

LABOUR PARTY

# NATIONAL POLICY FORUM REPORT 2016





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# Introduction

Following the completion of the Agenda 2015 process which produced the Manifesto on which we fought the last General Election, Conference 2015 was an opportunity to take stock. Conference saw us launch a review of how we develop and make policy as a party. To reflect what members have told us, the review was tasked with making our processes more inclusive, open and democratic. This included a commitment to listen to the views of our members, supporters and affiliates about what in the National Policy Forum process they think works well at present, what doesn't work so well, and what they would like to see change.

While the review of structures and processes is ongoing it is important that the National Policy Forum (NPF) continues to function as a forum for policy discussion. Therefore, alongside the review, the NPF began its work on the first year of a new rolling programme across a Parliament to develop policy for the next manifesto.

The National Executive Committee tasked the NPF with leading on a consultation process with the Party around seven key policy challenges of immediate concern based on what people had told us through our policy-making process, including the NPF and Annual Conference.

To deliver this work the NPF was split into seven new policy commissions arranged on a departmental basis. Each commission drew up a short discussion document on its priority issue and views were sought from Party members, supporters, affiliates and the wider public on what Labour's priorities and policy approach should be in these areas.

We are delighted that so many members have chosen to get involved, sending their thoughts and ideas to the various policy commissions throughout the year.

At the beginning of the summer the priority issue documents were updated to reflect what had been heard. These documents can be found on pages 49-106 of this report.

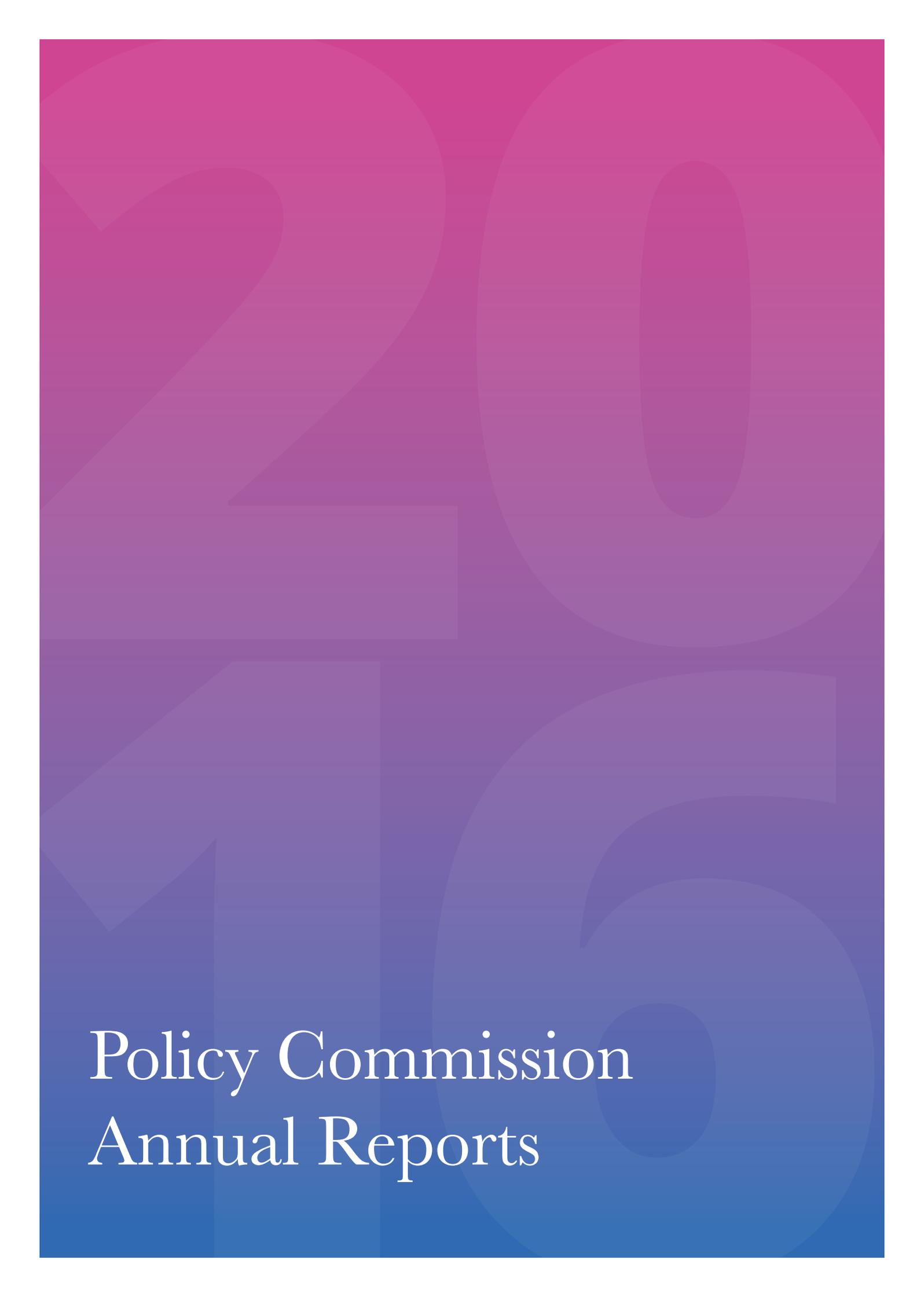
As well as the work looking at the priority issues, the policy commissions continued to look at all submissions and pertinent issues in their respective remits throughout the year. This has been supported by work and reviews initiated by Shadow Cabinet Ministers, for example on developing economic policy the review of the Treasury announced at Conference by the Shadow Chancellor. In some areas specific policy reviews had been announced at Annual Conference, for example the review of strategic defence and security policy announced by the Leader and Shadow Defence Secretary.

The work of the policy commissions is set out in detail on pages 8 to 46 of this report.

We thank all those who have taken part in policy-making this year and look forward to debating these documents at Annual Conference 2016. We hope many more of you will get involved again next year as the NPF continues the vital work building towards the next general election.

**Simon Jackson**  
**Director of Policy and Research**





Policy Commission  
Annual Reports

# Economy | Annual Report

## Membership 2015/16

### HM Opposition

John McDonnell MP\*  
Angela Eagle MP†<sup>1</sup>  
Owen Smith MP†<sup>2</sup>  
Seema Malhotra MP†<sup>3</sup>

### NEC

Margaret Beckett\*  
Jennie Formby\*  
Ann Black  
Andy Kerr  
Ann Lucas  
Rebecca Long-Bailey  
Pete Willsman

### CLPs and Regions

Rufia Ashraf  
Iona Baker  
John Cullinane  
Fiona Dent  
Rachel Garnham  
Jeevan Jones  
Fred Grindrod  
Sam Gurney  
Simon Henig  
Stephanie Peacock  
Sam Pritchard  
Katrina Murray  
Carl Webb

### Affiliates

Claire McCarthy  
Dave Prentis  
Dave Ward  
John Hannett  
Liz Snape  
Sonny Leong  
Steve Turner  
Tim Roache  
Tony Burke  
Elected Reps  
Anneliese Dodds MEP  
Chris Leslie MP  
Mary Maguire  
Sharon Taylor

### \*Co-convenor

†<sup>1</sup> Replaced by Jon Trickett MP  
†<sup>2</sup> Replaced by Debbie Abrahams MP  
†<sup>3</sup> Replaced by Rebecca Long-Bailey MP

## Policy Development

The Economy Policy Commission is charged with developing Labour's policy on the economy, business and social security. It meets regularly to consider evidence and submissions; identifying challenges and developing Labour's policy in these areas.

The Economy Policy Commission is an amalgamation of what were two separate Policy Commissions under Agenda 2015, the Stability and Prosperity Commission and the Work and Business Commission.

Annual Conference 2015 prioritised and discussed contemporary resolutions within the remit of the Economy Policy Commission. These included composites on austerity and public services, and employment rights. The austerity and public services composite called on the Labour Party to oppose Government austerity and prioritise investment to provide for public services and boost economic growth. The composites on employment rights condemned government plans for extended Sunday trading hours, the Trade Union Bill and the rise of insecure employment models characterised by low pay, exploitative contracts and growing in-work poverty.

The Stability and Prosperity Policy Commission held a policy seminar at Annual Conference 2015. This was very well attended with a large number of delegates contributing to a lively debate. Issues raised included the need to support small- and medium-sized businesses, the importance of the manufacturing and construction sectors to the economy, the need to tackle the tax gap and regional disparities in prosperity.

The Work and Business Policy Commission also held a policy seminar at Annual Conference 2015. This was similarly well attended and issues raised included the need for a debate and review of the pensions system, Labour's position on the household Benefit Cap, changes to tax credits and employment rights and social security policy more generally.

The newly constituted Economy Policy Commission first met in February 2016. The purpose of this meeting was to consider what the priorities should

be for the year ahead.

Throughout 2016 the Commission investigated some of the key challenges in building a productive economy. This includes how we ensure we have the right skills and infrastructure, how we can rebalance the economy between the UK's regions and nations, and how we develop a proper industrial strategy that supports our strategic industries in order to compete with the rest of the world.

The Commission issued a consultation document 'Building a Productive Economy' and heard from a number of the UK's major economic organisations, trade unions and many party members and Constituency Labour Parties. The Commission asked the Federation of Small Businesses (FSB); EEF, the manufacturers' organisation; the Local Government Association (LGA); Unite the Union, and the Trades Union Congress to present to the Commission in person. Others were asked to make written submissions. The outcome of the consultation and some of the Commission's early findings can be found in this document.

During our first meeting in February 2016, the Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury, Seema Malhotra MP, and the Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills, Angela Eagle MP, attended the meeting and provided an update on the work of their respective shadow teams.

Seema Malhotra provided an update on the economic context and discussed slowing growth and earnings, pressures on the public finances and troubles in the steel industry. She also provided an update to the Commission on work already undertaken by the Shadow Treasury team on building Labour's economic credibility, including the establishment of the Economic Advisory Council, and reviews into the workings of the Treasury and HM Revenue and Customs.

Angela Eagle spoke about the need to build Labour's relationship with business, and challenge the Government on the Trade Union Bill.

The Commission met in March 2016, after the Budget on 16th March. Seema Malhotra spoke about the Budget and in particular the downgrading of important economic indicators for last year, this year and for every year of this Parliament. She spoke about the

controversy around proposed cuts to Personal Independence Payments (PIP) and what it said of the Government's priorities. She mentioned Labour's recently announced Fiscal Credibility Rule, and it was agreed that at a future meeting of the Commission there will be a briefing from the Shadow Treasury team on the details of the rule.

Angela Eagle also spoke about Budget forecasts which showed that last year, this year and every year of the Parliament, productivity growth was downgraded. She highlighted that these downgraded forecasts were largely due to home-grown causes - primarily failure on exports, manufacturing and skills. Angela Eagle discussed the ongoing steel crisis, including the lack of serious intervention from the Government. Angela Eagle also mentioned the serious defeats the Government suffered on the Trade Union Bill and Labour's victory on Sunday trading rules.

Debbie Abrahams MP, the Shadow Minister for Disabled People, provided an update on behalf of the Shadow Work and Pensions team. She spoke about the proposed cuts to Personal Independence Payments (PIP) and what it said of the character of the Government. Debbie Abrahams spoke about a piece of work she was already undertaking on the cumulative impact of cuts to disability benefits since 2010. On other areas of the DWP portfolio, she provided the Commission with an update on the Government's Universal Credit programme, and in particular the cuts to Universal Credit that are still due to come in over the longer-term, despite the supposed u-turn on cuts to Tax Credits. She also updated the Commission on the work of the shadow team in relation to the campaign to prevent the State Pension age increasing for some women born in the early 1950s.

In May 2016, John McDonnell MP, the Shadow Chancellor, spoke about the recent controversy around the so-called 'Panama Papers' and the issue of tax evasion and aggressive tax avoidance more generally. He updated the Commission on Labour's policy and highlighted the action that the Party had already taken in Parliament on the issue. John McDonnell also provided a short update on the work of the Economic Advisory Council and the upcoming 'State of the Economy' event on the 21st May, to which all members of the Commission were invited.

Stephen Kinnock MP provided an update on behalf of the Shadow BIS team. He led a discussion on the steel crisis and the recent government announcement that it was willing to take a 25 per cent stake in the business. Nevertheless, it was noted that that the steel industry in the UK was hanging by a thread and that more government action was needed. He also updated the Commission on the Trade Union Bill; he told the Commission that the Government was forced to water down the original proposals but that more needed to be done and if passed, Labour in government would repeal it in its entirety.

In June 2016, John McDonnell spoke about the importance of the upcoming referendum on the UK's membership of the European Union. He spoke about the things he, Jeremy Corbyn MP, and the Shadow Treasury team were campaigning on; namely workers' rights, the environment and the importance of the European Union in underpinning significant investment in the UK economy. John McDonnell's office presented and led a discussion on the Fiscal Credibility Rule, which in normal times commits Labour in government to set out a plan to eliminate the current spending deficit on a forward-looking, five-year rolling timescale, while ensuring government retains the flexibility to invest.

Seema Malhotra provided a second update on behalf of the Shadow Treasury team. She spoke about the importance of the upcoming referendum and updated the Commission on an event she attended in support of the Labour In campaign, a Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) press conference aimed at raising awareness of the benefits of the European Union to ethnic minority groups. She informed the Commission that there would be an Opposition Day debate on the potential impact of Brexit on the economy and told the Commission that the Shadow Treasury team would be playing a key role in highlighting the risk of Brexit, and the benefits of EU membership.

Bill Esterson MP provided an update on behalf of the Shadow BIS team. He discussed the recent controversies surrounding BHS and Sports Direct and the response from the Shadow BIS team. He noted that the issue of wealth extraction and irresponsible businesses needed to be confronted

by the Labour Party, and that a full enquiry was needed with an urgent need for lessons to be learnt.

In July 2016, the Commission held a teleconference to discuss the impact of the UK leaving the European Union on the UK economy.

## Current Issues

### **The UK's vote to leave the European Union**

The Commission believes that the UK's vote to leave the European Union (EU) is a real and present risk to the prosperity of UK households and the UK economy.

The Commission endorsed John McDonnell's 'economic red-lines' for future negotiations to leave the EU which must be met for Labour to back an Article 50 vote. First, our aim must be to ensure freedom of trade for UK businesses in the EU, and freedom of trade for EU businesses in the UK. Second, no EU citizen currently living or working in the UK should have their residency rights affected, and no UK citizen currently living or working in the EU should have their rights affected. Third, existing protections at work provided by the EU must be maintained. Fourth, the UK's role in the European Investment Bank should be maintained. And fifth, the rights of UK financial service companies to conduct business across the EU must be maintained. The Commission believes that any path through the negotiations that does not respect these guidelines will be liable to have severe consequences for jobs, growth and workers' rights.

The Commission believes that the challenges ahead are immense, and that there is significant work yet to do on ensuring the best possible future for the UK outside the EU. The Commission notes with concern that some of the UK's most deprived communities were some of those most likely to have voted to leave the UK, but that these are the very communities most likely to suffer if the challenges facing us are not met head-on and overcome. The Commission is committed to ensuring that these communities do not lose out as a result of leaving the EU and will work to ensure that current funding levels available through EU Structural and

Investment funds are maintained.

The Commission believes that the task of building a productive economy, that shares prosperity across the regions and nations of the UK, has never been a more important task or one that has such wide ranging implications for the British people. The Commission is committed to examining in detail the wide ranging and complex economic and business challenges posed by the UK's vote to leave the EU.

### **Responsible business and the need for a proper active industrial strategy**

Submissions to the Commission told us that a comprehensive industrial strategy is needed to build a productive economy that can provide high-quality, high-wage jobs for the future. Submissions also indicated that an industrial strategy is needed to ensure growth and investment is better shared across the regions and nations of the UK. The Commission agreed that an active industrial strategy is essential in the building of a modern, productive economy and we look forward to building on our initial findings that can be found in our Priority Issue Document, 'Building a Productive Economy'.

Other submissions were concerned about the increasingly short-term nature of corporate governance in the UK. The Commission noted with concern recent examples of corporate failure and agreed that greater incentives for long-term management and success were needed. One way of achieving this, the Commission agreed, is through greater involvement of the workforce in corporate management.

### **Austerity and investment**

Submissions to the Commission told us that the Government's austerity policy was failing and that greater investment in skills, infrastructure and public services was needed to grow the economy, create jobs and boost productivity.

The Commission believes that proper investment in the country's infrastructure will be essential to secure the recovery for the long-term and in preventing the economy deteriorating in the aftermath of the economic shocks resulting from the UK leaving the EU. The Commission recognises that the Government's record on infrastructure investment has been one of rhetoric, rather than delivery.

The Commission agreed that instead of the Government's unfair and failing austerity programme we need a fair approach to deficit reduction; an approach that recognises we can only reduce the deficit if our recovery is balanced and we invest for our future. The Commission welcomed Labour's Fiscal Credibility Rule, which commits Labour in government to set out a plan, in normal times, to eliminate the current spending deficit on a forward-looking, five-year rolling timescale, while ensuring government retains the flexibility to invest.

### **Taxation**

Submissions to the Commission told us that taxation policy was in need of reform and raised with concern the continued problem of tax evasion and aggressive tax avoidance. The Commission agreed that action was urgently needed to tackle the issues and close the tax gap. The Commission noted that the Government has consistently shown that it is unwilling to match its rhetoric with action in tackling these issues, and that as a consequence it was leaving public services without the vital funds it needs.

The Commission agreed that ensuring people and businesses pay their fair share of tax is essential; their responsibility to do so is non-negotiable. The Commission believes that tax evasion and aggressive tax avoidance is not just a tax issue - it drives at the very heart of our democracy and its credibility and we risk eroding public trust in our democracy if we do not tackle the issue head on. The Commission agrees that Labour needs a comprehensive plan to restore transparency to our tax system, and that we must close down tax havens and exploitative loopholes. The Commission welcomed Labour's Tax Transparency Enforcement Programme.

### **Social Security**

The Commission believes that we need to change the debate on social security in Britain. The Commission notes that the current Government has undermined the basic case for support and security for individuals through the collective pooling of risk. The Commission agreed that the risk of job loss or sickness, bereavement or retirement, face us all and that divisive rhetoric, and the undermining of the principles of the society security system need to be challenged by Labour.

The Commission believes that Britain's social security system, like our NHS, should be something we are proud of, a national asset that is there for us all if ever we need it. The Commission agreed that we must ensure social security policy is fair and sustainable for the long term.

## **Submissions**

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2015-16 the Economy Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Pay ratio
- A four day working week
- A Young Workers Charter
- Adult education
- Anti-austerity policy
- Apprenticeships
- Ban on zero-hour contracts
- Banking regulation
- Brexit
- Building a skilled workforce
- Business investment
- Car manufacturing
- Changing the Companies Act
- Community ownership of goods
- Construction industry
- Co-operative investment banks
- Corporation Tax
- Council tax rates
- Deflation
- Developing an industrial policy
- Digital revolution
- Economic diversification
- Economic justice
- Economic modelling
- Employment tribunal access
- Encouraging investment
- Equal treatment for volunteers
- Exports
- Financial Transaction Tax
- Free trade
- Government debt
- Graduate Tax
- Green sector development
- Income Tax

- Increasing Employment Support Allowance
- Inflation
- Infrastructure investment fund
- Interest rates
- International trade
- Investment banks
- Investment in technology
- Individual Saving Accounts
- Land Tax
- Landownership
- Living Wage
- Market intervention
- Monetary Policy Committee
- National Insurance
- Nuclear industry
- Post Offices
- Price stability
- Productivity in the economy
- Publicly run industry
- Publicly run services
- Rebalancing the economy towards manufacturing
- Recruitment agencies
- Redefining economy development
- Reducing inequality
- Reform of public services
- Regional investment funds
- Re-industrialisation
- School work experience
- Self-employment
- Share ownership
- Sovereign wealth funds
- Support for businesses
- Supporting British companies
- Supporting co-operatives
- Sustainability in the economy
- Sustainable finance
- Tax avoidance
- Tax evasion
- Tax havens
- Tax justice
- The future of capitalism
- The Minimum Wage
- Trade deficit
- Trade surplus
- Trading standards
- Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)
- Universal Basic Income
- Unlocking unproductive capital
- Utilities nationalisation
- Wage stagnation
- Welfare/social security reform
- Workers on boards
- Workers' rights

# Children and Education | Annual Report

## Membership 2015/16

### **HM Opposition**

Lucy Powell MP\*††  
Nic Dakin MP  
Jenny Chapman MP  
Sharon Hodgson MP

### **NEC**

Mary Turner\*  
Christine Shawcroft  
Wendy Nichols  
Jasmin Beckett

### **CLPs and Regions**

Natalie Fleet  
Cllr Peray Ahmet  
Dr Fiona Twycross  
Professor Bev Clack  
Joanne McCarron  
Cllr Chris Bloore  
Nikki Belfield  
James Elliot  
George Norman  
Wendy Simon  
Anne Snelgrove  
Boyd Black

### **Affiliates**

Ian Hodson  
Callum Munro  
Ruth George  
Allana Hoggard

### **Elected Reps**

Cllr Richard Watts  
Julie Ward MEP  
Ian Austin MP

### **\*Co-convenor**

†† Replaced as Co-convenor by Angela Rayner MP

## Policy Development

The Children and Education Policy Commission looks at issues relating to children's education, wellbeing and development from early years to the end of school.

The Commission is tasked with exploring and consulting on new ways we can ensure the very best start in life for our youngest citizens. It is still the case that too many children start school developmentally behind their peers because they are not receiving the right support. Labour believes that we can and should be doing better for children and it is up to NPF members in consultation with the wider party to look at the best way to deliver this support.

The former Commission began its year at a seminar at the 2015 Labour Party Annual Conference which was attended by Labour's new Shadow Education team headed by the Shadow Education Secretary, Lucy Powell MP. Delegates discussed what they thought should be Labour's priorities for education moving forward. The event was extremely well attended with a large number of delegates contributing to the discussion. Grace Skelton gave an overview of the work of the Commission of the last year. The many delegates in attendance were given the opportunity to discuss various issues including teacher workload and fines for term time holidays. Careers advice, Sure Start Centres, childcare, Sixth Form Colleges and the examination system were all discussed and debated.

The reconstituted Commission met for the first formal Policy Commission meeting in early 2016. Co-convenor, Lucy Powell MP, provided an outline of the Parliamentary Labour Party's plan for education policy for the next year. The Commission were in agreement that education policy should be central to Labour's 2020 election platform and that the Commission plays an integral role in this. The Commission discussed the areas within the priority issue of Early Years and Early Intervention that they would be exploring this year. It was important for the Commission to hear from experts and to begin to think of ways to raise the status of both areas. Members were clear that a more joined-up approach to both was required in order to deliver the best possible services that are accessible

to everyone. Members also discussed some submissions that had been received from party members on the issue of selective education and school improvement methods.

In late March 2016 the Commission met again to discuss the status of Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) and the Schools White Paper. It is Labour's policy to make age-appropriate PSHE a statutory subject in the school curriculum. The Commission agreed children should be given access to excellent quality sex, relationship and health guidance in order to teach them about healthy relationships. Members believe that this will be an essential factor in tackling instances of domestic violence which was also an issue highlighted in submissions received to the Commission. Members discussed at length the implications of 'forced academisation' as the White Paper proposed, and the changes to teacher training. It was agreed that this had been hastily brought in and that Labour would oppose efforts to remove governing bodies from schools, which was a prominent feature of the White Paper. The Commission received a number of party member submissions on this subject which were considered in this discussion. The implication of academisation for rural Primary schools was also discussed, as was the quality of Multi-Academy Trusts.

The Commission met again in early May 2016 and heard from experts in Early Years policy whose evidence would inform the ongoing consultation on this area of policy. 4Children, The Family and Childcare Trust and Save the Children were invited to speak to the Commission about the current situation in the Early Years Sector and what policies could be developed to improve its quality and reach. Crucially the Commission considered the future of Sure Start and preserving these essential services in modern England in the face of continual Tory cuts and mismanagement. Improving the quality of training for the workforce was also a prominent feature of submissions and evidence received. The discussion was wide ranging and included issues such as maternal employment, children's centres, varying models of childcare provision and continuous professional development for childcare workers.

In late May 2016, the Commission came together again to hear from experts in Early Intervention policy as part of the ongoing priority issue consultation. The Early Intervention Foundation and Barnardo's addressed the meeting to talk about this policy area. The Commission received many written submissions from party members on this area which highlighted the problems relating to funding, access, the profession and the partnership between health and education services. The Commission believe listening, interaction and speaking skills are an important part of a child's early education, and are concerned about the quality of the current provision of this education in the sector. Parenting skills for new parents were also considered at length and many submissions from the consultation also highlighted this as an essential feature in early intervention programmes. Members discussed submissions on the subject of the curriculum and assessment.

The Commission met for a final time in July 2016 to review the year's business and to welcome new Shadow Education Secretary, Angela Rayner MP. A lively discussion was had on contemporary education policy areas and the implications of Brexit for the education sector. Angela communicated to the Commission that in a post-Brexit world it is Labour's priority to ensure workplace rights are protected and working people are not punished with further cuts to public services. Members discussed ideas and submissions received from the wider NPF on the priority issue. There was also a discussion on universal free school meals, selective education, apprenticeships and the industrial action carried out by a teachers union in July 2016.

## Current Issues

### School structures

The Tories have continued to focus upon a costly reorganisation of our school system committing to make every school in England an Academy. This is at the expense of focusing upon what really drives school improvement; excellent teaching and high quality leadership.

The Parliamentary Labour Party worked hard to oppose certain elements of a Schools White

Paper released in March 2016 which proposed forced-academisation of all schools and plans to end parental engagement on school governing bodies. Thanks to the efforts of Labour's education team in Parliament, the Government quickly reneged on this commitment but maintained that full-academisation is still their long-term goal for schools. The Government will be bringing forward an Education Bill later in 2016 and released a White Paper to preface this.

The Commission discussed the issue of academies at length and agreed that the evidence in favour of a fully academised system is mixed. Members are concerned that this would hit Primary Schools negatively as most of them remain 'un-academised' and the majority of them perform very well in their current structures.

Members are concerned that there is currently not enough capacity in the system to academise every school, and were concerned that it might not be appropriate for rural schools in particular to join Multi-Academy Trusts.

Grammar Schools and selective education were featured in the submissions and the Commission discussed recent cases of grammar school expansions. Members expressed concern about the quality of some Multi-Academy Trusts and the inadequacy of the current school oversight system.

### Examination system

Since 2010 assessment in schools has dramatically changed. The Government has overseen chaotic changes to exams and the curriculum in both primary and secondary education which has presented a real challenge for teachers, school leaders and parents.

The Commission discussed the changes to assessment which also featured heavily in submissions to the NPF. Members are concerned that in some cases, particularly in changes to primary education, the changes meant that parents were unsure of the progress their children were making. Members raised concerns that the recent Key Stage 2 SAT results have created a lot of uncertainty for children and parents, with just under half of children having not reached the Government standard of achievement. They would like to see a return to a more child-centred

assessment system which parents have confidence in and can understand.

### **Post-16 and vocational education and apprenticeships**

Members of the Commission are keen to develop a coherent and robust post-16 sector with high quality and well regarded vocational education routes. This is essential in a modern world, and Members believe this should be a key feature of Labour's 2020 Election platform.

Members were in agreement that in a modern economy, on-the-job training is essential in most professions and were conscious that this is not currently encouraged enough in vocational courses. It was argued that this could be done through greater partnership between universities and colleges and we should develop the tools to facilitate this. It is still the case that towards the end of formal schooling an academic view is driven for many professions that could be taught vocationally, or through further education routes. The Tories have failed to deliver on apprenticeships with the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission reporting that take up has been slow for young people under-25.

More consideration should be given to fair access to apprenticeships. Members discussed the problems that still exist for BAME students and girls and their access to a wider range of apprenticeships. Many apprenticeship courses are for over-25s, which members argued in many cases can be too long to wait for some students.

This year the Commission also discussed the availability of youth services. These services are being lost in communities up and down the country, and Labour should look at how to ensure that this important support is not lost.

### **School funding**

Despite Government claims to the contrary, schools spending is expected to fall by at least seven per cent in real terms by 2020 which would be the largest real-terms fall over any period since at least the late 1970s. In order to plug the gap, schools will be forced to reduce the number of teachers and teaching assistants and stop funding extra-curricular activities. These cuts will have a huge impact on standards and outcomes.

In addition to this the Government has committed to introducing a new schools national funding formula which will have major implications for school budgets, with some schools benefiting but many schools, especially in London, potentially suffering heavily from cuts to funding.

This Commission is clear that the Government should work to consult and mitigate as much as possible any losses that schools may experience so that children's education is not harmed.

### **Brexit**

Although the EU has no education competency, the effect Brexit will have on our economy and society will inevitably weigh heavily on education policy. The Government must take steps to stabilise the economy, and to protect jobs, pensions, and wages. Labour will not allow any instability to be paid for by the working people of this country and will be fighting for a clear programme of action to protect our economy.

The Commission believe that Brexit should have no bearing on employment rights for workers in the early years and early intervention systems or the parents who rely on them. During negotiations it is essential that Labour strongly opposes any reduction in maternity and paternity rights and adoption leave and pay. These are essential for effective participation in the labour market and are at the core of making life easier for the ordinary working people that Labour represents. Members believe more consideration should be given to the implications of restrictions on free movement will have on the capacity and skills in the current early year's workforce.

The Commission discussed the role the creative industries will have to play in our country's future economy outside of the European Union, and whether this should be reflected in the curriculum. Arts education has been much diminished by the Conservative Government but could play a key role in our country's future prosperity.

Members also discussed the spike in hate crime that has occurred following the Referendum vote. Members agreed that schools should be given support as required in order that they remain havens for all children, encouraging stability and tolerance.

## Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2015-16 the Children and Education Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics.

- Academies
- Adult skills and learning
- Apprenticeships
- Arts in schools
- Assessment
- Children of servicemen and women
- Class sizes
- Education budget cuts
- Exam boards
- First Aid Training
- Free childcare
- Free Schools
- Free School Meals
- Further Education
- Education White Paper
- Grammar schools
- Higher Education funding
- Independent schools
- Looked after children
- Mental health education
- Midwifery
- National Curriculum
- Nursery provision
- Ofsted
- Parent-teacher Boards
- Perinatal care
- Prenatal care
- Schools safety
- Sex and Relationship Education
- Social workers
- Children with special educational needs and disabilities
- Sure Start
- Teacher Assessment
- Teacher tenure
- University places
- Vocational education
- Youth justice
- Youth social care
- Youth services



# Communities | Annual Report

## Membership 2015/16

### **HM Opposition**

John Healey MP\*†<sup>1</sup>  
Jon Trickett MP  
Lisa Nandy MP  
Kerry McCarthy MP  
Maria Eagle MP

### **NEC**

Jim Kennedy\*  
Martin Mayer  
Jamie Bramwell  
Shabana Mahmood MP

### **CLPs/Regions**

Nicky Gavron  
Cllr Helen Hughes  
Cllr Laura Pidcock  
Cllr Lorraine Beavers  
Martyn Cook  
Emma Ann Hardy  
Isobel Morris  
Katie Weston  
Carol Hayton  
Neil Guild  
Gerard Coyne  
Cllr James Murray  
Sarah Boyack MSP  
Huw Irranca Davies

### **Affiliates**

Paul Kenny  
Neil Andrews  
Ken Curan  
Paul Evans  
Melanie Smallman  
Cllr Clare Neill

### **Elected Reps**

Julie Elliott MP  
Tristram Hunt MP  
Cllr Angela Cornforth  
Cllr Anne Western  
Caroline Flint MP

### **\*Co-convenor**

†<sup>1</sup> Replaced as Co-convenor by Grahame Morris MP

## Policy development

The Communities Policy Commission is tasked with looking at issues affecting Communities and Local Government, Housing, Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, Energy and Climate Change and Culture, Media and Sport. Prior to January 2016, these issues were discussed in two commissions: Living Standards and Sustainability and Stronger, Safer Communities. This year the newly formed Communities Policy Commission has been tasked with considering how best we deal with the challenges of affordable housing in the UK as a priority issue.

In September 2015, Diana Holland led the Living Standards and Sustainability Policy Seminar at Annual Conference in Brighton. Kerry McCarthy, Shadow Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, and Lisa Nandy, Shadow Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change, attended the meeting and discussed a range of topics with delegates. There was an interesting discussion on the challenging issue of fuel poverty in rural areas. Topics of discussion also included energy efficiency, climate change and energy security.

Alice Perry chaired the Stronger Communities Policy Seminar featuring Jon Trickett, Shadow Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, Jon Healey, Shadow Secretary of State for Housing and Planning and Clive Efford, Shadow Sports Minister. Delegates that attended discussed amongst other topics the BBC, affordable housing and cuts to local government.

The newly convened Communities Policy Commission held its first meeting in March, all five departments of the Commission were represented by their respective Shadow Secretaries of State. Members of the Commission discussed the Government's 25 year food and farming strategy, flooding, the Olympic legacy, the Government's housing benefit changes, energy prices and the Government's piecemeal devolution plans. John Healey, Shadow Housing Secretary, talked about what some of the key focuses of the affordable housing priority issue document could be, such as social housing, overcrowding and the role of the public sector in house building.

There was a discussion on how we can increase the numbers of affordable social homes for rent, challenges with homeownership, with social and private renting and a skills shortage in the construction sector. Issues of the environment and the value of housing in improving quality of life were also raised. Commission members discussed the effects of the housing crisis on young people, the elderly and the homeless.

The Commission met again in April, and was attended by Shadow Energy Minister Alan Whitehead and Shadow Environment Minister Alex Cunningham for a specific discussion on the environment, energy and climate change. Members of the Commission discussed the Competition and Markets Authority's report into the overcharging of energy prices by the big six energy companies. They also discussed the Government's decision to end financial subsidies for on-shore wind, whilst continuing offer tax breaks to the oil and gas industry. The Commission also raised the Government's Housing and Planning Bill and reaffirmed Labour's opposition to it and the need to build a sufficient supply of social and council housing. Members discussed what consultation questions they would like to see in the affordable housing consultation paper and which experts they would like to invite to give evidence at future meetings.

Commission members met in May for their third meeting. Carol Hayton was appointed the Equalities champion and Martin Mayer the Environmental champion for the Policy Commission. The Commission received expert evidence from Betsy Dillner from Generation Rent and Ben Marshall from Ipsos MORI. Members of the Commission discussed landlord licencing, letting agency fees and the Help to Buy scheme. The Commission also discussed several submissions on social housing which had been received. The Commission held a dedicated culture, media and sport discussion with Clive Efford, Shadow Sports Minister. Issues of concern included the BBC White Paper, Leveson part two and fixed-odds betting terminals.

At the fourth meeting, the Commission received expert evidence from the Home Builders Federation, the Chartered Institute for Housing, Shelter, Cllr Ed Turner from Oxford Council

and Cllr Tony Newham from Croydon Council. Members discussed increasing social homes for rent and council initiatives to do so and how the Government should help young people get on the housing ladder. Greater promotion of shared ownership and how to make both the building and running of homes more environmentally friendly and energy efficient were discussed. Submissions raised concerns about the selling of homes 'off plan' to foreign investors which is reducing the housing supply to those that want to buy a home to live in. Kerry McCarthy, Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs gave an update on the team's work, members discussed flood prevention and the effect that Brexit would have on the farming sector.

The Commission held a phone conference to discuss updates to the priority document with comments from the wider NPF in mid-July. Comments from the wider NPF centred on a need to build more social and council homes, deal with the shortage of Labour in the construction sector and putting power back in the hands of tenants and councils.

## Current issues

### Energy and Climate Change

The Commission received many submissions which stressed that tackling the threat of climate change will be one of the greatest challenges of the 21st century. The Commission is keen to examine the enormous opportunities building a green economy presents us in helping to create jobs and support growth.

It was a Labour Government that passed the UK's ground breaking Climate Change Act, a world first, that bound the Government by law to reduce carbon emissions by a third by 2020 and by 80 per cent by 2050, and which has inspired action and been used as a template by countries across the world. Submissions on climate change have also highlighted the effects that it is already having in Britain, particularly that of flooding. The Committee on Climate Change has asserted that one of the effects of climate change, the risk of flooding, has increased sharply. Labour will continue to keep the pressure on the Government to ensure that they

consider flood protection and prevention a top priority and tackle climate change more widely.

### Media

The Commission received many submissions concerned about the BBC. The results of the public consultation into the future of the BBC – conducted to inform Charter renewal - show just how much the public value the BBC and how deeply they care about its future. The Commission believes that when the public have such strong and clear views on what they want for the future of the BBC, the Corporation deserves and will continue to get Labour's support in standing up to pressure from the government, especially whilst Charter Renewal is ongoing.

The Commission has heard of the anger at the extent of the phone hacking scandal and the Government's failure to implement Leveson part two. By pretending it is business as usual and backtracking on Leveson, the Tories are deliberately turning a blind eye to serious allegations. Labour will continue to press the Government on this issue.

The Commission has also heard that too often access to careers in some parts of the creative industries can be closed off to people from deprived backgrounds, with unpaid roles, often based in London or other major cities, being a key route into the industry. The Commission will continue to look at how best to ensure people with creative talent from all backgrounds are given the opportunity to succeed.

### Localism and local government

Submissions have told us that many people feel Westminster politics is too distant from them. Some 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. The Tories claim to champion localism but they have stripped local authorities of their planning powers. Many local planning departments are facing cuts and an increase in the demands on their time. Tory 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.

Submissions suggest that devolving some powers such as transport and housing would lead to better service, with supply meeting demand. The Commission believes the Government's piecemeal devolution deals need to devolve down not just responsibilities but funding as well. Labour will continue to press the Government to make sure that the right funding is devolved and that all areas that want to access a devolution deal can do so.

### Rural affairs

Scrutinising the effects of Government policy on those who live in rural communities is an ongoing thread of work for the Commission. Submissions were concerned by the apparent housing and jobs shortage in rural areas which is pushing up the cost of living including the cost of buying or renting a home in our rural areas. Rural households also face very specific challenges, for example; many rural communities have no grid access, so they are forced to use more expensive alternative sources of household energy. Many rural households pay more for transport access which is worse than in urban areas. The Tories' botched rural broadband rollout has further heightened the sense that some rural communities are being left behind by Westminster.

Members of the Commission have heard how best to make sure that rural areas are not left behind. Developing a policy platform that meets the needs of rural communities is a key ongoing concern for the Commission.

## Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2015-16 the Communities Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Animal welfare
- Affordable housing
- Agricultural subsidies
- Agriculture
- BBC licence fee
- BBC White Paper
- Big Lottery Fund and Big Local scheme
- Bloodsports
- Broadband access
- Brownfield and greenbelt development
- Business Rates
- Buy-to-leave market
- Buy-to-let market
- Climate change
- Conservation and biodiversity
- Construction industry
- Council housing
- District Heating Systems
- Empty and derelict homes
- Energy - carbon taxes
- Energy Companies Obligation
- Energy efficiency
- Energy market
- Flood prevention
- Food security
- Food waste
- Forestry
- Fuel Poverty
- HMO licenses
- Homelessness
- Horseracing
- Housing and Planning Act
- Housing associations
- Housing benefit
- Housing co-operatives
- Housing quality standards
- Hydrogen power
- Letting agents' fees and charges
- Lyons Review
- Micro-generation electricity production
- Nuclear power
- Planning law
- Prefabrication and off-site construction
- Private rented sector
- Property taxation
- Reducing CO2 and other harmful emissions
- Regional development
- Regional housing policy
- Renewable energy
- Right-to-buy
- Shale gas
- Shared ownership
- Social housing
- Strengthening communities
- Student accommodation
- Water companies

# Health and Care | Annual Report

## Membership 2015/16

### **HM Opposition**

Heidi Alexander MP\*†<sup>1</sup>  
Andrew Gwynne MP  
Barbara Keeley MP  
Luciana Berger MP

### **NEC**

Keith Birch\*  
Johanna Baxter\*  
Dennis Skinner  
Paddy Lillis  
Pauline McCarthy

### **CLPs and Regions**

Anthony Beddow  
Dawn Elliott  
Jack Falkingham  
Mary Foy  
Linda Hobson  
Lara Norris  
Rory Palmer  
Karen Reay  
Joyce Still  
Christian Weaver

### **Affiliates**

Eleanor Smith  
Emma Burnell  
Gail Cartmail  
Maggie Ryan  
Mary Hutchinson

### **Elected Reps**

Emma Reynolds MP  
Mary Honeyball MEP  
Cllr Sue Lent

### **\*Co-convenor**

†<sup>1</sup> Replaced as Co-convenor by Diane Abbott MP

## Policy development

The Health and Care Policy Commission is responsible for developing policy in a number of areas which include the future of the NHS, mental health, public health and social care. This year the Commission has been tasked with looking at mental health as its priority issue. The Commission has discussed a number of issues over the course of the year, including NHS performance, mental health, cuts to social care and public health, and wider issues around the NHS workforce. The Commission has serious concerns about the Government's policies relating to health and care, and the impact these policies are having on patients, the workforce and the wider NHS.

At Annual Conference 2015 a policy seminar took place which provided an opportunity for delegates to discuss a variety of issues with the Health and Care Policy Commission and members of the Shadow Cabinet. Each member of the Policy Commission provided a brief update on the work of the Commission and the Shadow Health Team. Heidi Alexander took the opportunity to introduce herself in her new role as Shadow Secretary of State for Health and also introduced the new health team to delegates. The seminar was attended by Keith Birch (chair), Heidi Alexander (Shadow Health Secretary), Luciana Berger (Shadow Minister for Mental Health), Andrew Gwynne (Shadow Public Health Minister), Justin Madders (Shadow Health Minister), Barbara Keeley (Shadow Minister for Older People, Care and Carers) and Lord Philip Hunt, (Shadow Minister for Health in the Lords).

Members of the Policy Commission updated delegates on the work of the Commission. Heidi Alexander said there was a need for better integration of health and care services and Barbara Keeley spoke about the need to reform the system of social care but also the important role played by carers; Luciana Berger spoke about her new role and how she would be working across different teams. Andrew Gwynne spoke about the need to tackle public health inequalities. Justin Madders spoke about NHS performance and Philip Hunt gave an update about activity in the House of Lords.

A number of delegates raised the issue of the

Government's further push on NHS efficiency savings and were of the view that achieving £22 billion in efficiency savings would only lead to cuts in services. Many delegates raised the issue of mental health and the impact that the Government's cuts were having.

During the seminar delegates raised points about the extent of private and third sector involvement in providing NHS services, cuts to nursing posts and the impact that this was having on frontline services. Delegates also discussed mergers in the NHS and their concerns about the effect on services. There was also a wide ranging discussion on social care and the current funding crisis.

Delegates also discussed the Private Finance Initiative model and what lessons the NHS can learn from this. A number of delegates raised questions about the value of some PFI agreements but it was also stressed that PFI also enabled the NHS to invest in new hospital rebuilding programmes. Furthermore, they discussed the role of Foundation Trusts, the role of internal markets and the lessons that should be learned from Wales in terms of the operation of an internal market. Other issues raised include the Cancer Drugs Fund; Welsh NHS; patient choice; personal care packages and the experience of applying for NHS tenders.

The Commission met in February. Heidi Alexander updated members on three specific areas: the financial system, workforce and quality of care. Shadow Public Health Minister, Andrew Gwynne spoke about cuts to public health funding and the impact this is having on services, for example sexual health. He spoke about the need to tackle health inequalities and to make policies public health compliant. He also mentioned that there have been delays to the Government's childhood obesity strategy.

The Commission discussed the Government's proposal to scrap nurse bursaries and the need to recognise that this includes allied health professionals, an issue raised in several submissions throughout the course of the year.

Luciana Berger, Shadow Minister for Mental Health raised concerns about the current mental health system, stressing that it is currently

skewed towards crisis. Cuts to mental health, parity of esteem, child and adolescent mental health problems (CAMHs) and the Mental Health Taskforce report were all discussed. This year the Commission has been tasked with looking at mental health as its priority issue and members discussed which topics they felt should be covered in the priority document. The Commission thought that prevention and early intervention, cuts to funding for mental health services and parity of esteem, were all key issues which need further examination. The relationship between mental health and the criminal justice and education systems, as well as the situation facing under-represented groups were all discussed. Stigma attached to mental illness was also discussed and was a common theme among submissions received via Your Britain. Other submissions discussed by the Commission in February included the NHS Reinstatement Bill.

The Commission met again in March. A number of issues were discussed at the meeting including the junior doctors' industrial action (an issue which received many submissions), NHS finances, staff morale in the health sector and the lack of mental health data available. Other submissions discussed were the NHS Reinstatement Bill. The composite on the NHS and a contemporary motion on mental health from Annual Conference last year were also discussed. The Commission also discussed progress that had been made on the priority document. They decided to focus on three main issues: prevention and early intervention, parity of esteem and the importance of looking at all parts of society when considering mental health. Commission members also wanted to make reference to stress in the workplace, isolation, the role of local government and welfare cuts. The Commission agreed that a question should be included in the document on what the root causes of mental distress can be.

There was a discussion with Barbara Keeley MP, Shadow Minister for Older People, Social Care and Carers, who spoke about financial pressures on the social care system, as well as the current challenging situation for carers across the country.

The Commission held its first evidence session in 11 May where service users shared their experiences of mental health. They also heard

from trade union representatives from UNISON, Unite and the GMB, who shared their views about mental health issues in the workplace, among other things. Commission members discussed the root causes of mental health in society, in addition to preventative strategies and the need for better awareness of mental health problems. They also discussed best practice of employers regarding mental health, precarious employment and sickness absence rates. In addition to mental health the Commission discussed nurse bursaries, and the situation facing Southern Health following a recent report by the Care Quality Commission.

There were a range of submissions on the priority issue document, for example some looked at the root causes of mental health in society, and others looked at the importance of early intervention and education. There were several submissions about the NHS Reinstatement Bill and NHS privatisation. Luciana Berger spoke about this particular issue and explained that due to constraints on the parliamentary timetable, this Bill was not discussed during the current parliamentary session. She explained that there were many positive elements to the Bill, but that concerns had been raised by some about the prospect of another large reorganisation in the NHS.

At their meeting at the beginning of June, the Commission held its second evidence session. Commission members took evidence from the Centre for Mental Health and from the Self-Esteem Team, an organisation which visits schools across the country to talk to young people, in order to understand what their concerns and worries are. There were discussions about children's mental health, perinatal mental health, housing and the criminal justice system in relation to mental health. Furthermore, Commission members discussed the education system, stress facing pupils and teachers, anxiety and cyberbullying.

The Commission also held a discussion on public health with Andrew Gwynne MP. They discussed the HIV Pre Exposure Prophylaxis drug, health inequalities and cuts to sexual health services. There was also a discussion about junior doctors, NHS bursaries and the EU referendum.

There was a broad discussion about submissions that had been received, including on the topic of perinatal mental health. Other submissions looked at issues such as early intervention, the need to improve links between primary and secondary care and occupational health.

## Current Issues

### State of the NHS

The Commission are concerned about the current situation facing the NHS. NHS performance is a huge issue which the Tories are failing to address. In the last few months we have seen the worst A&E performance in a decade, with hospitals regularly missing the four hour A&E waiting time target. Thousands more people are being left to wait hours on trolleys because hospitals cannot cope and are being pushed to the limit. The 62 day target for cancer treatment is missed consistently and ambulance response times are falling well short of the target. Waiting lists are up with over 3.6 million people currently on the waiting list. The Tories have failed to get a grip on the financial crisis our health service is facing. Levels of deficit in hospital trusts are at a record high. There was agreement amongst Commission members that the financial crisis is contributing to shortages in the workforce and quality of care in hospitals. The Commission received a number of submissions about the NHS Reinstatement Bill, which was due to be discussed by Parliament earlier this year. The Shadow Health Team's position on this was discussed with Commission members.

### NHS Workforce

It was clear from discussions and submissions that the health and care workforce is under pressure and facing unprecedented demand. Recruitment and retention problems and cuts to staff numbers are having a negative effect on staff morale and quality of care. During the course of the year, the Commission discussed the junior doctors' contract on a number of occasions, agreeing that the Tories' handling of this dispute has been shambolic throughout, undermining staff morale and harming patient care. The threat of contract imposition by the Secretary of State further exacerbated the situation and has led

to junior doctors rejecting the revised contract. Many submissions on this key issue were received throughout the year. The Shadow Health Team are calling on the Government to reconsider their position, for talks to resume and for the Tory Government to start rebuilding the trust they have lost. The Government's proposal to replace NHS bursaries for nurses and allied health workers is also of real concern to Commission members, and submissions from members and CLPs have stressed the need to oppose these changes.

### Social care

The Commission received many submissions calling for an integrated health and social care system. There were concerns about the future of the social care system, particularly due to severe cuts we have seen to social care funding in recent years. There were discussions about the Better Care Fund, highlighting the need for this money to be brought forward. In discussions it was also clear that Commission members were sceptical about the two per cent social care precept making a significant difference to social care funding, and believed that any extra funding was likely to be swallowed up quickly. Delayed transfers of care are currently at their highest level since the data was first collected in 2010, with thousands of older people stuck in hospitals due to a lack of appropriate care in the community. The Commission acknowledged that there is a real crisis in social care which is facing a rapidly growing financial crisis. The Commission will continue to keep this important issue under discussion.

### Public health

There are a number of public health issues which the Commission have reflected upon. The Commission is concerned by in-year cuts to public health, which will put sexual health services, screening and prevention schemes at risk. It was raised during the course of discussions that the Childhood Obesity Strategy has not yet been launched by the Government, and has been delayed on several occasions. Submissions highlighted concern with levels of obesity in the UK, referring to it as an "epidemic". Another key issue that was raised was NHS England's refusal to commission the HIV Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis drug (PrEP), which could help to reduce the number of HIV infections. Finally, there were broad

discussions on reducing health inequalities across the country, with the Commission acknowledging that this is particularly challenging given cuts to public health budgets.

## Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2015-16 the Health and Care Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Accident and Emergency services
- Acute Treatment Centres
- Agency nursing
- Assistive technologies in healthcare
- Autism Spectrum Disorder
- Carers
- Causes of mental ill-health
- Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services
- Cognitive Behavioural Therapy
- Compensation for negligence or malpractice
- Creative therapy
- Dementia care
- Family situation and mental health
- Funding for student nurses
- Health and Social Care Act 2012
- Healthcare spending
- Healthcare training and workforce planning
- Homecare delivery
- Hospital closures
- Hypothyroidism
- IAPT Programme
- Impact of inequality on mental health
- Integration and 'whole-person' care
- Intellectual disabilities
- Junior doctors' contract
- Markets and choice in the NHS
- ME/CFS, Fibromyalgia and Lyme disease
- Mental health awareness in public services
- Mental health in perinatal care
- Mental health in workplaces
- Mental health of BAME people
- Mental health of LGBT people
- Mental health staff numbers
- Mindfulness
- NHS exemption from TTIP
- NHS Five Year Forward View
- NHS IT
- NHS Reinstatement Bill
- NHS staff pay
- Parity of esteem between physical and mental health
- PIP and WCA assessments
- Prevention and early intervention in mental health
- Primary care
- Prostate cancer screening
- Public health
- Referral and waiting time targets
- Self-monitoring technologies
- Service user support groups
- Sexual health
- Social care funding
- Social determinants of health
- Social isolation
- Stigma and discrimination of mental health
- Substance abuse
- Whistleblowers



## Membership 2015/16

### **Shadow Cabinet**

Andy Burnham MP\*  
Lord Falconer†<sup>1</sup>  
Kate Green MP  
Tom Watson MP

### **NEC**

Ellie Reeves\*  
Jonathan Ashworth MP  
Keith Vaz MP  
Cllr Alice Perry

### **CLPs and Regions**

Cllr Joanne Harding  
Donna Hutton  
Cllr Jacqueline Taylor  
Ann Cryer  
Linda Woodings  
Michael Hassell  
Estelle Hart  
Cllr Simon Young  
Agnes Tolmie  
Amber Courtney

### **Affiliates**

Maria Ludkin †<sup>2</sup>  
Susan Matthews  
Siobhan Endean  
Fiona Wilson  
Cllr June Nelson  
Tom Burke  
Ashton McGregor

### **Elected Reps**

Dawn Butler MP  
Richard Corbett MEP  
Baroness Thornton  
Cllr Simon Blackburn

### **\*Co-convenor**

†<sup>1</sup> Replaced by Richard Burgon MP  
†<sup>2</sup> Replaced by Lisa Johnson

## Policy development

The Home Affairs Policy Commission has been newly constituted since Annual Conference 2015, covering Home Affairs, Justice, Equalities, and the Cabinet Office. As such, it incorporates the portfolios previously covered by the Better Politics Policy Commission, as well as elements of the Stronger, Safer Communities Policy Commission.

At Annual Conference 2015, the Better Politics Policy Commission held a well-attended policy seminar chaired by NEC co-convenor Johanna Baxter which discussed issues such as political appointments to the House of Lords, plans to end 'check off' for union subscriptions, electoral reform, advances in LGBT rights, improving representation and engagement with BAME communities, Individual Electoral Registration, and the scale of discrimination and abuse targeted at women. Cllr Alice Perry chaired a Crime, Justice and Immigration policy seminar at which immigration was discussed extensively, as well as issues surrounding access to justice, the erosion of neighbourhood policing, illegal blacklisting in the construction industry, and problems in prisons, including overcrowding, violence, and staff shortages. At Conference a composite motion was also passed on the refugee crisis in the Mediterranean.

The Commission was tasked by the National Executive Committee to investigate policing reform as a priority issue and at its first meeting in March, Shadow Home Secretary Andy Burnham MP briefed members on the growing pressures facing police forces, including the changing nature of crime and substantial cuts to their funding and workforce. He also updated the Commission on the Investigatory Powers Bill, police bail powers, and the Immigration Bill. Shadow Secretary of State for Justice Lord Falconer told the Commission about plans by the Government to scrap the Human Rights Act, as well as restrictions on access to justice as a result of legal aid cuts, and the deteriorating conditions in the prison system which preclude any meaningful rehabilitation taking place. In further consideration of the priority issue, the Commission then discussed the Government's plans for the police-fire service mergers, expressing concerns that fire and rescue was at risk of becoming a 'Cinderella service'.

The Commission held a second meeting in March where Shadow Minister for Civil Society Anna Turley MP outlined the effects of spending reductions on civil society, attempts by the Government to gag advocacy groups, and the Shadow Cabinet Office team's efforts to enhance transparency and accountability by expanding the scope of Freedom of Information to cover private companies carrying out public work. Shadow Home Office Minister Sarah Champion MP updated the Commission on preventing abuse, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), child sexual exploitation, as well as the Policing and Crime Bill, and the Investigatory Powers Bill. Kate Green MP, Shadow Minister for Women and Equalities, briefed the Commission on work being carried out to ensure equalities issues are embedded in the work of other shadow departments. Members also had a discussion about which expert guest speakers would be invited to give evidence to the Commission on the priority issue of police reform and suggested those with expertise in race relations, crime reduction, youth justice, domestic violence, those representing trade unions, and serving Labour Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs). Commission members also discussed the possibility of having an Equalities Champion on each of the policy commissions.

At the meeting in May, the Commission took evidence from the Police Federation of England and Wales, Unison, and Alun Michael, PCC for South Wales, on the future of policing. In considering submissions, members questioned the guest speakers on a number of areas, including reductions in frontline policing, informing a public debate on police reform, and the training officers received regarding BAME communities or vulnerable people. Immigration is a key issue both in submissions received and out on the doorstep, so members decided to hold an extended discussion chaired by Shadow Immigration Minister Keir Starmer MP. He updated the Commission on the Immigration Bill and then spoke about his tour around the country listening to people's experiences of immigration. Members questioned Keir on issues including EU free movement, the treatment of refugees, seasonal workers, and undercutting of wages. The composite motion from Annual Conference relating to the refugee crisis was also considered.

The Commission met in June, where members were briefed by Polly Neate of Women's Aid on how services for victims of domestic violence have suffered from cuts in Government funding and on how policy-makers could develop a more joined-up approach to protecting those at risk. Professor Sylvia Walby, UNESCO Chair in Gender Research, also updated the Commission on how inadequacies in the recording of levels of violence against women and girls underestimated the true extent of the problem and made it difficult for the police and other public bodies to formulate an appropriate response. Having considered submissions the Commission received on FGM, members questioned Sarah Champion MP, Shadow Minister for Preventing Abuse, about what could be done to tackle this threat. She also updated the Commission about violence within young people's relationships and the threat to smaller specialist domestic violence services from funding cuts. During an evidence session into the priority issue of policing reform, the Commission also heard from Paddy Tipping, Police and Crime Commissioner for Nottinghamshire, on future police funding and potential structural changes to forces. Simon Holdaway, Professor Emeritus of Criminology and Sociology at Sheffield University, briefed the Commission on police relations with BAME communities and improving workforce diversity. Members then discussed how best to update the priority issue document in light of the evidence given to the Commission by guest experts, as well as through written submissions.

At its last meeting via teleconference in July, the Commission welcomed new Shadow Secretary of State for Justice, Richard Burgon MP, who updated members on how access to justice has been diminished as a result of the introduction of court and tribunal fees, the reduction in scope of legal aid, the shortening of time limits for launching a judicial review application, and the scale of planned court closures. Jo Stevens, Shadow Justice Minister & Shadow Solicitor General, also addressed the Commission, setting out the serious deterioration in the prison estate under the Conservative Government, including understaffing, overcrowding, record levels of violence, drug abuse, suicides, and self-harm. In the discussion that followed, the Commission raised questions about Imprisonment for Public

Protection sentences and the effect these can have on the families of offenders. The Commission also considered submissions which had been received on the priority issue document following consultation with National Policy Forum representatives. Finally, members discussed the implications of the EU referendum result, in particular the spike in incidents of hate crime that has followed the vote to leave.

## Current Issues

### Immigration and the refugee crisis

The EU referendum campaign was a reminder of how much concern there is in many communities across Britain about the scale and pace of immigration. This country has benefited from the contributions of immigrants welcomed to our shores to build businesses and help to sustain our public services. However, it is also clear that migration can sometimes cause communities to change dramatically and rapidly, putting real pressure on local services like GP surgeries, schools and housing. And the exploitation of migrant workers also leads to local workers being undercut and losing out. But because of its focus on the net migration target, the Tory Government has not done enough to tackle illegal immigration and is failing to deport, failing to prevent absconding, and failing to take action to stop employers using both illegal and legal migrants to undercut wages.

Submissions were received which expressed concern that immigrants were being blamed for pressures in public services which came about because of a lack of funding under the Conservatives. In light of the result of the EU referendum, the Commission notes with concern the failure of the Government to provide assurances that EU citizens currently living in the UK will continue to have a right to remain. We need to build common bonds – including more emphasis on speaking English and an integration policy for communities. At the same time we need to counter racism where it rears its head. The Commission therefore condemns the alarming rise in attacks on immigrant communities in the wake of the referendum.

## **Violence Against Women and Girls**

The Commission believes that much more needs to be done to tackle the hidden scourge of violence against women and girls and it supports calls for compulsory age-appropriate sex and relationships education in schools, and proper national minimum standards for tackling violence against women and girls. The Commission agrees with submissions which called for better and more consistent recording of this type of crime so that the true scale of the problem can be acknowledged.

The Commission heard evidence from experts in the field suggesting the Government's actions are damaging our ability to combat domestic violence and discussed how cuts to funding have put refuges and specialist advice services under threat of closure. Members feel that the police must work in much closer cooperation with the rest of the criminal justice system, other public bodies, and voluntary groups to develop an approach to tackling violence against women and girls that focuses on early intervention and longer-term support for victims after formal criminal proceedings have ended.

## **Criminal Justice**

Submissions were considered by the Commission from Party members and CLPs on the Government's reforms to the justice system, including access to justice, legal aid and changes to the prison and probation system. Commission members noted that issues around access to justice fed into wider discussions around strengthening communities in order to prevent people breaking the law in the first place or supporting those released from prison to turn their lives around. The Commission is extremely concerned with the serious deterioration in the prison estate under the Conservatives, with violence, drug abuse, and suicide and self-harm all at record levels.

The Commission believes the Government's decision to split up the probation service between a state-run National Probation Service and privatised Community Rehabilitation Companies has led to large numbers of redundancies, with probation services close to collapse in some parts of the country. The Commission felt issues relating

to prison and probation should not be considered in isolation and should include discussions around contributory factors such as a troubled family life, drug or alcohol dependency, or homelessness, so that a cross-departmental approach to reducing offending is adopted.

## **Equalities**

The Commission is worried that the Conservative Government is taking us backwards, making our society less equal and hitting the most vulnerable hardest. The Commission looked at what more can be done to tackle gender inequalities. The Commission welcomes the creation of the Women's Economic Commission and its work to develop strategies to break down the barriers that will keep women and girls from taking up the opportunities from the jobs of the future. With women disproportionately bearing the brunt of tax and benefit changes under the Conservatives, and the true scale of maternity discrimination only beginning to be revealed, the Commission will continue to see this as a vital area of work.

The Shadow Work and Pensions team have set up the 'Disability Equality Roadshow' to ask disabled people across the UK their opinions about how, as a society, we should be supporting them in the most effective and appropriate ways and to define what a 21st century social security system for disabled people should look like. The Commission has expressed its concerns about a sharp increase in incidents of hate crime across the country in the aftermath of the EU referendum. Members also noted upcoming significant reductions in funding for the Equality and Human Rights Commission which will seriously inhibit its ability to hold the Government to account. The Commission welcomes the race equality consultation recently launched by the Women and Equalities team.

## **Terrorism**

Following a series of devastating attacks over the past year, the Commission echoes the Mayor of London's call to stand united with our European neighbours in order to defeat the poisonous ideology of those who seek to sow divisions with cowardly acts of terror.

It is clear that more needs to be done to highlight the causes of radicalisation and the importance

of tackling extremism. However, the Commission believes the Prevent programme as it currently stands is building a climate of mutual suspicion and far from tackling extremism, it risks creating the very conditions for it to flourish.

Membership of the EU has given Britain valuable access to intelligence sharing databases, such as the Schengen Information System, Prum, or Passenger Name Records. The Commission is deeply concerned about the potential impact that leaving the EU will have on our future cooperation with other European nations on issues such as counter-terrorism and organised crime.

### **Investigatory Powers Bill**

The Commission recognises that technological developments have created a need for modern legislation to allow the police and security services to continue to protect the public from a range of threats including terrorism, cyber-crime, and child abuse. The Commission is pleased that Labour has secured important concessions in several areas, including on bulk powers, an independent review, a privacy clause, strengthened judicial oversight, and protection for trade union activities. Thanks to the constructive work of Labour, there are stronger safeguards that protect people's privacy and their human rights.

But this Bill is still far from perfect and the Government need to move further on a higher threshold for accessing Internet Connection Records, as well as better protection of journalists, their sources, and of legal privilege. The work of the police and security services has become more difficult as both the level of the threat has risen and the nature of communication has changed in the modern world. They do incredibly important work on our behalf and the Commission thanks them for it.

### **Civil Society**

The Commission believes reductions in Government funding for third sector organisations run the risk of 'hollowing out' civil society. Members have heard how service providers are being forced to turn people away because of the twin pressure of rising demand for their services caused by the government's welfare reforms and funding cuts. The Commission condemns attempts by the

Cabinet Office to gag advocacy groups via a new clause whereby all organisations in recipient of state grants must agree not to use public money to influence MPs or political parties, or attempt to influence legislation or regulatory action. Commission members highlighted the need to hold charities to account but not to diminish them.

## **Submissions**

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2015-16 the Home Affairs Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Access to justice
- Animal rights
- Border security
- Boundary Review
- Community policing
- Corruption in public office
- Cyber-crime
- Devolution
- Domestic violence
- Drug classification
- Drug policing
- Electoral reform
- English Parliament
- EU referendum
- European law
- Female Genital Mutilation
- Freedom of speech
- Hate crime
- House of Lords reform
- Human Rights Act
- Immigration
- Legal aid
- Multiculturalism
- National Citizen Service
- Parliamentary standards
- Police accountability
- Police and Crime Commissioners
- Police corruption
- Police diversity
- Prison reform
- Probation Service
- Proportional Representation
- Prostitution

- Protection of workers
- Referendums
- Refugees
- Regional assemblies
- Rural crime
- Terrorism
- Voter turnout
- Voting age
- Youth justice

# International | Annual Report

## Membership

### HM Opposition

Hilary Benn MP\*†<sup>1</sup>  
Emily Thornberry MP  
Diane Abbott MP†<sup>2</sup>  
Pat Glass MP

### NEC

Ken Livingstone†<sup>3</sup>  
Cath Speight  
Glenis Willmott

### CLPs and Regions

George Downs  
Simeon Elliott  
Nick Forbes  
Glyn Ford  
James Frith  
Andy Furlong  
Annabelle Harle  
Mariam Khan  
Wajid Khan  
Alex Mayer  
Trudie McGuinness  
George McManus  
Mike Payne

### Affiliates

Beryl Shepherd  
David Quayle  
Isabelle Gutierrez  
Kamaljeet Jandu  
Len McCluskey  
Nicola Wildy†<sup>4</sup>

### Elected Reps

Dave Watts  
John Woodcock MP  
Mike Ross  
Richard Howitt MEP

### \*Co-convenor

†<sup>1</sup> Replaced as Co-convenor  
by Emily Thornberry MP  
†<sup>2</sup> Replaced by Kate Osamor MP  
†<sup>3</sup> Replaced as Co-convenor by Cath Speight  
†<sup>4</sup> Replaced by Jos Gallacher

## Policy development

The Labour Party was founded on the values of social justice, equality and opportunity for all. These are values which transcend borders and which we should seek to uphold not only at home but champion abroad. The International Policy Commission is responsible for developing Labour Party policy on foreign affairs, international development and defence.

British foreign policy is in flux. The vote to leave the European Union (EU) has created a range of challenges that will fundamentally alter Britain's role in the world. Over the past year, international relations have been marked by violent upheaval across much of the Middle East and North Africa, devastating terrorist attacks in cities around the world, the continued threat posed by the Ebola and Zika epidemics, and a dramatic growth in the number of refugees seeking safety. Each of these issues reminds us that Britain cannot meet the challenges of the modern world alone.

The past year should also remind us that we can achieve great things when we work together with our international partners. From the Iran nuclear deal to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Paris climate deal, Britain has played an important role in helping to foster peace, stability and greater prosperity.

The Britain's Global Role Party Conference policy seminar was held on Wednesday 30 September 2015, offering delegates the opportunity to share and discuss their views with shadow secretaries of state and to question them on issues that fall within their remit. Around 60 delegates took part in the seminar, contributing to a lively discussion on matters relating to foreign affairs, defence and international development. Ann Black chaired the seminar, taking contributions from the floor and allowing the Shadow Cabinet in attendance - Glenis Willmott MEP, Hilary Benn MP, Maria Eagle MP and Diane Abbott MP - to respond as and where appropriate. All delegates who wished to were able to raise points during the course of the seminar.

The newly convened International Policy Commission met for the first time in February 2016, and heard updates from Hilary Benn and Emily Thornberry about the work of the Shadow

Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Shadow Ministry of Defence teams. The Commission also discussed the referendum on Britain's membership of the EU, and Hilary Benn gave an overview of the Labour In for Britain campaign including its aims and strategy over the coming months.

The Commission agreed a structure for their priority issue document, which the NEC had decided should focus on 'Britain's Defence and Security Priorities'. There was agreement that the Commission should hear evidence from a range of experts during the course of the consultation. Following the meeting, a draft consultation document was produced and circulated to members of the Commission.

The second meeting was held in March and began with an update from Diane Abbott on the work of the Shadow International Development team, including on the refugee crisis, tax justice and overseas development assistance to Yemen. Emily Thornberry gave a brief update on the defence review she was carrying out in her capacity as Shadow Defence Secretary. There was agreement that this review, once published, would feed into the Commission's own consultation.

Hilary Benn gave an update on recent developments in the EU referendum campaign, a key priority for the Party. The members considered the implications of the terror attacks that had taken place earlier in the day in Brussels. Finally, they agreed the wording of the consultation document, and decided that they would hold three evidence sessions: the first on the international strategic context; the second on nuclear deterrence and Trident renewal; and the third on the defence sector and jobs. Members of the Commission were invited to suggest names of potential witnesses and a shortlist was drawn up.

At the third meeting, in April, the Commission heard from experts on the international strategic context and discussed a range of challenges. The first evidence session focused on the Middle East and North Africa, counter-terrorism and intervention, with Rosemary Hollis from City University and Michael Clarke, former director of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI). The second session examined Russian foreign policy, NATO and European security, with James Nixey

from Chatham House and Malcolm Chalmers from RUSI.

Following the evidence sessions, the Commission considered and noted the many submissions from members, CLPs and others which had come in to the consultation via Your Britain, including on the future of interventionism, the arms trade, nuclear deterrence and the UK defence sector.

The Commission met for their fourth meeting of the year in May. After updates from Hilary Benn and Emily Thornberry, the Commission welcomed speakers for the third and fourth evidence sessions in their consultation. Both sessions focused on Trident, with the Commission hearing from a range of experts and former government ministers. George Robertson and Des Browne, both former UK defence secretaries gave evidence first, alongside Major General Patrick Cordingley and former First Sea Lord Alan West.

In the second session, the Commission heard from Patricia Lewis from Chatham House and Paul Cornish from RAND Europe. A wide-ranging discussion followed in each session, with Commission members asking questions on the cost of renewal, the effectiveness of deterrence and the impact of new and emerging technologies. Submissions received via Your Britain were then considered, and the Commission discussed the shape and structure of the next version of the consultation document.

Following the meeting, a second version of the document was drafted, drawing on the wide range of submissions received via Your Britain, the evidence sessions and the Commission's discussions throughout the year.

The Commission held a fifth meeting at the beginning of June, where they took evidence on the UK defence industry. They heard first from Andrew Dorman and Matthew Uttley from King's College London, who discussed the significance of the sector for both the UK economy and Britain's role in the world. Following this session, they heard from representatives from Unite, GMB and BAE Systems on jobs in the defence industry.

A discussion followed about how Labour can create a new defence industrial strategy. Following these sessions, the Commission considered the second

version of the consultation document and discussed the range of submissions and witnesses they had heard from. In the days following the fifth meeting the document was updated to reflect the further evidence received, and the Commission discussed the final wording until a consensus was reached.

In July the Commission held a conference call to consider the implications of the vote to leave the EU, the publication of the Chilcot report and feedback from other members of the NPF. In light of these discussions, they agreed to update the document for a final time. The document is included as an annex to this report.

## Current Issues

### EU Referendum

The referendum on Britain's membership of the EU was a key topic of discussion for the Commission throughout the year. The Labour Party campaigned passionately to remain, arguing that Britain is better off in Europe because of the jobs, growth and investment it has brought to Britain, as well as the protections it underpins for British workers, consumers and national security. The Labour In for Britain campaign was set up in Autumn 2015, and the Labour Party united behind it.

In the lead up to 23 June, the Commission discussed the organisation, messaging and strategy of the Labour In for Britain campaign, and how Labour could best persuade people of the benefits of remaining and help to ensure a high turnout. The implications of leaving the EU for the UK economy and overseas trade, as well as for foreign, defence, development and immigration policies, were considered at length by the Commission. There was also consideration of how, were the UK to vote to remain, Britain could once again assume a leadership role in Europe. The Commission discussed the importance of formulating a credible and progressive programme for reform.

Following the vote to leave, it is clear that many challenges lie ahead for the Government. As well as the task of negotiating a new settlement with the EU, there are many key issues relating to Britain's global role and its international trading relationships

which will need to be addressed. There are a number of areas of European cooperation which it may be in Britain's interest to remain a part of. Europe, meanwhile, is facing its own challenges, including a resurgence of nationalist movements across the continent, an influx of refugees and continued economic uncertainty.

It is clear that the Government will need to devote significant resources over the coming years to addressing the many questions and challenges arising from the referendum result. The UK's approach to immigration and border security, which were recurring issues throughout the campaign, require careful consideration. What level of access the UK should have to the European single market, when the Government should trigger Article 50, and whether the public ought to be consulted over exactly what type of relationship the UK should have with Europe in future are important questions. The Commission agreed that Labour must play a prominent role in influencing the debate over Britain's future relationship with Europe, and in properly scrutinizing of the Government's approach. These issues will be a priority for the future work of the Commission.

### **Middle East**

More than 250,000 people have lost their lives in the conflict in Syria, which began in March 2011 with anti-government protests before escalating into a full-scale civil war. More than 11 million are internally displaced. A number of submissions received by the Commission highlighted the ongoing suffering of the Syrian population, both at the hands of the Assad regime and militant groups including Daesh and Jabhat al-Nusra (Jabhat Fateh al-Sham). The vote in the House of Commons in November 2015 to authorise UK air strikes against Daesh in Syria was discussed and debated by the Commission.

Instability across other parts of the Middle East and North Africa are also a cause for concern. In Libya, rival governments, as well as various militias including Daesh, are fighting for control of territory. In April 2016 Labour welcomed the establishment of the Libyan Government of national accord led by Prime Minister Fayez Sarraj, but recognizes that it faces an enormous task in ensuring security, restoring public services and building up the

economy.

In Yemen, peace talks have failed to bridge the gap between the warring parties, and a ceasefire that came into effect in April has been marred by breaches from both sides. The country is in the midst of a humanitarian catastrophe, with over 19 million Yemenis now lacking access to safe drinking water or sanitation, and more than 500,000 children suffering severe malnourishment.

In Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Labour remains fully committed to a comprehensive peace based on a two-state solution – a secure Israel alongside a secure and viable Palestinian state. An initiative led by the French Government to re-start peace talks is at a formative stage, and Labour continues to urge all sides to avoid taking action that would make peace harder to achieve.

### **Iraq and the Chilcot Inquiry**

Labour voted for airstrikes against Daesh in Iraq in 2014 and supports the efforts of the Iraqi Government and security forces to defeat the militant group. Around 30 per cent of the territory Daesh once controlled has been retaken with Tikrit, Sinjar and Ramadi now back under the control of either the Government of Iraq (GOI) or the Kurdistan Regional Government. But Iraq remains fraught with challenges.

British foreign policy over the last decade has been conducted in the long shadow of the 2003 invasion of Iraq. The publication of the Chilcot report on 6 July 2016 provided an opportunity for the Labour Party, Parliament and the country to learn the lessons of the conflict, as well as to remember and honour all those who died. It should be a turning point. Parliament discussed the report and its conclusions over two days of debate in the House of Commons, and the Labour Party will continue to reflect on and learn from mistakes that were made. Whether in terms of the use of intelligence, parliamentary oversight, military strategy or post-conflict planning, the conclusions of the report create challenges for all parties which it is clear have not yet been fully learned. In a speech at Church House on the day the report was published, Jeremy Corbyn, Leader of the Labour Party, said:

“I now apologise sincerely on behalf of my party for the disastrous decision to go to war in Iraq in March 2003... I commit Labour to uphold international law to seek peaceful solutions to international disputes, to respect the role and authority of the United Nations and always to treat war as absolutely the last resort.”

### **Armed Forces**

At the core of Labour’s defence policy is supporting Britain’s Forces, veterans and their families. The Government’s plans for a restructured Army have led to the imposition of tens of thousands of redundancies, while they are struggling to meet their ambition of recruiting 30,000 reservists by 2019. The first duty of any government should be to keep the country safe, and part of this is ensuring that the servicemen and women who protect us are well-equipped, well-paid and well looked after. Labour has consistently pointed to areas in which the Government are failing in that duty, and the Commission has discussed these issues.

In November 2015, Labour warned that the Government’s plans to cut tax credits were set to hit military families particularly hard, following years of pay restraint. An estimated 28,000 members of the Armed Forces were set to have lost £1,300 a year, but pressure by Labour helped ensure the Government reversed its plans.

Low pay and morale in the Forces remain issues of concern to the Commission. In March 2016 there was further confirmation that the failure to pay service men and women a reasonable wage is undermining morale across the Forces. Soldiers told the Armed Forces Pay Review Body that, following the one per cent public pay sector rise in 2015, they were effectively being given a pay cut when set against inflation. The Commission recognises that, when pay and pensions are not good enough, there is a direct impact on the morale of Forces personnel and the decisions many are taking to quit the service.

In July 2016 Labour criticised the Government for its ongoing failure to provide acceptable standards of housing for service families. A report by Parliament’s Public Accounts Committee outlined failures on the part of the Government’s contractor, which has repeatedly left service families without such basic necessities as heating and hot water for weeks at a time.

### **International Development**

With the adoption of the SDGs, and the global climate deal agreed in Paris, 2015 was an important year for international development. The SDGs, which aim to eradicate global poverty by 2030, are listed under 17 key headings, ranging from ‘Zero Hunger’ and ‘Quality Education’, to ‘Clean Water Sanitation’ and ‘Gender Equality’, and are supported by 169 specific targets. It is vital that political will is sustained in order to make these goals a reality, building on the enormous progress delivered by the Millennium Development Goals.

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the number of people forcibly displaced people at the end of 2014 had risen to 59.5 million, compared to 51.2 million a year earlier and 37.5 million a decade ago. This means that around one in every 122 people on earth is now either a refugee, internally displaced, or seeking asylum. The Commission discussed the range of challenges this represents, particularly in the context of Europe, which has struggled to respond to large influxes of refugees and migrants over the past year.

Submissions were received by the Commission on a range of other topics related to the post-2015 development framework, including global poverty, humanitarian crises, diseases and the implications of climate change for economic development and public health.

### **Human Rights**

Across a number of areas of the Government’s foreign policy, human rights concerns have increasingly appeared to be of secondary importance to commercial diplomacy. This change in priorities was confirmed by the FCO’s permanent secretary, Simon Macdonald, when he told the cross-party Foreign Affairs Committee in October 2015 that human rights are “not one of the top priorities” in the department.

Labour has challenged the Government repeatedly on the apparent downgrading of human rights in its relationship with Saudi Arabia, including over the now cancelled UK-Saudi prisons contract, the FCO’s response to the mass executions that took place in the Kingdom in January 2016, and continued sales of arms being used by the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen.

The Government has also come under criticism, including from the Joint Committee on the National Security Strategy, for not prioritising human rights concerns in its dealings with China, an issue which Labour has challenged the Government on. Similarly, Labour has raised concerns about the Government's relations with Egypt which, under Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, has seen a deeply worrying slide into authoritarianism.

Submissions also considered human rights concerns in other parts of the world. In March 2016, Myanmar had its first democratic transfer of power in more than 50 years, and Labour has continued to press for fair treatment for the Rohingya and other ethnic minority groups in the country. The Commission discussed the deteriorating situation in Turkey, with whom the EU in May 2016 reached agreement designed to address the flows of asylum seekers arriving on European shores.

In Colombia, following three years of negotiation, a peace deal between the Colombian government and the FARC rebels was signed in June 2016, creating the prospect of peace and an end to human rights abuses. The challenges facing the trade union movement in the country, and across Latin America, are of long-standing concern to the Commission. Brazil and Venezuela have both experienced political crises of different sorts in 2016, and the Commission continues to follow these events with concern.

### **Submissions**

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2015-16 the International Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Anti-submarine warfare
- Armed forces recruitment age
- Arms trade
- Brazil
- China
- Climate Change
- Cluster munitions
- Colombia
- Conventional armed forces capabilities
- Cyber warfare
- Defence diversification
- Defence industry and skills
- Defence procurement
- Defence spending
- Drones (aerial and underwater)
- Emerging economies
- EU referendum
- Falkland Islands
- Financial Transaction Tax
- Global Peace Index
- Global poverty
- Globalisation
- Human rights
- Humanitarian crises
- International development
- Iran
- Iraq
- Israel and Palestine
- Migration
- Ministry of Defence reform
- Myanmar
- NATO
- New security threats
- Nuclear deterrence
- Nuclear non-proliferation
- Refugee crisis
- Russia
- Saudi Arabia
- Safe Schools Declaration
- Steel dumping
- Syria
- Terrorism
- Transatlantic relations
- Trident
- Turkey
- Ukraine
- US presidential election
- Venezuela
- Yemen

# Transport | Annual Report

## Membership 2015/16

### **HM Opposition**

Lilian Greenwood MP \*†<sup>1</sup>  
Andy McDonald MP  
Daniel Zeichner MP  
Richard Burdon MP

### **NEC**

Diana Holland \*  
Andi Fox  
James Asser

### **CLPs/Regions**

Cllr Sandy Martin  
Joanne Rust  
Suzi Cullinane  
Cllr Mark Dempsey  
Brenda Weston  
Nick Davies  
Lyndsay Clelland  
Lucy Anderson MEP  
Jennifer Smith  
Jill Merchant

### **Affiliates**

Collette Gibson  
Mick Carney  
Tony Woodhouse  
Gloria Mills  
Sarah Gill

### **Elected Reps**

Gavin Shuker MP  
Seb Dance MEP  
Cllr Clare Lally  
Cllr Steve Bullock

### **\*Co-convenor**

†<sup>1</sup> Replaced as Co-convenor by Andy McDonald MP

## Policy development

The Transport Policy Commission is tasked with looking at all issues pertaining to transport. Prior to this, transport issues were discussed by the Living Standards and Sustainability Commission.

In September 2015, Diana Holland led the Living Standards and Sustainability Seminar at Annual Conference in Brighton. The panel (which included Lilian Greenwood, Shadow Secretary of State for Transport) discussed a range of issues with the delegates who attended. Transport issues raised included HS2, pay and conditions for transport workers and rural bus services. There was an interesting discussion on freight on local roads and cycle safety.

The Transport Policy Commission was tasked with looking at ensuring our transport networks meet the needs of local communities as their priority this year. At the Commission's first meeting in February, Lilian Greenwood, outlined the work of the Commission. At this meeting the Commission agreed that the environment, affordability, accessibility and integrated transport were key themes to consult on. It was also agreed that the importance of local decision-making and local councils engaging with each other on transport matters should also be taken into account. Members also raised the importance of discussing walking and cycling and the impact of new technologies on the transport network.

The Commission received updates from the Shadow Transport team on a range of issues including on buses, aviation, HS2, ports and the Government's walking and cycling strategy. Members considered the submissions that were received including points on taxis, roads, rural bus services and the impact of transport pollution on the environment. Members also raised points around the VW emissions scandal, tackling high levels of pollution from diesel cars, re-testing of car licences for the over 60s and Uber. Issues with safety at ports were discussed as well as moving freight off roads and on to rail in a sustainable way.

In April, the Commission discussed the 2015 Labour Party Annual Conference NEC statement on rail which called for Labour to take rail

franchises back into public ownership when current franchise agreements end. After an update from Lilian Greenwood on developments in transport since the last meeting, members discussed submissions which included issues of air pollution caused by the transport sector and devolution of transport powers and suggestions to move freight off roads and on to the rail network. There was also a discussion around Network Rail and how it must not be privatised. Members also discussed what they would like to see in the local transport priority issue consultation paper and which experts they would like to invite to give evidence at future meetings.

The Commission met in May for its third meeting where submissions received since the priority document went out to consultation were discussed. The meeting was attended by the Campaign for Better Transport and Greener Journeys who gave evidence which raised a number of issues such as cuts to bus services, the vital role of good public transport in encouraging more sustainable travel and the Government's walking and cycling strategy. The Commission had a detailed discussion about bus services including who uses buses and different models of bus provision. There was a discussion around how Boris Johnson spent years trying to change the bus franchise model in London before finally recognising that the franchise model Labour had put in place was the best approach to improve the quality of service for passengers. The Commission noted that more needs to be done to improve bus workers' terms and conditions in London. The Commission raised the need to make sure that in every part of the UK there is a regular bus service. Members also felt that there was not just a problem with cuts to bus services but also reducing the frequency of the service.

At the fourth meeting the Commission received expert evidence from the National Cycling Charity, Living Streets, the Campaign to Protect Rural England and Transport for Quality of Life. Experts raised a number of issues including the costs of bus privatisation and deregulation, the positive role of municipal bus companies, the importance of walking and cycling to health as well as transport safety on the network, costs of travel, road safety and rural bus services. Members of the Commission discussed with the experts about the

need for local county councils to have a community transport strategy which could help deal with concerns around infrequent bus services. There was also a discussion around submissions which pointed to ways of reducing the cost of travelling on public services. There was a discussion about interconnectedness of transport for passengers and freight and the need for creative sustainable solutions to the problem of interconnectivity. For example, Commission members discussed how moving freight around the coast by sea could be a way of alleviating road congestion. There was discussions around proposals from submissions that highlighted the need to look at building enough well-connected transport hubs around ports to deal with freight issues. Commission members felt there should be a discussion within the Party about whether we should reopen currently closed rail lines to service freight traffic.

The Commission held a phone conference in July to discuss the impact of the vote to leave the EU and to update the priority issue document with comments from the wider NPF. Comments from the wider NPF centred on safety concerns for passengers on the transport network, a need to consider the positive role that innovative transport schemes can play in reducing air pollution and the Tory Government's Bus Services Bill. A further issue included access to local transport for those with additional needs such as those with physical and learning disabilities and autism. The Commission also recognised the importance of protecting the safety and working conditions of public transport staff.

## Current issues

### **Designing a transport system for the future**

As we go forward to 2020 we must consider how best to deliver a modern transport system that provides an integrated transport network connecting our country, cities and communities and connecting all four nations of the UK. Submissions to the Commission made clear that to do this we need to connect roads and rail, trams and trains, buses and coaches, airports and seaports. The Commission believes in the need for a modern transport system that should serve the needs of users where staffing levels are a key

part to supporting the safe use of public transport by passengers. The Commission believes that transport should be accessible, affordable, reliable and sustainable. Submissions highlighted the need to examine how we ensure automatic integrated ticketing that supports seamless travel across and between the different modes of transport where users have an automatic right to refunds.

### **Greener and safer transport for our communities: Buses, Walking and Cycling**

The Commission is clear that insufficient priority has been given to the most widespread modes of transport - buses and walking - and together with cycling, they are key to ensuring sustainable integrated transport across all communities. Submissions stressed the serious damage caused by the Conservatives privatisation and deregulation of bus services which Labour is determined to address. The Commission is concerned about safety around our transport network including on local roads. The Government's cuts to local government are having a big impact on transport funding. It is driving up bus fares and adding to the daily travel costs representing an increasing proportion of family budgets.

Submissions were concerned that extreme Tory cuts to local government are also meaning that councils have to find savings, such as by turning street lights off at night or not maintaining local roads which are all having an impact on the safety of those that use our local roads and pavements. To tackle this, the Commission has been looking at how the devolution of decision-making over transport services and funding to our nations and regions might improve our local networks and accountability to passengers. Promoting walking and cycling is a key concern for the Commission but we have to make our local roads safer, such as the consideration of increased adoption of 20mph zones in local built up areas and greater pedestrianisation as currently being considered for Oxford Street. The Commission also discussed the increasing use of modern technology in the transport sector such as in the taxi industry and the level of regulation needed to ensure the safety of all those that use such services.

Promoting greener forms of transport such as walking and cycling particularly for shorter

journeys will be key to tackling issues of obesity and addressing increasing levels of air pollution. Building a transport network which encourages greener forms of transport will be an issue of continued interest for the Commission.

### **National Road Network**

The Government's record on our national road network is a poor one with cancelled road schemes, delayed projects and under investment. Moving freight off the roads network and on to rail in a sustainable way is a key issue for many as submissions highlight. Improving rail access to ports is one way of helping to alleviate congestion on the nationally strategic road network.

The Government is increasingly keen to extend the use of toll roads around the UK. Though they can provide for investment in new roads, the Commission was concerned that their proliferation could lead to the increased cost of travel. The issue of tolls requires additional investigation by the Commission.

For all the Tory Government's rhetoric about a Northern Powerhouse they have proposed little to speed up connectivity amongst the major towns and cities of the North. Motorways in the North are some of the most congested in the country. Labour's vision is of a North which gets the best transport deal it can from Westminster rather than the Tory proposals to devolve down Whitehall cuts to regional and local governments.

### **A rail network for the future**

Submissions to the Commission made clear that the fragmented structure of our rail industry created by the Tories' botched privatisation is a key factor in the lack of accountability and costliness of Britain's rail infrastructure. The Commission welcomed Labour's policy to bring our railway franchises back into public ownership with the aim of improving the quality of service passengers enjoy.

In addition the Government is intent on finding a way to privatise Network Rail, which Labour will continue to oppose. They have also failed to make the case for HS2, leaving it to Labour to promote a much needed line which will increase capacity especially for freight across the network. We should not forget that the Tories have taken credit for Labour initiatives such as Crossrail whilst at the same time delaying plans to build Crossrail 2.

Submissions to the Commission have made clear the Government's lack of action on safety on the rail network. Recent safety concerns on the rail network run by the company Southern have shown how valuable appropriate staffing levels are not only on trains but at stations as well. Labour has been clear that the Government must consider taking the running of the franchise away from Southern and putting it in the hands of a public provider. Understaffing on our transport network also impacts heavily on the safety of passengers, particularly women, and on access for disabled people.

### **Integrating our airports and ports into the wider transport network**

A key consideration for the Commission is the Government's increasingly delayed announcement on an additional runway in the South East of England. An additional runway has Labour's conditional support dependant on the proposals that are brought forward to mitigate against the environmental impacts of a new runway wherever it is built. The Government has also not addressed the connectivity challenges that already exist around our major airports in the UK such as issues of congestion on nearby motorways particularly the M25 around London and infrequent rail services to regional airports. The effect of leaving the European Union will be acutely felt at our airports and seaports, the Commission will continue to scrutinise the Government's proposals for what an exit from the EU will look like and the level of impact it could have on the UK's border points.

Connectivity around seaports is also a key concern for the Commission. Congestion of local roads around ports caused by freight and passenger traffic is failing to be addressed by the Government. Their failure on Operation Stack and lorry congestion around Dover is of continuing concern. Congestion around the port is having a negative effect on those that live and work around the area as well as on lorry drivers. The Commission also heard about issues of automation at ports and the impact that it is having on jobs. This is an area of interest that will continue to be scrutinised by the Commission as automation increasingly impacts all modes of transport.

## Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2015-16 the Transport Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Air quality
- Airport expansion
- Bus investment
- Canals
- Charging points
- City region control
- Coastal Transport
- Co-operative bus schemes
- Cycle Super highways
- Cycling
- De-regulation of buses
- Disabled access to transport
- Eco-Friendly public transport
- Economic impact of transport
- Emissions
- Freight to rail
- HGV safety
- HS2
- Hybrid and Electric Vehicles
- Investment in infrastructure
- Parking policy
- Pedestrianised town centres
- Private sector involvement
- Rail costs
- Regional transport strategies
- Renationalisation of the rail network
- Self-driving cars
- Shipping
- Talking buses
- Taxi regulation
- Toll roads



Priority Issue documents:



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# Economy:

Building a productive economy

## The Challenge

Labour wants to create a society that is fundamentally fairer, more equal and more democratic, based on a sustainable economy where prosperity is shared by all. This ambitious goal will only be achieved if Labour can make a decisive break with the failures of this Government's economic policy. In its place we require a bold, forward-looking programme that is in tune with the needs and aspirations of the British people.

The challenges outlined in this document remain substantial regardless of the UK's vote to leave the European Union. However, it is clear that leaving the European Union will lead to both short-term and long-term additional challenges for business confidence, productivity, investment, employment rights and the public finances. These impacts will make the need to address the challenges outlined in this paper all the more pressing.

Economic systems should meet the needs of people and they should be judged on this. It is clear that the current economic system is not providing the good-quality jobs, homes, security and rising living standards which the people of this country need, want and deserve.

This is in the context of the continued fallout from the global banking crisis and subsequent Conservative austerity, with people paying a heavy price in cuts to the vital services they rely on.

Following research from the International Monetary Fund, on the failures of austerity and rising inequality in delivering broad and sustainable growth, the challenge for all those concerned with making a fairer, more prosperous economy is in presenting a robust, credible and popular alternative.

Failures of the current economic approach are evident in multiple forms: in growing inequality; in too many people being paid too little for work that is too insecure; of regional and local imbalances; and in rising dependence on debt, both by households and in Britain's borrowing from the rest of the world.

At the centre of these problems is slow growth in productivity. This was recently identified by the Office for Budget Responsibility as a decisive factor behind former Chancellor George Osborne's failure to meet his own targets, let alone create an economy fit for the future.

Productivity is the measure of efficiency by which an economy produces goods and services. It is the key factor determining the health of an economy in the long-run and is central to economic growth in developed economies like the UK. The unprecedented slump in the UK's productivity indicates structural problems in our economy; problems that Tory austerity has only exacerbated.

It is clear that the Government's short-term approach to economic management is putting our recovery, and the prosperity of British families, at risk. We will not take advantage of the opportunities of new technology and changing ways of working if we are trapped with the failures of short-term decision-making. Imposing, and then extending, austerity will rank as one of the worst decisions this Government has made. By cutting investment spending, in particular, the Government is undermining Britain's future prosperity. Labour must make different choices.

Changes in technology and the ways we work, the growing interconnectedness of different economies and societies; all of these offer possibilities that were simply not available to previous generations. If we do not offer a vision of how we, as a country, can face the future with confidence, we will be failing in our fundamental purpose as a Party. Doing so requires that we win back the public's trust on the economy; arguably the biggest single challenge Labour faces. It requires us to offer an alternative vision of the future.

The Shadow Chancellor, John McDonnell MP, in consultation with world-leading economists on his Economic Advisory Council, has proposed a Fiscal Credibility Rule that in normal times commits Labour in government to set out a plan to eliminate the current spending deficit on a forward-looking, five-year rolling timescale, while

ensuring government retains the flexibility to invest. Meanwhile Labour's Tax Transparency and Enforcement Programme, announced in April, begins to tackle the problem of tax evasion and aggressive tax avoidance. This is all part of shifting the terms of the economic debate and setting out an alternative, away from short-term cuts and failed austerity to long-term investment for the future. John McDonnell MP has also spoken about the need for an 'Entrepreneurial State', at both a national and local level, to work in partnership with businesses to invest in the jobs, growth and skills for the future.

The Shadow Chancellor has also commissioned reviews into key institutions of economic decision making; Lord Kerslake, the former Head of the Civil Service, is conducting a review into the workings of the Treasury and Professor Prem Sikka is conducting a review into the operation of HM Revenue and Customs (HMRC) and whether it is fit for purpose, including HMRC's relationship with major taxpayers.

The Party's Economy Policy Commission is an important part of this process. Having launched a series of reviews and established a number of new bodies to help develop Labour's economic policies, we also need to hear from Labour Party members and other important stakeholders about some of the challenges facing our economy.

This document responds to the views we heard after issuing our consultation document 'Building a Productive Economy'. The Commission heard from a number of the UK's major economic organisations, trade unions and many of our members and Constituency Labour Parties. These were of a high-quality and challenging nature and the Commission would like to thank all those that submitted their views.

### **Boosting productivity**

A growing economy that raises living standards for the many can best be delivered year-on-year through rising productivity. When people produce more at work – for example, because the services they provide or the goods they make are of higher standard or in greater quantity – and this is combined with fair ownership of assets, and fair rewards for work, everyone can benefit. Structural and institutional changes and innovation in business models, such as new ways to own and manage companies, can also play an important role in boosting productivity.

Submissions in response to our consultation indicated that improving skills and developing better infrastructure were key components of achieving higher productivity. The Commission heard from experts who echoed many of the views we heard from Party members up and down the country.

The Federation of Small Businesses (FSB) and EEF, the manufacturers' organisation, told the Commission that there was no single, easy answer to improving skills, but that a focus on education and post-16 education in particular was certainly part of the answer. The FSB said that we need a greater focus on high-quality, independent careers advice to ensure young people are aware of all the training and education pathways available to them, both academic and vocational. The EEF echoed those concerns, noting that too many young people are leaving formal education with insufficient skills to fully participate in the economy.

Submissions to the Commission frequently raised the problem of a lack of parity of esteem between vocational and academic education. They also frequently highlighted the poor remuneration, prestige and training available for many apprenticeships. We were told that improving access to education at every level would boost skills and opportunities for all, and that we must ensure cost is not a barrier to accessing education.

Other submissions on the issue of apprenticeships noted that they should be a nationally recognised qualification, paid at a decent wage, and designed to encourage greater diversity in the workforce and across sectors.

*"There needs to be greater government support for apprenticeships and a move towards a vocational education system would be very useful in addressing the huge skills gap."*

**- Jack, Gloucestershire**

*"We need practical apprenticeships in addition to academic qualifications in Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths."*

**- Patricia, Hampshire**

The Commission agreed that the current skills shortage was a major contributing factor to our low productivity growth and acknowledged the importance of skills and education in building a productive economy for the future. The Commission agreed that in order to address the current skills shortage and combat the productivity gap, serious efforts need to be undertaken to equip British workers with the skills they need. While educational and skills development opportunities remain less than adequate at all levels, for young people and those already in the workforce, productivity growth will remain subdued. The Commission notes with disappointment the Tory Government's Higher Education and Research Bill which contains little reference to the importance of adult skills and lifelong learning and which fails to provide a clear and coherent strategy to tackle the skills gap.

The Commission would like to further investigate practical steps that can be taken to build the highly-skilled workforce we need. This includes considering submissions on protecting and encouraging lifelong learning, working with trade unions, businesses and individuals, including protecting funding for trade union lifelong learning and opportunities to learn English for Speakers of Other Languages.

*"Most of the workforce of 10 years' time is already in work; looking at young people's education and training, as important as this is, is not enough."*

#### **- EEF**

Submissions to the Commission also indicated the importance of developing British infrastructure to unlock growth and boost productivity. The Commission was told that improving infrastructure of all types is important, but digital infrastructure in particular was frequently discussed.

The FSB told the Commission that many small businesses, across the country, and particularly in rural areas, struggled with broadband access. They told us that this was holding back growth and expansion and having a detrimental impact on jobs and wages, and in response proposed a new Digital Inclusion Strategy, developed to help small businesses take advantage of the digital economy. In order to achieve this, they

emphasised the importance of government and private sector investment in high-speed broadband. This was a concern that was echoed by other experts the Commission heard from; EEF explained that many small- and medium-sized manufacturing organisations were struggling to receive broadband of sufficient quality to fully tap into the opportunities that the modern digital economy offered. As successive reports have detailed, including that of the House of Lords Select Committee, Britain performs poorly on digital infrastructure and this has a direct impact on businesses.

Angela Eagle, former Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills, while attending a Labour Party event on 2nd April 2016 focused on hearing from members in the South West, heard the concerns of many local Party members that insufficient access to broadband was having a detrimental impact on the local economy.

*"We need to get to grips with the poor broadband here; it is really holding us back- as consumers, students and businesses".*

#### **- Jo, Economy workshop in Dorset**

The Commission agreed that digital infrastructure was an integral part of modern infrastructure and that universal coverage of affordable, high-speed broadband should feature prominently in an industrial strategy aimed at raising productivity across the country. Our aspiration should be to lay the infrastructure for a 21st century economy across the whole country, ensuring all citizens and businesses can share in prosperity. We must also look to tackle the regional discrepancies in infrastructure provision, in line with local economic needs, and back this commitment with government funding and a long-term investment programme. Labour's Fiscal Credibility Rule provides the flexibility needed for government to invest to deliver on the scale needed to meet the opportunities available and grow the economy.

The Commission also heard that an important aspect in raising productivity is the engagement of the workforce. Many submissions told us that trade unions should be seen as a resource to help drive up skills, motivate workers and boost productivity. It was frequently noted that the Government's so-

called 'Productivity Plan' does not include a single reference to the role trade unions and employee engagement can play in driving up productivity.

An example was given by the Trade Union Congress of where workforce engagement has helped maintain and build workplace productivity; during the last economic crisis Jaguar Land Rover (JLR) worked pragmatically with trade unions to ensure workers and their skills were not lost to the sector, so when the economy started to recover workers could get back on the production line and achieve pre-downturn output rapidly. This helped ensure the UK retained a productive car industry that continues to employ high-skilled, high-wage workers today. Similar success stories were discussed by Unite the Union, in the aerospace and shipbuilding sectors, where companies working with trade unions and employees were able to retain capacity and skills during downturns and recover swiftly during the upturn.

*"The productivity puzzle will only be resolved through collective engagement with the workforce and ensuring that growth in productivity benefits the workforce through higher living standards."*

**- USDAW, Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers**

*"The vast majority of the 7,454 employees we surveyed said that productivity could be improved if management listened to staff more and engaged with them over job design, team working, hours and workload"*

**- The Smith Institute**

The Commission noted the success of previous initiatives aimed at engaging workforces and maintaining skills and capacity. The Commission believes trade unions and workforce engagement should play a significant role in any plan aimed at boosting productivity, skills and wages. The Commission would like to further investigate examples of practical steps that have, and can, be taken.

Labour's 'Workplace 2020' initiative is exploring how employment rights can be made fit for the twenty-first century. The Commission will hear from Workplace 2020 on issues they are currently investigating, such as collective bargaining and two-tier work forces, the use of compulsory zero-hours contracts, and how outsourcing and other businesses practices can be prevented from driving down wages and terms and conditions

The Commission also noted that workplace rights and participation in the running of the economy are also important in achieving productive, sustainable and shared growth. We know that technology can drive exciting advances in living standards and wellbeing, but the Commission would like to investigate methods to ensure that the workforce benefit from improvements to productivity and that they are not used to drive down wages or working conditions.

The Commission will also look at various submissions on how hard-won gains, in terms of security of employment and additional rights achieved by the Labour movement, might be extended to those workers not in traditional employment contracts, whether they are temporary, part-time, zero-hours or self-employed. Other submissions referred to the relationship between public and private sector pay growth; for example, the TUC noted the role the public sector pay cap has been on influencing growth in the private sector.

Examples of problems with private ownership of infrastructure were also raised; many submissions argued that Labour should explore additional, alternative and democratic forms of ownership that might serve the public, and the productivity of the economy, better in the future.

Some submissions focused on the importance of challenging corporate practices, and short-termism, which can be a barrier to the fairer, more prosperous economy we want to build. For example, failing to productively invest while paying large dividends and executive salaries, tax evasion and aggressive avoidance, and the exploitation of workers all hold back productive wealth creation and are unfair on the vast majority of businesses, both large and small, that make a positive contribution to our economy.

## Ensuring prosperity reaches every corner of the country

Economic growth, employment, investment and earnings in the UK remain profoundly uneven. Our economy will only reach its full potential when all nations, regions, workers and households in the UK are afforded the opportunity to share the proceeds of growth. As long as the economy remains regionally unbalanced we are putting at risk our shared prosperity.

Submissions in response to our consultation indicated the importance of building local productive relationships between local government and businesses, supported by a national strategy.

Workers' rights and participation are essential to future productivity growth. With academic evidence suggesting a potential productivity gain from worker participation at a business level, Labour must treat democratisation and new forms of business organisation not as an added extra in its economic policy, but as a central plank in the transformation of the economy for a fairer and more prosperous future. Democracy and decentralisation are critical to delivering effective policies for regional and local prosperity across the UK.

Labour will look at submissions on how to improve the structure of corporate governance, including ideas such as employee representation on company boards and how government can facilitate greater employee ownership and management of workplaces, potentially through a "Right to Own" for employees. Doubling the size of the co-operative sector in the economy, and establishing national and regional funding bodies to enable the spread of co-operatives and other forms of ownership outside of traditional business models, could boost productivity and help share the benefits of higher growth.

Some submissions told us that changes to corporate governance were required. They told us that recent scandals in corporate failure have demonstrated a lack of long-termism in corporate management and the economy in general. The Trades Union Congress proposed greater employee engagement in companies so they have a role in setting direction.

"We need a shakeup of Britain's boardrooms, including new director duties"

### - Trades Union Congress

The Commission noted with concern recent examples of corporate management failure and agreed that greater incentives for long-term management and success were needed. One way of achieving this is through a greater role for the workforce in corporate management.

The Commission agreed that this was a potential solution and looks forward to investigating this and other options.

The Commission had a number of other important and interesting submissions which will be examined in the future. These include the structure of taxation, addressing inequality, and how government can provide the necessary security for people to take risks and innovate.

Submissions and organisations were in almost universal agreement that greater strategic, long-term investment from government was needed. The Commission heard a number of views on how this might be achieved.

EEF, the manufacturers' organisation, said that there needs to be a greater focus on research and development across the lifecycle of innovation, starting at back-end idea generation and investigation through to front-end product design and building. EEF noted a current imbalance, with too much focus on the front-end delivery of research and development funds and not enough going to the idea generation and investigation phase of innovation. The FSB proposed government support to encourage innovation and scale-up of alternative forms of finance to tackle the continued problem of insufficient access by small- and medium- sized enterprises to finance.

The Commission heard that a National Investment Bank would help achieve the investment the economy required. Labour will tackle the institutional weaknesses and lack of competition in our existing banking and financial system as a priority, as a means to unlock productive financing across the whole country.

“Establish a National Investment Bank to support long-term, patient investment.”

- **Pamela, Sunderland**

“An industrial strategy is vital if we are to nurture business investment in innovation, efficiency and competitiveness.”

- **TSSA, Transport Salaried Staffs’ Association**

“Productive industries require long term investment.”

- **Andrew, Norwich**

The Commission has identified that more can be done to support investment and innovation at a macro level in the economy. We also heard that investment and innovation needed to be supported at a local and micro level.

We received expert evidence which highlighted the importance of the devolution agenda in achieving effective and productive partnerships between businesses and Local Authorities. The Commission heard a number of ideas about the role Local Authorities could play as engines of economic growth in their communities. We heard that many Local Authorities are doing innovative work on supporting local growth, in particular through practical support in setting up new small businesses including new worker co-ops and social businesses. Although some Local Authorities are already actively working with local businesses, it was felt that its potential could be more fully used by all.

“Local communities have their different needs and their own opportunities to develop. Devolution and successful partnerships have an important role to play.”

- **Local Government Association**

“Local Authorities should be encouraged to create economic development strategies to take account of the needs of the existing local economy.”

- **Federation of Small Businesses**

The Government’s move to greater devolution to the nations and regions of the UK was frequently discussed in submissions to the Commission.

The devolution agenda was broadly welcomed, but the Commission heard concerns from some about the extent and implementation of greater devolution; as so often there is a gap between the Conservatives’ rhetoric and the reality of their actions. The benefits of building productive local partnerships between local government, businesses and workers could only ever properly be achieved, we were told, if local government is given the full powers it needs. We were told these powers would be different for different places, based on local circumstances and the scale and scope of the responsible authorities. There was little dispute however as to the potential opportunities devolution offered.

“We need to focus on the needs of local communities and how to encourage investment; this needs local knowledge and expertise.”

- **Paul, Nottingham**

“Partnerships between employers, further education providers, and Local Authorities are needed so training meets the needs of local areas.”

- **West Midlands Policy Forum**

The Commission agreed that it was important that a successful strategy had to have at its heart complementary relationships between central and local government.

The Shadow Chancellor, John McDonnell, has spoken of the need to create a ‘local entrepreneurial state’ that delivers the complementary relationships between businesses, local government, and communities that will help deliver economic transformation and shared prosperity. We will empower Local Authorities with the tools needed to intervene effectively at a local level, including support for the provision of finance for business and mortgages, alongside greater powers to invest to deliver economic opportunity.

## Producing a proper industrial strategy

We face an increasingly complex and competitive global environment. We will only succeed at home and abroad by fostering partnerships between Government, businesses and employees. We need a dynamic, and where appropriate an interventionist, industrial strategy that supports our strategic industries and lays the foundations for us to take advantage of the opportunities of tomorrow. The opportunities presented for the whole economy by the technological transformations of 'Industry 4.0' and the growing spread of information technology will best be realised by a forward-looking government that supports key industries and their workers.

Submissions in response to our consultation frequently said that in order to develop a high productivity economy the UK needs to develop a proper industrial strategy and a more active and interventionist state that takes a holistic approach to supporting British industry. Unite the Union highlighted the importance of ensuring future trade agreements allow effective intervention by government, and provide the necessary protections to domestic industry and its workforce when needed.

*"We need a clear, coherent and comprehensive industrial strategy."*

### - Trades Union Congress

The Commission heard a number of proposals on how this might be achieved. Unite the Union proposed that the UK government mirror the commitment and support of the German 'Mittelstand companies', introducing similar policies to support growth and export opportunities for UK small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) across the supply chain.

*"What makes Germany so successful, is its small- and medium- sized manufacturing companies, supported by the state."*

### - Andrea, Stoke-on-Trent

*"Labour should champion start-ups, support micro-businesses and the self-employed to boost innovation, efficiency and competitiveness."*

### - SMEs for Labour

EEF argued that we need a more holistic government approach to UK industry, seeing government policy as an enabler. These were sentiments that were echoed in many of the submissions we received, including ensuring that the voice of industry and its workforce is heard at the highest level.

Submissions and expert guests agreed, almost unanimously, that Government policy has too often been piecemeal and reactionary, responding to emergencies and firefighting as opposed to strategically planning and responding. They noted that this was detrimental to UK industry and undermined the economy's long-term potential.

Submissions commented on the failings of the UK's current financial system in providing sufficient financing for small- and medium-sized enterprises, and some suggested Labour should examine in detail the operation and effectiveness of the UK financial sector and how a National Investment Bank would work.

We heard that an industrial strategy should take particular account of strategic, foundational, industries, such as manufacturing, construction and green industries. These industries were highlighted in submissions as particularly important to the economy because of the role they play in supporting other industries, sectors and businesses in the economy. The crisis in the steel industry has highlighted the absolute centrality of government support for foundational industries. Future policy should show how that support can best be mobilised, as it has been in other European countries. Labour will intervene, where it can make a difference, working with businesses, employees, and the wider community, to develop policy that can support vital industries and develop the sectors of the future – such as renewables and the growing green and science sectors.

Other issues raised in submissions included public procurement contract allocation and business taxation. On public procurement, organisations including UNISON and the FSB emphasised the role public procurement could play in supporting UK industry, particularly smaller firms. The FSB told us that the public sector should use its position as client to open up more opportunities to small firms.

“When public services are put out to alternative providers, we should ensure the best possible use of public money by ensuring that commissioning and procurement maximises benefits to the community, promoting fair pay, the living wage and quality jobs and environmental benefits.”

**- UNISON**

Business rates, particularly for manufacturing, were frequently raised. Both EEF and the FSB called for a reassessment of how plant and machinery are valued in the current business rate system.

There was a clear feeling that the taxation of new plants and machinery was acting as a disincentive on investment and innovation.

“We need a reassessment of how plant and machinery are valued for business rate purposes to support manufacturing.”

**- Federation of Small Businesses**

It was clear from members' submissions that the need for an industrial strategy is not just to support existing industries, jobs and skills but future ones as well. Many submissions highlighted that an effective industrial strategy should back new industries, jobs, and skills.

“We need to back renewables more, for jobs, economic security and sustainability. One of the new areas for economic growth in the UK is renewable energy.”

**- David, Buckinghamshire**

“Innovation projects that can create jobs and bring new investment into the UK and put the UK back at the top of leading countries in new technologies and a world leader.”

**- Paul, Nottingham**

The Commission agreed that support for the UK's foundation industries was important, and that sustainability should be at the heart of our industrial strategy and that it should include new technologies and industries that could offer the high-skilled, well-paid jobs of the future.

New knowledge and new ideas are the essential ingredients for future growth. But despite our immense scientific heritage, and the continuing successes of researchers based here, the UK's record developing and applying new technologies is weak. Researchers at Manchester University discovered Graphene, winning the Nobel Prize for doing so, but the majority of patents relating to it are held in other countries, for example.

The UK's spending on research and development lags behind other developed economies. Labour therefore needs to consider how to boost R&D spending, with the aim of matching that of world-leading technological countries, and to build on the best practice elsewhere to develop the institutions that will be capable of translating research into applied technologies, integrated into a 21st century industrial policy.

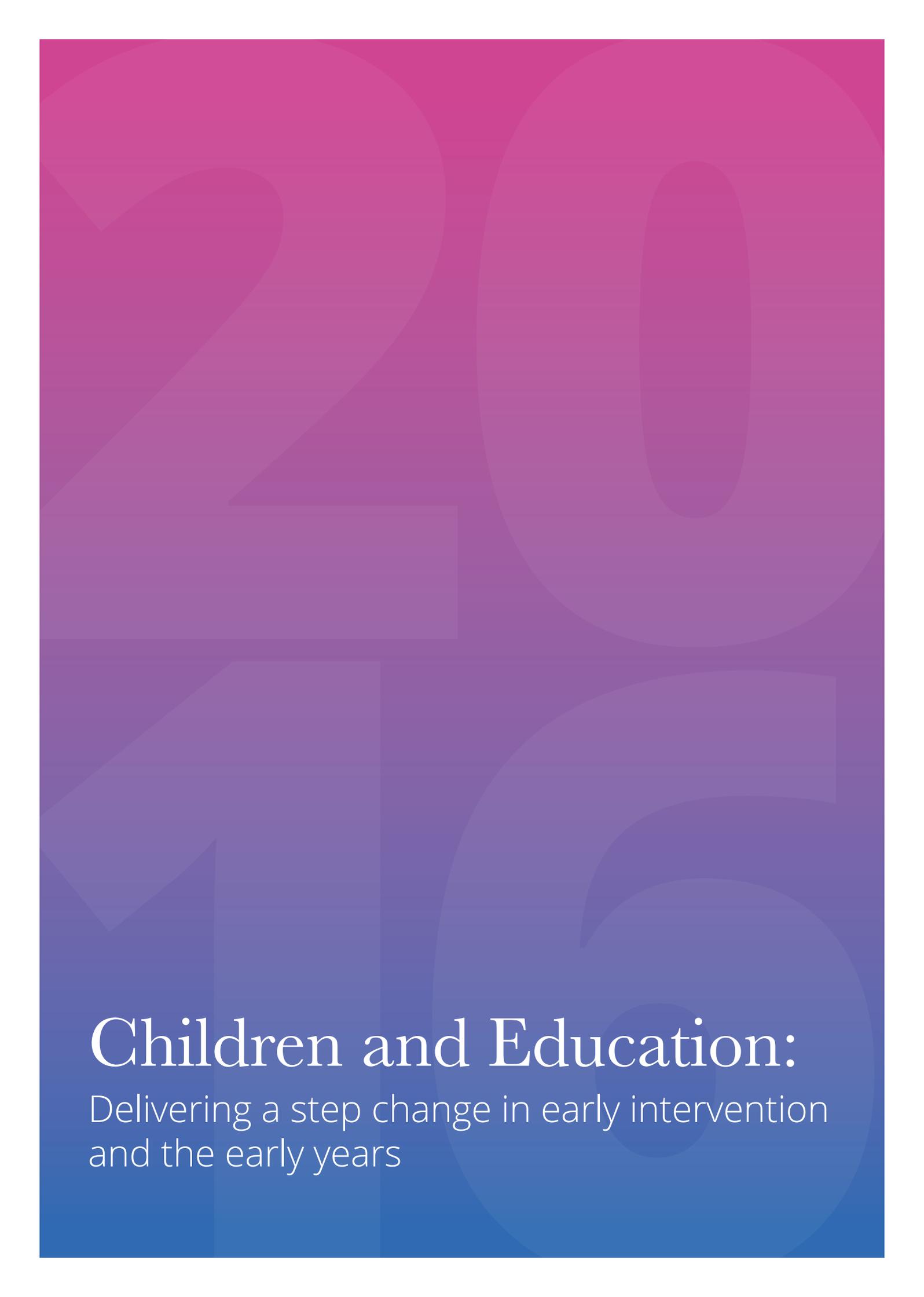
**Early conclusions**

Much of what the Commission heard, from members and expert organisations, highlighted the multi-faceted nature of Britain's productivity problems. The Commission notes that the problem is not straightforward. It results from both short-term failings by this Government, and the long-term, structural problems of the UK economy. Addressing this will require a bold plan of action.

Initial consultations have begun to outline that programme, which will include investment in skills, infrastructure, including transport, housing and childcare facilities, and support for new technologies and the creative industries. All of this under the umbrella of a sustainable and diverse industrial strategy that engages workers and trade unions, to be implemented at national and local level. Business model innovation and other forms of ownership including co-operatives can also play an important part in delivering the boost to productivity needed to deliver a fairer, more prosperous and sustainable economy.

The Commission looks forward to investigating these areas further and welcomes views on how the Labour Party can begin translating this into policy proposals for 2020.



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# Children and Education:

Delivering a step change in early intervention  
and the early years

# Children and Education

## The Challenge

Getting a good start in life should not be a privilege: it is every child's right. But under the Tories, childcare, parenting and children's services have been left chronically underfunded and our early intervention services are failing to reach those most in need. Families with young children have borne the brunt of unfair Tory choices, and this looks set to continue for the near future.

Labour's vision is to create a step change in the way we value the early years and early intervention in this country, and we are developing a strategy to meet our aspiration of a world-class early years system in which all children can grow and flourish.

The first 1001 days of a child's life, from the moment of conception to the age of 2, are crucial. Yet the current Government has failed to recognise the importance of putting access to a high-quality early years system at the heart of Britain's mission to tackle inequality. The Tories have no vision for improving the quality of childcare or driving innovation in early intervention. There is no strategy for identifying the root causes of problems early and preventing issues from becoming crises later down the line. Our challenge as a Party is to look at how we can develop public service reform that delivers excellent support for young families, high-quality childcare and robust early help and prevention which is fit for the world we live in today and ready to tackle the problems of tomorrow. The Labour Party's Children and Education Policy Commission has been looking at all these issues with the single-minded determination that all children can and should receive the very best start in life.

Our youngest citizens deserve a system which enables them to thrive in childhood and sets them up for life in Britain in the 21st century and we are determined in our mission to deliver this.

### The Issue

Education is a route to future success. It is something to be valued in and of itself but it is also vital in ensuring the gap is narrowed between

disadvantaged children and their peers. It is the key to making sure every child is given the skills and opportunity to succeed. If we want to tackle poverty and build a truly productive economy we need to look at how to make life easier for ordinary working families but since they came into government in 2010, the Tories have set about doing the exact opposite. Their changes to Universal Credit will mean that two million families will lose on average £1,600 a year and on their watch childcare costs have soared, with a part-time nursery place for a two year old now costing on average £166 a week. Along with cuts across other critical social services, this is creating a recipe for hardship for millions of parents and making it more difficult for them to balance work and family life.

This Commission has been looking at how to ease the burden on ordinary working people and how we can embed an early intervention and prevention ethos in our public services and create a world-class early years system which includes effective and efficient family friendly services that reach out and engage dads, mums, grandparents and the wider community.

### Early help services – developing a vision for services from pregnancy to school for the families that need them

“Some new parents lack the skills or access to help to enable them to be effective parents, children go into care, parents never see their children again – expensive for society and hard on the children and parents with children affected for life.”

– Julie, West Midlands

“It is important that we encourage parents to see parenting skills programmes as a key part of becoming/being a parent and not something that is seen as for families who have specific difficulties or deficiencies.”

- Unite

Everyone should be entitled to support that can help them be better parents that create happy homes where their children can thrive. Investing in early intervention and prevention will save taxpayers billions of pounds later down the line, so we need to look at how to embed these services within our communities so they can reach vulnerable families and children as quickly as possible. It is important that these services are made accessible to all families so Labour has been seeking out views and expert opinion on how we can deliver this.

Submissions in response to our consultation indicated that early intervention services currently on offer are often of a poor quality and in some areas very basic services were not being delivered. The Commission heard from experts in this area who echoed these concerns that some families were not receiving the services that they should, and that the families who would benefit the most from services were not being reached.

The Early Intervention Foundation told the Commission that when talking about early intervention services there is no one effective universal service. What is required are specific, targeted services tailored to the needs of different communities as every area will have different problems. The Foundation said that there is some good work being done locally, but there is currently no benchmark by which to measure their effect, and not enough research is being done in this area. This was also a concern of the charity Barnado's, who said that we do not have a culture in this country of valuing intervention services which means that it receives little investment. Submissions to the Commission lamented that too often it is only information about breastfeeding that a new mother would receive during the prenatal and perinatal periods, and little else. Differing quality in perinatal mental health services was also identified, as was the need for greater investment in these services. It was suggested to the Commission that prenatal classes for soon-to-be parents could be a way of using resources better, and that interventions should be starting even earlier than they currently do.

“Prenatal classes for all again to emphasize talking to babies not just childbirth and breastfeeding”

#### – Helen, East

The Sure Start early intervention initiative is one of Labour's greatest achievements. The children centre model that grew out of it is widely considered to have been a great success in improving outcomes for thousands of families with young children who otherwise may not have received any support. But as effective as they have been for those families that had access to them, too often they were not reaching the families that could benefit the most from their services, and this was a common issue raised with the Commission throughout the consultation process.

“It is not at the moment easy for a young parent to find out what services are available, and what support they are entitled to, especially given cuts to health visitors who used to supply this information.”

#### – Milton Keynes CLP

The Commission heard from experts who explained that due to Tory cuts, children's centres were closing, were of varying quality and were not reaching out to the most in need. In some areas this has meant a complete loss of the services. 4Children told the Commission that in other areas some children centres have organised into hubs redesigning services as budgets have fallen to trial new ways of working. In discussions and questions about how we can save the Sure Start initiative, this was a common suggestion that came in through submissions.

“Sure Start needs to be a hub in each community of parenting support and service gateway...Access should be directly at ante-natal stage, for familiarisation of what is available, and at post-natal in order to take up the opportunities available. As a standard rather than a referral service everyone can gain, and those needing more assistance can gain it without any stigma or barrier.”

#### – Chris, East

“We believe that co-locating health and social care professionals and services in the same space in a community setting is the most effective way of bringing them together. Such places can offer a range of support services, for example antenatal care, advice on infant feeding, postnatal drop-in support for women with mental health concerns. Such centres facilitate such things as the speed and ease of referral and better communication between professionals.”

#### **– The Royal College of Midwives**

The Family and Childcare Trust and 4Children both spoke of the good practice that has been seen in a hub model of Sure Start which shares resources and interventions. There is concern that in the current, very fragmented early years care sector, of which Sure Start Children's Centres play a part, the sharing of best practice is discouraged.

The Commission received submissions about the importance of teaching parents about child development and what their children need in order to be ready for school life. Barnardo's told the Commission about the successful early intervention initiatives which focus on parenting skills such as *Five to Thrive*, which teaches parents about early brain development and gives them practical advice about how to engage with their children to support healthy development.

“The local voluntary sector initiative Children and Families Staffordshire is an excellent example of good practice in this field. Unlike other initiatives, it is not seen as a threat but as a friend, not judging parents, but providing practical and emotional help and advice, often hand-holding when the families have to deal with “big brother”. CAFS works in homes of the people it helps on a one-to-one basis as well as providing lots of other services on a group basis. While its volunteers are all trained and co-ordinated by professionals, they all have parenting experience themselves (many sharing similar socio-economic backgrounds) and

appreciate the problems facing the people they help. In this way, challenges, role modelling and guidance can be provided in a flexible and non-threatening/non-stigmatising way. CAFS does not arbitrarily limit its services to families with children under 5 years of age, but also serves with families with children into their teens”.

#### **– Phillip, West Midlands**

Commission members were repeatedly told that one of the main barriers to effective early intervention was the stigma that is attached to accessing services which develop parenting skills. Naomi Eisenstadt, a government advisor on poverty and inequality, told the Commission that the most significant factor in healthy development in the early years is not family income but “the home learning environment.” Although there are some services available to parents many do not want to access them. This was identified as a big task and something the Commission should look very closely at trying to overcome.

“Sure start should be taken out into the community, e.g.; into community centres, church halls, libraries, leisure centres etc. Thus those families most in need can access the services. There would be one hub where the staff would work from. We have adopted this style in Co. Durham via Durham County Council.”

#### **- Bishop Auckland CLP**

Through the consultation it was also identified that children's centres could do more to engage with hard to reach groups, such as young parents, as the children in these families can sometimes miss out on help because centres are not welcoming or well sign-posted by other services.

“Many Children's Centres have developed around maintained nursery schools, which have traditionally been positioned in disadvantaged areas, and have been shown to be highly effective in narrowing the gap in achievement, a government

priority. Universal access, rather than the targeted approach which is now necessarily adopted, avoided the danger of stereotyping families in need of help and informal drop in centres staffed by highly trained and experienced personnel have been very effective in raising parents' aspirations as well as their understanding. These centres can demonstrate extensive outreach."

**- TACTYC: Association for Professional Development in the Early Years**

Early Intervention organisations that spoke to the Commission highlighted the fact that increasingly grandparents are becoming 'non-official' health care workers who new parents turn to for advice. They said more work could be done to educate and support grandparents, and that the Commission should bear this in mind when developing future policy.

Through consultation with the wider NPF, some members identified that the different funding streams and bodies which deliver early intervention services are causing confusion for parents. In many areas funding that is available from health and social care and education is not being pulled together through children's centres which in some cases is leaving gaps in services.

**A high-quality childcare system – delivering an early years revolution fit for modern families**

"Nursery provision needs to be a universal right, affordable, and high quality with staff that have proper training."

**- Fleur, Greater London**

"Labour needs to recognise the paramount importance of high quality early years services that parents can trust. It is ultimately of no benefit developing large numbers of childcare places with no support for ensuring quality. Research shows that children do worse in life if they attend poor quality childcare."

**- Hornsey and Wood Green CLP Women's Forum**

High-quality, affordable childcare plays a critical role in supporting the economy. Getting this right is central to helping more women who want to work get back into the labour market, but it is also essential in helping children set off on the right foot. Labour's world-leading Early Years Foundation Stage, including the importance of play, is an important policy which helps children develop. We will build on this approach as we develop plans to improve the quality of childcare and close the child development gap.

Submissions and organisations were in almost universal agreement that the most effective way to drive up the quality of childcare was to focus on the quality and level of training and professional development of childcare professionals. NPF members were also in agreement that there should be a graduate-led workforce with more professional development and training at all levels. There is a great deal of evidence to support this, building on Labour's previous time in office. Save the Children said that there is a desire in the workforce to progress in their qualifications, but that currently you cannot achieve beyond a Level 3 NVQ. Many submissions received also indicated the need to improve the pathways to qualifications and training of the current workforce. The Commission heard that there is currently no clear pathway up to level 3 and beyond for people that would like to train further, and that there is a lack of funding and support for continuous professional development (CPD) for childcare workers. The Commission heard about the difficulty in supporting the workforce in this way as historically the early years has suffered from a lack of investment and funding.

"Everyone working in childcare and early years, including childminders, should be supported to achieve a full and relevant Level 3 qualification within no more than three years of registration."

**-PACEY: Professional Association for Childcare and Early Years**

"The quality of training for level 2 childcare

qualifications needs to be improved. We need to ensure there is consistent provision across disadvantaged areas and that this works to complement not duplicate existing provision.”

**– North West Durham CLP**

One of the barriers in growing and expanding good practice and excellent childcare provision was identified as the fragmentation in the current system. Most of the organisations that spoke to the Commission explained that this was a key part of why early years has suffered from a lack of government investment, and why there is a lack of consistency in early years provision. The sector is often the poor relation, making it difficult for stakeholders to ensure the government gives greater attention and priority to the early years. It was suggested to the Commission that quality criteria could be introduced into the early years which could inject consistency into provision of high quality services. In developing policy, Labour needs to address how to raise quality whilst also ensuring sufficient provision and affordability of childcare to support parents and enable them to work when they wish. The Commission was also told that the local authorities role in childcare provision needs to be assessed, as this was varied across the country.

“Early years education is crucial for all children and sure start research shows how it affects the attainments of children throughout their education and subsequent life.”

**– Jennifer, South West**

The Family and Childcare Trust said they would like to see the Early Years Foundation Stage framework place greater emphasis on communication skills. Communication skills for young children were a common theme in submissions, and the Commission heard a lot about how these need to be the focus in an improved early years system.

“Training all staff in supporting speech and language would aid communication in the early years. This would support early intervention but also improve practice.”

**– Esther**

Evidence to the Commission suggested more could be done to demonstrate the value of children receiving early education in childcare settings amongst some communities, particularly in urban areas. As a result some two-year-olds miss out on the current 15 hours free early education for this age group. The Commission heard there had been some good work done in this area, particularly in the Islington and Haringey London Boroughs where there are large BAME communities.

“Delayed speech, language and communication skills are particularly prevalent in areas of social disadvantage so it is essential that in terms of speech and language specifically, particular areas of focus include ensuring that there is sufficient support for the most disadvantaged children. Despite the existence of the early education offers for two, three and four year olds, the take up of the two year old offer is lower than anticipated and before the age of two the majority of disadvantaged children will not access childcare.”

**– The Communication Trust**

Submissions also talked about the provision of childcare for parents who have shift working- patterns or work irregular hours. This was also an issue raised with access to early intervention programmes and developing parenting skills. It was noted that there is a lack of childcare places for some working people and a modern early years system should reflect contemporary working practices and lifestyles.

“Whilst full time places are increasing, flexible childcare places are getting rarer at a time when flexible work patterns are increasing. Shift workers and those on Zero Hours Contracts often find it harder to access formal childcare.”

**- Unison**

## **Supporting vulnerable children – how can we narrow the gap between vulnerable children and their peers?**

How we tackle disadvantage and ensure that vulnerable groups are not left behind is key to Labour's values of equality and social justice. Disadvantage at home, along with many other factors, has a great bearing on academic attainment, future life chances and poverty. We need to develop ways to do more for these families in order to ensure equality of opportunity.

A common concern repeatedly raised was that there is not enough emphasis on the importance of developing communication skills throughout the early years system, especially in childcare settings. The Family and Childcare Trust, 4Children, Save the Children, Barnardo's and the Early Intervention Foundation all expressed concern to the Commission that there was not enough focus on developing these vital skills that prepare children for education.

Children that begin school without being able to communicate properly are at an immediate disadvantage. The Commission heard that some parents are not aware they should speak to their babies, and how essential this is to their development. It was highlighted to the Commission that family learning through informal education programmes could help to address this.

Naomi Eisenstadt told the Commission that the most effective children's centres are those where there are midwifery and health visitor services on site, where there is better alignment between benefits advice and maternity rights and where there was overall better collaboration between all these services locally. This was mentioned in many submissions too, where it was identified that the most effective Sure Start Centres acted as a gateway to enable children and parents to access a range of services.

The Commission is concerned about how we can actively reach the most in need. Organisations we heard from said that this was a problem and although some people will always slip through the net we should be doing more to ensure that does not happen. Naomi Eisenstadt said that research had found that the most effective way of doing this

was through home visits to ensure participation. She said that this had been achieved through using data systems to identify who was not accessing services, but would benefit from them the most.

*"The most successful strategy for efficient reach was assertive outreach."*

### **- Naomi Eisenstadt CB, Oxford University, Government Advisor on Poverty and Inequality**

A number of submissions talked about how to improve the quality of childcare provision for children with special education needs and disabilities (SEND). A number of charities submitted responses to the Commission which talked about the difficulties surrounding funding for childcare places for children with SEND, and the lack of places available.

*"It can be more expensive for early years providers to offer a place to a disabled child compared to a non-disabled child. This is because there are often additional costs, such as the need for higher staffing ratios, staff training, adaptations to premises to make them accessible, and purchasing or adapting specialist equipment."*

### **- SENSE: for deafblind people**

*"Parents of deaf children repeatedly tell us of the barriers they face in accessing childcare for their deaf child. In response to a survey by the National Deaf Children's Society in 2015, one in five parents have told us that the available day care arrangements for their child did not support their child's language development. One in four said they had experienced issues in accessing day care."*

### **- National Deaf Children's Society**

As part of the Policy Commission process the Commission endorsed a Review into current provision for children with Special Educational Needs and Disabilities being undertaken by the Shadow Frontbench. This review is currently underway.

Alongside this the Shadow Secretary of State proposed that Labour adopt a policy of compulsory PSHE including age-appropriate Sex and Relationship Education to equip young people for the challenges of the digital world, to give them confidence in building relationships and to help them develop skills such as resilience which are important for the challenges of the 21st century.

# Communities:

Housing: How can we increase the number of affordable homes to rent and buy?

## The Challenge

Everyone around the country deserves to live in a decent, affordable home.

Getting to grips with the spiralling cost of housing is a Labour priority. Millions of people now struggle week-to-week because of this country's housing crisis. The Tories' record on housing over the past six years has been one of failure. We have seen falling home ownership, rapidly rising rents, greater levels of homelessness, higher housing benefit spending and fewer homes built over the last Parliament than in any peacetime period since the 1920s.

Submissions received by the Commission reflected the challenges facing those who wish to own their own home. Home ownership is down sharply over the last six years – there are over 200,000 fewer home owners since 2010, with young people hit hardest of all. There are also challenges in the rental sector with 900,000 additional families renting privately in England since 2010 and they are paying £1,600 more on average every year in rent.

The Commission received submissions which were critical of the Government's lack of house building. The Government has failed to build the affordable homes we need to buy or rent. Meanwhile in the construction sector there is a predicted future shortage of workers to fill skilled jobs. Social house building is at its lowest level for over two decades and the Tories have broken their promise to replace homes one-for-one through the Right to Buy, only replacing one for every eight sold. The Housing and Planning Act will have a severely detrimental effect on the social housing sector. The Conservatives have failed those who are most in need and desperate – rough sleeping has doubled and statutory homelessness has risen by a third since 2010.

The Commission heard that far too many people are struggling with high housing costs. From young people forced to stay at home with parents and families stuck renting privately, to young couples with no hope of ever buying a home together and older people who can't find homes fit to meet their needs.

An affordable home is not just something that's nice to have, it's the bedrock for the lives and futures of individuals and families throughout the country.

### The issues

As we look to develop a policy platform towards the next manifesto it is clear the Tory failure on housing on all fronts means it falls to Labour to lead the fresh thinking and a wide public debate about how to tackle the country's cost of housing crisis.

The Commission received evidence which suggested that Labour has a good story to tell on housing. We did many things well during our time in power, such as increasing the number of affordable social homes that were built and implementing the mortgage rescue scheme.

Looking forward the Commission wants to find the answers to the lack of affordable homes to rent and buy. We have to think bigger and be bolder as part of a new debate about how to tackle the country's housing crisis. This means drawing on the best of what Labour did in Government and our policy work in the last six years including the Lyons review, as well coming up with fresh thinking. Our approach needs to be informed by private house builders who play an important role. Strong leadership and action from housing associations, and local and national government is needed too. Tackling the housing crisis means getting to grips with the issues that hold back the building of affordable homes, including the skills shortage, lack of finance and concerns around local planning. The Commission is also concerned by the condition of some housing; we must make sure that no one has to live in substandard accommodation or accept unfair charges or unscrupulous letting practices.

**'Everyone has a right to a home that is safe, secure, affordable and meets decent home standards.'**

### - UNITE

#### **Making home ownership more affordable**

Making home ownership more affordable is a key issue for Party members. As we look to develop

a policy platform towards the next manifesto, the Commission was keen to discuss whether the phrase 'affordable homes to buy' has become overused and lost its original meaning. The polling organisation Ipsos MORI agreed, telling the Commission that there were real concerns that the phrase 'affordable housing' had been rendered virtually pointless. This is as a result of the Government redefining the definition of affordable starter homes as properties up to a value of £450,000.

'People have a complex relationship with the term affordability; it is top of mind and they use it a lot, but it is, at best, confusing and, at worst, totally discredited and associated with 'spin' (from developers and politicians). It is the right concept, but the wrong term. People want it to happen, but it has to be clearly and correctly defined, and then put into action.'

**– Ben Marshall, Ipsos MORI**

The Commission was clear that regardless of terminology, we need to tackle the home ownership crisis our country faces. The number of people who own their own home has decreased by over 200,000 since 2010. Fundamentally, if we want to address the affordability crisis we need to consider the shortage of the supply of homes to buy. The number of under-35s who own their home has fallen by a fifth since 2010 came to power. The Commission recognises a key aim must be to dramatically increase the number of new build council and social housing stock.

The Commission heard that a shortage of homes is leading to higher house prices making it harder for people to get into a financial position where they can buy a home. Increases in house prices mean higher mortgage borrowing requiring higher salaries at a time when average earnings are stagnating. At the same time average rents are increasing markedly, making it harder to build up the deposit needed to buy a home.

The Commission was clear that the country faces an affordability crisis but noted that some areas require particular attention because of the acute housing crisis they are met with. It is clear that different councils face differing challenges.

Contributors told us that we need to take account of the fact that the role local authorities can play to tackle this crisis will be different depending on their size and location. There is not a uniform solution, with some councils for example playing a much more active role in the building process than others in order to increase home ownership.

"London requires a specific approach, because of the particularly high cost of housing. There is a real danger of continuing 'social cleansing', and it is imperative to ensure that London does not become a region that excludes those unable to afford living there."

**– Stephane, London**

Our approach to 2020 will be informed by the role that local representatives can play in the housing building process. The Commission agreed that further consideration is needed to examine the detailed role that local authorities and co-operatives should play in the land acquisition, planning and financing stages of the house building process.

**Improving the rental sector**

The Commission heard from witnesses and in submissions of the importance of tackling the problems in the private rented sector.

The Commission was clear that Labour's approach needs to look at the fact that there are now over 100,000 fewer council homes than in 2010, and the number of social rented homes being built has fallen to the lowest level in a generation.

"To address the immediate housing problem we need decent council homes at affordable rents. The country should be building council houses. This allows affordable rents that then pay back the cost and maintenance of the buildings."

**– Sean, London**

Building enough council, social and homes for rent is a priority. How to do so will require further consultation. In addition though, as we look to develop a policy platform towards the next manifesto, submissions have told us it is clear

we also need to look for solutions to address the perception issues around social housing. Another area the Commission is keen to look at is the issue of reduced housing stock that councils face as a result of the Government's failure to ensure one-for-one replacement of homes sold through Right to Buy. A common theme in the submissions was the need to improve the appearance of social housing.

Due to a lack of new homes to rent, many people are living in properties with squalid conditions. The Policy Commission is keen also to address the important issue of fuel poverty going forward. The Commission noted broad support to increase action to ensure that homes are fit for habitation. Some submissions raised possible solutions such as landlord licensing or stricter penalties for landlords whose properties are found to not meet adequate standards whilst tenants are living there. This would have the aim of putting power in the hands of tenants against unscrupulous landlords. These are issues that will require further discussion. The Commission recognised the concerns of vulnerable tenants who feel the power is too heavily weighted in favour of landlords. To address this, putting power in the hands of local councils to tackle this issue will be a key consideration for the future.

The Commission heard how a lack of homes to rent is driving up rent prices. The number of families living in the private rented sector has increased by 900,000 since 2010. Submissions were critical of the fact that private rents recently hit a record average high of £803 per month, an increase of 20 per cent since 2010. In addition to high rents, insecurity was a big concern of the Commission. There are 1.6 million families with children living in the private rented sector where their landlord can evict them with just two months' notice.

*"The cost of rent seems key to other issues, such as the balance of power between renter and landlord, which is now entirely stacked in the latter's favour."*

– Leonie, Northern Ireland

The Commission heard there was continued support for Labour's 2015 manifesto commitment to ban unfair letting agency fees and the right to a longer term tenancy. The Commission also heard

about the good example set by councils around the country which run their own letting agencies.

*"Unite believes there should be security of tenancy in the social and private rented sectors. Unite welcomes the continued support for providing the right for longer term tenancy in the private sector – though we would like to see this strengthened."*

– UNITE

Further consideration is needed to assess the best way to give tenants more power in the market to strike a better deal including action on rents.

### **Building more high-quality affordable homes by tackling the skills shortage**

The Commission is concerned that the severe skills shortage the UK faces is affecting the type, quality and number of homes that can be built. In a recent survey by the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors, 53 per cent of construction companies reported a difficulty sourcing labour. Submissions said how this is compounded by the 19 per cent of the construction workforce that is set to retire in the next five to ten years. This all leads to serious concerns about the Government's lack of response to this skills shortage. The Commission heard that we must ensure that through the construction sector we can help give people a quality job or apprenticeship.

Due to the skills shortage, witnesses were concerned about whether the homes that are being built are of a sufficiently high quality, fit for a family to live in. There was also a feeling in some submissions that there needs to be a greater focus on energy efficient homes, not just to buy but also to rent. The Commission agreed further careful consideration is needed into the best way to make homes meet a high environmental standard with an ambition towards zero-carbon homes.

*'We need more emphasis on well run housing associations and planning priorities should stress the need for well built, environmentally friendly, energy efficient homes for lower income families.'*

– Andrea, Stoke-on-Trent

The Commission heard various suggestions as to how to deal with the length of time it takes to build homes and increasing the numbers of energy efficient properties. The Commission also heard of the need to incorporate the increased use of renewable energy technologies such as solar panels on new build properties.

Alternative, quicker modern methods of construction could be used so homes could be built at a fast rate. The Commission felt that the cost of not just building or buying a home but also running a home was important. By using modern house construction techniques homes could be made more energy efficient.

We have to create a shift change in forms of construction and materials and use natural, renewable, low carbon and low embodied energy materials that create healthy and breathable homes that are also well insulated.

#### **- Thomas, Northern Ireland**

The Commission heard that the skills shortage to build these future energy efficient homes has been exacerbated by the reduction in the number of training opportunities and the lack of promotion of those opportunities that are available. The Commission recognises a key aim must be to increase the number of decent jobs and high quality apprenticeships that are available in the construction sector.

The skills shortage has been exacerbated by the reduction in further education colleges and the excruciating, muddled way that apprenticeships have been introduced and marketed.

#### **- Susan, Kent**

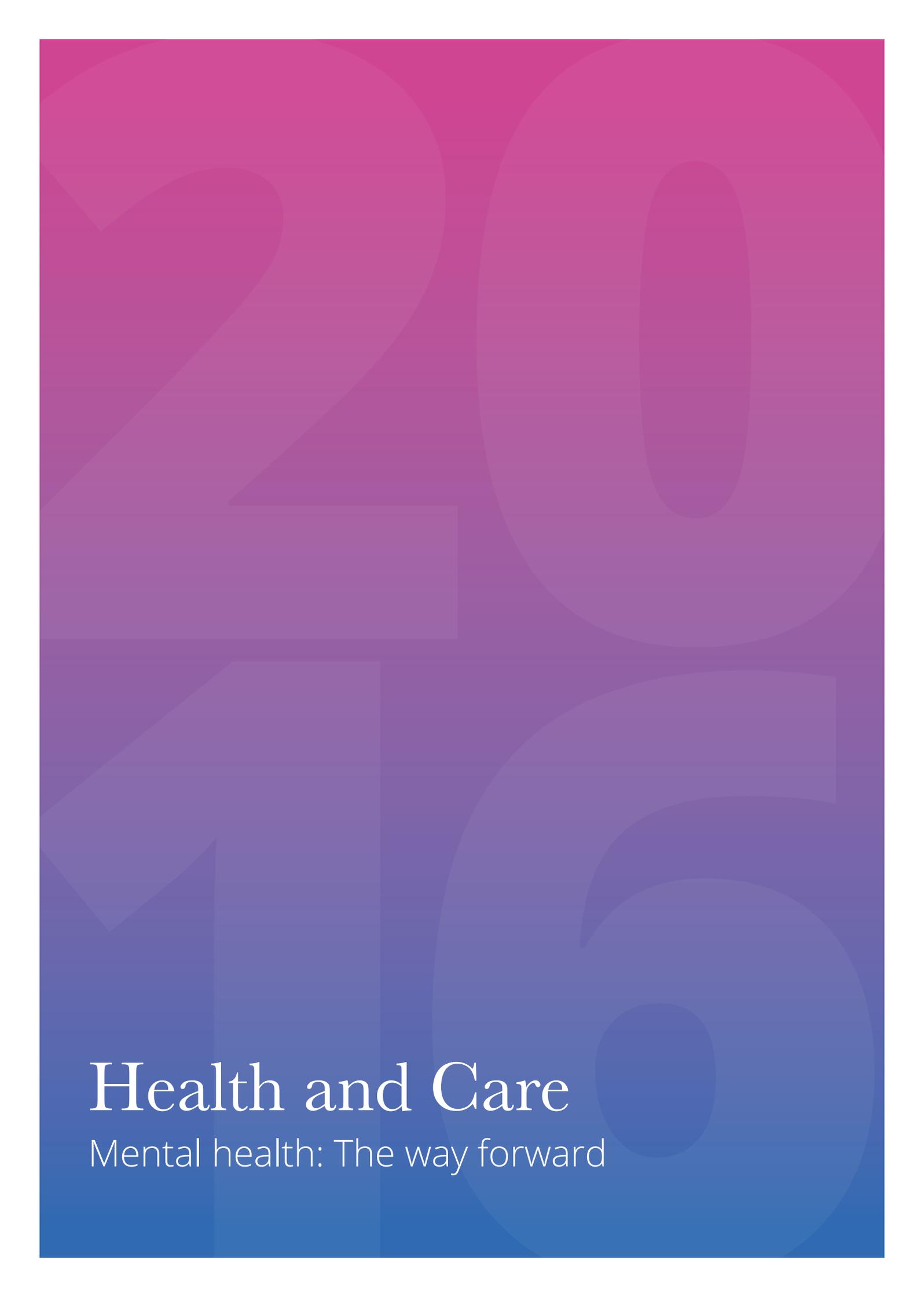
Submissions also raised concerns that leaving the EU would have a significant effect on the construction industry and its ability to recruit labour in the sector.

“The construction sector already suffers from a severe skills shortage and will be particularly hard hit if there is any restriction on free movement of labour from the EU.”

#### **- USDAW**

The Government is failing to address the shortage of construction jobs including in the green sector. As we look ahead to the next General Election and the manifesto, possible solutions to tackling the shortage of house building, including the shortages in construction jobs will require further careful consideration by the Commission.





# Health and Care

Mental health: The way forward

# Mental Health

Since the start of this year, the Health and Care Policy Commission has been discussing what steps need to be taken to transform our health care system to ensure that it provides holistic care, treating both mental and physical health equally. The Labour Party is firmly committed to making mental health a priority and ensuring that parity of esteem between mental and physical health becomes a reality. Over the last few months the Commission has heard from a wide range of people including service users and their friends and families, local Labour Party members and experts in the field of mental health. The Labour Party continues to hold the Government to account and this document underlines that mental health will remain a key priority for the Labour Party going forward to 2020.

## The Challenge

Our mental health service has traditionally been viewed as the “Cinderella” of our NHS. With the health system as a whole currently facing unprecedented challenges, it is vital that mental health is not side-lined in key discussions the Labour Party is having on the future of our NHS. One in four people in the UK will experience a mental health problem each year and mental health problems represent the largest single cause of disability in the UK. According to the Five Year Forward View for Mental Health published earlier this year, the economic and social cost of poor mental health is estimated at £105 billion a year – roughly the cost of the entire NHS.

The wide range of submissions received by the Commission demonstrated that mental health affects people of all ages, from all walks of life. During discussions the Commission was keen to hear about what people feel are the root causes of mental distress in our society. From conversations and submissions it has been suggested that there are a range of causes, which, amongst others include trauma, physical and mental abuse, bullying and racism. Other factors examined throughout this document include job insecurity,

housing, criminal justice, domestic violence, child mental health and perinatal mental health.

Commenting on the root causes of mental health, the Alliance for Women and Girls at Risk highlights that women and girls who have experienced extensive abuse are often traumatised, have low self-esteem and suffer from serious mental health problems. UNISON also highlighted the importance of tackling the root causes of mental distress. It is clear following discussions over recent months, that a better understanding of these root causes, and addressing them at an earlier stage, can help alleviate suffering from mental distress.

**“We need to tackle these root causes of mental ill health and take steps to improve resilience through a sense of social inclusion and personal responsibility.”**

### - Unison

Figures show that in 2014/15 nearly two million adults were in contact with specialist mental health services and learning disability services; one in ten children and young people have a diagnosable mental health condition and there has been an increase in the number of employees reporting mental health problems. Those from under-represented groups in society such as those from the Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) and Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual and Transgender (LGBT) communities, disabled people, veterans, looked after children, older people and those who have had contact with the criminal justice system are also at greater risk of suffering from mental illness.

Submissions received via the Your Britain website and personal accounts heard during commission evidence sessions reflected the challenges facing those from under-represented groups. For example a mental health service user for decades explained that BAME communities are disproportionately affected by mental health problems and that the level of vulnerability facing the BAME community is not properly understood. More broadly, submissions suggest that targeted NHS mental health services need to be developed

in order to support various groups and to work in conjunction with other services.

Submissions also highlighted concerns about the mental health of veterans. A number of UK studies have found links between active service and mental health problems in armed service personnel involved in recent conflicts, and submissions underlined the need to address the mental health needs of ex-service people, who at greater risk of suffering from mental health problems such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and drug and alcohol addiction, for example.

Another specific group identified as being at risk from mental health problems is carers. A submission received from the Carers Trust explains that there are seven million carers in the UK. 1.5 million are estimated to be looking after a loved one with a mental health condition, and around a third of all young carers are believed to be caring for a family member with a mental illness. They explain that being a carer can have an impact on a person's mental health. One particular issue they raised was the situation for young carers, who tend to experience higher rates of mental health problems than their peers without caring roles.

[“They can struggle to access services for their own mental health because of the pressures of their caring role. Services are often unaware of this group's needs therefore do not target them for support.”](#)

#### **- Carers Trust**

Given concerns about insufficient investment in services for children and young people, the Commission was keen to learn about people's experiences of Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS). We heard evidence and received submissions from a number of people who have had first-hand experience of these services and who raised concerns about staffing levels, funding and the suitability of the service for some young patients, amongst other issues. For example, during one evidence session, the Commission heard from a young service user who described in detail her experience of the mental health system. She explained that the system was not suitable for her needs, and that underfunding of the service and the failure to assign suitably trained staff to deal

with her situation meant that she did not initially get the care she needed. This specific service user also raised the cost of prescriptions as a concern, and something which could cause extra stress for people experiencing mental health issues.

Furthermore, we heard about serious concerns relating to very high thresholds to qualify for access to CAMHS; for example, this includes children not getting treatment until they have attempted suicide, or young people not getting help for eating disorders until their weight has reduced considerably. Other submissions we received on this issue also showed that an increase in the number of children being treated on adult wards is believed to be a serious problem, and one which urgently needs addressing.

[“Mental health services for our children are in a mess and there needs to be enough funding so that CAMHS teams in every area are able to give the support that they need to each child to prevent a crisis, rather than the firefighting that so many teams have had to become used to.”](#)

#### **- Nadine, Somerset**

The mental health of new mothers and fathers is also a real cause for concern and something which, despite commitments from the Government, we have seen little progress on. Since 2010 the number of specialist perinatal mental health units and beds for new mums and their babies has fallen, and the Government has failed to allocate the full amount set aside for perinatal mental health in 2015/16, spending only a third of it. Submissions received on this issue underlined that significant work needs to be undertaken to integrate mental health care and prevention of mental illness into the antenatal and postnatal care of women, partners and carers. Submissions suggested that a future Labour Government should be committed to filling the gaps in perinatal mental health and urged the setting up of multi-disciplinary teams in every obstetric setting.

“Led by senior health staff, a multidisciplinary ‘team around the family’ should be established at least weekly in every obstetric/perinatal health setting to review all parents or children at social, medical or mental risk. No one should slip through the net.”

**- Sebastian, London**

It is clear that our mental health system is understaffed and the existing workforce is under increasing pressure. We have lost close to 5,000 nurses working in mental health since 2010 (over 10 per cent of the entire mental health nursing workforce). In its submission, the Royal College of Nursing (RCN) emphasised that a skilled mental health nursing workforce is central to delivering high quality and safe care to service users. It also raises serious concerns about cuts to the number of mental health nurses over the last five years. In addition to this, the RCN underlined that the current proposals by the Government to scrap NHS bursaries will impact on those wishing to become mental health nurses therefore compromising the future supply of the mental health nursing workforce – this is a view echoed by Unite in their submission. In addition, UNISON, the UK’s largest healthcare trade union, has conducted research which shows that plans to scrap NHS bursaries would not only leave students with over £52,000 worth of debt, but also that these plans could actually end up costing the NHS more money, not less.

“The Tories plan to cut student nurses bursaries and replace them with loans will massively deter those wanting to enter nursing and the other health professions covered by the bursary.”

**-UNITE**

We are seeing high vacancy rates for psychiatry consultant posts and for mental health nurses. According to the Royal College of Psychiatrists, more than 18 per cent of core training posts in psychiatry are currently vacant, and psychiatry has the slowest rate of growth and the highest drop-out rate of any clinical specialty. Submissions received from members via the Your Britain

website suggest that the mental health workforce needs to be expanded and that measures need to be taken to lower the current attrition rate. Submissions cited a lack of resources as a reason for staff leaving the system, as they no longer feel able to help their patients. During a discussion on mental health, a local policy forum event in Nottinghamshire also underlined that there needs to be a greater degree of respect given to those working very hard in our mental health workforce. In addition, we should recognise the importance of smaller voluntary sector organisations which play a vital role in providing services and support to people faced with mental health issues.

“The RCN believes a skilled mental health nursing workforce is central to delivering high quality and safe care to service users. With the demand for health and social care services set to increase in the future, action must be taken now to ensure workforce planning and service design are in sync to meet the needs of service users.”

**- Royal College of Nursing**

A submission from the Royal College of General Practitioners suggested that enhanced training for GPs to deliver mental health services could help to bolster the preventative principle in mental health care, but it underlined that appropriate funding needs to be put in place for this extra training. It also welcomed moves to introduce mental health therapists into GP practices, which it is hoped will allow patients to access appropriate treatment in the primary care setting. The UK Council for Psychotherapy supports the view that employing more experienced and qualified therapists in primary care would help to ensure that patients get referred to appropriate services quickly, preventing their condition escalating to crisis.

It is clear that it is not only patients who are suffering as a result of the ongoing funding crisis in the NHS. Staff working in our NHS to deliver vital mental health services day after day are feeling the strain too, with Unite’s annual staff survey in 2015 showing that 86 per cent of mental health nurses had experienced workplace stress in the previous year.

The Commission has heard that the current system is chronically underfunded and understaffed, skewed towards dealing with crises, rather than prevention and early intervention in mental health. If these trends continue, the system will be under extreme pressure by 2020. Put simply, it will be impossible to meet the needs of a growing number of people who need support from our mental health services.

### **The Issues**

Ensuring that mental health policies work for all parts of society.

A wide range of submissions have shown that mental health issues affect people of all ages, from all parts of society and that improving the lives of people suffering from mental illness will only be achieved if we ensure the system works for everybody.

Making sure that schools, colleges and universities are equipped to promote good mental health was highlighted as vital to the wellbeing and development of children and young people in several submissions and evidence sessions. For example, when service users were asked what measures could be taken to improve outcomes for people with mental health problems, it was clear that promoting better mental health through education was a high priority. Added to this, it has been suggested that schools with a strong environmental focus have a positive impact on both the physical and mental health of children. Service users suggested that mental health could be included on the curriculum, and that teachers should be specially trained in order to be able to better offer support and signpost their students to appropriate services.

*“When contact with nature is used within schools as part of an educational approach, there is an improvement in both education and development outcomes. The natural environment adds value to everyday experiences in the classroom, allows children to achieve more and develop more effectively, thus promoting greater wellbeing.”*

**- The Wildlife Trust**

The Commission also had the opportunity to discuss education and mental health with a representative from the Self Esteem Team, an organisation which visits schools, colleges and universities across the country to discuss issues such as self-esteem and stigma with young people. We heard that there are huge amounts of pressure on young people, who are worried about a range of matters, such as exam stress, body image and bullying. Regarding the latter, it has been estimated that over half of children that experience bullying go on to have depression. We also heard that teachers are experiencing a large amount of stress and are struggling to cope in some situations. The view that a “whole school” approach is needed to address the challenges of mental health in schools was reflected in a number of discussions and submissions. However, it was acknowledged that we have a long distance to travel before we reach this goal. The British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy also highlighted the importance of school-based counselling. They make reference to recent Welsh Government reports which show that 85 per cent of children and young people who had school counselling between 2014/15 did not need any onward specialist referral to CAMHS.

*“BACP believes school-based counselling is an essential form of early intervention which addresses the root causes of mental health problems.”*

**- British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy**

Employment was highlighted as a contributing factor to people’s mental health. The GMB Trade Union underlined that the increasing trend in zero-hours contracts brings about uncertainty and unpredictability. In the past people tended to have a career for life. This is no longer the situation for many employees. In addition to this, the effect of precarious employment on people’s mental health was also discussed by Greater Manchester LCF Policy Forum. Other issues they raised were poor quality jobs, a lack of affordable housing, worries about debt and cuts to welfare.

“The growing use of precarious, insecure and exploitative work across the UK economy and the impact such contracts are having on mental health should not be understated.”

#### - UNITE

The GMB Union highlighted the inadequacy of the present regulatory approach to mental health in the workplace as a real concern. Even though they acknowledge that in theory, legislation covering occupational health applies to mental as well as physical health, mental health has been ignored over the past 40 years.

As part of this priority document, we were keen to look at how employers could be best equipped to support their employees to cope with work related stress. The Commission heard evidence from Trade Unions, one of which explained that in many cases, employers do not address the mental health of employees, and furthermore, do not see this as their responsibility

The Commission asked Trade Unions if there were any large companies leading the way when it comes to promoting mental health. Commission members heard that National Grid in particular have good support mechanisms in place and have previously launched a campaign called “The Elephant in the Room”. The ambition of this campaign is to make it acceptable to talk openly in the workplace about mental health problems and to support employees during and after a period of mental illness.

Given that an estimated 90 per cent of prisoners have some form of mental health problem, personality disorder or substance misuse problem, the Commission was keen to hear more about our criminal justice system and mental health. The Centre for Mental Health underlined the importance of working alongside the Home Office and Ministry of Justice to improve the situation for people in our prisons and on probation.

The Commission also heard that understanding both the positive impact that supportive workplaces and stable employment can have on people’s mental health, as well as the negative impact issues such as poverty, isolation and housing have is

crucial if we are to improve the lives of the millions affected by mental health problems.

The connection between housing and mental health has been raised on several occasions and it is clear that this is an area which needs further discussion going forward to 2020. Some issues relating to housing which were raised in the Commission’s meeting with the Centre for Mental Health were the situations facing looked after children, care leavers and those in supported accommodation. The issue of safety for young vulnerable people, particularly young women, was also discussed in relation to housing.

Poverty in particular was cited as having a major impact on people’s mental health. For example, one service user explained that increases in the cost of living put real stress and strain on families struggling to get by. As a result families can become more isolated, causing depression, anxiety and other mental health issues.

It was clear from a number of submissions that the challenges of our nation’s mental health cannot be solved solely from the Department of Health but that we need a comprehensive approach, looking at the effects policies in all key areas can have on improving people’s mental health. Further to this, submissions suggested that policies relating to housing, employment and criminal justice, amongst others, should be examined in order for their impact upon mental health to be accurately assessed. It has been suggested that a multi-policy approach would lead to more effective prevention of mental health problems, and that when looking at future policies one option could be to promote the use of impact assessments when looking at policies across the board.

Going forward to 2020 we need to bring about a wider shift in our society’s attitudes and behaviour towards mental health, so that no-one with a mental health problem has to face stigma, prejudice or discrimination. The reluctance to discuss mental health issues due to stigma was highlighted in a number of contributions. A specific point that was made in several submissions was that stigma surrounding mental health can only be removed once people’s understanding of mental health across society is improved.

## **Prevention and early intervention in mental health**

Moving away from a culture of treating mental health problems as crises, and instead dealing with them through prevention and early intervention is a theme which has been raised repeatedly in discussions and submissions. Many people have highlighted the effect that the lack of a preventative approach can have on those suffering from mental health problems. Submissions also suggested that there should be a greater emphasis on early intervention than there currently is – this is particularly important when talking about children and young people, many of whom have been unable to access help when they need it due to a failure to meet ever increasing thresholds before they qualify for support.

Many people suffering from mental health problems are not getting the intervention they need at an early stage and it often means that help will only be offered when the situation has reached crisis point (for example, a suicide attempt). The Commission received submissions from service users who were forced to wait for help until they were in a crisis situation. For example, we heard first-hand from one service user who explained that she first entered the mental health system after a visit to A&E.

Ensuring people have access to help early on, including through adequate funding to public health, is critical to preventing people from becoming more ill. This includes making sure that people are not forced to wait for long periods between referral and treatment for a mental health condition. NHS Providers made reference to the introduction of new access and waiting times in their submission, and although they believe that the introduction of these new targets will have a positive impact, their research suggests there is not yet sufficient funding in place for this purpose.

*“Providers are not yet receiving sufficient funding to ensure provision that meets the access targets.”*

### **- NHS Confederation**

After examining submissions and taking evidence from several experts it was clear that in order to ensure our services are sustainable, much more

must be done to prevent people from becoming ill in the first place and here we must look to our places of learning, our workplaces and our communities.

## **Guaranteeing parity of esteem in mental health services**

If we want to achieve parity of esteem between physical and mental health, we need to ensure that mental health receives sustainable, long term investment.

In 2011/2012 investment in mental health fell by £150 million. This was the first fall in investment since 2001. Analysis by the King's Fund also shows that 40 per cent of mental health trusts experienced reductions in income in 2013/14 and research by Community Care and the BBC last year showed that funding for mental health fell by eight per cent in real terms over the course of the last Parliament. These figures show that the Government is failing to ensure mental health is placed on an equal footing with physical health.

NHS Providers raised concerns about this very issue, explaining that recently conducted research demonstrates that there is a great deal of confusion amongst providers and commissioners as to how the commitment to parity in principle translates to the funding of services on the ground. They recommend that there be greater transparency when it comes to funding in order to ensure that providers are appropriately commissioned and effectively resourced to meet the rapidly growing demand for mental health services.

The issue of transparency in mental health spending has been raised in discussions and submissions. In 2012 the Government discontinued the annual National Survey of Investment in Mental Health Services, which had monitored expenditure for 11 years. Although the survey provided some transparency on national investment in mental health services, it is generally agreed that there has always been a lack of sufficiently robust data in the field of mental health. Given that it is now difficult to make an accurate assessment of the level of spending across the country for mental health services, the Commission agreed that action would need to be taken by Labour to ensure that sufficient data for measuring expenditure is made available.

“The National Survey of Investment in Mental Health Services needs to be reinstated so as to provide clear goals to target spending to the correct places in the battle against poor mental health.”

**- Paul, Nottingham**

According to NHS England’s mental health taskforce report, The Five Year Forward View for Mental Health, analysis commissioned by NHS England found that the national cost of dedicated mental health support and services across government departments in England totals £34 billion each year, excluding dementia and substance use. This is despite the fact that mental health problems account for 23 per cent of the burden of disease in the United Kingdom. To put this in context, total Government expenditure for 2015/16 was over £750 billion.

“We deplore the underfunding of mental health services in the NHS and the current practice of discharging people with mental health problems from secondary care into primary care where their needs cannot be met. These services should be properly funded.”

**- Disabled People Against Cuts**

Poor physical and mental health are often connected, yet are more often than not dealt with independently of one another. The Mental Health Policy Group highlights the need for action to be taken to help improve the physical health of people with mental health problems, and suggests the development of public health initiatives at local level. Furthermore, it stresses the need for better mental health support to be offered to people with long-term physical conditions.

“Without immediate and substantial action to help improve the physical health of people with mental health problems, those with mental illness may continue to die anything between 10 and 25 years earlier than the rest of the population.”

**- Mental Health Policy Group**

In order to achieve real parity of esteem between mental and physical health we need to make sure we have a mental health workforce that is ready to cope with the challenges it is presented with. Adequate staffing levels, awareness and training across the whole health service are key.

# Home Affairs:

How should we reform the police to better tackle the crime and policing challenges of the future?

## The Challenge

Labour believes that everyone should feel safe in their home, at work, and in their communities. Against a backdrop of significant reductions in funding and workforce numbers since 2010, the Home Affairs Policy Commission has been tasked with investigating how we best tackle the new and emerging challenges of the 21st century. This requires a consideration of the evolving threats to public safety, including a shift towards more complex crimes and offences which had been previously hidden, in particular those which relate to violence against women and girls (VAWG), as well as a growing number of non-crime responsibilities that forces are expected to undertake. In ensuring that forces continue to hold the confidence of the communities they serve, it is necessary to examine the effectiveness of current systems of accountability. We must also ask what more can be done to improve police relations with black and minority ethnic (BAME) communities, including looking at continuing issues surrounding representation in the workforce, recruitment and retention. And so that the police are properly funded and motivated to tackle the new challenges they face, we have to examine how to tackle inadequacies in the current funding model, as well as considering issues around the pay and conditions of officers and staff. The Commission has consulted with Constituency Labour Parties, local Labour members, and experts in the field on how to achieve this goal.

For Labour, visible neighbourhood policing is the cornerstone of progressive policing – rooted in local communities, preventing crime, not just reacting to it. However under the Tories, almost 20,000 officers have been lost – nearly 17,000 from the frontline - as well as over 5,800 Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs). In addition, many public-facing police offices and stations have closed in order to make ends meet. Through submissions to Your Britain, Labour members have raised concerns with the Commission about the effect that significant reductions in public spending over the last five years have had on policing.

“The wholesale withdrawal of policing resources that is currently being witnessed is both dangerous and short-sighted.”

**- Bob, South East**

Constituency Labour Parties have told the Commission that the loss of staff has meant that some police forces are no longer able to place sufficient resources into engaging with the public as part of building stronger communities.

“Police and communities together meetings (PACT) are an important part of local policing and neighbourhood cohesion. However, in recent years the police have been unable to attend these meetings or attend in some cases because of a lack of resources.”

**- Bromsgrove CLP**

Victim Support told the Commission that they considered a visible, accessible neighbourhood police presence as key to crime prevention, maintaining public confidence in the service, and could also be an important factor in whether or not victims report a crime in the first place. But submissions received by the Commission demonstrate that this visible presence has been seriously eroded under the Tories.

“Police are now invisible in the community”

**- John, Anglesey**

Furthermore, submissions received by the Commission from party members suggest a postcode lottery is developing in regard to neighbourhood policing.

“The differences in policing are unacceptable, the whole populous needs to be protected and safe at the same level of competence.”

**- Susan, Kent**

This is particularly notable with PCSOs, who play a key role in maintaining community safety and preventing crime. In their evidence to the Commission, the union Unison said that PCSOs had endured the greatest cutbacks under the Government's austerity programme. They thought that it made little sense to cut staff in such visible roles. They also suggested to the Commission that Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary carry out a full thematic report on the state of neighbourhood policing. Alun Michael, the Police and Crime Commissioner for South Wales, noted that he was able to hire extra PCSOs thanks to investment by the Welsh Labour Government, and that this had aided overall police engagement with the communities they serve.

Against this backdrop of funding reductions and a depleted workforce, the changing nature of crime trends and growing non-crime demands on police time present new challenges for policy-makers and the police. Offences such as cybercrime, online child sexual exploitation, and radicalisation present emerging threats to public safety which require significant investment in new technological capabilities to improve forces' response. Submissions received by the Commission highlighted the role community-based policing could play in tackling these new threats.

*"Effective community lead Policing is critical in the fight of crime. People are far more likely to come forward and report crimes if they know the officers that look after their areas. This is especially the case in domestic violence, hate crime and reporting worries surrounding radicalization."*

**- Stuart, London**

Labour members told the Commission they felt cyber-crime and online fraud were areas in which the police response required significant improvement.

*"At present, the police are not up to the job of catching most financial cybercriminals, so it's fairly safe, easy money for the perpetrators. The scale of this type of crime is large and growing rapidly."*

**- Robert, East Midlands**

Paddy Tipping, the Police and Crime Commissioner for Nottinghamshire, acknowledged that because this type of offending is relatively new it is a challenge for forces to establish the full extent of online fraud and cyber-crime. Victim Support presented evidence to the Commission that older people were overrepresented as victims in these types of offence, with 35 per cent of fraud victims aged 65 or over, even though this group make up just 18 per cent of the population. The Police Federation agreed that these new forms of crime were creating new types of demand, but they added that traditional "Friday night demand" would also remain a priority, therefore forces had to be properly resourced to deal with both.

In addition to new threats to public safety, improvements in police practice and recording techniques have shown that sexual offences, hate crime, and violent crime, especially against women and girls, are more prevalent than previously thought. Police now have a better idea of the scale of the threat and, as a result, forces are now investigating a greater proportion of crimes than previously. Fifteen years ago few people would have predicted the extent of child abuse forces now have to investigate. Victim Support noted that sexual offences recorded by the police increased 29 per cent in 2015, exceeding 100,000 for the first time, and that almost half of this increase was directly attributable to sexual offences against children.

The Commission heard evidence that in South Wales reporting of hate crime had increased but instances of repeat offending were down. It was suggested that this demonstrated that the public had more confidence in reporting such crimes and then action was being taken to stop it. Evidence from Unite the union pointed towards rising reports of religious and racial abuse and violence, as well as attacks on disabled people, sexism, homophobia and transphobia. Submissions received by the Commission highlighted that disabled people were particularly at risk of victimisation.

*"Disabled people have never felt more threatened and isolated being pushed to the fringes of society and being demonised in a war waged against the weak and vulnerable."*

**- Robert (via email)**

This corresponds with analysis supplied to the Commission by Victim Support which showed that people with limiting disabilities are almost three and half times more likely to suffer serious violence, and around one and half times more likely to be a victim of theft offences. While written evidence from the charity MIND said people who have mental health problems are at least three times more likely to be victims of crime and there was an urgent need for improvements in the police response as too often they do not get the support and understanding they need.

One of the most significant areas of previously hidden crime relates to violence against women and girls (VAWG). The Commission heard evidence from Professor Sylvia Walby of Lancashire University who highlighted significant shortcomings in the current system of recording VAWG. She pointed out that police recorded crime statistics do not record the gender of the victim, nor their relationship with the perpetrator, thereby downplaying the extent of intimate partner violence. She added that the Crime Survey of England and Wales caps the number of times a respondent can be the victim of a certain crime at five offences and argued that this methodology served to significantly underestimate levels of domestic violence, which disproportionately affects women. She shared with the Commission analysis which showed that, when the cap was removed, levels of violent crime increased 60 per cent in total, and that women made up 45 per cent of victims, countering the popular belief that most violence took place between men.

The Commission also received written evidence from Hilary Burrage, a sociologist who specialises in the study of female genital mutilation (FGM). She highlighted estimates which suggested that between 137,000 and 170,000 women and girls in the UK have undergone or are at risk of undergoing this horrific crime. She noted the difficulties police officers from a white British background can have in engendering trust within communities where this practice persists and in correctly identifying those who are at risk, meaning that important indicators of the need for intervention are frequently missed. She added that it was crucial that the police worked with other agencies, such as the health service or the UK Border Agency, to identify victims or those at risk.

The Police Federation told the Commission that there had been great improvements in the last fifteen years in training to deal sensitively with the victims of these horrific crimes, however not all officers had benefited from this and as a consequence there was an inconsistent approach across the country. The Commission believes that training with regards to the cultural diversity of our society should be integral within police forces and should continue throughout the career of an officer.

Cuts in central government grants to local authorities in the last Parliament resulted in many domestic violence refuges across the country being stripped of funding, or closed completely. Since 2010, 32 refuges for domestic violence have had to close. Submissions received by the Commission from Labour members noted that this reduction was within the context of a continued threat to the lives and safety of women from domestic violence.

**“On average two women a week are being killed by current or former partners’. This is totally unacceptable and Labour should be shouting about it continually until it is resolved.”**

**- Paul, London**

Women’s Aid told the Commission that while it was difficult to calculate the total reduction in funding for domestic violence services, the total income of the entire sector was less than that received by any one of the top three children’s charities. They said there had been a genuine improvement in the response from the police, but there were still issues around evidence gathering, especially of online abuse. Women’s Aid called for a major cultural change within the service which entailed much closer cooperation with specialist services, which would facilitate earlier intervention and longer-term recovery for victims in order to move to a situation where success in domestic violence is when a woman is safe from further abuse rather than simply when an abuser has been charged. In written evidence to the Commission, the Police and Crime Commissioner for Northumbria highlighted how her force had benefitted from closer cooperation with voluntary groups in developing the training officers receive around domestic abuse.

“Locally in Northumbria we have undertaken a training programme to ensure that all officers (including the chief constable) understand coercive control to ensure that they provide the best possible service to victims of domestic violence in our force area. This was in response to the introduction of the new criminal act of coercive control in the Serious Crime Act 2015. This was delivered in conjunction with partners from the voluntary sector and demonstrates that moving forward there are new and innovative ways that we can use to train officers to deal with new challenges we do not have to rely on traditional methods of training.”

**- Vera Baird QC, Police and Crime Commissioner for Northumbria**

The Commission noted that the Labour Women’s Safety Commission had put forward several important recommendations in this area, highlighting the need for government, local authorities and other responsible bodies to develop integrated domestic and sexual violence strategies, as well as ensuring minimum standards of service provision at all levels, better access to legal aid for victims, and greater certainty of funding for service providers.

In their evidence to the Commission, Unite pointed out that cuts to local government funding have also impacted upon many preventative services that reduce criminal activity by tackling its causes, for example youth services, homelessness projects or those that help people with drug and alcohol problems. It was argued that these spending reductions are a false economy, moving costs onto expensive acute services, such as the police and ambulance services.

In their role supporting communities, forces have also experienced growing non-crime demands, frequently linked to issues of vulnerability, public protection and safeguarding. These incidents are often complex and time consuming, and may require a multi-agency response to reduce demand. For instance, MIND informed the Commission that some police forces had teamed up with community groups, local health trusts or

universities to deliver innovative and interactive training with the input of mental health service users themselves. The Commission also heard how South Wales police force uses a public health approach, working with the health service, local government, and voluntary organisations to prevent crime and disorder before it happens. A written submission from the Association of Convenience Stores highlighted their guidance on retailers working in partnership with local police, other businesses and the community on proactive crime prevention. In his evidence to the Commission, Simon Holdaway, Professor Emeritus of Criminology and Sociology at Sheffield University, argued that there were networks of community groups that have little or no connection with their local force at the moment, but which acted to protect and empower vulnerable groups within communities. He argued that the police should engage with these bodies to tap into their unrealised potential to bring neighbourhoods closer together. Evidence recommended an approach to crime fighting which included tackling social exclusion and integrating police work with wider community and health support that they may best prevent future crimes.

While Britain has experienced terrorism since the 1970s, in recent years the nature of that threat has evolved, with a greater emphasis on home-grown radicalisation. And as a consequence, neighbourhood policing has been identified by senior officers such as Mark Rowley and Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe as increasingly important in preventing potential terror attacks because local officers are often best-placed to gain crucial intelligence, having earned the trust, respect, and confidence of communities they serve.

This increasingly demanding backdrop provides the context in which forces are dealing with further reductions in their budgets over the coming years. The Chair of the Association of Police and Crime Commissioners Finance Standing Group told the Commission that there would be a real-terms decline in government funding over the next Parliament, and predicted further cuts to the police workforce, in particular PCSOs, as a consequence. The Tories’ failed attempt to revise the funding formula has created uncertainty over future resources meaning that forces have been

unable to adequately plan ahead to tackle these threats to community safety. The Police Federation told the Commission that as it stands there is a postcode lottery with some forces being greatly disadvantaged. They argued that money will need to be invested into the system in order to implement some of the changes to policing functions that have been proposed by the Government.

In order for a police force to be effective in tackling crime and enhancing community safety, its officers must feel valued and motivated. However, Labour members expressed concerns about changes to pay and conditions under the Tories.

“Pay and conditions have significantly deteriorated since 2010. Most police officers feel undervalued. This is and will continue to erode the operational effectiveness of the service. It may also lead to an increase in corruption and misconduct.”

**- Michael, South West**

This sentiment was echoed by the Police Federation and Unison who shared with the Commission concerns their members had over pay and conditions, and impact that was having on workforce morale.

The ability to hold forces to account for their actions is an essential component of maintaining public confidence in the police. The Commission took evidence on changes to structures of accountability that have resulted from the introduction of directly-elected Police and Crime Commissioners. Professor Simon Holdaway pointed out that the police authorities that they replaced had shortcomings in their ability to hold Chief Constables to account, but he felt it was yet to be established whether PCCs represented an improvement. Some submissions from Labour members suggested that the police and crime panels which hold PCCs themselves to account needed to be strengthened. The Commission also heard from serving Labour PCCs who felt the position enabled them to drive a holistic approach to crime reduction which began by asking an offender why they have committed a crime. This joined-up approach allowed PCCs, the police, probation service providers, local authorities, and health and social services to work together in

identifying and treating root causes of offending behaviour.

The Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) also plays a crucial role in holding officers to account. The Police Federation told the Commission that it was important the service itself had trust in the IPCC as well as the public. They also worried that clauses in the Policing and Crime bill linked to holding ex-officers to account could lead to the police becoming risk-averse. The Commission heard evidence that the Government's plans for the IPCC risked taking it back to the days of the Police Complaints Authority which was not thought to be sufficiently independent by the public.

The Commission took evidence on the persistent problem of police diversity, with the Police Federation pointing out that the service did not always properly represent the communities it served despite a lot of work being put into improving this situation over many years. The National Black Police Association warned that there was significant underrepresentation of people from a BAME background and estimated that the police service would have to recruit 17,000 BAME officers over the next 10 years to be reflective of the community it serves. Unison noted that the diversity profile of the staff workforce is different from that of warranted officers, with greater representation of women and people from black and minority ethnic (BAME) backgrounds. Professor Simon Holdaway thought that this greater representation meant that PCSOs had the potential to act as an effective route to increasing the number of BAME officers as staff switch roles over time. He also highlighted how BAME representation could be increased through alternative routes to policing, such as a scheme at Nottingham Trent University where students of criminology also volunteer as police specials. Submissions by Labour members suggested another possible alternative route to improve recruitment could be found in the apprenticeship model.

“Regarding the recruitment question why can we not have police apprenticeships to open a pathway from education into policing?”

**- Paul, London**

The Commission also sought opinions on whether the current structure of the police service was fit for the 21st century. Submissions received from Labour members discussed the possibility of some forces merging.

“Merge the police forces into a national force to reduce spending on administration and governance roles; Increase the number of front line police.”

#### - John, North

In their evidence session, the Police Federation told the Commission that they did not think the current model of 43 forces was fit for purpose, and noted that the last time this was reviewed was in the 1960s. However, Unison thought more should be done to gather evidence on the value of collaboration, and highlighted the difficulties in responding to local concerns following the merger of eight police forces in Scotland. Alun Michael suggested that there was nothing that could be achieved through merger that could not be done just as well through collaboration.

In submissions to the Commission from Labour members, questions were raised about how regional structures could be utilised in order to tackle offences which cut across force areas.

“Regional Commands leading in areas such as Serious Crime, Murder, Business Crime, Firearms, Counter Terrorism, Fraud, On-Line crime .... Plus merge in the NCA into the regional command structure any savings in flexing regional resources to be pumped back into local Safer Neighborhood Teams and getting Local Support Officers.”

#### - Stuart, London

Paddy Tipping questioned whether the new demands on police time meant that further consideration had to be given into what duties and functions should be organised at a local, regional, or national level. He also pointed out attempts to move to regional policing structures had met with difficulty in the past. Evidence gathered at a Policy Commission held in the West Yorkshire region highlighted the fact that certain areas of policing

now required regional centres, but that hubs of local knowledge needed to be preserved. When the Commission heard evidence on strategies to tackle VAWG, it was pointed out that offences such as stalking can cut across boundaries and required better cooperation and information sharing between forces. Submissions said that while some police forces are trained and equipped to support victims of trafficking, in order to properly tackle this growing problem a national approach is necessary which also factors in greater regional cooperation.

Beyond the debate surrounding possible mergers or greater collaboration, the service is already facing significant structural changes. The Government has already rushed to move responsibility for the fire service to the Home Office and evidence to the Commission from serving PCCs suggested that department was intent on pushing forward proposals to merge fire and police services. The Fire Brigades Union highlighted difficulties with this plan, including mismatched service area borders, differing local circumstances and the introduction of metro models in some areas which could lead to the fragmentation of fire and rescue delivery and further complicate the emergency services landscape. They also pointed out that firefighters and police officers perform very different roles and have different remits, warning that transferring responsibility and creating a single employer could undermine the public view of firefighters as neutral and independent. A Policy Forum attended by party members in the West Midlands suggested that any integration of blue-light services must protect capacity for emergency response and not only be for cost-saving.

The Government has also set out plans to expand the use of volunteers in the police service, but there are concerns that, rather than adding capacity and skills to forces, the Government simply intends to replace officers who have been lost. Public safety demands a properly trained, resourced and accountable police service. In their written evidence, Victim Support argue that volunteers can play a productive role in assisting officers to provide support to victims of crime, but that it is essential they are made fully aware of obligations under the Victim's Code. Submissions received from Labour members demonstrate that volunteers do have a valuable role to play within policing.

“Volunteers are very well placed to act as intermediaries, pointing the police to other services and charities that can ease and speed up their workload. They are incredibly good at mentoring, stepping in to assist with people in distress. Administration is another area.”

**- Susan, Kent**

However, Labour members have told the Commission that the use of volunteers cannot act as a replacement or back-fill for cuts to frontline policing.

“There is a need for intelligence-led policing by fully-warranted officers, i.e. ‘proper’ police officers. They may never have the time to walk beats every day, but a regular returning presence is a necessity, if only to connect with the people and their communities so that there is mutual respect and understanding.”

**- Jack, Wales**

On the Government’s proposals to give volunteers a greater role in police operations, Unison told the Commission that there was a danger this may simply be a way to back-fill for cuts already imposed on the service, and that while volunteers had a role to play, there are certain functions they should not be able to take up, such as the use of CS spray. However, the Commission was told that Unison supported the move to allow police staff to take up more power and responsibility, which could be an opportunity to develop the workforce’s skills base, as well as bringing in those with specialist skills. Other submissions argued that the role of volunteers in policing should be as a compliment to the professional workforce.

“Public services need professional and fairly paid staff and any use of volunteers in public services should be to supplement staff rather than replace them.”

**- UNITE**

Labour members also raised concerns with the Commission about the extent to which private sector providers now had a role in policing.

“The growing involvement of the private sector in is a threat to the independence of the police and its operational effectiveness. In some areas it appears to have gained significant ground in taking over key roles within the police service e.g. provision of custody suites. This incursion into ‘core’ police duties threatens the whole concept of British policing and demands an urgent, independent review – and certainly before any more major moves to ‘privatise’ large aspects of the police service.”

**- Michael, South West**

This corresponded with evidence given to the Commission from Unison, who warned that outsourcing police functions such as custody suites had given away significant control of day-to-day operations to the private sector. A written submission received following a Policy Forum attended by party members in Merseyside also highlighted concerns members in their area had around privatisation measures in policing and a lack of accountability. Concerns were also expressed to the Commission that the fragmentation of services through privatisation leads to reduced ability to deliver in equality targets.

The effects of these structural changes, along with the possibility of some areas having greater responsibility for policing than others because of devolution deals, has led party members to raise questions with the Commission over the need to set out minimum national standards for accountability and service provision.

“Minimum national standards form the basis of what the public can expect from the police. These can be built upon to encompass local needs.”

**- Susan, Kent**

The Commission is agreed that neighbourhood policing must remain the cornerstone of progressive policing throughout Britain in the 21st century. However, this model of policing has been undermined by the loss of thousands of officers, PCSOs, and police staff as a result

of significant reductions in funding under the Tories. This has come at a time when the service faces a growing array of demands on its time, both from new types of crime and increasing non-crime responsibilities, within the context of continued restraint on budgets. The Commission has sought to examine how forces can continue to hold the confidence of the people they serve, by looking at what needs to be done to meet these new challenges, how accountability can be strengthened, and how relations between the police and BAME communities can be improved. As there is a recognition from all sides that police forces require a fairer allocation of resources to tackle the new challenges they face, the Commission has examined the current inadequacies in the current funding model, as well as considering issues around the pay and conditions of officers and staff. Finally, the Commission has also scrutinised potentially disruptive structural changes which may be imposed on the service over the coming years, with the view to ensuring that minimum standards are upheld nationally so that in every part of the country people can continue to rely on the police to maintain public safety.



The background features a large, semi-transparent graphic of the year '2016' in a light purple color. The numbers are positioned such that the '2' and '0' are at the top, the '1' is on the left, and the '6' is on the right. The overall background has a color gradient from pink at the top to blue at the bottom.

# International:

Britain's defence and security priorities

## The Challenge

The challenge for an incoming Labour government in 2020 will be how to ensure the safety of the British people and contribute to global peace and security in a rapidly changing international environment. The Conservatives have too often prioritised extreme spending cuts over national security, whilst undermining Britain's international standing by failing to take the lead in tackling shared global challenges.

### Aims and values

The Labour Party's beliefs in social justice, solidarity, equality, human rights and the rule of law at home shape the way we view the world beyond our shores. So the values and principles upon which our defence and security policies lie must be reflective of this.

Many submissions received have emphasised that advocating and standing up for these values should not stop at our own borders, and that Labour should promote an active and engaged approach to international affairs. The Commission recognises that while there are limits to what Britain can achieve on its own, we are an outward-facing country and should seek to promote our beliefs and values, protect our national interests and help to shape a more peaceful world. Importantly, Labour's approach should be consistent, and should seek to strengthen and uphold international law.

*"The international policy of the Labour Party must be shaped by its values of solidarity, internationalism, cooperation and equality. Its objectives will be to continue to be global leader in the achievement of peace and security across the world."*

- Durham City West CLP

*"If the UK is making a pitch to stand for the rule of law, tolerance and fairness, then it will not do to stand for a policy that trashes these principles."*

- Professor Rosemary Hollis, City University

Seeking to play a positive role internationally is not only intrinsically the right approach, it is also in the British national interest, because only by fostering a more secure and prosperous international community can we continue to guarantee the security and prosperity of the British people.

*"Britain's defence policy should be rooted in solidarity and cooperation with people across the world. It should condemn and seek to remedy injustice peacefully. Above all else, it should be aimed at promoting peace."*

- Pat, Greater Manchester

As Britain considers the prospect of forging a new relationship with the European Union, and a new international role, Labour's response to the changing circumstances should have these values and ideals at its core.

## Security Challenges

The Commission's consultation sought views on what constitute the biggest security challenges facing Britain today, what the key emerging threats will be over the coming decades, and what the implications of these developments will be for Britain's national security. It is clear that the defence and foreign policy implications of the vote to leave the European Union (EU), which took place after the consultation period had closed, could be profound and wide-ranging. These must be explored in greater depth over the coming months and years.

Many of the submissions discussed the degree to which the nature and complexity of the threats and challenges facing Britain are changing. It is clear that, by 2020, global geopolitics will be markedly different to when Labour left office in 2010.

Political, economic and demographic changes are leading to shifts in power and influence.

The world is becoming increasingly interdependent and bound together by globalisation, whilst at the same time many countries are experiencing a surge in popular support for the countervailing forces of nationalism and protectionism. Disputes over territory and sovereignty, whether in eastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, the South China Sea or elsewhere, are creating instability and prompting some countries to rapidly increase their defence spending.

Around the world, the potential of food, water and energy scarcity to exacerbate tensions or even trigger conflicts is being further amplified by climate change. The continuing development and proliferation of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, and their threatened use, pose a constant threat to international security.

And technological developments, whether in terms of military equipment or cyber warfare, are changing the ways in which conflicts play out, while global communications and social media are being exploited by militant groups looking to mobilise support or carry out acts of terror.

Submissions were received on all of these issues, but a number of themes emerged as areas of particular concern for the Commission.

### **Instability in the Middle East and North Africa**

Five years on since the beginning of the Arab spring, a number of countries in the Middle East and North Africa are experiencing high levels of civil unrest, political turmoil and violence. A number of submissions expressed concern about the long-term implications of growing sectarianism, conflict and possible state fragmentation in Syria, Iraq, Libya, Yemen and elsewhere in the region.

*“The Labour Party must ensure that stability in the Middle East is the most important priority, and increase our efforts in supporting developing democracies within the region. We must recognise the link between poverty, lack of opportunity, unpopular and undemocratic regimes with extremism and instability.”*

- James, Liverpool

Labour’s approach to the region must be rooted in an understanding of the complex and interconnected nature of these myriad challenges. It must also consider future developments and emerging trends. In oral evidence to the Commission, Michael Clarke, former director of the Royal United Services Institute, highlighted antagonism between Iran and Saudi Arabia as an issue of growing concern with far-reaching implications. He also pointed to possible future instability in Algeria, Tunisia or other parts of North Africa, and the future implications of this for European security, an issue also raised in a number of other submissions.

Britain’s approach to sales of defence equipment to countries in the region needs to be consistent. The Commission supported the Shadow Cabinet’s decision in December 2015 to urge the Government to halt arms sales to Saudi Arabia until there is no longer a risk of them being used to carry out violations of international humanitarian law in Yemen. As a number of submissions said, it is right that the Party is meticulous in seeking to uphold UK and EU arms export controls, a view that was fully supported by the Commission members.

Importantly, with the last British ground troops having left Iraq in 2008, and the end of NATO operations in Afghanistan at the end of 2014, it is also crucial that we learn the lessons of these interventions. The publication of the Chilcot report provides an important opportunity to do so.

### **Russia and eastern Europe**

The possibility of further conflict in Eastern Europe was a recurring theme throughout the consultation. Many submissions pointed to Russia’s annexation of Crimea – the first major land grab on European soil since the end of World War Two – its support for separatists in eastern Ukraine and the possibility of future intervention in the Baltic States. The Commission discussed the nature and extent of the challenge posed by Russia’s military assertiveness.

“Russia has broken out of the security system that it co-authored at the end of the Cold War. And the effort that [the west] took to build cooperation with Russia in those years has failed. Because Russia has, in the form of muscle memory, relapsed into something approaching its former system of government.”

- James Nixey, Head of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House

Given the UK’s membership of NATO and its commitment through Article V of the Washington Treaty to come to the defence of other member states, it is clear that Russian foreign policy has very real and wide-ranging implications for Britain’s security. Furthermore, the amount of laundered Russian money coming into London, and the importance of Russian fossil fuels in the UK’s energy mix, mean Britain faces particular challenges and vulnerabilities, but also mean it is potentially able to exercise some leverage.

As a number of submissions emphasised, Russia’s use of both traditional and hybrid warfare tactics on the European continent, including cyber warfare, propaganda and the patrolling of Russian submarines off the UK coastline highlight both the seriousness and complexity of the challenge. In this context, it is clear that the NATO alliance must remain central to the UK’s security. Submissions were received regarding NATO’s target of spending two per cent of GDP on defence, a question which many respondents believed to be important both materially and symbolically.

### **International terrorism**

As a number of the submissions pointed out, the direct threat posed to Europe and the UK by international terrorism – and in particular Daesh – has intensified over the past twelve months. The genocide carried out by Daesh against the Yazidis and other groups, and a number of high-profile and devastating attacks, including in Paris in November 2015 and Brussels in March 2016, have highlighted the severity and extent of the challenge. Indeed many contributors argued that terrorism poses one of the most serious threats to Britain’s security, and said the next Labour government must do more to tackle radicalization, and be resolute in defending the UK from terrorist attacks.

Discussing the impact of western air strikes against Daesh in Syria and Iraq, Michael Clarke argued that the campaign has halted Daesh’s momentum and led to a considerable loss of territory, finance and popularity. The Commission agreed that Labour should continue to press for international solutions both to the challenges posed by Daesh and other militant jihadist groups, and to the conflict in Syria.

“The UK’s involvement, while not decisive, has made a significant contribution... What is happening is that ISIL is being contained. They probably can be pushed back in Iraq, if there is something to fill the vacuum. And they can almost certainly be contained in Syria. And then the next three places that are a worry are Libya, Sinai and Yemen, in that order.”

- Professor Michael Clarke, former Director of the Royal United Services Institute

### **Cyber security and new technologies**

The UK faces up to 1,000 cyber-attacks every hour, which are estimated to cost the country in the region of £20-40 billion each year. Many of the submissions rightly pointed to the growing risks posed by cyber warfare, and the importance of ensuring Britain is protected from attacks to its critical national infrastructure.

“[The UK must] harden our services against hacking and cyber-attack... Military strategy has to adapt to advances in cyber and related technological developments and complex systems which become outmoded may need to be abandoned.”

- Medact

It is also clear that the UK will need to understand, anticipate and be equipped to respond to new challenges thrown up by technological developments.

“Technological change, which is mostly driven by the commercial sector rather than governments, coupled with the proliferation of technology providers, is creating a more volatile global environment, as non-state actors adopt and adapt new technologies to

exploit weaknesses in conventional military and security forces. Key to maintaining operational advantage over hostile actors is the ability to keep pace with shortening technology development timescales and deliver rapid evolution, testing, adaptation and deployment of leading-edge capabilities to meet new and emerging threats.”

- ADS Group

### **Climate change, resource scarcity, diseases and mass migration**

A range of inter-related emerging threats came up repeatedly throughout the consultation. As many submissions pointed out, it is clear that climate change has very real implications for security and national defence, and these will only become more apparent in the coming years.

Climate change acts as a stress multiplier, exacerbating and amplifying many other inter-related issues. With temperatures rising, the global population growing and pressures on resources becoming more acute, the global population will become increasingly mobile. Mass migration, contestation over land and resources and the emergence of new or atypical pandemics of infection, compounded by the rise of antimicrobial-resistance, will throw up new security challenges.

“[C]limate change is a major security threat multiplier... It is particularly disturbing therefore that the current Conservative government has cut many forms of financial support for renewables, as part of its austerity agenda.”

### **- Submission made by Scientists for Global Responsibility**

As several submissions pointed out, many of the worst effects of climate change will be felt most acutely in the developing world, in countries which are least equipped to respond. It will become increasingly vital, then, that Labour's defence, diplomacy and international development policies should be mutually reinforcing, and supported by strong UK leadership internationally on tackling climate change.

“[There is a] critical link between the role of Britain in international development aid that contributes to enhancing the quality of life for people in developing countries that in turn would reduce political and economic instability, radicalisation, terrorism and desperate migration.”

- Brent North CLP

### **Challenges facing international institutions**

The Labour Party has played an important role in the establishment and strengthening of international institutions. We understand that working with other nations both strengthens us and helps to strengthen the international rules-based order upon which our security and prosperity rely. Given today's volatile geopolitical context, it is clear that in the coming years we will need more cooperation, not less. Yet despite the increasingly complex and interconnected nature of the challenges we face, a number of the international institutions which have helped to underpin stability for the past 70 years are under growing strain.

“[P]eople after six years of war wanted cooperation, [for] everyone to be treated equally in health and education at home, and [for] the Bretton Woods institutions and the UN to give us a safer world... [And] the EU developed from this impulse to ensure that nations worked together not against each other.”

- Jennifer Budden

Several submissions highlighted some of the stresses facing multilateral bodies, including the United Nations, NATO, the EU and the World Health Organization, as well as international regimes like the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Commission believes these remain essential to Britain's security, but that there is more that can be done to strengthen them, and options for greater engagement and reform should be explored in depth.

Throughout the year, the Commission considered the implications of the EU referendum for foreign, defence and security policy, as well as the wider significance for the economy, jobs and investment. The outcome of the referendum on the UK's

membership of the EU poses challenges. While NATO remains the bedrock of UK and European defence and security, the UK has also been at the forefront of driving the success of the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) operations and Labour must consider how the UK outside the EU could continue to participate in these and other areas of European cooperation as a third party state.

## Capabilities and Spending

Not only will the international context in 2020 be different, the tools and capabilities at Britain's disposal are also changing, and the Commission feels it is vital that Labour considers what we will inherit if we are elected in 2020.

### Conventional forces

Since 2010 the Ministry of Defence (MoD) has lurched from crisis to crisis, and the 2015 Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) failed to adequately address the damage done by the last one. As a number of submissions pointed out, the 14 per cent real terms cut to the MoD's budget over the last Parliament has had a serious and sustained impact on the UK's military and strategic capabilities.

Britain's Army is now at its smallest size since the Napoleonic wars, having been cut by a fifth since Labour left office. After redundancies and years of pay restraint, morale amongst our brave and dedicated Armed Forces personnel has plummeted. The make-up of the Forces is also changing – through the Future Force 2020 plan, the shape, size and structure of the Army, Royal Navy and Royal Air Force is being significantly altered.

*“Our armed forces are a highly trained and skilled group of professionals admired throughout the world. They have the skills to help encourage and spread peace in our world by working to encourage tolerance and diversity in communities at home and around the world.”*

**- Andrew, North Tyneside**

A further 30 per cent cut to the MoD's civilian headcount over the coming parliament means it will have been reduced by almost half over a ten-year period, with implications for project delivery and

possibly frontline service personnel. The Commission intends to follow closely the impact of these further cuts as they are felt over the coming years.

By 2020, some of the gaps left by the 2010 SDSR will have been corrected. The Government has committed to spend £178 billion on new equipment over the next decade, much of which will either have been delivered or will be under construction. But there will still be deficiencies and shortages of kit in certain areas. The EU referendum result has created further challenges. Should the changing circumstances lead to lower economic growth, there could be an impact on the MoD's departmental budget. Furthermore, the fall in the value of the pound will have implications for procurement of defence equipment from overseas.

Taken together, these changes mean the next Labour government will face significantly different circumstances to when we left office, not only internationally but also in terms of military equipment, Armed Forces personnel and civilian staff.

### Britain's nuclear deterrent

An important decision is coming up on the renewal of the UK's current fleet of nuclear-armed submarines. Therefore, the Commission also invited submissions on the role of the independent nuclear deterrent in Britain's future defence, and how the UK can move the process of multilateral disarmament forward.

The Labour Party's current position is that we wish to see a world free of nuclear weapons, a goal which previous Labour governments delivered significant progress towards. In our 2015 General Election Manifesto, the Labour Party stated: “Labour remains committed to a minimum, credible, independent nuclear capability, delivered through a continuous at-sea deterrent.”

A number of submissions received by the Commission argued that Labour should change its current position and get rid of our nuclear deterrent, given the potential humanitarian consequences of a nuclear conflagration. Submissions were also made arguing against renewing the Trident continuous at-sea deterrent submarine fleet, citing: the cost of the Successor programme, which has increased to

£31 billion with a £10 billion contingency fund; the effectiveness and relevance of nuclear deterrence when confronting terrorism and other non-state-based threats; and the question of whether renewal would be in accord with Britain's obligations under the NPT.

"We should understand that the basis of nuclear deterrence was set about 60 years ago. We cling to these ideas because we believe they served us well in the second part of the twentieth century... But it is time for us to ask some questions about whether this philosophy will serve us well in a complicated world... There are a number of reasons why the principle of deterrence needs to be examined, including the impact of new technologies on the deterrent effect of nuclear weapons and their reliability... The problem is that we all believe we are multilateral disarmers, but very few of us ever do anything about it."

- Lord Browne of Ladyton, former UK Defence Secretary

"It has become clear that risks of nuclear weapon explosions are significantly greater than previously assumed and are further increasing with proliferation, the lowering of the technical threshold for nuclear weapon capability and with the danger of the access to nuclear weapons and related material by terrorist groups. It is vital that this knowledge about the risks that nuclear weapons pose is accorded primary importance and guides the actions of state institutions, the military, international organizations and parliaments."

- Dr Patricia Lewis, Research Director for International Security at Chatham House

However, other contributors argued that the deterrent should be retained and that the Successor programme should proceed. Arguments made in support of this position included:

that Britain faces an increasingly dangerous international environment in which, while the US, France and the UK have reduced their stockpiles in recent years, others including Russia, China, India, Pakistan and North Korea have increased their nuclear capabilities; that the deterrent exists to deter aggression and nuclear blackmail which would threaten the essential interests or survival of Britain or our allies; that the most effective and credible option is continuous at-sea deterrence; and that giving up the UK's deterrent unilaterally would do nothing to drive forward the international disarmament agenda.

"This is a one-off decision. If we decide to stop Trident then it's finished and we will no longer have an independent nuclear deterrent. If we go ahead it can be stopped at any point – we could go down to one, two or three submarines. But we live at a time of maximum uncertainty in the world, and we don't know what kind of threats we'll face over the next 30 to 40 years, or which countries might have nuclear weapons. You only have to look at the things that have taken us by surprise over the course of my political lifetime: the invasion of the Falklands, the invasion by Saddam [Hussein] of Kuwait; the collapse of the Berlin Wall; the attacks of 9/11; the Arab spring and the annexation of Crimea."

- Lord Robertson of Port Ellen, former UK Defence Secretary and former Secretary General of NATO

“There does not appear to be a causal connection between, on the one hand, the programmes of nuclear weapon (NW) reduction undertaken by the Cold War NW states, and on the other hand the prevention or discouragement of nuclear weapon proliferation. In fact, the statistics suggest precisely the opposite; nuclear weapon reduction has been taking place, but so has nuclear weapon proliferation... There is just as much ‘evidence’ to assert that the retention of reduced nuclear stockpiles by established NW states... might even have reduced or controlled proliferation by persuading some non-NW states not to proliferate.”

**- Professor Paul Cornish, RAND Europe**

In addition, the PLP backbench defence committee, chaired by John Woodcock (MP for Barrow and Furness), submitted an interim view, informed by oral evidence from leading UK experts on both sides of the argument. This submission argued that the facts have not substantially changed; and that Labour should retain its commitment to the renewal of the Vanguard-class submarine fleet.

A number of submissions argued that the UK’s fleet of nuclear submarines could in future become more vulnerable to cyber-attack or detection by underwater drones.

“The availability in large numbers of low-cost unmanned platforms, known as unmanned vehicles or drones, equipped with sophisticated sensors and able to operate in swarms, is likely to be highly disruptive to naval operations over the next decade, particularly those dependent upon stealth... The oceans are becoming a ‘sensor rich’ environment full of drones, with eyes and ears everywhere. This will leave no hiding place for submarines.”

**- David Hambling for BASIC**

Other contributors disagreed with this assessment, either arguing that there is unlikely to be a technical breakthrough that renders the oceans

dramatically less opaque, or pointing to the fact that other nuclear powers are upgrading their submarine capabilities on the shared conviction that the ocean will remain the most secure place to conceal their nuclear deterrent.

“Any breakthrough would be revolutionary, unlikely to be quickly deployable and likely be detected by intelligence services, giving Navies adequate time to adapt. Even if new technologies can be made to work and operational systems deployed into the open oceans in sufficient numbers to provide coverage across a wide area then there are a myriad of additional factors that will impact their ability to successfully detect, track, trail and ultimately attack and destroy ballistic missile carrying submarines. Threats are overstated. New technology is unlikely to render the oceans transparent.”

**- Submission made by Dr James Jinks, author of *The Silent Deep: A History of the Royal Navy Submarine Service Since 1945***

The Commission recognised the significant progress made by previous Labour Governments in pushing forward the agenda of global anti-proliferation, and that between 1997 and 2010 reduced the UK’s operationally available warheads from 300 to fewer than 160 and made Britain the only recognised nuclear power to have reduced to a single deterrent system. There was agreement that the current government should be doing much more to drive forward multilateral disarmament efforts, and that in power Labour should once again take the lead in driving the process forward internationally.

The Commission also agreed that it is important that the Government is clear about the costs of the Successor submarine programme, and that there is a need for as much transparency and public scrutiny as possible.

**The defence industry**

The defence industry has a vital role to play as part of an active industrial strategy for Britain. In evidence to the Commission, Andrew Dorman and Matthew Uttley of King’s College London argued

that the UK's onshore defence industrial base provides military, national security, economic, technological and strategic value to the UK.

The Commission were concerned that, under the Conservatives, procurement decisions have too often focused on cost-cutting and buying equipment off the shelf, often from overseas and at the expense of British jobs and skills. The Commission believes Labour's approach should be different, and that new ways must be found of supporting and working more proactively with British industry in procurement decisions.

"The UK's defence industry is a leading-edge, high-technology sector that provides key military benefits to the nation's security by ensuring a secure, assured and agile supply chain which is developed and maintained over the long term."

- Andrew Dorman, Professor of International Security, and Matthew Uttley, Professor of Defence Studies, King's College London

A submission by ADS, a trade association representing over 900 predominantly small and medium-sized member companies across the aerospace, defence, space and security sectors, highlighted the importance of the sector.

"The UK defence and security industry has a vital role to play in safeguarding national security, generating economic prosperity, promoting stability overseas, and responding quickly and effectively to crises. The defence sector generates £22 billion and the security sector generates £8.5 billion a year for the UK economy, including £12 billion in exports, and provides hundreds of thousands of high-skill jobs. An agile industrial base is crucial for identifying, assessing and responding to rapidly evolving threats, including adapting existing, and generating new, capabilities to meet operational requirements."

- ADS Group

A number of companies, including Rolls Royce, Airbus, MBDA and BAE Systems also made submissions.

"In the UK, we directly employ around 33,000 people, and our operations sustain around 122,000 jobs here. Our highly skilled workforce is more than twice as productive as the national average. In 2015, BAE Systems recruited almost 800 apprentices and nearly 300 graduates – our biggest ever annual intake. We have committed to employing 2,000 apprentices by 2018. Our activities directly contribute £3.2 billion to the UK economy and we generate close to £4 billion in exports. We also spend £3.9 billion with around 7,000 UK suppliers."

- BAE Systems

Representatives from GMB and Unite gave evidence to the Commission in a wide-ranging discussion on the jobs and communities supported by the UK defence industry and what a future Labour government could do to better protect the sector. A number of submissions, including from GMB and Unite, addressed the issue of how jobs and communities would be affected by a decision not to retain the nuclear deterrent. Several contributors felt that a decision not to retain the nuclear deterrent would need to be preceded by a credible diversification plan.

"Unite and its predecessor unions have a long track record of advancing arguments for diversification, often put forward by our shop stewards and members in defence. However, there is little history of success. The failures in the UK have been down to lack of government support; the unwillingness of defence companies to diversify; barriers to entry in new or adjacent markets; or a combination of all three. For diversification to be successful Unite argues that legislation is needed to create a statutory duty on the Ministry of Defence and its suppliers to consider diversification."

- UNITE

“GMB believes that all jobs in the submarine and nuclear submarine industries would be threatened if Trident was not replaced, as the vast majority of the submarine and nuclear powered submarine building is dependent on Trident missiles. Between 26,000 and 35,000 direct and indirect jobs are dependent on the Trident replacement going ahead. The GMB therefore believes that Trident should be renewed as many of the jobs it creates; both directly and indirectly, are in areas with low employment and a significant lack of other industry.”

- GMB

The Commission agreed that there is much to learn from the last Labour Government’s Defence Industrial Strategy. It is imperative that Labour develops a new strategy which, while accepting the importance of value for money, aims also to safeguard Britain’s industrial base, secure high quality jobs throughout the supply chain, and protect our national sovereignty.

# Transport:

How can we ensure our transport networks meet the needs of local communities?

## How can we ensure our transport networks meet the needs of local communities?

### The Challenge

Unlike the Tories, Labour understands that local transport services are vital for our communities, for local economies and for the environment. The ability to get to where they want to go is fundamental for people's quality of life, whether this is getting to school, work, visiting friends or family, shopping or attending appointments.

Transport is also an important employer in local communities and Labour's policy needs to reflect the key role of workers in ensuring our transport networks meet the needs of local people.

A wide range of submissions received by the Commission reflected the devastating effects that the Tories' 28 per cent cut to local transport funding after 2010 has had. While two thirds of public transport journeys are on buses, over 2,400 bus routes have been cut or downgraded since 2010. As submissions recognised, this means increased isolation in rural areas, and restricted opportunities for all, but particularly for women, young people, disabled, older people, those on low incomes and people seeking decent job opportunities.

Submissions reflected the challenges facing local transport. Tory spending reductions have meant worse services, and under our deregulated bus market passengers are paying higher prices while conditions for bus workers worsen. Bus fares are up by an average of 26 per cent, often with no improvement in the quality of service. On the rail networks, service standards and punctuality have decreased at a time when we have some of the most expensive fares in Europe.

The collapse of rail franchising in 2012 cost taxpayers over £50 million, put investment on hold, and threatened jobs and skills in the supply chain. Instead of addressing these problems, Ministers rushed ahead with the privatisation of the East Coast Main Line despite the public sector

operator's record of success. Government plans to sell off Network Rail assets along with the threat of further privatisation shows they have learned nothing from the disaster that was Railtrack. We will fight to retain Network Rail in public ownership.

To tackle high costs and poor quality of service, Labour's approach to local transport needs to look at ways of challenging the increasing lack of accountability of local transport services. Submissions set us the challenge of making sure that integration of different modes of transport works, and we ensure that local people have an active role in decisions about their transport networks. A number of members stressed the opportunities for improving services and delivering the efficiency and environmental benefits that a more integrated approach would provide. We need to consider how we can make sure powers are devolved appropriately to areas that want them so local communities can have a real say over different local transport modes in their area.

Public satisfaction with our roads is at a record low, as a range of organisations stressed to the Commission. National road safety targets have been abandoned, with the rate of deaths and serious injuries to cyclists and pedestrians rising.

In spite of the Equality Act 2010 provisions, disabled passengers are frequently facing severe challenges on our transport networks. The Commission is keen to examine the role that local transport providers can play to reduce the problems disabled travellers face. Submissions welcomed the emphasis of the Commission on disabled people's access to transport.

There was recognition from the Commission that people are increasingly looking for greener options when it comes to travel. Labour has a strategic aim of cutting harmful emissions by encouraging change in local travel modes and improving road safety. We have to find the solutions that meet local needs and will make our local transport networks more sustainable for the future and less reliant on fossil fuels. The Commission also felt it was key that we do not lose sight of

the international environmental effects of the transport sector.

Evidence to the Commission confirmed that in order to improve our environment and the health and safety of our communities we need to do more to promote walking and cycling.

### **The issues**

As we look to develop a policy platform for the next manifesto it is clear we have to think bigger and be bolder as part of a new debate about how to tackle important local transport issues. This means drawing on the best of what Labour did in government and our policy work in the last five years, as well coming up with fresh thinking.

### **Improving access to local transport services**

The Commission heard from a variety of voices and a frequent theme was the importance of tackling issues of affordability and accessibility.

For too many people who rely on public transport services, the rising cost of fares is adding to the financial pressures they already face. Local authority supported bus routes have been cut. Rail fares have risen rapidly, more than three times faster than wages, and hard-working families and those on low or no incomes are bearing the brunt.

The Commission is concerned that the deregulated bus market and the privatisation of passenger services on the rail network are not working for passengers. The overwhelming majority of submissions supported Labour's policy of putting travellers first by restoring rail services to public ownership as franchises expire. A number of respondents called for service improvements that are not currently possible under a fragmented and deregulated model – the Commission heard that a 'national ticketing arrangement with the opportunity to use a smart card system for travelling on the national rail and bus networks' should be created.

The Commission invited witnesses to give evidence on bus services. They were concerned that fares have risen by higher than average in non-Metropolitan areas. For many people living in the countryside, especially those who do not own a car, bus services are seen as a lifeline. The Commission heard from the Campaign for Better

Transport and Greener Journeys both of whom felt that many of these services are under threat as local authorities' budgets are squeezed.

Transport for Quality of Life provided information on the cost of bus deregulation and strong examples of municipal bus services. Party members who attended a policy consultation event in East Anglia argued that if local authorities were able to combine more profitable routes with socially necessary services then it would mean 'local people were no longer at the mercy of private operators to cut their bus route.'

*"School buses charge £200 per term. A student (trainee) travelling from Framlingham to Ipswich faces bus fares of £6.00 per day."*

### **– Central Suffolk and North Ipswich CLP**

As we look to develop a policy platform for the next manifesto it is clear we need to look carefully at how best to offer transport users better value for money. But the Commission is concerned that for many there is not a frequent transport service, particularly bus services, regardless of the cost of using it. Access to local transport at peak commuting periods as well as at off-peak times is a problem, especially in rural areas. Over 2,400 routes have been downgraded or cut completely since 2010, but parts of the industry are still characterised by high profit margins and high levels of subsidy. The Commission heard that a lack of frequent rural bus services is keeping people in poverty as they cannot access a full range of work opportunities. The Commission will further examine how rural bus services are delivered.

*"Rural bus routes need to be dramatically improved with services that allow people to get to and from work in local towns/cities. Young people should also have the opportunity to use buses to get to and from social activities, youth clubs and other activities."*

### **– Carol Ann, South Norfolk**

The Commission was keen to hear about the access to local transport for those with additional needs such as those with physical and learning disabilities, autism, older people and those with pushchairs, as this is a challenge regardless of how frequent the service is.

Discussions raised concerns that fewer than one in five railway stations are fully accessible and that less than 25 per cent of buses have audio-visual announcements on board, whilst funding for accessibility is being cut. As we look to develop our agenda for 2020, addressing this challenge will be a key priority as will be discussions around safety on the transport network. The Commission will consider further how best to maintain the safety of people using the public transport network from a journey's beginning at a bus stop or train station and throughout the journey itself.

Community transport charities provide services for some disabled and older people in rural areas that lack access to buses. We need to build community transport into rural transport strategies and ensure providers are supported to meet travel needs efficiently and affordably where services are not often ad-hoc, restrictive and expensive.

### **Making local transport services more accountable to the communities they serve**

If we want to build a better local transport service, we must challenge the increasing lack of accountability of those that run our local transport services.

The Commission noted the need to establish a vision of what good local transport services looks like and what the transport responsibilities of each tier of government should be. The Commission heard about the similar models of locally owned transport services that successfully exist in other countries, including Denmark. They also heard about the local areas that already manage rail and light-rail services through similar contracts, for example the Tyne and Wear Metro and Liverpool's Merseyrail.

“City Regions (should) have substantial devolved powers over the public transport network. Including open contract bidding where local authorities can bid to operate local transport, as well as fine operators who fall short of expected standards, and the standardisation of ticket pricing between companies.”

– James, Liverpool

“The creation and further support of single transport authorities as part of greater devolution deals to cities and regions may be the key to mirroring their success in the capital.”

– Jack, Gloucestershire

Experts were very supportive of devolving London-style bus powers to our cities and regions in order to meet local needs and raise standards. These powers would enable local authorities to tender bus services. This, in the view of witnesses, would deliver cheaper, more frequent and more reliable bus services, a big problem particularly in rural areas. We must learn the positive lessons from London's publically owned transport model and prevent any 'race to the bottom' of workers right and passengers quality of service as having in other areas of the country. The Commission believes that powers to regulate bus services must not be limited to areas with a directly elected mayor, as the Government intends. A number of submissions, and evidence presented by the Campaign to Protect Rural England and Transport for Quality of Life, supported a more prominent role for not-for-profit operators and municipal bus companies in meeting local transport needs. Concerns were raised that the Bus Services Bill threatens this. Further consideration is required to make sure that the suitable powers, over the right types of transport is devolved to the appropriate tier of local government. Labour opposes the clause in the Bus Services Bill which prevents Local Authorities from establishing municipal bus companies.

The Commission was also made aware of the importance of transport being integrated into planning discussions and housing developments from the outset.

### **Building a sustainable system fit for the future**

The Commission believes the environmental effects of the transport network are integral to considering solutions to local transport issues and this will form a key part of our transport policy discussions in the run up to the next General Election.

Greener Journeys told the Commission that people are increasingly looking for greener options when it comes to travel. The Commission recognised that more needs to be done to promote zero and low emission vehicles on our roads network and to reduce diesel emissions whilst advocating greater use of public transport. The Commission also noted the appetite for discussing the future role and infrastructure needs of electric vehicles and what the right regulatory framework should be for taxis and private hire vehicles in light of changing communications technologies.

“A key priority being to seek big reductions in air pollution, and the development of environmentally friendly vehicles, the use of cars and large lorries have got to be targeted for research looking into safety, parking, city ownership, and their use as our cities, towns and villages become totally gridlocked.”

#### **– Jane, Beckenham**

Evidence has told us that in addition to promoting low emission vehicles we need to take account of the role that out-of-town parking schemes can play in reducing congestion and air pollution, which can play a big part in extending life expectancy. The Commission believes that the role that innovative transport schemes and the planning process play in the approval of such schemes will need further consideration. Contributors also called for better planning of local links to major transport projects, and for access to good public transport, walking and cycling routes to be at the heart of all proposals for new housing developments.

The Commission believes that innovative transport schemes may also be needed to help further promote active travel. Submissions reinforced our need to hold the Government to its obligation to deliver an ambitious Cycling and Walking Investment Strategy (CWIS), as part of our plan

to get Britain's roads working for everyone. Contributors have suggested that a key element to Labour's future cycling and walking strategy could be promoting these modes of travel in schools and encourage walking and cycling to school rather than getting a lift in a car where possible. Living Streets advised the Commission that the CWIS should set clear targets for increasing walking journeys. Cycling UK told us that spending on cycling is set to fall to just 72p per head in this Parliament – far short of the £10 per head that is supported by the Transport Select Committee and the All Party Parliamentary Group on Cycling. We recognise that more needs to be done to raise the political profile of walking and cycling.

“It is important to facilitate walking and cycling, as in many other countries: Denmark and the Netherlands immediately come to mind here. Promoting walking and cycling would also have health benefits: as a member of the Ramblers' Association, I'm aware of the enjoyment people can get from walking and that this improves both mental and physical health.”

#### **– Deborah, Sheffield**

In order to consider building a sustainable transport network where cyclists feel safer on our roads, we need to look at the congestion on local roads which is exacerbated by falling spending on basic road maintenance. Official figures show that local roads budgets have fallen by 27 per cent in real terms since 2010.

“Freight is typically moved by big, heavy, diesel lorries, diesel being the most polluting fuel. Lorries take-up more room on roads than cars and vans and are more dangerous to pedestrians and cyclists. Heavy lorries also cause more damage to roads than other road users.”

#### **– Duncan, South Yorkshire**

Submissions recognised the Commission's concern to integrate different modes of transport to ensure maximum operational, environmental and economic delivery for the travelling public, the movement of freight and quality of life.

Getting freight off roads and onto the rail network in order to reduce emissions and congestion in towns and cities, particularly around ports, was a key consideration of the Commission, as was the impact of online shopping deliveries. Members also discussed pay and conditions in the freight industry as well as the national shortage of heavy goods vehicle drivers. These are issues that will require further thought as we look to the next manifesto.

Safety is a major consideration in the provision of a quality public transport system both for passengers and for transport workers. This means, for example, ensuring that workers have proper rest periods and facilities.

Regulation and procurement practice needs to support a sustainable transport industry by enabling longer term considerations, and ensuring social and environmental goals as well as economic growth. The importance of safety to the success of transport should be reflected in the support and rights available to union health and safety representatives, including considering the ability for 'roving' health and safety reps to cover a number of places of work.

The Transport Policy Commission is convinced that creative and innovative solutions to meet local transport needs makes a major difference to people's lives.

The background features a vertical gradient from light purple at the top to dark blue at the bottom. Large, semi-transparent numbers '2016' are overlaid on the gradient. The '2' is in the upper left, '0' is in the upper right, '1' is in the lower left, and '6' is in the lower right.

# Appendices

# Appendix 1: Submitting Organisations

**In addition to many submissions from individual Party members and members of the public, the following Party units, affiliates and external organisations have made submissions to the National Policy Forum in the last year:**

4Children  
ADS Group  
Agenda  
Airbus  
Association of Convenience Stores  
Association of Independent Professionals and the Self-Employed  
Auditory Verbal UK  
BAE Systems  
Barnardo's  
BASIC  
British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy  
British Association for Early Childhood Education  
British Property Federation  
British Psychoanalytic Council  
British Psychological Society  
CAAT  
Campaign for Better Transport  
Campaign to Protect Rural England  
Carers Trust  
Centre for Mental Health  
Chartered Institute of Housing  
CND  
Co-operatives UK  
Cycling UK  
DPAC  
Drugs, Alcohol and Justice Cross-Party Parliamentary Group  
EEF The Manufacturers' Organisation  
Federation of Small Businesses  
Generation Rent  
GMB Scotland  
Greener Journeys  
Guide Dogs  
Inclusion London  
Ipsos MORI  
Joint Public Issues Team  
Keep Our Future Afloat Campaign  
Labour Coast and Country  
Labour Social Work Group  
Living Streets  
Local Government Association  
MBDA  
Medact  
Mental Health Policy Group  
Merseytravel Labour Group  
Midlands Psychology Group  
Mind  
MQ  
National Black Police Association  
National Deaf Children's Society  
National House Building Council  
National Housebuilders federation  
NHS Clinical Commissioners  
NHS Providers  
Nuclear Industry Association  
NUT  
Our NHS open Democracy  
PLP Backbench Defence Committee  
Police Federation of England and Wales  
Professional Association for Childcare and Early Years  
Recruitment and Employment Confederation  
Rentplus  
RMT  
Rochdale and Littleborough Peace Group  
Rolls-Royce  
Royal College of General Practitioners  
Royal College of Midwives  
Royal College of Nursing  
Royal College of Psychiatrists  
Save the Children  
Scientists for Global Responsibility

Sense  
Shelter  
SMEs for Labour  
Society of Motor Manufacturers & Traders  
Southwark & Lambeth Unite Community  
Stamp out Poverty  
Swindon Tenants Campaign Group  
TACTYC  
The Early Childhood Forum  
The Early Intervention Foundation  
The Family and Childcare Trust  
The National Federation of ALMOs  
The Self Esteem Team  
The Smith Institute  
Transport for Quality of Life  
TUC  
UK Council for Psychotherapy  
Unite Branch 065 (Barrow in Furness)  
Victim Support  
Warwickshire Labour Early Years Group  
Welsh Local Government Association  
Wildlife Trust  
Wish  
Women's Aid  
Yorkshire Psychologists against Austerity  
ASLFEF  
CWU  
FBU  
GMB  
Musicians' Union  
Socialist Health Association  
The Co-operative Party  
TSSA  
TUCG  
UCATT  
Unison  
Unite  
USDAW  
Attenborough, Chilwell & Toton BLP  
Barnsley Central CLP  
Beverley and Holderness CLP  
Bishop Auckland CLP  
Brent North CLP  
Bromsgrove CLP  
Burgess Hill BLP  
Central Suffolk and North Ipswich CLP  
Chingford & Woodford Green CLP  
Derbyshire Dales CLP  
Durham City West BLP  
Easington CLP  
East Devon CLP  
Finchley & Golders Green CLP  
Greater Manchester LCF  
Hastings & Rye CLP  
Hornsey and Wood Green CLP Women's Forum  
Horsham CLP  
Kilburn (Brent) BLP  
Labour International  
Ludlow CLP  
Meon Valley CLP  
Milton Keynes North CLP  
Milton Keynes South CLP  
New Forest West CLP  
Newbury CLP  
North Dorset CLP  
North East Cambridgeshire CLP  
North East Leeds CLP  
North West BAME Labour Women  
Oxford & District Labour Party  
Oxford West and Abingdon CLP  
South East Cornwall CLP  
South West Norfolk CLP  
Spelthorne CLP  
St Nicholas and Gilesgate BLP  
Staffordshire Moorlands CLP  
Stockport CLP  
Stokesley & Great Ayton BLP  
Sutton Coldfield CLP  
Swansea East CLP  
Taunton Deane CLP  
West Hampstead BLP  
West Worcestershire CLP  
Weston-super-Mare CLP  
Woking CLP

# Appendix 2: National Policy Forum Membership

(CLP) East Midlands Region	Rufia Ashraf
(CLP) East Midlands Region	Dawn Elliott
(CLP) East Midlands Region	Natalie Fleet
(CLP) East Midlands Region	Andy Furlong
(CLP) Eastern Region	Rachel Garnham
(CLP) Eastern Region	Sandy Martin
(CLP) Eastern Region	Alex Mayer
(CLP) Eastern Region	Joanne Rust
(CLP) Greater London Region	Peray Ahmet
(CLP) Greater London Region	Nicky Gavron
(CLP) Greater London Region	Fiona Twycross
(CLP) North West Region	Lorraine Beavers
(CLP) North West Region	James Frith
(CLP) North West Region	Joanne Harding
(CLP) North West Region	Wajid Khan
(CLP) Northern Region	Nick Forbes
(CLP) Northern Region	Mary Foy
(CLP) Northern Region	Helen Hughes
(CLP) Northern Region	Laura Pidcock
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	Iona Baker
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	Martyn Cook
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	Suzi Cullinane
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	Katrina Murray
(CLP) South East Region	Bev Clack
(CLP) South East Region	Fiona Dent
(CLP) South East Region	Simeon Elliott
(CLP) South East Region	Joyce Still
(CLP) South West Region	Mark Dempsey
(CLP) South West Region	Glyn Ford
(CLP) South West Region	Joanne McCarron
(CLP) South West Region	Brenda Weston
(CLP) Welsh Labour Party	Tony Beddow
(CLP) Welsh Labour Party	Nick Davies
(CLP) Welsh Labour Party	Annabelle Harle
(CLP) Welsh Labour Party	Donna Hutton
(CLP) West Midlands Region	Chris Bloore
(CLP) West Midlands Region	Mariam Khan
(CLP) West Midlands Region	Trudie McGuinness

(CLP) West Midlands Region	Jacqueline Taylor
(CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region	Nikki Belfield
(CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region	Ann Cryer
(CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region	Emma Ann Hardy
(CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region	George McManus
(CLP-YTH) East Midlands Region	Christian Weaver
(CLP-YTH) Eastern Region	Isobel Morris
(CLP-YTH) Greater London Region	Jack Falkingham
(CLP-YTH) Northern Region	Katie Weston
(CLP-YTH) Scottish Labour Party	Lyndsay Clelland
(CLP-YTH) South East Region	James Elliott
(CLP-YTH) South West Region	George Downs
(CLP-YTH) Welsh Labour Party	Sam Pritchard
(CLP-YTH) West Midlands Region	Jeevan Jones
(CLP-YTH) Yorkshire and Humber Region	George Norman
(TU) ASLEF	Collette Gibson
(TU) ASLEF	Mick Whelan
(TU) BECTU	Paul Evans
(TU) BFAWU	Ian Hodson
(TU) Community	Callum Munro
(TU) CWU	Beryl Shepherd
(TU) CWU	Dave Ward
(TU) GMB	Mary Hutchinson
(TU) GMB	Lisa Johnson
(TU) GMB	Tim Roache
(TU) Musicians Union	Isabelle Gutierrez
(TU) TSSA	Mick Carney
(TU) UCATT	Neil Andrews
(TU) UNISON	Ken Curran
(TU) UNISON	Dave Prentis
(TU) UNISON	Eleanor Smith
(TU) UNISON	Liz Snape
(TU) Unite	Tony Burke
(TU) Unite	Gail Cartmail
(TU) Unite	Jennifer Elliot
(TU) Unite	Siobhan Endean
(TU) Unite	Susan Matthews
(TU) Unite	Len McCluskey
(TU) Unite	David Quayle
(TU) Unite	Maggie Ryan
(TU) Unite	Steve Turner
(TU) Unite	Tony Woodhouse

(TU) USDAW	Ruth George
(TU) USDAW	John Hannett
(TU) USDAW	Fiona Wilson
(Region) East Midlands Region	Rory Palmer
(Region) East Midlands Region	Linda Woodings
(Region) Eastern Region	Fred Grindrod
(Region) Eastern Region	Lara Norris
(Region) Greater London Region	Sam Gurney
(Region) Greater London Region	Lucy Anderson
(Region) North West Region	Wendy Simon
(Region) North West Region	Carl Webb
(Region) Northern Region	Simon Henig
(Region) Northern Region	Linda Hobson
(Region) Scottish Labour Party	John Cullinane
(Region) Scottish Labour Party	Jill Merchant
(Region) South East Region	Michael Hassell
(Region) South East Region	Carol Hayton
(Region) South West Region	Neil Guild
(Region) South West Region	Anne Snelgrove
(Region) Welsh Labour Party	Estelle Hart
(Region) Welsh Labour Party	Jen Smith
(Region) West Midlands Region	Gerard Coyne
(Region) West Midlands Region	Stephanie Peacock
(Region) Yorkshire and Humber Region	Karen Reay
(Region) Yorkshire and Humber Region	Simon Young
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Angela Cornforth
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Sue Lent
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Mary Maguire
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Richard Watts
(LG) COSLA	Michael Ross
(LG) Local Government Association	Simon Blackburn
(LG) Local Government Association	Steve Bullock
(LG) Local Government Association	Sharon Taylor
(LG) Local Government Association	Anne Western
Socialist Societies	Emma Burnell
Socialist Societies	Ash McGregor
Socialist Societies	Melanie Smallman
BAME Labour	Kamaljeet Jandu
BAME Labour	Sonny Leong
BAME Labour	Gloria Mills
BAME Labour	June Nelson
Parliamentary Labour Party	Ian Austin

Parliamentary Labour Party	Dawn Butler
Parliamentary Labour Party	Julie Elliott
Parliamentary Labour Party	Caroline Flint
Parliamentary Labour Party	Tristram Hunt
Parliamentary Labour Party	Chris Leslie
Parliamentary Labour Party	Emma Reynolds
Parliamentary Labour Party	Gavin Shuker
Parliamentary Labour Party	John Woodcock
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Richard Corbett
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Seb Dance
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Anneliese Dodds
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Mary Honeyball
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Richard Howitt
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Julie Ward
Labour Students	Allana Hoggard
House of Lords	Glenys Thornton
House of Lords	Dave Watts
Northern Ireland	Boyd Black
Labour International	Jos Gallacher
LGBT Labour	Tom Burke
Scottish Policy Forum (Chair)	Agnes Tolmie
Scottish Policy Forum (Vice Chair)	Clare Lally
Welsh Policy Forum (Chair)	Mike Payne
Welsh Policy Forum (Vice Chair)	Carolyn Harris
Welsh Policy Forum	Amber Courtney
Welsh Policy Forum	Huw Irranca-Davies
Shadow Cabinet	Diane Abbott
Shadow Cabinet	Andy Burnham
Shadow Cabinet	Andy McDonald
Shadow Cabinet	John McDonnell
Shadow Cabinet	Grahame Morris
Shadow Cabinet	Angela Rayner
Shadow Cabinet	Emily Thornberry
Co-operative Party (General Secretary)	Claire McCarthy
Co-operative Party	Clare Neill
Co-operative Party	Sarah Gill
National Executive Committee	Jonathan Ashworth
National Executive Committee	James Asser
National Executive Committee	Johanna Baxter
National Executive Committee	Jasmin Beckett
National Executive Committee	Margaret Beckett
National Executive Committee	Keith Birch





