knowledge, skills and learning deserve respect. **The National Education Service will support and provide flexible formal and non-formal learning, from cradle to grave.** All forms of learning within and outside of educational institutions will be treated with equal respect.
9. **The National Education Service aspires to the highest standards of excellence for staff.** All staff will be valued as high-skilled professionals, with appropriate accountability balanced against giving them genuine freedom of judgement, innovation, and creativity.
10. **The National Education Service values the personal development and health of the individual, so it will have the utmost regard for the wellbeing of learners and staff.** Its policies and practices will support the emotional, social and physical wellbeing of learners and staff.

Collective responsibility

The Conservatives' market-based approach has meant that education in England is now largely seen as a commodity; an individual pursuit with purely economic returns. But we know that the benefits of education go beyond its impact on the earning potential of individuals. Education is a public good; we all benefit from people receiving a high quality education in the form of happier, healthier and more socially and economically active citizens.

Viewing education as a public good is not only important for learners and wider society. It's also necessary in creating an inclusive, equitable high quality education system. To achieve the education system we want, we need the education of our citizens to be seen as a collective endeavour, something in which we all have a role to play. We need individuals, local communities, and society to be collectively responsible for the National Education Service.

The consultation invited submissions on how a Labour Government could create a culture which sees education as a collective endeavour, where it is accepted and valued as a social good from which we all benefit and to which we all contribute.

Submissions stressed that in order to ensure education is seen as a social good, it needs to be a genuinely universal, free at the point of use public service, much like the NHS. Indeed, submissions argued that in order to ensure that education is valued as a social good, the National Education Service needs to be seen as equally important as the NHS by both Government and the public.

As long as we see learning as a private business, we will never develop the culture of inclusion and accountability which we need to ensure that education is bedded in to society as a public good which benefits all.

Hornsey Branch Labour Party

In order to win the argument that education is a public good, and should be funded as such, it is vital that the public feel a sense of ownership over the education system. Funding education publicly will heighten the debate over the public value of education, and the public scrutiny of education, so it is vital that the public feel ownership and value coming from their educational institutions.

National Union of Students (NUS)

Labour is committed to providing education that is free at the point of use, from cradle to grave. Our 2017 manifesto committed to abolishing tuition fees in Higher Education and reintroducing maintenance grants, as well as reinstating the Education Maintenance Allowance for learners in Further Education and scrapping fees in adult education, ensuring individuals can access education throughout their life.

Submissions also highlighted that the way in which the current education system in England operates makes collective responsibility difficult to achieve, and that this is something the next Labour government will have to address.

This was particularly apparent with regards to funding and many submissions argued that one of the most pressing issues for a Labour Government to address will be the chronic underfunding of our education system, and that this would be a vital part of ensuring education is seen as a social good.

The chronic underfunding of education, based on the unhelpful paradigm that education is a cost rather than an investment, which pits the needs of one group against another.

Association of School and College Leaders (ASCL)

Reverse Government funding cuts to education in order to restore better equity in the education system.

Rachael, South East

Funding of education needs to be an immediate priority for a Labour Government, as funding will mean more teachers, better facilities and better opportunities for children and those adults embarking on lifelong learning.

Local Government Association (LGA)

Labour is aware we will inherit a seriously underfunded education system. Every part of the education system has faced cuts or underfunding over the past nine years and this was an issue that came up consistently in the submissions we received and the evidence we heard.

Schools are at crisis point due to lack of funding.

Deane, Eastern Region

The NEU told us that funding for nursery schools has not kept pace with costs and as a consequence many have been forced to close; they face losing one third of their budget on average next year which means severe cuts to the education and services they provide.

Similarly, funding per pupil has fallen by 8 per cent in schools and local authorities face a funding shortfall of £1.2 billion for children and young people with SEND, resulting in losses of school support staff, increasing waiting times for SEND assessments and cuts to specialist provision.

The Commission also discussed with the AoC how funding per student for 16–18 year-olds has seen the most significant cuts of all stages of education in recent years. School sixth forms have faced budget cuts of 21 per cent per student since their peak in 2010–11, while further education (FE) and sixth-form college funding per student has fallen by about 8 per cent over the same period.

Everyone suffers when our education system is chronically underfunded, but these cuts disproportionately impact on the most disadvantaged in society. Labour will invest in every stage of our education system, from early years through to university. We will ensure that every stage of the education system receives the funding it needs to ensure a high quality education for all.

Accountability in the NES

The Government's market-based approach to education has seen the erosion of local democratic accountability, at every stage of the education system, and, where accountability does exist it is a top-down, often punitive system that over-allocates blame to education professionals and education institutions.

We are clear this has to change.

The consultation invited submissions to think about how different education stakeholders can be empowered to influence change, as well as how these stakeholders can contribute towards making the National Education Service accountable, inclusive and democratic and relevant to individual, local and national needs.

The NES can create structures for organising and governing education that are democratic, integrated, planned, well informed and alive to community and learners' participation in shaping provision.

Newcastle Central CLP

It was clear from the submissions received that there needs to be a clear set of guiding principles that will underpin any reform to the accountability system, whether at an institutional, local, regional, or national level and this was an issue that weighed heavily in the responses.

A reoccurring principle that consistently came up was the need to ensure simple and transparent means of democratic engagement and accountability.

In their written submission, UCU argued that any accountability system had to have the following principles at its core:

- The understanding that education is a vital public service that should be properly resourced and democratically controlled
- Ensures that staff, students and local communities have a meaningful role in national, local and institutional decision-making processes and curriculum design
- Defends professional autonomy and academic freedom
- Promotes a model of quality assurance based on peer review

These themes were reiterated in other submissions the Commission received, as well as in evidence sessions. For instance, when UNISON gave evidence to the Commission, they told us that governance in further and higher education is often self-serving and weak.

Submissions also stressed the need to ensure that any accountability system is fair, useful and informative to its stakeholders.

Accountability must be fair, useful and informative. Parents need good information about their child's progress and about the school they attend. Key stakeholders, such as employers, need information about the quality of our education system and the reassurance that young people leave education with the knowledge and skills for successful working and personal lives. In addition, the government needs robust information about the strengths and weaknesses of the education system, and the groups of children who are doing well, or who are struggling, or being let down, in our schools and colleges.

NEU

Many stressed that accountability should measure what is genuinely important, not just what is easy to measure and that the scope of accountability must be for the aspects of education over which institutions have real influence, rather than contextual factors such as levels of poverty or local unemployment rates.

Accountability systems should evaluate what is genuinely important not just what is easy to measure.

SEA

Submissions and evidence sessions highlighted the need to avoid duplication in the system, with many highlighting that the current structures, channels and mechanisms for delivering, supporting and monitoring education in England are complex, confusing and expensive. ASCL argued that there is a proliferation of 'middle tier' accountability bodies that have, in some cases, overlapping or contradictory remits.

Conversations around structure and accountability should not be duplicative or detract from the core mission of what education is there to do.

Million Plus

This is an issue Labour have already begun to address and at Annual Conference 2018, Angela Rayner set out Labour's plans to develop a new regulatory framework for schools, centred on giving schools, parents, learners, and communities an active role in decision making, via democratic institutions.

It is clear, however, there is more for us to consider and this consultation is a first step in developing a new regulatory framework for schools, as part of a wider regulatory framework for the NES as a whole. We will seek to complete the framework in time for it to be included in the next manifesto.

Accountability at an institutional level

The consultation invited submissions on what local democratic accountability should look like for children's services, early years providers, schools, further education providers and universities.

However, it was clear from the submissions that there is also a need to address issues of accountability within education institutions too.

An issue that featured heavily in submissions was the issue of high quality governance within education institutions.

Good governance in education is non-negotiable.

New Schools Network

Good governance underpins the ability of institutions to serve the needs of their students, local communities and wider society.

UCU

According to the Canadian Institute on Governance, 'governance determines who has power, who makes the decisions, how other players make their voice heard and how account is rendered'.

The National Governance Association has identified the core responsibilities of good governance:

- Ensure there is clarity of vision, ethos and strategic direction
- Hold the executive leaders to account for the educational performance of the organisation and its pupils; and the performance management of staff
- Oversee the financial performance of the organisation and makes sure its money is well spent
- Ensure that other key players with a stake in the organisation get their voices heard

Submissions highlighted that the governance of education institutions should be held to the highest standards of transparency, but that this is not always the case. Many argued that in order to address this, governing body and trust board minutes and other accountability documents should be regularly and proactively published.

Submissions also highlighted that governance arrangements must be democratic and provide representation for elected parents and carers, learners, staff unions, employers and representatives of the wider community and local authority.

Governing bodies at all levels must have powers restored to them and education providers must be accountable to their local communities, staff, parents and staff should have a seat on the board and in third tier education this should be extended to students.

UNISON

Some argued that this representation must be meaningful. The New Visions for Education Group argued that the present structure has a heavy democratic and community engagement deficit, with parents, in particular, not having a clear, coherent and consistent understanding of how schools are managed and governed.

Pupils and students opinions and feedback should be gathered and valued and discussed in Governor's meetings on a regular basis.

Horsham CLP

Many submissions highlighted the issue of transparency within Multi Academy Trusts, and this is an issue that has weighed heavily in Parliament this year too.

In Multi Academy Trusts, local schools and school governing bodies have been stripped of their powers, which have been handed over to unelected, distant trust bodies. These are making corporate decisions that are in the interests of the national body, but often go against the interests of local schools.

GMB

In January, the Public Accounts Committee published a report which argued that there has been a succession of high-profile academy failures that have been costly to the taxpayer and damaging to children's education. It suggested that some academy trusts have misused public money through related party transactions and paying excessive salaries.

The report also argued that Academy Trusts are not sufficiently transparent or accountable to parents and local communities and that parents and local people have to fight to obtain even basic information about their children's schools.

It further argued that academy trusts do not do enough to communicate and explain decisions that affect the schools they are responsible for and how they are spending public money and the accounts of individual academy trusts, and for the sector as a whole, are not yet as useful and accessible to users as they should be.

This is something Labour has begun to address and at Conference 2018, Angela Rayner MP highlighted the need for all schools, including those in MATs, to operate in the interests of the communities that they serve, and be genuinely accountable to them.

This included banning all related party transactions where a profit is being made, to ensure that MATs are not able to be used as a vehicle for personal enrichment.

From the submissions received and the discussions held by the Commission throughout the year, it's apparent that the internal governance of education institutions is something the Labour Party will need to address. This could include looking at the ways in which the quality of governance can be improved across the education system, as well as steps that can be taken to make governing bodies more representative of and accountable to the communities that they serve.

Accountability at a local level

The consultation called for submissions on what structures, channels, and mechanisms would need to be put in place at a local and regional level to support a high quality, accountable NES. The consultation also invited submissions on how we can move towards an accountability framework that works for all areas and all parts of the education system.

Submissions received highlighted that central to democratic, local accountability is the need to move towards a collaborative system where local education institutions are encouraged to work together.

The Local authority could bring together representatives from each sector concerned and provide the framework for these representatives, and encourage collaboration and a cohesive supportive approach.

Worth Valley Branch, Keighley CLP

We believe these groups should expect co-creation, collaboration and co-design as part of an accountability system.

Association of Employers and Learning Providers (AELP)

Many submissions highlighted that the market-based approach to education has reduced the incentives for local education providers to work together, as they are often competing for learners and for funding. Some submissions suggested that a way to address this would be to introduce cross-sector education forums to support collaboration in a local accountability system.

It was suggested that these forums could have representatives from trade unions, parent groups, students' unions, community leaders and employers who could map the education and training needs of the community with inclusivity and equality of access at their heart.

It was argued that these could help foster a collaborative environment for institutions to meet those needs, and that, based on the work of these forums, local area leaders could jointly plan, commission and provide education, health and care services in a way which improves outcomes for young people and disadvantaged groups.

Existing structures such as school forums could be adapted to include a wider group of representatives than is currently the case. These could be expanded to form local education stakeholder boards, for example, with places for elected parents, staff unions and local employers in addition to the head teachers and governors who are currently represented on School Forums.

NEU

Each local authority should establish an education committee/board to empower both councillors and elected Local Authority (where possible) representatives of the range of stakeholders in education to fully participate in decision making along with open community forums where issues can be debated and proposals tested.

Balham and Northcote Branch Labour Parties

This is something that is already happening in some Labour-run councils. The LGA's response to the consultation highlighted that Labour-run Hackney Council have launched a Hackney Schools Board to bring together the Council, education specialists and head teachers. The Board gives the opportunity for greater joint working in an increasingly fragmented system, and a forum to discuss education policies.

Many suggested that forums could be a good way of engaging parents and the wider local community in the education system, and this is something other submissions called for.

An issue that came through strongly in the submissions and the discussions held by the Commission is that a vital component of strong, local accountability is ensuring meaningful engagement with all types of stakeholders, especially those who are harder to reach.

Far too often, the parents, carers, and families of disadvantaged students are those that are least able to engage in the accountability system. It's clear that to ensure that a system of collective responsibility is able to support the most disadvantaged students, steps will need to be taken to ensure that their parents and carers are given the information and support needed to engage in the system.

We recognised how hard it can be to get parents involved in some areas and particularly at secondary school level and believe a Labour Government should support schools to reach out and involve 'harder to reach' parents.

Pinewood & Stour Valley Branch Labour Party



There is a need to establish a genuine and general atmosphere of welcome, and convince parents their involvement is important.

Pamela, Labour North

There were many suggestions of how this could be achieved in the submissions and it was something the Commission discussed in detail when they heard evidence from the WEA.

The WEA recommended that education resources could be better integrated into the community and that schools could be open at the evening and weekend for adults to use. They argued that if parents are engaged in education then their children are more likely to be also.

Another issue that weighed heavily in submissions received and conversations held by the Commission throughout the year was the role of local authorities in a local accountability system.

From the submissions received, it is clear that local authorities must play a key role in shaping their education and skills offer for their local area, from what is offered to the delivery of it.

They are best suited to know the needs of their local areas, and the skills that will be required in an urban area such as Birmingham will be different to those required in a rural area such as Cumbria.

LGA

However, as UNISON highlighted in their evidence session the local authority system of accountability that existed prior to 2010 was not perfect and that it often worked well in middle class areas, but not in disadvantaged ones.

This is not to say that the local education authority model was a UK wide success. It delivered well in most areas, particularly middle class areas, but in many inner cities children were let down for many years. Any replacement for the failed academy system must not let that happen again.

UNISON

Labour is clear that there is a strong role for local authorities to play in a local accountability system.

At Conference last year, Angela Rayner announced a series of measures that would empower local authorities to represent the needs of all children in their areas. This included giving them the powers they need to meet their legal responsibilities for place planning, by being able to both create new school places and compel existing schools to expand, and taking responsibility for admissions away from MATs or individual academies and returning that power to the local authority.

But as the LGA have shown, local authorities have seen their funding slashed every year since the Conservatives came in to office.

This is something submissions have argued Labour will need to consider, particularly as the increasing fragmentation of the education system has seen staff and expertise in education move out of local authorities and in to other parts of the system.

Over the last nine years, austerity has had a significant impact on schools, colleges and lifelong learning provision. Local Authorities have seen their budgets cut by almost 60 per cent since 2010.

LGA

There is a vital role for the local authority to play in supporting every child in their area. From ensuring that good school places are available and that they are accessible to all pupils, particularly the most disadvantaged, to ensuring that education provision is genuinely, democratically accountable to the communities that they serve.

Labour's plans for a common rulebook for schools, outlined by Angela Rayner at Conference last year, begin to show a new role for local authorities in a National Education Service and that the National Education Service is an opportunity to develop a accountability framework that works for all areas and all parts of the education system.

This consultation is the first step in developing a new regulatory framework for schools, as part of a wider regulatory framework for the NES as a whole, and we will seek to complete the framework in time for it to be included in the next manifesto.

Accountability at a national level

While the consultation was specifically focused on accountability at a local level, the issue of national accountability and its interaction with local accountability weighed heavily in submissions and discussions held by the Commission throughout the year.

This was most apparent with regards to Ofsted.

The current operation of OFSTED works against effective teaching and learning and the former HMI approach to supporting schools was much better.

Barry, West Midlands

Ofsted is not fit for purpose and it is the route of much that is wrong with our current education system, School accountability should be more supportive.

Louise, Labour North

When the Commission heard evidence from the National Education Union, they discussed how Ofsted is not the most effective model for holding schools to account,

arguing that it cannot be relied upon to make accurate and valid judgements of school quality as its judgements are closely correlated with the demographics of its pupil intake.

The NEU highlighted research from the Education Policy Institute's (EPI) report 'School Inspection in England: Is there room to improve?', which found that school inspection outcomes appear to be disproportionately affected by the percentage of disadvantaged pupils in a school. The report found that schools with more disadvantaged pupils were more likely to be judged by Ofsted as "requiring improvement" and that the more advantaged the pupils, the more likely a school will gain a "good" or "outstanding" Ofsted rating.

Similarly many submissions argued that Ofsted has created a culture of fear and competitiveness in the school system and that this is having an adverse effect on the quality of education learners receive, as well as being damaging to the mental health and well-being of learners and staff.

The role and purpose of OFSTED need to be reviewed and assessed and changed in regard to how performance of both schools and pupils are measured. We need to remove the competition in education and encourage cooperation between educational establishments rather than have schools seek out the brightest pupils at Years 7 and 12.

Weaver Vale CLP

Reform Ofsted to make it more locally based and responsible to local electorate.

Mid Worcestershire CLP

Ofsted has proven to be a blunt instrument of high-stakes inspections that have often provided questionable outcomes and created an adversarial atmosphere which should have no place in a system that values the health and well-being of all those in schools, adults and pupils alike.

Eltham North Branch Labour Party

Many submissions suggested that alongside a review of the role and purpose of Ofsted, the Labour Party should consider the role of peer review in supporting school improvement as part of a collaborative, accountability system.

Peer review should be central and there should be a presumption of collaboration rather than competition between providers – for example in admissions and in meeting the needs of vulnerable students.

SEA

We should encourage all schools to enter voluntarily into deep, carefully considered collaborations with other schools, to build capacity and encourage shared local responsibility.

ASCL

We need to encourage evaluation of schools by other schools.

Blackheath Westcombe Branch Labour Party

School improvement should be based on schools working collaboratively to share ideas and to learn from one another.

Carole, Greater London

It is clear from the submissions and discussions held by the Commission that the role and function of Ofsted needs to be reviewed. This is something the Labour Party will strongly consider ahead of the next General Election.

Other issues

Sex and Relationship Education

Throughout the year, the issue of Sex and Relationship Education has featured prominently in the news and in the submissions the Commission received. This is because lessons incorporating same-sex relationships and transgender issues have resulted in protests outside some primary schools, with children being removed from classes and head teachers being threatened in some cases.

Labour is clear there is not only a moral imperative to ensure that all young children receive LGBT inclusive education, there is a legal requirement too and schools must comply with the Equalities Act.

The Commission believes that there is no justifiable reason to stop the teaching of these issues in schools and we fundamentally oppose the protests. A Labour Government will support schools and teachers to provide LGBT inclusive Sex and Relationship Education.

Augar Review

In February 2018, the then Prime Minister announced a wide-ranging Review of Post-18 Education and Funding led by Philip Augar, which was then published after Theresa May had resigned as leader of the Conservative Party, in May 2019. The report was a detailed analysis of the post-18 education sector and the funding issues faced by stakeholders. The report contained 53 recommendations on the future structure of the sector and funding proposals.

Some of the key recommendations included the reduction of higher education tuition fees to £7,500 per year; reducing the interest charged on student loans while students are studying; capping the overall amount of repayments on student loans to 1.2 times their loan; reintroducing maintenance grants of £3,000 for disadvantaged students; introducing maintenance support for level 4 and 5 qualifications and a first free full level 2 and 3 qualification for all learners.

The Commission believe that while some one of its recommendations are to be taken seriously, it means nothing without Government action. When the review was published there was no formal Government response, no extra funding and no guarantee that the recommendations will be implemented by the next Prime Minister.

The Labour Party believes in the principle of free education, which is why the next Labour Government will abolish tuition fees in higher education, as well scrapping fees in adult education. We are committed to reversing the decline in part-time education and we will support learners to access education by reintroducing maintenance grants for university students and reinstating the Education Maintenance Allowance for disadvantaged students in further education.

Funding for children and young people with special educational needs and disabilities

The issue of funding and support for children with special educational needs and disabilities featured heavily in the submissions received, as well as being the focus of numerous discussions within the Commission throughout the year.

In April, IPPR North reported that funding for children and young people with SEND had been cut by 17 per cent across England since 2015. The report also revealed the north had been worst affected, with cuts of 22 per cent per pupil. Researchers found government spending on support for children and young people with the most complex SEND had failed to keep pace with rising demand, resulting in a reduction in funds available per pupil.

Since 2015, government funding through the 'high needs block' has increased by 11 per cent across England, but demand has increased by 35 per cent. In the north funding has increased by 8 per cent but the number eligible for support has increased by 39 per cent. The NEU have also reported that England faces a £1.2 billion shortfall in special needs funding, with 93 per cent of local authority areas across England facing shortfalls in their high needs budgets.

As set out in our 2017 manifesto, Labour is committed to an inclusive education system. The Charter of the National Education Service sets out our belief that every child and adult can learn and achieve, while recognising that learners with SEND face additional

barriers in accessing education throughout life. We are clear that a Labour government will give due consideration, resource, support and investment to these learners to ensure that high quality education is accessible to all.

Lifelong Learning Commission

In February the Commission heard evidence from the AoC, the WEA and the Learning and Work Institute on the issue of Lifelong Learning within the National Education Service, following a considerable number of submissions on the topic.

Last September, the Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) published research which found that funding for adult education has been cut by 45 per cent since 2009-10. Research has also shown that there are fewer evening classes and opportunities for people to learn, whether it be for better literacy and numeracy, technical skills which might help get a job or a promotion, or GCSEs and A levels to help access higher education. Every year we now have 1.8 million fewer adults able to improve their life chances through education.

We are clear this is an issue that needs addressing and as a result Jeremy Corbyn launched the Lifelong Learning Commission (LLC), as set out in Labour's 2017 Manifesto. The task of this Commission is to devise an inclusive system of adult education to be implemented by the next Labour government that will transform the lives of millions. The Commission will make detailed proposals on how to integrate qualifications, introduce a credits system to make qualifications transferable and make it as easy as possible for people to pick up or pause their studies at times that work for them.

The work of the Lifelong Learning Commission will be closely linked to that of the EYES Commission and the EYES Commission will continue to receive updates on the progress of the LLC as it further develops its plans.

Curriculum and Assessment

An issue that weighed heavily in the submissions and discussions held by the Commission this year was the need to address the high-stakes assessment system in primary schools.

This was an issue the NEU discussed with the Commission and in July, a survey they undertook found that 97 per cent of primary school teachers would like to see high-stakes SATs tests scrapped. This followed research commissioned the year earlier, which found that nine-in-ten primary school teachers believed the SATs-based primary assessment system is detrimental to children's well-being and nearly nine-in-ten (88 per cent) said it did not benefit children's learning.

Earlier in the year Jeremy Corbyn pledged that a Labour Government would abolish KS1 and KS2 SATs and develop a new assessment system that will have fairer, broader, and more useful measures of attainment. The new assessment system will be developed with the teaching profession, parents, and other stakeholders.

The need to move towards a broader curriculum was another issue that was consistently mentioned in submissions, as well as forming a considerable part of the Commission's discussions.

At the beginning of the year a report by the Fabian Society found that two thirds (68 per cent) of primary school teachers in England say there is less arts education now than in 2010, and half (49 per cent) say the quality of what there is has got worse. In our 2017 manifesto, Labour committed to introducing an arts pupil premium to help pupils learn to play instruments, learn drama and dance and have regular access to theatres, galleries or museums in their local areas.

In May, it was also announced that Labour would ensure climate change is a core part of the curriculum from primary school onwards by reviewing the curriculum to ensure it focuses on the knowledge and skills that young people need in a world that will be increasingly shaped by climate change, particularly in renewable energy and green technology jobs. As part of the review, an expert panel will consider how climate change and its impact are taught from primary school onwards.

These announcements form part of Labour's 2017 manifesto commitment to set up a commission to look into curriculum and assessment, starting by reviewing Key Stage 1 and 2 SATs.

Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to Commission members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2018/19 the Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Academy schools
- Adult education
- Apprenticeships
- Austerity
- Child development
- Child poverty
- Childcare
- Children's services
- Class sizes
- Climate change
- Comprehensive schools
- Council Tax
- Curriculum
- Disability equality
- Early Years
- Educational attainment
- Employment and Support Allowance
- Exams
- Faith schools
- Foster Care
- Free schools
- Funding
- Further Education
- Grammar schools
- Higher Education
- Home Education
- Inequality in education
- LGBT equality
- Libraries
- Lifelong learning
- Local democracy
- Local Government
- London Challenge
- Mental health
- National Education Service
- Nationalisation
- Nurseries
- Ofsted
- Public schools
- Public services
- Religion
- School admissions
- School Admissions Testing
- School systems
- Secondary schools
- SEND Policy
- Sex and Relationship Education
- Skills development
- Social media
- Student loans
- Sure Start
- Teacher training
- Teachers
- Technology and science
- Testing
- The media
- Tuition fees
- Universities
- Voting Age
- Youth services



Economy, Business and Trade Policy Commission



MEMBERSHIP 2018/19

HM Opposition

John McDonnell MP*

Peter Dowd MP

Barry Gardiner MP

Jonathan Reynolds MP

NEC

Andy Kerr*

Rebecca Long-Bailey MP

Lara McNeill

CLPs and Regions

Lisa Banes – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Boyd Black† – Northern Ireland CLP

Grace Blakeley – Greater London Region

Teresa Beddis – West Midlands Region

Russell Cartwright – Eastern Region

Karen Constantine – South East Region

Harry Cross – Northern

Jos Gallacher – Labour International

Kate Hudson‡ – West Midlands Region

Eva Murray – Scottish Labour Party

Carol Wilcox – South West Region

Affiliates

Carrie Aspin – Usdaw

Tony Burke – Unite

Claire McCarthy§ – Co-operative Party

Dave Prentis – UNISON

Tim Roache – GMB

Steve Turner – Unite

Dave Ward – CWU

Elected Representatives

Jackie Baillie MSP

John Howarth MEP+

Sue Jeffrey – Association of Labour Councillors

* Co-convenor

† Replaced by Barbara Muldoon in June 2019

‡ Left the Commission in May 2019

§ Replaced by Joe Fortune in July 2019

+ Replaced by Neena Gill MEP in May 2019

Policy development

The purpose of the Economy, Business and Trade Policy 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 "Democratic Public Ownership". This builds on the popular commitment from our 2017 manifesto to bring energy, water, Royal Mail and the railways back into public ownership.

At Women's Conference 2018, delegates discussed a composite motion on Women and the Economy. Contributors to the debate remarked how women have struggled through history for equal recognition. Many also stressed how the struggles currently faced by BAME women are particularly acute and resulted from structural discrimination. Zero-hours contracts were also described as harsh, in need of reform and affecting women in particular. This reflected evidence heard by the Commission during its consultation on the 'Future of Work' which stressed the increasing precarity in the modern workplace and the outsized impact this had on women. Inequality in the rail industry was remarked on as particularly bad, with suggestions that a return to public ownership could help remedy this. It was also raised that there was a need to challenge some of the gender expectations in the labour market. Women's Conference delegates voted for this motion to go forward to Annual Conference to be debated.

At Annual Conference 2018, there were composites on local banks, government contracts, an economy for the many and an emergency motion on the crisis in the car industry. The motion on local banks followed recently announced closures of local branches by high street banks, noting the importance of banks to local businesses and communities and calling on Labour to ensure accessible, face-to-face provision of banking services in all communities. The motion on government contracts referenced the many recent failures of privatised public services, and welcomed Labour's commitment to bring services back in-house and end the use of PFI.

The motion on an 'economy for the many' noted the failures of austerity and stressed the importance of a Labour government and its transformative economic programme. The motion also resolved to further build on the current policy programme and 2017 manifesto, which fed into the decision by the Policy Commission to consult on democratic public ownership over the course of the next year.

Following on from the motion on government contracts, Labour announced in March that any service that involves significant contact with 'at risk' groups, exercise of coercive powers, or risk of infringement of people's rights would be brought back in house (subject to a number of conditions). These kinds of services include assessments for sick and disabled people claiming social security, NHS care and the treatment of people in detention centres and prisons.

Building on the local banks motion, Labour also announced plans to set up a publicly owned Post Bank based in the Post Office network to ensure every community has easy access to face-to-face, trusted and affordable banking. Labour's Post Bank would have by far the largest branch network of all UK banks with the potential for up to 3,600 Post Bank branches, helping to revitalise high streets by bringing footfall back into our town centres.

The Commission also held an extremely well attended seminar at Annual Conference 2018 with a large number of delegates contributing. Shadow International Trade Secretary Barry Gardiner MP discussed some of the major developments in trade policy over the course of the year, such as the failings of the Government's Trade Bill and the problems with some of the investment protection procedures in EU's trade deal with Canada. He also discussed some announcements from the Treasury team on workers' rights and workers on boards. Commission members raised a number of issues, such as the importance of regional economic rebalancing, challenging the Conservatives' claims about the jobs market, sustainable economic growth and support for SMEs.

The Economy, Business and Trade Policy Commission held its first meeting in January 2019, receiving updates from John McDonnell's office and Rebecca Long-Bailey MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy. Commission members then had a number of constructive discussions on the Party's Brexit policy and discussed submissions on the need for investment in infrastructure and manufacturing as part of Labour's industrial strategy. Members then discussed the consultation topic for 2019 and the work-plan for the year, including events and activities that could be run. The Commission then held a discussion on the consultation document and made a number of comments. Commission members highlighted that the consultation should not just engage with Party members, but also wider communities, workplaces and voters. The Chair highlighted the motions received in the areas the Commission covers for both Women's Conference and Annual Conference, including those ruled non-contemporary and asked for comments. The Commission discussed a number of motions on the car industry, the banking system and women and the economy. The Commission then discussed submissions it had received on issues including Brexit, corporation tax and industrial strategy.

At Women's Conference 2019 in February, a composite was passed on women in the workforce, welcoming Labour's existing manifesto commitments to extend statutory maternity pay and the provision of free childcare. It noted the specific problems faced by parents who are self-employed and freelancers, reflecting the findings of the Policy Commission's consultation last year on the 'future of work', and of the disproportionate impact on women in low paid and 'insecure' work, who often feel unable to approach their employer for fear of being seen as unreliable or a liability.

The second meeting was held in February 2019, where the Commission received an update from Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell on the work of the Shadow Treasury team. The Commission heard evidence on the consultation topic from Cat Hobbs from campaign group We Own It and Professor Andrew Cumbers from the University of Glasgow. Cat laid out some initial ideas for a model of publicly owned industries and discussed ways to ensure accountability and meaningful engagement from stakeholders. Andrew highlighted the need to dispel myths about privatisation and public ownership, and laid out some initial ideas for how democratic public ownership can help engage communities and further other policy objectives, such as combatting climate change. Commission members then raised a number of issues with Cat and Andrew during a Q&A session, reflecting submissions relating to public ownership received since the consultation opened. A discussion was held on the submissions that had been made to the Commission since it last met, including on business taxation, the governance of building societies, high streets and local economies and Brexit.

At the third meeting in March, the Commission heard evidence from David Hall from the Public Services International Research Unit at the University of Greenwich. He gave four international examples of successful publicly owned utilities and laid out his thoughts on effective governance structures for publicly owned companies. He discussed ways to balance the delivery of efficient public services with the demand for local accountability, suggesting a combination of nationally set operating objectives combined with local flexibility on how to meet these objectives. Commission members then asked David about academic evidence on the efficiency of public utilities, noting concerns in some submissions about the need to counter arguments around efficiency. There was then a discussion of submissions received from party members and local parties since the last session on issues relating to local economic development, industrial strategy and outsourcing.

In May, the Commission heard about three case studies of effective models of public ownership from around the world from Satoko Kishimoto of the Transnational Institute think tank. She mentioned the participatory budgeting model from Paris Water, capacity building amongst public service providers in US telecoms and the insourcing of workers in South Korea. The Commission further discussed this last issue of outsourcing with Satoko, noting the recent high profile of privatised probation providers. Tim Davidson and Onay Kasab of Unite then presented the Commission with their union's view on how to effectively involve workers in the governance of utilities. They also outlined how public ownership can help advance Labour's wider policy objectives, lowering living costs and setting the standard on working conditions, as noted in the composite from 2018 Women's Conference in relation to gender representation. John McDonnell's office then updated Commission members on the work of the Shadow Treasury team. Members

discussed the role of local politicians and stakeholders in achieving Labour's ambitious environmental goals. Finally, the Commission discussed submissions received since March, raising issues relating to business rates and Corporation Tax and Labour's plans to revitalise the high streets. In the context of ongoing issues relating to Brexit, members raised concerns in submissions about the need to protect workers and environmental rights in any potential future trade deals.

In June, a number of these issues were raised and discussed at a roundtable event on skills with business stakeholders and representatives of the Shadow Treasury and Shadow Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy teams. Attendees discussed ways to ensure better take up of shared parental leave, the importance of providing quality childcare facilities for working parents in less affluent communities and the benefits of flexible working arrangements for those with caring responsibilities.

Also in June, the Commission held its penultimate meeting before Annual Conference, taking evidence from Stuart Fegan of the GMB Union and researcher Hilary Wainwright, who has extensive experience working on issues relating to public ownership for the Greater London Council, UNISON and the Lucas Aerospace Shop Stewards Committee. Stuart began by laying out some of the problems of the industry since privatisation, giving examples of the experience of members working on the frontline of the water industry. Hilary noted the importance of leveraging the grassroots knowledge of users and workers in running public services and drew on her experience working within publicly owned organisations. Following a number of submissions relating to climate change, Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell discussed the Shadow Treasury team's work on promoting sustainable investment practices in the finance sector. Commission members raised a number of topics that had come through in submissions with John, including issues relating to land and business taxation, the climate emergency and climate change goals. There was also a discussion about how the transition to net zero emissions is a chance to rebalance the economy and create high skilled jobs in more deprived communities.

The consultation document was well received around the regions and nations. Events were held around the country, including an event in the North West, attended by Shadow Small Business and International Trade Minister Bill Esterson MP, and an event organised in Yeovil by the South West regional team. There were also discussions at local parties across the country with many submitting their thoughts as part of the consultation.

In July, the Commission held a conference call to agree the document to go to Annual Conference. The Commission discussed submissions received over the year relating to the consultation topic of public ownership, as well as other issues that had been popular throughout the year such as industrial strategy, workers' rights and the climate emergency.

Consultation: Democratic Public Ownership

The context

Public ownership is back on the political agenda. Our 2017 manifesto – and its promises to nationalise energy, water, Royal Mail and the railways – played a key role in increasing Labour's vote share, reflecting long-held and widespread support for public ownership of key parts of the economy.

The submissions received as part of the consultation underlined the increasing popularity of democratic public ownership, with a number of submissions expressing enthusiastic support for the manifesto commitments of 2017. This was also reflected in the levels of engagement from constituency Labour Parties on the topic, with local parties from across the country meeting to discuss the topic and share their views with the Commission. We also heard how public ownership was popular with the wider public, as polling showed that over three quarters of people supported public ownership of water, electricity, energy and trains.

This branch supports the principles of democratic public ownership and economic democracy and is happy to see this in the Labour manifesto. This branch agrees that public ownership of strategic industries should be at the heart of Labour's policy and cannot agree more that we should learn from history and existing practice.

North Bermondsey Branch Labour Party

In my opinion no public service should be run for profit. Primary and emergency health care, primary and secondary education, water, energy, mail and public transport should be regarded as human rights and run as public services.

David, North West

The evidence was explicit on the failures of privatisation in the UK. Prices have soared for consumers whilst service quality has plummeted. Investment has stagnated whilst shareholders have extracted billions in dividends and paid out extortionate salaries to senior executives. Privatised companies have also shirked their social and environmental duties, outsourcing workers and cutting training budgets whilst failing to meaningfully reduce their ecological footprint.

We heard from the GMB that prices in the water industry have risen 40 per cent since privatisation, whilst shareholders have extracted over £18 billion in dividends and racked up enormous and unnecessary debts. We also heard how all the investment by the water companies since privatisation could have been financed out of revenue without a need to borrow, but that extraction of dividends by shareholders has necessitated debts to finance meagre investment. Meanwhile, rail and bus fares have also risen far above inflation and stamp prices have increased since privatisation. Rip-off energy bills are

pushing people into fuel poverty as electricity bills rose by an average of 20 per cent in real terms between 2007 and 2013 alone.

The lack of investment is partly a result of the need to pay out dividends to shareholders, with estimates seen by the Commission showing that savings from dividends alone could save publicly owned organisations billions of pounds a year. This is money that can then be reinvested into the service and local community. For instance, the Commission heard how the municipally owned bus service in Reading reinvests an extra £3 million a year because it doesn't pay dividends to shareholders, leading to a better service and more people taking the bus in Reading.

We also received evidence to rebut some of the most common claims against publicly owned industries. Professor David Hall told the Commission that his own research and meta-reviews across countries and sectors found no systematic difference in efficiency between public and private operation of services, despite claims that the private sector is inherently more efficient.

Many submissions noted that core public services like energy distribution and transmission and water are most appropriately owned by democratic bodies representing the entire community. A number of submissions also supported Labour's plans for state ownership over other alternative models, such as mutuals or co-operatives, arguing that state owned organisations are more democratic and inclusive by being responsive and accountable to all citizens. There was widespread support for these alternative forms of ownership for the wider economy.

The evidence received by the Commission also highlighted that the UK was far behind the curve internationally on public ownership. The past two decades have seen a wave of public ownership around the globe, as local and national democratic actors respond to the stark failings of privatisation. The Transnational Institute think tank told the Commission that there were at least 835 examples of re-municipalisation of public services worldwide since 2000, involving more than 1,600 towns and cities in 45 countries. These efforts forge the path for Labour's plans to bring public services back into public ownership and shows that public ownership can play a pivotal role in a thriving modern economy. These international case studies also provide examples of best practice and show how governance and operations of organisations can be efficient and accountable. The Commission believes that Labour should learn from and build on this best practice and we have referenced successful international models through the report.

Voters need to understand that many solutions proposed by Labour are just common sense across Europe, and that what is 'radical' is actually the idea of handing a natural monopoly to private owners.

Victor, Greater London

Governance and operations

While there is a desire in the UK and elsewhere around the world for public ownership, the submissions the Commission received were clear this should not mean a return to the top-down, overly managerial forms that dominated public ownership in the past. The old model provided little in the way of participatory potential for workers or service users, with an emphasis on the importance of expert control. Across the entirety of the industries nationalised by the Attlee government, for instance, 80 per cent of the fulltime board members were simply inherited from the era of private ownership. Ensuring broad involvement in the management of public services should also be central to building broad political support for public ownership and guarding against future privatisations.

Accountable public ownership provides the most effective bulwark against future ideologically driven attempts to re-privatise these parts of our critical infrastructure; creating a stable, long-term approach these sectors so desperately need.

The Co-operative Party

The consultation document opened by asking if there were any considerations and circumstances that might make higher-level coordination and decision-making necessary, and the evidence received by the Commission confirmed the general need for some kind of high-level governance systems in addition to workplace decision-making. This underlined the importance of Labour's commitment to the ownership of essential goods and services by society as a whole – via central or local government as democratic representatives of the country as a whole.

One reason for this is that democratic publicly owned organisations will have a pivotal role to play in advancing some of the broader, society-wide objectives of a Labour Government, such as tackling the climate emergency and rebalancing and greening the UK economy, for example through coordinating the investments needed to meet national targets on emissions reduction. Publicly owned organisations can play this role most effectively if there is national coordination and decision making. We also heard how the national level is important for setting standards; both technical standards to ensure different regions can work together effectively, and on service quality to ensure parity across communities. Submissions noted that some vital infrastructure can often be planned most effectively at a national scale.

The Commission heard how models of this kind work for other publicly owned organisations from around the world, with broad political objectives and standards set at a national level. La Poste in France for instance has a goal to reduce its ecological footprint, whilst in Japan local water agencies have a nationally set mandate to provide “clean, plentiful and inexpensive” water supply and to extend social welfare and security. This has helped Japanese water companies achieve near universal access to drinking water and reduce leakage levels to 5 per cent on average, far below the levels achieved by water companies in the UK.

Democratic principles should be the core of all governance and operations... Broader public policy objectives should be written in to public companies objectives at their outset.

Carlisle CLP

For strategic and technical coordination and in some cases minimum efficient scales, larger scale organisation is necessary in some sectors.

Professor Andrew Cumbers, University of Glasgow and Thomas M. Hanna, Democracy Collaborative

The Commission also heard evidence on the importance of engaging multiple stakeholders in setting the broad standards and strategy for publicly owned organisations. If we are to avoid some of the failings of the past, governance structures need to facilitate meaningful engagement by workers, users and government in setting the strategic direction of publicly owned organisations. This helps ensure that publicly owned organisations are both accountable to users and workers and can benefit from the kinds of grassroots knowledge they generate.

The Commission was presented with international examples of publicly owned companies with inclusive governance structures. We heard how Stockholms Stadshus AB, the parent company governing most of Stockholm's public services, has a supervisory board made up of nine councillors and four trade union representatives, whilst Dutch Regional Water company Evides is governed by two regional and two municipal councillors, two union representatives and one expert. The municipal water company in Paris is run by an executive board of ten councillors, two experts, two worker representatives, one consumer representative, one environmental representative and one from its water 'observatory.'

Many submissions stressed the importance of trade unions as effective organisations for representing the views of the workforce, with the international examples outlined above all representing the voices of workers via trade unions. Some noted that trade unions have experience and expertise effectively representing the voices of workers.

Accountability is also important to publicly owned organisations, and the Commission heard that transparency was important in making these bodies democratically accountable, with easy and extensive access to records and information crucial for proper scrutiny. Many submissions expressed support for governing bodies at all levels to hold meetings in public, whilst also streaming online for people not able to attend. Many also endorsed the publishing of relevant minutes, Annual Reports and agendas online. Some noted that these kinds of practices already occur for some bodies in the UK, with Transport for London board meetings live streamed and documents posted online.

The conduct of all our Public Services including meetings, should be transparent and crucially, accountable.

Salford and Eccles CLP

(Proposals for) Transparency Rules: Publication of all minutes. No commercial confidentiality clauses. All salaries and benefits for each job role to be publicly published.

Congleton CLP

A number of submissions also stressed the importance of allowing significant regional and local flexibility in meeting these broad standards and objectives. Although national coordination is important, submissions argued that more devolved decision making is important to making organisations genuinely responsive to local communities, and bringing decision-making closer to workers and users. This would involve governance and decision-making by local government representatives, as well as local and regional representatives of workers and users. As noted above in Japan, local water companies have a degree of flexibility in how they implement their mandate, allowing them to tailor services to the specific needs of the area and respond to the specific concerns of their users and workers. There may also be distinct local issues that are better dealt with by regional or local bodies and government representatives, relating for instance to a particular train route or local coastal community.

Some submissions argued for both local and regional decision making, with local level bodies able to respond nimbly to local concerns and regional bodies making lower-level strategic decisions on pricing and investment. Professor David Hall endorsed a model that combined universal duties with flexible local decision making about delivery, allowing local and regional bodies to meet broad national targets in ways most suited to the needs and capacities of their area.

Consideration should be given to structuring utilities in a way such that there is a balance between having national policy and coordination and having local freedom to try and do things differently within national objectives and visions.

Bexley Heath and Crawford Branch Labour Party

Unite believes that there needs to be a distinction between strategic and operational decisions and at what level each is taken. There is clearly a need for national and regional strategic direction with flexibility about how strategic outcomes are achieved operationally at a more local level...Unite welcomes Labour's broader commitment to include trade unions as collective representatives of the workforce at every level of decision making.

Unite

Decisions affecting local people should be made locally, but it is also clear that with most public services there are decisions which need to be taken at a wider strategic level. ASLEF would like to see a combination of decisions made by local devolved bodies and at national level.

ASLEF

A large number of submissions also emphasised the need to avoid a 'one size fits all' approach to governance structures for different utilities. The structures appropriate for managing the UK's rail infrastructure for instance may differ to the structures appropriate for managing water resources or energy networks. We also heard that the appropriate geographic level for governance will also depend on a number of factors that vary by industry. There might be for instance geographic or environmental reasons to operate water services at one level – such as rainfall and major water sources - that might differ to the operation of local transport services which reflect local work and leisure habits.

The evidence received by the Commission strongly recommended a clear separation between the strategic and operational roles of the publicly owned industries. Professional managers and staff with the necessary skills and expertise must be free to manage the day-to-day operations of the industry, free from the direct interference of those at the strategic level. This reflects international best practice, with evidence from Anne Le Strat, former Chair of Paris's publicly owned water company, noting that long-term strategic decisions and day-to-day management decisions do not involve the same stakeholders.

Other submissions did also argue there was some scope for democratisation of the operational level, with less hierarchical structures between frontline workers and their managers. There may be instances where this is suitable at the operational level and where democratic participation can be increased in the day-to-day running of services.

Democratic principles and ensuring full engagement

The Commission received a number of submissions discussing ways to ensure maximised participation and engagement with publicly owned organisations by users, workers and civil society.

The Commission heard how, on top of ensuring organisations are accountable, democratic participation is important for taking advantage of 'grassroots' knowledge generated by workers and users. The Commission heard from researcher Hilary Wainwright about the importance of harnessing the kinds of tacit knowledge generated by workers who spend their lives working in the industries. Hilary argued this knowledge is of a different kind to technical and codified knowledge of experts and managers, and is

often not captured by institutional structures that exclude workers from participating in how organisations are run.

Capturing this tacit knowledge is a key benefit of designing more democratic governance structures for our public services. However, the Commission heard that it is often not enough to simply create a formal role for workers, as these structures can sometimes be bypassed in practice.

Many submissions therefore stressed that some kind of training or capacity building programme would be needed to ensure citizens and workers can properly participate in the running of their organisations. Again, if we are to avoid the pitfalls of the past, workers and users need to have the knowledge and skills to hold managers and politicians to account. Some submissions called for time and resources to be set aside for this capacity building, such as paid leave for professional development or direct funding of training and development programmes.

We are addressing the problem of how, through what institutions and processes both in the industries concerned, and in wider society can the knowledge of those 'who spend their lives with these industries' (thus both those who work for them and those communities and industry users effected by these industries) gain effective expression.

Hilary Wainwright, Transnational Institute

Examples were given by members of the focus group of the frustration experienced by workers who knew what was needed to be effective, efficient and to deliver a good service to public service 'customers', but were prevented from doing so by what can best described as an ethos of 'managerialism' in the enterprise in question.

Basildon and Billericay CLP

If service users and citizens are to be effective in helping to direct publicly owned industry, they will need to have a basic understanding of the way in which the services are run at the moment. Training and education should therefore be offered, again at as local a level as possible.

Cottenham Branch Labour Party

Any reforms (to improve participation) in future must find a way to either pay people for their participation, or mitigate the expense in time and money (e.g. by moving towards more online votes, discussions and meetings).

North Somerset CLP

Many submissions also underlined the important role that unions will play in empowering workers to engage with new publicly owned organisations. Unions already play a vital role representing workers as well as providing skills and training. It will

therefore be important to build on the existing role of trade unions in future publicly owned organisations and ensure they have a role in worker engagement.

In addition to union representation in governance structures, submissions also stressed the importance of extending collective bargaining rights in the public services sector, in line with Labour's existing policies. This extension of collective bargaining could reverse the decline of union membership in the public sector over the past few decades and cement the key role of unions in representing the voices of workers.

(Unions) should Influence long term strategic decisions and play an active role in problem solving.

Shipley CLP

Strong collective bargaining across the whole public sector is essential and must be advanced in parallel with any other reforms.

TUC

Collective bargaining arrangements should be respected and extended within new models of democratic ownership.

UNISON

Democratic participation has the potential to enhance the effectiveness of publicly owned enterprises by tapping into grassroots forms of knowledge from the direct experience of employees and users of public goods and services. It was suggested that it could also have wider societal benefits, empowering groups and individuals that feel disenfranchised and left behind by the current political and economic system.

There were a number of suggestions about the best way to involve citizens and users in publicly owned organisations. Submissions recognised the challenge in ensuring citizens engage meaningfully in the running of public services, especially given the lack of involvement that many have become used to in the years of privatisation. There was a recognition that there should be policies to make participation easier for ordinary citizens, with a number of submissions putting forward ideas as to how this engagement would be best facilitated.

Localism personalises common ownership so the public feels more connected, empowered and engaged.

Birmingham Ladywood CLP

One interesting case study came from Anne Le Strat, the former Deputy Mayor of Paris in charge of water and Chairwoman of Paris' municipally owned water and sewerage company, Eau De Paris. When Eau De Paris was brought back into public ownership, the City's Government created a brand new institution to help facilitate engagement between users, civil society and the water company's governing institutions. This was

called the Paris Water Observatory, a participatory democratic body with membership open to everyone. It is a place where citizens can raise concerns with the city regarding water issues, and has an annual work program that covers all the water-related issues on which the Paris Council will have to take a decision, as well as any other topics that its members judge appropriate. It organizes at least four public meetings a year, open to all. These are preceded by the sending or online posting of documents on the issues to be discussed. The Observatory also have one seat on the governing board.

Some submissions suggested that a similar participatory body could be effective in the UK, and that this model could be rolled out to other sectors that will be publicly owned. Campaign group We Own It for instance recommended setting up a new, democratically accountable body which represents everyone who uses public services. Professor Andrew Cumbers and Thomas M. Hanna propose a deliberative body that is broadly representative and holds the management to account.

Submissions also reflected on the fact that appetite for participation amongst the wider population varies:

Some people want to be super involved – the trainspotters, the troublemakers, the campaigners, the people who want to dive into the detail. Some people don't care at all. Many of us are somewhere in the middle. We want to be involved if we can easily have meaningful input into decision making. When things go wrong, we want to make sure it doesn't happen again.

We Own It

It was therefore suggested that democratic structures are designed to be flexible enough to accommodate these varying levels of engagement. Those with the inclination can get involved and make their voices heard by attending public meetings, reading documents online and potentially running for an elected role in a democratic participatory body such as the Paris Water Observatory. Those with a less active interest still know they can get involved if and when things go wrong, and are also indirectly involved via local and national government representatives they vote to elect.

This flexibility is also present in Labour's recent policy paper, Bringing Energy Home, on publicly owned energy networks, where local communities with the inclination and capacity have the freedom to set up their own local energy companies (subject to certain conditions). This allows for a variation in participation amongst the wider population, again reflecting the fact that some may wish to be more involved in the running of public services than others.

Another idea that was frequently referenced to drive engagement was participatory budgeting. Many of the submissions referenced successful examples of participatory budgeting from publicly owned organisations around the world, including Port Alegre in

Brazil, Paris and New York State. The submissions noted that apportioning a small part of the budget to allocation by a deliberative, direct democratic process is an accessible and easy to understand way of driving engagement with publicly owned organisations. It also draws an explicit link between democratic processes and tangible outcomes in local communities. In Paris for instance, local citizens used the participatory budgeting framework to vote for more public drinking fountains, including some fizzy water fountains, based on the understanding that residents were more likely to use fizzy water fountains and they would thus have public health benefits. The Commission also heard how engagement with the process is high and has been rising, with over 5,000 proposals submitted in 2015 and turnout on the final vote doubling between 2015 and 2016.

Participatory budgeting is a concrete and strategic tool to provide a link between citizens and publicly owned companies and to make benefit of public ownership visible.

Satoko Kishimoto, Transnational Institute

However, some submissions cautioned against the potential for participatory budgeting procedures to be captured by a small group of individuals with the time and resources to build support for their proposals. It is clear that more investigation would be needed before bringing forward proposals in this area.

Wider policy objectives

The consultation document noted that public services need to function within a wider framework of economic and social policies. Many submissions discussed how new publicly owned organisations can complement the wider societal goals of the Party and can help advance other areas of Labour policy. This includes policies to tackle precarity in the work force, tackle the climate emergency and improve living standards for workers who haven't had a pay rise in over a decade under the Conservatives.

A key theme throughout the submissions from stakeholders, members and constituency parties was the vital role publicly owned organisations will have to play in Labour's plans to tackle the climate emergency. The industries Labour pledged to take back into public ownership are at the forefront of the battle against climate change - from the management of our water resources, the transition to renewable energy sources and the provision of low cost public transportation.

There were a number of submissions that stressed the environmental failures of the current privatised industries. Lavinia Steinfort of the TNI for instance presented evidence that a market failure, price-based approach to renewable energy transition was not delivering results at the speed or scale required by the climate emergency. This was something that was underlined in Labour's recently released policy paper, Bringing Energy Home, which outlined the Party's plans for publicly owned energy networks.

The liberalised market approach, from price-based conditions to the limited focus on demand side solutions, has not delivered an energy transition in the UK on the scale and with the speed that are needed.

Lavinia Steinfort, Transnational Institute

In public hands, we can begin to address what is referred to as a 'trilemma' – providing energy that is low carbon, that is affordable, and that is secure. Energy networks that are owned by the public and responsive to the public interest will be able to prioritise tackling climate change, fuel poverty and security of supply over profit extraction, while working with energy unions to support energy workers through the transition.

Bringing Energy Home, Labour Policy Paper, May 2019

Publicly owned organisations can also help to set the standards for pay and conditions across the labour market, helping achieve Labour's wider goals for social justice and demonstrating that an engaged and fulfilled workforce can drive performance and productivity. They could also set the standard for the wider public sector on issues such as the gender pay gap, with some Government departments still having large pay gaps. Satoko Kishimoto from the Transnational Institute think tank noted how the publicly owned transport operator in Seoul was able to insource many of the city's transport workers, improving working conditions and pay. This move had a positive impact on the city's balance sheets, as administrative savings and efficiency gains offset the slight increase in labour costs.

Other Issues

Industrial Strategy

There were a lot of submissions about industrial strategy over the course of the year and the Commission held a number of fruitful discussions on the issue. Following on from the emergency motion about the crisis in the car industry at Annual Conference 2018, the Government's failings on Brexit and industrial strategy have exacerbated the problems, with a number of large firms announcing further job losses in the interim. Leader of the Opposition Jeremy Corbyn raised the issue specifically with the Prime Minister at Prime Minister's Questions, and Shadow Secretary of State for Industrial Strategy Rebecca Long-Bailey MP has been clear in response to these crises that Labour's Industrial Strategy would rebuild industry and manufacturing. 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.

High Streets and Business Taxation

The Commission received a number of submissions throughout the year on the plight of the UK's high street and the interlinking issue of business taxation. Many noted the current system of business rates was unfair and inefficient, and that tech giants like Amazon and Apple were able to game the system and pay astonishingly low rates of tax. The Commission agreed that many aspects of the current system were unfair and endorsed plans in Labour's 2017 manifesto to raise Corporation Tax. Members of the Shadow Treasury team also discussed the independent report on land and property tax produced for the Labour Party, *Land for the Many*, with the Commission.

The issue of high streets also came up repeatedly throughout the year, with the plight of some household name retailers receiving a lot of media coverage. The Commission discussed the issue of high streets in a number of meetings, including the proposals in Labour's five point plan to revitalise the High Street. The Commission recognised that retail is in crisis and given the importance of the sector to the UK-wide economy and local communities, welcomed the five point plan as a starting point to help address the challenges in the sector. The Commission also endorsed Labour's plan to help boost the high street by setting up a network of publicly owned post-banks, maintaining the existing local network of post offices and ensuring everyone has access to local banking and postal services.

The Climate Emergency and Green Industrial Revolution

The climate emergency was one of the most commonly raised topics in submissions, and the Commission welcomed the efforts of the Labour Party to ensure the UK was the first country to officially declare a climate emergency. Submissions expressed an interest in Labour's plans for a Green Industrial Revolution and the Commission received updates on the developments of Labour's plans from the shadow ministerial teams over the course of the year. The Commission also discussed ways to ensure the benefits of technological change are captured for the majority of the population and do not flow to a wealthy few.

The Commission also heard from the Shadow Treasury team about their work promoting sustainable investment practices in the finance sector, including the Shadow Chancellor's plans to establish a Sustainable Investment Board to look at ways to promote sustainable investment practices.

Outsourcing

There were a number of high profile failings of outsourced public services over the course of the year, including the "state of crisis" in Birmingham Prison run by G4S and the failings of the private probation providers. The failings of outsourcing came up in many submissions and was discussed at a number of different Policy Commission

meetings, and the Commission supports Labour's recently announced policy on bringing public services involving 'at-risk' persons back into public hands.

Future trade deals

Following on from the discussions at the seminar at Annual Conference 2018, submissions throughout the year noted the importance of protecting environmental and worker rights, as well as the NHS and public services, in any potential future trade deals. These issues were raised at a number of Commission meetings, with members noting the centrality of these concerns in the context of ongoing Brexit uncertainty. Shadow International Trade Secretary Barry Gardiner MP has also repeatedly raised this issue with the International Trade Secretary over the course of the year, stressing that workers' rights, environmental standards and public services should not be compromised in any potential trade negotiations.

Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to Commission members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2018/19 the Economy, Business and Trade Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Adult education
- Austerity
- Automotive industry
- Bankruptcy
- Banks
- Brexit
- Business rates
- Businesses
- Capitalism
- Child poverty
- City of London
- City regions
- Climate change
- Community ownership
- Computers
- Construction industry
- Consumer rights
- Co-operatives
- Corporate Responsibility
- Corporation tax
- Cost of living
- Debt
- Digital
- Drugs
- Economy
- Electoral reform
- Employees
- Employment protection
- Energy prices
- Exports
- Farming
- Fishing
- Free trade
- Funding
- GDP
- Global health
- Globalisation
- Governance
- Green economy
- Green New Deal
- Health insurance
- House of Lords
- Housing
- Immigration
- Income tax
- Industrial strategy
- Infrastructure
- Inheritance tax
- Investment
- Job growth
- Land Registry Database
- Land value tax
- Local economies
- Manufacturing
- Mixed economy
- Monetary Policy
- Mortgages
- National debt
- National Investment Bank
- National Living Wage
- Nationalisation
- Neighbourhood assemblies
- Privatisation
- Public companies
- Public decision making
- Public ownership
- Public services
- Railways
- Redistribution
- Regional development
- Renewable energy
- Resource scarcity
- Self-employment
- SMEs
- Social regulation
- Tax
- Technology and science
- The economy
- The media
- The Monarchy
- Trade agreements
- Trade unionism
- Transport
- Utilities
- VAT
- Voter engagement
- Water
- Wellbeing-focused economy
- Women in business
- Workers
- Worker's rights
- Zero-hours contracts



Environment, Energy and Culture Policy Commission



MEMBERSHIP 2018/19

HM Opposition

Sue Hayman MP*

David Drew MP

Tom Watson MP

NEC

Margaret Beckett MP*

Richard Leonard MSP

Wendy Nichols

CLPs and Regions

Mike Bird – Welsh Labour Party

Andrew Bustard – Scottish Labour Party

Alex Chapman – South East Region

Carolyn Harris[†] – Welsh Policy Forum

Simon Henig – Northern Region

Holly Jarret – South West Region

Dilys Jouvenat – Welsh Policy Forum

Ivan Monkton – Welsh Labour Party

Aisling Musson – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Wendy Simon – North West Region

Affiliates

Gail Cartmail – Unite

Paul Clarkson – Socialist Societies

Neil Foster – GMB

Tracey Fussey – CWU

Gloria Mills – BAME Labour

Elected Representatives

Seb Dance MEP

Mike Ross – COSLA

Barry Sheerman MP

*Co-convenor

[†] Left Commission in March 2019

Policy Development

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

The Commission held a policy seminar at Annual Conference 2018. At this session there was a panel consisting of Commission co-convenor Margaret Beckett MP and Alan Whitehead MP from the Shadow Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy team and Kevin Brennan MP from the Shadow Culture team.

At the event delegates spoke of the need to empower local communities to take climate action, both through facilitating the uptake of solar energy and ending the pollution and contamination caused by fracking. Points were also raised about retrofitting homes to provide insulation and reduce energy usage, and the potential to create new jobs through investment in clean energy. Other topics discussed included the importance of community theatres, cuts to arts education, the closure of music venues, and Labour's policy on incineration.

The Policy Commission reconvened after Conference in January welcoming several new members who had joined since the NPF elections. Sue Hayman MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, gave an update to the Commission of the work of her team. This included their work on a number of Bills currently progressing through Parliament, including the Ivory Bill, Agriculture Bill, and the Fisheries Bill.

In the January meeting it was agreed that the priority area to be taken forward for consultation would be 'A sustainable food policy'. It was agreed that this topic is of crucial public policy importance, of real interest to Labour members, and would allow for the consideration of a wide range of issues under the Commission's remit, including land use, food standards and agriculture. The Commission also noted that this would be a good opportunity to explore links with other policy areas, including trade and health.

The Commission considered motions from Annual Conference 2018, as well as submissions received by the Commission since it last met. Submissions discussed covered issues including climate change, the green economy, renewable energy and recycling.

At this meeting 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.

At the February meeting of the Commission updates were received from Sue Hayman MP, and Sandy Martin MP, Shadow Minister for Waste and Recycling. Sue listed the

current priority areas for policy development in her team, including “Labour’s Plan for Nature” and the shadow frontbench response to the Government’s Clean Air Strategy, while Sandy discussed his work on a recycling strategy. Both Sue and Sandy expressed their desire to receive further input and comments from the Commission on ongoing work.

During the February meeting, the Commission held its first evidence session. Evidence was heard from City University’s Centre for Food Policy, as well as the National Farmers’ Union. The Commission heard from the invited guests that we are living in a time of extreme volatility for food policy, partly due to Brexit but also as a result of other, longer-term economic and social trends. This uncertainty presents an opportunity for a future Labour government to radically change the food system.

The size of the food sector in the UK was also noted. Food is the largest manufacturing sector of the economy, so it is imperative that it isn’t a driver of ill health or ecosystem damage. Sustainability in food should therefore be about driving positive health and environmental outcomes, while maintaining the economic benefits and high level of employment in the sector. It was further noted that the UK agricultural sector needs to play a leadership role globally, and that this can be done by supporting specific types of sustainable agriculture domestically.

In April the Commission invited Rebecca Long-Bailey MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy to attend to discuss her team’s work on a Green Industrial Revolution policy programme, which is currently a key priority. She informed the Commission that they were working closely with other shadow ministerial teams, trade unions and Labour’s community organising unit to engage on a local level across the country about what shape Labour’s policy programme should take. She also noted that her team was due to launch a consultation on the Green Industrial Revolution the following month, and invited the Commission to provide their input on this. All members of the Commission were subsequently invited to the consultation events when they were launched in May, and updated on the progress of the consultation throughout the year.

The Commission was also briefed on two policy announcements that had at this point yet to be announced: on investment in new solar energy, and on public ownership of the energy grid. Following Rebecca’s presentation, Commission members offered their comments on the new policies, which she promised to take on board.

At the April meeting the Commission held its second evidence session. This focused on labour issues in the food industry, with evidence heard from Unite the Union, the Bakers and Allied Food Workers Union (BAFU), and the Landworkers’ Alliance. A number of issues were raised, including the low pay and poor working conditions prevalent in the food sector. The Commission noted that this could be partly remedied with the

restoration of collective bargaining and the introduction of a £10 per hour minimum wage, both of which are existing Labour policies.

Also discussed was the need for government to support smaller farms and encourage new entrants into the farming sector. The importance of innovation in farming was raised, and in particular the importance of continued improvements in management, delivery and supply chains.

At the April meeting the Commission also discussed submissions received since the meeting in February, and endorsed a submission from Berwick-upon-Tweed CLP opposing fossil fuel extraction at Druridge Bay.

At the May meeting the Policy Commission received an update from Sue Hayman on the work of her team. Sue informed the Commission that a new Shadow Cabinet subcommittee has been set up to coordinate climate and environment work across the shadow frontbench, and that the work of this subcommittee was likely to expand in the coming months.

The Policy Commission considered submissions received since the meeting in April. Issues of significance included calls for greater ambition in decarbonising energy generation, and ending the practice of “offshoring” carbon impacts.

At the meeting in May evidence was heard from the Food and Drink Federation and Asda Supermarket. The Commission heard from the Food and Drink Federation that despite ongoing challenges, the food sector is in good shape: food prices have fallen year on year, innovation is continuous, and the British industry is world-leading with low-levels of bacterial contamination and better product durability. However, skills will be a crucial issue going forward, given the existing domestic skills gap and the overreliance on workers from Europe.

The Commission was told by Asda that supermarkets have a duty to minimise waste of any kind, whether in food, energy or biodiversity. It was argued that this is not only an ecological imperative, but also a business one: data shows that environmental issues are increasingly important to customers when choosing where to shop. Other issues supermarkets need to attend to include eliminating plastics, halting deforestation and promoting biodiversity. It was raised that 80-90 per cent of carbon emissions from supermarket products are produced in the supply chain before reaching the store shelves. As such, supermarkets need to take a more active role as a steward, looking after farmers, resources and natural capital.

In June two consultation events, both attended by Sue Hayman and other members of Labour’s frontbench team, took place to gather further evidence for the consultation on what needs to be done to create a sustainable food policy. The first of these events was

hosted by the National Farmers' Union and brought together stakeholders from across the food, drink and agriculture sectors, with discussions taking place on the public health impact of food and on the potential impact of Brexit, among other issues. The second event took place in Birmingham and provided an opportunity for members from across the West Midlands to submit their thoughts on Labour's food policy via roundtable discussions.

The Commission also met in June, and heard updates from Sandy Martin MP and Clive Lewis MP, Shadow Minister for Sustainable Economics in the Shadow Treasury team. Clive described the major strands of his work in the Shadow Treasury team so far: firstly, a piece of research exploring how fiscal policy can be used to drive the transition to a greener economy, and secondly, proposals for reforming the Treasury Green Book to embed a strategic approach to sustainability across government.

In June the Commission also considered submissions received since the meeting in May. Submissions were received on a mix of issues including vertical farming and the Labour Hunger Campaign.

The final evidence session was held with evidence heard from the Trussell Trust, the Co-operative Party, and Sustain: the Alliance for Better Food and Farming. The Commission heard that there is a need for an enforceable right to food to be enshrined in law, and discussed the various mechanisms available for doing that, including bringing aspects of the second Sustainable Development Goal¹ into UK law.

The Commission also heard that the principle of "public money for public goods" applied to agricultural subsidies could be a powerful tool for achieving public policy objectives, but that "public good" would need to be defined broadly to incorporate social, community and public health objectives. The value of food was also discussed, and it was expressed that the money spent on food by consumers does not always go towards promoting better outcomes for workers or the environment.

At the July meeting the Commission heard updates from Sue Hayman MP and from Vicky Foxcroft MP on behalf of the Shadow Digital, Culture, Media and Sport team. Sue outlined the continued work of the Shadow Cabinet subcommittee on environment and climate change, and noted that it would be officially reporting to Shadow Cabinet from now on. She explained that the subcommittee was currently focusing on the policies needed to effectively tackle the climate emergency, and that the Green Industrial Revolution agenda was part of this. Sue also updated the Commission on the appointment of Danielle Rowley MP as shadow minister for climate justice and green jobs, and explained that Danielle would be engaging with community and activist groups to provide a link between grassroots climate campaigning and the Labour frontbench. The Commission expressed an interest in receiving an update from Danielle on this work at a later date.

¹ The second Sustainable Development Goal, "Zero Hunger", sets out a number of targets related to the provision of food, including the following:

2.1 – "By 2030, end hunger and ensure access by all people, in particular the poor and people in vulnerable situations, including infants, to safe, nutritious and sufficient food all year round"

2.2 – "By 2030, end all forms of malnutrition, including achieving, by 2025, the internationally agreed targets on stunting and wasting in children under 5 years of age, and address the nutritional needs of adolescent girls, pregnant and lactating women and older persons".

Vicky described the work undertaken by the Shadow DCMS team in recent months. One priority has been problem gambling, with policies announced including a “whistle-to-whistle” ban on the advertisement of gambling during football matches. She also noted that announcements had been made on Labour’s digital policy and on our civil society strategy, while work would be done in the coming months on issues including video game addiction and digital gambling. Vicky stressed that she would be happy to relay any questions or comments from the Commission to the broader Shadow DCMS team and Shadow Secretary of State Tom Watson MP, who is keen to hear the Commission’s ideas.

Consultation: a sustainable food policy

Food is a necessity of human life. Sufficient, healthy nutrition is not a luxury to which we should aspire, it is an essential component of what makes for a good quality of life.

In Britain, we live in one of the world’s most fertile, temperate lands. Our supermarket shelves are stocked with an abundance of cheap, good-quality food. Yet our food and farming systems face serious challenges:

- Food poverty has soared since 2010, with millions of people now using food banks and one-in-six food bank users in work;
- According to government estimates, we waste approximately £20 billion of food each year;
- An epidemic in food-related ill-health from obesity is taking its toll on our NHS;
- The carbon footprint of our food production and distribution systems will need to be reduced drastically if we are to limit global warming to 1.5°C.

Labour wants to see a holistic food and farming strategy that responds to these challenges, delivering on food security as well as on environmental and public health outcomes. It is self-defeating to separate these objectives, as the Government is currently attempting to do with the Agriculture Bill.

Extreme weather is set to have an increasingly dramatic impact on farmers – as we saw last summer. Following Labour’s declaration of a climate and environmental emergency, it is essential to set our food and farming strategy within a clear framework to reduce carbon emissions from the sector to zero, create resilience to extreme weather, flooding and wildfires, and prepare for the impacts of the climate crisis. Every element of the food and farming strategy will need to demonstrate its contribution, as achieving net zero will require action across the whole sector, including food production, trade, land use, subsidies and waste.

For this year's consultation Labour's Environment, Energy and Culture Policy Commission sought views on what a holistic, sustainable food and farming strategy would look like. We asked for submissions on how best to reform and develop our food production systems in order to make sure that everyone can access affordable, healthy, nutritious and sustainably sourced food.

The Commission took evidence at its meetings this year on issues relating to the consultation from:

- Tim Lang (City University)
- Nick von Westenholz (National Farmers' Union)
- Ivan Monkton and Bridget Henderson (Unite the Union)
- Jyoti Fernandes (Landworkers' Alliance)
- Peter Fox (Bakers, Food and Allied Workers Union)
- Helen Munday (Food and Drink Federation)
- Chris Brown (Asda)
- Vicki Hird and Ruth Westcott (Sustain)
- James Butler (The Co-operative Party)
- Garry Lemon (The Trussell Trust)

The Commission also received submissions from Constituency and Branch Labour Parties, individual party members, members of the public, and other stakeholders. Additional evidence was received at consultation events across the UK.

Principles

Our initial consultation set out the six principles of food sovereignty, and asked for views on whether these were the right principles on which to build Labour's food and farming policies. These principles were:

1. Food is for people;
2. Food producers are valued;
3. Food systems are localised;
4. There is democratic control over the food system;
5. We build knowledge and skills;
6. Our food system works with nature.

Most submissions endorsed these principles, with several praising the use of internationally-recognised examples rather than seeking to re-invent the wheel.

These core principles are correct. The right to sustainable affordable food with access to all is a human right and must be met in the fifth richest world economy.

Chris, South East

These principles are a good start.

A People's Food Policy

We agree with the principles of food sovereignty.

Witton Gilbert Branch Labour Party

Some evidence argued for a different approach, however. Tim Lang, Professor of Food Policy at City University, argued that “sustainability” in food means driving positive health and environmental outcomes while maintaining the economic benefits and high level of employment in the sector. Ivan Monkton, giving evidence on behalf of Unite the Union, similarly argued that a sustainable food and farming strategy should provide improvements along three axes: equality and fairness, the environment, and public health.

Many submissions also raised the importance of “food security” as a complement or alternative to food sovereignty. This was viewed as an important policy goal for government, particularly in the context of a potential no-deal Brexit. There was a view that food security is less of a priority for this government than it should be, and that a Labour food and farming strategy would need to develop a robust definition of food security and a plan to maintain it.

Garry Lemon, giving evidence on behalf of the Trussell Trust, also noted the importance of distinguishing between household food security and that of the nation as a whole. It is a matter of strategic national interest and social justice to ensure that our country can feed itself and protect against volatility.

The NFU strongly believes that food security should be a strategic priority for the government. At the outset it is important that policy makers realise that a modern concept of food security is not simply the capability of the nation to produce a significant proportion of UK consumers’ food needs, important though that capability is. Rather the UK government’s policy on food security ought to recognise the global risks that affect where the UK sources (and sells) its food.

The National Farmers’ Union

Food is a matter of national security and is part of the UK’s Critical National Infrastructure. Food is a major public good and one that governments should be proud to support. A government’s first duty is to feed the country – if you can’t feed a country you don’t have a country.

Food and Drink Federation

Some submissions recommended that the principles of food sovereignty be made more specific. For example, the first principle – “Food is for people” – was considered too vague, and submissions recommended clarifying it to refer specifically to healthy food being made available to all people.

Other submissions called for these principles to be strengthened or broadened. It was argued that principle two – “Food producers are valued” – should extend beyond producers to others working in the food sector. Principle six was also singled out, with submissions arguing for a stronger commitment to protection, restoration and active stewardship of nature rather than a passive statement about “working with”.

The principle that ‘Food producers are valued’ should specify that ‘producers’ includes workforce, to highlight the importance of decent, high quality jobs. The current food system enables exploitation of workers, particularly low income and migrant workers, which must be eliminated.

SERA, Labour’s Environment Campaign

We would challenge Labour to go beyond working ‘with nature’ and instead encourage transition to a food system which actively protects and restores nature.

World Wildlife Federation

The principle which received the most criticism in the submissions we received was principle three – “Food systems are localised”. Several submissions noted that it is production, rather than transport, that produces most of the food system’s environmental footprint. They therefore argued that the emphasis should be on producing food where it can be most efficiently, sustainably and ethically produced rather than a blanket target of increasing local production. One example given was that tomatoes grown in Spain, with the right production techniques, and transported by lorry to the UK will usually have a much lower impact than those grown in the UK in heated greenhouses.

This point was emphasised by Nick von Westenholz, who gave evidence to the Commission on behalf of the National Farmers’ Union. Nick stressed the need for the UK agricultural sector to play a leadership role globally, and pointed out that the NFU has committed to a net zero target for British agriculture. He argued that high domestic standards in food production, if coupled with adequate trade protections, can help to drive up standards across the world. As such, importing food can be a means of exporting our values on animal welfare, labour rights, health and sustainability.

Other submissions defended principle three on different grounds, arguing for a greater public policy focus on domestic food production. Jyoti Fernandes, giving evidence on behalf of the Landworkers’ Alliance, argued that building a food security strategy around

small and family farms would help to boost the rural economy and create a more attractive proposition for entrants to the sector.

'Localised' food is different from 'local' food. Localised food means food that supports resilience, is in the control of farmers and growers and respects food sovereignty principles. So 'localised' food from abroad might be 'better' than some 'local' food (e.g. if the local food is from the most intensive livestock systems).

Food Ethics Council

In addition to the principles of food sovereignty set out in the document, submissions highlighted a number of other principles that ought to be taken into consideration in the development of Labour's food and farming strategy. These included:

- Food production should take into account the rights and welfare of animals;
- The marketing, promotion and sale of unhealthy and unsustainable food should be restricted;
- Self-sufficiency in food production should be pursued, but not at the cost of sustainability or food security;
- Our food system should help us to mitigate and adapt to climate change;
- We should maintain high production standards in the food system;
- We should aim to create a "good food culture" that values and appreciates food.

The Right to Healthy Food

The right to food is the right to regular, permanent and unrestricted access, either directly or by means of financial purchases, to quantitatively and qualitatively adequate and sufficient food. This right is only realised when every man, woman and child, alone or in community with others, has physical and economic access at all times to adequate healthy food or the means for its procurement. In our initial consultation document we asked what form a right to food should take if implemented by a future Labour government.

Responses noted that the UK is currently signatory to various international agreements on the right to food, including the Sustainable Development Goals, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Incorporating this right into UK law was widely favoured, but submissions differed on how best to do this.

There are two main options available: a legally enforceable social right to food embedding the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights into UK law, or incorporating Sustainable Development Goal 2 (SGD2), "zero hunger by 2030" into domestic legislation.

The Co-operative Party

The global (and modern) perspective on food security centres on the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, especially SDG1 (Ending Poverty), SDG2 (Zero Hunger, improved food security and nutrition, promoting sustainable agriculture) and SDG12 (Responsible Production and Consumption).

The National Farmers' Union

Some submissions called for a clear legal right to food, including provisions for individuals or their representatives to bring legal challenges against public bodies that failed to fulfil this right due to action or inaction.

However, other submissions warned against the potentially disruptive impact this could have on other areas of public policy. One example given was junk food outlets: some local authorities in England have banned junk food outlets from opening within a certain radius of schools. It was raised that such policies could be blocked or subject to judicial review if considered to abridge the right to food, and that a Labour government seeking to implement a right to food would need to explore ways of avoiding problems like this.

Some submissions stressed that the right to food should not, or not always, mean direct provision of food, but to the capability of being able to feed oneself adequately. In a similar vein, submissions noted the importance of education in delivering a right to food. It was argued that the state should make a greater effort to educate people on the value and importance of healthy eating, and also to provide skills in education to ensure all adults are able to cook healthy, nutritious food.

The Right to Food does not mean that individuals and groups have a right to be provided with food. It means that one has the right to feed oneself in dignity.

Independent Food Aid Network

The right to food is the right to have regular, permanent and unrestricted access, either directly or by means of financial purchases, to quantitatively and qualitatively adequate and sufficient food. This right is only realised when every man, woman and child, alone or in community with others, has physical and economic access at all times to adequate healthy food or the means for its procurement. This right is associated with the Sustainable Development Goals to which we are committed, including the goals of ending hunger and good health and wellbeing.

A People's Food Policy

Submissions were clear, however, that any right to food would need to be a right to healthy food. Some noted that a child in ill health as a result of a poor diet is equally in need of intervention as a child suffering from undernourishment, and that a right to food should facilitate interventions in both areas.

As dietitians, we are all too aware of the poor eating habits of the nation: low intakes of fibre, fruit and vegetables, and essential micronutrients whilst we are overconsuming energy, saturated fats, and sugars. Our current dietary habits are fuelling obesity, type 2 diabetes, heart disease, and as some cancers.

British Dietary Association

It was also noted by several submissions that a right to sustainable food could help to facilitate the transition towards diets with a smaller carbon footprint. Public subsidies – following a “public money for public goods” approach, as discussed later in this document – could help to drive this. Some submissions also emphasised that the right to food should incorporate the right to eat a diet according to one’s ethical or religious principles. Accordingly, they argued there should be a duty on public institutions such as schools, hospitals and prisons to provide plant-based, Halal, Kosher and other options.

Most submissions acknowledged that while a right to food should be universal, its implementation would result in some prioritisation in practice. Existing agreements on the right to food specify particular groups including infants, adolescent girls, and pregnant and lactating women, and there was a widespread belief that the needs of vulnerable groups should be prioritised. Many submissions argued that government should build on existing organisations and structures when delivering the right to food. There was a view that by expanding tried-and-tested approaches the right to food could be rolled out more smoothly and effectively. One example given was free school meals: several submissions mentioned them as an existing entitlement that could be expanded to provide a universal right to food for schoolchildren. Current Labour policy in this area, which seeks to extend free school meals to all primary school children, was praised. In addition to the practical benefits of adapting existing approaches, some submissions suggested that working with frontline organisations and grassroots groups would help to facilitate greater engagement with users most affected by the current food system.

Schools should provide at least one hot meal per day and breakfast clubs for all students. Food should also be available from their schools for vulnerable children for consumption in the evenings, at weekends and in school holidays.

Gregory, South West

Adopting SDG2 would result in some prioritisation in practice as it does specify particular groups namely infants; adolescent girls; pregnant and lactating women; and older persons, and therefore a future Labour & Co-operative Government could initially build on existing schemes which address these groups first. However, any new legislation should be universal in coverage if it is to be successful in ending hunger as there are other vulnerable groups outside those specified by SGD2.

The Co-operative Party

Work with food poverty charities to provide immediate hunger relief for vulnerable groups, funding this as necessary, and introduce a target to eliminate completely the need for food banks.

Labour Hunger Campaign

Submissions overwhelmingly called for Labour to be “aspirational and visionary” rather than “measured and incremental” in our approach. The main reason given for this was the sheer scale and breadth of the problems associated with the UK’s food system, from soaring food poverty and rising obesity to environmental degradation and breaches of labour rights. However, many highlighted that this was a false dichotomy, and that an “aspirational and visionary” approach to the right to food could be progressively realised and implemented in a “measured and incremental” way.

The ambition can be aspirational and visionary. Zero hunger. Healthy diets. Childhoods free from the indignity of food poverty. Sustainable food production.

Sustain

We need both vision, and measurable steps towards that vision.

Rosalind, East Midlands

Climate and environment emergency

Earlier this year, in the week after school climate strike leader Greta Thunberg addressed MPs, a Labour motion was tabled and passed making the UK Parliament the first in the world to declare an environment and climate emergency. The agreed motion set the Government six months to bring forward urgent proposals to restore the UK’s natural environment and to deliver a circular, zero waste economy.

Labour’s Green Transformation policy document set out our priorities and principles for environmental action, building on last year’s National Policy Forum consultation “A Greener Britain”. These included preventing and adapting to climate change, achieving high air and water quality for all, reversing the decline of biodiversity, and protecting natural habitats.

Submissions and evidence overwhelmingly demanded that Labour’s food and farming strategy build on these proposals and effectively tackle the environment and climate emergency. Submissions called for the strategy to show how government policy can help producers and consumers achieve dramatic reductions in emissions from food production, trade and distribution, while reversing biodiversity decline, allowing land to be used to absorb carbon, including tree-planting, peatland and wetland restoration, and fitting food and farming policy into our wider climate change adaptation plans.

With climate change, doing nothing is not an option. We need to eat and grow food in a more sustainable and environmental way.

George, North West

The British farming industry is pushing itself to become net zero by 2040. As both a sink and a source of greenhouse gasses, British agriculture is uniquely placed to be a key part of the solution to the climate challenge. Our unique landscape and diverse farming systems enable us to produce food efficiently and sustainably, and we have been very clear in our ambition to build on this further and lead the way in climate-friendly food production.

National Farmers' Union

Land

Land should be recognised and valued as an essential resource: for food and shelter and as the basis for numerous social, cultural and other economic practices. The current laws and structures of land ownership and management structures constrain our food and farming systems, as do interactions and the competing or conflicting priorities of other land uses. Our consultation document asked whether these laws need reform, and what a sustainable land policy could look like.

The vast majority of submissions agreed that land law needs to be reformed, citing huge inequities around land ownership, the high price of land, and the failure of existing environmental management practices.

A Land Commission should be established. There are many pressures on land use: land is needed to produce food, for housing and industry, for leisure, to counter biodiversity loss and mitigate climate change. Too much land is owned by a few rich landowners and organisations, leaving a democratic deficit.

Derek, Wales

A sustainable land policy should focus on environmental protection. It should concentrate on habitats and their place in wider ecosystems and environments.

Sarah, East of England

The UK has one of the highest levels of concentrated land ownership in the world, with less than 1% of the population owning over half of all agricultural land. In recent years, rapid increases in land prices have caused huge challenges for regeneration in agriculture as new entrant farmers find themselves locked out of the industry.

A People's Food Policy

Several submissions raised tenancy issues as crucial for the agricultural sector, because short tenancies can hinder investment in more sustainable farming systems and features

such as tree planting. Another related issue was the availability of land to new entrants into farming.

The proposal of a Land Commission was welcomed as a way to provide democratic governance of a complicated legal area, with many submissions stressing that any such Commission would need to comprise stakeholders from all types of current and potential users, rather than just existing owners. It was also noted that for a Commission to do its job effectively it would need a wide remit encompassing equity, health and environmental issues.

Many submissions emphasised that land managers should be incentivised to provide “public goods”, including but not limited to biodiversity, carbon sequestration, protection of water quality and river flows, public access, and cultural heritage. Some submissions argued for the recognition of natural capital in tenancy agreements, or for the establishment of local natural capital boards to ensure that environmental goods are taken into account.

Uniformly, submissions welcomed the notion of an integrated vision across devolved nations, citing in particular shared ecological assets and the need for greater coordination and exchange of best practice.

Match land ownership rules in England and Wales with those in Scotland.

Len, Scotland

Food production and distribution

Food and drink is the largest manufacturing sector in the UK. It is bigger than the car and aerospace industries combined, contributes over £28 billion to the economy annually and employs 400,000 people directly, with far more employed in the supply chain.

The UK's food and drink supply chain contributes more than £121 billion annually to the economy. It employs more than four million people – 14 per cent of the total UK workforce. 99 per cent of our firms are micro to medium-sized.

Food and Drink Federation

Food production should be an economically and environmentally sustainable enterprise contributing to the overall purpose of feeding people healthy, nutritious and affordable food. Our consultation document asked what the major barriers are to achieving this under the current system, and what measures a Labour government should take to ensure food production in the UK is environmentally and economically sustainable.

Four were highlighted by submissions as crucial to building a more sustainable UK food system: international trade, subsidies, food pricing and the need for better transparency and enforcement of regulation.

International Trade

Overwhelmingly, submissions raised uncertainty regarding our future trade arrangements as a key barrier to improvements in the food system. At present, 80 per cent of our agricultural exports go to the European Union. Many submissions noted that increased tariffs into the single market and long waits at borders due to customs restrictions would threaten the future viability of British farming and food industries.

Numerous submissions raised concerns that post-Brexit trade deals could compromise the current high standards that set British food and farming apart from much of the rest of the world. Several noted that Investor State Dispute Settlements, or “corporate courts”, could undermine the UK’s capacity to protect environmental goods if incorporated into trade deals post-Brexit. Labour has already pledged to oppose any free trade deal that threatens existing standards, and is also clear that leaving the EU with a no-deal Brexit outcome is the worst possible option for British farmers.

In order to mitigate against these risks, submissions called for greater parliamentary scrutiny over future trade deals, and a clear post Brexit agricultural strategy geared towards localised food. Some called for legally binding provisions to prevent the ratification of any trade deal that did not ensure compliance with a “floor” of existing animal welfare, environmental protection and food safety standards.

The use of chemicals, additives, pesticides, medicines and allergens in the food chain needs to be addressed if the government pursues trade deals with the US and other countries that may have questionable food regulations and undesirable animal welfare practices.

Alex, West Midlands

Potential post-Brexit trade deals are likely to have an extremely negative affect on agriculture in the UK. We need to be vigilant about the reduction in animal welfare and increased use of chemicals on crops that could occur if we attempt to compete with agricultural goods from the USA and other regions outside of Europe.

Chloe, Yorkshire

The fact that many of the laws governing animal and human rights in farming come from the EU, provide yet another reason why, if Brexit is to happen at all, it needs to be a Labour Government steering the ship to ensure that standards are maintained and improved with important safeguards enshrined.

SERA, Labour’s Environment Campaign

The government must protect our high production standards and ensure UK farmers are not put at a competitive disadvantage to overseas producers subject to different standards.

The National Farmers' Union

Subsidies and procurement

Subsidies were frequently cited both as a barrier to change and a potential opportunity for policymakers to drive improvements in the food system. It was argued across a number of submissions that the current subsidies regime is overly complex, time consuming and inaccessible for farmers. Several submissions suggested that the system should be simplified to make it easier for farmers to take part.

Across the board, submissions recommended the adoption of a “public money for public goods” principle in the farming and fisheries sectors. Such a principle, it was argued, could be applied across a number of areas, rewarding producers and distributors for providing certain environmental and public health goods.

We believe that taxpayers' money should incentivise the farmer to enhance the environment and get paid for those public benefits that are not funded through the market.

World Wildlife Federation

Linking payments to environmental improvements (public goods) rather than the amount of food produced is absolutely critical.

Caroline, East Midlands

Production of nutritious food should be subsidised.

South West Hertfordshire CLP

Beyond the subsidies regime, some submissions also proposed amending food procurement guidelines across the public sector to favour sustainable, ethical and – where possible or desirable – local British produce. Some submissions proposed that procurement and subsidies should be used to actively encourage a shift away from livestock farming towards the growing of less carbon-intensive sources of protein such as beans and pulses.

Our food system relies on nature but our Western is inefficient and resource intensive. Farming animals for meat and dairy requires space and huge inputs of water and feed. Today, one of the biggest causes of forest loss is the expansion of agricultural land for animal feed production, such as soy. And producing meat creates vastly more carbon dioxide than plants such as vegetables, grains and legumes.

SERA, Labour's Environment Campaign

Government should offer a package of support for farmers who are interested in moving out of livestock farming towards pulse production, reforestation or other forms of diversification. The package of support should be designed in consultation with farmers, and should include start-up capital costs.

The Vegan Society

Food prices

Another major issue cited across numerous submissions was the price of food. Many submissions argued that the price of food at present does not adequately remunerate producers or take into account the negative public health and environmental externalities associated with current methods of food production.

It was widely acknowledged, however, that any attempt to shift towards a “true cost” model of food pricing – either through changes to the subsidy regime or other mechanisms – would need to be combined with measures to support those on low and middle incomes to enjoy greater access to good quality food. Chris Brown, giving evidence on behalf of Asda, noted the risks inherent in such an approach, arguing that it would be a mistake to “premiumise” healthy and sustainable food.

The lack of transparency on the real costs of food is a barrier. Because the impacts of intensive food production on the environment and food supply are indirect and sometimes global (e.g. deforestation to clear land to supply food to intensive farms), the market reflects the apparent economies of scale of unsustainable factory farming. By support payments and taxes, the Government should enable farmers to see long-term profitability in extensive, sustainable farming systems.

Compassion in World Farming

Food producers should be paid a realistic price for their healthy food production.

New Forest East CLP

Regulation and labelling

The need for greater transparency and enforcement of existing standards across the food system was a recurring theme across several submissions. Resourcing of public bodies was cited in a number of submissions as a barrier to more effective enforcement of regulations, with deep cuts to the Environment Agency’s budget since 2010 deeply limiting its capacity for investigation and enforcement.

Another factor limiting enforcement, particularly in fisheries, is the lack of available data. Some submissions floated the idea of mandatory reporting and due diligence requirements in the agricultural and fishing sectors. Ruth Westcott, giving evidence

on behalf of Sustain, argued that taking measures such as making CCTV compulsory on fishing boats would be an “easy win” in policy terms allowing for greater scrutiny of existing practices.

Labelling is often the only way that consumers can identify the origin of food and drink products and make informed choices about what they buy and eat. Labelling schemes vary considerably: for example, organic standards are enshrined within EU law (the EU Organic Regulation), while other terms described on labels are often less stringently defined.

Many submissions raised the importance of clearer labelling, noting that food origins and processing practices are often a cause of confusion for consumers. Some submissions argued that the UK’s Red Tractor baseline quality assurance scheme has the potential to become a global “brand leader” on quality and traceability in food. However, it was also noted that the Red Tractor reflects minimum legal standards, rather than higher-than-average animal welfare or environmental standards, and that a future Labour government should continue to promote and legislate for other certifications.

Food waste

In the UK, current estimates put food waste at around 10 million tonnes of which 70 per cent was intended for human consumption. This is equivalent to a quarter of all food purchased each year, at a cost of over £20 billion and 25 million tonnes of CO₂ equivalent. Our consultation document asked how a future Labour government should reduce food waste.

If food waste were a country, it would be the third largest emitting country in the world.

Sustain

We received a large number of submissions on food waste, illustrating the high level of interest in this topic. Several submissions emphasised the need for a future Labour government to set ambitious and binding food waste targets in law, with one potential model for this being the adoption into UK law of SDG 12.3 (halving all waste by 2030).

Introduce binding national targets to halve UK food waste from farm to fork by 2030, against 2015 baselines (or earlier available data for primary production food waste) in line with Sustainable Development Goal 12.3.

This Is Rubbish

There was widespread recognition across submissions that reducing food waste will require transformations across the entire food chain – from “farm to fork”. Some submissions noted that food is too often rejected for cosmetic reasons, and emphasised

the need to reform food chain specification and government procurement contracts to end this.

Several submissions noted that meeting this ambition will also require more consistent reporting across the sector, covering every area where food is wasted including where it is ploughed back into the land. This could be enforced through a compulsory duty to report on food waste, or through the amendment of the Groceries Code Adjudicator's remit to include indirect suppliers.

Some submissions recommended amending the existing ban on using commercial catering waste and surplus food as feed for livestock. It was argued government should establish a regulatory and licensing system to enable the treatment of surplus food in off-farm licensed processing facilities so that it can be safely fed to non-ruminant livestock. To avoid any risk to public health, submissions recommended that such a system should be implemented through consultation with industry and the health profession.

Frequently cited in submissions was the law passed by France in 2016 (LOI n° 2016-138 du 11 février 2016 relative à la lutte contre le gaspillage alimentaire) which successfully introduced an obligation on manufacturers, mass caterers and retailers over a certain size to make surplus food available to charities for redistribution.

It is important that supermarkets work to minimise food packaging and avoid multi buy offers that lead to overconsumption and waste. We clearly cannot continue to use plastic at our current rate and minimal and alternative packaging is necessary to ensure that our food system works with nature. I believe this could be put in place with incentive schemes or implemented by government requirements.

Rosemary, North West

Also raised in several submissions were issues of access to and education about food waste. It was noted that while 70 per cent of food waste happens at household level, only 44 per cent of households across the UK currently have access to a food waste recycling service. In addition to providing greater access to such services, some submissions raised the need for improved education on food waste and its impact on the planet.

The issue of food waste and the harm it causes globally - as well as how to make the best use of food to limit waste - should be taught as part of the Food Technology National Curriculum across the UK.

Broxbourne CLP

Other means of reducing food waste were raised by various submissions. These included investment in drinking fountains to reduce the use of plastic bottles, and the promotion of technology-based solutions such as apps to coordinate the distribution of food waste.

Several existing schemes including charities such as FareShare were cited as models of good practice that a future Labour government could work with.

Many co-operatives work closely with FareShare to distribute unsold food. Central England Co-operative's partnership with FareShare East Midlands stands out from other schemes as the retailer uses its own distribution vehicles to deliver store level surplus to FareShare depots rather than waiting for collections from charities. The long-term goal is to see 100% of unsold food redistributed. This initiative could form the basis of a national scheme which would significantly reduce food waste.

The Co-operative Party

Labour

A thriving food industry requires a safe and healthy work environment, free from all forms of exploitation and discrimination. Workers should have the right to secure contracts with a living wage and must be guaranteed fair political and union representation. Our consultation document asked what a future Labour government would need to do in order to improve working conditions and safety in the food production and distribution industries.

Submissions overwhelmingly criticised the prevalence of low pay and poor standards at every point of the food supply chain. Labour's 2017 manifesto policy of raising the minimum wage to a real living wage of £10 per hour was praised, as was our pledge to restore collective bargaining and reinstate the Agricultural Wages Board. Many submissions also called for the greater enforcement of existing rights and protections for workers across the sector, with the reversal of cuts to enforcement bodies such as the Health and Safety Inspectorate.

Usdaw's 2018 survey received around 250 responses from the food manufacturing industry. From those responses received, 43% of workers were paid between £7.83 and £8.50, a figure below the Real Living Wage.

Usdaw

Labour must fully restore the Agricultural Wages Board with a real Living Wage for agricultural workers, as well as paid holiday, sick pay and rest breaks.

Brighton Pavillion CLP

Access to talent

A key theme across submissions was access to talent, which was considered one of the most pressing issues facing the UK's food system. The UK food and farming sectors

depend heavily on European labour, with up to 80,000 workers coming to Britain every year to pick fruit and vegetables, 98 per cent of whom are from EU countries.

Concerns were raised in a number of submissions about the Government's handling of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme, which was scrapped in 2013 and has only recently been re-introduced as a pilot. Submissions argued that current provisions do not go far enough to provide the sector with the labour they need, and there were fears raised that the situation will worsen once the UK leaves the EU. It was consistently stressed that the agricultural sector needs certainty from the government on labour supply over the short and medium term so it can properly plan and invest for the future. Many submissions urged that straightforward, transparent seasonal visas should be available for EU and non-EU citizens, with a range of flexible, low-cost visa or work permit schemes available to employers.

A solution to the farming sector's labour needs is urgently needed to avoid losing a critical mass of workers. The sector needs a clear and unambiguous commitment from government that farmers and growers will have access to sufficient numbers of permanent and seasonal workers from outside of the UK where necessary after the UK leaves the EU.

The National Farmers' Union

Several submissions emphasised the need to attract new entrants into the food and farming sectors. One suggestion was the introduction of tax breaks for farmers who allocate or sub-let some of their land to new entrants or enterprises supporting new entrants. Also floated in some submissions was the establishment of new schemes to promote the food sector in schools and foster greater awareness of the range of careers available in the food sector.

Helen Munday, giving evidence on behalf of the Food and Drink Federation, argued that a key barrier to people entering the food sector is the domestic skills gap. She noted that the sector could take on many more food scientists, but that the education system is not producing enough graduates with the required skills. More broadly, several submissions asserted that education and training will need to be provided to ensure producers are equipped to manage the scale of changes expected to the food system in the coming decades.

UK food and drink manufacturing alone needs 140,000 new recruits by 2024 to feed an expected population of 70 million people. This is against a backdrop of an ageing workforce, historically low unemployment rates, and a shortage of qualified people coming through the education system with the skills that our businesses need to innovate and compete successfully.

Food and Drink Federation

Food is going to change rapidly over the next few decades, as a result of population growth, climate change, better understanding of the science of nutrition, health and wellbeing. We will need producers who are equipped to understand the changes and help introduce new food culture to the public.

Diana, West Midlands

Innovations to agro-ecological techniques are vital to improve sustainability. This would include promoting alternatives that cut chemical use, water consumption and waste, and promote renewable energy.

SERA, Labour's Environment Campaign

Innovation

Innovation was frequently raised as crucial to the continued development of the food and farming sectors. Submissions stressed that enabling innovation requires investment in both public and private sector research and development, and praised Labour's pledge to ensure that 3 per cent of GDP by 2030. It was also noted that knowledge exchange infrastructure is essential if new technologies are to be widely adopted across the sector. Some submissions called for closer engagement between Defra, BEIS and UKRI to ensure that food and farming policies are closely aligned with the government's research strategy.

Jyoti Fernandes, giving evidence to the Commission on behalf of the Landworkers' Alliance, argued that policymakers ought to pay greater attention to organisational innovations such as those in management, delivery and supply chains, rather than focusing their efforts solely on the promotion of high-tech innovation.

Another area of emphasis in submissions was the need to ensure that innovative technology is available at low prices, and that farmers and food businesses are adequately financed to invest in and procure such technology. It was noted that access to high-speed broadband is crucial if the food and farming sectors are to make full use of modern technologies, and the current government's failure on broadband targets was heavily criticised.

Technologies need to become increasingly democratised and more available in low-cost forms. We must include production or resource management systems in this.

New Forest East CLP

Other issues

Climate change

The Commission believes that actions to limit global warming to 1.5°C, and to mitigate against its effects, should continue to remain high on Labour's policy agenda. Recent reports from the Committee on Climate Change suggest that the UK is on course to miss domestic climate targets by a widening margin.

Throughout the year climate change was the most popular topic of submissions to the Commission other than food. Many responses argued in favour of new investment in renewable technologies. Submissions discussed the benefits of such technologies – not only for meeting ambitious climate targets, but also for creating new jobs, driving quality-of-life improvements, and reinvigorating British industry. Some submissions praised Labour's work developing a set of policies for a Green Industrial Revolution, while others referenced the Green New Deal advocated by US politician Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and various campaigning groups in the UK.

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. There was a strong view across submissions that remaining fossil fuels should be left in the ground, rather than extracted and burned for energy.

Media reform

Numerous submissions raised issues related to media bias and press regulation. Some called for the diversification of the news media, and greater government support for alternative models of media ownership such as co-operatives. Others called for greater transparency on media ownership and measures to tackle "fake news" on social media.

Animal welfare

Labour has a strong record on animal welfare, from the enactment fifteen years ago of the Hunting Act to protecting the treatment of domestic animals under the Animal Welfare Act, Labour has always placed the welfare of animals high on the policy agenda.

The Commission received numerous responses on animal welfare, including calls to tighten loopholes in the Hunting Act and end the trade in exotic pets.

Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to Commission members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2018/19 the Environment, Energy and Culture Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Adult education
- Agriculture
- Airports
- Allotments
- Animal welfare
- Art
- Banks
- Biodiversity
- Brexit
- Broadband
- Businesses
- Carbon capture
- Carbon dioxide emissions
- Child poverty
- Clean air
- Climate change
- Commonwealth
- Community ownership
- Co-operatives
- Council housing
- Culture
- Electric Vehicles
- Electricity
- Emissions & air quality
- Energy
- Energy prices
- England
- Environment
- Farming
- Fireworks
- Food
- Food waste
- Fox hunting
- Global health
- Green Belt
- Green economy
- Green Industrial Revolution
- Green New Deal
- Grouse Moors
- Halal meat
- Health and safety
- Heritage
- Housing
- Human rights
- Land reform
- Land Registry Database
- Land Tax
- Landfill
- Local economies
- Local Government
- Mining
- Music
- Nationalisation
- Nuclear power
- Parks & green spaces
- Plastics
- Public services
- Railways
- Recycling
- Reforestation
- Renewable energy
- Rural communities
- Rural economies
- Solar panels
- Sport
- Sustainability
- Technology
- The media
- Trade agreements
- Transport
- Trees
- TV licence
- Universal basic income
- Utilities
- Water
- Wildlife conservation



Health and Social Care Policy Commission



MEMBERSHIP 2018/19

HM Opposition

Jonathan Ashworth MP*

Sharon Hodgson MP

Barbara Keeley MP

Justin Madders MP†

NEC

Keith Birch*

Pauline McCarthy

Jayne Taylor

Darren Williams

CLP and Regions

Lewis Atkinson – Northern Region

Anthony Beddow – Welsh Labour Party

Gemma Bolton – South East Region

Angela Coleman – North West Region

Yannis Gourtsoyannis – Greater London Region

Kristen Kurt-Eli – West Midlands Region

Su Lowe – West Midlands Region

Richard Oliver – East Midlands Region

Karen Reay – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Joanne Rust – Eastern Region

Joyce Still – South East Region

Clare Williams – Northern Region

Rhea Wolfson – Scottish Labour Party

Affiliates

Cheryl Barrott – Co-operative Party

Jean Butcher – UNISON

Mary Hutchinson – GMB

Elected Representatives

Luciana Berger MP‡

Huw David – WLGA

*Co-convenor

† Left March 2019

‡ Left February 2019

Policy development

The Health and Social Care Policy Commission is responsible for developing policy on a number of issues, which include the future of our NHS, social care, mental health and public health. The Commission meets on a regular basis to consider issues on a broad range of subjects, to hear evidence from experts and to consider submissions from Labour Party members.

This year the Commission's consultation, "Rebuilding a public NHS", focused on NHS funding, privatisation, and workforce. Over the course of several meetings, Commission members have discussed a number of issues, including integration between health and social care, the impact of Brexit on the NHS, the future of funding for health and social care and waiting times in primary and secondary care.

At Women's Conference 2018, there was a discussion on health and social care. The discussion covered a number of issues including the health of the traveller community, particular health needs of Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Trans+ (LGBT+) women, the impact on the health of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) women as a result of the Government's austerity policies, period poverty and the impact of the menopause on women in work. There was a question and answer session following the panel discussion, in which people talked about cuts to perinatal services, health inequalities and the pay of district nurses.

A policy seminar on health and social care was held for delegates at Annual Conference 2018. There was a wide ranging discussion, with contributions from many delegates. Members of the Shadow Health team spoke with the delegates about their priorities and responded to questions and comments on a number of issues. There were lively discussions about funding for public health and mental health, and privatisation of services both in the NHS and social care sector. The Shadow Health team also responded to questions on drug and alcohol addiction and support for carers. Delegates were also updated on the ongoing work of the Shadow Health team to campaign against hospital closures and to push for the restoration of the NHS bursary for nursing and allied health professionals.

The Commission met in January and welcomed newly elected representatives of the NPF. The Commission appointed a Sustainability Champion, an Equalities Champion and a Brexit Representative at this meeting. A first draft of the consultation document, "Rebuilding a public NHS", was discussed in detail. Commission members discussed NHS reorganisation and partnerships with sectors outside the NHS e.g. the research and hospice sectors. Jonathan Ashworth, Shadow Secretary of State for Health, gave an update to the Commission about the work of the Shadow Health team and current challenges facing the NHS. Funding was discussed, including cut backs to training

budgets, social care and public health. It was acknowledged that Tory policies such as scrapping NHS bursaries and privatisation are having a damaging effect on the health service. Further issues were highlighted through submissions and discussions, including NHS waiting lists, the prospect of scrapping the A&E waiting time target, the impact of Brexit on the NHS and the NHS Long Term Plan.

During this meeting, there was also a discussion about Labour Party Conference 2018. Motions to Annual Conference were noted, but it was acknowledged that no NHS or social care motions were selected for compositing. During Annual Conference, delegates voted to reference back a section of last year's Annual Report. It was noted that this reference back should be referred to the Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission via the Joint Policy Commission. It was referenced back because it did not mention children and young people's social work; however, this comes under the responsibility of the Education, Early Years and Skills Policy Commission. Commission members also noted reference backs on specific parts of the Annual Report relating to privatisation and bringing contracts in house. There was agreement by the Commission that bringing contracts back in-house for clinical services and patient-facing services would be a priority in a chronically under-funded NHS.

At Women's Conference in February 2019, a policy debate took place on social care. Speakers expressed concern about the under-funding in social care and supported the Labour Party's Manifesto commitment for increased investment in the sector in the form of a National Care Service. The debate covered a number of issues relating to social care. Some delegates were concerned about the impact of budget cuts on disabled children, and it was also noted that older people with disabilities are not being helped to live independently. Increased privatisation of care services and high costs of care homes were raised. Delegates agreed that working conditions for care workers can be poor, with little time to care for patients, and they face the added insecurity of being on zero-hours contracts in many cases. In addition to this, it was noted that there is poor pay across the sector, which is leading to people leaving the profession.

The Commission met in February, where it held its first evidence session for the consultation. The Commission heard from the Royal College of Physicians and representatives from unions who addressed the issue of rebuilding a public NHS workforce. They discussed pay and reward in the NHS, morale and retention, and supported legislation around safe staffing levels, which was proposed in the 2017 Labour Party Manifesto. The Royal College of Physicians highlighted the number of vacancies in the NHS, and stressed that growing the workforce should be a key priority. The need for more training and flexibility for the workforce was highlighted, as well as increasing the number of medical school places. Submissions to the consultation were discussed, many of which echoed what was heard in the evidence session on workforce.

In March, the Commission met to hold another evidence session to feed into the consultation. This session focused on NHS structures and rebuilding a publicly delivered NHS, and Commission members heard from NHS Providers, the membership body for NHS Trusts and John Lister, from the group Health Campaigns Together. They discussed a range of issues, including the importance of local providers building local relationships, the 2012 Health and Social Care Act and restoring the duty of the Secretary of State. They also discussed scrapping the purchaser/provider split and rolling back outsourcing in the NHS, something which has been mentioned in a large number of submissions to the Commission. These measures were recognised as key ways in which Labour can reinstate a publicly provided NHS. The issue of Integrated Care Systems was raised with issues surrounding accountability raised. Democratic accountability has been a key theme in submissions received throughout the year, and Commission members were keen to hear as much as possible on this issue. Leadership at a local level was also discussed as well as public health and where responsibility for this should be held.

The Commission met again at the start of April to hold a special session focusing on social care. Commission members heard from representatives from health charities, the King's Fund, Independent Age and a Labour Councillor leading on Adult Social Care at Slough Borough Council. A number of issues were highlighted, including high levels of unmet need in the system and vacancy rates in the workforce. It was noted that there has been a growing problem with the system over a number of years, and that more investment is needed. Independent Age discussed in detail Free Personal Care, and argued that the introduction of this would make families more available to provide emotional support. Different ways in which to finance social care were discussed. Independent Age had suggested a range of options. Funding for social care has been a key theme of submissions over the year, and these submissions have helped aid discussion on the future funding of the system. 15 minute home care visits were also discussed and it was agreed that these visits are not appropriate, particularly for people with dementia. Commission members discussed issues surrounding social care in-depth, and it was stressed that we need a long-term plan for social care rather than short-term fixes. During the second half of the meeting, Barbara Keeley, Shadow Cabinet Member for Social Care and Mental Health, gave an update on the work of the Shadow Health team.

The next meeting of the Commission was held in May, and an evidence session was held on funding. The Director of Research and Economics at the Health Foundation gave evidence to the Commission, addressing NHS and social care funding. There was a discussion about what NHS England funding pays for, and it was explained that public health, training, and capital expenditure is dealt with separately from NHS England's budget. It was acknowledged that the current level of funding is not sufficient

to improve and modernise services, and it was also noted that capital funding has lacked investment. Workforce was highlighted as a key issue, and it was felt that urgent investment is needed to address workforce shortages. Public health funding was also discussed, as well as funding for the social care system. Pay and conditions for staff in the social care sector were highlighted as a concern – this is something that was raised in numerous submissions and discussed in depth with Commission members and the Shadow Health team. There was a wide ranging discussion with members of the Commission, including on primary care, privatisation, and how the NHS and social care should be funded.

June's meeting of the Commission saw a detailed discussion of submissions. As well as the consultation document, the Commission discussed a wide range of submissions including some about prescription charges, integration of health and social care, new born baby gift boxes, GP access and the role of technology in the NHS. Jonathan Ashworth shared his thoughts on health inequalities and there was also a lively discussion about protecting our NHS against a possible future trade deal with the US. There was agreement that our NHS is not for sale, and that Labour will do whatever it can to make sure patients are not put at risk by big US health corporations.

Consultation: Rebuilding a Public NHS

Following the 2017 General Election, Labour has been carrying out work to develop its policies and to build on pledges made in the manifesto. Last year, the Commission looked at the issue of health inequalities in our society and received valuable contributions focusing on the workforce, funding and the impact of health inequalities. The NHS is Labour's proudest achievement – that's why the Commission this year focused on Labour's vision for the future of our NHS, and examined ways in which we can rebuild a public NHS. The consultation document, entitled "Rebuilding a public NHS", posed questions about funding, public delivery of our health service and workforce to inform the Labour Party's position on a number of issues.

During the consultation, the Commission heard from a wide range of people and organisations who were keen to share their vision for health and care under a future Labour Government. A large number of contributions were received from members, academics, health workers, and trade unions, among others, and their views have been invaluable in answering the questions posed in the consultation document. The Commission would like to thank the speakers who gave evidence at Commission meetings throughout the year, as well as organisations, CLPs, members and supporters who submitted evidence. The Commission would also like to thank those CLPs and local groups who held events in their regions to discuss issues in the consultation document.

A publicly funded NHS

Given the perilous state of NHS finances, the Commission was keen to hear people's views about the future funding of the NHS and posed a number of questions on what Labour can do to ensure the NHS is fully funded under a Labour Government.

The NHS is the envy of the world, for many reasons. It was set up to provide free birth to death health care at the point of need. It is vital that it is funded adequately, in a way which allows it to function to the benefit of all. This is the single most important funding issue facing the UK today.

Teresa, North West

Both in discussions and submissions, the view was clear that the level of funding for health services is not sufficient. During an oral evidence session with the Health Foundation, Commission members heard that increases in the NHS budget of 3.4 per cent are not enough to improve and modernise services. It was also highlighted by the Health Foundation that due to budget changes in 2015, the increased funding promised by the Government does not cover public health, training budgets and capital expenditure. It was clear from submissions and evidence sessions that extra funding is needed for areas that sit outside NHS England's budget, and that a future Labour Government should invest in these areas to provide the best outcomes for people.

It will be impossible to achieve the objectives set out in the Long Term Plan and improve outcomes for cancer patients without wider investment in the NHS workforce, public health, and funding vital research in the NHS. Despite the importance of these budgets they are not covered by the NHS England uplift, so Labour policy should reflect the need to invest in these vital areas.

Cancer Research UK

Public health funding was reflected in a large number of submissions. These showed how concerned people are about the impact these cuts are having on patients and the wider public and many suggested reversing cuts made in recent years. We received submissions from organisations and individuals that underlined the impact these cuts are having on services such as screening, smoking cessation services and sexual health services.

There should be an immediate reversal of the cuts to public health budgets since 2015 to ensure public health services are put on sustainable footing for the future. This funding must be afforded the same protections and share of investment as the NHS.

The Faculty of Sexual and Reproductive Healthcare

There were also concerns about sustained cuts to capital expenditure which has resulted in a huge maintenance backlog for NHS hospitals. Latest figures show that the backlog maintenance bill currently stands at around £6 billion, £3 billion of which is classified as

significant or high risk. Several submissions underlined the need for greater investment in infrastructure and called for a future Labour Government to commit to extra funding in this area.

An ageing infrastructure, together with a substantial and growing repairs backlog, coupled with the lack of beds and space is causing strain on the health service. A lack of funding for infrastructure is undermining ambitions to transform the health service. The ambition it laid out in the NHS Long Term plan will be significantly hampered without additional capital funding.

Royal College of Physicians

We also received a number of submissions highlighting underfunding of mental health services, which have traditionally been seen as the “Cinderella” service within the NHS. Labour’s manifesto commitment to ring-fence mental health budgets was welcomed in submissions and discussions, but there were also submissions that highlighted the current funding challenges faced by mental health services. Submissions stressed the need to prioritise funding for mental health, in order to truly achieve parity of esteem.

Mental health is a vital part of health and social care spending, and should be a local and national priority. Historic and continued underfunding means parity of esteem is not being delivered and cannot be without additional appropriate funding.

Rethink Mental Illness

As part of the consultation, the Commission was keen to understand people’s views on the future funding of social care. A wide range of submissions were received, and the Commission also heard oral evidence from health charities the King’s Fund and Independent Age. A range of positions for how the social care system could be funded were put forward. What was clear through examining submissions is that people felt strongly that funding for the social care sector is not sufficient. Labour is clear that it would seek consensus on funding for social care and would look at a range of options. At the last election, Labour pledged £8 billion across the Parliament to help fix the crisis in social care.

Crucially Labour set out bold commitments to increase funding to the social care system and put in place major reforms that would deliver a National Care Service in England integrated with the NHS. Unite believes that the health and social care system should be funded through a combination of progressive general taxation and National Insurance. This would mean bringing social care staff within a national collective bargaining structure either by extending Agenda for Change, thus integrating these staff into the NHS, or their own stand-alone collective agreement.

Unite

Submissions overall reflected the view that although NHS England received an increase in its funding last year, increases are not significant enough to drive change and improvement in the system, and it is clear that a future Labour Government will need to boost investment, not only in NHS England's budget, but for funding which sits outside of that budget.

There are a number of areas where additional funding is needed for the NHS to address historic underfunding or to enable to service development necessary over the next five years. The key priorities over the next five years include: education and training to help address workforce shortages and ensure the right skill mix; funding pay increases to appropriately reward staff; capital investment to repair estates, transform models of care and to enable the NHS to take advantage of new technology and; recovering performance for core NHS services against agreed national standards. To shore up the health and care system for the future, funding is also needed to enable service transformation, promote prevention and public health and ensure the suitability of the social care sector.

NHS Providers

A publicly delivered NHS

The introduction of the 2012 Health and Social Care Act unleashed increasing levels of privatisation in our NHS. Labour is clear that in Government, it would repeal this damaging piece of legislation, sweeping away marketisation and privatisation of our health service and it will reinstate the powers of the Secretary of State for Health to have overall responsibility for the NHS. Submissions received showed that many people have serious concerns about privatisation in our NHS and believe that elements of competition in the system are negative and damaging.

The Health and Social Care Act (2012) has unleashed chaos into the health service. A full competitive market is trampling on cooperation and fragmenting service delivery, paving the way for private companies to cherry pick the most profitable treatments.

Unite

It is clear that chronic underfunding of our health system has resulted in the NHS turning to the private sector to deliver contracts. In some cases millions of pounds has been wasted on disastrous contracts, and private companies have failed to deliver what was expected of them. Submissions showed strong opposition to outsourcing in the NHS, with many suggesting that contracts be brought back in house under a future Labour Government. Submissions from Party members and CLPs also stressed that Private Finance Initiatives (PFI) should be brought to an end.

Another issue which was highlighted through submissions and discussions with members is the recent drive to hive off estates and facilities to wholly owned subsidiary companies – this particularly affects NHS support services and the staff that deliver these services. Labour is clear that it would put an end to trusts establishing so called “subcos”, which can damage the vital team dynamic that functions in the best NHS organisations and creates a disconnect between support staff and the wider workforce.

It was clear that members were concerned about the lack of democratic oversight in the NHS, particularly with the introduction of Sustainability and Transformation Partnerships, Accountable Care Organisations and Integrated Care Systems. A number of submissions suggested a greater role for trade unions, and suggested that local organisations should be engaged with local health bodies via board membership.

Local authorities, citizen panels, professional representatives, trade unions and voluntary/charity organisations need to be engaged with local health bodies both via board membership and formal consultative requirements to ensure democratic oversight of local NHS decisions.

Derek, Wales

Democratic oversight within the NHS could be strengthened by ensuring that there is full engagement with local authority partners by the local NHS. In the current NHS structure, for example, this would mean local areas having a requirement to engage with council Health and Wellbeing Boards in the development of their plans for integrated care systems.

UNISON

There were a large number of submissions relating to the integration of health and social care, and members supported Labour’s pledge to lay the foundations for a National Care Service. Greater integration between health and social care was highlighted as a priority, and it was stressed that sufficient funding needs to be put in place to ensure people are receiving the care they deserve – currently there are over a million people not getting the care they need.

Labour should prioritise the integration of social care and health care, and ensure proper funding of care for the elderly and those with conditions such as dementia.

Farnborough & Cove Branch Labour Party

Integration is essential to ensuring that the health and social care system continues to deliver high quality, person-centred care to the UK’s ageing population and the increasing numbers of people living with multiple long-term conditions.

Royal College of General Practitioners

The NHS Workforce

As part of the consultation, the Commission were keen to hear what steps a future Labour Government could take to ensure the NHS has a sustainable health and social care workforce fit to deliver a publicly provided NHS and National Care Service. Our NHS workforce is in crisis, with people leaving the health service because of stress and low morale. These staff members are not being sufficiently replaced by new staff. The Commission heard oral evidence from UNISON and the Royal College of Physicians, who provided valuable insights on a wide range of issues. The Commission's evidence session with the Health Foundation also looked at funding for the NHS and social care workforce, and it was clear from discussions that boosting our workforce should be top of the agenda for a future Labour Government.

The Labour Party's pledge to reinstate the NHS bursary for nurses, midwives and allied health professionals was an issue that was reflected in oral evidence and in almost every submission received. Overwhelmingly, people believed that the Tories' decision to scrap the bursary has had disastrous consequences, and led to staff shortages and low morale.

Reinstate nurse bursaries and extend them to other NHS professionals. Bursaries are especially vital for mature students and such students are particularly valuable in mental health services.

Vote Labour to Save the NHS

The nursing bursary should be brought back to improve staff recruitment, retention and professional development. It would also have the effect of improving morale.

Rochford and Southend East CLP

The Commission was keen to hear about ways in which issues such as staff morale, retention and development could be addressed. There was an overwhelming message that currently, staff don't feel valued. Submissions showed that people felt morale and retention could be boosted by addressing issues relating to pay and reward in both the NHS and social care. In addition it was stressed in consultation responses and discussions with the Commission that the next Labour Government has a huge role to play in putting measures in place to improve the lives of those working in the NHS and social care. Offering training and development to staff to help them to progress in their career, family friendly measures and bringing back NHS bursaries were all issues that were discussed. The Labour Party has been clear that having a good working environment with flexible working opportunities, having healthy and safe working conditions and being treated fairly, equally and free from discrimination are all vital. The Shadow Health team has also committed to restoring the Continuing Professional Development budgets and to reinstating the NHS bursary in order to boost staff numbers and morale.

We need to offer young people an interesting and fulfilling career, with opportunities for progression. Given the problems the NHS has with staff retention there should be a focus on family friendly working hours, allowing staff to spend time with their children or care for elderly relatives. Bursaries for medical professionals should be reintroduced.

Derrick, London

The social care workforce in particular has been highlighted as an area which suffers from insecurity in regard to pay, with a quarter of the workforce on zero-hours contracts. According to evidence the Commission received, pay in this sector is sometimes illegally low, and this is being exacerbated by the failure of employers to pay staff for travel time between visits. The Commission recognised with concern that working in the social care sector is often viewed as less important than other NHS professions. The Commission was keen to stress that working in social care should be treated on an equal footing with other jobs in the NHS, and Commission members highlighted the importance of making this an attractive profession for people, which would in turn help with continuity of care for patients. Labour believes our social care workforce is vitally important. For example, providing care workers with paid travel time was a pledge made in the 2017 manifesto and remains a priority when looking at ways in which to improve the morale and conditions of those working in the sector.

Pay and reward plays a crucial role in staff morale and recruitment and retention in both the health and social care workforces. In the NHS the three-year Agenda for Change pay deal that runs until March 2021 represented a major achievement in the current political and economic climate. But the deal was only the first step on the road to reversing the damage done to the NHS and its staff by nearly a decade of pay austerity. So Labour should commit to sustained investment from 2021 onwards to make up the ground that has been lost and to ensure that NHS pay levels are fit for the future.

UNISON

Staff retention continues to be a challenge for the NHS workforce. For example, the NHS has lost over 6,000 mental health nurses since 2010, and this year, we have seen the first sustained drop in GP numbers in fifty years. Many staff feel overworked and undervalued. In order to deal with the recruitment and retention crisis, submissions suggested that shortages need to be tackled, that there needs to be greater investment in training and development and that NHS bursaries should be reinstated.

To improve morale, we must not only recruit more doctors to reduce pressure, but invest more resources in training and education of physician associates and other medical associate professions. They are a key element of the solution as part of a multi-disciplinary team. They are able to help reduce the healthcare team's workload, and bring new talent to the NHS, adding to the skill mix within the teams.

Royal College of Physicians

Another issue which was raised on numerous occasions in relation to workforce was the need to enshrine safe staffing levels in law, as the Welsh Government has done, in order to improve working conditions for staff, and increase safety for patients. In government, the Labour Party will legislate for safe staffing levels, learning from the experience of the Welsh Labour Government's pioneering law, to ensure safe staffing levels are introduced on hospital wards. In government, Labour will also make it an aggravated criminal offence to attack NHS staff.

Throughout the course of the consultation, the Commission has heard from a wide range of people, in special evidence sessions, consultation events up and down the country and a large number of written submissions. The Commission would like to thank those who have contributed their thoughts and ideas to this important area of work. Rebuilding our NHS will be a key priority for the next Labour Government, and Labour is passionate about ensuring our health service is publicly provided and administered. The Labour Party values the highly skilled staff in our health and social care sectors, and will invest to make sure patients get the care they need, from a health service freed from privatisation.

Other issues

Health Inequalities

Building on the Commission's detailed work last year on health inequalities, the Shadow Health team has continued to develop its policies in this area, and to highlight the damage Tory austerity is doing in relation to reducing inequality in our society. Shadow Health Secretary, Jonathan Ashworth, spoke to the Commission about his work in this area, and shared some worrying developments. For example, life expectancy for the poorest is going backwards in some areas of the country, obesity is twice as common amongst children living in the most deprived areas as compared to children in the most privileged areas and shockingly, infant mortality has worsened for three years in a row. As part of Labour's work to narrow health inequalities in our society, Jonathan Ashworth recently announced that the next Labour government will bring in a Future Generations Wellbeing Act, following on from the success of a similar measure brought in by the Welsh Labour Government. In addition, Jonathan Ashworth has continued to work on

issues relating to alcohol addiction and earlier this year announced a commitment by a future Labour Government to have mandatory alcohol labelling as part of Labour's wider alcohol strategy – with less than 20 per cent of people in need of treatment for alcohol dependence getting the support they need, this measure is vital.

The State of the NHS

Throughout the course of the year, the Commission reflected on the state of the NHS through discussions and submissions. The Conservative Government continues to miss key performance targets, leaving patients waiting longer for the treatment they deserve. The four hour A&E target has not been met for almost four years, and it was noted with concern by the Commission that the Government is considering scrapping this target altogether. In 2018/19 over 2.8 million people waited longer than four hours in A&E and in 2018/19 over 600,000 people waited longer than four hours on trolleys in overcrowded hospitals. It is now over four years since the 62 day cancer waiting time target was last met, and there are now 4.3 million patients on the waiting list in England. The Commission also discussed the NHS Long Term Plan, which was launched in January 2019. Jonathan Ashworth, said that the NHS needs a credible fully funded plan for the future, not an unfunded wishlist. While it was noted that the aspirations for improving patient care were welcome, people agreed that in reality, the NHS will continue to be held back by cuts and chronic staff shortages. Labour will give the NHS the funding it needs to provide quality care and recruit the staff for the future.

Privatisation and the future of our NHS

The Commission received a large number of submissions and held lengthy discussions about the privatisation of the NHS. The Labour Party vehemently opposes any privatisation in our NHS, and is committed to reversing the 2012 Health and Social Care Act and restoring a public NHS. The Commission and Shadow Cabinet members discussed outsourcing in detail and there was a strong feeling that outsourced contracts in the NHS should be brought back in house under a Labour Government.

Throughout the course of the year, Labour's vehement opposition to any privatisation in our NHS was reiterated, and Labour continues to call for the Health and Social Care Act to be scrapped. Commission members discussed the Long Term Plan and how far it could go to reversing some parts of the Health and Social Care Act, such as Section 75. It was felt that proposals to make significant changes to the Health and Social Care Act confirm what a wasteful, bureaucratic disaster it was in the first place and the Shadow Health team called on the Government to apologise for wasting billions of taxpayers' money on the privatisation, tendering of contracts and top down reorganisation.

Funding

After almost a decade of Tory austerity, our NHS and social care services are facing extreme pressure. Funding for the NHS in England announced last year has been criticised as not being sufficient and it is clear that without extra funding for the health and social care system that improvement and advances will not be possible. According to the latest figures, hospital trusts in England are £571 million in deficit. There were also detailed discussions and many submissions received about funding for social care, which has seen nine years of severe cut backs – recent figures show that there have been £7.7 billion cuts to social care budgets since 2010. At the 2017 General Election, Labour committed an extra £8 billion to social care, and the Commission believes it is vital to find solutions for the future funding of social care.

Public Health

Following the Commission's consultation last year which looked at tackling health inequalities in our society, the Commission continues to discuss the challenges facing public health. The Shadow Health team updated the Commission about research it had carried out which showed a rise in so-called Dickensian diseases (e.g. tuberculosis, scarlet fever, whooping cough and malnutrition), and it was acknowledged that the rise in these diseases comes at the same time of severe cut backs to the public health budget. The Shadow Health team also discussed the Government's total failure to deal with the childhood obesity epidemic and reiterated its call for the Government to implement policies that could help tackle this obesity crisis.

Worryingly, figures show that more than one in three children in Year Six in primary schools are either overweight or obese. In Government, Labour will help tackle the childhood obesity crisis, restrict the sale of energy drinks to under 16s, introduce a 9pm watershed for foods high in fat, salt and sugar, and give local councils the funding they desperately need to fulfil their vital public health responsibilities.

Mental Health

A large number of submissions about mental health were received by the Commission and it continues to be a key issue for discussion and policy development. A range of issues were discussed including the Mental Health Capacity bill, learning disabilities and autism. Barbara Keeley, Shadow Cabinet Member for Social Care and Mental Health, raised particular concerns about those with learning disabilities and autism being left on mental health or in patient wards, instead of being transferred to a more appropriate setting. It was also acknowledged that the NHS Long Term Plan revealed little detail about the NHS's plans to expand mental health services, and there were concerns that there was no clarity about waiting time targets and how much funding would be made available to mental health services. The Commission will continue to monitor these issues.

Social Care

Social Care was discussed in depth at several Commission meetings, including at a special session of the Commission dedicated to social care. As well as severe concerns about social care funding, there was alarm at the number of vacancies in the social care sector, which currently stands at around 110,000. Following on from the 2017 manifesto, pledges were made this year to increase the number of home care packages for vulnerable people and those with dementia, to increase investment for training the workforce and funding to help people with autism and learning disabilities to move back in to the community from inappropriate inpatient units.

A number of other issues, such as workforce and funding for social care, were discussed in the context of the consultation, and remain key issues which the Commission will continue to monitor.

Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to Commission members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2018/19 the Health and Social Care Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Abortion
- Access to Work
- Accessibility
- Accountability
- Adult education
- Alzheimer's
- Assisted dying
- Austerity
- BAME
- Bed shortages
- Bereavement support
- Brexit
- Cancer
- Care homes
- Care Workers
- Carers
- Carer's Allowance
- Child poverty
- Collective bargaining rights
- Community Ownership
- Council housing
- Data Protection
- Debt
- Dementia
- Dentistry
- Digital
- Disabilities
- Disability equality
- Domestic violence
- Drugs
- Early Years
- Elderly Care
- Employment protection
- England
- Equality
- Foster Care
- Funding
- Global health
- GP appointments
- GP surgeries
- Health insurance
- Homelessness
- Hospitals
- Integrated health and social care
- Local economies
- Local Government
- Memorandum of Understanding
- Mental health
- National Education Service
- National Forums for Health
- National Living Wage
- National Social Care Service
- Nationalisation
- NHS
- NHS Business Services
- NHS Funding
- NHS Staff
- Northern Ireland
- Nurse bursaries
- Obesity
- Parental Mentors
- Parking
- Pharmacies
- Poverty
- Prescriptions
- Primary care
- Privatisation
- Public health
- Public services
- Sexual health
- Sleep
- Social Care
- Social Care Green Paper
- Social Services
- Social Workers
- Support for carers
- Trans healthcare
- Wellbeing



Housing, Local Government and Transport Policy Commission



MEMBERSHIP 2018/19

HM Opposition

Andrew Gwynne MP*

John Healey MP

Andy McDonald MP

NEC

Jim Kennedy*

Nick Forbes

Andi Fox

Jon Lansman

Ian Murray

Mick Whelan

CLPs and Regions

Elly Baker – Greater London Region

Lorraine Beavers – North West Region

Simon Foster – West Midlands Region

Nicky Gavron AM – Greater London Region

Alice Grice – East Midlands Region

Neil Guild – South West Region

Carol Hayton – South East Region

Emily Horsfall – West Midlands Regions

Caitlin Kane – Scottish Labour Party

Denise Robson – Northern Region

Maggie Simpson – Welsh Labour Party

Affiliates

Mick Carney – TSSA

Collette Gibson – ASLEF

Dean Gilligan – GMB

Linda Hobson – UNISON

Andrew Pakes – Co-operative Party

Tony Woodhouse – Unite

Elected Reps

Angela Cornforth

Michael Payne

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 Policy Commission has been tasked with giving particular attention to considering 'local economic development'.

In September 2018, Jim Kennedy chaired the Housing, Local Government and Transport Policy Seminar at Annual Conference in Liverpool. Andrew Gwynne, Shadow Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, John Healey, Shadow Housing Secretary and Andy McDonald, Shadow Secretary for Transport, attended and discussed a range of topics with delegates. There was an interesting discussion on how to fund councils fairly. Points raised by delegates also included 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 January. Carol Hayton was appointed the Equalities Champion, Nicky Gavron the Sustainability Champion and Sina Lari the Brexit Representative for the Policy Commission. Members of the Commission discussed motions and minutes from Annual Conference. These included the Housing composite motion and the minutes from the policy seminar. The Commission is committed to reviewing the policy proposals in the composite and in the other motions submitted to identify how these will effectively inform the policy that will be included in our manifesto. Topics debated at the meeting encompassed the banning of letting agent fees, guaranteeing long-term, stable tenancies with genuinely affordable rents and ending the sale of leasehold properties. Discussions also drew on submissions by members made directly to representatives including on improving disabled access to transport, devolving powers to the regions, building eco-friendly homes and ending the Right to Buy. It was explained at the meeting the National Executive Committee had decided the focus of the Commission's work this year in agreement with Jeremy Corbyn and the Shadow DCLG team. It was agreed that Local Economic Development would be the focus of this year's work.

The Commission met again in February. Members of the Commission raised the need to build thousands more council homes a year, to which John Healey MP agreed and restated Labour's commitment to delivering. There was also a discussion about homelessness and a submission on the Charter of Rights for the Homeless. The Commission welcomed Labour's commitment to end rough sleeping in our first term in Parliament. In addition a long discussion on devolution was held with Jim McMahon MP and there was agreement that council wards need to be the building blocks for devolution. Learning from current devolution deals and encouraging people to play a greater role in society were identified as key areas for Labour to consider going forward.

This includes ensuring under represented groups stand for election at all levels of government. Karl Turner MP then discussed road safety with the Commission and a discussion was had centring on Labour's commitment to invest in walking and cycling, a subject of interest to many members.

Commission members met again in March. The Commission discussed topics surrounding the consultation document with Pete Robbins from the LGA labour group and Paul Swinney from the Centre for Cities. 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 were several points made on how best to increase the number of women councillors. Under the Tories there has been a lack of investment in skills across the country. There was a further discussion on the need to encourage connectivity, particularly across the North of England to encourage greater trade and investment between the cities of the North. There was also a discussion of shared ownership and how to make both the building and running of homes more environmentally friendly and energy efficient.

At the fourth meeting, the Commission discussed submissions that had been sent in, including on air passenger duty and electric charging points. They had a discussion with Rachel Maskell from the Shadow Transport team about Labour rail policy and investment in walking and cycling. The Commission also had a long discussion with John Healey. Commission members discussed increasing social homes for rent, council initiatives to do so and how the Government should help young people get on the housing ladder. Representatives also discussed how to ensure that homes are built to last and properties are always built to the highest safety standards. Submissions raised concerns about the selling of homes 'off plan' to foreign investors which is reducing the housing supply to those that want to buy a home to live in, and how taxation or other policy levers would be used to tackle this problem.

In late June two policy engagement events were held in Manchester, one for members and the other for business groups. A range of topics were discussed including the importance of embedding the tackling of climate change into all areas of policy including the designing and building of new homes. Those present raised the need to address the decline of the high street and to ensure that suburban areas are better connected with big conurbations.

The Commission held its final meeting of the cycle to discuss updates to the consultation document and agree the Annual Report. Submissions discussed the topics of a second homes tax, investment in ports and rebalancing regional transport spending.

Consultation: Empowering local people to transform their local areas

Britain's economy is the most geographically unequal in Europe, with huge variation in the strength of local economies across the country. Economic restructuring has concentrated businesses and jobs in some parts of the country while destroying the economic base of others, leaving many communities hollowed out and disillusioned.

The Government's failure to act over the past nine years has led to a great divide between the haves and the have-nots. From Bournemouth to Blackpool we see councils and communities struggling with cuts to local authorities and local public services. In just three years, one third of councils say they will be unable to provide the most basic of statutory services to their residents.

This failure to act has caused a housing crisis unlike ever before. There are over one million people on council housing waiting lists. Average rents are up by nearly £2000 and rough sleeping numbers have doubled. In addition the climate and environment emergency is worsening, global temperatures have risen a degree in just over a hundred years and are set to rise further without action. The lack of leadership from the Government has caused fundamental problems to go unaddressed. As we look to grow the output of every region and every community, we can build in measures to reduce our carbon footprint and tackle our growing housing crisis.

It is crucial to remember too that leadership must be shown at two levels. Whilst we are in Opposition nationally for local communities Labour run local authorities offer the best hope of addressing inequality at a time when we know the Government won't act. So we need to consider what Labour councils are doing and can do now.

Moreover, with the continued Brexit uncertainty and challenging Parliamentary arithmetic a General Election could be, as we hope, just around the corner. While our front bench continue to highlight Government failure and the need for a national vote we must be ready with policies and thinking on what a Labour Government will do.

What can Labour councils do now

Labour is leading the fight nationally to oppose the worst of what is happening to our society, much of it coming from Whitehall. The best hope for millions of people until a General Election is Labour in local government.

Councils are the last defenders of the most vulnerable in society and they are the driving force behind finding innovative ways to help our local communities. So as we look to develop our policy and ask more of councils, we should not lose sight of the work already

being done to regenerate and grow our neighbourhoods. For example, the Commission heard how Sunderland City Council has set out a vision to be an ‘entrepreneurial university city.’

To create 6,000 jobs in Sunderland, Sunderland City Council have set a vision to be ‘an entrepreneurial university city at the heart of a low-carbon regional economy’. There will be a focus on a small number of important sectors and the city centre, and an International Advanced Manufacturing Park is in development to ensure that the necessary infrastructure is in place to support this vision. The city has also recently opened a landmark bridge, Northern Spire, across the River Wear, which is part of improving road infrastructure between the city centre and port.

Sunderland City Council

One of the most effective ways of retaining value in local economies, and therefore central to the community wealth building programme, is insourcing.

The outsourcing of many of councils’ functions to the private sector has taken money out of local areas and given it to large and often remote corporations. This has come with loss of accountability, lower service quality, and a deterioration of the terms and conditions of the workforce. Insourcing, by contrast, means more local people being paid a decent wage – which they will then spend locally, creating a virtuous circle of demand and growth – and more democratic accountability and control over local services.

Community Wealth Building refers to a range of techniques councils can use to stop value leaking out of local areas and extend community control over local economies, including spending public money locally, giving new opportunities to local suppliers and becoming a Living Wage employer.

Mindful of this, the Commission heard from a number of submissions about the role insourcing can play. It is the firm belief of the Commission and of the wider Party that a presumption towards insourcing is the best way to create good local jobs, deliver best value and better democratic control over our local services.

Insourcing is crucial to Labour’s vision and councils need the support and expertise to improve their capacity to deliver services in in-house. Such an approach would save money and lead to better more integrated public services. Public services should be delivered by skilled and trained professional staff and Labour must end the push to use volunteers to replace formerly local authority jobs.

Unite the Union

There are innovative insourcing practices operating across the country, including councils pooling and sharing resources with neighbouring authorities to deliver services. Crucially, the Commission heard that outsourcing to third sector voluntary organisations

is not a satisfactory alternative to insourcing. Not only does it reduce local democratic accountability over service delivery, it has often in practice opened the door to outsourcing to for-profit firms and associated declines in service quality and the wages and terms and conditions of workforces.

Alongside helping councils to bring public services back in house, Labour's Community Wealth Building Unit is encouraging Labour councils to adopt measures that encourage the expansion of social enterprises and locally-owned businesses in the private sector, where the skills or products are not available or possible through in-house provision.

Community Wealth Building should be seen as a national and international network, so that local public purchasing power can go to other local publicly-owned or co-operative producers to get work done where the skills or products are not available locally.

Shipley CLP

The Labour Party's Alternative Models of Ownership Report highlights the role that co-operatives can play in the wider economy. The report outlines evidence showing that co-operatives can be better at creating sustainable jobs and improving productivity and efficiency compared to private, for-profit firms because such organisations are more likely to serve the local community rather than distant corporate interests. Alongside helping councils to bring public services back in house, Labour's Community Wealth Building Unit is helping Labour councils support the growth of social enterprises and locally-owned businesses in the private sector, in areas ranging from digital start-ups to local food production.

Submissions also noted the importance of councils working together rather than competing with each other on local economic development:

Councils in different parts of the country could work together on regional regeneration projects instead of competing for funding against each other as currently happens. Regeneration and restoration teams from neighbouring councils could be created from existing departments with an aim to working in collaboration across councils.

Peterlee Branch Labour Party

The future institutional framework

Revitalising and enhancing local areas is key for the Labour Party. For many people politics is too distant from them, too many of the decisions that have an impact on their lives are made in Whitehall and do not reflect their needs and priorities. The centralisation of decision-making in Westminster has coincided with the concentration of economic activity in London and the South East. Rebalancing our economy, and creating vibrant local economies across the country, will rely on a strong

set of institutions, achieving better distribution of decision-making and ensuring that policy levers are pulled at the level at which they are most likely to be effective.

So we have to consider, what devolution looks like, how local government should be funded and what additional funding the Government needs to give communities and who should be the deliverers of that money.

The previous Labour Government delivered historic devolution settlements to London, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. We heard from submissions to the consultation how devolution works best 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

Submissions helped further the Commission's thinking on the effects of uneven devolution across the country. Many argued that places should be able to focus on what matters to them rather than adopt a one-size-fits-all approach.

Submissions from members also 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. It was argued that 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.

Anne, East of England

In addition business rates, another key component of councils' spending power, has fundamental flaws. Business groups and members were keen to tell the Commission of the inequality of the rates between traditional retailers typically found on the high street and out of town or online retailers.

Business rates are a ticking time bomb. It cannot be right for smaller, town centre retailers to be facing massive hikes while the Amazons and ASOS's of this world have their business rates cut. Given our long-standing productivity problem, it is madness that we tax businesses' plant and machinery. It's great that Labour is working closely with business to radically reform our business taxation system so it is fit for the 21st Century.

Chris, London

For the Commission, addressing local government funding is a key concern, whether it be pooling council tax across regions of the country, or making a more fundamental change towards a local income tax, or funding solely through general taxation.

In addition as we near the end of October with no clearer idea of whether the UK will remain in or leave the EU, the Commission has been concerned about the effect of the potential loss to communities of EU structural funds.

Labour has committed to ensure every community receives the support it needs, however this will be made harder if we leave the EU. That said, some in the Commission are also concerned about the effect of state aid rules on public ownership and the ability for the state to invest in communities. Though this is a contested issue about effects, as the Party reaffirms its remain and reform position, addressing the effects of state aid rules on local government investment in communities will be a key consideration for the party.

Submissions also highlighted the range of funding options used by central government to stimulate local economies. A key area of discussion following the consultation document has been the future role of Local Enterprise Partnerships, LEPs. The Labour Party has been considering their role and usefulness when there is a mismatch of combined authorities in parts of the country which have taken on the role of regenerating their areas.

One option is to abolish LEPs and set up combined authorities in every area where councils would work together.

The Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) are not fit for purpose and Labour is right to look again at how to deliver local economic development. Any new structures must become far more transparent, supporting a national industrial strategy with genuine collaboration between local government, local employers and trade unions.

Unite the Union

This could also go hand in hand with Labour's plans to rebalance investment across the country through a National Investment Bank, headquartered in Birmingham, backed up by Regional Development Banks providing patient long-term finance in every region of the UK, and a National Transformation Fund (NTF) to upgrade and transform Britain's infrastructure across the UK. The Shadow Chancellor recently floated the idea of moving

the NTF Unit out of the Treasury and basing it in the North, to stop spending decisions being too London-centric.

Identifying the right policy mix to help regenerate local areas

Some of the changes to Britain's economy over the last forty years have been natural and inevitable. But in many cases, the loss of our industrial base and the concentration of businesses and economic activity in some parts of the country rather than others has been the result of mismanagement and policy failures. Turning that situation around, and rebuilding the strength and resilience of every local economy across the country, will require using a range of policy levers. Using each of these levers effectively, and identifying the right policy mix, will be crucial.

Sometimes reform is needed to make the options available to councils more powerful and effective. If we are to address the underlying inequality between different areas of the country we must ensure that our planning system prioritises developments that put local people first. This work is being carried out by Labour's Shadow Local Government team and informed by the views of the Commission.

We need a set of proposals for a new system of local plan making underpinned by values and a purpose that sees planning as representing the public interest, and to examine how local authorities can lead and be champions of planning in their area in partnership with others.

Labour's Planning Commission

This year, as previously, housing was a central theme running through many submissions and discussions with members. We have to get Britain building. Addressing the shortage of construction workers is a key issue and one the Commission is keen to look into further with the Shadow Housing team. We cannot simply just pluck aspirational numbers out of the air on house building, but we need the confidence we have the people to build them. Some submissions highlighted the lack of council housing, which is why the Commission was pleased that due to Labour pressure the Government has listened and lifted the Housing Revenue Account borrowing cap. There is more that can and must be done on housing if we are to regenerate and improve our local areas.

Prioritise local authority planning and spending on social housing and affordable housing development, by increasing the focus on redevelopment of town centres. By compulsory purchase and low cost redevelopment and conversion of our empty shops, offices, brown field premises located in our town centres into flats, apartments, condominiums, town houses etc. This would put people and resources back into regenerating our town centres. This approach is more cost effective and more environmentally friendly, than building from green field new build housing.

Neil, South East

If we are serious about improving local areas, increasing job and educational opportunities then we have to invest in local transport. Members have welcomed Labour's pledge to give councils powers to franchise their bus services and to create municipal companies, as they did for Labour's commitment to increase investment in the bus network and walking and cycling.

Active travel has the potential to help economic development in the following ways: Keeping people and business moving by reducing congestion; Supporting local businesses and high streets which will aid quality of life and retail vitality; Improving business efficiency; Public health; Direct job creation; Leisure and tourism and support for cycling industry.

Sustrans

Submissions were also mindful of the growing climate change emergency and welcomed the large number of Labour councils that have declared a climate emergency. Going forward simply building more infrastructure without care for our environment is not just morally wrong but also unsustainable. Building in carbon reduction measures into the production of housing will be crucial for instance. Moreover, the push and need for renewable energy gives local communities the opportunity to develop cheaper forms of power thus delivering savings for residents and public services.

Public ownership provides opportunity to significantly influence and enhance the service by using public investment. Nottingham has the largest district heating scheme in the UK, Enviro Energy owned by the Council fuelled by energy from waste. The Council invests heavily in photovoltaics. All funded by Nottingham City Council or ironically Government Grants. Nottingham has the largest publically owned housing stock Nottingham City Homes, investing massively with new affordable homes. The Council set up Robin Hood Energy.

Peter, East Midlands

Our political system is broken and there is only one party that seeks to stand for every voter in every region. Labour must be bold and ambitious as we continue our work building on the 2017 Manifesto with a radical agenda. We have set out some ways to do that and the Commission will continue to examine and interrogate ways to devolve power to local people to inspire them to regenerate and rejuvenate their local neighbourhoods.

Other issues

Building more council and social housing

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 in saying that we cannot go on like this. Building on the discussions from the Policy Commission Labour has continued to make a series of policy announcements. As a first step to tackling the affordable house building crisis, a Labour Government will build one million affordable homes in its first ten years including the biggest council house building programme in nearly 40 years. No one will be left in any doubt by the time of Labour's re-election that we have, and will continue, to deliver much needed council homes. Expanding our ability to build the affordable homes our country needs remains an ongoing concern for the Commission.

Putting private renters back in control

Many submissions received this year were quite vocal about the state of some housing in the private and social rented sector. However, instead of heeding these concerns, the Tory Government has stepped back. We have seen dreadful examples of awful standards of housing and the abject failure to follow regulations with the most recent example being the Grenfell tower fire. Submissions from party members and the wider public highlighted the effect of a Conservative approach to stripping away protections for people, particularly those renting privately. For too many, paying ever higher rents does not even guarantee a decent place to live.

Labour will do things differently and the Policy Commission, Jeremy Corbyn and John Healey have been pushing for change. The Commission welcomes the commitment that Labour will deliver a consumer rights revolution to improve standards, security and affordability for people who rent, including, indefinite tenancies and strict controls on rents. No longer will the balance of power be squarely in the hands of landlords but rather rental security will be a right not a pipe dream.

Reforming our local transport services

Local transport services are vital for our communities, local economies and the environment. However, the Commission heard through submissions received this year that the rising cost of fares and cuts to routes is leading to a decline in passenger numbers. The Commission has been keen to highlight this year that the Government's

cuts to local councils are having a big impact on transport funding. They are driving up bus fares and adding to the daily travel costs, representing an increasing proportion of family budgets.

This year the Commission has continued to hear examples of the serious damage caused by the Conservatives' privatisation and deregulation of bus services. A first step to tackle this problem argued strongly for by Commission members was the need to introduce a national strategy for local bus services. This would involve setting out objectives, targets and funding provisions. Labour has committed to reversing cuts to bus services and then doubling funding to our bus network. We have pledged to keep the pensioners' bus pass. In addition, to help young people get to school, college or work, where local authorities have taken back control of their bus network, we will give those under 25 a free bus pass.

Promoting greener forms of transport such as walking and cycling, particularly for shorter journeys, will be key to tackling the issues of obesity and increasing levels of air pollution. Building a transport network which encourages greener forms of transport and improves air quality will be an issue of continued interest for the Commission. The Commission calls on the next Labour Government to invest in local transport to ensure no community is left behind.

Ensuring passengers are at the heart of our rail network

It has been made clear to the Commission that the fragmented structure of our rail industry created by the Governments' botched privatisation is a key factor in the lack of accountability and costliness of Britain's rail infrastructure. The Commission strongly supports Labour's policy to bring our railway franchises back into public ownership with the aim of improving the quality of service passengers enjoy. In addition we are encouraged that Labour will continue to oppose any attempt by the Government to privatise Network Rail. The Commission also notes that the Government has failed to make the case for HS2, leaving it to Labour to promote a much needed line which will increase capacity, especially for freight across the network.

Members' contributions have rightly been highly critical of the Government's lack of action on safety on the rail network. Safety concerns on the rail network over the past number of years have shown how valuable appropriate staffing levels are, not only on trains but at stations as well. Labour has been clear that the Government must consider taking the running of the franchise away from Southern Rail and putting it in the hands of a public provider. Understaffing on our transport network also impacts heavily on the safety of passengers particularly, women, and on-board access for disabled people.

Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to Commission members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2018/19 the Housing, Local Government and Transport Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Access to Work
- Adult education
- Airports
- Apprenticeships
- Austerity
- Automation
- Banks
- Business rates
- Businesses
- Buses
- Carbon capture
- Child Poverty
- Citizenship
- City regions
- Climate change
- Community ownership
- Co-operatives
- Council housing
- Council Tax
- Cycling
- Devolution
- Electoral reform
- Electric Vehicles
- Equality
- Green Belt
- Homelessness
- Hospitals
- Housing
- Land Tax
- Local economic development
- Local Government
- Mortgages
- Nationalisation
- Outer Space
- Planning laws
- Private rented sector
- Public services
- Railways
- Right to Buy
- Road Safety
- Rural communities
- Social housing
- Sustainability
- Transport
- Voter engagement



International
Policy Commission



MEMBERSHIP 2018/19

HM Opposition

Keir Starmer MP*

Dan Carden MP

Nia Griffith MP

Emily Thornberry MP

NEC

Cath Speight*

Richard Corbett MEP

Yasmin Dar

George Howarth MP†

Navendu Mishra

CLPs and Regions

Charlotte Austin – Northern Region

Mohammed Azam – North West Region

Olivia Blake – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Paul O’Kane – Scottish Policy Forum

Bryony Rudkin – Eastern Region

Carol Turner – London Region

Tom Unterrainer – East Midlands Region

Adrian Weir – London Region

Sophie Williams – Welsh Labour Party

Affiliates

Tony Dale – Usdaw

Sonny Leong – BAME Labour

Gordon McKay – UNISON

Len McCluskey – Unite

David Quayle – Unite

Elected Representatives

Georgia Gould – ALC

Conor McGinn MP

Clare Moody MEP‡

Emma Reynolds MP

*Co-convenor

†Acting Co-Convenor

‡Replaced by Rory Palmer MEP in May 2019

Policy Development

The International Policy Commission is responsible for developing Labour Party policy across Foreign Affairs, Exiting the EU, International Development and Defence and for promoting our Party's internationalist values of equality, social justice and human rights.

Since the last Annual Conference, British politics has been dominated by Brexit, with the Tory Government's failure to pass a deal, and Theresa May's chaotic approach to the Parliamentary process. Globally, there have been a number of challenges for the international community to respond to, from delivering aid to areas affected by the increasingly severe impact of climate change to the deepening tensions and embedded conflicts across the Middle East. Over recent months the Policy Commission discussed the collapse of the Iran Nuclear Deal, the failing peace process between Israel and Palestine and the continuing conflicts in Yemen and Syria. Meanwhile human rights restrictions, including within the Commonwealth, and the continuing rise of the far-right across Europe remain a real cause for concern.

At Annual Conference 2018 policy seminars took place on Brexit and Foreign Affairs. In the Foreign Affairs seminar, delegates had the opportunity to speak with Kate Osamor MP, Shadow Secretary of State for International Development, Nia Griffith MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Defence, and Emily Thornberry MP, Shadow Foreign Secretary. Emily Thornberry noted the all-female panel and spoke about feminist perspectives in foreign policy, and women in peacekeeping. Delegates made a series of comments including on: rising tensions in Israel and Palestine; North Korea; the refugee crisis in Myanmar; and the need for a Labour government to end a culture of militarism. Nia responded to delegate questions on Armed Forces recruitment, the need for high quality housing for the families of armed forces personnel, and the upcoming Modernising Defence Review. Kate spoke about the diaspora being key to development in war-torn countries, with reference to Somaliland and Nigeria. She also raised the importance of building capacity within international development, not just for humanitarian assistance, but also including building relationships with trade unions abroad.

The Brexit Seminar was held on Sunday morning ahead of the composite meeting later in the day. Delegates had a wide ranging discussion with Shadow Brexit Secretary Keir Starmer and Shadow Brexit Minister Paul Blomfield MP, and highlighted some key issues on which a number of views were expressed. These included: protecting the rights of EU workers in the UK; Labour's six tests for a deal; and opposing a no-deal Brexit in Parliament. In the composite meeting, over 150 Constituency Labour Parties and Affiliates met and agreed the Brexit composite motion, which was passed on Conference floor setting out the guiding principles on the Party's approach to Brexit negotiations.

The International Policy Commission held several meetings since Annual Conference last year, meeting in January, February, April, June and July.

At the first meeting, the Policy Commission reviewed the contemporary and non-contemporary motions submitted to Annual Conference and Women's Conference including: ethical foreign policy; defence diversification; conflicts in Kashmir and Yemen; Israel and Palestine; and Brexit. The Commission welcomed the Brexit composite approved at Annual Conference and were in agreement that the Party must do everything in its power to stop a no-deal Brexit. It was agreed that exiting the European Union should be the priority area for the Commission over the coming year and for the consultation with the Party. The Commission agreed that due to the fast moving nature of Brexit policy the consultation would have to take a slightly different approach from previous years on how to gather the views of members, affiliates and supporters.

Nia Griffith MP raised concerns with the Commission over defence procurement and outsourcing government contracts to Capita. On International Development, the new Shadow Secretary of State, Dan Carden MP was welcomed by the Commission as he outlined his plans to make a case for the necessity and moral good of aid spending.

At the end of January a conference call was arranged where Keir Starmer MP provided an update on how the Conference motion was being used as a roadmap to inform the decisions the Party makes on Brexit. The Commission reiterated their support for Labour's six tests, called for there to be a general election should any vote on a deal fail, and asked how the process for calling a vote of no confidence in Parliament would work.

At the second meeting in February, Jenny Chapman MP, Shadow Brexit Minister, updated the Policy Commission on the Brexit process in the week meaningful votes were supposed to have been arranged by the Prime Minister but did not go ahead. The Commission repeated the importance of preventing a no-deal Brexit. Further discussions highlighted the proposed extension to Article 50, particularly the impact Brexit could have on NHS recruitment campaigns, and the far-right using Brexit as a platform to spread a radical ideology of hate.

Nia Griffith MP highlighted the financial hole in the Defence Equipment Plan, and the work she was doing with the Leader's office and Shadow Attorney General on the War Powers Act. On the Foreign Affairs brief, the Commission discussed submissions about the impact of war on citizens. Based on this they discussed the ongoing conflicts in Yemen and Syria, calling for a suspension of training exercises with the armed forces of Saudi Arabia in line with our policy on arms sales, and expressed alarm at the increasing number of fatalities as a result of the small arms trade.

The third meeting of the Policy Commission took place in April, where Emily Thornberry MP updated the Commission on her recent meetings with international actors including The UN Refugee Agency, NATO, and both the Indian and Pakistani Ambassadors.

The Commission considered recent developments in the Middle East, raising concerns about President Trump's policy shift on the Golan Heights and the decision to place the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem amid an escalation of violence in the region. The Commission condemned this action and reaffirmed Labour's call for international actors to avoid taking action that would make peace harder to achieve. The Commission welcomed Labour's commitment to continue to press for an immediate return to meaningful negotiations leading to a diplomatic resolution, and that a Labour government would immediately recognise the state of Palestine. Commission members also made particular reference in their discussions to disturbing reports of the treatment of Palestinian children in the West Bank which were highlighted in the submissions received.

Alex Norris MP spoke to the Commission about International Development policy to promote good public services across the world, and led a discussion on the importance of feminism in international development and education for girls and women.

Keir Starmer MP attended the Commission to update members on developments in Parliament, notably the extension of Article 50 until 31 October. The Commission welcomed Labour's decision to enter into talks with the Government, but noted the obvious challenges involved. Keir reaffirmed the Party's commitment to there being no hard border on the island of Ireland, and to the absolute principle of the Good Friday Agreement. Following the announcement that the UK would participate in elections to the European Parliament, the Commission were consulted on the details of the upcoming European Manifesto and the Party's key pledges. The Commission agreed that the Manifesto was right to address issues that related across the whole of the European Union.

The fourth meeting took place in June and Nia Griffith MP talked about her work with the Leader's office to prepare for a series of key pledges on Armed Forces Day. Commission members raised questions on mental health support for veterans and how defence diversification could fit into regional industrial planning. Dan Carden MP highlighted two key policy announcements on the creation of a Public Services Unit in the Department for International Development and the Overseas Loan Transparency Act to put an end to exploitative secret loans and avert a new debt crisis for countries in the Global South.

Emily Thornberry MP criticised the incidents of human rights abuses across the globe and noted the thirty year anniversary of the Tiananmen Square protest in China. The Commission moved on to discuss Labour's foreign policy approach in the Middle East and North Africa, with updates from Emily Thornberry MP on the key policy challenges

in the region. This meeting also received a report from the Leader's Office on its political and diplomatic engagement with the middle east, including an outline of the Leader's visit to Jordan to mark UN World Refugee Day in June 2018 and the Leader's Arab Ambassadors' Roundtable meeting in July 2018.

The Commission had in-depth discussions on the deepening crisis in Iran, the Trump Administration peace plan for the region, and potential outcomes of the Israeli elections due in September. The Commission finished the discussion with the developments in Sudan and criticised the UK Government's decision to open up trade talks.

With Theresa May having announced her resignation, Keir Starmer QC MP talked to the Commission about the likelihood of a no-deal Brexit supporting Prime Minister in the summer and asked for points on how to respond and next steps for the Party. The Commission welcomed the Party's commitment to campaign for a people's vote on any deal, and emphasised the need for a policy platform which could bring the country back together.

The final meeting of the Commission took place in July, where Dan Carden MP introduced his policy paper on a Public Service Unit for a Labour-run Department for International Development. The paper was well received by the Commission and facilitated a discussion on ending bad practice by private providers of key services across the Global South. The paper also highlighted the importance of both alleviating poverty and reducing inequality as central objectives of Labour's development aid programme.

In this meeting the Commission discussed the submissions received across the consultation period. They first addressed the most common issues outside of Brexit and Middle Eastern politics, which was covered at the previous meeting. These were: ethical foreign policy; developments in Venezuela; and global anti-nuclear proliferation. The Commission noted the strength of feeling in the submissions that countries should be able to determine their own democratic futures, outside of the influence of big global economies. The Commission was in agreement with Nia Griffith MP that defence diversification is a wide ranging issue that needs to be discussed in conjunction with policy on regional industrial strategy, and agreed to address this at a later meeting. Emily Thornberry MP also updated the Commission on her response to the leaked confidential diplomatic memos, and developments around the court case against the UK Government's arms sales to Saudi Arabia.

Finally, Keir Starmer introduced a discussion on the responses to the Brexit consultation. The Commission heard about the work Keir and his team had done to engage with a broad set of views, including holding webinars with Labour members and businesses. Commission members also spoke about the events they had attended with members, and the views which came out of these meetings.

There was consensus in the Commission that the submissions they received reflected a desire to back a second referendum on any deal or a no-deal outcome and for Labour to campaign to remain; but also that Labour also needed to address the concerns of leave voting areas. The Commission further noted that submissions expressed a range of opinions across a number of issues related to Brexit from revoking Article 50, to calling for Labour to leave with a deal, to the damaging impact of a no-deal Brexit on the NHS and key industries.

Consultation: Brexit

Policy Development

Brexit, and the Government's inability to deliver a deal that takes the UK out of the European Union, has dominated the political landscape throughout the past 12 months. The Brexit mess has brought significant turmoil and uncertainty and has even resulted in the ousting of the Prime Minister. Now we enter a new phase with a new Conservative Prime Minister and the growing threat of a disastrous no-deal Brexit being inflicted on this country.

In response to the rapidly changing political events policy on Brexit has developed. At the last Labour Annual Conference Labour's unanimously agreed policy was to keep open the option of a public vote, if we couldn't have a General Election or a Brexit deal that met our tests, or in order to stop a no-deal Brexit.

Labour is clear a no-deal Brexit or a Tory Brexit would be disastrous for our economy and would cost jobs. It is irresponsible and is not what anyone voted for in 2016. Labour respects the result of the referendum and has put forward an alternative Brexit plan to protect jobs, but the Tories have refused to compromise.

In line with that Conference policy, Labour's position is to challenge the new Prime Minister to now put their deal to a public vote, with remain as an option. In such a vote Labour would be committed to campaign for remain.

Along with this a future Labour government will invest in all parts of the United Kingdom, end austerity, and bring our country together through a positive programme of redistribution, as whether you voted leave or remain these are the real issues facing us all.

Fighting a Tory Brexit

In November the UK and EU finally agreed a withdrawal agreement, setting out the terms on the UK's exit from the EU, as well as a political declaration setting out a framework for any future UK-EU arrangement. However, this package was subsequently rejected - in record numbers - in the House of Commons, leading to the current uncertainty we face.

Labour's position on the withdrawal agreement was clear from the start. The Prime Minister's deal was and is still deeply flawed in that it will not protect jobs, rights or living standards. Therefore, Labour MPs have consistently voted against the deal in Parliament. This is in line with most contributions submitted to the NPF at the beginning of this year and in line with Labour's Conference policy.

A key part of Labour's Brexit policy has been to make sure a no-deal Brexit is off the table. Labour has been clear a no-deal outcome will not end the Brexit misery but merely prolong the chaos and division in our country, plunging Britain into years of uncertainty, and compounding the damage already done through years of Tory failure.

We have already been successful once in our approach by voting in Parliament to mandate the government to rule out a no-deal Brexit and will continue to work cross-party in Parliament to stop a Tory Government taking such a reckless step.

In April, after the UK was supposed to leave the EU, Theresa May finally reached out to the Labour Party by inviting senior representatives in for talks with the aim of reaching a compromise Brexit deal that could command the support of Parliament. Labour entered these talks in good faith with the aim of agreeing a deal that, respecting Conference policy, was in line with Labour's alternative Brexit plan. Labour's alternative plan would ensure a close relationship with the EU, a strong single market deal, a new comprehensive customs union and a guaranteed protection of workers' rights, and environmental and consumer standards. Ultimately talks failed due to the inability of Theresa May to entrench any of Labour's demands, especially with a Conservative Party whose Brexit position has become increasingly extreme.

Labour have also supported stronger measures to protect the rights of both EU and UK citizens in Westminster and in Brussels, with both Labour MPs and MEPs working hard to reverse the shameful efforts of the UK Government in refusing to separate citizens' rights from the wider Brexit agreement.

Consultation and Role of the NPF

Throughout this busy period the National Policy Forum has continued to prioritise Brexit and has welcomed the collaboration and contribution of Keir Starmer MP and his team as well as Shadow Foreign Secretary Emily Thornberry MP. This regular contact has facilitated a fluid system whereby members of the Shadow Cabinet can effectively communicate our position to party representatives and vice versa, it gives the opportunity for shadow ministers to hear the views of the membership on this critical issue.

On top of this, recent outreach initiatives have been undertaken including two hugely successful webinar events with Keir Starmer taking questions from businesses and

Labour Party members. This has given Keir the opportunity to engage with a wide range of opinions and has helped formulate possible ideas for next steps. It is vital we continue to find new and innovative ways to consult and communicate with our membership to help influence crucial policy decisions through regional party policy forums and CLP structures.

The significance and critical nature of the current Brexit situation is reflected in the number of submissions to this consultation received from CLPs and affiliates across all regions and nations.

These submissions cover a variety of Brexit related issues. However, the vast majority are in relation to Labour's position on a second referendum, with a large number calling for Labour to unequivocally back a second referendum with remain on the ballot paper. A large portion of the submissions also call for Labour to back a remain position in any future public vote.

It is vital for the future of the country that in this globalised world the UK remains in the EU. Leaving would relegate us to the second division, lose us influence in international affairs and impoverish our people. The only way of achieving this in a democratic context is to hold a second vote with Remain as one of the options.

David, South East

Many submissions also articulate that while Labour's position should be to campaign for a public vote and remain, it is also crucial we address the reasons why people voted to leave in the 2016 referendum. This for many is seen as vital in helping bring the country back together and building a coalition that can deliver a Labour government at a general election.

Instead of backing Brexit and the harm it would cause, we will challenge the narratives of the far right, addressing the reasons people voted Leave. We will attack poverty, insecurity and inequality; rebuild communities with public investment and ownership; boost wages and union rights; and combat the climate crisis.

Margaret, Greater London

There were also a significant number of submissions which go even further and advocate for Labour to adopt a policy of revoking Article 50. A small minority of the submissions maintained that Labour's policy should be to deliver a Brexit deal rather than pursue a second referendum or revocation.

I feel it would be better if Labour avoided another referendum and instead forced a general election, and then campaigned to revoke Article 50 if it got into power.

C Jones, International

The International Policy Commission has heard throughout the year that a no-deal Brexit would be disastrous for jobs and living standards and would risk decades of peace in Northern Ireland.

This was reflected in many of the submissions which focused on the damage a no-deal Brexit would cause highlighting that firstly, this would be the worst Brexit outcome for the country and secondly, it is something the Government has no mandate for.

Submissions from business also echo this, warning of the economic damage a no-deal Brexit will do to large parts of the economy, specifically concerning the loss of vital market access and the possibility of future tariffs.

A vote of 52% in favour of leaving the EU doesn't provide a mandate for hard/no-deal Brexit.

Ruislip, Northwood and Pinner CLP

IoD member surveys have consistently shown that the majority of business leaders believe that leaving without a deal would have a negative impact on their business.

Institute of Directors

There were also submissions regarding the concern at the impact Brexit will have - and already has had - on the UK economy and society especially in areas relating to the NHS, and industries such as steel and car manufacturing as well as our public services, security and environment.

If we leave the EU, Brexit does not end. We face years of negotiations and neoliberal trade deals. Any form of Brexit threatens jobs, workers' rights, migrants, the NHS, public services and the environment.

Angela, Wales

London NHS trusts warned a no-deal Brexit would require 'major incident' procedures to protect medical supplies and patient safety; NHS staff from Europe are leaving faster than they can be replaced.

Motion passed at London regional conference

More steelworks are in danger of closing because of Brexit.

Adrian, Yorkshire and Humber

There was also concern expressed about the negative impact a post-Brexit immigration policy may have on the economy and public services. Submissions urged any future Labour policy to be fair, and designed to facilitate the needs of our public services like the NHS. Other contributions focused on what more Labour can do for rights of EU and UK citizens who have been put under enormous stress and worry throughout the Brexit process.

We would urge The Labour Party to consider the needs of patients and research in its immigration policy – and ensure that the UK's world-leading research environment is protected through any changes.

Cancer Research UK

If there is no deal will those EU citizens who have already signed up to settled status be affected?

Clare, from Membership Webinar with Keir Starmer

How will Labour protect EU citizens' rights and also the rights of Irish citizens born in Northern Ireland?

Brigitte, from Membership Webinar with Keir Starmer

The NPF will continue to be a forum where members', affiliates' and stakeholders' views on Brexit will be heard. It is clear a majority of those who have made submissions and spoken at NPF meetings and wider Labour Party consultations agree with the position of the Labour Party to completely reject a disastrous no-deal Brexit, and to support a referendum on a Tory Brexit deal or a no-deal Brexit with a commitment from Labour to back remain in these circumstances.

Other Issues

Ethical Foreign Policy and Human Rights

The Commission reaffirmed Labour's commitment to a foreign policy guided by the values of peace, universal rights and international law. In an increasingly dangerous world, the belief in conflict resolution, working through the UN to prevent unilateral wars of intervention, and effective action to alleviate the refugee crisis are key aspects of a contemporary foreign policy for the United Kingdom.

Throughout the year the Commission received submissions regarding ethical foreign policy and defending human rights abroad. The last twelve months saw many instances of human rights abuses as a key issue across the globe, from the crackdown on LGBTQ+ people in Brunei, to the recent protests in Hong Kong against extradition laws to China. Emily Thornberry repeated Labour's approach to urge respect for human rights in discussions with all foreign governments, and our policy to appoint ambassadors for women's rights, LGBT+ rights, and religious freedom to promote tolerance and equality.

The Commission considered the ongoing situation in Venezuela having received submissions which unanimously voiced opposition the US interference in the country. The Commission agreed that the people of Venezuela should determine their own democratic future, free from external influence or military force. In the wider South

America region, the Commission gave its support to the Brazil Solidarity Initiative that is campaigning for social progress, democratic rights and equality against the Bolsonaro regime in Brazil. The Commission also expressed alarm at reports that citizens have faced persecution and death for being members of trade unions in Colombia.

The Commission also considered the conflict in Kashmir, hearing how the Shadow Foreign Secretary and her team have repeatedly made clear in Commons debates that there must be an end to terrorist violence against Indian forces and civilians in Kashmir, and there must also be a halt to the abuse of Kashmiri civilians who have seen their safety and human rights continually threatened in recent years. What we need above all is for India and Pakistan to return to the negotiating table, and secure a solution which protects the security, safety and human rights of the Kashmiri people, and respects their democratic rights to determine their own future. If the United Nations needs to take a role in ensuring those outcomes, Labour will support that too.

Wider issues caused by conflict were also highlighted in submissions to the Commission including the need to tackle the organised crime that emerges out of war zones.

The impact conflict has on children and child mortality rates, particularly in Yemen and Palestine, was also raised to which the Commission expressed grave concern. Some of these discussions were attended by Labour Shadow Minister for Peace and Disarmament, Fabian Hamilton MP, who spoke about Labour's commitment to reducing human suffering caused by war, and to publish a strategy for protecting civilians in conflict.

Middle East and North Africa

The Middle East and North Africa remains a top priority for the Shadow Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) team, as several crises threaten further instability across the region. The Policy Commission followed developments closely, discussing how Labour should respond in Parliament and abroad to promote our values of peace and co-operation.

The Commission expressed dismay at the breakdown of the Iran Nuclear Deal, or Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) following the Trump Administration's unwarranted decision to withdraw from the deal last year, and the proceeding escalation in tensions between the Governments in Tehran and Washington. The Commission noted Iran had been in full compliance with the terms of the JCPOA up until U.S. withdrawal and that Iran maintained compliance for more than a year after this date. The Commission discussed how the re-imposition of sanctions on Iran could impact on the poorest people the most, but also criticised the decision of the Iranian government to resume its uranium enrichment programme. Labour has been clear that the JCPOA was a huge diplomatic achievement, and the Commission lauded the continuing work of the remaining signatories, noting that the efforts to preserve the JCPOA are of vital importance.

The Commission felt that should such efforts fail completely and if the structures and mechanisms that were painstakingly assembled to facilitate the JCPoA are scrapped, then prospects for lasting peace would be unlikely.

The Commission further noted that the JCPoA had paved the way to potential progress on all the other issues we need to resolve with Iran: its human rights record; its intervention in regional conflicts; its ballistic missile programme; and the continued detention of dual British-Iranian nationals, including Nazanin Zaghari-Ratcliffe.

On relations between Israel and Palestine, while another ceasefire is currently in place, concerns remain of another full-scale war in Gaza, particularly if Prime Minister Netanyahu adopts a more hawkish approach in the run-up to the September elections. The Commission noted the opposition expressed in the submissions from the membership to the so-called Trump peace plan. They discussed the potential of the plan to allow the Israeli government to extend its settlement-building programme on the West Bank and in those areas of East Jerusalem that will remain under Israeli control. The Commission heard how this process could render the prospects of a contiguous Palestinian state an impossibility, whereas Labour has committed to a comprehensive peace process in the Middle East based on a two-state solution, a secure Israel alongside a secure and viable state of Palestine.

The conflict in Yemen shows little sign of a peaceful resolution, with the UN stating that the conflict is “humanity’s biggest preventable disaster.” The death toll from the war in Yemen may reach at least 233,000 by the end of 2019 and over twenty four million people are now in need of, or dependent on, humanitarian aid. The Commission agreed with submissions calling for an end to arms sales to Saudi Arabia which are contributing to the conflict and rising death toll.

The Commission was pleased to see the decision of the Appeal Court, confirming that the Government had acted unlawfully in continuing to authorise arms sales to Saudi Arabia when it was clear there was a risk that past arms sales had been used in violation of International Humanitarian Law. This clearly upstands the position Labour established in the 2017 manifesto, to call for an independent investigation into alleged war crimes in Yemen and has already committed to immediately suspending any further arms sales for use in the conflict, until that investigation is concluded. The Commission further discussed how the decarbonisation programme of Labour’s Green Industrial Revolution could end our reliance on fossil fuels imports from the region.

The Commission welcomed Labour’s frontbench efforts to argue for a negotiated solution to the conflict in Syria, with all non-terrorist parties, including the Kurdish community, invited to participate in talks. The Labour Party has called for all foreign

forces to withdraw from Syria at the earliest opportunity, and for the establishment of an inclusive, democratic and stable government in Syria.

The return to conflict in Sudan was also discussed by the Commission, who backed the Labour frontbench call on the UK Government to increase the political pressure to end the bloody repression in Sudan, and to support rapid transition to civilian rule and elections.

Climate Change

The Commission received a number of submissions on the need for international action to tackle climate change. Emily Thornberry MP told the Policy Commission that the climate emergency should be the number one priority for every government and international institution. She also welcomed the positive steps China was taking to reduce emissions and support the Paris Climate Agreement, despite a lack of commitment from the Trump Administration.

There have been a number of natural disasters in recent years, including: floods in Sri Lanka in 2017 and more recently Nigeria; heatwaves in India and Pakistan; and the devastating cyclones Irma in the Caribbean and Idai which effected Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe. The Commission believes climate change is an important part of aid policy, and welcomed Dan Carden's comments that climate change must be a strategic priority for all UK aid spending.

At home, the Commission welcomed the climate change demonstrations that took place across the country and that Parliament passed Labour's motion to become the first in the world to declare an environment and climate emergency.

International Development

International development and aid spending continued to receive a number of submissions this year, against a backdrop of threats to the Department for International Development (DFID) from the right of British politics, including some Conservative Party leadership contenders. Submissions reinforced the need for spending on international development and made the case for using development aid to stimulate action on climate change and the promotion of human rights. Labour Shadow DFID team made clear to the Policy Commission their continued commitment to 0.7% spending on overseas aid and an independent International Development Department.

The Commission believes public services are a powerful force for equality, social justice and economic development, and welcomed the Shadow DFID team's announcement to establish a new unit for public services within DFID. The unit will initially bring together the department's existing funding and work on education, health and water, sanitation and hygiene to ensure that it is coordinated and focused on strengthening the public sector in the countries where DFID works.

The Commissions also held a discussion on the Shadow DIFD team's second major policy announcement: The Overseas Loan Transparency Act. A Labour government would bring forward this new Act to require all lenders from the UK to disclose loans to foreign governments. The Commission welcomed the plans to put an end to exploitative secret loans.

Defence Policy

Labour's Shadow Defence team have been working on a policy that will back a move away from overseas procurement to our own UK-based defence industry. The Commission was updated on plans for the next Labour Government to bring forward a proper Defence Industrial Strategy in order to provide a road map for industry of what the MoD will be procuring and in what time frame. The Commission also considered submissions on global nuclear disarmament and wider issues of defence diversification in the UK, noting how this could fit into wider regional industrial strategies and the fourth industrial revolution.

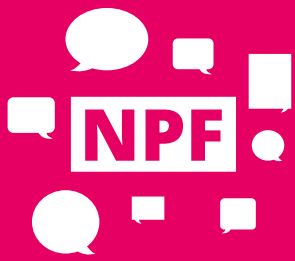
The Shadow Defence team also made clear to the Commission that Labour will carry out a root and branch review of significant service contracts that have been outsourced by the Ministry of Defence. Where they are not delivering, Labour will have no hesitation in bringing these contracts back in house. The Commission further discussed support for armed forces personnel and veterans, welcoming the five key pledges made by Jeremy Corbyn MP and Nia Griffith MP on Armed Forces Day. These are:

1. Fair pay for the Armed Forces
2. Decent housing for personnel and their families
3. A voice for servicemen and women
4. An end to failing privatisation
5. Support for Forces children

Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to Commission members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2018/19 the International Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Armed Forces
- Arms Trade
- Article 50
- Brazil
- Brexit
- Climate Emergency
- Colombia
- Conflict Resolution
- Customs Union
- Cyber security
- Defence Diversification
- Diplomatic Strategy
- Disaster Aid
- Ethical Foreign Policy
- Hong Kong
- Human Rights
- International Debt
- International Development
- International Trade agreements
- Iran
- Israel and Palestine
- Kurdistan
- LGBT Rights
- Middle East and North Africa
- Saudi Arabia
- Single Market
- Sudan
- Syria
- The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons
- United Nations
- Venezuela
- War Crimes
- Yemen



Justice and Home Affairs Policy Commission



MEMBERSHIP 2018/19

HM Opposition

Richard Burgon MP*

Diane Abbott MP

Louise Haigh MP

NEC

Alice Perry*

Jon Trickett MP

Keith Vaz MP

Claudia Webbe

CLPs and Regions

Ann Cryer – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Michael Garvey – North West Region

Paul Hunt† – Eastern Region

Lightwood – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Samiya Malik – Greater London Region

Alex Mockridge – South West Region

Mike Payne – Welsh Policy Forum

Dave Watson – Scottish Labour Party

Joyce Watson‡ – Welsh Policy Forum

Linda Woodings – East Midlands Region

Affiliates

Siobhan Endean – Unite

Nadine Grandison-Mills – BAME Labour

Emily Rowles – Usdaw

Elected Representatives

Simon Blackburn – LGA

John Howarth MEP

Ellie Reeves MP

Lord Dave Watts – House of Lords

* Co-convenor

† Left Commission in February 2019

‡ Replaced by Jenny Rathbone in July 2019

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 2018, Alice Perry chaired a Justice and Home Affairs policy seminar, and was joined by Diane Abbott MP (Shadow Home Secretary), Richard Burgon MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Justice), Chris Matheson MP (Shadow Minister for the Cabinet Office), and Karen Lee MP (Shadow Minister for Fire and Emergency Services). Alice took contributions from delegates on a wide range of topics, before allowing shadow ministers to respond at the end. A number of delegates addressed issues relating to electoral reform, with some calling for the introduction of a system of proportional representation. There was also discussion of wider constitutional reform, including the House of Lords, voter ID, civic education, the Boundary Review and Labour's plans for a Constitutional Convention. Delegates raised points on failures within the Home Office, including the Windrush scandal on which Conference had passed a composite motion days earlier, settlement schemes for EU nationals, and recent crime rises and cuts to the police, and called for a fundamental reform of the department. The rapid decline of prisons was highlighted, with delegates pointing out that many staff are now working in shocking conditions. A discussion followed on Labour's plan for improving prisons, as well as plans to reverse the costly failure of probation privatisation. Several points were also raised on gender self-identification and women's prisons. There were calls for closer cooperation with local authorities on reducing youth offending and greater focus on treating violence as a public health problem. Delegates expressed strong support for the decriminalisation of abortion and in ensuring that women in Northern Ireland have the same rights as elsewhere in the UK. There were calls from some delegates to look at reform of drug laws, as there were concerns that too many people end up being criminalised.

The Justice and Home Affairs Commission held its first meeting in January 2019. The Chair, Alice Perry, began by welcoming everybody and especially all the new members of the Commission. The meeting began with updates from the Shadow Justice Secretary, Richard Burgon MP, and Shadow Secretary of State for Wales, Christina Rees MP. Commission members then had a discussion on the work-plan for the year as set out by the NEC and on the consultation topic "Building an Effective Criminal Justice System." The Commission agreed that the system is failing at every level and that it was important to ensure that other public services work more closely with the criminal justice system to tackle reoffending. It was decided that the consultation should look at the criminal justice system in the round, starting with when people first begin to offend, then moving on to what happens when they are in court and finally ending up with

what happens after sentencing. A draft consultation document was circulated in advance and then updated following points raised during this discussion. The Commission also decided to invite experts in criminal justice policy from Scotland to give evidence at the next meeting on their experience of how a presumption against short sentences works in practice. A report covering submissions received since the Commission last met was considered, with a large number of suggestions around electoral reform and democratic engagement. The Commission considered a range of documents from Annual Conference which had been circulated in advance, including a composite motion passed on the Windrush scandal, plus all other unsuccessful JHA contemporary motions submitted on abortion in Northern Ireland, anti-fascism, electoral reform, and policing in Wales, and two unsuccessful emergency motions on boundary changes and migration. Commission members then considered the notes from the JHA Policy Seminar at Annual Conference. The Commission went on to discuss a motion from Women's Conference on abortion rights which was unanimously passed and went to Annual Conference but was not successful in the ballot, plus other motions from Women's Conference on job-sharing MPs, hate crime, migrant rights and prostitution, as well as the notes of the policy debates at Women's Conference. Commission members then had a discussion about the upcoming Women's Conference, as well as new arrangements for compositing at this year's Annual Conference. Finally, the Commission's Equality and Sustainability Champions were appointed.

Our second meeting was held in February 2019. The Commission received shadow ministerial updates, firstly from Chris Matheson MP, who told the Commission about the work the Cabinet Office team had been doing around outsourcing in the wake of the Carillion collapse, on opposing voter ID plans, and on campaigning for greater transparency in lobbying. Then Shadow Justice Secretary, Richard Burgon MP gave an update on the review he had commissioned Lord Ramsbotham to conduct into bringing probation back into public ownership, as well as on a recently published report on cuts to legal aid under the Tories. The Commission then held an evidence session, with Karyn McCluskey, Chief Executive of Community Justice Scotland, Sandy Cameron, former Chair of the Scottish Parole Board, and Tom Halpin, Chief Executive of Sacro, discussing how a presumption against short sentences has worked in Scotland since it was introduced in 2011. The Commission discussed 2019 Women's Conference. Members of the Commission who had attended gave an update on the policy debates which took place, noting that issues relevant to the JHA Commission featured prominently, including migrant rights, abortion decriminalisation, and tackling violence against women and girls. The Commission considered submissions received. Voter engagement and Parliamentary reform were the most popular topics, followed by crime.

At our third meeting in March 2019, the Commission took evidence from Dr Kate Paradine, Chief Executive of Women in Prison, on strategies to improve the treatment of women in the criminal justice system, as well as on probation reforms and the precariousness of funding for third sector bodies working in criminal justice. The Commission considered a submissions report which was circulated in advance of the meeting and in response to submissions received Commission members decided to have a dedicated discussion about drug policy and electoral reform at a future meeting. Finally, a Brexit Representative for the Commission was appointed.

At the beginning of June, the Commission held a roundtable event in Leeds with voluntary organisations working in the criminal justice sector, including national groups such as Clinks, the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (Nacro), as well as locally-based charities and community groups whose purpose is to reduce reoffending. Shadow Secretary of State for Justice, Richard Burgon MP chaired the roundtable, and was joined by Shadow Minister for Prisons and Probation, Imran Hussein MP, as well as Members of the Commission. Richard welcomed the representatives from voluntary bodies, explaining that these kinds of events were crucial to informing Labour's policy development process by drawing on the first-hand experience of people like the invited guests. There then followed a discussion of each section of the consultation document, with attendees raising points on a wide range of issues. On early intervention, a number of the invited noted that the reduction in youth services has left fewer safe community spaces for young people, putting them more in danger of getting caught up in offending. Several attendees highlighted the negative effect of the part-privatisation of probation and the poor level of support for people leaving prison, in particular in relation to ex-offenders being released into homelessness. Similarly, many attendees felt that short sentences were costly and counterproductive, only serving to increase the likelihood of reoffending. And a number of guests thought more support was needed to rehabilitate ex-offenders into the workforce via training and mentoring schemes. Following the discussion, Richard thanked everyone for attending and emphasised that the voluntary sector has an important role and that there was a need to ensure real partnership between the public sector and voluntary organisations.

The Commission also hosted a members' event on the consultation in Leeds, chaired again by Richard Burgon, and joined by Police and Crime Commissioner for West Yorkshire, Mark Burns-Williamson. Members sat around tables in groups of 5-6 and discussed the topics covered in the consultation. Richard and Mark circulated between tables throughout the session listening to members and contributing to their discussions. One person from each table then gave feedback on what their group discussed. The need to improve educational attainment for all and restore a decent provision of youth services were highlighted by several groups in terms of stopping young people becoming criminals. All the groups agreed that short sentences did not work, as these sentences did not provide

enough time for effective rehabilitation but also because conditions in many prisons are so bad that the risk of offending actually increases. A number of groups raised the issue that magistrates are not representative of wider society and that more should be done to encourage a more diverse recruitment pool. Finally, all the groups agreed that the Transforming Rehabilitation programme had been a failure and that probation should be brought back into public control so that those sentencing can have more confidence in imposing community sentences.

In July, the Commission held a teleconference chaired by Shadow Secretary of State for Justice, Richard Burgon MP, who updated Commission members on events to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the introduction of legal aid, as well as recent Parliamentary activity highlighting how this Government had seriously undermined access to justice. Richard added that the Justice team had secured a debate on court closures, calling for a halt and independent review, and an Urgent Question on prison privatisation. The Commission then went on to discuss NPF activity, with members welcoming the large number of submissions received to this year's consultation. A draft copy of the Justice and Home Affairs section of the Annual Report had been circulated in advance of the meeting and the Commission discussed the document, with points being raised on restoring confidence in community sentencing, adopting a holistic approach to early intervention, and taking real action to address discrimination against the BAME community in the criminal justice system. The Commission then agreed the document and Richard thanked everyone for their work over the course of the year.

Consultation: Building an effective Criminal Justice System

After nearly a decade of austerity, outsourcing and privatisation, the criminal justice system is under strain at every level. Over the course of the year, the Justice and Home Affairs Policy Commission has heard from CLPs, policy experts, frontline workers and party members about the damage inflicted on criminal justice in our country under this Government.

From 2010 onwards, the justice system has become dysfunctional and financially unsustainable.

Nelson, North West

Labour believes an effective criminal justice system is one which has prevention and early intervention at its heart, which addresses the underlying causes of offending, and which gives people the best chance of rehabilitation. The Commission therefore decided to consult on criminal justice reform in the round, beginning with earlier intervention strategies to prevent people getting involved in criminality in the first place, then moving on to how the court system can reduce reoffending by addressing the factors behind a person's offending behaviour, before finally investigating how we can best support those who have been convicted of a crime back into a law-abiding life.

1. Early intervention

The best way to reduce offending is to stop people entering the criminal justice system in the first place. Through the course of this year's consultation, the Justice and Home Affairs Policy Commission has taken evidence demonstrating that a prompt, holistic approach to tackling the development of offending behaviours at an early stage requires input from a wide range of agencies, from the police and other criminal justice stakeholders but also schools, local authorities, health services, and beyond.

So much anti-social behaviour in later life is due to failure to pick this up when children are first developing. Once ASB becomes apparent, there should be proper partnership between key social services, and social workers need to engage better with parents to get proper support for young people and teens.

Bracknell CLP

Tom Halpin, Chief Executive of the Scottish Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (Sacro), told us that said there was need for a 'whole-systems' approach to youth justice, where public bodies such as schools, local authorities, youth services, work in a coordinated way with the police and courts to divert young people away from the criminal justice system. He said dealing with youth crime should be considered in the same vein as a health or safeguarding intervention. He noted that in Aberdeen this 'whole-systems' approach had delivered a 40 per cent reduction in people brought before the youth court at the same time that crime fell by 18 per cent.

Submissions received from party members also emphasised a 'whole systems' approach in which the police work collaboratively with other public bodies to provide services which address the issues facing some young people that might lead to offending behaviour. The need to embed such services locally and with the support of the communities they operate in was also highlighted in submissions from party members.

The approach should be community led and not simply police led. The police involvement should be transformed through increasing co-operation with community based agencies and improving a public presence in the community; through improving public confidence and accountability. Public services should develop methodology based on the health, welfare, education, training, employment, happiness and fulfilment of young people.

Hornsey Branch Labour Party

This approach can be seen in evidence submitted by JUSTICE, the law reform and human rights organisation, who told the Commission about a community engagement initiative run by Durham Constabulary called The Mini Police which is a volunteer scheme for 9 to 11 year olds seeking to help children develop a confident voice and create ownership of and pride in community issues. JUSTICE added that Durham Constabulary works with schools and other social services to identify and positively engage with children at risk of going on to offend. In terms of multi-agency working, the Labour Group of PCCs suggested a future Labour government in Westminster could look to Wales, where the Labour Welsh government has facilitated public services working together effectively through the Well-Being of Future Generations Act. Community Links, a social action charity based in East London, warned that the lack of a joined up approach between public services and the third sector hindered the opportunity to identify at-risk young people early. They felt there was a need for a more collaborative approach that allows young people to “be supported at home, at school, and out in the community”. Community Links also noted that while a multi-agency or ‘whole systems’ approach can be effective, it could also be stressful for a young person to have to engage with a wide range of agencies. They recommended that public services should work in partnership with the social sector to develop an advocacy strategy that would enable multiple agencies to engage with young people through a single, end-to-end contact.

The Commission was also informed of innovative programmes which take advantage of the “teachable moment” when a person is on the brink of entering the criminal justice system by offering them practical opportunities to improve their lives. For example, at a roundtable event with voluntary organisations working in the criminal justice sector, several attendees praised the DIVERT scheme operating in several boroughs of London which seeks to address the gap in services for young people aged 18-25 by having police officers working with FE colleges, employers, and others to encourage young people arrested for their first or second offence to sign up to employment, development and education opportunities. The Association of Youth Offending Team Managers (AYM) also told us they thought children should be diverted wherever possible from entering the youth justice system. They recommended arrest diversion schemes, restorative justice

programmes, and the use of anti-social behaviour contracts, rather than orders, as they enabled behaviour to be managed with minimum contact from criminal justice agencies. AYM noted that funding for these types of intervention is not provided for nationally and delivery is therefore dependent on local priorities.

Providing real support for young people, through education, youth services, training and job opportunities, was identified as a key component in any effective system of early intervention throughout the consultation.

[We need] more investment for councils all across Britain to deliver more youth centres, support and jobs for young people in our local communities.

Dean, West Midlands

The Commission heard from members that more needs be done to create a well-balanced education system that supports all children, not just the most academically gifted and to consider what happens outside school, when many young people are at a greater risk of getting into trouble. Rochford and Southend CLP identified a lack of support for children at risk, particularly exclusions from school, as a key driver of offending behaviour and called for a greater focus on education “not just at school but at informal settings through youth workers and similar who can reach out to young people in the community, on their ‘own ground’”. Unite the Union told us there was a need to ensure that young people have barriers removed to educational opportunities, for example through Labour’s commitment to reinstate the Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA), to end tuition fees and to expand and increase access to high quality apprenticeships and to take positive measures to increase the diversity of those accessing apprenticeships.

At a consultation event in Yorkshire, party members said there was a need to bring back safe community spaces, such as youth clubs, libraries, and community centres, which were positive outlets for children’s natural energy. The removal of youth services was also highlighted, with some saying that for some young people their relationship with youth workers are the only positive ones they have. There were calls for youth services to be properly funded and responsive to the communities they serve. Youth workers should as far as possible look like the service users; people they can relate to and can have a positive impact in their lives. While emphasising the importance of youth services, other submissions also highlighted a need for the wider community to participate in efforts to engage young people.

For older children / young adults, bring back some of the community and youth services that were cut. But also use business and the third sector more to create mentoring schemes for teenagers – to get experience in arts / sports / community or business – a chance to help train young people up, greater sense of community and possible opportunities for the future.

Banbury CLP

Mentoring schemes with community and business leaders are more widely available to provide positive role models.

Denton and Reddish CLP

However, evidence received by the Commission demonstrated that the ability of youth services and community organisations to affect early, cross-cutting interventions has been undermined by the pressure on resources brought about by over eight years of central government funding reductions.

Having lost over 4,500 youth work jobs, over 138,000 places for young people in youth services since 2012 and as many as 1,000 children's centres since 2009, there must be a fundamental change in policy direction. Staff reductions have led to brain drain from the workforce and an overall decline in quality and quantity of service provision. A Labour Government must ensure that there are activities and services for young people are readily accessible and well-staffed with youth workers who will support, listen to, and understand them.

Victoria, Greater London

Safe Ground, a charity that works to maintain offenders' links with their families, told the Commission that over the last nine years they had seen a deterioration in community-based programmes due to cuts to local authority funding. The West Yorkshire Community Chaplaincy Project told the Commission that voluntary sector work saves money in long term by reducing the likelihood of offending, but they found that upfront costs are always the first consideration for those commissioning services. The Khidmat Centre runs two community centres in Bradford catering for vulnerable adults, including those at risk of offending. They highlighted the fact that Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) children are over-represented in the criminal justice system. Currently, they said BAME service users feel detached from mainstream providers, and there was a lack of tailored services for BAME communities. Furthermore, they had found that mainstream providers do not have understanding of complexity of issues involved and that there needs to be serious engagement around what criminality looks like in BAME communities. The Khidmat Centre told the Commission BAME communities needed to be empowered to create their own narrative and allow them to find their own solutions to reducing offending. The charity Clinks called for a specific approach for

children who come into contact with the criminal justice system, including implementing a strategy focused specifically on supporting BAME young people.

Fathers Against Violence, which works with disadvantaged children in Manchester to help them develop confidence and self-esteem, raised concerns about excessive use of Pupil Referral Units, saying this was failing young people and instead there needed to be one-to-one mentoring support. Fathers Against Violence added that these children were struggling through trauma and economic disadvantage, and that small locally-based voluntary organisations can often have a better understanding of this and therefore provide more tailored support, however small charities do not get the opportunity to influence these young people as much as possible due to lack of resources. The Commission also heard from Usdaw the positive effect of local Business Crime Reduction Partnerships, whereby the police work with local authorities to share intelligence about robberies and attacks on retail premises and advise on risk management. However, Usdaw added that cuts to police resources and reductions in proactive work on health and safety enforcement by local authorities meant that these partnerships were often no longer effective.

It is clear from the evidence received by the Commission that an effective early intervention response requires coordination across a range of public bodies to identify those at risk of offending at an early stage and to address the specific issues driving their offending behaviours. The Commission believes that in government, Labour should seek to institute the 'whole-systems' approach to early intervention outlined above. Strategic direction, adequate funding, and leadership is needed from central government in order to create an environment in which public bodies outside the criminal justice system, such as schools, social services, and youth services, work collaboratively with the police and courts to divert young people away from the criminal justice system. This year's consultation once again highlighted the importance of youth services in supporting young people to become productive adults. Unfortunately, it is also clear from submissions that since 2010 youth services have seen significant reductions in funding with a corresponding fall in provision across the country. The Commission therefore reaffirms Labour's commitment to building a Statutory Youth Service in Government, so that young people once again have a decent support network to give the best start in life.

2. Courts

A fair, effective, and efficient criminal court system must provide a rational and consistent sentencing framework which seeks to deal with appropriately those who have broken the law, but which also addresses the underlying drivers of offending behaviour so people

have a real chance of turning their lives around. For dangerous offenders and those who have committed the most serious crimes, incarceration is necessary to protect the public from further harm. However, submissions received over the course of the year demonstrated that overcrowding, understaffing, and violence within prisons make rehabilitation next to impossible.

Huge amounts of contraband drug taking, assaults on staff and inmates and a general feeling of prisons being under-staffed and over-stretched has seen the delivery of rehabilitative programmes like education, NVQs/GCSEs and skill-learning massive decline. If staff can't keep the prison running safely on a day to day basis, they can't carry out other functions like education.

Lauren, South West

This situation is made worse by the numbers of low-level, non-violent offenders who are sent to prison on very short sentences. Not only does this contribute to the dangerous levels of overcrowding, but those on short sentences often find themselves more likely to reoffend, and to commit more serious offences, upon release. Responses to the consultation made clear that Labour needed to address both overcrowding in the prison estate and the ineffectiveness of short sentences.

UK prisons are overfilled and the prison population needs to be reduced. While improved staffing and an emphasis on rehabilitation is important, Labour should also address the overuse of prisons and harsh sentencing.

South West Herefordshire CLP

As part of our consultation, the Commission held a special evidence-gathering session with those who work in the Scottish criminal justice system to listen to their experience of how the presumption against short sentences had worked in Scotland. Karyn McCluskey, Chief Executive of Community Justice Scotland, began by noting that, while it was not an outright ban, since the presumption against short sentences had been introduced in 2011 the number of people serving three months or less had fallen from around 11,000 to 3,100. She said the figures demonstrated the policy had had an impact. Tom Halpin, Chief Executive of Sacro, pointed out that crime recording has been down over the period that the presumption was introduced indicating the policy change has not caused a rise in crime. Sacro had called for a presumption against sentences of less than six months, but at the time it was felt by policy-makers that public confidence would only support three months. Tom added that community payback orders were introduced at the same time and that the two changes had to be taken in tandem. To begin with, there were problems with the implementation of community payback orders, with backlogs building up as the workload increased but without adequate resources to cope with growing demand. However, the visibility of people on community payback orders and the nature of the work they carried out (for example helping people who

were trapped in their homes during a snowstorm) led to increasing public confidence in this form of sentence. The Commission asked whether sentences of less than six months should simply be abolished altogether. Karyn noted that many frequent offenders were in the grip of addiction and that a short sentence could be a form of respite for themselves or those they live with. Tom raised the danger of up-tariffing, whereby people who have repeated breached court orders and would have received a sentence of less than three months might instead receive a much longer sentence because it was felt some time in custody was appropriate but the options for shorter sentences had been removed.

At a roundtable discussion hosted by the Commission, the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (Nacro), emphasised that it was important to look at current sentencing guidelines. They said it already was the case that prison was supposed to be the last resort, but that this principle had clearly broken down. Nacro said it was worth considering the possibility of reframing the existing guidelines to ensure the presumption that already exists is followed. They added that there was a need to reframe the punitive rhetoric around imprisonment. Tempus Novo, a charity that works with serving prisoners and ex-offenders, told the Commission that community based sentencing is a fraction of the cost of imprisoning. They said in their experience a punitive approach simply does not work. Terry Jordan, a Labour Party member who worked as both a police officer and then in probation, agreed with this sentiment, calling for a 'less blaming, less punitive and more compassionate and understanding' justice system. He added:

This does not mean that we regard crimes as less serious or the perpetrators as less dangerous, but it does give us the ability to view an offence with more clarity and to better deal with criminal behaviour in future.

Terry, South West

The charity Transform Justice (TJ) told the Commission that short sentences were wasteful of individuals and resources, since they do not help reduce offending. TJ recommended that Labour focus on reducing the use of all sentences under a year and advocated the introduction of default suspension of all adult prison sentences of under 12 months, with the activation of that sentence only to be agreed by a district judge sitting with two magistrates. The Prison Reform Trust (PRT) thought England and Wales should follow Scotland's lead by introducing either a ban or a presumption against the use of sentences of under a year. They added that this must be done in coordination with reversing the decline in community sentences seen over the last decade, with sustained investment in effective and credible alternatives to custody and services that help people to turn their lives around.

At one of the consultation events held this year, the Commission heard from party members that short sentences were purely punitive and did nothing to rehabilitate the

offenders. Members told the Commission that quite often it is the opposite, with first-time entrants being exposed to more experienced offenders and becoming more likely to offend. There was agreement that prison should be reserved for those who pose a risk of harm to society or individuals and that whether someone was in prison or on a community sentence, they needed to be working with people who could provide effective interventions to address their issues, such as drug or alcohol abuse, employability, or even things like learning to cook for themselves. Submissions received also expressed scepticism about short sentences.

Short sentences are ineffective. Community based programmes are effective and cheaper.

Rosie, East Midlands

Having consulted widely, taking evidence from party members, key stakeholders in the voluntary sector and drawing on the experience shared by criminal justice experts from Scotland, the Commission believes that a presumption against short sentences should be introduced in England and Wales.

For the courts to effectively reduce the levels of repeat offending and put people on a path to rehabilitation, there needs to be a greater focus on addressing the underlying factors which drive a person's offending behaviour. This joined up approach is a central feature of specialised problem-solving courts, whereby judges impose non-custodial sentences with strict rehabilitative conditions and then review the progress of offenders through the duration of their sentence with the aim of keeping them out of prison. These courts also tend to have a specialised focus, whether that is addressing specific issues such as substance abuse, or dealing with particular groups of offenders or with certain types of crime. Submissions received made clear the support there is for the expansion of problem-solving courts.

There is a strong argument for specialist courts in areas of significant harm – such as Domestic Violence.

Jim, South West

Expand problem-solving courts, with cross sector support, as in the Family Drug and Alcohol Courts (FDAC) that work with parents to take responsibility for their behaviour and work to change it.

Tynemouth Fabians

National roll out of specialist courts which monitor defendants on drug misuse programmes, domestic violence programmes and mental health programmes.

Belsize and Hampstead Town, Branch Labour Party

The Criminal Justice Alliance (CJA), a coalition of charities, voluntary sector service providers, research institutions and staff associations, told the Commission they supported problem-solving courts as they promote greater engagement by those imposing a sentence in the journey of an individual's sentence. The CJA said that, as problem-solving courts rely on close collaboration between the courts and probation services, they could provide an innovative vehicle for addressing the current lack of effective communication. They also felt that providing sentencers with better information about the range of community sentence options available, including supporting them to visit community provision and providing regular feedback on an individual's progress, would also help to build confidence. The CJA would prioritise establishing problem-solving courts for young adults. The Magistrates Association also thought courts should be given more discretion to take a problem-solving approach. They said this could mean magistrates working with other agencies to support offenders to address underlying behaviours or overseeing regular reviews of community sentences to support rehabilitation. While there are currently a small number of these problem-solving courts in the UK, the Government scrapped plans to investigate a wider roll-out in 2016. However, the Commission was pleased to hear of the problem-solving approach being pursued outside of the court system by a Labour Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC). During a roundtable event with voluntary organisations, Clean Slate, a charity which works with ex-offenders, pointed to a scheme which has operated in Durham for several years called Checkpoint, driven by the PCC Ron Hogg, which offers offenders a four-month contract as an alternative to prosecution with interventions to address the underlying reasons why they committed the crime.

This year the Commission also asked what could be done to address underlying biases in the criminal justice system so that sentencing is applied fairly. Noting that someone from a BAME background is more likely to receive a custodial sentence than a white person and that women were more likely to receive short sentences than men, the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies felt it was not an accident that disproportionalities in the criminal justice system tend to affect groups already suffering the effects of other inequalities. They suggested better monitoring at each stage of criminal justice so that the causes of any disproportionate sentencing can be better identified. Hornsey and Wood Green CLP said that Labour must adopt the principle that a fairer, more representative justice system will be a better, more effective justice system and nowhere is this more urgently needed than in the youth justice system. They added:

There is compelling evidence that BAME children/young people are being criminalised and corralled into the youth justice system and their white peers diverted away from it. This is a national scandal.

Hornsey and Wood Green CLP

Hackney South and Shoreditch Women's Forum called for a review and overhaul of the existing methods of the recruitment, training and supervision of those working in the criminal justice system, aimed at reducing discriminatory practices. Addressing the lack of diversity in the criminal justice system through concerted efforts at recruitment and better support for people from underrepresented backgrounds was identified in a number of submissions as a key step to reducing disproportionality.

Increase BAME representation at all levels of the judiciary and police service, as well as other criminal justice services. Develop networks to support development of BAME staff into leadership positions.

Birmingham Yardley CLP

We need to encourage and see more women and BAME in positions to help such as magistrates and lawyers. The judicial system needs to reflect the society it represents.

Weaver Vale CLP

The Commission also took evidence from the National Union of British Sign Language Interpreters (NUBSLI) who explained how the National Framework Agreements which cover the MoJ and the Crown Commercial Services decrease access to, and choice over, interpretation services for deaf people. NUBSLI said this was wholly unacceptable and is denying justice to deaf people. Unite the Union called for an urgent review of the Framework Agreements, as well as ensuring any service provider uses only registered interpreters and supervised trainee interpreters.

3. Offender management

Evidence we received made clear that the lesson from Scotland is that for a presumption against short sentences to be effective it must be backed-up or complimented by community-based alternatives to custody that the courts feel confident in imposing. When the Commission invited Dr Kate Paradine, Chief Executive of Women in Prison (WiP), to give evidence, she said that in order for such a presumption to work there needed to be a system of community sentencing that commanded the confidence of the judiciary and the public. She added that this required that funding be redirected into community sentencing backed up with a long-term, locally-based strategy. Kate called on Labour to adopt a detailed plan to bring back Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) back into public control, warning that the probation system as a whole was breaking down, with both CRCs and the National Probation Service (NPS) struggling with heavy caseloads and workforce shortages. She added that the division of low-risk and medium/high-risk ex-offenders between the NPS and CRC was flawed from the beginning, as it did not take into account the fact that the risk of reoffending

can fluctuate and that people with complex needs might not look to be at high-risk even though in reality they are.

At a consultation event, local party members in Leeds who work in probation said that CRCs are not properly supervising the people who use their service for fear of losing funding and are more focused on achieving targets. They added that those sentencing have lost confidence in non-custodial sentences due to the part-privatisation of probation. Magistrates cannot be confident the sentence will be carried out. They said the NPS does the pre-sentencing report but CRCs supervise the sentence and that low-risk offenders were not getting appropriate support from CRCs thereby increasing the likelihood of more serious reoffending. Sandy Cameron, former Chair of the Scottish Parole Board, told the Commission that in order to ensure courts have confidence in imposing community sentences it was crucial these sentences were carried out fully and in a timely manner. He felt that in order to achieve that timeliness there was a need for a much more effective partnership between the third sector and the criminal justice system. The charity Clean Slate explained that they deliver training certificates for people on community service orders, working with CRCs, and they too felt that better coordination between voluntary organisations and probation providers was needed. Nacro complained that there was a lack of feedback to magistrates and judges on community sentences that have been imposed as there is no direct relationship between courts and CRCs.

The Shadow Secretary of State for Justice and co-convenor of this Commission, Richard Burgoon MP, asked former Chief Inspector of Prisons Lord Ramsbotham to investigate how to bring all probation services back under public control. When considering the interim report submitted to the Commission, members noted the findings that there was a lack of information about CRC services, and that there are suspicions they are not enforcing court orders as probation trusts once did.

The relationship between courts and probation has been buffeted by a number of reforms in the past six years, most notably the split in probation. Taken together these reforms have erected a significant barrier between courts and the agencies charged with carrying out the majority of the community sentences they impose.

Lord Ramsbotham, People Are Not Things: The Return of Probation to the Public Sector, May 2019

Submissions received from CLPs also emphasised dissatisfaction with the current part-privatised probation system.

Reverse the privatisation of probation and prison services and create joined up provision.

Mid Worcestershire CLP

As a long term goal, the scrapping of any and all privatisation in the supervision, retention and transport of prisoners and those on probation. As a matter of urgency the immediate restoration of the probation service to public ownership.

Somerton and Frome CLP

In a joint submission, UNISON and the Labour Group of Police and Crime Commissioners pointed out that the MoJ's record on probation has been condemned in repeated independent reports and select committees since the part-privatisation of probation. They said that the probation service needed to be reunited as a publicly owned and locally run service and called for CRCs to be brought back into public ownership. UNISON and the Labour Group of PCCs also recommended the re-creation of Local Probation Services, with PCCs or elected Mayors over seeing funding and providing democratic accountability. They also suggested the establishment of an arm's length body to set organisational standards and advise on the level of funding required to deliver the service effectively. The Howard League for Penal Reform proposed the establishment of a new Community Justice Agency to provide strategic leadership, promote best practice and ensure a level of consistency in local service delivery, as well as a network of Community Justice Partnerships (CJPs) to facilitate the delivery of community sentences and provide support within local communities. The Howard League envisioned that each CJP would be governed by a board of relevant criminal justice partners, and could be chaired by a local PCC or Mayor. They said probation services needed to be run in a way that makes help accessible, encourages compliance and prioritises timely completion over supervision for its own sake.

Evidence received over the year has re-emphasised the pressing need to bring probation services back under public control. The part-privatisation of probation has had a disastrous effect on offender rehabilitation. If magistrates are to have confidence in imposing community-based sanctions, there must be proper supervision of people on those sentences. The Commission looks forward to reading the full recommendations on how best to return probation to public control from Lord Ramsbotham when his final report is published.

The Commission was also keen to hear ideas on how community sentencing and offender management could be improved to give people a better chance of turning their lives around. Offploy, a charity working with businesses to provide job opportunities for ex-offenders, suggested having an employment treatment order as a community sentence to help people obtain the skills they need to get job. They added that some form of community payback was preferable to short sentences. In order for the public and magistrates to have confidence in such sentences, they need to see people progress. Offploy said they would like to see employment-focused community payback, so people can get new job skills as well as there being a punitive element. Submissions

received also suggested tying employment opportunities with community sentencing and offender rehabilitation.

Early release (on parole) could be better if good incentives were given to enrol on appropriate apprentice schemes. In many cases these could start before early release, perhaps through distance-learning of appropriate skills, to make the transition more natural.

Anthony, West Midlands

If people can work they will be given a better chance not to reoffend.

Jenny, Wales

James Timpson OBE and Darren Burns of Timpson Group, a business which provides employment opportunities to ex-offenders, believed that the use of community sentences should be significantly increased and should include mandatory 'employability' or vocational training. They said that evidence shows employment is an important factor in reducing re-offending and individuals who leave custody with a job are significantly less likely to re-offend. They recommended greater use of Release on Temporary Licence, describing it as one of the most effective ways in which to gradually and safely integrate offenders back into society. The Prison Officers Association (POA) told us that if the Prison Service is to deliver change, all offenders must have access to education, meaningful work, vocational training and offending behaviour programmes with each offender having a tailored rehabilitation plan. In the POA's experience the vocational training in place has been inadequate, obsolete and inappropriate for the area in which they will be released. They said offenders should leave prison with a minimum of a national Level 2 Certificate in English and Maths, whenever possible, along with a skill to gain meaningful employment within the community they will be released into. Submissions from party members also highlighted the importance of employment opportunities in rehabilitation.

Access to employment programmes for ex-offenders needs to be reviewed. A spiral of unemployment due to prison record can lead to further re-offending. Programmes and legislation need to be reviewed and made fit for purpose for the 21st century.

Liverpool West Derby CLP

The North East Prisoner After Care Society (Nepacs) told us there was a wealth of evidence of the value of community services, but warned it cannot just be used as a method of shaming people as that is counterproductive and does not help rehabilitation. They felt community sentences should focus on what works, not what makes people feel better. Submissions from CLPs across the country also called for a more compassionate approach to offender management that focused on allowing offenders to gain new skills while contributing meaningfully to their communities.

Make rehabilitation a reward in itself and not a public humiliation. Make use of offenders' labour and skills in such a way as the community sees them as helpful.

Stone CLP

Link together the schemes for offender management with organisations that foster civic responsibility ... to ensure that offenders living in the community find themselves learning new and useful skills, that are of obvious immediate benefit to themselves and the wider community.

Dudley North CLP

Karyn McCluskey of Community Justice Scotland pointed to Northern Ireland, where instead of a presumption against short sentences there are "enhanced combination orders" where an offender receives a community sentence with unpaid work, as well as doing victim-focused work, having a psychological assessment and taking part in rehabilitation programmes. Karyn said these orders had better outcomes in terms of reducing reoffending and getting people back into employment but they cost more. Tom Halpin of Sacro praised the efficacy of supervised bail orders, which have an element of mentoring support, for people who would otherwise be placed in prison on remand. In order to create a more effective system of adult offender management, some party members suggested replicating the multi-agency approach that had worked to reduce youth offending in the past.

Offender management for adults could try the Youth Offending Team model of multi-agency teams based in probation offices. This model worked well with Prolific and Priority Offenders and should be extended.

Andy, West Midlands

As the Commission consulted over the course of the year, it became clear that there are many structural problems in the criminal justice system, and beyond, which prevent effective rehabilitation. Humankind are a Durham-based charity operating nationwide to provide services to, among others, ex-offenders, highlighted serious concerns around the expensive system of recall, especially for short-term prisoners, saying that it is ineffectual and damaging for the people in question and society as a whole. Nacro told us that recall creates a churn of people in and out of prisons for short periods of time, which then further impacts on the prison regime in terms of violence and drugs as short-term prisoners often raise the chaotic nature of prisons.

The Commission heard from several voluntary organisations working with people coming out of prison that homelessness was a major problem. The West Yorkshire Community Chaplaincy Project identified problems with landlords not willing to take former prisoners, especially those who are under-35 and not entitled to receive as much housing benefit. Nacro told the Commission that being released on a Friday is very

damaging for many ex-offenders as they cannot access any services over the weekend, increasing the chance they will fall back into reoffending. The Langley House Trust explained that local authorities used to have ring-fenced funding to support housing for ex-offenders, but this was removed leading to a significant fall in funding. They added that when this kind of offender housing is lost it is very difficult to open up elsewhere due to community opposition. In answers to questions from Commission members, the Langley House Trust also noted the difficulty many people leaving prison had in accessing benefits they are entitled to and how this can lead to homelessness. They recommended closer cross-departmental cooperation between the MoJ and Department of Work and Pensions to ensure ex-offenders did not fall through the cracks. In a written submission to the Commission, the Magistrates Association also thought that suitable accommodation was key to the initial success of reintegration into the community on release from custody, adding that this often presents a significant challenge for many offenders.

This year, the Commission also asked what could be done to reduce the number of women in custody. Dr Kate Paradine of Women in Prison told us that, because women are such a minority in the criminal justice system, they couldn't be effectively catered for in the wider criminal justice system. Kate said that grassroots provision of services for women based in local communities was seen to be effective. Asked about the idea of residential women's centres in the Government's Female Offenders Strategy, Kate said that they would not be necessary if there was an appropriate number of day centres and called on Labour to support dropping this proposal. She said it would be better to focus on safeguarding services. Overall, Kate felt there was a need for a longer-term strategic plan for women offenders that is matched with adequate levels of funding. There was also a need for greater clarity and transparency around what funding is available and for what types of service.

The Women's Budget Group (WBG) felt that, given that female offending costs around £1.7bn a year, the economic case for sustainable funding of a national network of Women's Centres delivering holistic, women-centred, services, is very strong. The WBG added that services will vary according to local need but will typically include support for the major drivers of women's offending: mental health, housing, employment, substance abuse, and domestic and sexual violence and abuse. Women's Place UK also called for effective resourcing and implementation of community-based sentencing for women offenders, as well as the implementation of the recommendations of the Corston report in England and Wales and the Angiolini report in Scotland. Clinks also said there was a need to commit to long-term sustainable funding of women-only community services, as well as creating a distinctive approach to women in the criminal justice system that is gender and trauma-informed. In Lord Ramsbotham's interim report, the Commission

noted his recommendation for the creation of a separate Women's Justice Board. He pointed out that female offenders are some of the most vulnerable individuals within the criminal justice system, but that nothing had been done to address their specific needs.

For too many years, there has been much talk about improving the delivery of probation services specifically designed for females, but nothing specific or consistent has materialised. Women are suspicious of allegedly gender free services, which claim to be able to cater for the needs of women, but are in fact male orientated, and distrust them as a result. Many women have backgrounds of mental ill health, addiction and experiences of domestic and sexual abuse, which are best dealt with by services designed for women.

Lord Ramsbotham, People Are Not Things: The Return of Probation to the Public Sector, May 2019

It has been repeatedly emphasised throughout this year's consultation, both in expert testimony and through submissions from party members, that community sentences are less costly and can be a more effective alternative to prison, offering offenders a chance to address the root causes of their criminal behaviour while easing pressure on the prison system. The Commission believes that there is clearly a need for greater use of community sentences, backed up by rigorous supervision from a publicly-controlled probation service working in conjunction with other public services and third sector partners to deliver effective opportunities for rehabilitation.

Other issues

Windrush and immigration

After a year and a half since the revelations about the appalling treatment of the Windrush Generation became public knowledge, the Commission is deeply concerned at the slow progress in rectifying this scandal. The Commission was proud to see a motion passed at Annual Conference setting out practical steps to create a fair and equitable immigration system and calling for justice for the Windrush Generation. However, submissions received over the course of the year made clear that there is still a long way to go. The delayed compensation scheme, which was finally announced in April, falls woefully short of expectations. The Government had to be forced into u-turning on the introduction of a hardship fund and is refusing to cover the full legal costs of victims of the scandal, causing even more suffering for those most in need. The Commission feels apologies from the Home Secretary ring hollow when it appears his department is refusing to learn the lessons of this scandal. Since last summer, the National Audit Office, Public Accounts Committee, Joint Human Rights Committee and Home Affairs Select Committee have all released reports warning of systematic failures

within the department. Given this litany of criticism, the Commission was disturbed to see that an internal 'lessons learned' review which was leaked during the summer accused the Home Office of recklessness for failing to monitor the impact of its hostile environment policy and for displaying an apparent unwillingness to learn from past mistakes. British citizens have been wrongly deported, prevented from returning home and have lost their jobs because of the policies of this Government. The Commission supports the position articulated by the Shadow Home Secretary, Diane Abbott MP, that until the Conservatives' current immigration policy is scrapped, these types of injustices will continue. We were therefore pleased to see a motion passed at 2019 Women's Conference defending the rights of migrant women and calling for the abolition of the so-called hostile environment.

Policing and crime

Throughout the year, the Commission listened to concerns that violent crime continues to rise at a disturbing rate across the country. Submissions emphasised strong support among party members for a national roll-out of a community-based 'public health' approach to tackling violence, such as has already been instituted by the Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, who set up a Violence Reduction Unit in the capital last September. We were pleased to receive evidence from Labour Police and Crime Commissioners about the innovative programmes they had introduced to facilitate police forces working in collaboration with other public bodies and voluntary organisations to support those at risk of offending and prevent crime happening in the first place. While it is assumed by some that violent crime is a problem specific to urban centres, we received submissions from members across the country detailing how violence was increasing in their area. It is therefore disappointing that the Government's response to this crisis has been so slow, merely consulting on a public health approach while elected Labour officials were implementing it, and not backed up by appropriate resources. The Commission welcomes the success of the Shadow Home Office team in pushing the Government to provide some extra funding for tackling violent crime, but agrees that what is needed is long-term, stable funding that reflects the actual demand on police forces. The Commission recognises that while a lot of media attention focuses on street-based violence, there is a hidden epidemic of violence against women and girls. This point was re-emphasised when we considered a motion passed at 2019 Women's Conference which set out a number of practical steps an incoming Labour Government should take to protect women from violence, including ratifying the Istanbul Convention, ensuring support services and refuges are properly funded, improving workplace awareness of Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG), and guaranteeing effective sex and relationship education so young people are taught to respect themselves and others.

Access to justice

Submissions to the Commission made clear that there is an urgent need to reverse this Government's attack on access to justice. Members told us that major reductions to access to legal aid and advice have caused severe problems for people seeking to enforce their rights. There was strong support for Labour's commitments on rebuilding the legal aid system, such as support for early help and caseworkers and building a network of community law centres, are so important. In February, the Shadow Justice Secretary, Richard Burgon MP, shared his concerns with the Commission about the recently published review into Legal Aid Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act (LASPO) and the reduction in legal aid provision that followed. He noted that the review simply promised more reviews and that £8m will be reinvested after cuts of around £800m. He contrasted this with Labour's commitments to restore legal aid in housing and benefit cases, to re-establish early advice entitlements in the Family Courts, and to grant legal aid to families whose loved one died at the hands of the State. The Commission believes that preventative advice and legal aid services save society money and are a crucial lifeline for many who would otherwise be priced out of justice.

Drugs

Over the past year, we have also received a number of submissions calling for a review and rethink of policies around illegal drugs, with many members supporting a shift towards a more health-focused approach to dealing with people who have substance abuse issues or addiction, rather than criminalising them. However, other members told the Commission they felt there was a need to make drug-taking socially unacceptable among young people in order to steer them away from a potential life of crime. Clearly, this is an issue that needs further investigation and the Commission would welcome further input on drugs policy over the coming year.

Abortion rights

The Commission has received submissions from party members over the course of the year about the continuing need to decriminalise abortion and to bring the law in Northern Ireland in line with the rest of the UK. In March, Commission members also considered a motion that had been passed at Women's Conference the previous month calling for abortion to be taken out of the criminal law and for Labour to continue to push for Northern Irish women to be given equal rights. It was therefore disappointing to learn during the summer that neither of the candidates for the Tory leadership were willing to stand up for the rights of Northern Irish women. The Commission believes that women have a right to choose how they control their own bodies and that pregnancy termination must be a healthcare not a criminal matter. We therefore reaffirm our support for decriminalisation of abortion through the repeal of Sections 58 and 59 of the 1861 Offences Against the Person Act, and for a future Labour government to ensure

Northern Ireland has an abortion framework appropriate for women's needs in the 21st century.

Electoral reform

One of the most frequently raised issues in submissions this year was on electoral reform, in particular on introducing a more proportional voting system and also on opposing voter ID plans. Earlier in the year, Chris Matheson MP updated the Commission on the work the Shadow Cabinet Office team was doing, including opposing Tory plans to introduce voter ID and working on a Constitutional Convention which could be used as a forum to debate future electoral plans. Given the variety of potential forms of electoral reform, and the fact that there are strongly-held opinions on all sides of the debate, the Commission believes that a Constitutional Convention should be established by an incoming Labour Government so this important issue can be considered in detail. Members are concerned that voter ID will see people who are entitled to vote turned away simply for not having the required documentation. We call on all parts of the Labour movement to oppose these undemocratic and unfair proposals from the Tory Government.

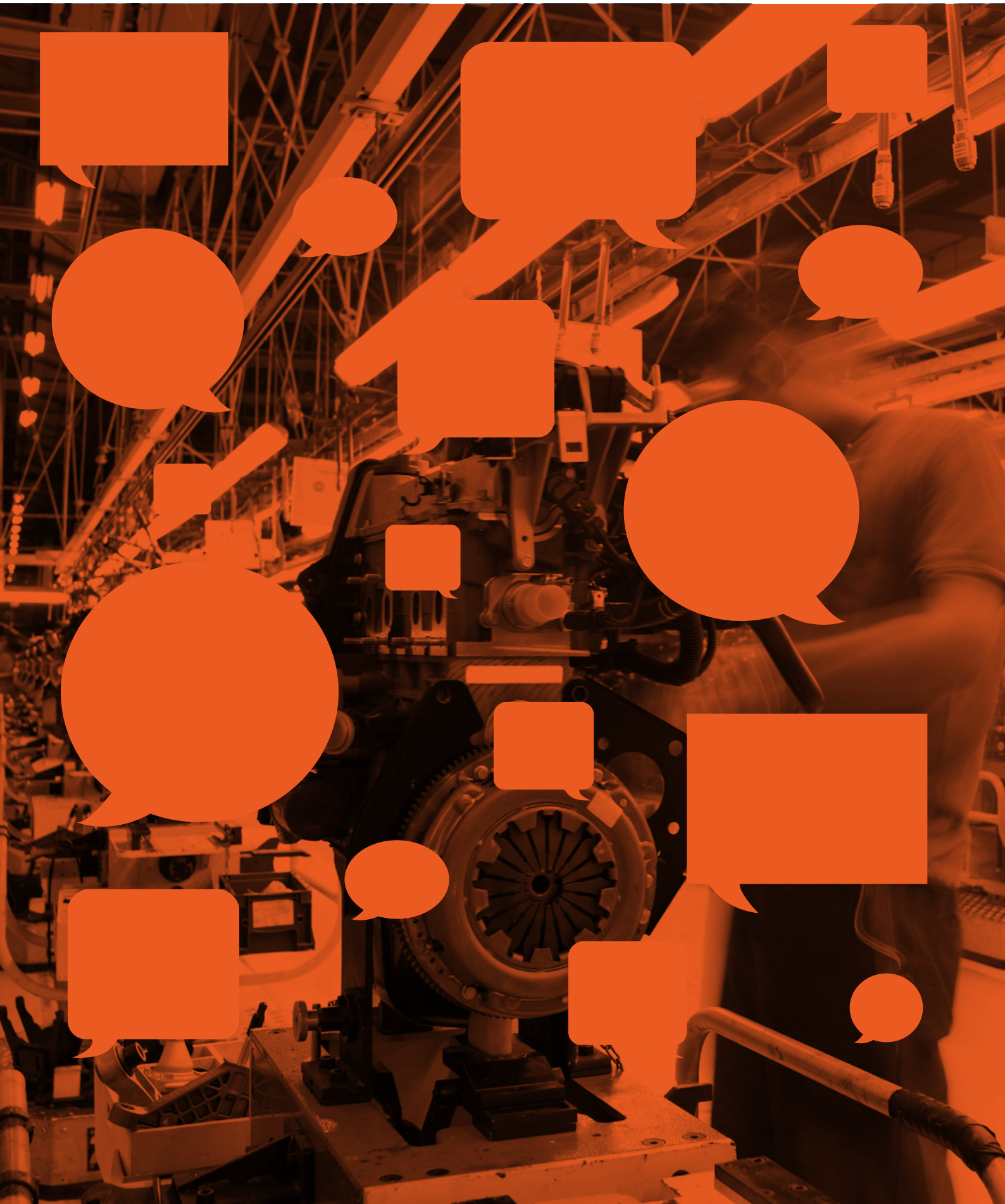
Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to Commission members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2018/19 the Justice and Home Affairs Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Abortion
- Access to Work
- Airports
- Apprenticeships
- Asylum
- Austerity
- BAME
- Banks
- Brexit
- Charities
- Child poverty
- Citizenship
- Community ownership
- Counter-Terrorism
- Crime
- Criminal Justice System
- Cyber security
- Data Protection
- Devolution
- Digital
- Discrimination
- Domestic Abuse
- Drugs
- Electoral reform
- Employers
- Employment protection
- Further Education
- Hate Crimes
- Homelessness
- House of Lords
- Housing
- Human rights
- Immigration
- Justice
- Justice for rape victims
- Knife Crime
- Land Registry Database
- Legal aid
- Local Government
- Marriage
- Media Regulation
- National Education Service
- Ofsted
- Parliamentary reform
- Policing
- Prisons
- Public services
- Race equality
- Rehabilitation
- Religion
- Scotland
- Security
- Sentencing
- Sex Work
- Voter engagement
- Voter ID
- Women's rights



Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission



MEMBERSHIP 2018/19

HM Opposition

Margaret Greenwood MP*

Mike Amesbury MP

Dawn Butler MP

Jack Dromey MP

NEC

Diana Holland*

Joanne Cairns

Ann Henderson

Shabana Mahmood MP

Sarah Owen

CLPs and Regions

Shelly Darwin – Eastern Region

Dan Dobson – South East Region

Seán Duffy – Scottish Labour Party

Mary Foy – Northern Region

Joe Morgan – West Midlands Region

Skeena Rathor – South West Region

Jen Smith – Welsh Labour Party

Tony Tinley – East Midlands Region

Agnes Tolmie – Scottish Policy Forum

Steve Turner – North West Region

Sophie Clarke-Vale – East Midlands Region

Affiliates

Kate Dearden – Community

Fran Springfield/Simon Lydiard[†] – Disability Labour

Andrew Harrop – Socialist Societies

Paddy Lillis – Usdaw

Susan Matthews – Unite

Liz Snape – UNISON

Astrid Walker – LGBT+ Labour

Elected Representatives

Mary Honeyball MEP[‡]

Baroness Margaret Prosser

Anna Turley MP

*Co-convenor

[†]Denotes Job Share

[‡] Replaced by Jackie Jones MEP in May 2019

Policy Development

The Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission is charged with developing Labour's policy on social security, poverty and equalities. Over the course of the last year, the Commission has consulted specifically on how to rebuild a just social security system for all, building on the work of the Commission in 2017/18.

The Commission began this year's policy cycle at Women's Conference 2018 and Annual Conference 2018.

Many of the issues that were raised at Labour Women's Conference 2018 reflected much of the evidence heard by the Commission in the previous policy cycle. In particular, debates on two of the composited motions – on Women's Health and Safety and on Women and the Economy – demonstrated the development of Labour policy in areas covered by the Commission.

The debate on Women's Health and Safety welcomed Labour's announcement from last year's policy cycle that the next Labour government will provide funding for free sanitary products for secondary schools, food banks and homeless shelters. It also reiterated evidence heard by the Commission last year over the disproportionate impact of austerity, with 86 per cent of the burden of austerity landing on women's shoulders.

The debate during Women's Conference 2018 on the composited Women and the Economy motion – which was later passed at Annual Conference – saw Labour's policy progress in a number of areas, notably on Universal Credit. During the last policy cycle, the Commission had received a growing body of evidence demonstrating the extent to which Universal Credit was severely failing people across the country, especially women. It followed that Women's Conference, and later Annual Conference, recognised this growing body of evidence and unanimously resolved that Labour should campaign for a fair social security system, including addressing the deeply damaging impact of the roll-out of Universal Credit.

During Annual Conference 2018, the Work, Pensions and Equality chapter of the 2018 NPF Annual Report was unanimously carried by delegates. The chapter formed the basis of a wide-ranging debate, which included how the next Labour government can build a fair social security system.

Also during Annual Conference 2018, a motion on in-work poverty – proposed by Usdaw and seconded by GMB – was unanimously carried. The motion developed Labour's plans to tackle the growing levels of poverty facing working families under the current Conservative Government. It echoed substantial evidence that the Commission heard during the last cycle, for example, the impact that Universal Credit is having on poverty levels, the effect of punitive sanctions and the proliferation of insecure, low-paid work.

The motion resolved to immediately halt the rollout of Universal Credit, which has subsequently formed the basis of Labour's policy development in this area.

The Commission also held a policy seminar at Annual Conference 2018 in order to discuss policy development with Party members and Conference delegates. The seminar was chaired by Diana Holland, as Co-convenor, and included a panel of Margaret Greenwood MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions, Mike Amesbury MP, Shadow Minister for Employment and Marsha de Cordova MP, Shadow Minister for Disabled People.

During the seminar, delegates and Shadow Ministers raised ongoing issues with Universal Credit. Margaret Greenwood spoke of concessions that Labour had recently forced from the Government on Universal Credit, including reducing the initial waiting period from six to five weeks. Margaret also pointed to the wide array of evidence showing Universal Credit is deeply flawed and causing hardship and poverty wherever it has been rolled out. Among other pieces of evidence, she referenced the Trussell Trust report into food bank usage that showed an increase of 52 per cent in food bank use where Universal Credit has been rolled out. Members of the Commission participating in the seminar were also introduced.

Over 20 delegates made contributions during the seminar, raising a wide-range of issues. The Government's speeding-up of changes to the State Pension age was frequently raised. It was highlighted that millions of women have faced a massive loss of income from the changes and a discussion was had about whether Universal Basic Income would help alleviate the issues. A discussion was also had about gender, the Gender Recognition Act and, more broadly, about representation for women as well as Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans (LGBT+) people. One delegate spoke of Labour's plans to expand Access to Work and raised a number of points in relation to insecurity at work and the closure of Job Centres across the country. One delegate also spoke about inadequate levels of redundancy support and the need to re-instate the socio-economic duty of the Equality Act, emphasising the need to look at intersectionality, especially gender, race and disabilities.

The debates, motions and contributions from the policy seminar from Women's Conference 2018 and Annual Conference 2018 were all discussed when the Policy Commission re-convened in January 2019. Commission members welcomed the evolution of Labour's social security policy and the first time that a policy motion from Women's Conference had been put to Annual Conference.

During the same meeting, the first of two in January, new members were welcomed to the Commission. They discussed submissions that had been received since last summer, including from individual members and local parties on poverty and workers' rights,

which were the areas that received the highest number of submissions. A number of specific submissions were discussed in further detail, including on the changing world of work and job security.

As in recent years, the Commission appointed representatives to ensure that the cross-cutting nature of sustainability, equality and Brexit were fully taken into consideration. Susan Matthews and Sophie Vale were appointed Equality Champions, Steve Turner as Sustainability Champion and Mary Honeyball MEP continued in her role as the Commission's Brexit Representative.

The Commission held a discussion about NPF activity for the year ahead. The Chair, Diana Holland, confirmed that the recent National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting had agreed the priority area for the Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission as "Rebuilding a Just Social Security System". Commission members discussed the issues that would form the basis of the consultation document. They included on Universal Credit, sanctions and assessments, having online processes rather than people to contact, decent wages, in-work poverty, in-work conditionality (especially low-paid workers such as retail workers) and reclaiming the narrative about what social security means through a powerful vision that gives people hope.

Commission members also discussed the comprehensive report by Professor Philip Alston, United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights. It was welcomed that Dawn Butler, Shadow Women & Equalities Secretary, had raised the importance of including in the document the impact of Government cuts on women, disabled people and BAME members, the need for an Equalities Department in government to audit and check on equality throughout government, and to tackle more effectively the gender pay gap.

Margaret Greenwood MP and Mike Amesbury MP both gave updates to the Commission, covering issues such as the managed migration of Universal Credit, the Government's Youth Obligation, Pension Credit, changes to the State Pension age for women born in the 1950s and the UN Report on poverty in the UK.

At the second January meeting, the Commission considered in detail the draft consultation document that would form the basis of the Commission's activity for the year's policy cycle. Commission members made a number of changes to the draft consultation document that were designed to maximise participation, broaden the scope of the evidence to be received and encourage policy development.

During the January meeting, the Commission also discussed the range of speakers to invite to give evidence on the consultation. Commission members considered submissions that had been received since the previous meeting from individuals and

local parties, including on serious issues with Universal Credit. The Commission heard Shadow Ministerial updates from Dawn Butler MP on Labour's existing policies and pledges on women and equality and Margaret Greenwood MP on developments relating to social security and pensions.

There were eight composited motions and debates in February at Labour Women's Conference 2019 that instructed policy in areas covered by the Policy Commission. The eight priority areas were Abortion Rights, Early Years Education and Childcare, Pensions, Rights for Migrant Women, Social Care, Universal Credit and Employment Support, Violence against Women and Girls and Women in the Workforce. The inclusion of pensions as a priority area reflected the hundreds of submissions that the Policy Commission has received on this issue over the last few policy cycles.

The debate on pensions was chaired by Joanne Cairns – a member of the National Executive Committee and Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission. During the debate, all delegates who spoke recognised the hardship and injustice that many women born in the 1950s have faced as a result of the Government's changes to the State Pension age. The debate was set in the context of sharp increases in levels of pensioner poverty under the Conservative Government. The motion reiterated the need for this issue to be revisited by the Policy Commission. The motion was agreed. However, the two composited motions carried and voted by Women's Conference 2019 to be debated at Annual Conference 2019 were Universal Credit and Employment Support and the Rights of Migrant Women Workers.

The motion and debate on Universal Credit and Employment Support represented a natural progression in Labour's policy development in these areas, echoing much of the evidence and submissions the Policy Commission has received. During the debate, delegates welcomed the motion on Universal Credit and Employment Support, calling for reform to the social security system as well as increased support and equality for women in the workforce. Many speakers noted both the poor pay for women workers as well as the gender pay gap, with many women suffering from in-work poverty. The majority of speakers focused on Universal Credit and the disproportionate impact it has on women, particularly lone parents. The current system was described as being punitive and degrading. Delegates also raised the report by Philip Alston, the UN Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, previously discussed in detail by Commission members.

All motions and debates from Women's Conference 2019 were subsequently discussed in detail by Commission members at the meeting in March. At that meeting, Commission members also discussed submissions, including on workers' rights, poverty, Universal Credit and Usdaw's "Time for Better Pay" report, which focuses on tackling in-work

poverty. The Commission then held its first oral evidence session of this year's policy cycle. Three speakers gave evidence at the meeting: Dr Sam Royston, Director of Policy and Research at The Children's Society, Kayley Hignell, Head of Policy - Families Welfare and Work at Citizens Advice and Ayaz Manji, Senior Policy and Campaigns Officer at Mind.

Ayaz Manji spoke about three different areas: (i) conditionality and sanctions, (ii) assessments for disability benefits and (iii) the culture of policy-making. He said that conditionality and sanctions were a barrier for recovery and had an impact before people even received a sanction especially for people with mental health problems, for example, the impact of a loss of trust and the fear of being sanctioned. He also said that sanctions should be removed for disabled people with health conditions and that, as an immediate step, the length and severity of sanctions should be reduced as an exercise in harm reduction.

Sam Royston spoke of four general areas/principles: (i) preventing poverty and destitution as not being the only role for the social security system, (ii) the importance of social security responding to differences in household needs, (iii) social security promoting positive behaviours (changes over time) – for example, improved savings/work opportunities and (iv) making the social security system as simple and easy to understand as possible.

Kayley Hignell spoke of the breadth of consensus across charities and third sector organisations in relation to the Government's approach to social security. She said that benefits have accounted for the largest share of Citizens Advice's caseload since the 1980s, with the organisation helping over 230,000 with issues related to Universal Credit since roll-out of the benefit began. She spoke of the need for social security to recognise links with the cost of living and for it to reflect people's lives, as people budget in different ways and aren't always aware, for example, of when certain bills need to be paid.

The Policy Commission held its second oral evidence session in May. Prior to the evidence session, Commission members discussed submissions on changes to the State Pension age for women born in the 1950s and on Universal Credit in the context of debates and motions at Women's Conference discussed at the previous Commission meeting.

Jack Jones, Pensions Policy Officer at the TUC, gave evidence to the Commission on a wide range of pensions issues. He stressed the importance of working-life on pension provision and how pensions relate to inequality in working-life. He spoke about generational inequality and issues affecting younger people in the labour market, for example the proliferation of zero-hours contracts and the 'gig economy'. He said that the Triple Lock is of particular importance for young workers as well as pensioners.

He said that replacing the Triple Lock with a Double Lock would lead to between a one and four per cent increase in pensioner poverty, with up to 700,000 more pensioners, today's young people and workers, living in poverty by 2050. On changes to the State Pension age for women born in the 1950s, he said a recent report had found there has been a 6.4 per cent increase in poverty for those affected, a loss of £32 per week on average. He also said the changes to Universal Credit for mixed-age couples could see some pensioners being around £7,500 a year worse off.

The Commission then heard from David Finch, Senior Research Fellow at the Resolution Foundation, Alison Garnham, Chief Executive of the Child Poverty Action Group, Louisa McGeehan, Director of Policy, Rights & Advocacy at the Child Poverty Action Group and Alfie Stirling, Head of Economics at the New Economics Foundation.

David Finch gave evidence on Universal Credit (UC). He said the cuts are hitting the most vulnerable the hardest and the four-year freeze on working-age benefits has had the largest impact as well as the caps on Local Housing Allowance. He said the Resolution Foundation is expecting child poverty to reach levels not seen since the mid-1990s, and that Child Benefit is now worth less than it was in the 1970s. He stated that Universal Credit now has a bad reputation and discussed its flaws, which included the functionality of the IT system and how the culture it is based on assumes fraud in the system. He said the self-employed and those claiming childcare support face a harsher regime under UC, and highlighted parents under the age of 25 and disabled people as being especially worse off under UC. He suggested UC needs to be re-shaped and re-branded including on its conditionality, council tax and childcare aspects.

Alison Garnham spoke of analysis showing that it is the action of our tax and social security system that does most of the heavy lifting in bringing down our child poverty rate to a mid-point in the EU, otherwise we would have one of the highest child poverty rates. She said that the Government taking £40 billion a year out of social security has had the effect of child poverty increasing. She praised the enormous success of the last Labour Government in tackling child poverty through the Child Poverty Strategy and New Deal, but said this is now going into reverse. She also reiterated flaws with Universal Credit, including on the in-built five-week waiting period, problems with monthly assessment, childcare costs, the two-child policy and benefit cap, its treatment of second earners and cuts to work allowances.

Alfie Stirling then gave evidence to the Commission. He started by saying that 'generosity as a whole is low and that the scale of where we are warrants a zero-based review. He stressed that ends are more important than the means and the question is how policy delivers against real-world impacts. He raised the prospect of proportionate universalism, which would make access to social security as universal as possible while

making the intensity of the generosity variable. He also raised proposals for a weekly national allowance, which would replace the personal allowance of income tax with a weekly payment equal to the tax that would otherwise be paid.

Commission members then raised a number of questions on the evidence given, including on poverty being 'policy responsive' and how the two-child limit has pushed children into poverty and the importance of Child Benefit and Housing Benefit. The Commission also discussed submissions received by the Commission from members and local parties and put on record their thanks for the submissions received, saying the contributions are extremely valued.

In June, the Policy Commission held a roundtable event in Chingford as part of the policy development engagement process. Margaret Greenwood MP introduced the roundtable event and members framed their discussion around three questions that are central to the consultation. They were on re-building a just social security system for all, supporting people into well-paid, secure work and creating a more equal society and closing unfair pay gaps.

During the first round of discussions, members raised a wide-range of issues including the damaging effect of Universal Credit, cuts to local authorities, the sanctions regime and the rising use of food banks. One member said that the social security system should reflect "a modern version of Beveridge's principles".

The second round of discussions – on supporting people into work – emphasised the fact that not everyone is able to work. Members also raised issues around vocational training, the need for more person-centred support, improved childcare, cuts to legal aid, the need for a proper Living Wage and recognising the impact of trade unions in tackling in-work poverty alongside a just social security system.

Lastly, during the third round of discussion, members talked about pay ratios and the need to close tax loopholes. One member described the interaction between housing, health and income as a means to tackling poverty. There was also a strong emphasis on scrapping anti Trade Union laws.

In July, the Commission discussed a number of issues while considering submissions and the draft chapter of the National Policy Forum Annual Report. Margaret Greenwood MP gave an update in which she spoke about a recent fringe event she had attended at PCS Conference, which was a roundtable event specifically on our consultation document. The roundtable stressed the importance of the values and ethos that should underpin a just social security system; it agreed that there should be more support for, and less policing of, claimants.

Commission members also focused on the interaction between the UK wide social security system and devolved aspects across the nations and regions of the UK. They discussed the additional powers available to the Welsh and Scottish Government in relation to social security. They also discussed issues around data collection, the role of sustainability and noted the recent report by Philip Alston on Climate Change and Poverty.

Consultation: Rebuilding a Just Social Security System

A just social security system means that everyone has enough to live on and that everyone is treated fairly with dignity and respect. This has been the overall approach of the Policy Commission and is widely reflected in the submissions made.

During last year's policy cycle, the Policy Commission heard substantial evidence about the failure of the Conservative Government's policies on social security. It saw a system breaking at the seams and in need of urgent change. Since then, that body of evidence has only grown stronger: even more people have been pushed into poverty and hardship as a result of a punitive, uncaring system.

For this year's cycle, the Policy Commission sought to move beyond identifying the many serious issues people are facing from the current social security system to developing in more detail what a Labour alternative will look like. Building on last year's work, our consultation asked how the next Labour government can re-build a just social security system; both the principles that it should be based on and the policies it should enact.

The urgency of what we have heard has made it abundantly clear that Labour will need to focus on an immediate "rescue package" for social security as well as broader policies to bring about transformative change. This approach is recommended in the submission from The Fabian Society, following their six-month research project 'Poverty and social security: where next?'

Labour should consider reform on two-time scales:

Short-term reforms – [...] These should combine a combination of 'rescue' measures to resolve the worst immediate problems with the system, pilots to test new approaches, and initial steps that signal the long-term direction of reform.

Ambitions and medium-term reforms – Labour should also set out long-term ambitions for reform, with the detail and pace of change to depend on the availability of future resources.

The Fabian Society

It is clear from responses to our consultation that Universal Credit cannot continue in its current form. Taking action on this is therefore integral to Labour's immediate social security rescue policies. The overwhelming failure of Universal Credit and its effect on poverty, homelessness, mental health, debt and inequality was raised in many of the submissions and evidence that the Commission received.

Across the North West the areas where Universal Credit has been imposed have shown a demonstrable increase in poverty rates and food bank dependency.

Weaver Vale CLP

Universal Credit is a broken system [...] it is time for it to be replaced for good.

Benjamin, North West

Universal Credit is responsible for people getting into debt with landlords and council rent arrears and people being short of the basic food to feed themselves in a healthy diet.

George, Scotland

One of the main reasons that Universal Credit is responsible for causing devastating rent arrears in the way described in this submission is the long waiting period for claimants to receive their first payment. While the Government was forced into a concession – reducing the six week wait to a five week wait – the evidence shows this is still far too long for people to wait.

The length of time it takes to receive a first payment thus forcing claimants to take out a government debt needs to be shortened immediately.

Lindsay, Scotland

This was echoed in the evidence given to the Commission by Alison Garnham, on behalf of the Child Poverty Action Group. It is clear that ending the five week wait in Universal Credit will need to be an immediate priority for the next Labour government.

In many of the submissions, the five week wait was raised alongside the frequency (monthly) and nature (the removal of direct payments to landlords and payments being made to households not individuals) of payments made under Universal Credit, often as being the cause of rent arrears.

Giving evidence to the Commission in March, Kayley Hignell of Citizens Advice said that the design of Universal Credit assumes that claimants have full choice over the payments of their own bills and rent. However, this is not the case in the real-world and it is clear from the evidence that this inflexibility of Universal Credit is causing hardship.

This reiterates evidence given by Dr Sam Royston that while Universal Credit may have simplicity from the perspective of design this is not the case from the perspective of claimants.

Monthly payments don't work for everyone and removal of direct payments to landlords has led to a huge increase in rent arrears.

Christopher, Labour North

Payments should also be paid fairly to women (lower earners or who are caring) not just a working male partner. Claimants should also be able to ask for payment for housing to be paid direct to the landlord.

Ian, Wales

[Payments should be] either a free choice between fortnightly and monthly payments or fortnightly payments as the default option with the right to choose monthly.

Baroness Ruth Lister

In the submission made by Unite, the five-week wait and the nature and frequency of payments under Universal Credit are coupled as two areas that should be amended as a priority.

Further elements of Universal Credit (UC) design and administration that should be amended as a priority and should not occur in the system that replaces UC, including; the delay between the need to claim, claiming and receiving the first payment must end, the option of weekly payments and the housing element being paid direct to the landlord should be re-introduced to our social security system.

Unite

Both of these issues relate to the design of Universal Credit. While there was an understanding of the rationale for the wider design of Universal Credit, for example, simplifying a number of social security payment into one, there was no such support or understanding for the administrative decisions taken in relation to Universal Credit. That is because the budget for Universal Credit has been repeatedly cut.

The largest cuts to Universal Credit have come in the form of cuts to work allowances and the four-year freeze on working-age social security payments. The submissions received demonstrate that addressing these two policy areas should be immediate priorities for the next Labour government.

Work allowances for single people and people without children need to be reinstated – it cannot be right that these groups lose 63p in the pound for every extra £1 they earn. Overall work allowances need to be increased – this is one of the most effective measures.

UNISON

The importance of paying benefits at an adequate level to securely live on. Local Housing Allowances and the benefit freeze were recognised as particularly damaging policies that need to be reversed.

Hornsey Branch Labour Party

The saving to the Government of the four-year ‘benefit freeze’ alone is depriving the already low-income beneficiaries of billions of pounds a year, one reason why poverty is forecast to increase.

Adrian, Scotland

Giving evidence to the Commission on behalf of The Resolution Foundation, David Finch raised these two cuts as drivers of child poverty. He said they are hitting the most vulnerable the hardest, emphasising that parents under the age of 25 and disabled people are especially worse off under Universal Credit. As a result, he said the Resolution Foundation is expecting child poverty to reach levels not seen since the mid-1990s. It is clear that the next Labour government will need to urgently address the substantial cuts that have been made to Universal Credit.

It was also clear from submissions that Universal Credit is not accessible for many people who need it. The recent report by UN Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, Philip Alston, was raised in many submissions. That report was extremely critical of the Government’s social security policies. It said that poverty in the UK is a “political choice”.

That report was also critical of the Government’s “digital by default” approach. It warned that “the British welfare state is gradually disappearing behind a webpage and an algorithm, with significant implications for those living in poverty”. This is echoed in many of the submissions made to our consultation and is an area that needs urgently addressing.

The system should not just be online – there are higher rates of digital exclusion amongst low income earners (which includes disproportionately higher numbers of disabled and BAEM people) and there has been the widespread closure of community services, such as libraries, where people can get online.

Unite

Universal Credit [...] increases the burden on users to fill in forms, with the digital by default policy making this more difficult for those without access or the skills to use computers, and more help was needed with this.

Farnborough & Cove Branch Labour Party

End the 'digital by default' approach currently adopted by the DWP. 47 per cent of those who need and apply for Universal Credit don't have access to internet at all and those who often get into debt often only have intermittent connection to the internet. Also over 50 per cent who do have regular internet access often need assistance to navigate around using online website.

Lala, North West

Online claims can be a barrier to accessing Universal Credit. Digital exclusion is linked to age, financial disadvantage, and disability so many of those most in need of support will face difficulties in making and managing a claim online.

Age UK

It is clear that there need to be a number of means to access, rather than just one. There was also a clear message from submissions that Universal Credit is now so synonymous with cuts and hardship that the brand itself has become "toxic."

The term universal credit implies indebtedness and should be abandoned [...] the name UC is now a 'toxic brand'.

Stockton South CLP and Stockton North CLP

An overwhelming number of submissions and evidence presented called for Universal Credit to be scrapped or radically overhauled.

During May's evidence session, Alison Garnham suggested that while Tax Credits may have helped reduce stigma for people in work, claimants are not being treated with the same maturity and independence under Universal Credit.

Our questions on sanctions and conditionality understandably elicited strong responses. It is clear that the Government's punitive sanctions regime has caused a great deal of harm and distress and, building on policies set out in Labour's 2017 manifesto, this is an area that urgently needs reform.

This came across clearly during evidence given by Ayaz Manji, on behalf of Mind. He said that the length and severity of sanctions should be reduced as an exercise in harm reduction. He also said that sanctions were a barrier for recovery and had an impact before people were even on social security especially for people with mental health problems.

In their submission, Disability Labour responded directly to the question posed in our consultation about the specific example of someone being sanctioned for missing an interview. Their view was echoed in other submissions received by the Commission.

No sanctions should be applied if an appointment is missed due to attending a job interview, hospital, doctor's appointment – look at giving flexibility on appointment days and times as some hospital clinics only operate on set days and times.

Disability Labour

Sanctions over misunderstandings are the result of a complex benefit system that asks claimants to be omnipotent during some of their worst periods of their lives.

Robert, West Midlands

There should be an end to the current pernicious sanction system currently in place. There does need to be some element of conditionality but this needs to be clearer and not all based on internet communication.

Louise, Labour North

It is also clear that assessments determining people's entitlement are deeply flawed. They are significantly contributing to the lack of trust and declining pride in our social security system. In particular, it is clear from the submissions that flawed Work Capability Assessments and Personal Independence Payment assessments are creating a hostile environment that is causing hardship for sick and disabled people. For this reason, many submissions expressed support for policies set out in Labour's 2017 manifesto for disabled people, 'Nothing About You, Without You'.

There should be assessments but they should be done by people who are professionally qualified and have the ability and the scope to show more compassion.

Perthshire North CLP

Abolish work capability assessments, people should be assessed by medical professionals.

Labour North West Regional Policy Conference

The overall design and operation of ESA and PIP are disabling for claimants with mental health needs and thereby impede recovery and social inclusion. They require fundamental and participatory redesign, which draws in particular on the expertise of claimants themselves, in order to align with the principles of the social model of disability.

Liverpool Hope University School of Social Sciences

The submissions set out the context in which these short- and medium-term reforms will need to be addressed and pointed to wider reforms beyond the scope of the Department for Work and Pensions. For example, many of the issues caused by the Government's flawed social security policies have been exacerbated by legal aid cuts and the closure of specialist advice centres.

Cuts to advice and support mean that people are being 'deprived of the means to fight back' cuts to civil legal aid for advice/advocacy concerning benefits, housing, family law (all crucial for VAWG survivors) means that lawyers can no longer afford to do this work, fragmenting the legal infrastructure and expertise.

Women's Aid

Analysis undertaken by UNISON in their submission reveals the extent to which local authorities have had their budgets cut back, meaning they are unable to fund localised welfare assistance schemes. The submission shows that in order to re-build a just social security system, the next Labour government will also need to address the provision of localised schemes, including council tax support and discretionary housing payments. The submission also suggested the principles on which Labour's alternative social security system should be designed.

Social security and protection is a universal framework. It is there for everyone. The design of a modern social security system will need to incorporate aspects of a means tested and contributions based approach whilst reflecting people's particular needs

UNISON

Other submissions also raised the principles that Labour's alternative system should be based on, primarily in response to the questions on funding set out in section one of our consultation document. There was a broad consensus that Labour's social security system should be based on a "universal framework".

Unite believe that the principles of universality and a collective approach must underpin our social security system, which should be funded by general taxation supporting the principle that all contribute when they can and all draw out when they need to.

Unite

While some submissions differed in their view over the precise balance between universal, contributions-based and means-tested social security, those arguing in favour of including a means-tested approach agreed that the system should be "universal in principle" and should include "substantial layers of universal entitlements." These two examples demonstrate that a mixture of means-tested and universalism may be needed while others also drew attention to contributory elements of the system.

Overall, the submissions pointed to a secure, non-stigmatising system of support that incorporates some elements of means-testing but which has universality, dignity and respect at its core.

The core argument in favour of means-testing and strict needs-based allocation – that the money should go to those who need it most – is important but it is also vital that public support for social security is encouraged by a more inclusive approach. Where possible, therefore, universality should be encouraged and the tax system should deliver fairness. And the system should be universal in principle, in that it provides the basis for everyone to be secure in the knowledge that their needs will be met.

Camden Labour Group

An emphasis on security means that, unlike ‘welfare’, social security is there not just to relieve poverty but to help prevent it.

Baroness Ruth Lister

The social security system should therefore be designed to be a mainstream, non-stigmatising British institution on the same footing as the NHS. Labour should seek to re-build a tiered social security system, with substantial layers of means-tested, contributory and universal entitlements.

The Fabian Society

To paraphrase Titmuss, ‘a service for the poor becomes a poor service’ and so while the aim of a means-tested system may be to focus resources on the poorest, poverty is often greater with means-tested systems than with universal ones”.

Karen, West Midlands

This “tiered” approach was the one taken by the last Labour Government. The Commission heard evidence about the benefits of such an approach. Specifically, how the combination of means-tested support such as Tax Credits and universal Child Benefit helped lift half a million children out of relative poverty and halved the number of children living in absolute poverty. Similarly, how means-tested Pension Credit and universal Winter Fuel Payments, alongside other policies, led to drastic reductions in pensioner poverty.

Under the current Government, however, we are seeing a reversal in levels of both child poverty and pensioner poverty. Since 2010, the number of children living in poverty has risen by half a million and the number of pensioners living in relative poverty has risen by 400,000. Alongside the fall in living standards, the proliferation of insecure, low-paid work and the growing reliance of food banks, these are the fundamental challenges facing the next Labour government. The Commission confirmed the fundamental aim that everyone should have enough to live on. Our policies will also need to restore trust and dignity into a system that has been devalued and undermined so we can build a social security system that, like the NHS, is there for us all.

The Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission will continue to develop Labour's social security policies with these ambitions front and centre, including the interactions between the social security system across the nations and regions of the UK. We would like to thank everyone who made submissions to this consultation.

Other Issues

Creating a more equal society

Throughout the year, the Commission has heard evidence about the Government's failure to create a more equal society. In particular, submissions have emphasised the disproportionate impact of Government policy on women, disabled people, BAME and LGBT+ people.

While the Government has announced reviews and consultation on equal pay legislation and flexible working, recent history shows that actions has not followed words. Following on from the evidence received in last year's policy cycle, Labour has developed robust policies in these areas, including how to more effectively tackle the gender pay gap and to introduce the universal right to flexible working from day one.

Labour also has developed plans to ensure that every policy is audited and checked by an Equalities Department in government. A standalone Equalities Department will help ensure equality is put centre stage in the next Labour government.

This approach was widely welcomed, together with proposals on taking action to close the gender pay gap, as well as recognising and addressing ethnicity and disability pay gaps. The concerns raised by responses on these issues will be further discussed by the Commission over the coming year, together with wider equalities policy, including proposals around a National Women's Commission, plans to strengthen the Equality and Human Rights Commission and the operation of the Equality Act.

State Pension age changes for women born in the 1950s

Many women born in the 1950s affected by the Government's changes to the State Pension age (SPa) have reached SPa this year or are due to in the coming years. The submissions our Commission has received show that the hardship has been caused and how the injustice has continued because the Government has failed to act.

In the 2017 General Election manifesto, Labour set out some policies to address this injustice and it is recognised by the Commission that this is a vital policy issue to continue to scrutinise and develop so that the next Labour government can secure justice for those affected.

Changes to Pension Credit for Mixed-age Couples

Throughout the year, the Policy Commission has discussed in detail the Government's changes to Pension Credit for mixed-age couples. We also received a number of submissions on the issue and it was raised during our evidence sessions.

In January, the Government quietly announced the changes, which will mean that thousands of the UK's poorest pensioners could be up to £7,000 a year worse off. The changes – which took effect in May – mean that new pensioners whose partners are working-age will not be able to claim Pension Credit and will instead need to claim Universal Credit. At the time of the announcement, Age UK called it a “substantial stealth cut”.

The Commission has heard how, under this Government, pensioner poverty has increased by 400,000. We are concerned that these changes to Pension Credit risk exacerbating pensioner poverty. The Policy Commission will continue to develop policy in this area so we can ensure older people have the security and dignity in retirement they deserve.

Child Poverty

Many of the submissions shared the Commission's deep concern about the rise in child poverty under this Government – up to over four million since 2010, an increase of over half a million. Many also noted the appalling rise in the number of families who are relying on food banks, and attention was drawn to the interaction between women's poverty and child poverty.

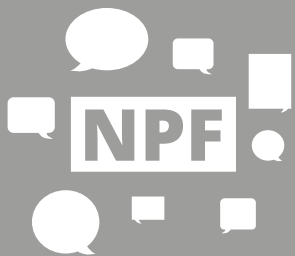
The Commission has heard how policies such as the two-child limit on Tax Credits, the Benefit Cap and the four-year freeze on working-age social security have contributed to rising numbers of children living in poverty. However, alongside social security policies, it is clear that a comprehensive Child Poverty Strategy is needed – as referenced in Labour's 2017 General Election manifesto.

That strategy will need to be cross-departmental, in particular in regards to education and schools policy. The Policy Commission will work more closely with the Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission as this policy is developed further.

Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to Commission members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2018/19 the Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Access to Work
- Apprenticeships
- Austerity
- Automation
- Banks
- Benefit cap
- Businesses
- Carer's Allowance
- Child poverty
- Childcare
- Citizenship
- Collective bargaining rights
- Community ownership
- Co-operatives
- Corporation tax
- Council housing
- Council Tax
- Crime
- Digital
- Disabilities
- Domestic violence
- Elderly Care
- Employees
- Employment protection
- Equality
- Food Banks
- Funding
- Gay Rights
- Gender pay gap
- Green economy
- Housing
- Housing benefit
- Income tax
- Justice
- Local economies
- Migration
- National Education Service
- Parliamentary reform
- Pensions
- Personal Independence Payments
- Policing
- Poverty
- Public schools
- Social Care
- Social Security
- SRE
- Tax
- Trade Unions
- Transport
- Universal basic income
- Universal Credit
- Voter engagement
- Wages
- Women's rights
- Work Capability Assessments
- Worker's Rights
- Young offenders



Appendices



Appendix 1.1: Full list of submitting local parties

Abbey BLP	Bristol South CLP
Aberdeen Central CLP	Broadland CLP
Abingdon BLP	Bromley Borough Labour Party
Adur BLP	Bromsgrove CLP
Altrincham and Sale West CLP	Broxbourne CLP
Arfon CLP	Broxtowe CLP
Ashby de la Zouch BLP	Bungay BLP
	Burngreave BLP
Balham and Northcote BLP	Burton CLP
Banbury CLP	Bury South CLP
Bassetlaw CLP	
Bath CLP	Caerphilly CLP
Beaconsfield CLP	Calder Valley CLP
Bedford and Kempston CLP	Cannock Chase CLP
Belsize and Hampstead Town BLP	Cantelowes BLP
Berwick upon Tweed CLP	Canterbury CLP
Bethnal Green and Bow CLP	Cardiff Central CLP
Beverley and Holderness CLP	Carlisle CLP
Bexleyheath and Crayford CLP	Central Devon CLP
Birkenhead CLP	Cheshire County CLPs
Birmingham Edgbaston CLP	Chester CLP
Birmingham Erdington CLP	Chester-le-Street East BLP
Birmingham Hall Green CLP	Chichester CLP
Birmingham Hodge Hill CLP	Chingford and Woodford Green CLP
Birmingham Ladywood CLP	Chipping Barnet CLP
Birmingham Northfield CLP	Chorley CLP
Birmingham Perry Barr CLP	Chorlton BLP
Birmingham Selly Oak CLP	Cities of London and Westminster CLP
Birmingham Yardley CLP	City of Durham CLP Women's Forum
Blackheath Westcombe BLP	Congleton CLP
Blackley and Broughton CLP	Cottenham BLP
Bognor Regis and Littlehampton CLP	Coventry North East CLP
Bracknell CLP	Coventry South CLP
Brecon and Radnorshire CLP	Craven BLP
Brent Central CLP	Crewe & Nantwich CLP
Brent North CLP	Croydon North CLP
Brighton Pavilion CLP	Croydon South CLP

Dartford CLP	Halifax CLP
Daventry CLP	Hall Green BLP
Delyn CLP	Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse CLP
Denton and Reddish CLP	Hampstead and Kilburn CLP
Derby South CLP	Hampstead Town BLP
Don Valley CLP	Harlow CLP
Dorchester and District BLP	Harrogate and Knaresborough CLP
Dover CLP	Hartlepool CLP
Dudley North CLP	Harwich and North Essex CLP
Durham City West BLP	Hastings and Rye CLP
Dwyfor Meirionnydd CLP	Hertford and Ware BLP
Ealing Central and Acton CLP	Heywood and Middleton CLP
Ealing Labour Policy Forum	High Peak CLP
East Devon CLP	Hornsey and Wood Green CLP
East Walthamstow BLP	Hornsey BLP
Eddisbury Rural BLP	Horsham CLP
Edinburgh Central CLP	Hove CLP
Edinburgh Southern CLP	Hyndburn CLP
Edmonton CLP	Ipswich CLP
Ellesmere Port and Neston CLP	Islington Labour Environment Forum
Eltham CLP	Islington North CLP
Eltham North BLP	Islington South and Finsbury CLP
Erith and Thamesmead CLP	Jarrow CLP
Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire CLP	Kettering CLP
Farnborough and Cove BLP	Killamarsh BLP
Felixstowe BLP	Kingston and Surbiton CLP
Finchley and Golders Green CLP	Kingswood CLP
Forest of Dean CLP	Labour International
Fylde CLP	Labour North West Region
Gabalfa, Whitchurch and Tongwynlais BLP	Labour South West Policy Forum
Greater Consett BLP	Lancaster and District BLP
Greater Marston BLP	Langley BLP
Greenwich and Woolwich CLP	Larkwood BLP
Guildford CLP	Leeds North East CLP
Hackney North and Stoke Newington CLP	Lewisham East CLP
Hackney South and Shoreditch CLP	Lewisham West and Penge CLP
Hailsham and Hellingly BLP	Leyton and Wanstead CLP

Liverpool West Derby CLP
Llandrindod and Builth Wells BLP
Ludlow CLP

Maidstone and the Weald CLP
Makerfield CLP
Manchester Central CLP
Manchester Gorton CLP
Manchester Withington CLP
Manchester Withington CLP Women's
Forum
Meriden CLP
Mid Sussex CLP
Mid Worcestershire CLP
Middle Park and Sutcliffe BLP
Middlesbrough South
and East Cleveland CLP
Mold and District BLP
Montgomeryshire CLP
Morecambe and Lunesdale CLP
Morley and Outwood CLP

New Brighton BLP
New Forest East CLP
New Forest West CLP
Newark CLP
Newbury CLP
Newcastle upon Tyne Central CLP
Newton Abbot CLP
North Bermondsey BLP
North Cornwall CLP
North East Derbyshire CLP
North East Hertfordshire CLP
North Norfolk CLP
North Shropshire CLP
North Somerset CLP
North West Cambridgeshire CLP
North West Durham CLP
North West Leicestershire CLP
North West Norfolk CLP

North Workington BLP
Northern Ireland CLP
Nottingham East CLP

Old Bexley and Sidcup CLP
Oldham East and Saddleworth CLP
Oldham West and Royton CLP
Orpington CLP
Oxford East CLP
Oxford West and Abingdon CLP

Paisley CLP
Parbold branch LP
Peckham Rye BLP
Pendle CLP
Penistone West BLP
Perry Vale BLP
Perthshire South and Kinross-shire CLP
Peterlee BLP
Pinewood and Stour Valley BLP
Plympton BLP
Portsmouth North CLP
Portsmouth South CLP
Preseli Pembrokeshire CLP
Preston CLP

Queens Park BLP
Quinton BLP

Reading and District Labour Party
Reading East CLP
Reigate CLP
Retford BLP
Rhiwbina and Heath BLP
Ribble Valley CLP
Richmond Park CLP
Rochdale CLP
Rochford and Southend East CLP
Rotherham CLP
Rotherhithe BLP
Rugby CLP

Ruislip, Northwood and Pinner CLP	Tamworth CLP
Rutland and Melton CLP	Tatton CLP
Salford and Eccles CLP	Taunton Deane CLP
Sevenoaks CLP	Teesdale BLP
Sheffield Hallam CLP	Teignmouth BLP
Shipley CLP	The Wrekin CLP
Shrewsbury and Atcham CLP	Thornbury and Yate CLP
Skipton and Ripon CLP	Tiverton and Honiton CLP
Solihull CLP	Torfaen CLP
Somerton and Frome CLP	Totnes CLP
South Basildon & East Thurrock / Basildon & Billericay Joint GC	Tottenham CLP
South Dorset CLP	Twickenham CLP
South East Cornwall CLP	Tynemouth CLP
South Ribble CLP	Uxbridge and South Ruislip CLP
South Staffordshire CLP	Valley BLP
South Swindon CLP	Walsall South CLP
South Telford BLP	Walthamstow CLP
South West Hertfordshire CLP	Wansbeck CLP
South West Norfolk CLP	Wanstead Park BLP
South Yorkshire Labour	Warley CLP
Southampton Test CLP	Warrington South CLP
Southend West CLP	Warwick and Leamington CLP
Southgate Labour/NHS Group	Waveney CLP
Southport CLP	Wealden CLP
St Austell and Newquay CLP	Weaver Vale CLP
Stafford CLP	Wells CLP
Stalybridge & Hyde CLP	West Bromwich East CLP
Stockport CLP	West Delyn BLP
Stockton North CLP	West Dorset CLP
Stockton South CLP	West Ham CLP
Stoke-on-Trent South CLP	West Suffolk CLP
Stone CLP	West Worcestershire CLP
Stretford and Urmston CLP	Westminster North CLP
Surbiton BLP	Westmorland and Lonsdale CLP
Sutton and Cheam CLP	Willesden Green BLP
Sutton Coldfield CLP	Wimbledon CLP
Swaffham BLP	Witton Gilbert BLP
	Woking CLP

Wolverhampton South West CLP
Wolverhampton South West CLP
Worcester CLP
Worth Valley BLP
Worthing West CLP
Wycombe CLP
Wyre Forest CLP

Appendix 1.2:

Full list of submitting organisations/affiliates

Action for Children	Catholic Education Service
Advisory Group on Contraception	Centre for Crime and Justice Studies
Age UK	Centre for Criminal Appeals
Agenda, the alliance for women and girls at risk	Centre for Health Services Studies, University of Kent
Alzheimer's Research UK	Centre for Welfare Reform
Anaphylaxis Campaign	Centrepont
Animal Aid	Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG)
Arts Council England	Children's Liver Disease Foundation
Aslef	City of Durham Women's Forum
Association of British Insurers	Clinks
Association of Employment and Learning Providers (AELP)	Commission on Social Security led by Experts by Experience
Association of School and College Leaders	Community Links
Association of Youth Offending Team Managers (AYM) Ltd.	Community of Single People and Fairness for Single People
Assura plc	Company Shop Group
Asthma UK	Compassion in World Farming
BackTo60.com	Comprehensive Future
BAME Labour	Confederation of School Trusts
Basis Yorkshire	Co-operative Party
Bayer Crop Science	Co-operatives UK
Black Women's Rape Action Project & Women Against Rape	Co-ops & Mutuals Wales
Brent and Harrow Co-operative Party	Cornerstone Community Alliance
Bright Blue	Criminal Justice Alliance
British Coating Federation/Alliance of Chemical Associations	disabledviewuk
British Dietetic Association	Doctors in Unite
BSW Timber	Durham County Council
Buckinghamshire Minority Education Concern	Ealing Labour Women's Forum
Caerphilly UNISON	Edwards Lifesciences
Camden Labour Group	Electoral Reform Society
Cancer Research UK	Employee Ownership Association
Canterbury Labour Education Group	End Child Poverty
Carers Solidarity	English Collective of Prostitutes
	Epilepsy Action

Federation of Master Builders	Labour Interactive
Fight Universal Credit Atrocities - Facebook group	Labour's Shropshire Ladies
Fire Brigades Union (Eastern Region)	Labour4Clause4 campaign
Food and Drink Federation	Lancashire County Council Labour Group
Food Ethics Council	LGA Labour Group
Food Inequalities Rebellion	Liverpool Hope University School of Social Sciences
GL Assessment	Local residents group
Global Justice Now	London Unemployed Strategies
Global Women Against Deportations	Magic Breakfast
Global Women's Strike	Make Votes Matter
GMB	Marcus Garvey Action Group
Greater Manchester Poverty Action	McDonalds
Grey Swans	MillionPlus
HBF	Mind
Humanists UK	Motor Neurone Disease Association
iAwareNow	National Association for Therapeutic Education (NATE)
Independent Age	National Education Union
Independent Food Aid Network	National Education Union (North East Suffolk)
INQUEST	National Governance Association (NGA)
Institute of Directors	National Union of British Sign Language Interpreters
Institute of Economic Development	NCVO
Jubilee Scotland	New Visions for Education Group
Just Treatment	Newcastle TUC
JustFair	NHS Providers
JUSTICE	NOR4NOR
Justice for Colombia	North Yorkshire Labour LCF
Knowsley Unite Community Branch	Novartis
Labour leave	Novo Nordisk
Labour Business	OxfamGB
Labour Business Women	Parkinson's UK
Labour Campaign for a Baby Box	Pension Reformers United
Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform	People Food Power
Labour Campaign for Human Rights	Pfizer UK
Labour for a Republic	Prison Reform Trust
Labour for a Socialist Europe	Probably42
Labour Home Educators	Psychologists for Social Change
Labour Homelessness Campaign	
Labour Hunger Campaign	

Public and Commercial Services Union	The Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders (SMMT)
Public Sector Scorecard Research Unit	The Vegan Society
Rail Delivery Group	This Is Rubbish
Reclaim Social Care campaign	Timpson Ltd
Red Labour	Trades Union Congress (TUC)
Rethink Mental Illness	Transform Justice
Royal College of General Practitioners	Transition to Adulthood Alliance
Royal College of Physicians	Transnational Institute
Scope	Tynemouth Fabians
SERA – Labour’s Environment Campaign	UK BioIndustry Association
Socialist Education Association	UK Finance
Socialist Education Association (Birmingham)	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (Usdaw)
Socialist Education Association (Bristol)	UNISON
Socialist Education Association (Hackney)	Unite Community Norfolk
Socialist Education Association (Liverpool)	Unite the Union
Socialist Europe Policy Commission	University and College Union (UCU)
Socialist Health Association (North East)	University of Birmingham
Socialist Health Association (Oxfordshire)	
Socialists for Britain	Vote Labour to Save the NHS (Bristol)
Southampton City Council Labour Group	Wandsworth Labour Group
Standing Committee for Youth Justice (SCYJ)	Water UK
Support Not Separation	We Own It
Sustain	WePaidInYouPayOut
Sustainable Food Trust	West Lancashire Borough Council Cabinet
Sustrans	Why me?
The British Psychological Society	WinVisible
The Campaign for State Education (CASE)	Woman’s Place UK
The College of Medical and Dental Sciences, University of Birmingham	Women’s Budget Group
The Democracy Collaborative	WWF
The Faculty of Sexual and Reproductive Health (FSRH)	Xtinction Rebellion
The general motoring public	York Policy Forum on Children, Families and Education
The Institute of Civil Engineers	Young Fabians Health Network
The Investment Association	
The Jubilee Food Network	
The Law Society	
The Magistrates Association	
The Royal Society	

Appendix 2: National Policy Forum membership

(CLP) East Midlands Region – Adele Williams

(CLP) East Midlands Region – Alice Grice

(CLP) East Midlands Region – Tom Unterrainer

(CLP) East Midlands Region – Tony Tinley

(CLP) Eastern Region – Joanne Rust

(CLP) Eastern Region – Paul Hunt

(CLP) Eastern Region – Russell Cartwright

(CLP) Eastern Region – Shelley Darwin

(CLP) Greater London Region – Carol Turner

(CLP) Greater London Region – Grace Blakeley

(CLP) Greater London Region – Nicky Gavron

(CLP) Greater London Region – Yannis Gourtsoyannis

(CLP) North West Region – Angela Coleman

(CLP) North West Region – Lorraine Beavers

(CLP) North West Region – Michael Garvey

(CLP) North West Region – Mohammed Azam

(CLP) Northern Region – Denise Robson

(CLP) Northern Region – Harry Cross

(CLP) Northern Region – Lewis Atkinson

(CLP) Northern Region – Mary Foy

(CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Caitlin Kane

(CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Grant Aitken

(CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Rhea Wolfson

(CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Seán Duffy

(CLP) South East Region – Alex Chapman

(CLP) South East Region – Dan Dobson

(CLP) South East Region – Joy Gough

(CLP) South East Region – Joyce Still

(CLP) South West Region – Brenda Weston

(CLP) South West Region – Carol Wilcox

(CLP) South West Region – Holly Jarrett

(CLP) South West Region – Thomas Pearce

(CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Anthony John Beddow

(CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Maggie Simpson

(CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Mike Bird

(CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Sophie Williams

(CLP) West Midlands Region – Emily Horsfall

(CLP) West Midlands Region – Simon Foster

(CLP) West Midlands Region – Su Lowe

(CLP) West Midlands Region – Teresa Beddis

(CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Ann Cryer

(CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – George Norman

(CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Lisa Banes

(CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Olivia Blake

(CLP-YTH) East Midlands Region – Sophie Clarke-Vale

(CLP-YTH) Eastern Region – Owen Hooper

(CLP-YTH) Greater London Region – Samiya Malik

(CLP-YTH) North West Region – George Downs

(CLP-YTH) Northern Region – Charlotte Austin

(CLP-YTH) Scottish Labour Party – Andrew Bustard

(CLP-YTH) South East Region – Gemma Bolton

(CLP-YTH) South West Region – Alex Mockridge

(CLP-YTH) Welsh Labour Party – Elly Owen

(CLP-YTH) West Midlands Region – Kirsten Kurt-Eli

(CLP-YTH) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Aisling Musson

(TU) ASLEF – Collette Gibson

(TU) Community – Kate Dearden

(TU) CWU – Dave Ward

(TU) CWU – Tracey Fussey

(TU) GMB – Barbara Plant

(TU) GMB – Dean Gilligan

(TU) GMB – Mary Hutchinson

(TU) GMB – Neil Foster

(TU) GMB – Tim Roache

(TU) TSSA – Mick Carney

(TU) UNISON – Dave Prentis

(TU) UNISON – Gordon McKay

(TU) UNISON – Jean Butcher

(TU) UNISON – Linda Hobson

(TU) UNISON – Liz Snape

(TU) Unite – David Quayle

(TU) Unite – Gail Cartmail

(TU) Unite – Len McCluskey

(TU) Unite – Maggie Ryan

(TU) Unite – Phillipa Marsden

(TU) Unite – Siobhan Endean

(TU) Unite – Steve Turner

(TU) Unite – Susan Matthews

(TU) Unite – Tony Burke

(TU) Unite – Tony Woodhouse

(TU) Usdaw – Carrie Aspin

(TU) Usdaw – David McCrossen

(TU) Usdaw – Emily Rowles

(TU) Usdaw – Paddy Lillis

(TU) Usdaw – Tony Dale

(Region) East Midlands Region – Linda Woodings

(Region) East Midlands Region – Richard Oliver

(Region) Eastern Region – Bryony Rudkin

(Region) Eastern Region – Cameron Matthews

(Region) Greater London Region – Adrian Weir

(Region) Greater London Region – Elly Baker

(Region) North West Region – Steve Turner

(Region) North West Region – Wendy Simon

(Region) Northern Region – Clare Williams

(Region) Northern Region – Simon Henig

(Region) Scottish Labour Party – Dave Watson

(Region) Scottish Labour Party – Eva Murray

(Region) South East Region – Carol Hayton

(Region) South East Region – Karen Constantine

(Region) South West Region – Neil Guild

(Region) South West Region – Skeena Rathor

(Region) Welsh Labour Party – Ivan Monckton

(Region) Welsh Labour Party – Jen Smith

(Region) West Midlands Region – Joe Morgan

(Region) West Midlands Region – Kate Hudson

(Region) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Karen Reay

(Region) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Simon Lightwood

(LG) Association of Labour Councillors – Angela Cornforth
 (LG) Association of Labour Councillors – Georgia Gould
 (LG) Association of Labour Councillors – Sue Jeffrey
 (LG) Association of Labour Councillors – Tim Swift
 (LG) COSLA (Confederation of Scottish Local Authorities) – Michael Ross
 (LG) Local Government Association – Anntionette Bramble
 (LG) Local Government Association – Michael Payne
 (LG) Local Government Association – Simon Blackburn
 (LG) Welsh Local Government Association – Huw David

Socialist Societies – Andrew Harrop
 Socialist Societies – Paul Clarkson
 Socialist Societies – Sina Lari

BAME Labour – Gloria Mills
 BAME Labour – June Nelson
 BAME Labour – Nadine Grandison-Mills
 BAME Labour – Sonny Leong

Parliamentary Labour Party – Anna Turley
 Parliamentary Labour Party – Barry Sheerman
 Parliamentary Labour Party – Conor McGinn
 Parliamentary Labour Party – Ellie Reeves
 Parliamentary Labour Party – Emma Reynolds
 Parliamentary Labour Party – Lucy Powell
 Parliamentary Labour Party – Stephen Timms

European Parliamentary Labour Party – Jackie Jones
 European Parliamentary Labour Party – John Howarth
 European Parliamentary Labour Party – Julie Ward
 European Parliamentary Labour Party – Neena Gill
 European Parliamentary Labour Party – Rory Palmer
 European Parliamentary Labour Party – Seb Dance

Labour Students – Eda Cazimoglu

House of Lords – Dave Watts
 House of Lords – Margaret Prosser

Northern Ireland – Barbara Muldoon

Labour International – Jos Gallagher

LGBT Labour – Astrid Walker

Disability Labour – Fran Springfield/Simon Lydiard

Scottish Policy Forum (chair) – Agnes Tolmie

Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair) – Clare Lally

Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair) – Jackie Baillie

Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair) – Paul O’Kane

Welsh Policy Forum – Jenny Rathbone

Welsh Policy Forum (chair) – Mike Payne

Welsh Policy Forum (vice chair) – Dilys Jouvenat

Co-operative Party – Andrew Pakes

Co-operative Party – Cheryl Barrott

Co-operative Party (General Secretary) – Claire McCarthy

Shadow Cabinet – Margaret Greenwood

Shadow Cabinet – Jonathan Ashworth

Shadow Cabinet – Richard Burgon

Shadow Cabinet – Andrew Gwynne

Shadow Cabinet – Sue Hayman

Shadow Cabinet – John McDonnell

Shadow Cabinet – Angela Rayner

Shadow Cabinet – Keir Starmer

National Executive Committee – Jeremy Corbyn

National Executive Committee – Huda Elmi

National Executive Committee – Yasmine Dar

National Executive Committee – Rachel Garnham

National Executive Committee – Ann Henderson

National Executive Committee – Claudia Webbe

National Executive Committee – Navendu Mishra

National Executive Committee – Jon Lansman

National Executive Committee – Darren Williams

National Executive Committee – Tom Watson

National Executive Committee – Richard Corbett

National Executive Committee – Ian Lavery

National Executive Committee – Alice Perry

National Executive Committee – Nick Forbes

National Executive Committee – John Cryer

National Executive Committee – Margaret Beckett

National Executive Committee – Shabana Mahmood

National Executive Committee – George Howarth

National Executive Committee – Richard Leonard
National Executive Committee – Rebecca Long-Bailey
National Executive Committee – Dan Carden
National Executive Committee – Jon Trickett
National Executive Committee – James Asser
National Executive Committee – Keith Vaz
National Executive Committee – Diana Holland
National Executive Committee – Joanne Cairns
National Executive Committee – Jayne Taylor
National Executive Committee – Andi Fox
National Executive Committee – Pauline McCarthy
National Executive Committee – Wendy Nichols
National Executive Committee – Sarah Owen
National Executive Committee – Cath Speight
National Executive Committee – Keith Birch
National Executive Committee – Jim Kennedy
National Executive Committee – Andy Kerr
National Executive Committee – Michael Wheeler
National Executive Committee – Ian Murray
National Executive Committee – Mick Whelan
National Executive Committee – Mark Drakeford
National Executive Committee – Lara McNeill
National Executive Committee – Nick Brown



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