

 NATIONAL
POLICY
FORUM
2021

Annual report 2021



Contents

Introduction 4

Consultation activity 5

Full meeting of the National Policy Forum 5

Equalities Roundtables 6

Policy Commission Annual Reports

● Early Years, Education and Skills 11

● Economy, Business and Trade 23

● Environment, Energy and Culture 39

● Health and Social Care 51

● Housing, Local Government and Transport 67

● International 77

● Justice and Home Affairs 95

● Work, Pensions and Equality 109

Annex 127

Appendices 133

● Introduction

Welcome to the 2021 National Policy Forum (NPF) Annual Report.

The ongoing coronavirus pandemic has meant that the work of the NPF in 2020 and 2021 has predominantly taken place online, from Policy Commission meetings to member e-roundtable events. The following report lays out this work in detail.

In late 2020, the work of the NPF was written up into eight interim reports, one per policy commission. These contained a set of principles for each policy commission, and we invited members, affiliates and stakeholders to send in their comments on these principles. Thank you to all who contributed their views.

The updated principles are outlined in this report, alongside the issues the policy commissions have discussed and the findings from the 2021 NPF Consultation.

These principles and issues do not cover every policy issue, nor detail specific policies; rather, they form a starting point for a wider conversation on how we can make Britain the best place to grow up, grow old and live in. The NPF will continue to build upon this work over the course of the policy making cycle as we work towards the next General Election.

This report will be taken to Annual Conference in September 2021, and if passed by delegates, will form part of our policy platform. This report can be referenced back; a process where particular sections of the report can be referred back to the relevant policy commission. Reference backs will be voted on at Conference during the relevant debate, if passed the relevant policy commissions will be asked to consider the reference back at their next meeting. For more information, please refer to the How Conference Works document and the Delegates Report.

Finally, a big thank you to all members, affiliates and stakeholders who have been involved with the National Policy Forum over the past two years. With your insights and ideas we can shape our policy platform and make Britain the best place to grow up, grow old and live in.



● Consultation activity

On 3 June 2021, the Labour Party launched its annual National Policy Forum consultation, designed to give our members and affiliates a chance to have their say on some of the key issues facing Britain.

Over a six-week period, eight members' roundtables were held and attended by members of the Shadow Cabinet, with discussions focusing on how Labour can make Britain the best place to grow up and grow old in. The consultation closed on 19 July, with over 400 members attending the eight events, and submissions submitted both via the Labour Policy Forum website and sent into the Labour Policy Form email.

All events were held online – the second year in a row that the consultation has been exclusively digital. All of the excellent ideas and discussions from these events have been fed into the Party's policy development process, and included in this NPF Annual Report 2021.

Thank you to all those who attended and contributed to the events – your ideas and contributions are what makes Labour a proud socialist and democratic party.

● Full meeting of the National Policy Forum

On the 6th July 2021 the first full meeting of the National Policy Forum since 2018 took place. The meeting was held online and was attended by over 80 representatives from across the eight policy commissions.

The event was chaired by NPF Chair, Ann Black, and began with an address and subsequent question and answer session with the Leader of the Labour Party, Keir Starmer MP. The Chair of the Labour Party and Stronger Together, Anneliese Dodds MP, then addressed the meeting and provided an update on Stronger Together.

The meeting then broke into two breakout rooms and feedback sessions to discuss the Policy Development Review. The first session explored how things are currently within the Party's policy development process, while the second session looked at how the Party could improve the process.

● Equalities roundtables

For the first time, a specific programme of roundtable events was held in order to better ingrain equalities issues across the National Policy Forum. Hosted by the Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission and chaired by Diana Holland, representatives from the different Policy Commissions attended the roundtables along with members of Labour's frontbench Women and Equalities team, and invited stakeholders and affiliates.

Five events were held in total covering Disabled People's Rights, Racial Equality (held on the same day as the publication of the "Sewell Review"), Gender Equality, LGBT+ Rights (held on the last day of Pride Month) and Class. Attendees discussed the impact of Covid-19 and what steps the next Labour government can take to tackle inequality and enhance rights.

Overview

There were three clear themes emerging from all of the roundtable events that Labour's policy solutions must take into account. Firstly, that the Conservative Government is not only failing to treat equalities issues with the seriousness they deserve, but it is actively attempting to divide parts of our society by stoking "culture wars" on these vital issues of tolerance, respect and inclusion.

Secondly, Covid-19 has shone a light on many of the pre-existing inequalities in our society where the impact of the pandemic has largely been determined by your background and what you do for a living. In all five roundtable events, it was evident that the pandemic has had a disproportionate effect on women, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic, disabled and LGBT+ people and by class.

The third theme emerging from the roundtable events was around intersectionality. It is clear there are different, additive layers of discrimination and injustice faced by millions of people across the country. Some examples discussed during the roundtable events were on the impact of Government policy on black women, working class LGBT+ people and disabled Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic workers.

Disabled people's rights

Shadow Secretary of State for Women and Equalities, Marsha de Cordova MP and Shadow Minister for Disabled People, Vicky Foxcroft MP, introduced the roundtable. Marsha reiterated Labour's support for the social model of disability and the need for the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Disabled People (UNCRPD) to be incorporated into UK law.



Both emphasised the devastating impact that ten years of Tory austerity have had on disabled people and the fact the UK was the first member state to be investigated by the UN for its treatment of disabled people. Vicky raised the Government's failure to uplift legacy benefits by the £20 per week that Universal Credit was raised by and highlighted the Government's excuses behind their failure to uplift legacy benefits.

Attendees first considered the impact that Covid-19 has had, and is having, on disabled people and disabled people's rights. Among other issues, they discussed the mental health crisis facing disabled people, the need for proper workplace risk assessments, the inadequacy of sickness and absence policies, including Statutory Sick Pay, the disability pay gap and concerns about the retention of disabled workers during the pandemic.

They also raised the need for Access to Work funding to be made more accessible and how the digital divide has been exacerbated during the pandemic. A number of attendees raised measures to close the Disability Employment Gap and highlighted the lack of transitional protection under natural migration to Universal Credit, which is especially important with the Government's failure to uprate legacy benefits by £20 per week.

Attendees then considered how the next Labour government can protect and enhance disabled people's rights. Among other suggestions, they discussed the need for continued dialogue with disabled people during the development of policy, enshrining the UNCRPD into British law, making social security accessible, ensuring there is proper access to reasonable adjustments and addressing the care crisis and mental health crisis.

Racial equality

Marsha de Cordova MP introduced the roundtable and discussed the Report published earlier in the day by the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, also known as the "Sewell Review". She said it was an insult for the Government to downplay institutional racism during a pandemic where Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people have died disproportionately and were twice as likely to be unemployed. She contrasted that with Labour's position, which is to introduce a Race Equality Act that tackles structural racial inequality at source.

Attendees first considered the impact that Covid-19 has had, and is having, on racial equality. Among other issues, they discussed the impact that Covid-19 has had on workers employed on insecure contracts, the disproportionate representation of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic workers on the frontline during the pandemic and the adverse effects of overcrowded accommodation.

They also discussed the need for educational changes, including teaching children about Britain's history and about a tolerant society, the damaging impact of 'No Recourse to Public Funds', the need for better support for those with Long Covid, the inter-connectedness of many of the underlying causes of inequality, including the nature and insecurity of employment and inadequate housing, and the importance of meaningful Equality Impact Assessments.

Attendees then considered priorities for Labour's Race Equality Act. They raised the recommendations set out in the Lawrence Review, including a national strategy to tackle health inequalities, implementing a race equality strategy, ending the 'hostile environment', introducing mandatory ethnicity pay gap reporting and ensuring all policies and programmes help tackle structural inequalities. They also discussed the need for statutory rights for union equality representatives and the need for diverse interview panels.

Gender equality

Shadow Minister for Equalities, Charlotte Nichols MP, introduced the roundtable by outlining how pre-existing inequalities across society have been exposed and exacerbated by the pandemic. She raised the unequal impact of Covid-19 on women, especially Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic and disabled women and she criticised the lack of women at the top of Government during the crisis.

Attendees first considered the impact that Covid-19 has had, and is having, on gender equality. Among other issues, they discussed the economic impact of Covid on women, including in relation to childcare, lockdown and home-schooling, parental leave and gender divisions at home, safety at work, women who have been made redundant and the safety of pregnant women.

They raised concerns about women leaving the labour market once the furlough scheme ends and the risks of gender equality being rolled back. They also discussed the Gender Pay Gap, the need to strengthen the Health and Safety Executive and the mental health of women, especially new mothers.

Attendees then considered priorities for the next Labour government in tackling gender inequalities. Among other suggestions, they discussed the need for investment in childcare and to pay childcare workers properly, proper paternity leave to close the gender pay gap and the care gap, extending the period for tribunal claims for maternity and pregnancy discrimination, employment rights from day one, the representation of women in public life, the replacement system for Universal Credit and the resumption of Gender Pay Gap reporting.



LGBT+ rights

Marsha de Cordova MP introduced the roundtable by highlighting the impact of the pandemic on LGBT+ people and that cases of domestic abuse, homelessness and workplace discrimination against LGBT+ people had all risen during the pandemic. She said that many of the issues facing LGBT+ people were present before the pandemic, including people struggling to get access to the services they need, and she spoke of the importance of gathering robust data on these issues.

Attendees considered issues affecting LGBT+ people and how the next Labour government can enhance LGBT+ rights. They discussed the fact that two in five LGBT+ people have been harassed or discriminated against and half of Trans people have been discriminated against, the need for a new duty on employers to protect all workers from harassment and bullying and banning Zero Hours Contracts, which make workers more vulnerable and less likely to report bullying.

They also raised the importance of LGBT+ specialist services, a new LGBT+ Advisory Panel to be established and a new Action Plan, a full ban on conversion therapy, the need for progressive changes to the Gender Recognition Act, the desire to make Britain a leading voice across the world on LGBT+ equality and the need for improved mental health funding; in particular, as more LGBT+ people have gone back to live with their parents as a result of the pandemic.

They also discussed LGBT+ inclusive education and making sure that schools are safe workplaces, specific LGBT+ healthcare, more powers for employment tribunals to make recommendations and to tackle homophobic, transphobic and biphobic bullying and using our international influence to pressure other countries to make more progress towards LGBT+ equality, including Commonwealth countries.

Class

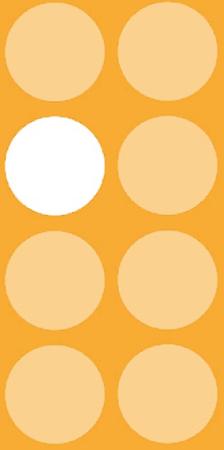
Charlotte Nichols MP introduced the roundtable and said the impact of the pandemic hasn't been borne equally throughout the crisis and that successive Conservative Governments have exacerbated and entrenched inequality across society over the last ten years. She also criticised the Government for attempting to unpick the Equality Act through their actions and rhetoric, and spoke of the need to enact the socio-economic duty of the Equality Act.

Attendees considered the impact of Covid-19 on class and socio-economic inequality. Among other issues, they discussed the interaction between socio-economic status and class, the need to enact the socio-economic duty of

the Equality Act, addressing low pay and strengthening workers' rights, the intersectionality of inequality across society and people's differing experiences of lockdown and the pandemic depending on their socio-economic background.

They also discussed how low-paid workers have been less likely to get decent sick pay, problems with overcrowded homes, inadequate mental health support, the disproportionate impact of isolation on people's mental health in the poorest parts of society and the financial cost of missing work when children are at home, including for NHS workers.

Attendees then considered what should be the priorities of the next Labour government in tackling class and socio-economic inequalities. Among other suggestions, they discussed bringing into force the socio-economic duty of the Equality Act, plans to support people who are seriously in debt, an industrial strategy that works for all regions of the UK, the need for high-quality, well-paid, unionised jobs, a higher minimum wage, stronger social security and day one employment rights.



NATIONAL
POLICY
FORUM
2021
Early Years,
Education
and Skills

MEMBERSHIP 2021

HM Opposition

Kate Green MP*
Matt Western MP
Tulip Siddiq MP
Wes Streeting MP

NEC

James Asser*
Nick Forbes
Michael Wheeler

CLPs and Regions

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

Phillipa Marsden – Unite
David McCrossen – Usdaw
June Nelson – BAME Labour
Barbara Plant – GMB
Maggie Ryan – Unite

Elected Representatives

Anntoinette Bramble – Local Government Association
Lord Jim Knight
Tim Swift – Association of Labour Councillors

*Co-convenor



The work of the Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission

Attainment gap

Following Keir Starmer's pledge that the next Labour government would implement a national strategy with clear targets to close the education gap at every stage in a child's development, the Commission held an evidence session on the attainment gap. The Commission heard evidence from the Education Policy Institute, the Sutton Trust and the Education Endowment Foundation. During this session, the Commission heard that there is a stubborn attainment gap, particularly acute for children in persistent poverty, for whom none of the policy interventions in the last decade have had any impact on attainment. The speakers also gave evidence in relation to the estimated level of learning loss due to the pandemic, and the likely impact on the attainment gap.

Further and adult education

The Commission held a stakeholder roundtable with the further education and skills sector to hear evidence about the impact of the pandemic. Attendees included representatives from the Association of Colleges through to the Learning and Work Institute. The Commission heard the importance of the sector to the nation's recovery, particularly for young people and those at risk of unemployment.

The education workforce

The Commission held a stakeholder roundtable with education unions, both affiliated and non-affiliated. Attendees included NASUWT, NEU, UCU, Unite, Unison and ASCL. The Commission had a detailed discussion about the challenges facing the education workforce, including pay, workloads and professional development. The Commission also heard evidence from the early years sector that early years practitioners in particular were struggling with chronic low pay and low morale.

Vulnerable children

As part of Labour's commitment to tackle child poverty, and ensure every child can achieve their potential, the Commission held a roundtable with children's charities to hear about the impact of the pandemic on children, the particular

challenges vulnerable children face and the policy responses required. The charities outlined their concerns for the most vulnerable children in society as well as children's wellbeing across the board as they return to classrooms. Attendees included the Children's Society, NSPCC and Save the Children.

Higher education

The Commission held a roundtable with the higher education sector, with attendees ranging from the Russell Group through to the Open University. The sector made the Commission aware of the particular challenges students and universities have faced during the pandemic, from online tuition through to student accommodation, and how students and universities need support to recover.

Early years

As outlined above, the Commission heard evidence of the impact of the last twelve months on the early year's sector, as well as a discussion of underlying challenges facing the sector, such as the chronic underfunding of childcare and workforce morale.



Principles

In the 2020 interim report the Commission set out 10 principles that would guide Labour's policy development on early years, education and skills. Following consultation on the interim report, these principles have been amended to reflect the feedback received.

1. A transformative education system that is evidence-based, resourced, enriching, and meets the needs of learners, employers and wider society
2. Everyone has the opportunity to make the most of their learning and reach their full potential, regardless of their background or where they live
3. A renewed focus on tackling the attainment gap at every stage of education
4. A commitment to action to drive down child poverty
5. Ensuring lifelong opportunities for education and skills training which are accessible and fair to all
6. All members of the education workforce are supported at every stage – from early years and school to college and university
7. An education system that sits at the heart of and is accountable to local communities
8. The most vulnerable children, are protected and supported, including those in and around the care system and with special educational needs
9. Protecting children's mental health and wellbeing
10. Inclusive education that tackles prejudice and discrimination, and enables everyone to learn

Making Britain the best place to grow up: how to ensure children are at the heart of our recovery from Covid-19

The submissions, member's roundtables and evidence sessions offered a wealth of policy ideas in answer to the consultation questions. A number of broad policy positions emerged, underpinned by the ten guiding principles.

First, the need for a comprehensive strategy for children's recovery that: prioritises children's wellbeing as well as academic attainment, addresses socioeconomic inequality, and is properly resourced. Labour is committed to a Children's Recovery Plan, which includes a universal entitlement to a free healthy breakfast, and funds schools to provide extracurricular activities, from sports and music through to drama and book clubs, to improve children's wellbeing.

Second, that addressing child poverty and inequality must be a priority for Labour. During the course of the consultation, the commission heard evidence that for children in persistent poverty, the attainment gap has remained unchanged in over a decade, despite a number of policy interventions. Labour is committed to ensuring that a child's background does not dictate their chances to realise their aspirations. As part of that commitment, Labour would extend the limited small-group tutoring currently on offer to all children who need it, to ensure no child falls behind because of pandemic disruption.

Third, increased funding and support to schools and teachers. The Labour Party is committed to investing in our children's futures. Labour is committed to increasing funding to schools, through an Education Recovery Premium, to invest in children



who have faced disruption from early years through to further education. Labour also firmly supports all staff working in the education sector, and believes that teachers should be able to access continued professional development.

Fourth, that children and young people's mental health should be prioritised throughout their education. A common theme amongst the submissions and evidence sessions was that for too long children's mental health has been seen as a priority only when problems arise, rather than nurturing good mental health throughout early life. Labour believes that quality mental health support should be available in every school, and that every child should have access to qualified in-school counselling staff. Labour believes in investing in our children's mental health.

Fifth, that access to further and adult education will be vital as we emerge from the pandemic. The Commission heard that the pandemic risked a 'lost generation' of young people as school leavers and graduates suffered from poor labour market conditions, and that access to continued learning would mitigate that risk. Labour believes that lifelong learning should be accessible to all adults, and that opportunities such as apprenticeships should be encouraged and supported by government.

Submissions to the consultation

This year's consultation sought views on policies to enable children and the education system to recover from the pandemic, both in the short and long term. The consultation asked what a strategy for children's recovery should look like and what policy changes, in the longer term, could help ensure every child and young person is able to achieve their potential. It also asked for specific policy suggestions in relation children's mental health and wellbeing, what resource the education system needs to support recovery and what support pupils in key transition years in particular might need.

The Commission received many submissions providing examples, insight and policy ideas on all of these areas, with five key themes arising across many of the submissions: socioeconomic inequality, early year's provision, support for teachers and schools, children's wellbeing, and the importance of skills provision.

Beyond the school gates

A key theme across many submissions was the extent to which factors outside of school affect a child's ability to achieve their potential. It was suggested that while this has been highlighted and exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic, socioeconomic circumstances have always been a barrier to academic attainment.

"Poverty at home is the strongest statistical predictor of how well a child will achieve in school. Evidence suggests that these outcomes are both a result of direct deprivation (e.g. inadequate housing, difficulties providing healthy food, and less ability to afford books, computers and extracurricular activities) and the effect that coping with poverty has on parental stress and mental health."

CHILD POVERTY ACTION GROUP

"It must be recognised that children's wellbeing is linked to the wider wellbeing of the environment they are growing up in. Decent housing, secure employment, a stable social security system, and good quality, affordable childcare will go a long way to supporting the wider family unit and supporting children's mental health and wellbeing."

USDAW



Many submissions stressed that in order to ensure every child can achieve their aspirations, addressing child poverty, hunger and inequality must be a priority.

“While it is crucial that a children’s recovery strategy supports children with their learning and education, the strategy must also help to improve children’s experiences and outcomes more broadly. At its heart, the strategy should address the rising levels of child poverty that we have seen in recent years. Poverty impacts children’s health, education and their opportunities; without addressing poverty a children’s recovery strategy will have limited success.”

CHILD POVERTY ACTION GROUP

“Labour must reverse the increase in child poverty and ensure that all children and their families can live their lives with dignity and security and that they will have the essentials that enable them to take their part as active citizens in our society”

BRIGHTON PAVILION CLP

Early years provision

Another common theme across this year’s submissions was the importance of good quality early years provision and early intervention services for children. Many submissions stressed that the first 5 years of life are crucial for a child’s development and for future academic attainment, but that provision is patchy and expensive, and that many parents are not able to access quality support in the first five years of their child’s life.

Submissions suggested increasing funding for early years provision and children’s centres, repairing the fragmented childcare market, improving staff pay and training, and increasing entitlements to free childcare.

“Investing in early years childcare and education is a pre-requisite to make Britain the best place to grow up. Getting this right is vital in working towards achieving equality of opportunity and outcome.”

UNISON

“[Sure Start centres] need to be reimagined and formed as a family hub in every town; “a one stop centre for all support for all families putting young children at the heart of the community and offering the support and professional assistance they need.”

BRIGHTON PAVILION CLP

“Labour should be calling for the government to reinstate the £1.7 billion removed from the Early Intervention Grant since 2010/2011. The LGA has been calling for this reinstatement as it will provide councils with funds that are vital to investing in local safety nets for children and families – such as Sure Start and mental health and wellbeing services. This will enable councils to tailor their response and interventions to situations locally – which will be different across council areas depending on demographics”

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION LABOUR GROUP

Wellbeing

The consultation document sought views on how to support children’s wellbeing and mental health. The submissions largely agreed that unhappy children are not able to learn and therefore pupils’ wellbeing should be treated equally with their academic progress.

Submissions highlighted the heightened need to support children’s wellbeing as we recover from the pandemic, but they also highlighted that young people’s mental health services were not working for the vast majority of pupils.

“For all children, but particularly those with special educational needs, recovery is not just about education that they’ve missed out on but about emotional and mental health, speech and language and socialisation.”

ELIZABETH, NORTH WEST

“BAME Labour believes that mental health in schools and other educational institutions must be treated as a priority. It is crucial that children and young people’s lives should return to as normal as possible without more distress or uncertainty.”

BAME LABOUR

A number of policy solutions were recommended including mental health first aiders in every school and increased funding for Children and Adolescents Mental Health Services (CAMHS). The National Education Union recommended a ‘whole school approach’, where schools recognise that how pupils experience their education, from school ethos and environment through to methods of teaching and learning, impacts and can protect mental health. Community also recommended incorporating mental health into the curriculum to equip pupils with lifelong tools.



Support for teachers and schools

The consultation asked for views on the support and resources the education system needs as we emerge out of the pandemic. The urgent need to restore school funding was raised across a range of submissions, so too was the need for greater investment in the education workforce, including reducing the workload of teachers and improving professional development.

“If we are to prevent further haemorrhaging from the profession and ensure the profession remains attractive to graduates, more must be done to reduce workload and improve teacher wellbeing. Labour must ensure that any recovery plan does not increase and amplify the workload that teachers and education staff have been suffering for years”

NATIONAL EDUCATION UNION

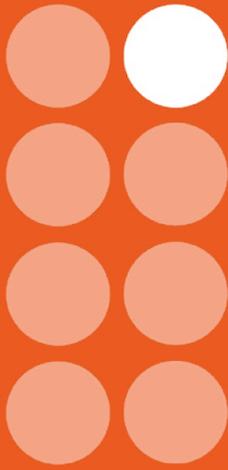
Skills

A number of submissions raised the need to improve access to further education and training for all adults, but also specifically for current school leavers who may be at higher risk of youth unemployment.

Many submissions suggested increased funding for the further education sector to increase opportunities for lifelong learning

“FE is simply too underfunded after a decade of cuts. A significant investment is needed, particularly in staff whose numbers have been cut and have seen their pay decline to the extent that working in FE is no longer seen as an attractive proposition.”

UNISON



NATIONAL
POLICY
FORUM
2021
Economy,
Business
and Trade



MEMBERSHIP 2021

HM Opposition

Rachel Reeves MP*
Bridget Phillipson MP
Emily Thornberry MP
Pat McFadden MP

NEC

Andy Kerr*
Andi Fox
Lara McNeill
Tom Warnett

CLPs and Regions

Lisa Banes – Yorkshire and Humber Region
Grace Blakeley – Greater London Region
Teresa Beddis – West Midlands Region
Russell Cartwright – Eastern Region
Karen Constantine – South East Region
Jos Gallacher – Labour International
Eva Murray – Scottish Labour Party
Carol Wilcox – South West Region

Affiliates

Carrie Aspin – Usdaw
Tony Burke – Unite
Joe Fortune – Co-operative Party
Dave Prentis – UNISON
Steve Turner – Unite
Dave Ward – CWU

Elected Representatives

Jackie Baillie MSP
Sue Jeffrey – Association of Labour Councillors

*Co-convenor

The work of the Economy, Business and Trade Policy Commission

The Economy, Business and Trade Policy Commission started the year with two roundtables looking at how policymakers can drive a strong and sustainable economic recovery in coastal towns and areas reliant on manufacturing.

The Commission also held a meeting on high streets and discussed issues relating to workers' rights, tying in with the Power in the Workplace Taskforce convened by the Party's affiliated unions. The Commission also heard about the theory and practice of Community Wealth Building and how it's already being put into action by local Labour leaders across the UK. Finally, the Commission held a session on industrial strategy and manufacturing with 'Unite the Union'.

Economic recovery

In January, the Commission held its first Recovery Roundtable looking specifically at coastal areas. We heard from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation about how the crisis had affected the economy and labour market in coastal areas and some proposals to help them bounce back. We also heard from Karen Constantine, a Commission member and Councillor, about the impact of the crisis in Thanet and how policymakers can bring good jobs and confidence back to the people of the area, with a focus on green industries and existing strengths relating to its maritime history.

Later in the year, we held a second Recovery Roundtable on manufacturing areas. Manufacturing was hard hit by the twin crises of Brexit and Covid on the back of a decade of neglect by the Conservatives. We heard from Ian Wadell of the the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU) who outlined issues affecting the sector, with a discussion of working time and its relation to the fourth industrial revolution and the transition to net zero, alongside international case studies of collective bargaining in the sector.



Power in the workplace

In the spring, Shadow Secretary of State for Employment Rights Andy McDonald updated the Commission on the Party's 'Power in the Workplace' taskforce and discussed a number of issues relating to workers' rights and some of the stark problems and injustices thrown into relief by the coronavirus crisis. These include growing insecurity, low pay, a lack of enforcement and the inability of trade unions to access workers and workplaces.

Local economic development

In the summer we heard from the Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES) about the theory and practice of community wealth building and how local Labour leaders are already using these strategies to create resilient and fair economies across the country. CLES told us about the five core pillars of community wealth building movements and how it's being put into practice in areas like Wales, Liverpool and Preston.

Industrial Strategy

Over the summer, we also heard from Unite about their plan to boost manufacturing and ensure the sector creates good, high-skilled jobs as it transitions to net zero. This included policies on strategic investment, procurement, skills, innovation, corporate governances and reshoring to promote resilience in the face of future shocks.

Principles

1. Keep people safe to keep the economy open

Unless people feel safe, the economy will not stay open and bounce back. To keep people safe and control the virus, we need common sense measures like masks on public transport, proper ventilation and a functioning system of isolation support.

2. Past mistakes cannot be repeated

A decade of cuts to public services caused a slow recovery from the global financial crisis and left us with a weak economy. The Conservatives are already repeating these same mistakes, cutting the pay of key workers and support for low income households whilst penny pinching on children's education.

3. A new deal for workers

Over the last decade, wages stagnated whilst insecurity and in-work poverty skyrocketed. Rights and protections for workers have been rolled back and new draconian restrictions on trade unions introduced. In concert with its affiliated unions, Labour will offer a transformative 'new deal' for workers to ensure work is dignified, secure and well-paid for all.

4. Training workers for the jobs and industries of the future

We need high quality training and employment support so that those who lose their jobs or are at risk of unemployment are able to re-train into the well-paid, secure jobs of the future, including ensuring a just transition to net zero.

5. Rebalancing Britain

Many of the areas hit hard by a decade of Tory rule are set to be hit hard by the crisis. The recovery must help rebalance Britain, learning from the success of Labour in power across the UK to spread prosperity and opportunity.

6. Build it in Britain

The UK's world-leading manufacturing industry is the cornerstone of communities across the UK. Britain's industrial base needs to be protected and championed as the country transitions to net zero, with government using strategic procurement to buy, make and sell more in Britain.



7. Harness the green industrial revolution with a green industrial strategy

The regions and nations of the UK led the last industrial revolution, and we must ensure they are at the forefront of the transition to net zero as we tackle the climate crisis. Labour's green recovery package is the first step in driving growth in green industries and securing a just transition for all workers.

8. A new partnership with business

The crisis has shown responsible businesses at their best – rooted in local communities and with a long-term outlook. Those businesses have been let down by a decade of low investment and a failure to create a level playing field on areas like tax. The recovery must correct this record and harness their energy and dynamism to create a greener, fairer, more prosperous Britain.

9. Stand up for British businesses and workers in trade negotiations

Trade is vital to the UK's future prosperity, but the government has ignored the needs of business and workers in negotiations as it looks for political quick wins. Labour would stand up for business and workers in trade negotiations, with initial proposals to improve the deal with the EU to ease red tape.

10. A fairer Britain

The economic crisis has all too often had the harshest impact on those who were already most disadvantaged and least resilient. As we look to rebuild, these inequalities must be tackled head on.

11. Track inequality to tackle inequality

While there is some good evidence, there remain huge gaps in our understanding of how different groups have fared. We must ensure inequalities properly tracked so that they can be tackled.

Repairing the foundations for a stronger, fairer economy

Labour wants our economic recovery from coronavirus to be quick and comprehensive. This is why we've called for more support for affected businesses, a 'jobs promise' for the unemployed and a green stimulus plan to create jobs and boost green industries.

However, the recovery can't take us back to the old, broken system we had before.

The Conservatives created a low growth, low investment, low standard and low wage economy that left many trapped in insecure jobs that couldn't support a family. They starved public services of resources, leaving them overexposed to the pandemic.

At the cornerstone of a stronger, fairer economy, Labour is calling for a new deal for working people. Labour's new deal would ensure all jobs are good jobs – providing security, dignity and paying enough to raise a family.

The Labour Party convened a taskforce of its affiliated unions to start work on this new deal for working people. The work will build on our existing commitments on workers' rights to ensure they remain robust to the changing world of work.

The work of the taskforce is still ongoing, but core commitments to a single status of worker, stronger rights and protections from day one, enhanced enforcement, increased access for trade unions and sectoral collective bargaining will be central.



The Economy, Business and Trade Commission underlines its commitment to these core tenets and eagerly awaits the final outcome of the taskforce.

As part of our drive to create these good jobs, the Shadow Chancellor has also outlined a plan to buy, make and sell more in Britain.

This includes using strategic procurement to ensure more government contracts go to British firms creating well-paid, secure jobs in this country and to help catalyse the growth of new green industries of the future.

Labour also has begun to set out its vision for an active, 'mission-led' industrial strategy, including plans for an electric vehicle 'revolution'. This is a comprehensive plan to back Britain's car manufacturers, create jobs, and make owning a zero emission vehicle an option for all.

Value for money is also hardwired throughout Labour's economic approach. Labour knows the value of public money, which is why we've pledged billions to catch-up education rather than well-connected friends and outsourcing giants. Labour would end the ideological outsourcing rip-off by overseeing the biggest wave of insourcing in a generation, improving public services and delivering value for taxpayers.

Submissions to the consultation

The first interim principle has been amended slightly to reflect the changed public health situation. The principle still rejects the trade-off between health and the economy, recognising that people will only return to shops and restaurants when they are confident the pandemic is under control. This is why Labour believes its calls for some common sense measures to remain in place will ultimately benefit the economy and business.

The second principle has also been amended as the Chancellor repeats the mistakes of the past. Cutting support to low income families and the pay of key workers is not only wrong – it also means families have less to spend at local businesses and on their high street. By penny pinching on catch-up education, he's also inflicting long-term damage to the prospects of our children and to the future strength of our economy.

The second principle has therefore been strengthened to reject old dogmas around austerity and investment in public services. World-class health, education, social security and infrastructure systems seen as prerequisites to dynamism and growth, rather than just drags on the public finances. This can be clearly seen in Labour's commitment to £15 billion of investment in catch-up education.

"The pandemic showed clearly how years of austerity and underinvestment have undermined the resilience of public services, including social care. A fairer economy requires properly funded public services, underpinned by values and a public service ethos rather than commercial imperatives."

UNISON

Respondents were generally supportive of the principle calling for the empowerment of workers, though many noted that it could be strengthened to reflect Labour's ambitions on workers' rights.

Labour has since convened a taskforce of all its affiliated unions to explore issues relating to the world of work. Underlying this is a steadfast commitment to transform the world of work and develop a new deal for workers to make work fulfilling, secure and well-paid for all.



“The coronavirus pandemic has brought into sharp relief the imbalance of power in the workplace that the Labour and trade union movement have long sought to rectify. It has also highlighted the crucial role that trade unions play in speaking up for their members, from securing PPE and enforcing safe working arrangements to protecting jobs and incomes.

“The weakness of employment rights and imbalances of power in the workplace have been exacerbated in the past year, but insecurity, low pay and a lack of dignity are longstanding problems that must be addressed to improve living standards and provide economic security to the UK’s 28 million workers.

“To this end, the Labour Party and its affiliate trade unions have established a taskforce which will set out the party’s approach... Working together, the taskforce will develop Labour’s strong agenda on workplace rights and set out a shared vision for a new deal for working people which will detail how workers can be collectively and individually empowered to ensure that every worker is entitled to fair pay, job security, dignity at work and work-life-balance, safety at work, and to help Britain recover and rebuild from the virus.”

JOINT STATEMENT FROM THE LABOUR PARTY AND ITS AFFILIATED UNIONS ON THE POWER IN THE WORKPLACE TASKFORCE

The work of this Policy Commission will feed into the work of the taskforce, and the Commission strongly endorses the work of the taskforce. The principle on workers’ rights has therefore been strengthened to underline the commitment on workers’ rights and to reference the work of this taskforce. Next year’s report will also look at and endorse the conclusions of the taskforce in greater depth.

Original principles 3, 4 and 5 have been amalgamated into one to reflect Labour’s ambition to create good work for all workers and to directly link outcomes in principle 5 to the role of trade unions and collective bargaining in principle 4.

“Throughout the pandemic trade unions have consistently demonstrated their expertise and helped to protect jobs and empower workers across the UK. The pandemic has shown the role of trade unions as a key stakeholder within society and we need to build on this.”

USDAW

During the consultation we also heard some of the things local Labour leaders are already doing to transform their local economies.

This included community wealth building policies in Wales and Preston, as well as the strategies to create inclusive economies in areas like Manchester and Liverpool. At the member's event in July, we also heard a number of examples from attendees' local areas.

“Community Wealth Building is an approach to place development that maximises economic opportunities and ensures wealth is gained by local people, businesses and communities. This is a growing movement, now being taken forward by dozens of locations and political leadership across local government in England (i.e. Preston, Salford, Newham), as well as devolved administrations (North of Tyne Combined Authority). This approach is nimble, building from what is already happening, and moves at pace to deliver improvement which foreshadows larger transformational shifts toward a more sustainable, just and democratic economy.”

CENTRE FOR LOCAL ECONOMIC STRATEGIES, EVIDENCE TO THE COMMISSION

“Labour should harness the power of devolution to boost community wealth building and green industrial development in the regions and towns.”

KEIRAN, SOUTH EAST REGION

The principle on rebalancing Britain has therefore been amended to reflect the good work that is already going on.

Since the interim report was published, government has ditched its previous industrial strategy and replaced it with the wafer-thin 'plan for growth.'

This reads more like a shopping list than a considered plan to drive growth, with very little on how the government plans to work with business and others to boost innovation and productivity.

In response to this, the principles have been amended to make clear Labour's commitment to a broad, robust and 'mission based' industrial strategy.

Labour has already begun to set out how this would work in practice, with the Shadow Business Secretary Ed Miliband MP announcing plans for an 'electric vehicle revolution.'

This comprehensive plan included policies to support manufacturers and suppliers, to boost consumer demand and ensure we have the infrastructure in place to



support their wide uptake. This plan would support good, green jobs across a number of sectors, whilst making low carbon transport affordable and accessible for all.

“Support is required to help industries adapt to major challenges including that of decarbonisation...one keystone of this will be a strong industrial strategy which sets out a plan for each sector and each region of the country...a social partnership approach should be taken bringing together government, employers, and trade unions so that decisions can be made in everyone’s interests and achieve mutual benefits.”

COMMUNITY UNION

“There is currently no big national approach to industrial strategy...we need a more ambitious approach with local industrial strategies which build on the strengths of different cities and areas.”

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE MEMBER’S ROUNDTABLE EVENT

Underpinning the plan is an active state working in partnership with the private sector every step of the way to deliver a policy that drives us towards our core societal ‘mission’ of achieving net zero.

Respondents also reflected on the need to mention international trade and EU exit following the signing of the Trade and Cooperation Agreement EU and subsequent dip in trade flows.

“Trade policy is a major lacuna and we would advocate an ethical and sustainable role in the world economy. We need a framework to deal with issues like money-laundering, golden visas, arms trade and human rights abuses.”

LABOUR INTERNATIONAL

Reflecting these submissions, the Shadow Chancellor called for a number of measures to build on the deal with the EU, calling for agreements to support creative industries, recognition of professional service qualifications and reductions in red tape for many food and drink businesses.

The principles have been amended to set out a broad vision for trade and reflect recent proposals to build on the deal agreed with the EU.

The interim report principles called for policies to protect the UK’s manufacturing base.

This principle has since been developed, with the Shadow Chancellor announcing plans to 'buy, make and sell' in the UK, using the power of strategic public procurement to support British business and create good, well-paid, secure jobs.

"In addition to prioritising social value, including union recognition, job security and high quality training, the government must link public funding to a strong and stable manufacturing base and ecosystem ... promoting supply chain resilience in the face of future shocks, such as the current semi-conductor shortage."

UNITE THE UNION

In the self-defeating drive to cut costs, the government has often missed the opportunity to develop British industry and nurture dynamic, high-tech sectors that create good, well-paid jobs.

Submissions also stressed the importance of economic resilience in light of the pandemic. The policy of 'buy, make and sell' also seeks to promote resilience by supporting reshoring and strengthening supply chains against shocks.

This policy will also help support the growth of green industry, as the Tories pass up the opportunity to use government's role in markets such as offshore wind to develop domestic industry and jobs.

Some submissions suggested areas where the UK had an opportunity to develop world leading green industries, like electric vehicle manufacturing and offshore wind. Submissions also suggested sectors where jobs could be created to meet our net zero commitments, such as the roll out of high speed broadband and retrofitting homes.

We need to create good, secure jobs in every local community and transform our whole economy into one that is sustainable. Unite has published its 'Plan for Jobs' that gives seven examples for manufacturing that are ready to go now and can be a starting point. These include investing in the roll out of high speed broadband, building giga factories as part of transitioning to electric vehicles, building and increasing our offshore wind capacity as part of a large-scale expansion of renewable and zero carbon energy generation.

UNITE THE UNION



“Labour policies need to be underpinned by building a stronger high skills-based ‘green’, diverse and sustainable economy that is well equipped to cope with the consequences of, and reduce the causes of, climate change.”

JAMES, SOUTH WEST

Building on these submissions, Labour’s Green Recovery report called for £30 billion of green stimulus to create 400,000 green jobs, noting the potential to create jobs in areas mentioned such as retrofitting homes and building charging infrastructure.

Some respondents also noted the principles didn’t address the taxation of multinationals, with numerous submissions referring to international efforts to reform the corporate tax system.

“Important questions remain particularly around company taxation, evasion and a race to the bottom through international competition.”

LABOUR INTERNATIONAL

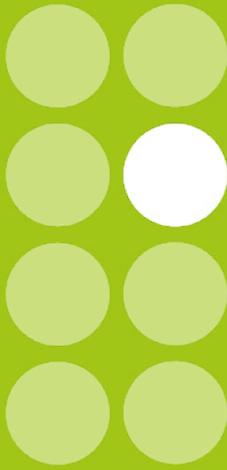
Since the interim report was published, Labour’s Shadow Chancellor has campaigned to support the incoming Biden administration’s efforts to agree a global minimum corporation tax of at least 21%. The UK government was reportedly acting as a roadblock to these efforts, pushing for a lower rate of 15% that was eventually agreed.

“Many large multinational enterprises (MNEs), whether based in the UK or elsewhere, have engaged in various tax avoidance schemes or transactions that have hugely reduced the amount of tax paid on corporate profits around the world. The IPPR estimated that big businesses have avoided taxes of around \$500bn (£353bn) per year.”

WALLASEY CLP

Labour will continue to campaign for a 21% minimum rate as presented originally by President Biden, and will press on the government to build on the initial agreement of 15%. The principles have therefore been updated to reflect this position.

Some respondents felt the final principle could be more substantive and include a steadfast commitment to work with business on developing policy. The principle has therefore been strengthened to reflect Labour’s ambition to forge a new partnership with business on policymaking.



NATIONAL
POLICY
FORUM
2021
Environment,
Energy
and Culture

MEMBERSHIP 2021

HM Opposition

Ed Miliband MP*

Luke Pollard MP

Jo Stevens MP

Daniel Zeichner MP

NEC

Margaret Beckett MP*

Johanna Baxter

Pauline McCarthy

CLPs and Regions

Mike Bird – Welsh Labour Party

Andrew Bustard – Scottish Labour Party

Alex Chapman – South East Region

Simon Henig – Northern Region

Holly Jarret – South West Region

Dilys Jovenat – Welsh Policy Forum

Ivan Monckton – Welsh Labour Party

Aisling Musson – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Jenny Rathbone – Welsh Policy Forum

Wendy Simon – North West Region

Affiliates

Gail Cartmail – Unite

Tracey Fussey – CWU

Gloria Mills – BAME Labour

Laurence Turner – GMB

Elected Representatives

Mike Ross – COSLA

*Co-convenor



The work of the Environment, Energy and Culture Commission

Our Digital Future consultation

In autumn 2020 the Commission took submissions on the Our Digital Future consultation. The aim of this consultation was to agree the principles that should govern Labour's approach to digital technologies – not just for the next election cycle but for the long-term. Jo Stevens MP provided updates on the consultation's progress at several Commission meetings, offering representatives the opportunity to discuss how Labour can build a digital future that is safer, fairer and more inclusive.

Green Recovery

In February the Commission met to discuss the work being carried out to build on and expand Labour's green recovery proposals – originally published last November in response to a consultation ran through this Commission. Shadow Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy Secretary Ed Miliband MP provided an update on this work and discussed future priorities with members of the Commission. This was followed, in March, by a major announcement on how Labour would bring about an 'electric car revolution', further fleshing out our Green Recovery proposals.

Just Transition

In January 2021 the Commission held an evidence session on the topic of Just Transition. The Commission heard from grassroots activists in major energy unions about what would be needed from government and policymakers to guarantee a "just transition" for workers. This is a priority area both for the Commission and the frontbench, with further evidence sessions planned on the topic in the coming months.

In June the Commission held a members roundtable event to discuss the consultation topic – "A Just Transition". Several members with lived experience and interests in affected industries (such as energy and manufacturing) attended.

Rural England policy review

At the beginning of April, the Commission met to discuss Labour's Rural England policy review, an initiative announced in Keir Starmer's February speech to the National Farmers' Union. Spearheaded by Shadow Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Secretary Luke Pollard MP, the review is working across Policy Commissions to explore how Labour can reconnect with rural communities.

Principles

In December 2020 the Commission set out 10 principles that would underpin Labour's policy development on climate and nature over the coming years. These were intended to reflect views expressed in responses to the 2020 NPF consultation, and published in the 2020 NPF Interim Report. These principles have now been amended on the basis of further engagement and consultation during the first half of 2021, and can be found below.

1. The climate and nature crisis is an urgent and unprecedented challenge – not only for the UK, but for the world. **Reducing our carbon emissions and restoring our natural world are equally important and mutually reinforcing goals.**
2. To prevent the worst effects of climate change, we must strive to keep global temperature rises below 1.5°C. **The pace and direction should be as ambitious as necessary and feasible, aiming for the substantial majority of emissions to be cut over the coming decade.**
3. Tackling this crisis is the ultimate collective action problem, and will require a truly national effort. **Labour will bring together workers, unions, businesses and communities across the UK to find common solutions to build a more sustainable and secure economy for all.**
4. Economic prosperity and environmental justice are one and the same. **Labour's Green New Deal will be based on a credible, government-led economic plan that delivers a sustainable, high-productivity, and dynamic national economy, while also fixing long-standing inequalities that scar our society.**
5. This is a once in a generation opportunity to provide good jobs and apprenticeships across the country, from the car worker to the care worker. **Labour's Green New Deal will provide jobs that bring pride to communities and improve living standards, building a Britain that is low in carbon, rich in biodiversity and has an abundance of well-paid, unionised jobs for all.**
6. The UK is the most regionally imbalanced economy in Europe, and many of our communities still bear the scars of forced deindustrialisation: never again should workers be forced to bear the costs of transition and reap none of its rewards. **Labour will deliver a "just transition" that rectifies regional imbalances, levels up and ensures that no workers or communities are left behind.**



7. Tackling the climate and nature crisis will involve transforming the way we live, from the food that reaches our tables to the vehicles we use to get around. Such changes, where possible, should be determined at a local level by institutions accountable to their communities. **Properly funded devolved, regional and local administrations will play a key role in shaping and delivering policy.**
8. Our natural heritage – from the dramatic peaks of England, Scotland and Wales to the marine environments off our shores – is rightly cherished not only for its great beauty but the benefits it brings to communities across our country. **Labour will protect and restore our existing natural heritage, aiming for the recovery and renewal of nature rather than simply halting decline.**
9. Tackling the climate and nature crisis will require creative new ways to design and deliver public services. We recognise that the free-market experiment in critical infrastructure has failed to deliver on our environmental, social and economic justice goals. **Labour supports alternative models of common ownership as part of a Green New Deal.**
10. We recognise that our climate and nature crisis doesn't end at our nation's borders, and our historic actions and current consumption in the UK drives emission production and resource depletion elsewhere. **Labour in government will be internationalist, with the UK showing genuine international leadership to tackle historic climate injustice and its impacts on the global South.**

Just Transition: making the green transformation work for all of us

Building on the ten principles laid out above, and answers received to this year's consultation questions, the Commission has set out a number of policy positions.

Firstly, just transition packages for sectors where jobs need to be protected ought to receive appropriate government support. Government cannot and should not impose a massive transition on an industry from Whitehall and then wash its hands of the consequences. When a direction of travel is set – such as the 2030 phase-out date for ICE vehicles – this should be accompanied by a clear strategy to protect jobs and prepare us for the future.

Secondly, public investment in sectoral transitions should be accompanied by enhanced accountability to the public, including through public equity stakes and democratic control. If the public is taking on the risk of early investment in vital transition infrastructure such as gigafactories, fabrication yards and low-carbon power, then it should be recognised as just that: an investment, not a subsidy.

Thirdly, the fruits of the transition need to be shared fairly, with an equitable approach to infrastructure up and down the country. This will mean a proper green industrial strategy, facilitated by the government, aimed at tackling the regional disparities this Government is baking in. It will also mean investment in new infrastructures such as EV charging networks, low-carbon heat and smart grid technology, targeting areas such as Yorkshire, the North West and the West Midlands that are being left out at present.

Fourthly and finally, essential new products and services should be made accessible, ensuring that the transition does not maintain or worsen existing inequality. This could be done by providing direct support and incentives for the manufacture, sale and uptake of low carbon products.



Submissions to the consultation

The responses to our consultation questions were wide-ranging, demonstrating the breadth of issues touched by this topic and the importance placed upon it. Nonetheless, responses demonstrated a high degree of consensus on several key issues, which are reflected in the amended principles and broad policy positions laid out above.

There was, in the first place, an overwhelming endorsement of the consultation's premise: that climate and environmental justice should not be seen as a barrier to economic growth but rather a potential source of jobs and prosperity. Many submissions, particularly in response to the question on creating new jobs, highlighted that interventions to reduce our carbon emissions and restore nature – from home insulation to tree-planting – are a source of good jobs and have the potential to form the basis of new, long-term growth sectors in the economy. It was also mentioned in several submissions that there already exist detailed blueprints from sources within the labour movement – including our own affiliated unions and the Trades Union Congress – for how to unlock the potential of these interventions and ensure they deliver on their jobs-rich promise.

“We need to meet the challenges of turning around the historic depression in living standards over the past decade, to finally build an economy that is socially just and wealth and power is more equally distributed and tackle climate breakdown. To do this we must address the insecurity that many face in their jobs and earnings, support and develop the industries and jobs of the future and deliver high quality publicly owned public services.”

UNITE THE UNION

“The green industrial revolution brings with it a wealth of opportunities and new industries - for example in renewable energy, tidal lagoons and fuel innovation - but must be managed carefully to ensure that everyone is able to play a role in our cleaner, greener future.”

ASLEF

“There needs to be a big initiative to retrain displaced workers as high carbon jobs disappear. There also needs to be large scale government/ state intervention to direct the transformation to a green economy and society. Things can't just be left to the market.”

HIGH PEAK CLP

This optimism was however tempered, most notably in responses to the question on protecting existing jobs, by an acceptance of the scale of the challenge ahead. Many cited as a cautionary tale the decline of the mining sector in the 1980s and 90s, which led to widespread and long-lasting hardship in former pit communities. Respondents argued that avoiding such a fate for workers in vital industries such as the aviation and automotive sectors, and the communities that depend on them, would require significant levels of state coordination and investment. Most answers to Question 1 emphasised skills and training – or rather, a lack of opportunities to acquire either – as the primary barrier for workers in existing industries hoping to transition to new roles or sectors.

“Well-resourced training is needed so that workers in industries that need to be rapidly decarbonised or closed down can transition to the new occupations needed for a zero-carbon future, such as the development, installation and maintenance of renewable energy technologies. Workers in the affected industries should be encouraged and resourced to develop alternative plans for the workforces and plant in those industries.”

SHIPLEY CLP

Many respondents stressed in answer to the question on job quality that businesses in sustainable sectors – such as renewable energy – are not any more likely to provide good, stable employment than those in traditional sectors. In particular, the role of trade unions in avoiding these pitfalls was highlighted, with some submissions suggesting an institutional or statutory role for trade unions in determining local policies on transition. An example cited in a number of submissions of where this has not always happened was the offshore wind sector in Scotland. It was noted that in many cases offshore wind is poorly unionised, with worse pay, terms and conditions than conventional industries with similar skill bases such as offshore oil and gas, and that the majority of orders are not placed in the UK.

“De-industrialisation has characterised the modern labour market as precarious, insecure and often low paid. Protecting workers and communities during a process of industrial change will be reliant on engaging with trade unions to ensure working people have a seat at the table when strategizing the move to a green economy.”

USDAW



“We should work in partnership with the workforce and their trade unions in every sector of our economy, so that they lead the transition in their industries, creating new, good-quality jobs and making sure that their extensive skills are passed on to the next generation of workers.”

WORKING CLP

In response to the question on delivery bodies, submissions noted that devolved, regional and local administrations are well placed to mitigate against some of the challenges referenced above and deliver the benefits. Some submissions cited specific existing examples of good practice, where local and devolved administrations – most notably Labour in government in Wales – are already taking bold and innovative action which could be scaled up. There was a strong view that we should recognise the expertise and skills of local and devolved Government, rather than seeking to reinvent the wheel, and that any new powers or responsibilities would need to be properly funded and resourced. The need for localism – and coherence with existing local government structures – was also raised in the context of public ownership. Many respondents highlighted the failed experiment of privatisation in sectors such as energy, water (in England), mail, rail and telecommunications as a cause of the issue. Submissions also noted the appeal of locally and democratically accountable institutions operating in these sectors.

“With the dire state of Local Government finances there is no way councils can deliver on climate emergencies and net zero targets if that funding is not strengthened still further.”

UNISON

“Privatisation of the utilities has generated benefits for the few, directly against the interests of the many.”

VALERIE, LABOUR MEMBER

In answer to the question on democratic oversight, there were a range of different opinions on what aspects of our Green New Deal should be decided and administered on a local level versus a national one. Some necessary changes, such as reforms to workers' rights, or the increased regulation of polluting industries, will necessarily need to be driven at a national level. On more granular issues, such as funding for specific projects, there was a consensus that local decisions could have more legitimacy. Again, submissions emphasised the need to respect existing democratic structures, while also floating a number of

alternatives such as citizens assemblies and regional just transition bodies. An important caveat mentioned by a number of respondents was that any new institutions would need to have proper powers and funding to ensure their effectiveness.

“By building upon the best traditions of our party and our movement, we can ensure that meaningful collaboration between elected representatives, officials and the public will translate into transparent, effective, and accountable policy-making processes which are suited to the task of radically improving the lives of working-class people. “

LABOUR FOR A GREEN NEW DEAL

“Councils should enable the communities they serve to have a genuine say about local priorities, through, for example, citizens assemblies.”

JOHN, LABOUR MEMBER

There were two other major themes which fell outside of the five questions asked at the outset of the consultation, but nonetheless recurred across a significant number of submissions.

The first of these was the need for a just transition for consumers. There was a clear view across a number of submissions that tackling the climate and nature crisis ought not to result in a fall in living standards or a restriction in the range and quality of goods available to British consumers. New, sustainable methods of producing food, energy and other goods were cited in some submissions as ways to maintain the existing standard of living enjoyed by people in the UK while reducing our carbon emissions. Other submissions suggested that a return to traditional and localised methods of production could fulfil a similar purpose.

“Cheap food means our farming system is unviable without subsidy and drives imports from countries like Brazil and Indonesia where the environmental consequences of deforestation are damaging for the world. Our response should be to eat less meat, produce less but higher quality UK meat, address the catastrophic damage that our agricultural practices have had on wildlife in the countryside, become healthier as a result.”

HUGH, LABOUR MEMBER



The second of these was the international dimension of just transition. There was a strong recognition across numerous submissions that our policies need to reflect and respond to the international dimensions of the climate and nature crisis. Several submissions noted that the UK, as one of the first countries to industrialise, has historically been responsible for vastly greater emissions than the majority of countries around the world. Many also recognised that as one of the largest economies on the planet and a major importer of goods and services, the UK “offshores” much of its emissions. Labour’s existing policy of accounting for the carbon we consume, not simply our territorial emissions, was praised in some submissions, while others advocated further steps in the form of climate reparations.



NATIONAL
POLICY
FORUM
2021
Health and
Social Care



MEMBERSHIP 2021

HM Opposition

Jonathan Ashworth MP*

Rosena Allin-Khan MP

Liz Kendall MP

Justin Madders MP

NEC

Mark Ferguson*

Luke Akehurst

CLPs and Regions

Lewis Atkinson – Northern Region

Anthony Beddow – Welsh Labour Party

Angela Coleman – North West Region

Yannis Gourtsoyannis – Greater London Region

Kirsten Kurt-Eli – West Midlands Region

Karen Reay – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Joyce Still – South East Region

Clare Williams – Northern Region

Rhea Wolfson – Scottish Labour Party

Affiliates

Mary Hutchinson – GMB

Elected Representatives

Huw David – WLGA

*Co-convenor

The work of the Health and Social Care Commission

The impact of Covid-19

In late 2020 and early 2021 the Commission received a number of updates from Shadow Secretary of State for Health and Social Care, Jonathan Ashworth MP, on the coronavirus pandemic. Discussions highlighted how hard our country had been hit by the pandemic and noted that the position of the country when entering the pandemic meant we were poorly prepared, exposed and vulnerable. The impact of the coronavirus pandemic on the nation's health and wellbeing were also discussed, with Shadow Minister for Mental Health, Rosena Allin-Khan MP attending the January 2021 meeting to deliver a powerful first-hand account of the pandemic's impact on frontline NHS staff. The Commission also heard oral evidence from the Health Foundation on the wide-ranging impact of the coronavirus pandemic on the nation's health and wellbeing. Reflections from Commission members noted how the pandemic has shone a light on the urgent need for social care reform, as well as the government's failures, for example when it came to PPE.

Securing a sustainable future for social care

At the meeting held in March 2021, the Commission had a dedicated discussion on the future of social care with Shadow Minister for Social Care, Liz Kendall MP. She provided an update on labour's work in this area, including holding the government to account over their treatment of social care during the pandemic, as well as policy development work linked, but not limited to, making the country the best place to grow old in. Speakers from Carers UK, UNISON and the Association of Directors of Adult Social Services also had a discussion with the Commission on how to overcome the barriers that have held reform back for so many years, and the future vision for social care we should aspire to. Members of the Commission discussed the significant crossover between social care and housing in enabling people to receive support at home.

Supporting wellbeing and tackling mental ill-health

In April 2021, Shadow Minister for Mental Health, Rosena Allin-Khan MP, updated the Commission on the shadow team's work in this area, including joint work with the shadow education team around the issue of children and young people's mental health. Speakers from the Centre for Mental Health, Rethink Mental Illness,



and Mental Health First Aid England joined for a policy focused panel discussion that highlighted the wider determinants on poor mental health, arguing that a cross-governmental and societal approach is needed to improve the nation's mental health and wellbeing.

Tackling health inequalities

Shadow Minister for Public Health and Patient Safety, Alex Norris MP, spoke to the Commission in May 2021 about tackling health inequalities. The Commission heard from speakers from the UCL Institute of Health Equity and the Runnymede Trust – who highlighted recent trends in health inequalities, and the contribution of racial inequality to health inequalities, respectively. Councillor Paulette Hamilton also shared her experience of local work in tackling health inequalities in Birmingham. The Commission reflected on the need for long-term solutions as well as the cross-cutting nature of the topic of health inequalities.

Recruiting, retaining and supporting the workforce

At the meeting held in June 2021, the Commission met to discuss recruiting, retaining and supporting the workforce. Shadow Minister for Secondary Care, Workforce and Patient Health, Justin Madders MP, updated the Commission on the shadow team's work in this area. Speakers from the British Medical Association, Royal College of Nursing and GMB, Unite and Unison joined the meeting to discuss better workforce planning with the Commission, in particular how we build a workforce that meets future demand and is resilient to future shocks.

Principles

- 1. Healthcare should be universally available and free at the point of use.** The core principles of our NHS must be upheld, with access to healthcare viewed as a human right.
- 2. Patients should receive the care they need, within the standards set by the NHS constitution.** NHS performance was already struggling before the pandemic hit, we must restore NHS performance to ensure targets are met and patients receive the highest standards of care.
- 3. Deliver parity of esteem for mental health.** We must ensure there is sufficient investment in mental health services to deliver true parity of esteem, backed up by sufficient funding to support everyone who needs it.
- 4. Create the conditions for people to live healthier, happier, longer lives** by tackling inequalities.
- 5. Improve population health** This will be achieved through well funded public health services and a determination to confront the wider determinants of ill-health through working across Government. Health in all policies must be the default.
- 6. Value workers as the greatest asset of the NHS and social care.** The health and care workforce must be better valued as the keyworkers they are. This must be backed up by a workforce plan to recruit, retain and support the healthcare staff we need.



- 7. Rebuild publicly provided NHS services and reverse privatisation.** We must recognise the value of the public sector and reverse and end Tory privatisation.
- 8. Ensure national accountability in the health service, alongside empowering local leaders.** There must be clear national accountability, underpinned by a duty on the Secretary of State for Health to deliver high quality services. At the same time local leaders must be empowered.
- 9. Deliver a sustainable future for social care.** We must ensure that social care is sufficiently and sustainably funded, end fragmentation, and build a public social care service that provides people with the care they need, in the place they call home.
- 10. Support unpaid carers.** Unpaid carers, who look after family and loved ones, must be better valued and supported in the vital contribution they make.
- 11. Build resilience across health care.** We must invest in science and research to create the therapeutics to transform medicine for the future, and prepare for future pandemic risk.

Tackling health inequalities to make the country the best place to grow up and grow old in

Restore NHS performance and uphold patient's rights under the NHS constitution, to ensure the highest standards of timely care for patients.

Waiting lists were growing, and NHS services were already overstretched, even before the pandemic hit. We must restore NHS performance to ensure targets are met and patients receive the highest standards of care. Before the pandemic, the NHS was overstretched, under-resourced and struggling – with 17,000 beds cut, over 100,000 vacancies, some of the lowest numbers of vital equipment in the world and a crumbling NHS estate with a £9 billion repair bill. There are now record numbers of patients on the waiting list for routine NHS treatment, including spiralling numbers of people who have been waiting over a year.

In the NHS we shouldn't have to choose between Covid-19 care and cancer care – but tragically, for too many people that has been the reality this past year, and 46,000 few people have started cancer treatment. This scale of disruption wasn't inevitable, but our NHS had been under-resourced and left less able to weather the shock of the pandemic.

Labour would commit to restoring NHS performance and ensuring that patient's NHS constitution rights to treatment - which have not been met for years under the Conservatives – are upheld. It is right that we are proud of our NHS, but we should also be ambitious, and a Labour government would restore our NHS performance to make the UK a world leader in healthcare performance and outcomes – showing just what our NHS can deliver when it is valued and well resourced. We need a fully resourced 10 year rescue plan for our NHS.



Tackle health inequalities through cross-governmental action to address the wider determinants of health

The Covid-19 pandemic has shone a spotlight on the devastating impact of health inequalities that persist in our country. Even before the pandemic hit, a decade of austerity saw widespread reductions in public spending and social, economic and regional inequalities deepened. Child poverty increased and now over 4 million children live in poverty. Health inequalities have widened. Overall population health has declined, and for the first time in a century, life expectancy stalled – a shocking legacy for any government.

It is completely unacceptable that people from different backgrounds, or living in different parts of our country have such different chances of living in good health – from birth through to older age. And the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic is expected to further worsen existing inequalities. Without concerted cross government and societal action to tackle the root causes of inequalities and address the wider determinants of health, those most impacted by the pandemic risk being left behind in the recovery.

The Labour party stands against all forms of injustice and inequality and will do everything in can do to tackle the health inequalities that persist. That means joining up policy across departments, with long term action driven by a real commitment to make the country the best place to grow up and old in – for everyone.

Transform social care provision and ensure the country is the best place to grow old in

The Covid-19 pandemic brutally exposed a number of issues and vulnerabilities in the social care system. While extraordinary efforts went into setting up nightingale hospitals, social care was once again neglected. Tragically, despite promises that the government would throw a protective ring around our care homes,

some of our most vulnerable were left exposed to the virus – over 30,000 care home residents have died of Covid-19 and 25,000 were discharged from hospitals to care homes without being tested. Our frontline social care workers, who put themselves at risk to care for some of the most vulnerable members of our society were left without PPE.

As we emerge from this pandemic, we must ensure that there is a plan in place to transform social care and ensure that care homes never again face a crisis of this scale. Labour's ambition is not just to 'fix the crisis in social care' as the Prime Minister has repeatedly promised but failed to deliver.

The moral case for reforming our social care system is clear, and there's a strong economic case too. 1 in 3 family carers having to give up work or reduce their hours to care for loved ones - they lose their incomes, employers lose their skills, and Government loses their taxes. It doesn't make sense for our families, our carers, or our economy.

Recruit, retain and support the workforce to ensure our frontline workers are valued and the sector is much more resilient ahead of future shocks

The huge demands on the NHS workforce have been exacerbated by the Covid pandemic but the workforce was in crisis even before Covid-19 hit. Before the pandemic, there were 100,000 vacant posts in the NHS and 122,000 vacancies in the adult social care sector. The workforce was already overstretched and struggling – with increasing numbers of NHS staff suffering from work related stress in the past years. The social care workforce is vital to a properly functioning society and economy, yet two thirds don't earn the real living wage and one in four care workers are employed on zero hours contracts.

Labour would give frontline NHS workers the pay rise they deserve. And for the social care sector, which has been neglected under a decade of Conservative leadership, It's time for a new deal for care workers to back the aspirations of staff, tackle high vacancy rates, and deliver at least the half a million extra staff we need over the next ten years to meet growing demand. As a starting point, Labour has called on the Government to guarantee all care workers are paid a least a real living wage of £10 an hour.



Support the nation's mental health by putting wellbeing at the heart of policy making

Despite years of government rhetoric about delivering parity of esteem for mental health, and despite significant progress in building awareness and reducing stigma – driven by the mental health sector and many voluntary and community organisations – there is still a long way to go to meet the mental health needs of the country.

Mental health services were stretched before the pandemic hit, with many people unable to access treatment and others waiting unacceptably long periods for appointments. We face a crisis in mental health for which action is needed now – with 235,000 fewer people who have referred for psychological therapies, with eating disorder referrals for children having doubled, and with the pandemic having driven a reduction in almost 11% fewer beds occupied. And the longer term impact of the pandemic is not yet being felt. With up to 10 million people expected to seek mental health support as a result of the pandemic, policy needs to go further, and faster to ensure mental health support is there for everyone who needs it.

Labour would put mental health and wellbeing at the heart of policy making. We would ensure there is a plan to address the nation's immediate mental health needs, as well as to respond to the longer term impact of the pandemic on people's wellbeing. As part of that, we need to see sufficient investment in mental health services to deliver true parity of esteem, backed up by sufficient funding to support everyone who needs it. This includes investment in children's services – we know how impacted our young people have been by this pandemic and if we don't prioritise their recovery – educationally and socially – we risk failing a generation.

Rebuild publicly provided NHS services and reverse privatisation

Throughout the Covid-19 pandemic, we have seen this Conservative government hand out contracts to private providers, who have often failed to deliver – from Test and Trace, to PPE – at great cost to the taxpayer, and with a tragic human cost to their failure too. The first duty of a government in a pandemic should be protecting people through public health, not privatisation and profit. And it's a tragedy that the government had worn down some of our public services so much that they didn't feel they had the resource and capacity needed to withstand the shock of the pandemic.

Labour would show the true value that our public services can deliver – from the vital work of our public health teams, who we have long called for to lead test and trace efforts, due to their expertise and strong local links – to the wider work of our community health teams, and local authorities. Labour in Government would rebuild publicly provided NHS Services and reverse privatisation.

Oppose the Conservative's Health and Care Bill

The Health and Care Bill is pushing for a top down reorganisation when we are not even through the pandemic. The Bill fails to deliver the integration needed between health and social care services, and delays reforms to social care yet again. It also fails to increase the size of the NHS workforce which is urgently needed, with staff exhausted and facing burnout after working on the frontline throughout the pandemic. The Bill does nothing to guarantee that patients' care will be improved, waiting lists will come down, or to provide the resources to modernise the NHS for the future.

More specifically, the proposed integrated care boards are at risk of worsening patient care. Significant voices also fail to be represented on these boards, from mental health providers to public health. Instead, there is a risk that private healthcare providers can be handed a seat on these new NHS boards. Labour will oppose this at every stage.

Labour is clear that instead of this reorganisation, we need a plan to bring down waiting times for NHS treatments and tackle the growing backlog of care. A plan that would give the NHS the resources it needs to ensure comprehensive, quality healthcare. And a plan which tackles the health inequalities that have widened and have been brought to the fore during the coronavirus crisis.



Submissions to the consultation

Tackling health inequalities through cross-governmental action

Many submissions drew attention to the various groups disproportionately impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic, including people from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities, people with disabilities, socio-economic inequalities and people living in rural areas:

“BAME people and people living in deprived areas were most affected by the virus. Their resilience was most compromised due to poor housing, high rents, lack of social or affordable housing, low paid and insecure employment, debt, discrimination, racism.”

BRENT NORTH CLP

“My worry is those with disabilities seem to be hardest hit.”

ONLINE ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANT

Submissions also reflected on the wider determinants of health and how tackling these using cross-governmental action is key to improving the health of everyone in our country. This starts from pregnancy and early years, through to building a fair and inclusive economy, investing in good jobs and helping ensure autonomy at work, as well as supporting our older people, so that the country is the best place for everyone to grow old in:

“Public health should be central to wider social and economic policy, and while promoting healthier lifestyles is important the real urgency is that policies must recognise and target the structural societal causes of poor health such as poverty, inequality and exploitation at work.”

UNITE THE UNION

“Clearly the health care system is important in ensuring equal access and treatment, but it does not exist in a vacuum, it is part of a wider system. If you want to address inequality in health then you need to address inequality in education, inequality in work.”

SHEILA, GREATER LONDON

Social Care

Many submissions emphasised the need for radical reform in how and where care is provided to let everyone live the life they choose. Submissions were clear that we need to see social care services being fully joined up with the NHS, so that there is one care system built around the needs of care users and their families.

Submissions reflected the need for a 'home first' approach that should support the vast majority of people who want to stay in their own homes:

“Consider greater local provision so that elderly and vulnerable can be cared for at home as much as possible.”

PHILLIP, EAST

“A reformed Adult Social Care system must take into account the different mix of care that is provided – care homes are part of the picture, but domiciliary care and independent living must also play an important part. A person-centred care system will take into account the different needs of each individual, meaning that independent living must be a viable option, on parity with receiving care in a care home.”

LGA LABOUR GROUP

It is clear that we also need a new partnership with unpaid carers, so they are properly valued and supported – ensuring they get they get proper information, advice and breaks and more flexibility in the workplace to help them balance their work and caring responsibilities:

“When I was caring for my daughter 4 years ago I worked out that, after taking into consideration my benefits and carer’s allowance I was surviving on half the minimum wage and I know that the situation has not improved. Unpaid family carers are saving the government millions but are being ignored.”

JOY, EAST



Workforce

Several submissions noted that the NHS urgently needs a workforce strategy that delivers the increase in doctors, nurses and other health professionals needed to bring waiting lists down and deliver high quality care:

“We have relearned during the covid crisis how brilliant and dedicated are our scientists, doctors, nurses and all other healthcare professionals. But there remain many vacancies in all these professions. These shortages must be addressed urgently.”

BRIAN, LABOUR MEMBER

Submissions also included calls for enhanced rights for workers, increased training and career progression:

“Provide clear pathways for job progression and career development for all staff.”

BRIGHTON PAVILION CLP

“A career structure with incentives to develop professionally is need, those working in the system need to feel valued and be treated with respect.”

DAVID, NORTH WEST

There was particular emphasis on improving the pay, working conditions and career progression of social care staff, who have been working on the frontline throughout the pandemic:

“A long-term workforce strategy that focuses both on recruitment and retention should be developed, which would create greater parity between the health and social care sectors. This would make the social care sector an attractive career choice, by providing workers with the training and support that they need. This should centre around dispelling the misconception that care work is unskilled and recognise the considerable technical and interpersonal skills that it requires.”

LABOUR FOR A GREEN NEW DEAL

Rebuild publicly provided NHS services and reverse privatisation

Submissions were overwhelmingly clear that we must recognise the value of the public sector and reverse and end Tory privatisation:

“The NHS exists to provide free at the point of use healthcare to all who need it and that is the way it should stay.”

SUSAN, SOUTH WEST

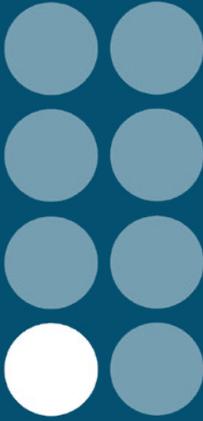
“Privatisation needs stopping and [the] NHS needs investment and putting back under our control.”

GLYNIS, LABOUR MEMBER

This is particularly important as we emerge from and deal with the long-term impact of the pandemic:

“The backlog in non-Covid health interventions should not be used as an excuse for outsourcing and privatisation. There must also be recognition that underfunding the NHS is a false economy. Labour must hardwire the principle that prevention is more effective, and therefore cheaper, than cure.”

UNITE THE UNION



NATIONAL
POLICY
FORUM
2021
Housing,
Local Government
and Transport

MEMBERSHIP 2021

HM Opposition

Steve Reed MP*

Lucy Powell MP

Jim McMahon MP

NEC

Jayne Taylor*

Wendy Nichols

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 Region

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

Sina Lari – Socialist Societies

Chris Bain – Co-operative Party

Tony Woodhouse – Unite

Elected Representatives

Angela Cornforth – Association of Labour Councillors

Michael Payne – Local Government Association

*Co-convenor



The work of the Housing, Local Government and Transport Commission

Britain's broken housing market

One of the biggest areas the Commission has looked at this year is Britain's broken housing system and the need to build more genuinely affordable housing, especially new council housing. So in February 2021 the Commission held a detailed evidence session to examine the root causes of this crisis.

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. There is a growing shortage of lifetime homes and other accommodation for people with mobility problems.

The Commission has welcomed Labour's strong commitment to tackling the systemic problems in the private rented sector including a cap on rents and an end to 'no fault' evictions. Developing the policies our country requires to build the affordable homes needed is an ongoing concern for the Commission.

Driven by submissions, representatives have been concerned by the state of homelessness in this country. Britain is too decent and too well off to put up with the scandal of homelessness. Rough sleeping has more than doubled since 2010.

A green public transport fit for the 21st century

In March of this year, the Commission received expert evidence from a range of transport voices, including local government transport leads who highlighted the fragmented structure of our public transport sector and the slowness of pace to decarbonise transport.

The rail industry created by the Government's botched privatisation is a key factor in the poor quality of service passengers receive. Since 2010 rail fares have rocketed by 42 per cent, three times faster than wages. The Commission discussed and welcomed Labour's policy to bring our railway franchises back into public ownership with the aim of improving the quality of service passengers enjoy. Representatives from our trade unions highlighted grave concerns with understaffing on our transport network which impacts on the safety of passengers, particularly women and on access for disabled people.

The Commission is clear that more attention needs to be given by the Commission, building on previous NPF policy development, to the most common

forms of transport: walking, cycling and the use of buses. Buses are the lifelines of our cities, counties, towns and villages – they reduce congestion, get people to work, drive economic growth and keep communities connected. Under this government nearly 500 bus routes have been cut every year.

Building a transport network for road, path and rail, air and water which encourages greener forms of transport will be an issue of continued interest and importance for the Commission.

Localism and local government

The Commission has given localism a great deal of consideration this year including holding an e-roundtable with members on this topic in June. Through both the consultation document and their wider work have told us that people feel politics is too distant from them. Some people worry decisions that have an impact on their lives are made in Whitehall and not in their town halls. However at a time when the Government should be taking steps to empower communities, local authorities are being forced to deliver services under tough conditions while a number of powers are being centralised. Government cuts are having a drastic impact on services and service users. Local youth centres, adult social care programmes, local museums and library services are all closing because of the Government's assault on local government.



Principles

1. Reduce inequalities through the power of local communities by building back better and greener and extending opportunity to held-back areas
2. Deliver fair longer term funding for councils
3. Collaborate with local communities to deliver devolution that works
4. Create a renewed relationship of equals between central and local government
5. Ensure everyone receives at least the living wage
6. Increase community control over local public ownership
7. Build the council and affordable homes our country needs
8. Create public transport services that serve the needs of local communities
9. Establish a new mechanism to engage locally
10. Encourage greater diversity of those engaging in local democracy

Increasing community control over public ownership to ensure our country is the best place to grow up and grow old in

The consultation responses rightly highlighted what the Commission had heard repeatedly over the past 18 months, and spoke of in their consultation document, that Covid-19 has left a devastating scar on our country and exposed deep-rooted inequality in society.

It's clear that it is incumbent on all of us, but especially those in the Labour Party to not just recognise the inequality that exists but commit ourselves to tackling these problems.

The Commission is keen to applaud the countless acts of selflessness and community spirit we have seen over the past year. Community groups have rallied around and looked after those most in need. Stories of selfless acts supporting those having to self-isolate have inspired us all. It's renewed our belief that so-called ordinary people are anything but.

These tireless acts during the pandemic remind us that local people can and want to play a fundamental role in improving their lives and the lives of those around them. They want, as we all do, to make our local areas and our country the best place to grow up and the best place to grow old in.

This leads us to a fundamental question and debate about the future relationship between citizens and the state that submissions to the Commission highlighted. Britain is one of the most centralised states in the world, and many people feel that model has failed them because it is too top-down, remote and unresponsive.

Put simply Government often stands in the way. Whether a failure to hand over power, support or funding, Whitehall is holding back local efforts to increase community involvement over local projects or local public services.

It was clear from what the Commission heard that for many they love where they live. It's already a good place to raise a family, but life could be made just that bit easier and their neighbourhood just that bit better. So the fundamental challenge for a future Labour Government is to ensure central government stops holding back local communities. This is a challenge we started to examine a year ago and will continue to do so in the run up to the next manifesto.



Submissions to the consultation

Responders to the Commission's consultation were clear that 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.

It is clear that something must change and that local councils and local communities can be the driving force of that change.

Submissions repeatedly noted how local government plays a critical role in providing the services that local people require and that Labour has a proud history as the party of devolution.

"Devolving power where possible, and bringing people closer to the decisions that affect them, is a strong democratic principle and one that must be continued. The union is proud of the Labour Party's record as the party of devolution which has empowered the devolved nations to take decisions that are best for people there."

ASLEF

However, those that spoke with the Commission spoke extensively about how the funding cuts and sustained attacks from central Government have left local councils in an extremely tough financial position. They were clear that privatisation of local public services, often off the back of cuts to funding, has led to a reduction in control over such services and therefore a reduction in the quality of them.

"Such funding provision must also be made with a view to delivering quality services – and that means ending the privatisation of services and retaining Labour's commitment to insourcing."

UNITE THE UNION

Submissions welcomed Labour's ambition to use the power of public services to invest in Britain.

"National and local government has a choice of where it invests its money, and we welcome Labour's active interest in where that public money goes. We note the Shadow Chancellor's recent speech pledging that Labour 'make, buy and sell more in Britain'."

SHAW TRUST

Submissions did note that there is a stark divide amongst the types of people and in particular the socio-economic background of those that can and do engage in local democracy or try to influence how their local services are run.

“Poverty caused by the unequal distribution of wealth underlies the barriers faced by local people trying to shape their communities.”

BRIGHTON PAVILION CLP

The Commission also heard that one of the biggest barriers is a failure to know how to engage or that engaging is made too difficult. There was a sense that some local engagement, for example on planning or transport issues, can be seen as simply a tick box exercise. There was a recurring view that there is not a real appetite to engage with local people where they are, when they're available or how they'd like to engage.

To combat this the Commission did discuss and debate the ways that technology can be used to increase community engagement.

As the consultation document noted we have been overwhelmed during the last twelve months with submissions to the Commission noting a strong desire to ensure that politics also changes with the times. All across the world and including in some cities in the UK, councils are using new technology to open up participation, decision making and tackle the problems communities face.

However, as evidence to the Commission has shown, take up of these new innovative products is not widespread. So, we must continue to ask ourselves what can we learn from those areas that are doing this well and how can we spread its use to those places that aren't.

The Commission did also hear of the perils of using new technology and the way it can be used to exclude those that are unable or feel less comfortable using these forms of communication.

“The use of hybrid meetings can assist community engagement, including of some previously excluded disabled and vulnerable people. But technology must be carefully applied to ensure that other disabled or vulnerable people are not excluded by its use. For example, different online meeting service providers either fail to offer full (or any) captioning options so denying access to some hearing impaired people.”

BRIGHTON PAVILION CLP

One area where the Commission heard how greater community control is needed over the planning systems was with the Government's new 'developers' charter' allowing the wishes of housebuilders to trump those of local people.



“The Planning system is not fit for purpose in providing affordable housing. Developers seldom meet with the Local Plan policy targets set and have many ways of avoiding making provision. The most commonly used is claiming that developments are not viable because of various costs which Local Authorities seem unable to challenge successfully.”

KEITH, SOUTH WEST

Submissions also highlighted the need to build more social and council housing as a way of making Britain an affordable place to live and therefore the best place to grow up and old in. Commission members were also concerned about the plight affecting leaseholders in the UK: both their lack of rights and the extreme challenges they face with retrofit charges to replace dangerous cladding.

“Councils need to be allowed to build new social housing and the Right to Buy should be scrapped.”

ROSIE, EAST MIDLANDS

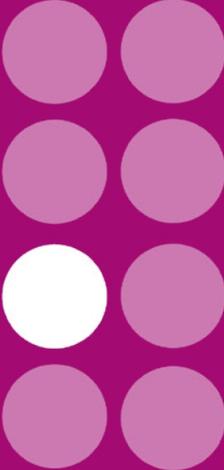
Another area where there was a keen sense that local people want greater control and influence is public transport and in particular the buses. For many our bus network is too fragmented, too expensive with too irregular a timetable.

“Ensure that everyone, including in rural areas, has easy access to regular, reasonably priced public transport.”

PATRICIA, LABOUR MEMBER

Evidence gives to the Commission welcomed Labour’s ambition to give local authorities and local communities a say over how their buses are run and the powers to set up their own municipal bus services. A reference to creating public transport services that serve the needs of local communities was missing from the first iteration of the Commission’s 10 guiding principles so has been added in to reflect the wishes of submissions. The Commission also heard at length about the issues affecting the aviation and maritime industries and welcomed Labour’s efforts to fight on behalf of those employed in these industries.

Finally, submissions were clear that our political system is broken and there is only one party that seeks to stand for every voter in every region and nation. But, we must be more than idealistic as we build a radical agenda to change the country. We have set out some of the 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.



NATIONAL
POLICY
FORUM
2021
International



MEMBERSHIP 2021

HM Opposition

Lisa Nandy MP*
Preet Gill MP
John Healey MP

NEC

Kathy Abu-Bakir*
Yasmin Dar
George Howarth MP
Carwyn Jones MS
Mish Rahman

CLPs and Regions

Charlotte Austin – Northern Region
Mohammed Azam – North West 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 – East & South East Asians for Labour
Gordon McKay – UNISON
Len McCluskey – Unite
David Quayle – Unite

Elected Representatives

Georgia Gould – Association of Labour Councillors

*Co-convenor

The work of the International Policy Commission

The International Policy Commission has held several discussions based on a work programme of key themes and events, including international summits. Alongside this, there were regular updates from the shadow frontbench teams and discussions on current affairs. Below is a summary of those discussions.

Kashmir

The Commission raised on several occasions the continuing reports of lockdown in Kashmir, with allegations of human rights abuses and vaccine denial. The ongoing communications blackout is disrupting the work of medical agencies and prevents families knowing about the safety of their relatives. The shadow frontbench made clear that they condemn the violence against Kashmiri civilians, and violence committed against Indian forces.

The Commission acknowledged that Kashmir is a disputed territory and respects the democratic rights of the people of Kashmir who must have a say in determining their own future. The Commission agreed that Labour should seek the restoration of human rights including the freedom of speech and communication, the lifting of curfews, and entry into the region of humanitarian aid organisations and international observers.

Labour recognises and supports previous United Nations (UN) resolutions on the rights of the Kashmiri people. We maintain that if we are to find a lasting settlement to end this ongoing conflict, this can only be achieved by India and Pakistan working together, with the people of Kashmir.

Israel and Palestine

The Commission discussed the recent cycles of violence in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories, condemning both Israeli air strikes that caused more than two hundred civilian casualties, including dozens of children, and the indiscriminate rocket attacks by Hamas and other militant groups that targeted Israeli cities and killed Israeli civilians.

The Commission agreed that the deterioration in living conditions that many Palestinians have suffered in the last year is not due to a conflict of equals but is a result of the continuing military occupation. There will not be a just, lasting peace until the occupation is brought to a permanent end, where both Palestinians and Israelis enjoy security, dignity and human rights.



The Labour frontbench reiterated in commission meetings that there must be a negotiated, diplomatic settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on a two-state solution: a safe and secure Israel, alongside a viable and sovereign Palestinian state. The Commission condemned all actions that are making that goal more difficult, including illegal moves to expand settlements in occupied Palestinian territory, forced evictions of Palestinians, and disproportionate use of force.

The Commission welcomed Shadow Foreign Secretary Lisa Nandy MP's reaffirmation of Labour's commitment to recognising Palestine as a state, and the strong support for the Palestinian people reflected in the submissions received. The Commission discussed the wide range of views expressed about how to support the resolution of the conflict and the end to the blockade of Gaza, including suggestions for an international fund for Israeli-Palestinian peace and the use of more coercive measures, such as sanctions.

Human rights abuses

The Commission held further discussions about human rights violations that are taking place within ongoing humanitarian crises and conflicts, including evidence from the Acting UK Director of Human Rights Watch, Ben Ward. The discussion emphasised the need for a human rights-led foreign policy that priorities peace, equality and justice.

Within the discussions, the Commission particularly highlighted instances of grave human rights abuses in East Asia against Muslim majority populations, including the Uyghur in China and the Rohingya in Myanmar. The Commission noted that Labour has called on the UK Government to formally support the Gambia's case of genocide against Myanmar in the International Court of Justice. Labour has also called on the UK Government to work with the Bangladeshi Government to ensure that those Rohingya who have fled to Bangladesh receive the support they require, including UK aid.

The Commission condemned the crackdown against pro-democracy activists in Hong Kong, the ongoing oppression of Tamil communities in Sri Lanka, and expressed serious concern about reports of foreign interference in Venezuela, and that people in Colombia continue to face persecution and death for being members of trades unions.

Humanitarian crises

The Commission received regular updates from the shadow frontbench regarding ongoing humanitarian crises, and the particularly devastating impact Covid-19 is having on states already fractured by conflict and with inadequate health infrastructure.

The Commission condemned the Government's decision to cut aid to Yemen by 60 per cent, while the country is at risk of the worst famine the world has seen in decades, and believes that slashing life-saving support to the largest humanitarian crisis in the world, in the middle of a pandemic, is appalling.

The shadow frontbench also made clear in discussions that as a penholder for Yemen at the UN Security Council, the UK has a particular duty to act to end the brutal conflict. That is why Labour has called on the UK Government to bring to an end to offensive arms sales to Saudi Arabia for use in the ongoing conflict.

Global vaccines and health inequalities

The Commission heard how Covid-19 is still killing thousands of people every day around the world. The growing gulf between countries like the UK, where more than two-thirds of adults have had their first jab, and many countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean where vaccination programmes have barely begun, has left billions of people unprotected.

The Commission agreed it is unacceptable that some of the poorest countries are being expected to prioritise debt repayments over the safety of their citizens during the world's worst health crisis in over 100 years.

The Commission welcomed Labour's 10-point plan to boost global Covid-19 vaccine production, the world's largest ever coordinated investment programme – in partnership with the pharmaceutical industry – to ensure that these new facilities have the skills, technology and supplies they need to enable the safe and efficient mass production of vaccines.



UN and International Law

The Commission held a session on the importance of upholding international law, hearing from Shadow Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Minister, Lord Ray Collins, on his review into the UK's role at the UN. He noted how the UN is popular globally, and discussed how the UK as a founding country has significant influence on strengthening the UN, as well as the value of multilateralism but also the dangers when it is not present.

The Commission discussed the Overseas Operations Bill recently passed through Parliament, with concessions won against the Government by a Labour-led coalition to protect international law and human rights.

The Commission also welcomed the shadow frontbench's robust response to the Government's change in position on nuclear doctrine, and called for a new generation of multilateral arms control treaties, covering more advanced weaponry in the domains of cyber technology and space. The Commission also discussed the Treaty of the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, with members noting its official ratification and some calling for consideration of its adoption by the UK.

Global trade unions

The Commission hosted the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and Lord John Hendy for a discussion on the global trade unions movement. There were discussions on how to communicate trade union rights and collective bargaining as a universal principal rather than an ideological one; the role of trades unions in conflict resolution, noting the many labour law treaties that emerged out of conflict; and the need for further legislation on forced labour and modern slavery.

The Commission also heard how many countries work with international unions as important vehicles for international development and democracy building. The Commission also expressed solidarity with working people across the world, and condemned attacks on trades unions in Latin America and the Middle East.

Integrated Review

The Commission held a discussion on the Government's Integrated Review, taking evidence from the British Foreign Policy Group on the perceptions of British voters on foreign policy threats, and on how better to connect the global with the local.

Throughout the year, the Commission discussed the shadow frontbench response to the Integrated Review, noting the Shadow Defence team's opposition to 10,000 cuts to the Armed Forces and concerns over the so-called pivot to Asia-Pacific taking priority of our commitments to NATO.

The Commission also heard from the shadow frontbench teams on increasing state-based threats, including Russia and China, the emergence of continuous competition in the so-called "grey-zone", and the need for a more coherent defence strategy. The Commission expressed disappointment in the Review's inadequate proposals on wider human security threats, most importantly from climate disaster.

The Commission also expressed disappointment in the lack of any meaningful focus on Britain's future relationship with Europe within the Integrated Review.

Climate justice

The Commission heard from SERA, Labour's Environment Campaign and Shadow Development Minister Anna McMorrin MP on plans in the lead up to COP26, and the decision for Labour to form an International Climate Justice Network, giving a platform for the voices of those experiencing the greatest impacts of the climate crisis. The network will work collaboratively to put in place green recovery plans to give us the best chance of tackling the global climate crisis.

The Commission discussed how Britain must use its standing in the world to encourage other nations within the G7 and COP26, but also within the G20, to move towards a greener world.



0.7%

The Commission condemned plans to make the UK the only G7 nation to cut aid, breaking a manifesto commitment to support the world's poorest and most vulnerable people. Labour and Parliament have repeatedly made clear their opposition to aid cuts and that Britain must not turn its back on the world's poorest.

The shadow frontbench made clear in the discussions that the UK's allies and detractors are already taking note, and this has already weakened the UK's position at the G7 summit, and will continue to do so for upcoming summits on education and COP26, which we are hosting later this year. Labour has committed to a reversal of the aid cuts from 0.7% to 0.5% of gross national income and supporting low income countries to increase their financial resources to tackle the continued health and economic crisis.

Equalities

The Commission also hosted a number of equalities sessions hearing from Party affiliates. Disability Labour gave powerful evidence on the extreme challenges people with disabilities face in conflict zones and for refugees fleeing disaster. The Commission expressed solidarity with these people and called for more to be done to investigate the specific challenges and needs for innocent people with disabilities caught up in conflict.

East and South East Asians for Labour discussed the alarming rise in Sinophobia in discussion of foreign policy towards China and how this spreads to the wider East and South East Asian communities.

The Shadow International Development team launched a consultation on achieving gender equality in development, led by Shadow Minister Yasmin Qureshi MP and held a number of policy roundtables for Party members and NGOs.

Principles

In 2019-20, the Commission held a consultation with party members to draw up 10 guiding principles that will underpin Labour's international policies; this list was developed further in 2020-21.

1. Putting people first, Labour's international policies will be independent, human rights-led, standing up to abuse, oppression, and those who seek to undermine our peace and freedom; utilising conflict prevention and resolution as key tools of foreign policy.
2. The first duty of government is to protect its people; our international policies will bring an end to knee jerk decisions, and ensure a properly planned and funded national defence, based on a strategic, long-term view of shifting power bases, a wider understanding of security threats and the national interest.
3. Fighting the climate emergency will inform everything we do, from working to eradicate poverty and economic inequality, to dismantling systemic injustices around the world. Labour will never penalise low-income countries or population segments in the fight for climate justice.
4. Policies will be focused on the future, harnessing the possibilities of new technologies, new ideas and new alliances, while becoming more vigilant to emerging threats that we have not seen before.
5. Through our assessment of global challenges, Labour will be unafraid to put forward radical ideas that address the root causes of deprivation and inequality. This approach will be founded on the belief that societies are better defended through common values and collective solutions.



6. Recognising that all levels of government need to work together for an international policy that is coherent and supportive of our core objectives as a Party, we will closely tie our international and domestic priorities, supporting British industry, jobs and regional economies. Labour will champion international labour rights by seeking their application in the UK and equitable trade agreements with human rights and environmental due diligence across supply chains.
7. Labour will take a values based approach to our international relationships. We will not shy away from speaking out for the rule of international law and pursuing truth and justice in the face of opposition, even from our allies. We will strive to always bring light not might in our diplomacy around the world to push for greater implementation of human rights obligations across the world.
8. Labour's decision-making processes will be transparent and open to proper public and parliamentary scrutiny. We will push for greater transparency from businesses and organisations who help to facilitate Britain's global role in development aid and trade.
9. Defending the rights of nations and communities of all colours, cultures, and faiths to determine their own futures and livelihoods. Our policies will promote the UN-led rights of equality, end systemic injustices for women, and champion the rights of minorities such as LGBTQ+ people, BAME people, and people living with disabilities.
10. Representing the interests of all those who call the UK home on the global stage means our diplomatic and armed forces personnel must be as diverse as those they seek to champion and defend.

A strategy for veterans

In 2021 the Policy Commission launched a consultation called 'A strategy for veterans' as a starting basis for a policy that will ensure Labour can make Britain the best place for the Armed Forces and their families to grow up and grow old in.

In response, the Commission received many submissions and heard views in an online roundtable with party members, veterans, and elected local government officials. The overriding message was that veterans just want a fair deal, with several themes emerging on what can be done to support those veterans who struggle going back into civilian life. With the proportion of working age veterans projected to increase from 37% in 2016 to 44% by 2028, a greater emphasis will be needed on successful transitions to civilian life and making a success of the skills built in the forces.

Transition support

The present system is letting some veterans slip through the cracks because the process of moving from service to civilian life appears to be fragmented and inadequate, with specialist support left almost entirely to service charities. Most veterans move seamlessly into civilian life and go on to be leaders in their field; however, rather than just welcoming these successes, veterans with experience of succeeding in civilian life could utilise their experience to help their peers. A veterans strategy must provide for longer-term preparation for leaving service, provided by the Ministry of Defence from the point of recruitment into civilian life, including a greater set of core life-skills built into basic training.

Skills and lifelong learning

More could be done to reacclimatise service leavers to civilian life and give service personnel a better understanding of the career opportunities and the education options to translate their military experiences into a rich, fulfilling civilian life. Many submissions suggested, from personal experience, that service personnel would welcome the opportunity to expand on the skills they have picked up during their military careers and ensure they have proper civilian accreditation for these skills.



Policy options suggested include pre-transitional placements in work, looking at what careers veterans can get, but also what they can offer civilian work places; and non-military professionals could also be involved in “Pathfinder” workshops to help veterans understand better how their skill sets can translate into civilian applications.

Public services

In many cases the provision of basic public services for veterans must be improved. For instance, on housing the schemes for service families who have no home to go to need to be examined for the way they are accessed. Existing medical screening is often reported to be unfair, particularly for hearing loss, and more should be done to provide veterans injured in conflict with the support and training needed to find a career with a disability.

Many submissions made clear that medical records are a key problem, with a suggestion that at the beginning of the resettlement period a veteran’s medical record should be transferred to a Veteran’s file or store to make the record more easily accessible.

Armed Forces Covenant

Currently the services provided under the Armed Forces Covenant are a post code lottery. The Covenant must be a binding moral commitment between government and service communities, guaranteeing them and their families the respect and fair treatment their service has earned. This begins by putting the Armed Forces Covenant fully into law.

Submissions to the consultation

Transition support

Submissions made clear that while the vast majority of veterans go on to lead very successful lives, the transition from the Armed Forces to civilian life is a challenging one.

“17 years having full wrap around, knowing how everything worked, where I fit into the picture, what was expected of me hour by hour, day by day. Then suddenly I’m a veteran, driving home without an understanding of the world, as my life education from 18-35 had all been military.”

ONLINE ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANT

Submissions reflected the wide array of experience from Labour Party members who have served both as full time and regulars, providing positive policy suggestions that recognise the quality of skills possessed by veterans; but these may need 'translating' into civilian life, and this is best assisted by veterans themselves with knowledge of the process:

“An end of service 'reverse boot camp' should be run by the armed forces and industry partners. This would serve to reacclimatise service leavers to civilian life and give an understanding of the opportunities available, career paths, salary expectations and education on how to translate their experiences to the civilian job market.”

OTHELLO, LABOUR PARTY MEMBER

“A community based transitional service, staffed by veterans perhaps along the lines of the Expert Patient Programme could act as a stepping stone between military and civilian life and empower veterans to negotiate these stresses effectively, reducing the risk of difficulties spiralling out of control.”

KATE, SOUTH WEST



Education and Skills

In a similar vein as above, many submissions discussed the need not to 'reskill' veterans, but to provide greater support and advice for service leavers on how best to utilise the skills developed in the forces.

"A Graduate Recruitment scheme – where relevant skills and experience are matched with the most appropriate type of jobs and businesses? This process would start 6 to 12 months before end of service to provide enough time for transition."

ONLINE ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANT

Numerous submissions also suggested the creation of career pathways into civilian careers that are likely to value the skills developed by service personnel.

"Often personnel serving leave for industry and their long experience is lost. A direct pathway to the civil service could increase diversity in that arm and offer a way to retain skills."

TIM, LABOUR PARTY MEMBER

Services

Most of all, submission reflected the need for the better provision of key services for veterans. This included examples in healthcare:

"We need the MOD to take much more care of ex service personnel, making mental and physical health care a priority."

KEVIN, EAST OF ENGLAND

"Veteran referral hubs, run by Forces doctors, should be set up to ensure priority service for hearing, mental health and other assessments. Some orthopaedic doctors already do this on the NHS."

ROSALIND, LABOUR PARTY MEMBER

There were also clear calls for more to be done to support those who are significantly injured in combat during their service, both in the recent to near term and longer, legacy cases:

"Nuclear test veterans should be paid compensation."

RUTH, GREATER LONDON

"If servicemen are injured in the service of the state such as for example losing an arm, then the state has a moral obligation and duty not only to provide remedial and convalescence facilities for those injured servicemen or women but also training so that they can eventually get suitable employment even with a disability."

ROBIN, GREATER LONDON

Submissions – wider issues and principles

Party members, supporters, local party motions and affiliates have sent in submissions covering a wide range of global challenges from peace and justice to the climate emergency. The submissions were discussed by the Commission and formed the basis of the 10 principles.

Human rights

Many submissions reflected the desire of members to call out human rights abuses.

"Be consistent in standing up for human rights and democracy in all countries."

JASMINE, SOUTH EAST

Many submissions raised the case of Palestine, in which members voiced their concerns that international law and human rights are being violated:

"Labour must stand in full opposition to the Israeli government's declared intention to annex great swathes of the West Bank and to build many more settlements, moves that are completely illegal according to international law; and support actions to build a broad coalition against the Israel annexation and settlement building, and to continue to campaign for a two state solution to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict as the only viable solution to the unstable situation."

RICHMOND PARK CLP

Members also raised concerns for the peace and freedom of Kashmiris, highlighting concerning incidents of harassment of journalists, human rights abuses and violence.



“As an internationalist party committed to the values of human rights, social justice, equality, and democracy, it is imperative that the Labour Party recognises the Kashmir conflict as both an international political dispute underpinned by outstanding aspirations for self-determination, as well as a humanitarian issue characterised by systematic and prolonged violations of human rights.”

LABOUR FRIENDS OF KASHMIR

Submissions also included condemnations of human rights abuses in Colombia, farmers protesting in India, the Uyghur and protestors in Hong Kong,

“This meeting views with increasing alarm the arrest on Wednesday 6th January 2021 of 50 known pro-democracy and pro-human rights activists in Hong Kong”

OXFORD WEST AND ABINGDON CLP

Inequality

Many submissions called on the Party to challenge structural drivers of inequality as part of our central mission:

“The empowerment of women is an essential part of the fight for global justice.”

HIGH PEAK CLP

In response to the Shadow International Development consultation, the commission received many submissions that proposed radical solutions to gender inequality:

“A transformative policy to tackle gender inequality must address macro-level economic policy making. Far too often, gender equality strategies either ignore economic justice altogether or focus only on micro level interventions, often addressing the needs of women entrepreneurs, without addressing structural causes.”

GENDER DEVELOPMENT NETWORK

Submissions also covered a much broader array of inequalities issues across the globe, many of which have been exacerbated by Covid-19 and show how far is still to go to eliminate economic and health inequality around the world:

"It is a moral imperative to ensure all countries are equally protected against disease, regardless of wealth. The Covid-19 pandemic must be a catalyst for change in how we tackle all infectious diseases."

STEVENAGE CLP

Peace and justice

Many of the submissions received also reflected Labour campaigns for peace and justice around the world.

"Support for a peace and reconciliation initiative between Israel and Palestinians, including the right of return for Palestinians."

DANNY, LABOUR PARTY MEMBER

Additionally, Labour's affiliates and trades unions suggested means by which the UK can do more to stamp out unethical trade, modern slavery and unnecessary damage to our environment:

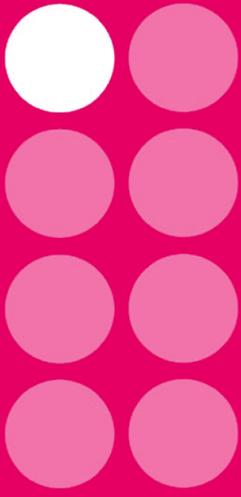
"A new law applying to all businesses operating in the UK: a "failure to prevent" law requiring companies and public bodies to undertake 'human rights and environmental due diligence' across their supply chains, and to hold companies to account when they fail to prevent harms to human rights and the environment."

UNISON

Climate justice itself was another central theme, with submissions focusing on important meetings like the G7 and COP26 to face the crisis head on:

"The UK needs to show urgent leadership on minimising climate change catastrophe. Even though the COP26 has been delayed till Nov 2021 every country still needs to submit their Paris Pledges (Nationally Determined Contributions) to the UN with actions that are sufficient to keep the world to 1.5deg of warming."

HORNSEY AND WOOD GREEN CLP



NATIONAL
POLICY
FORUM
2021

Justice and
Home Affairs

MEMBERSHIP 2021

HM Opposition

Nick Thomas-Symonds MP*

Nia Griffith MP

Louise Haigh MP

Ian Murray MP

NEC

Alice Perry*

Ann Black

Nadia Jama

Gurinder Singh Josan

CLPs and Regions

Ann Cryer – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Michael Garvey – North West Region

Simon Lightwood – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Samiya Malik – Greater London Region

Mike Payne – Welsh Policy Forum

Dave Watson – Scottish Labour Party

Linda Woodings – East Midlands Region

Affiliates

Siobhan Endean - Unite

Nadine Grandison-Mills – BAME Labour

Emily Rowles - Usdaw

*Co-convenor



The work of the Justice and Home Affairs Commission

Devolution

The Commission consulted throughout June and July 2020 on how to strengthen the devolution settlement after Coronavirus, and received hundreds of responses from CLPs, party members, and the public. The Commission also held an e-roundtable at the beginning of June, giving members the opportunity to discuss issues raised in the consultation with the then-Leader of the Scottish Labour Party, Richard Leonard MSP, the Deputy Minister and Chief Whip in the Senedd, Jane Hutt MS, the Shadow Home Secretary, Nick Thomas-Symonds MP, the Shadow Secretary of State for Wales, Nia Griffith MP, the Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Louise Haigh MP, and Shadow Scotland Minister Chris Elmore MP. At a meeting of the Commission in May, the Deputy Leader of the Scottish Labour Party, Jackie Baillie MSP, and the Police and Crime Commissioner for Northumbria, Kim McGuinness, gave evidence on strengthening devolution both between nations and at a regional or local level.

Electoral reform

Over the last year, around a third of submissions were on issues relating to the electoral system, demonstrating a strong desire among members to consider options for reform. Therefore, it was decided to hold a dedicated session on the topic this May, with shadow Minister for Democratic Engagement, Cat Smith MP, updating the Commission on issues including voter ID, the Boundary Review, and overseas voters. The Commission then took evidence on electoral reform from Sandy Martin, Chair, Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform, and Joe Sousek, Organiser for Labour for a New Democracy.

Violence against Women and Girls

At the meeting in February 2021, the Commission held a dedicated discussion with Shadow Solicitor General, Ellie Reeves MP, and Shadow Minister Shadow Minister for Domestic Violence and Safeguarding, Jess Phillips MP, on issues around violence against women and girls, including historically poor outcomes for rape victims and the continuing inadequacy of domestic violence services. The Commission's consultation document on strategies to end violence against women and girls (VAWG) was launched on 3 June. In June, the Commission hosted a well-attended members' e-roundtable event on strategies to tackle

VAWG, which included introductory remarks from shadow Home Secretary, Nick Thomas-Symonds MP, and shadow Attorney-General, Ellie Reeves MP. Shadow Policing and Fire Minister, Sarah Jones MP, then joined in members' discussions in breakout rooms. At the meeting held in July 2021, the Commission received an update from Jess Phillips MP on the Government's recently published VAWG strategy and took evidence from the End Violence Against Women Coalition.

Access to Justice

At the meeting held in May 2021, the Commission had a dedicated discussion on problems in the justice system with Shadow Justice Minister, Karl Turner MP. He raised concerns around lack of adequate funding for legal aid, and explained to the Commission that the Conservatives stripped £1bn in real-terms from the budget, leaving the system overstretched and under-resourced. Points were also raised around the impact of court backlogs, with victims, witnesses, and defendants being left in limbo for years waiting for their case to come to court. Finally, Karl outlined the dangers around the Government's plans to stifle judicial review, describing them as a power grab by trying to stop the public challenging decision-making by the Executive.

Policing and crime

In July 2020, the Commission was pleased to receive a briefing from the Police and Crime Commissioner for Northumbria, Kim McGuinness, who emphasised how important the powers of PCCs are in being able to deliver Labour values locally. She told the Commission that the Labour Party needed to embrace it as a role as it was a good opportunity for Labour to reclaim ground from the Tories. Kim highlighted the impact of Tory policy on policing and crime over the last decade, saying this demonstrated how cynical their attempts to reframe themselves as the party of law and order are.

Immigration

Over the past two years the Commission has received a number of updates from the shadow Home Secretary, Nick Thomas-Symonds MP, on the Tories' callous and incompetent approach to immigration. At the July 2020 meeting, Nick updated Members on the Immigration Bill, noting that many of the health and care workers Ministers applauded on Thursdays throughout lockdown were now being branded 'unskilled'. At this meeting, the Commission also discussed the Windrush Lessons Learned Review and Compensation Scheme. Nick warned that the compensation scheme was in a chaotic state, with people facing destitution



and not being paid the compensation they deserve. In May 2021, Nick updated the Commission on the Sovereign Borders Bill, pointing out that many measures seemed designed as an attack on immigration lawyers for doing their job. With regard to the Government's new immigration plan, Nick said that the Tories speak of a broken system but they have been in power for 11 years. He added that everyone wants an asylum system that works fairly and quickly and which protects people's rights, but this Bill will increase division and be completely ineffective.

Borders

As the Covid-19 pandemic has progressed, the Commission was pleased to receive regular updates on policy at the border from the Shadow Home Secretary, Nick Thomas-Symonds MP. The Commission heard how the Government's failure to close borders earlier allowed the disease to come to the UK from places in Europe, rather than Wuhan itself. Throughout the pandemic, measures that have been put in place have been inadequate, with barely any spot-checks on whether people were self-isolating, inadequate quarantine arrangements, and a 10-month delay in implementing testing.

Bias in the criminal justice system

The ongoing biases and disproportionality against people from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) backgrounds was discussed frequently by the Commission in 2021. At the meeting in January, Commission members discussed discrimination against Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities and the disproportionality that they face in the criminal justice system. Shadow Justice Secretary David Lammy MP agreed there was a problem, pointing out that during his review, outcomes for Roma and Traveller communities were among the most disproportionate. In May, Commission members asked questions of the Shadow Home Secretary, Nick Thomas-Symonds MP, around policing and relations with Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities in the wake of the Black Lives Matter movement. Nick said that every community in the country needs to have confidence in the police and that the Tories' erosion of community policing has hugely affected community relations. He added that there is also a need to do more on training and that the current uplift programme should be used to improve diversity in police forces. Shadow Justice Minister Karl Turner added that to tackle disproportionality in sentencing, the diversity of the judiciary needed to improve.

Security

In January 2021, the Shadow Home Secretary, Nick Thomas-Symonds MP, updated the Commission on the security and data-sharing elements of Britain's future relationship with the EU. He said it was clearly better than a no-deal scenario, but there is a serious problem around real-time data-sharing and the Home Secretary was wrong to suggest there has not been a loss of capability.

Prison and probation

The Shadow Justice Secretary, David Lammy MP, spoke to the Commission in January 2021, highlighting the impact of Covid on prisons and the wider justice system. He said cases had risen exponentially, with an alarming number of staff getting sick as well. David pointed out that prisoners are locked down for 23 hours a day, with no training or education and no work to rehabilitate people. Even access to basic services like showers has been curtailed. He said there were particular issues for women prisoners who are often vulnerable. And he noted the problem with remand prisoners – who are disproportionately from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic backgrounds - being held in unsanitary conditions while awaiting trial. David then updated the Commission on the Government's U-turn on probation privatisation, with members raising concerns about staffing levels in probation services as they are returned to the public sector.

Fire and rescue

In February 2021, the Shadow Home Secretary, Nick Thomas-Symonds MP, gave a report on the Fire Safety Bill. He told the Commission that the Grenfell Inquiry phase 1 set out a range of measures to happen without delay, and yet two years later they still have not been implemented. He said the Tories were letting down the victims of Grenfell and people were still left in dangerous buildings. The Commission was pleased to hear about Labour's attempts to protect leaseholders so they do not have to pay for historic defects in their buildings.



Principles

2020

1. Fairness and respect
2. Cooperation and common endeavour
3. Effectiveness and efficiency
4. Empowering citizens
5. Accountability and the rule of law
6. Defending democratic norms

2021

1. A comprehensive, whole-system approach
2. Long-term, sustainable funding
3. Tackle misogyny at earliest opportunity and throughout life
4. Need for concrete action, not more reviews
5. Accountability for outcomes

Ending violence against women and girls

If our country is to be the best place in the world to grow up and grow old in, women and girls must feel secure at home, at work, online, in education, and in their communities. This year's consultation once again re-emphasised that this is simply not the case for far too many women and girls across the UK.

The endemic nature of VAWG was a theme touched upon in many submissions. Coupled with this was the idea that policy-makers had all too often failed to appreciate the true scale of the problem. This lack of understanding was demonstrated by the absence of long-term, sustainable funding for refuge and community-based services, meaning women were denied access to vital assistance that could help them get away from an abusive relationship.

While improving the performance of the criminal justice system to give women greater confidence was highlighted as an immediate priority, the need to develop a comprehensive, 'whole-system' approach that looks beyond criminal justice was also emphasised. This means creating a co-ordinated, cross-government response to VAWG, similar to the 'public health' model of tackling serious violence, which would cover not just the criminal justice system but also areas such as housing, education, healthcare, the immigration system, welfare reform, the family courts and support for children.

A clear theme throughout the consultation was that prevention must be a higher priority, through challenging and changing misogynistic attitudes, as well as equipping people to better identify and support those who are victims or are at risk of becoming victims. The need to start to tackle misogyny at the earliest opportunity and for this to be a continuous process throughout life was also emphasised. In keeping with the 'whole-system' approach outlined above, submissions focused not just on the role of education, but on society as whole.

Recognising that VAWG is endemic in our society, much of the evidence received by the Commission highlighted the abundance of reviews and research that had been carried out in recent years but that very little in the way of concrete action or improved outcomes had been achieved. A common solution to this lack of action was to strengthen the mechanisms of accountability, either through new domestic legislation or by fully signing up to relevant international treaties.



Submissions to the consultation

In order to tackle a problem, we need to recognise its true scale. Throughout the year, submissions received by the Commission highlighted that VAWG is an epidemic that has been ignored for most of our history, both in our own country and across the world.

“Male violence against women and girls is historic and endemic.”

NATALIE, WEST MIDLANDS

“Violence against women and girls is a global problem that has been historically hidden, ignored, and accepted.”

LABOUR INTERNATIONAL

Beyond recognising the scale of the problem, submissions also emphasised that there are many aspects to VAWG, and that any strategy to tackle it needed to also acknowledge this complexity and nuance.

“There should also be publicity and education around the range of different groups facing layers of discrimination and abuse: LGBTQI women; BAME women; women in rural areas; women with No Recourse to Public Funds; children subjected to sexual abuse; girls charged with soliciting rather than being recognised as subject to exploitation; migrant women (including work and study visas currently excluded from Destitute Domestic Violence Concession); women with disabilities; working class women; women facing abuse due to faith based dress - niqab, hijab, sheitel; women at work - musicians, performers, freelance, self-employed, night time economy; public servants including MPs and activists; high risk during pregnancy and up to child's second birthday; women misled into relationships with undercover police.”

BRIGHTON PAVILION CLP

The consultation responses made clear that the criminal justice system is in urgent need of reform and for this to be backed up with adequate resources. At a members' roundtable event, the Commission heard that better training for those working in the criminal justice system and improved support for victims were crucial immediate steps that needed to be taken. This was also a common theme in written submissions.

“Ensure specific training for Justice and Police Services to eliminate sexism and misogyny and ensure prompt and thorough investigations into abuse, violence and rape claims.”

PHILIP, EAST

Brent North CLP said there was a need for investment in specialist police units and the and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) to tackle the appalling outcomes for rape and sexual assault. Other submissions called for better funding for Independent Domestic Violence Advisors and Independent Sexual Violence Advisors, who can help victims through the criminal justice process, or new ways of monitoring offenders.

“We urgently need a register of serial domestic abusers and stalkers akin to being on the sex offenders register.”

ROSSENDALE AND DARWIN CLP

However, evidence received throughout the consultation made clear that an approach focused on criminal justice alone can only act as a sticking plaster on an epidemic that is rooted in the prevalence of misogyny across our society.

“Harm to women and girls cannot be looked at out of context of the wider cultural and ingrained bias that exists throughout society.”

KATHRYN, NORTH

Many submissions called for a comprehensive ‘whole system’ approach, similar to the ‘public health’ model of tackling serious street violence. For instance, Harriet from the South East region called for a ‘multi-agency approach’, which would see public bodies such as the police, local government, the NHS, schools and social care, work in cooperation with groups such as tradespeople who enter homes, landlords, or flat associations to identify women at risk of abuse. Louise from the South West called for “a joined-up public health approach to prevention and early intervention” with “proper funding so services can engage in multi-agency working rather than just deliver their core service”.

In order for such a comprehensive approach to be effective, submissions emphasised the need for sustainable, long-term funding that meets demand.



“A funding structure needs to be developed for the full range of support services to assist women and girls experiencing all forms of violence against women.”

BRISTOL WEST WOMEN'S FORUM

“Funding which is both long-term and sustainable. This includes funding which is ringfenced for 'by and for' services.”

BAME LABOUR

The importance of securing sustainable funding for services that work with women from marginalised communities was also highlighted.

“The cuts in the funding to – and ability to fundraise of – organisations in the community and not-for-profit sector threaten the future of these organisations, particularly smaller ones that exist to advocate on behalf of, and support, communities and individuals. There is a real fear that this will disproportionately impact on organisations run by and for, women, BAME, disabled and LGBT+ people.”

UNITE THE UNION

A key theme running through submissions was the need to tackle the misogynistic attitudes which drive VAWG and which are pervasive in our society. At a members' roundtable event in June, several breakout groups raised the importance of education in countering the development of misogynistic attitudes at an early age.

Another common theme during the roundtable event was the need to tackle the normalisation of extreme violent sexual images through pornography and social media. Submissions also highlighted how online VAWG has become a serious issue and that there is a need for tech and social media companies to treat the issue with the seriousness it deserves.

“The pandemic has seen that technology has been used as a tool for abuse. Smart locks, webcams, or revenge porn has been used to harass victims.”

RISING GIRL

“While claiming that they are platforms rather than publishers, tech and social media companies have tried to absolve themselves from the responsibility of tackling online abuse and online VAWG.”

ASLEF

The Commission heard how challenging misogynistic attitudes and the culture which reinforces those attitudes has to require mass engagement of men and boys on an ongoing basis. This was seen as part of a process of shifting the focus of responsibility onto those who perpetrate VAWG, rather than the victims.

"We cannot claim to care about this issue, without caring about the upbringing of our sons, grandsons, nephews and brothers. So many have said that they wish they had educated their sons further. It is time to stop telling girls to protect themselves, and instead start telling boys not to be rapists, and properly educating them so they understand the full depth of responsibility to make society a safer place for their sisters, and family members."

ALICE, NORTH

White Ribbon UK told us that involvement through the education system is "essential but is not sufficient", adding:

"Such work needs reinforcing throughout adult life. Additionally working through schools means no adult men are involved. This is why White Ribbon has worked with its accreditation programme, which requires, encourages and supports the mass involvement of men and boys by setting standards for communities, sports clubs, music venues, faith groups, workplaces, housing providers and local authorities. This reinforces the message that men must speak out to their friends, relatives and colleagues to challenge men's violence against women and girls."

WHITE RIBBON UK

Two key criminal justice proposals that were identified in many submissions were making public sexual harassment a specific crime and making misogyny a hate crime.

"Introduction of new offences-street sexual harassment and misogyny."

BRENT NORTH CLP

Evidence gathered during the consultation acknowledged that issues relating to VAWG have received more attention in recent years, and have been the subject of a number of reviews, but what is needed now is real concrete action.



“Abundance of reviews and consultations but a lack of action – pandemic shows that when the government treats something as an emergency can act quickly – do not treat VAWG with the seriousness they should.”

POLICY COMMISSION ROUNDTABLE EVENT

“The enormous amount of information, initiatives, policies and reviews within the literature but these have not been actioned.”

LABOUR INTERNATIONAL

Submissions received emphasised that effective action requires true accountability for policy-makers and employers. In the workplace, UNISON called for a “new statutory duty to prevent sexual harassment”, with “dual enforcement of this duty by the EHRC and individuals.” In their submission, Unite explained that the workplace may be a key place of safety for someone experiencing domestic violence. While Usdaw told the Commission:

“We need to ensure that robust workplace policies can help to identify and provide support in a dignified manner to those experiencing domestic violence.”

USDAW

In terms of holding the Government to account, ratifying the Istanbul Convention - which sets out minimum standards for the Government to achieve in tackling VAWG - was highlighted by many.

“An important policy which must be a headline in any of Labour’s work on this theme is to fully ratify the Istanbul Convention and bring it in to law. The UK signed up to the convention in 2012 but, nine years later, has still not passed the necessary legislation.”

ASLEF

As was incorporating the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women into domestic law.

“Press for the incorporation of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women into UK, Scottish and Welsh law.”

SUTTON AND CHEAM CLP

Submissions also called on the Labour Party to set out legislative proposals at the earliest opportunity.

“Labour should bring forward a Violence Against Women and Girls Bill at the earliest opportunity in opposition or government.”

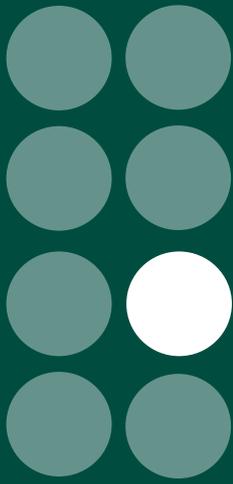
BRISTOL WEST WOMEN'S FORUM, SOUTH WEST

A number of submissions also called for the party at Westminster to emulate the Welsh Violence against Women, Domestic Abuse and Sexual Violence Act 2015, which set out ten national indicators of progress by which the Government can be held to account.

“Introduce a Bill similar to the Welsh bill of 2015.”

BRENT NORTH CLP

As this consultation has made clear, ending VAWG will require action across the whole of society. However, the Government has a crucial role to play in galvanising that national effort by driving forward a co-ordinated, cross-government response. The Commission was therefore pleased to see that Labour's Ending VAWG green paper set out many of these proposals.



NATIONAL
POLICY
FORUM
2021
Work,
Pensions
and Equality

MEMBERSHIP 2021

HM Opposition

Jonathan Reynolds MP*

Marsha de Cordova MP

Matt Rodda MP

NEC

Diana Holland*

Joanne Cairns

Shabana Mahmood MP

Ellen Morrison

Carol Sewell

CLPs and Regions

Shelly Darwin – Eastern Region

Dan Dobson – South East Region

Seán Duffy – Scottish Labour Party

Joe Morgan – West Midlands 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

Rohit Dasgupta – LGBT+ Labour

Kate Dearden – Community

Fran Springfield/Simon Lydiard – Disability Labour†

Andrew Harrop – Socialist Societies

Paddy Lillis – Usdaw

Susan Matthews – Unite

Liz Snape – UNISON

Elected Representatives

Baroness Ruth Lister

*Co-convenor

† Denotes Job Share



The work of the Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission

Policy development

The Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission met ten times over the course of this policy cycle in addition to hosting five specific roundtable events on equalities issues. Across each of the meetings, evidence sessions and roundtables, the Commission considered the disproportionate impact of Covid-19 and years of austerity on women, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities, disabled and LGBT+ people as well as the intersectionality of inequalities, including in discussions on social security and workers' rights.

The Policy Commission met for the first time during this policy cycle in May 2020. The Commission welcomed two new members of the Shadow Cabinet – Jonathan Reynolds MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions and Marsha de Cordova MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Women and Equalities.

In the Commission's first meeting, Jonathan Reynolds MP highlighted Labour's commitment to replace Universal Credit with a new system and the need to take a wider approach to eradicating child poverty. Marsha de Cordova MP highlighted the impact of Covid-19 on women, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities, disabled people and LGBT+ people, and emphasised the need for an independent inquiry into the disproportionate impact of the pandemic.

Commission members also discussed the impact on employment and the equalities impact of Covid-19 as well as the need for investment in the economy and how pre-existing inequalities had been exacerbated by the crisis.

Future of social security

In **June**, the Commission met twice in addition to holding a roundtable event, which gave members an opportunity to contribute to Labour's policy development on the future of social security after Covid-19. The Commission's first meeting in June was held following the publication of the consultation document on the future of social security. Representatives discussed the submissions that had been received, including those on trade union membership and the future of work.

The Commission also discussed motions and references back from Annual Conference 2019, including on the terrible hardship caused by Universal Credit, which has been exposed by the changes the Government has been forced to make in response to Covid-19. It was noted that the motion agreed from Women's

Conference included the development of policy to end and replace Universal Credit.

Representatives also raised the threat of major redundancies across different regions of the UK, the clear evidence that Statutory Sick Pay (SSP) is not fit for purpose, the pension injustices faced by women born in the 1950s, the need to support older workers who have been laid off and ways to tackle job insecurity and to secure decent jobs.

Universal Credit and child poverty

During the second meeting in **June**, the Commission received oral evidence on the consultation topics from the Resolution Foundation, the Child Poverty Action Group and the TUC. A key recommendation from the Resolution Foundation was to ensure the crisis does not also become a living standards crisis, highlighting the impact of the Government's upcoming £20 per week cut to Universal Credit.

This was echoed by the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) who pointed to increased use of foodbanks and rising levels of poverty. CPAG also called for the Two Child Limit to be abolished as it is unfair on families and is leading to higher levels of child poverty. They also stressed that the wider social security system was not doing enough to tackle poverty.

The TUC gave evidence showing that two million people were not eligible for SSP due to their low earnings and called for an increase to SSP. They highlighted aspects of Universal Credit that are causing hardship, including the five week wait and the system of advanced payments. They also gave evidence on the disproportionate impact of Covid-19 on women and on Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities.

Ten principles of social security

After the first consultation period had ended, the Policy Commission met again in **October** to discuss its response, which was set out in an Interim Report outlining ten key principles for social security. Those ten principles included, among others, poverty prevention, inclusivity, accessibility, dignity and respect.

The Commission also discussed the range of submissions received since the last meeting, with an acknowledgment of the important role that this Commission had to play in improving workplace issues. The group focussed on a submission outlining poverty as a key equalities issue and discussed the urgent need to outlaw "fire and rehire" tactics.



Jonathan Reynolds MP gave an update to the Commission in which he outlined how Universal Credit was not adequate and reiterated Labour's demands for reforming the social security system. He also raised the success of Marcus Rashford's recent campaign on Free School Meals, inadequacies with the Government's Kickstart scheme – which was failing to create jobs for young people on the scale needed – and how Labour had helped secure key amendments to the Pension Scheme Bill.

Jobs and employment support

In **December**, the Commission discussed the United Nations Day for Disabled People and evidence showing how badly disabled people have been treated by the Government during the pandemic. This was reiterated in a number of submissions received from members, including around Employment and Support Allowance, assessments, sanctions, Personal Independence Payments and the Government's refusal to uprate legacy benefits.

The Commission also heard oral evidence on employment from the Institute for Employment Studies and the Women's Budget Group. The Institute for Employment Studies said that one million people have lost paid work and employment is down more than half a million. That has been driven by big falls in part-time work for women and full-time self-employment for men.

In terms of the Government's response, they said it needs to hang together as an offer. They showed that the level of the contracted-out employment programme is small relative to previous years and needed scaling-up quickly. They also said that the Government needs to do more for skills and re-training to support the most disadvantaged and to boost hiring and demand.

The Women's Budget Group said the Government needs a gendered approach to the economy, stressing the inter-relationship between paid and unpaid work. They said that women are often in low-paid and insecure work because of caring responsibilities and suggested a "care-led recovery" to the pandemic, which would create jobs and lead to higher economic multiplier effects.

In response to issues raised by Commission members, both the Women's Budget Group and the Institute for Employment Studies gave further evidence on training, the contributory elements of social security, underemployment and the need for a Jobs Guarantee. During the discussion, Commission members also highlighted the vital role of trade unions and the impact of Long Covid.

Disproportionate impact of Covid-19

In **January 2021**, the Commission took oral evidence on the disproportionate impact of Covid on Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities, women, disabled people and LGBT+ people. The Runnymede Trust said the Government had failed to protect Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities. They referenced research showing that the death rate from Covid-19 is three times higher for black males, emphasising that underlying health conditions don't explain away inequalities.

The TUC then gave evidence to the Commission, saying the impact of Covid on LGBT+ communities was not well recognised because it isn't captured in Government data. They outlined evidence of bullying and harassment for LGBT+ people as well as LGBT+ people being targeted for redundancies during the pandemic. They said there have been increased levels of LGBT+ phobia and a detrimental impact of the mental health of LGBT+ people.

The Fawcett Society said the pandemic has revealed how precarious the situations are that many women face. They said women are bearing the brunt of caring responsibilities and many are struggling to feed their children. They gave evidence showing more women than men have been furloughed, highlighting that more than a third of young women work in the retail and hospitality sectors.

Inclusion London said that disabled people had been put off applying to Access to Work because assessors lacked the knowledge to help them. They also raised the £20 per week uplift to Universal Credit that has not been applied to legacy benefits and said that many disabled people were still living with the threat of sanctions. They also gave evidence outlining that access to advice had become much harder for disabled people during the pandemic.

Future of work

In **March**, the Work, Pensions and Equality Commission held a roundtable event on the Future of Work in which members discussed how Labour can build a better future for working people along with Shadow Work and Pensions Secretary, Jonathan Reynolds MP, and Shadow Employment Minister, Seema Malhotra MP.

During the roundtable, members discussed the impact of Covid-19 on working people, including the impact on women, in particular balancing childcare and flexible working, the impact on younger workers, including many who are on insecure and Zero Hour Contracts, the need for a guarantee of work for young workers and the need to fix the broken system of Statutory Sick Pay.



Members also discussed how the next Labour government can build a better future of work. They raised a number of suggestions including the need for a Jobs Promise, the importance of thinking inclusively about employment support programmes, investment in our social infrastructure – especially caring and the economic multiplier that would bring – and strengthening employment rights to enable people to better manage the combination of paid work and caring responsibilities.

Pensions and support for older people

The Commission next met in **April** where members heard evidence from the TUC and Age UK about pensions and support for older people. Age UK spoke about the importance of social security for older people, especially for single pensioners for whom it makes up around half their income.

They said the UK's state pension is not high by international standards and that means-tested benefits have a role to play as well as universal benefits, highlighting the importance – but low take-up rate – of Pension Credit. They also spoke about the importance of the Triple Lock being a much-needed boost for pensioners and future generations of pensioners.

During the evidence session, the TUC also reiterated their support for the Triple Lock and spoke about the State Pension age and the need to challenge the idea that people “work until they drop”. They raised international comparisons, saying that the UK relies more heavily than other countries on occupational pensions and said other countries are looking at ways to supplement retirement savings.

Commission members also discussed the topic for the summer consultation, which would look at how the next Labour government can build a more equal society by tackling record levels of in-work poverty and giving people greater security over their household incomes.

Building a more equal society

In **June**, the Policy Commission held a members' roundtable event on its consultation “Building a More Equal Society”. The roundtable heard from Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions, Jonathan Reynolds MP, before going into breakout rooms to discuss different sections of the consultation.

The breakout rooms covered the economic inequalities that have been exposed by Covid-19, how to rectify gaps in social security and workers' rights that have

been evident during the pandemic and how the next Labour government can give families greater security over their household incomes.

Some of the main themes emerging from the discussions centred on how interconnected we all are, the importance of strengthening workers' rights – especially around flexible working and tackling insecure work – the need to address gender, disability and racial inequalities, plans to reduce wider economic inequalities around pay and strengthening social security. Further discussions were held on Personal Independent Payments, the Government's sanctions regime, replacing Universal Credit, ending the Two Child Limit and tackling child poverty.

Following the closing of the consultation, the Policy Commission met again in **July** to discuss the submissions that had been received throughout the consultation period from members, CLPs and organisations. Representatives also discussed the content for the NPF Annual Report 2021.



Principles

1. A strengthened social security system should sit with enhanced workers' rights to ensure Britain is the best place for working people.
2. Social security should aim to prevent and relieve poverty in all its forms, including child poverty, pensioner poverty and for families and individuals both in work and out of work.
3. The social security system should provide genuine financial security.
4. Social security should be non-discriminatory, should help to counteract inequalities faced by women, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities, disabled people, LGBT+ people and due to class, and should promote individual autonomy within households.
5. An effective social security system is there for us all and should provide timely support when it is needed.
6. A strong social security system treats claimants with dignity and respect, not suspicion and punishment.
7. A strong social security system links closely with other public services, including access to lifelong learning and education.
8. An inclusive social security system should be as straightforward as possible to claim so that it is accessible for all at every stage of the process.
9. The social security system must support all types of workers, including the self-employed.
10. Although structural inequalities must be tackled across all government departments, social security can provide additional support to address imbalances in society.

Building a more equal society

To build a more equal society, Labour will bring forward a strong policy offer in all of the areas covered by the eight Policy Commissions, including on vital issues of fairness such as taxation and access to public funds for immigrants and asylum seekers. During this policy cycle, our Commission specifically focussed on how the Government has allowed pre-existing inequalities to be exacerbated and how social security and workers' rights can work to build a more equal Britain.

Our consultation responses made clear that Britain was already an unequal country going into the pandemic. The evidence we've heard is that these inequalities have been amplified and entrenched as a result of Covid-19 and the Government's failure to address them. Without action, the unequal impact of the pandemic risks rolling back decades of progress that has been made in closing inequalities.

Inequalities in our society cut across race, sex, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, disability, faith, age, class, location and employment status. They intersect to all but determine the impact that Covid-19 has had on the majority of people across the country. That is a damning indictment of the Government's failure to tackle these inequalities as they became increasingly apparent during the last eighteen months.

To address this, Labour recognises the importance of intersectionality and a cross-departmental approach towards building a more equal society. In the first instance, there needs to be a greater emphasis on gathering data and evidence by intersecting inequalities and on jobs, health and education inequalities, pay gaps and proper Equality Impact Assessments of Government policy.

That data must inform targeted interventions that close inequalities, such as Labour's plans to implement a Race Equality Act in order to tackle structural racial inequality at source, plans to incorporate the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Disabled People into law and plans to introduce stronger laws to protect new mothers against redundancy discrimination.



For Britain to be the best place to work, individuals and families must feel secure at work and secure at home and they must also be treated equally and with dignity and respect. That means a child poverty strategy, a strengthened system of social security to tackle in-work poverty alongside enhanced employment rights that provide genuine financial security. That is why Labour will replace Universal Credit with a fair and compassionate system that offers security for all and bring forward a new deal for workers.

It also means a Labour government that helps to create good, well-paid jobs across the country with proper access to training and employment support. The scale of the crisis facing young workers shows that small-scale and slow-moving employment programmes such as Kickstart and Restart are not enough; a real guarantee, as with Labour's Jobs Promise, is what's needed to tackle long-term unemployment.

It is imperative that financial security endures into older age and through retirement. As a vital part of our social security system, pensions have a crucial role in correcting lifelong injustices and inequalities. That is why women born in the 1950s have been so badly let down by successive Conservative Governments who firstly accelerated their State Pension age without adequate notice and then have done nothing to address the hardship many have suffered as a result.

With increasing pressure reportedly being put on the Triple Lock on state pensions by this Government along with growing evidence of the inadequacy of Auto Enrolment, it is essential the next Labour government brings forward policies to ensure security and dignity in retirement for older people today and future generations.

Submissions to the consultation

Updated ten principles of social security

In light of the evidence and submissions received by the Policy Commission, the ten principles of social security set out in the Interim Report have been updated to reflect an emphasis on how social security should help tackle poverty and inequality in all forms. Submissions have made clear that women, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic, disabled and LGBT+ people faced huge inequalities going into the pandemic and these pre-existing inequalities have been exacerbated over the last eighteen months.

Many of the submissions emphasised the crucial relationship between social security and workers' rights and an amendment has been made to reflect how the two must sit together to work effectively. A further amendment has been made to emphasise how social security should provide genuine financial security. This has been especially pertinent over the last year as the Government plans to cut £1,040 from six million families through cuts to Universal Credit, causing great uncertainty and worry.

Inequality before Covid-19

Many submissions demonstrated how Britain had become increasingly unequal in the decade leading up to the pandemic, thanks to successive Conservative Governments making cuts to social security and public services. It is clear that Britain was left exposed going into the pandemic with record levels of in-work poverty, rising inequality and growing levels of financial insecurity.

"We should not forget that millions of people have been faced with the constant pressure of not having enough money to live on long before Covid-19 arrived. The virus is now shining a light on how unfit for purpose our system of welfare is."

FINANCIAL INCLUSION COMMISSION

Submissions demonstrated the importance of tackling the "Poverty Premium", which has been shown to exacerbate poverty before the pandemic and which has become even more pronounced since Covid-19. The additional costs of living in poverty were emphasised by a number of the submissions as a contributing factor to long-term deprivation, making it even more difficult to break the poverty cycle.



“People on low incomes pay more than better-off consumers for a range of products. This includes energy [...] credit [...] and insurance. This is known as the poverty premium and it is paid by almost every single low income household. It costs an average £490 a year and at least £780 for more than one in ten.”

FAIR BY DESIGN

“Tackling the poverty premium is a clear and simple commitment that will make a difference to people's lives. Not just the 14.5 million people in poverty but those on the fringes, as well as everyone who is one job loss or illness away from an income shock.”

THE BIG HELP PROJECT

The unequal impact of Covid-19

Along with the specific programme of equalities roundtable events and a dedicated evidence session, the Commission has received substantial evidence outlining the disproportionate impact of Covid-19, particularly on women, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic, disabled and LGBT+ people. Submissions received to our consultation further demonstrate the failure of the Government to address these inequalities during the course of the pandemic.

“The pandemic has highlighted how women, BAME and disabled people are hardest hit by inequality. The impact of legislation on increasing inequality needs to be considered and laws must be enforced.”

DENNIS YORKSHIRE & THE HUMBER

Many submissions outlined the risks to gender equality arising from Covid-19 and the need for a gendered response to the crisis, including the reinstatement of Gender Pay Gap reporting, affordable childcare and flexible working. Many pointed to the work of the Women's Budget Group showing that investment in a caring economy would be hugely beneficial to the economy and towards tackling inequalities of pay and social care provision.

“The Labour Party must fully recognise the negative impact the pandemic has had on gender equality. This is partly explained by the fact that many frontline jobs are carried out by women and as increased caring responsibilities (including as regards home schooling) still disproportionately fall to women. As a practical step, gender pay gap reporting needs to be restored and businesses must be required to publish their data.”

PROGRESSIVE BRITAIN

“Women's work in the caring economy has been laid bare by the pandemic: in the home, healthcare, childcare, social care, education, women are at the heart of the social infrastructure. In the pandemic, reliance on the care economy becomes evermore critical, whilst exacerbating gender inequalities.”

BRISTOL WEST WOMEN'S FORUM

Submissions also showed how the Government has failed to prevent and address inequalities facing Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people, especially the fact that a disproportionate number of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people have died during the pandemic and a disproportionate number of have become unemployed. Many welcomed Labour's plans for a Race Equality Act to tackle structural racial equality at source and policy suggestions were made around Section 14 of the Equality Act in order to tackle dual discrimination and intersecting inequalities.

“Recent research reveals that over 1,500 health and social care workers died from COVID-19 in the UK, a majority of frontline Black workers, without access to PPE and sick pay.”

BAME LABOUR

“Implement Equality Act 2010, Section 14 on dual discrimination e.g. addressing maternity care where Afrikan mothers are 5 times more likely to die and their babies 50% more likely.”

GLOBAL AFRIKAN CONGRESS UK

Along with this submission on Section 14 of the Equality Act, a number of submissions raised the importance of enacting Section 1, the socio-economic duty, of the Equality Act in order to address inequalities.

Many submissions outlined the issues that disabled people have faced during the pandemic, including the impact on mental health from being less connected, the inadequacy of sickness and absence policies, the disability pay gap, the continued threat of sanctions, an assessment process that is not fit for purpose and the Government's failure to uprate legacy benefits by the £20 per week increase that was made to Universal Credit.



“Disability – the assessment for disabled people is not fit for purpose. Financial insecurity and the threat of sanctions, often without good cause, should be replaced with a process which supports rather than penalises the applicant.”

ROSALIND SOUTH EAST

“Shaw Trust is a member of Disability Benefits Consortium and supports their call for the current temporary £20 uplift in Universal Credit to be made permanent, and to be applied to all legacy benefits.”

SHAW TRUST

Submissions also reflected the evidence session and roundtable events that were held on the impact of Covid-19 on LGBT+ people. Issues that were raised included growing levels of harassment and bullying especially against those in insecure work, the impact on mental health, the need for specialist LGBT+ services, the need for a full ban on conversion therapy, progressive changes to the Gender Recognition Act and action to close the LGBT+ pay gap.

“A YouGov survey for LinkedIn measured the LGBT+ pay gap at £6,700 pa or 16% of annual earnings in summer 2019. Not only does this pay gap need addressing, so does the situation facing trans and non-binary people.”

BRIGHTON PAVILION CLP

Strengthening social security

A large number of submissions demonstrated how social security needs to be strengthened in order to build a more equal society. In particular, submissions showed how Universal Credit is failing to tackle poverty and financial insecurity. Many outlined how the initial five week wait is creating hardship and causing people to fall into debt by their being forced to either take out an advance loan or run down any available savings.

“When someone initiates a new claim for Universal Credit they have to wait at least five weeks for their first regular payment. This wait makes it harder for families to rebuild financial security after a crisis as, during those five weeks without income, they run down any available savings or take out an advance loan and fall into debt.”

CHILD POVERTY ACTION GROUP

There was a clear view from submissions that the Government must cancel its planned cut to Universal Credit, which will leave six million families £1,040 a year worse off and push hundreds of thousands of children into poverty. Submissions also welcomed Labour's plans to replace Universal Credit with a fair and compassionate system that offers security for all (and called, in particular, for the Two Child Limit and the Benefit Cap to be removed). Many submissions also pointed to the broken system of Statutory Sick Pay, both in terms of the coverage and level of sick pay.

"We must keep the Universal Credit uplift, which was introduced during the pandemic because it was clear that current benefits are not adequate. We must work to replace UC with a fairer system but in the meantime we must abolish the cruel two child limit on UC and tax credits."

ELIZABETH NORTH WEST

In response to our question about gaps in social security, many submissions pointed to the situation that has been faced by self-employed workers throughout the pandemic. In October, self-employed workers face the end of the Self-Employed Income Support Scheme, the reintroduction of the Minimum Income Floor and the £20 per week cut to Universal Credit. Submissions called for stronger employment rights for self-employed workers, especially around Sick Pay, Holiday Pay and Parental Leave.

"A substantial safety net for the self-employed needs to be implemented, from scratch, including a fair rate of sick pay, increased maternity allowance and the creation of paid paternity and parental leave for self-employed workers. It's clear that proper sick pay is essential to stop people from working when ill and infecting others, as the pandemic has shown."

COMMUNITY

Question four of our consultation asked about the role of pensions in social security as a way of providing financial security. Since then, the Government has sought to undermine the Triple Lock on state pensions and it has come under increasing threat of being either abolished or suspended. Many submissions emphasised how the Triple Lock is crucial not just for older people today but for future generations and is making up for low levels of retirement provision by international standards.



“UNISON believes the triple lock is not only fair to younger generations but essential especially for those that will have to rely on the State Pension for a high proportion of their retirement income when they reach retirement. The removal of the triple lock would mean the relative value of the State Pension would start to decline again as it did between 1980 and 2003 when it was only linked to price inflation.”

UNISON

Submissions also outlined how Auto Enrolment needs to be more inclusive if it is to provide financial security on the scale needed. In particular, the submission from Usdaw made clear suggestions about how Auto Enrolment can be reviewed and changed so that it covers more workers and leads to the necessary level of retirement savings.

“Auto-enrolment must be reformed to be more inclusive. We need to see: the age threshold reduced to 18, [...] the earnings trigger of £10,000 to be reviewed [...] contributions should apply from the first £1 of pay [and] there should be a mechanism for contributions to continue to increase over time.”

USDAW

Addressing our question about how to reduce reliance on means-testing, a number of submissions emphasised the potential role of Universal Basic Income. Other submissions suggested that a “mixed” system of contribution-based, means-tested and universal social security can help to ensure financial security. A number of submissions also spoke of the economic and equality benefits of public investment in social infrastructure, reiterating the evidence the Commission had heard earlier in the cycle from the Women’s Budget Group and their specific example of a “care-led recovery”.

A new deal for workers

The pandemic has brought into sharp focus the need for a package of enhanced workers' rights in order to reduce poverty, tackle inequalities across society and to empower workers. Many submissions outlined current inadequate employment rights and how new ways of working will mean greater protections are needed in the future.

“Unite believe the Covid-19 crisis has, and will continue to, expose how inadequate the rights and protections workers in this country have – with women, BAME, disabled and LGBT+ workers the most likely to endure this. Unite are clear that people's ability to raise issues at work and to assert their rights at work is inextricably linked to their security at work.”

UNITE THE UNION

Alongside Labour's taskforce of affiliated unions and the Economy, Business and Trade Policy Commission, evidence received by our Policy Commission has contributed to the development of Labour's plans for a new deal for workers. That plan includes full rights from day one, a new right to work flexibly and strengthened trade unions along with a Jobs Promise for young people, a Real Living Wage of £10 an hour and outlawing “fire and rehire” practices.

“If we allow practices such as ‘fire and rehire’ to spread and escalate it will become normalised, undermining all of our pay and working conditions, damaging our society and people's lives. It will deepen poverty even further and accelerate our obscene wealth inequalities. It is harmful to people's mental health and their ability to spend time with their families and plan and build their futures.”

BANBURY AND BICESTER CLP



National Policy Forum membership

(CLP) East Midlands Region – Alice Grice

(CLP) East Midlands Region – Tony Tinley

(CLP) East Midlands Region – Tom Unterrainer

(CLP) East Midlands Region – Adele Williams

(CLP) Eastern Region – Russell Cartwright

(CLP) Eastern Region – Shelley Darwin

(CLP) Greater London Region – Grace Blakeley

(CLP) Greater London Region – Nicky Gavron

(CLP) Greater London Region – Yannis Gourtsayoannis

(CLP) Greater London Region – Carol Turner

(CLP) North West Region – Mohammed Azam

(CLP) North West Region – Lorraine Beavers

(CLP) North West Region – Angela Coleman

(CLP) North West Region – Michael Garvey

(CLP) Northern Region – Lewis Atkinson

(CLP) Northern Region – Denise Robson

(CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Seán Duffy

(CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Caitlin Kane

(CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Rhea Wolfson

(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 – Holly Jarrett

(CLP) South West Region – Thomas Pearce

(CLP) South West Region – Carol Wilcox

(CLP) South West Region – Brenda Weston

(CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Anthony John Beddow

(CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Mike Bird

(CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Maggie Simpson

(CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Sophie Williams

(CLP) West Midlands Region – Teresa Beddis

(CLP) West Midlands Region – Simon Foster

(CLP) West Midlands Region – Emily Horsfall



(CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Lisa Banes
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Ann Cryer
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – George Norman

(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) 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 – Tracey Fussey
 (TU) CWU – Dave Ward
 (TU) GMB – Dean Gilligan
 (TU) GMB – Mary Hutchinson
 (TU) GMB – Barbara Plant
 (TU) GMB – Laurence Turner
 (TU) TSSA – Mick Carney
 (TU) UNISON – Linda Hobson
 (TU) UNISON – Gordon McKay
 (TU) UNISON – Dave Prentis
 (TU) UNISON – Liz Snape
 (TU) Unite – Tony Burke
 (TU) Unite – Gail Cartmail
 (TU) Unite – Siobhan Endean
 (TU) Unite – Phillipa Marsden
 (TU) Unite – Susan Matthews
 (TU) Unite – Len McCluskey
 (TU) Unite – David Quayle
 (TU) Unite – Maggie Ryan
 (TU) Unite – Steve Turner
 (TU) Unite – Tony Woodhouse
 (TU) Usdaw – Carrie Aspin
 (TU) Usdaw – Tony Dale
 (TU) Usdaw – Paddy Lillis
 (TU) Usdaw – David McCrossen
 (TU) Usdaw – Emily Rowles

(Region) East Midlands Region – Linda Woodings
 (Region) Eastern Region – Cameron Matthews
 (Region) Eastern Region – Bryony Rudkin
 (Region) Greater London Region – Elly Baker
 (Region) Greater London Region – Adrian Weir

(Region) North West Region – Wendy Simon
(Region) North West Region – Steve Turner
(Region) Northern Region – Simon Henig
(Region) Northern Region – Clare Williams
(Region) Scottish Labour Party – Eva Murray
(Region) Scottish Labour Party – Dave Watson
(Region) South East Region – Karen Constantine
(Region) South East Region – Carol Hayton
(Region) South West Region – Neil Guild
(Region) Welsh Labour Party – Ivan Monckton
(Region) Welsh Labour Party – Jen Smith
(Region) West Midlands Region – Joe Morgan
(Region) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Simon Lightwood
(Region) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Karen Reay

(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 – Anntoinette Bramble
(LG) Local Government Association – Michael Payne
(LG) Welsh Local Government Association – Huw David

Socialist Societies – Andrew Harrop
Socialist Societies – Sina Lari

BAME Labour – Nadine Grandison-Mills
BAME Labour – Gloria Mills
BAME Labour – June Nelson

East & South East Asians for Labour – Sonny Leong

Parliamentary Labour Party – Fleur Anderson
Parliamentary Labour Party – Neil Coyle
Parliamentary Labour Party – Maria Eagle
Parliamentary Labour Party – Julie Elliott
Parliamentary Labour Party – Andrew Gwynne
Parliamentary Labour Party – Darren Jones
Parliamentary Labour Party – Catherine McKinnell
Parliamentary Labour Party – Ian Mearns

House of Lords – Jim Knight
House of Lords – Ruth Lister

Labour International – Jos Gallacher



LGBT Labour – Rohit Dasgupta

Disability Labour – Fran Springfield/Simon Lydiard

Scottish Policy Forum (chair) – Agnes Tolmie
 Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair) – Clare Lally
 Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair) – Paul O’Kane

Welsh Policy Forum (chair) – Mike Payne
 Welsh Policy Forum (vice chair) – Carolyn Harris
 Welsh Policy Forum (vice chair) – Dilys Jouvenat
 Welsh Policy Forum – Jenny Rathbone

Co-operative Party (General Secretary) – Joe Fortune
 Co-operative Party – Chris Bain
 Co-operative Party – Rosa Bolger

Shadow Cabinet – Jonathan Ashworth
 Shadow Cabinet – Kate Green
 Shadow Cabinet – Ed Miliband
 Shadow Cabinet – Lisa Nandy
 Shadow Cabinet – Steve Reed
 Shadow Cabinet – Rachel Reeves
 Shadow Cabinet – Jonathan Reynolds
 Shadow Cabinet – Nick Thomas-Symonds

National Executive Committee – Keir Starmer
 National Executive Committee – Nadia Jama
 National Executive Committee – Yasmine Dar
 National Executive Committee – Ann Black
 National Executive Committee – Luke Akehurst
 National Executive Committee – Johanna Baxter
 National Executive Committee – Gurinder Singh-Josan
 National Executive Committee – Laura Pidcock
 National Executive Committee – Mish Rahman
 National Executive Committee – Gemma Bolton
 National Executive Committee – Angela Rayner
 National Executive Committee – Anneliese Dodds
 National Executive Committee – Alice Perry
 National Executive Committee – Nick Forbes
 National Executive Committee – John Cryer
 National Executive Committee – Margaret Beckett
 National Executive Committee – Angela Eagle
 National Executive Committee – George Howarth
 National Executive Committee – Shabana Mahmood
 National Executive Committee – James Asser
 National Executive Committee – Carol Sewell

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 – Tom Warnett
National Executive Committee – Kathy Abu-Bakir
National Executive Committee – Mark Ferguson
National Executive Committee – Howard Beckett
National Executive Committee – Andy Kerr
National Executive Committee – Michael Wheeler
National Executive Committee – Ian Murray
National Executive Committee – Mick Whelan
National Executive Committee – Carwyn Jones
National Executive Committee – Lara McNeill
National Executive Committee – Alan Campbell
National Executive Committee – Ellen Morrison



Appendices

NPF consultation 2021: submitting organisations

20's Plenty

Anglo American

ASLEF

BAME Labour

Chartist Magazine

Child Poverty Action Group

Community

Comprehensive Future

Cultural Diversity Network (CDN)

Fair By Design

Financial Inclusion Commission

Frozen UK State Pensions

Global Afrikan Congress UK

Green Alliance, European Climate Foundation and Hanbury Strategy

Health Poverty Action

Humanists UK

Inivos

Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform

Labour for a Green New Deal

Labour for a New Democracy

Labour Housing Group

LCER South West

LGA Labour Group

London Mining Network

MSI Reproductive Choices

NACSILS National Care, Support and Independent Living Service

National Association for Therapeutic Education

National Education Union

Our Shared World

Positive Wellbeing Association

Progressive Britain



Race, Racism and Health

Rising Girl

Royal British Legion

Shaw Trust

Social Enterprise Link (Wessex CIC)

Socialist Education Association

Socialist Health Association

Socialist Health Association and Doctors in Unite

The Big Help Project (Knowsley Foodbank)

The Business Services Association

Trusting Communities

UK SPA injustice and the road to justice campaign

UNISON

Unite

Unison

Usdaw

WePaidInYouPayOut

White Ribbon UK

WorldSkills UK

Your Town Your Pride

NPF consultation 2021: submitting CLPs

Aberconwy CLP
Banbury and Bicester CLP
Birmingham Northfield CLP
Blyth Valley BLP
Bosworth CLP
Bournville BLP
Brent North CLP
Brighton Kemptown and Peacehaven CLP
Brighton Pavilion CLP
Brighton Pavilion CLP (BAME Branch)
Brighton Pavilion CLP (Disabled Members' Branch)
Brighton Pavilion CLP (LGBT+ Forum)
Brighton Pavilion CLP (Older Members' Forum)
Brighton Pavilion CLP (Women's Branch)
Bristol South CLP
Bristol West CLP (Women's Forum)
Broseley and Much Wenlock BLP

Christchurch CLP

Edinburgh Central CLP

Finchley and Kilburn BLP

Guildford CLP

Hertford and Ware BLP

High Peak CLP

Hornsey and Wood Green CLP

Hove CLP

Islington North CLP

Jesmond BLP

Labour International

Lewes CLP

Lewisham Deptford CLP

Lewisham East CLP

Maidenhead CLP



Newcastle Central CLP

North Somerset CLP

North Swindon CLP

Oxford East CLP

Oxford West and Abingdon CLP

Pavilion BLP

Richmond Park CLP

Rossendale and Darwen CLP

Shipleigh CLP

St Austell and Newquay CLP

St Peter's and North Laine BLP

Stalybridge and Hyde CLP

Stockport CLP

Sutton and Cheam CLP

Tatton CLP

Taunton Deane CLP

Tewkesbury CLP

The Cotswolds CLP

Torridge and West Devon CLP

Truro and Falmouth CLP

Uxbridge and South Ruislip CLP

Wallasey CLP

Warrington South CLP

Wells CLP

Woking CLP

Stakeholders who gave evidence to the National Policy Forum

Age UK

ASCL

ASLEF

Association of British Travel Agents

Association of Colleges

Association of Directors of Adult Social Services (ADASS)

BAME Labour

Birmingham City Council

British Foreign Policy Group

Carers UK

Chartist Magazine

Child Poverty Action Group

CLES

Close the Gap

Community

Cultural Diversity Network

Disability Labour

East and South East Asians

for Labour Party

Education Endowment Foundation

Education Policy Institute

Electoral Reform Society

End Violence Against Women

and Girls Coalition

European Climate Foundation

Fair By Design

Fawcett Society

Financial Inclusion Commission

Global Afrikan Congress UK

GMB

Green Alliance

Health Poverty Action



Human Rights Watch

Humanists UK

Inclusion London

Institute for Employment Studies

International Consortium of Frozen Pensions

Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Labour Business

Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform

Labour for a Green New Deal

Labour for a New Democracy

Labour for Devolution

Labour Party Irish Society

LGA Labour Group

LGBT Labour

London Mining Network

Make Votes Matter

Mental Health First Aid England

MillionPlus

NASUWT

National Autistic Society

National Union of Students

NEU

Pregnant, then Screwed

Progressive Britain

Resolution Foundation

Rethink Mental Illness

Rising Girl

Russell Group

Scope

Shaw Trust

Socialist Environment and Resources Association

The Anti-Counterfeiting Group

The Big Help Project
The British Medical Association (BMA)
The Centre for Mental Health
The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions
The Equality Trust
The Health Foundation
The Law Society
The Royal College of Nursing (RCN)
The Runnymede Trust
The Sutton Trust
The UCL Institute of Health Equity
Trades Union Congress
TSSA
TUC

UCU
UK SPA injustice and the road to justice campaign
UNISON
Unite
UniversitiesUK
Usdaw

WePaidInYouPayOut
White Ribbon UK
Women's Budget Group
Working Chance





Labour
policy forum

policyforum.labour.org.uk

Labour Policy Forum is Labour's online home of policy development and ideas.

Take part in our open and democratic policy making process.

Make a submission, join online discussions and take part in our consultations.