

# **NATIONAL POLICY FORUM REPORT 2014**

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# FOREWORD

**FOR THE FIRST TIME IN GENERATIONS PEOPLE ARE WORRIED THAT THEIR CHILDREN WILL DO WORSE THAN THEM, NOT BETTER. THE POLICY PROGRAMME THAT FOLLOWS OFFERS THE RADICAL SOLUTIONS WE NEED TO TURN THAT SITUATION AROUND.**

Under this Tory-led Government the vast majority of working people have been left worse off, while the richest few have pocketed rich rewards. It beggars belief that in Britain in the twenty first century thousands of people are having to turn to food banks to feed their families, but are labelled shirkers by this Government.

Our economic situation means that in government there won't be much money around. But that constraint means we have to redouble our ambition. This document showcases radical reform that will make our country work for everyone again, and not just a few at the top.

This policy programme is the result of three years of dialogue and discussion that has involved hundreds and thousands of people across the country. The fact that the National Policy Forum agreed the programme through consensus demonstrates the unity of purpose in our movement.

Since being elected Chair of the NPF two years ago, I have prioritised reforming our policy process to make it more meaningful, transparent and engaging. I want to thank all those who have been involved in constructing this programme for the commitment and hard work which they have put in. I hope that you'll agree that together we've made a real difference. I want to thank my predecessor Peter Hain for the work he did to get Agenda 2015 underway.



As Chair of the NPF and the NEC I've also wanted to reaffirm the importance of equality to Labour's mission. I therefore asked the NPF to agree a short overarching statement at the beginning of this policy document. This statement reflects the fact that across all areas of policy, Labour in government will always seek to use power to break down the structural, social and institutional inequality and discrimination that holds people back from sharing in prosperity and playing their part in society. That statement can be found opposite.

This is a radical policy programme that speaks to our values and purpose as a Party. I commend it to Annual Conference as a platform for an election winning manifesto and a radical transformative first term back where we can best serve the interests of the British people - in government.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Angela Eagle".

**Angela Eagle MP**  
**Chair of the National Policy Forum**

# VICE CHAIRS OF THE NATIONAL POLICY FORUM

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**Simon Burgess**



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**Billy Hayes**



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**Bridget Phillipson MP**



## LABOUR'S COMMITMENT TO EQUALITY

Labour is the Party of equality. We believe that no person should suffer discrimination or a lack of opportunity because of their gender, gender identity, age, disability, race, religion or belief, socio-economic status or sexual orientation.

In government, every decision we take will be taken with that in mind. We will ensure the policies across these eight documents and in our manifesto will be implemented ensuring that they further rather than hinder this cause.

Labour has always led the fight for equality, but our fight is not yet won. We will not rest until everyone can live their lives free from hatred, fear and oppression. In government we will work to remove the structural and social barriers that stand in our way.



**Agenda**  
2015



**STABILITY AND PROSPERITY  
FINAL YEAR POLICY  
DOCUMENT**



# STABILITY AND PROSPERITY

## Introduction

In the past, when the country got better off, so did ordinary people and families. The cost of living crisis facing Britain has exposed the fact that the link between the wealth of the country as a whole, and the finances of ordinary people has been broken. People are now working harder, for longer, for less, with wages growing more slowly than prices since 2010.

The cost of living crisis reflects a way of running the country and economy that is short-termist, too accepting of broken markets, and reliant on trickle-down economics - cutting taxes at the top and making everyone else more insecure. While some of these problems go back decades, the current Government has overseen the slowest economic recovery on record, and has consistently looked after a tiny privileged few at the top while squeezing everybody else.

The cost of living crisis facing Britain reaches deeply into people's lives and the way in which our country is run. And because the problems are far-reaching, the solutions need to be too. Our country is crying out for real and lasting change.

For that reason a One Nation Labour government will set out a new course. Challenging outdated assumptions, we will reform markets, tackle vested interests, and not shy away from institutional and long-term change, where it is needed, to make the economy work for everyone, not just a few at the top. That is how the next Labour government will turn Britain around even in an era when there is less money around.

At its core, our agenda is about recognising that sustainable growth will be built by the hard-working people of Britain, not trickle down from a few at the top. We cannot detach our national economic success from the contribution to wealth creation and success of Britain's families and businesses. When ordinary people struggle to deal with the rising cost of living, our national, regional and local

economies are held back. For this reason, tackling the cost of living crisis is fundamental to our future economic success.

Growth without national prosperity is not economic success, which is why the first and last test of One Nation Labour's economic policy is whether living standards are rising for everyone. Labour will build a new One Nation economy which re-establishes the connection between the success of Britain as a whole, and the success of Britain's people. And as well as addressing the immediate pressures on family finances, ours is a plan for sustainable growth to earn our way out of the cost of living crisis.

As part of this longer-term plan, One Nation Labour will stand behind those creating new, secure and higher paying jobs. That means supporting small and medium sized businesses to grow, and reforming our banking system so it is better able to provide finance for those businesses. It also means taking on the vested interests that are holding our economy back, for example through reforming the energy market, which is unfairly burdening households and businesses.

Building a One Nation Economy that works for everyone will be all the more difficult as a result of the economic failure of the current Government. The next Labour Government will face a tough fiscal inheritance, but by having different priorities and making better choices, we can grow and earn our way to a better future.

## Economic failure has contributed to a cost of living crisis

People are working harder than ever before, but for far too many, wages are falling while prices are rising. And for those who are unable to work things are getting more difficult too. Social security changes are hitting people, including disabled people, hard, with child poverty set to rise and unfair policies like the Bedroom

Tax making things even worse for many. Women have been hit particularly hard by the Government's economic policies. One Nation Labour will prioritise action to tackle the cost of living crisis on issues such as pay and bills, as well as take action to address poverty in our society.

Further details on our approach to social security can be found in the Work and Business section.

### **Promoting fair pay**

The introduction of the National Minimum Wage was one of the proudest achievements of the last Labour Government, and the ongoing need to tackle the problem of low pay in our economy remains a priority for Labour. One Nation Labour will strengthen the National Minimum Wage, by better enforcement and by ensuring that it rises in real terms, to at least make up the ground it has lost under this Government. The next Labour Government will also encourage more employers to pay a living wage. Further details on our approach to the National Minimum Wage and living wage can be found in the Work and Business section.

On public sector pay, Labour has been clear that the priority must be protecting jobs. However, we also need to defend those at the bottom of the pay scale who are hit hardest by the Government's policies. Labour opposes any moves to undermine the pay review bodies by shifting wholesale to regional and local bargaining in the public sector.

Public sector workers do some of the most vital work in our country, from caring for the elderly to educating our children. We will always value the work they do and respect the public service they contribute. Because of George Osborne's failure a large deficit remains, and as a result the public finances remain tight. Those circumstances make it all the more crucial both that we are clear that we value rather than denigrate their work, and that all decisions relating to public sector pay

are rooted in fairness. That has not been the case in recent years, where George Osborne has done too little to protect those public sector workers on the lowest incomes, who are disproportionately women. For example, low paid local government staff were promised a £250 pay rise that they never received for two years in a row.

The next Labour Government will take a different approach, an approach rooted not just in affordability but in 'fair pay'. This will have three key fair pay principles:

- Fairness for the low paid, so that the focus is more pay for low-paid workers and more restraint at the top. We will also remain committed to expanding the role of the living wage, building on the progress made by Labour councils, and ban exploitative zero hour contracts.
- Fair ways of setting pay, so that where procedures such as Pay Review Bodies exist their outcomes are respected rather than brushed aside irresponsibly.
- Fairness to avoid a two tier workforce, so that contracting out or outsourcing public services does not lead to a race to the bottom on pay or pensions. This will include reviewing TUPE.

Labour will make a renewed commitment to the workforce including:

- reaffirmation of collective agreements and equal pay;
- specific measures to tackle low pay, including payment of the living wage in Whitehall departments;
- work with Labour councils, the NHS and other public sector employers to support moves to paying the living wage where possible and looking at the experience of Labour councils of using procurement to spread the living wage;
- addressing National Minimum Wage abuses;

- improve required standards of training;
- stamp out zero hours abuses;
- reviewing TUPE rules to avoid a race to the bottom on pay and pensions.

Equal pay for equal work remains a core principle for Labour and we will promote ongoing efforts to ensure equal pay in the public sector.

In order to grow decent jobs for all and as part of our plan to end the cost of living crisis we need to invest in key areas of our economy and strengthen our public services.

Britain's ageing population means that government will need to take tough choices on pensions to ensure people have an adequate standard of living in later life. That means encouraging saving, increasing transparency and ensuring any changes to pension provisions are both fair and affordable. Further detail on pensions can be found in the Work and Business section.

#### **Low Pay – the Nation's Challenge**

Through the policy review process Alan Buckle has examined the ways in which the minimum wage could be strengthened. His final report recommends a new framework for the Low Pay Commission to ensure that over the next Parliament the National Minimum Wage is increased so that it gets closer to average earnings. It also recommends that local authorities are given a role in enforcement of the NMW and considers mechanisms by which those sectors which can afford to pay more do so.

#### **Tackling rising bills**

Rising bills are contributing to the cost of living crisis for individuals, families and businesses. Higher energy bills, rail fares, childcare costs and rent or mortgage payments don't just make life harder, but also reduce the amount

of money people have available to spend on the high street. As a result, small businesses struggling to balance their books can't innovate or take the risks necessary to grow.

The next Labour Government will take action to tackle rising bills. We will reform the energy market to put transparency and competition back into the industry, by legislating to force energy companies to separate their generation and supply businesses. Because such measures will take time to put in place, we will take immediate action on energy bills upon entering office, by freezing prices through to 2017.

Detail on Labour's plans for energy market reform can be found in the Living Standards and Sustainability section.

### **Long-termism – underpinning our approach to the economy**

In order to build the high-skill, high wage economy we need to raise living standards for everyone, it is essential to ensure that our economy is focused on the long-term. Such an approach is good for business, good for employees and good for our economy as a whole. An emphasis on supporting long-termism, as a means of allowing the UK to earn its way to a better future, will be central to Labour's overall approach to the economy.

Good businesses want to focus on the long-term; so the next Labour Government will reform the rules and incentives within which firms operate to help them do so.

We will support productive firms, with good management and employee relations, including mutuals, co-ops and social enterprises, so we can make our economy stronger, more balanced and better able to attract new investment and create the skilled jobs of the future. This is the sustainable way to boost living standards.

Quarterly reporting rules must be abolished to help shift the emphasis towards long-term investment. Takeover rules also need reform

in order to strengthen the role of investors who are in it for the long-term and support value creation. Labour will restrict shareholder entitlement to vote on takeovers to those already holding shares when a bid is made.

When it comes to strategically important sectors of the economy Labour believes we need a more substantive assessment of whether proposed takeovers are in the national economic interest. Labour will look again at the UK's takeover regime. We believe there should be a stronger public interest test which encompasses cases where strategic interests of our economy, with impacts well beyond the firm, are involved.

To strengthen corporate governance, long-termism, and tackle predatory behaviour from those firms that behave that way Labour will give representatives of employees representation on remuneration committees.

A failure to promote long-termism can also impact directly on the living standards of ordinary people and fuel a race to the bottom. One Nation Labour will ensure that there are duties on investors to act in the best interests of ordinary pension savers, and also to prioritise the long-term growth of the companies in which they are investing over short-term profits.

Labour recognises this shift to long-termism enables companies to contribute to British and international efforts to promote environmental sustainability and global social justice. The next Labour Government will work with business and other stakeholders to strengthen corporate social responsibility, business and human rights, in Britain, Europe and internationally.

## Growth

A key component of Labour's economic reform agenda is a proper plan for broad based and deep rooted growth. Only this kind of sustainable growth will enable Britain to earn its way out of the cost of living crisis that is holding our country back.

Our focus must be on raising productivity across the economy, generating sustainable growth, creating more well paid jobs, and broadening our economic base across more regions and sectors. In the past, our economy has been too reliant on a narrow group of sectors, such as financial services, to drive growth. The high skill, high wage jobs of the future will not come from the same places as before, and we will need to take advantage of the opportunities arising from new industries and scientific research. Through an active industrial strategy, One Nation Labour will support the sectors and technologies that will be able to generate well paid and secure jobs in the future.

Businesses too are facing a cost of living crisis. Productive small businesses of all kinds in the UK are not just facing rising costs, but cannot access the funding they need to grow. The banking system is not supporting businesses that are creating jobs, with lending to businesses falling steadily since the last General Election. This needs to change and the next Labour Government will address this problem.

Securing national prosperity and tackling the cost of living will require many more of our towns and cities to become engines of growth. That will require devolution of economic power to our towns and cities if we are to unlock the growth potential of the whole country. Labour will undertake radical devolution of powers to city and county-regions to invest directly in housing, infrastructure and skills and ensure that every region benefits directly from growth.

### Adonis Growth Review

Labour believes that Britain will never be able to tackle the cost-of-living crisis and create the new jobs that are essential to it, unless we ensure that growth is evenly spread throughout the UK. So, building on the recommendations of the Andrew Adonis review on growth, the next Labour Government will decentralise power from Whitehall to our towns and cities. Under Labour, city and county-regions that come together, as well as local businesses through reformed LEPs, will be given historic new powers over transport, housing, skills and economic development.

### Wright Review of Manufacturing

As part of the policy review the Wright Review of Manufacturing has examined how the next Labour Government can create the right environment for long-term growth in advanced manufacturing and related businesses. It makes proposals for how to support innovative, high value and high technology manufacturing and strengthen the UK's future competitiveness as a location for manufacturing investment.

## Outsourcing and procurement

A public interest test will be established for all decisions on outsourcing and will guide Labour's approach. That will include:

- no presumption that outsourcing is the right approach, instead taking a case by case approach based on the evidence and bringing services back in house where that offers better value for money;
- decisions based on a true evaluation of the full life cycle costs, the quality of the services being delivered and wider social impact, to move away from the bias that says outsourcing is always cheaper;

- a new approach to stronger performance management of contracts designed to secure the public interest in high quality, responsive services. This will include a zero tolerance approach regarding firms that commit fraud at the expense of the taxpayer;
- real accountability whoever provides the service, including FOI applying to any significant provider of public services whatever the formal contracting framework and, where evidence has shown a service is clearly failing, a community right to challenge.

Strategic use of government procurement is vital in ensuring the stability, longevity and dynamism of UK manufacturing and re-balancing the economy. We will ensure a positive public procurement process that supports local and national employment, job protection and creation, apprenticeships, skills and growth as well as social, economic and environmental considerations.

On wider procurement policy the next Labour government will insist on a wider social contribution from those receiving major government contracts, including:

- ensuring the provision of high quality apprenticeships are a pre-requisite for any bid for significant government contracts;
- learning from the experience of Labour Councils of using procurement to spread the living wage

As in other countries we can work with business to set a clear strategic direction and establish a policy framework to support those sectors, areas and types of businesses which will underpin our future success. As construction currently contributes a significant proportion of GDP, and given its importance in delivering

Labour's ambitious housing and infrastructure plans, Labour will ensure a ministerial champion for construction and infrastructure, and consider where this would best sit in Whitehall.



### **Establishing a British Investment Bank**

One Nation Labour will not only reform broken markets but build the institutions we need to underpin our future prosperity. In line with the recommendations of the Stability and Prosperity Policy Commission's 2013 policy document, and the work of Nick Tott for the Policy Review, the next Labour Government will set up an effective British Investment Bank to help small and medium sized businesses get access to the funding they need.

All of the most successful economies around the world recognise the need for state support for business lending, and now the UK must do so too. Labour's proposed British Investment Bank will fulfil the Government's role in supporting lending to businesses to provide the long-term finance they need. Such an institution could be key in reshaping the banking sector in our country.

Labour's British Investment Bank will be properly capitalised with adequate powers to support businesses and infrastructure across all regions. The British Investment Bank will also support the social economy, such as charities, social enterprises and co-operatives.

In addition, a British Investment Bank, working alongside the Green Investment Bank, could also play a key role in providing innovative finance solutions to help boost our economy and support job creation.

Unlike the Conservative Party Labour will also seek to make best use of EU monies for infrastructure improvements.

### **Strengthening the low-carbon economy**

Labour is committed to tackling climate change. As the 2006 Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change concluded, the benefits of strong and early action "far outweigh the economic costs of not acting". One Nation Labour will take advantage of the opportunities that have arisen from the low-carbon economy and green industries. It is only

by creating the right policy framework that we will attract the scale of investment we need. The current Government has failed to do this and investment has slumped as a result.

Labour will back low-carbon industries by giving them policy certainty. That is why we have committed to the decarbonisation of the power sector by 2030. The Green Investment Bank must also play a key role in providing funding, which is why it should have borrowing powers and become a real bank. Labour will also actively use the public sector to boost demand for green goods and services.

British manufacturing should be producing the plants, equipment and technology for the clean energy sector and our small and medium sized firms should be a critical part of the supply chain. This will help create more of the high skilled jobs we need to win the race to the top. Labour is committed to do everything we can to secure for Britain a competitive advantage in the green economy of the future.

Labour's approach to reducing our carbon emissions is covered in the Living Standards and Sustainability section.

### **Addressing our infrastructure needs**

The Government's record on infrastructure investment has been one of delay and failure to deliver. One Nation Labour will turn this around, building the infrastructure our country needs to ensure it is properly equipped for the 21st century.

Labour recognises the need to take a more long-term approach to major investment decisions facing the UK. Too often, government does not put in place the appropriate mechanisms to promote clear decision making, and actually deliver critical infrastructure when and where it is needed. A new approach is needed to prepare the country for the major challenges ahead, such as population growth and climate change.

Sir John Armit's independent Review of Infrastructure, commissioned by Labour to inform the Policy Review, has recommended a coherent 25-30 year national infrastructure strategy. This would mean a new independent National Infrastructure Commission to assess the UK's infrastructure needs in consultation with stakeholders, make recommendations to the Government, and then monitor its implementation. Such a strategy would fully take into account the Government's climate change targets.

Labour will also review the use of innovative monetary interventions, in particular a more strategic approach to quantitative easing, to support investment and jobs were it needed in future.

Building more homes is an essential part of rebuilding our economy for the longer-term and boosting living standards. Rising demand for housing must be matched with rising supply which is why Labour will ensure 200,000 homes a year are built by the end of the next Parliament. Detail on Labour's plans for housing can be found in the Stronger, Safer Communities section.

## Banking and financial services

If Britain is going to prosper in the 21st Century, we need a banking system which serves our businesses, rather than carrying on with our businesses serving our banks. We need a banking sector which provides the funding and supports the next generation of British firms to start up, grow and create jobs. Small businesses in particular rely on bank finance, and should be able to trust in the banks to understand their needs and act in their best interests. However, this is not the banking system we have now.

One Nation Labour will challenge the old ways of doing things, promoting institutional change, so our economy works for the many, not just a few at the top.

The high cost credit market has grown rapidly in recent years with payday lenders taking advantage of the cost-of-living crisis.

The next Labour Government will implement the Financial Conduct Authority's recommendation to cap the total cost of credit, ask them to undertake regular reviews, and give local communities new powers to limit payday lenders on their high streets. Labour will also introduce a new levy on payday lenders, the proceeds of which will be used to support the expansion of low cost credit alternatives such as credit unions. The use of this levy can provide a step-change in the provision of affordable credit and other financial products by credit unions, and credit unions can play a growing role in the provision of financial services as they do in other developed countries. Labour will also encourage the spread of best practice of employers who offer payroll deductions, building on current public sector employers who lead the way.

We will encourage mutual and ethical banks as well as credit unions. Labour will also explore how a greater number of financial services providers, including credit unions, can increase competition in the market by offering a range of financial products that offer a better deal for consumers. There is a major lack of competition in the UK banking sector and this is at the root of many of the wider problems businesses and consumers come across. The next Labour Government will take action to boost competition in the banking sector, including by establishing, for the first time, a legal threshold for the market share of personal accounts and small business lending that any one bank can have. Labour will also support a regional banking system, working alongside the British Investment Bank, which reaches out to businesses up and down the country. This network of regional banks will have a duty to promote local growth and lend to firms operating in their area.

The transparent disclosure of information about the lending practices of the major banks is an important step towards

ensuring institutional change and increased accountability. The next Labour Government will work with the financial services industry, community finance organisations and others to deliver the adequate release of information from the banking sector, and ensure that data is fully analysed, to support local economic growth and avoid financial exclusion.

It is unfair that currently, too often, those least well off pay more than their fair share of tax while the wealthiest are able to avoid their responsibilities. We will continue to support a progressive taxation system and ensure that the wealthiest individuals and businesses contribute to the economy and society they profit from by prioritising anti-avoidance action in tax enforcement. The task for the next Labour Government is to ensure Britain succeeds in a global economy that is better regulated, in which banks and financial transactions are subject to international agreement which provides for greater long-term stability and transparency. Labour will continue to campaign for an international Financial Transaction Tax, covering major financial centres, to curb the volatility of financial transactions and help prevent a re-run of the 2008 financial crisis, and generate funds to the exchequer.

Learning the lessons of the past, Labour will develop the One Nation banking system we need; banking which works for every region, every sector, every business and every family in Britain. If we do not see proper reform of the banks, with a tough ringfence between investment and high street banking, alongside a genuine change in banking culture, by 2015, the next Labour Government will break up the banks so that ordinary retail banking is completely separate from riskier investment banking.

One Nation Labour will also tackle excessive pay in our banking system. Entrepreneurs and wealth creators should be rewarded, but too often pay and bonuses for the highest paid in our banking system reward failure, and are

out of all proportion to the contribution being made. That is why Labour has proposed a repeat of the bank bonus tax, using the funds raised to provide a Compulsory Jobs Guarantee for young people out of work. Labour will also require banks to publish the number of employees earning more than £1 million. Details on Labour's plans for high pay can be found in the Work and Business section.

Labour believes that we also need a legally enforced Code of Conduct for bankers so that those who act recklessly can be struck off. The next Labour Government will ensure that bankers know that if they attempt to rip-off their customers or take excessive risks, they will personally face the consequences. Labour will ensure there is a strong and independent regulator to challenge the vested interests of the financial sector. Labour MEPs have taken action to clamp down on unfair bonuses and excessive rewards for failure and ensure they are linked to the long-term performance of the bank.

## Taxation

Our business tax system must be competitive, promote long-term investment and innovation, and be simpler, predictable and fair. The last Labour Government left Britain with the most competitive rate of corporation tax in the G7 and we are committed to maintaining that position. Labour also recognises that companies are just as concerned about other elements of the business tax regime such as capital allowances and business rates.

The principles of contribution and reciprocity are at the heart of Labour's tax policy. Individuals and businesses should know that those who play by the rules and contribute to our nation's economic success will be treated fairly, with consequences for those that don't.

There are serious concerns, shared by Labour, that many people in London in particular are buying properties solely as an investment and not as a home to live in. Overseas buyers are



not just helping to push up prices for everyone else but are also failing to make a proper tax contribution in this country. Labour would crack down on empty home loopholes and give councils proper powers to tackle buy-to-leave, where investors buy up properties and then leave them empty.

Labour will also tax properties worth more than £2 million and use the revenues from this to cut income tax for people on middle and lower incomes with a lower 10p starting rate of income tax. Labour is clear that this mansion tax must be done in a fair way. The tax would only apply to properties worth over £2 million and that limit would be raised each year in line with house prices. Secondly, there would be protections in place for people who do not have a high income but happen to live in an expensive property. Labour will only support a mansion tax that is fair to those who are asset rich but cash poor. Finally, the tax must be progressive so that those with properties worth tens of millions of pounds make a significantly bigger contribution than those in houses just above the limit. Labour is clear that such a tax must also be administratively simple, which is why we would use a banded system.

### **Tackling tax avoidance**

Ensuring people and businesses pay their fair share of tax is absolutely essential; their responsibility to do so is non-negotiable. Society relies on tax revenues to provide essential services – we should not take for granted its importance. When times are tough and cuts to public spending and tax rises are having an effect, it is only right that the public has confidence in the tax system, and knows that everybody is paying their fair share.

Labour remains committed to an economic model that promotes and sustains high skills and high quality jobs supported by decent pay and working conditions. Labour will promote a living wage and take action to promote fair taxation and tackle tax avoidance and evasion.

Labour supports tough penalties on tax evasion and relentless action to close down loopholes that allow people and businesses to unfairly avoid tax. The current government is failing to tackle tax avoidance and evasion, with the value of the tax gap now £35 billion.

Individuals and business alike should pay tax in the countries in which they earn it. High profile examples of companies, and individuals, being seen to avoid tax to extreme levels have exposed a system that requires significant reform. Business practices have been changing rapidly over recent years, and many aspects of the current corporation tax system have fallen behind. Fundamental reform is required in the international corporate tax system. The ability of the international community to address these emerging issues and the need for wider reform is an area of continuous, and multilateral discussion.

The next Labour Government will take action to develop a system which is robust and effective in the modern world, which supports investment and job creation, and deals effectively with the complexities of international business. It must be fair to all and transparent, so that it can be better understood by the public. Labour will pursue European and international action to seek greater transparency around revenues, profits and taxes paid, and will consider domestic action if such agreement takes time to be reached. We will also examine the international lessons on how we can improve transfer pricing rules, so that the way in which companies allocate their profits for tax purposes is fair.

The next Labour Government will also ensure that action to tackle tax havens and tax avoidance is top of the international agenda. This will require work at a domestic, EU and international level, including looking at Britain's Crown Dependencies and overseas territories. We will prioritise increasing transparency in the Crown Dependencies and overseas territories, including requiring UK tax havens to reveal

the identity of British tax evaders. Labour in Europe is committed to securing support across the EU for tougher action, and leading by example is the best way to make the case for a proper EU regime. However, such an approach should not be at the expense of working towards international agreement on those important issues.

Tax avoidance also undermines our commitments to overseas development spending as developing countries lose three times what they receive in aid. The next Labour Government would use its better influence abroad to call for other countries to follow the UK's lead and make registers of company beneficial ownership publicly available.

Meanwhile, we need to ensure that HM Revenue and Customs has the right resources, expertise and specialists in different sectors to adequately police this increasingly complex area. The staff at HMRC help ensure that everyone pays their fair share of tax, and they tackle tax abuses and evasion. An effective and skilled HMRC is a prerequisite of a robust tax system, yet the Conservative-led Government has diverted resources to the administration of needlessly complex schemes, such as cuts in child benefit. With many highly-skilled staff set to retire and new staff being brought in at much lower grades, the organisation faces a demographic timebomb.

Labour will tackle false self-employment in the construction industry, which is costing the exchequer and harming ordinary construction workers through loss of employment rights. Employers in the sector who do the right thing and pay the right level of tax are vulnerable to being undercut by those who do not. This is not fair and it's not good for the long-term strength and sustainability of the industry. False self-employment in construction is a scandal that is costing the taxpayer hundreds of millions of pounds each year at the same time as undermining responsible employers and the sustainable development of the UK construction industry. The next Labour

government will put this right, by tackling problems with the Construction Industry Scheme and setting criteria for deeming contracts in the construction industry for an individual's personal service to be employment contracts for the purpose of both taxation and employment rights, and will abolish the loopholes in existing deeming measures, including through the use of umbrella and payroll companies.

Labour's approach to tackling tax avoidance will include closing loopholes such as the 'Quoted Eurobond Exemption' which is used by some companies to shift profits out of the UK; tackling dormant companies which can be used to avoid filing Corporate Tax returns, and so trade for up to five years without paying tax; and tackling disguised employment in the construction industry by finalising proposals Labour was developing in government to deem construction workers as employed for tax purposes if they meet criteria which most people would regard as obvious signs of employment. We will also encourage stronger independent scrutiny of the tax system and the Government's efforts to tackle tax avoidance by affirming and strengthening the powers of the National Audit Office to scrutinise tax reliefs and, in particular, where they are abused to avoid tax. In addition, Labour will ensure that developing countries are fully involved in international efforts to tackle tax avoidance such as the OECD's Base Erosion and Profit Shifting project.

Labour will look at ways to make the tax system fairer and simpler. Such measures would reduce opportunities for tax avoidance schemes.

### **Business and personal taxation**

To help build an economy that works for working people, One Nation Labour will support the small businesses that have the innovation and dynamism to grow the economy and create new jobs. For this reason we will not go ahead with the current Government's additional corporation tax cut

for multinationals and large businesses in 2015-16, but will instead use the money to cut and then freeze business rates for small and medium sized businesses. This cut in 2015-16 and freeze in 2016-17 will benefit 1.5 million business properties, compared to just 80,000 businesses that would benefit from a cut in corporation tax.

Helping more people into jobs, with higher wages and paying tax, is essential to getting the deficit down. A Labour Government would prioritise a fair deficit reduction plan, with the richest paying their fair share of tax and helping those on middle and low incomes. For the next Parliament, we will restore the 50p top rate of tax for those earning over £150,000. This is in contrast to the approach of the current Government, whose priority has been to cut taxes for millionaires at a time when everyone else is facing a cost of living crisis.

### **Fair deficit reduction**

We recognise that the cost of living crisis is inextricably linked to the policies pursued by the current Government. This is why Labour will take a different approach, setting out policies for jobs and growth that will help solve the cost of living crisis.

The next Labour Government will show the courage and confidence to deliver the radical change our country needs. But it will do so at a time when money is tight. The current Government's figures for spending in 2015-16 will be our starting point. Any changes to the current spending plans for that year will be fully funded and set out in advance in our manifesto.

Labour must demonstrate that even at a time of scarce resources it can radically reform the UK by tackling wealth and income inequality, poverty and improving living standards for all. Labour recognises that ordinary people and public services have borne the brunt of the current Government's deficit reduction programme.

Labour will continue to work at a national and European level to help tackle the cost of living crisis.

The slowest economic recovery in over a hundred years has resulted in a cost of living crisis and meant failure on deficit reduction too. The country we seek to govern in 2015 will therefore be one in which people and businesses are being squeezed, while a high deficit remains. The next Labour Government will have to govern with much less money around. In 1997, we were able to plan our manifesto on the basis of rising departmental spending. In 2015 we will have to plan on the basis of falling departmental spending. The current day-to-day spending totals for 2015-16 will have to remain our starting point. But, while there will be no additional borrowing for day-to-day spending, a One Nation Labour Government will make different, and fairer, choices.

We recognise that deficit reduction alone does not make for a successful economic policy, but it is a necessary and important part of it. We can only reduce the fiscal deficit if our recovery is balanced, long-term and does not sow the seeds of problems ahead. So the challenge for the next Labour Government will be to deliver stronger, investment-led growth which helps reduce the deficit in a sustainable way. We need action to deliver investment-led growth, and fairer choices about how to get the national debt down while protecting vital public services.

The next Labour government will balance the books and deliver a surplus on the current budget and falling national debt as soon as possible in the next Parliament. We will legislate for our tough fiscal rules within 12 months of the General Election - rules which will be independently audited by the Office for Budget Responsibility. How fast we can go will depend on the state of the economy and public finances we inherit.

A One Nation Labour government will make fairer choices on who bears the weight of deficit reduction, including those on the highest incomes. And it will build a recovery which is made by the many, supporting the living standards of everyone, rather than just the few at the top, in order generate the wealth we need to bring down the deficit.

Labour remains committed to the principles of universalism in our social security system. By driving up wages and creating decent jobs we will reduce the cost to taxpayers of low wages. We will also ensure that our social security system works to end poverty, including those outside of the Labour market, and help end the cost of living crisis. But we always need to prioritise and strike the right balance between universal and targeted support. So at a time when the public services that pensioners and others rely on are under strain, and the state pension is protected by the triple lock, it can no longer be a priority to continue paying the winter fuel allowance to the richest five per cent of pensioners.

To underpin our approach Labour is also carrying out a zero-based spending review – a root and branch review of every pound the Government spends from the bottom up – which we have already begun and will complete in our first year in office. Labour will also ask the Office for Budget Responsibility to independently audit the costings of spending and tax commitments in our General Election manifesto.

### Further reading

‘One Nation Economy’, Labour’s Policy Review, September 2013

‘The Case for a British Investment Bank: A Report for Labour’s Policy Review’, Nick Tott, 2012

‘A British Investment Bank: making it a reality’, Stability and Prosperity Policy Commission, 2013

‘Tax avoidance: tax havens’, Stability and Prosperity Policy Commission, 2013

‘Speech: Rebuilding Britain with a One Nation economy’, Ed Miliband, 2013

‘Overcoming Short-termism within British Business: The key to sustained economic growth’, An independent review by Sir George Cox commissioned by the Labour Party, 2013

‘Corporate Tax: transparency and reform’, Labour’s Policy Review, 2013

‘Open Banking Building a transparent banking system’, Labour’s Policy Review, 2013

‘Speech: Fabian Annual Conference’, Ed Balls, 2014

‘Speech: One Nation Economy’, Ed Miliband, 2014



**Agenda**  
2015



**WORK AND BUSINESS  
FINAL YEAR POLICY  
DOCUMENT**



# WORK AND BUSINESS

## Introduction

Our future prosperity will be founded on the success of the partnership between Britain's firms, their employees, and an enabling state. This shared project is how we will win the race to the top, and will be a central task of the next Labour Government as we earn our way out of the cost of living crisis.

One Nation Labour has a vision for how we can run Britain in a different way. Different from the past, and building a future for our country in which ordinary people feel the country is run for them, in their interests and for their future. One Nation Labour's approach will allow us to earn our way to a better standard of living, share rewards fairly and make markets work for people, not the other way round.

That means taking a different path from the current Government. Creating wealth sustainably, not on the basis of ever greater insecurity for the workforce. Devolving power down to support our regional economies, not relying on a few areas and industries. Delivering a something for something deal with business to drive up both training and the use of those skills, rather than trying to compete as a low wage, low skill economy. And a new approach to social security that tackles the root causes of spending, rather than continuing to pay for failure and asking the most vulnerable to pay the price.

This has not been the path taken by this Government. In recent years, people on middle and low incomes have experienced a significant squeeze on living standards fuelled by falling wages, rising prices, social security changes and increasing job insecurity. At the same time businesses are struggling with rising costs and a banking system that doesn't provide the support they need. All of this has contributed to a race to the bottom on pay and skills which is bad for businesses, bad for employees, and bad for our economy as a whole.

For too many people in Britain the workplace can be harsh and unfair, leaving people feeling insecure and powerless. From the exploitation of zero-hours contracts, to agency workers not getting equal treatment, to some employers not paying the minimum wage, the current Government is completely failing to live up to its responsibilities to protect the vulnerable and ensure people are able to earn their way to higher living standards. For the first time the majority of people in poverty in the UK are in working households. This isn't right and Labour will act to tackle it. We need fair rewards, proper training, protections for people who work and a responsible social security system – one that protects those who cannot work and those who cannot earn enough to support themselves and their families.

The Government's support for, rather than action to tackle, insecure work also explains why it has failed to tackle the underlying issues driving up the social security bill in the longer-term. Turning around our economy so it works for everyone, and tackling the root causes of social security expenditure are one and the same thing, and it is only by addressing the root causes of social security spending that it can sustainably be controlled.

While creating insecurity for everyone else, the current Government claims that tax cuts for the richest will mean wealth will trickle down. But One Nation Labour recognises that Britain will succeed only with ordinary people playing their part in our nation's success and being rewarded for doing so. We want a race to the top – and that means backing businesses that train people, while supporting the entrepreneurs and wealth creators who help grow our economy. This is why One Nation Labour is the party which backs small business and enterprise.

## Industrial strategy

For too long Britain has been trying to compete on low wage, low skill business models. In an ever more globalised world this approach will not secure more and better paid jobs

for the longer-term. Nor will it lead to the more resilient and competitive economy, with fairer outcomes, that we need following the financial crisis. One Nation Labour's approach is founded on the principle that prosperity must be built by the many, not the few. That is the only way the UK will earn its way out of the cost of living crisis which is holding our economy back.

A race to the top requires more people setting up, leading and succeeding in business. This private sector growth needs to be supported by an active government approach, investing for the long-term, setting clear priorities, and enabling businesses to grow. Supporting UK exports and attracting more inward investment is a key part of the route to returning the economy to sustained and balanced growth.

Manufacturing is of strategic importance to a sustainable and balanced recovery in every region and the Labour Party will have a modern, active industrial policy that supports the manufacturing sector. Labour will reduce energy costs for business through the energy price freeze, support science, research, development and technology and promote advanced apprenticeships and STEM degrees for UK students. Labour will also boost access to funding for small and medium sized businesses through a British Investment Bank. And we will look to give more confidence to investors and ensure good value for public money by setting a long-term national funding framework for innovation policy.

To build the economy of the future, government must actively work with business, trade unions, communities and regions to set a clear strategic direction. It must play an active role in securing the skills, the finance and infrastructure that business needs to raise productivity across the economy, to support innovation and to take best advantage of sectors and technologies where Britain has a competitive edge. Government also needs to provide the strategic leadership that allows

firms in a particular sector to come together to solve common problems they face – from technologies and materials to supply chain development, skills and access to export markets.

Government can and should play a leading role in not just driving forward a new industrial strategy but in working to ensure that jobs and skills in UK supply chains are integral to those plans. This is an approach in which government sets a strategic direction and then works with industries to understand the particular problems they face. In particular, we need to develop an industrial and manufacturing strategy that will rebalance the economy and grow our manufacturing base. Integral to that strategy is the targeted use of public procurement policies to support our home industries, jobs, skills and UK supply chains.

The economic recovery will only be sustainable if it benefits each and every region of the UK. The reality is that many businesses across the country are struggling to access the finance they need and this has contributed to deeply-entrenched regional inequalities in the UK, exacerbated by the Government's decision to scrap Regional Development Agencies. In a One Nation economy more power will be devolved from central government to support our cities and regions, and we will have new and stronger institutions to back regional economies, as we establish a regional banking system and ensure Local Enterprise Partnerships have the tools they need to drive forward economic growth.

Labour believes that Britain will never be able to tackle the cost-of-living crisis and create the new jobs that are essential to it, unless we ensure that growth is evenly spread throughout the UK. So, building on the recommendations of the Andrew Adonis review on growth, the next Labour Government will decentralise power from Whitehall to our towns and cities. Under Labour, city and county-regions that come together, as well as local businesses



through reformed LEPs, will be given historic new powers over transport, housing, skills and economic development.

Local Enterprise Partnerships should be reformed and strengthened to give businesses, local authorities and other stakeholders, including trade unions, a direct say over growth strategies and priorities. They should work more closely with local authorities on issues such as regeneration, transport and infrastructure.

Labour will continue to support efforts within EU procurement, state-aid and research policies which give active support for industry in Britain. Labour will seek to maintain use of European social and regional funding to support efforts for regional development at home.

One Nation Labour must also seek to maximise the opportunities that arise from the low-carbon economy. This will require creating the right policy framework to attract investment, which is why Labour will back low-carbon industries by giving them policy certainty. Further details of Labour's commitment to the low carbon economy can be found in the Stability and Prosperity section.

The social enterprise, co-operative and not-for-profit economy is a growing sector that has the potential to increase employment opportunities at the same time as demonstrating that there is a more ethical model of doing business. These models have also proved themselves to be remarkably effective and resilient. Labour will support social enterprise, mutuals, co-operatives and the not-for-profit economy, and will seek to develop and promote the best mechanisms for doing so.

A proper industrial strategy requires long-term, strategic decision-making that is in the interests of Britain's workers, employers and the economy as a whole. But the current Government is simply too focused on the short-term. This is apparent in the sale of Royal Mail for well below its proper value.

The privatisation of Royal Mail was wrong in principle. The public has a legitimate interest in this cherished institution and Labour is clear that there should be an ongoing public and employee stake in Royal Mail. The next Labour Government will protect the public interest by keeping the remaining 30 per cent in public ownership. A staff led creation of a trust for their 10 per cent employee share would be fully supported. The next Labour Government will, ruling nothing out of the investigation, examine the process by which Royal Mail was privatised at a deflated price and the impact of privatisation upon consumers and the workforce within 12 months.

Labour's immediate priority on entering office will be to safeguard the services consumers and businesses get from a privatised Royal Mail. We will secure the universal service obligation beyond 2015 for the next Parliament and for the foreseeable future. We will work with Ofcom to ensure that competition does not undermine the USO including by introducing protection for Royal Mail from unfair 'cherry-picking' in delivery services as necessary. We will prioritise the future of our post office network by working to ensure Royal Mail services continue to be provided through Post Offices, aiming to secure a substantial extension to the ten year Inter-Business Agreement. In addition, the next Labour Government will ensure there is an appropriate degree of price control over a privatised Royal Mail upon entering office. We will also investigate whether competition is creating the need for protection against deteriorating standards of employment and remuneration for workers in the sector.

The next Labour Government will work with business to achieve trade justice, poverty alleviation and sustainable development, both at home and abroad. Labour believes that good business should be driven by responsible behaviour that recognises responsibility to environmental, social and other goals.

### Lord Adonis' Growth Review

Labour believes that Britain will never be able to tackle the cost-of-living crisis and create the new jobs that are essential to it, unless we ensure that growth is evenly spread throughout the UK. So, building on the recommendations of the Andrew Adonis review on growth, the next Labour Government will decentralise power from Whitehall to our towns and cities. Under Labour, city and county-regions that come together, as well as local businesses through reformed LEPs, will be given historic new powers over transport, housing, skills and economic development.

### Promoting our universities and science

Measures to promote growth need to recognise the importance of science and the knowledge-based economy as a driver of national competitiveness in the 21st century. Universities should be at the heart of growth; as a successful sector in their own right and in rebalancing the economy, driving regional development, and developing skills and knowledge essential for national competitiveness. Successful, well-funded universities are vital to the future success of our country and will help Britain win the race to the top.

A government that is serious about economic growth across all regions and all sectors must create the conditions necessary for the higher education sector to flourish. But instead the Government has trebled tuition fees, saddling young people with massive debt at a time when many will want to start saving for a house or a family. There are real concerns about the long-term implications of the Government's approach to university funding, which the next Labour Government will have to address. We need to reduce the burden on students while ensuring that repayments are related to ability to pay.

Our universities must also play a key role in driving forward scientific discovery as a way of allowing our economy to earn its way out of the cost of living crisis.

We need to raise average wages by growing the knowledge economy. Our universities are the power-houses of the high-tech sector, generating new ideas, technology and innovation, and must be given the support and freedom by government to best deliver these outputs. The next Labour Government will recognise this by putting science and innovation at the heart of a long-term strategy for growth. One of the great achievements of the last Labour Government was a comprehensive ten-year plan. This type of long-term thinking is required once more to remove insecurity and maximise the effectiveness of the UK science base to ensure we remain at the cutting edge of world research. So Labour will explore the benefits of a long-term framework for science funding.

Science policy should have the aim of supporting the public and private sector to raise the UK percentage share of GDP spent on research and development. We need to incentivise leading companies and universities in each region of the UK to develop strong shared research and development platforms. Labour recognises and supports the ongoing work of the Small Business Research Initiative.

Government has a key role to play in stimulating innovation, particularly through procurement, and Labour will ensure that the R&D activities currently spread across a range of government departments have an emphasis on innovation. We will also explore ways to encourage further university and business collaboration, incentivising leading companies to develop shared science and research platforms in our best universities.

We will continue to encourage the leading role that UK researchers have played within collaborative European and international research. By replicating the success of the

Oxford-Cambridge-London triangle, we will provide new impetus to regional growth and help universities exploit current areas of excellence.

Scientific research and innovation enable us to understand our world and have vital roles in driving our economy and in addressing challenges such as global warming and an ageing population. A Labour Government will recognise that curiosity is the greatest driver of discovery and would provide a long-term framework of support for basic research. Labour will also support moves toward Open Access publishing to help make the results of research freely available to all. Britain has a proud record of scientific inventiveness but the pipeline leading from research to application and industry too rarely produces companies of global scale. The next Labour Government, working with industry, will seek a more stable funding regime to allow small companies to grow. It will promote the formation of these companies by supporting engagement between universities and companies.

The EU plays a vital role in supporting science and technology across Europe. European collaboration between industry and academic partners creates science and technology networks where researchers, technology and knowledge freely circulate, which is particularly valuable for ensuring new ideas can be developed for commercial and societal benefit and for addressing large scale and international challenges, such as space, security, pollution and climate change. We believe that EU framework funding can play a vital role in promoting UK science and innovation and we will support and promote universities, institutions and industry's access to this funding system. Labour will provide the leadership to ensure UK industry's interests are properly co-ordinated and represented within EU science and technology priorities.

All of this will be done in concert with a long-term industrial strategy to raise productivity and create new jobs based on science and

sustainable technologies. The next Labour Government will actively seek to increase the number of women in STEM subjects and apprenticeships in industry.

## Support for businesses and SMEs

It is not just families that are held back from playing their part in building Britain's future by the cost of living crisis. British businesses are struggling with rising costs and a lack of finance. Rising business rates are putting a heavy burden on Britain's wealth creators, with more than one in ten small businesses saying they spend the same or more on business rates as they do on rent. Rising energy prices hit businesses too, and are the second biggest cost businesses face. On top of this many small businesses are unable to get the access to finance they need as banks too often refuse to lend.

One Nation Labour will back British business and support our wealth creators as part of the race to the top. The next Labour Government will freeze energy bills until 2017, benefitting 2.4 million businesses across Britain and saving them £1.5 billion in total. In addition, we will support small businesses by cutting business rates in 2015 and freezing them in 2016, rather than going ahead with the Government's corporation tax cut for the largest firms. This will help 1.5 million workshops, start-ups and shops.

Small businesses consistently rank access to finance as their biggest barrier to growth. Labour is committed to fundamentally changing the lending landscape by boosting competition in the banking sector and creating a British Investment Bank, along with a network of local and regional business banks with a responsibility to boost lending in their area. Further details on the British Investment Bank and Labour's plan to reform the banking sector can be found in the Stability and Prosperity section.

Co-operatives, social enterprises, mutual and not-for-profit organisations have a crucial role to play in the economic recovery. One Nation Labour will improve the advice and support available to this sector. We will seek to make it easier for people to invest in organisations of this kind focused on local economic development.

### **Protecting consumers**

Well-functioning markets empower consumers, create demand for goods and services which provides jobs, stimulate innovation, create wealth and boost the tax take. But too often regulators and politicians have ducked the big reforms we need to make sure that markets work for families and businesses.

One Nation Labour in government will take a new approach to driving up competition, as one of the long-term and institutional changes we make to build an economy that can earn Britain's way out of the cost of living crisis. Central to this new approach will be an invitation to the consumers of Britain into decision-making processes. This will ensure that choices about how markets work are always taken in the public interest, and force policy makers to confront problems rather than simply leaving them to drag on.

The next Labour Government will introduce an Annual Competition Health Check, led jointly by consumers and the competition authorities, to ensure regulators and politicians act where markets do not work in the public interest. We will ask consumer bodies like Which? and Citizens Advice to produce jointly with the Competition and Markets Authority an annual report, which will set out key competition issues in UK private markets and priorities for action. This approach will mean that government will no longer be able to ignore problems such as the concentration of power in the energy, banking and community pub sectors.

### **Better workplaces**

Good workplaces are not just beneficial for employees; they are good for business and our economy as a whole. But under the current Government job insecurity and underemployment have risen significantly. The Government's race to the bottom has meant record numbers of people are working fewer hours than they would like and we have seen an increasing reliance on zero-hours and short-hours contracts.

We believe that internships should never exploit young people nor unfairly exclude those with talent, ambition and drive.

The introduction of the National Minimum Wage was one of the proudest achievements of the last Labour Government, and the ongoing need to tackle the problem of low pay in our economy remains a priority for Labour. All rates of the minimum wage should rise in real terms to at least catch up the ground it has lost under the current Government. To achieve this, Labour will accept the recommendations of the Buckle Review on Low Pay and introduce a new framework for the Low Pay Commission (LPC) with a strengthened role in tackling in-work poverty and raising productivity across the UK. The LPC will be charged with implementing a five-year target, which would mean significantly increasing the National Minimum Wage so that it gets closer to average earnings. Labour will also empower the LPC to create taskforces with employers and employees to boost productivity and wages in low paid sectors and see how those sectors which can afford to pay more do so.

Workers need stronger support to ensure payment at a rate at least equal to the minimum wage. Alongside increased fines and a new role for local authorities in enforcement, HMRC's remit on enforcement should be expanded to include related non-payment of holiday pay. We will also consider expanding enforcement

to included related non-payment of statutory sick pay and statutory maternity, paternity and adoption pay.

But we need to go further to ensure more workers are paid a decent wage. Labour will require listed companies to report on whether or not they pay the living wage, and we will follow the lead of Labour Councils by using government contracts to spread the payment of the living wage.

We will also establish ‘make work pay’ contracts, giving a tax rebate to those companies that sign up to become living wage employers in the first year of the next Parliament. Firms that sign up will be eligible for a tax rebate, paid for from the actual exchequer savings from higher tax receipts and lower social security payments.

Alongside action on low pay we need fairness at the top as well. While it is right that those who work hard, generate wealth and create jobs are rewarded, too often the way executive pay is structured has encouraged a focus on short-term profits, and masked disproportionate pay increases that bear little relation to long-term company success. This is not only unfair, but is also bad for business and our economy.

Labour will increase transparency on pay, by requiring companies to publish the ratio of the pay of their top earner compared to the average employee, and the pay packages of the ten highest paid employees outside the boardroom. The next Labour Government will also look at how to simplify executive pay packages, and we will ensure that there is an employee representative on remuneration committees to ensure that the views of ordinary staff are heard when decisions to award top pay packages are made. We will require investment and pension fund managers to disclose how they vote on pay and all other issues, and ensure that shareholders approve remuneration packages in advance.

If Britain is to succeed in the 21st century we also need to ensure that parents are supported in the workplace. That why Labour will help make work pay by extending free childcare for three and four year olds from 15 to 25 hours per week for working parents, paid for by an increase in the bank levy. We will ensure parents of primary school children have access to ‘wraparound’ childcare from 8am to 6pm. Further details of Labour’s plans for childcare can be found in the Education and Children section.

The current government has made it more difficult for many parents and carers to achieve the hours of work they need to fit around their caring commitments by removing the statutory procedure for dealing with flexible working requests. Labour will support flexible working for parents, and will consider how best to support grandparents who need to fit the care of their grandchildren around their working hours.

Labour recognises that saying goodbye to a family member is one of the most difficult things that someone can face. Labour will always examine ways to improve support for those who are bereaved, because saying goodbye to a family member should not lead to hardship or worry about finance, including reviewing how flexible working rules can be used to support them.

Despite pregnancy discrimination being unlawful, some women continue to be dismissed or discriminated against when they inform their employer they are pregnant, or on returning to work. The next Labour Government will act to protect women in the workplace from pregnancy discrimination, and close legal loopholes which allow pregnancy discrimination.



### Low Pay – the Nation’s Challenge

Through the policy review process Alan Buckle has examined the ways in which the minimum wage could be strengthened. His final report recommends a new framework for the Low Pay Commission to ensure that over the next Parliament the National Minimum Wage is increased so that it gets closer to average earnings. It also recommends that local authorities are given a role in enforcement of the NMW and considers mechanisms by which those sectors which can afford to pay more do so.

### Improving employment rights

Fairness in the workplace, to build long-term, productive workforces, will be a priority for One Nation Labour. The Government’s race to the bottom on workers’ rights, while looking after a privileged few at the top, is making it easier to fire rather than hire people, and is no substitute for the sustainable growth strategy our country needs to earn its way out of the cost of living crisis.

Policies such as the introduction of fees for employment tribunals, the increase in the qualification period for unfair dismissal, and the abolition of the Agricultural Wages Board are just a few examples of how the Government has fundamentally undermined employment rights since it took office. Its ‘shares for rights’ policy, through which employees give up certain employment rights in return for shares in the company, is ill-thought through and unpopular, and the Office for Budget Responsibility has warned that it could open up a £1 billion tax avoidance loophole. The proposals set out in the report on employment rights by Adrian Beecroft, including allowing employers to ‘fire at will’, are very concerning.

One Nation Labour recognises the value of genuine employee ownership, which is often more resilient and more successful than other more traditional models. One Nation Labour will support the growing employee owned

sector but will never couple this with slashing employment rights which is contradictory and counterproductive.

Success will be built by the many, not the few, and the next Labour Government will take action to increase security in the workplace by enhancing employment rights and protections, including a commitment to achieve compliance with our international obligations on labour standards such as freedom of association. We will also ensure that health and safety in the workplace is a priority. The current employment tribunal system, which charges workers for taking their employers to court is unfair, unsustainable and has resulted in prohibitive costs locking people out of the justice they are entitled to. Labour will introduce a system where affordability will not be a barrier to workplace justice. It would also be a mistake to return to the broken system of the past, where tribunals were so slow that meaningful justice was not available. The next Labour Government will reform the employment tribunal system to ensure that all workers have proper access to justice.

Ensuring proper health and safety in the workplace will be a priority for Labour, which for decades has worked to foster a culture of workplace safety, supported by clear and effective regulation. Labour will reinstate the Tower Crane Register and Regulations and the Construction (Head Protection) Regulations. Labour will also ensure that all self-employed workers are properly protected and that the Health and Safety Executive can operate as an effective enforcement agency.

Agency workers form one of the most vulnerable sections of the UK workforce. The last Labour Government reached agreement on a British framework for implementing the Agency Workers Directive, giving increased protection to agency workers. However, the way the law is currently implemented in the UK allows employment agencies and companies, in some circumstances, to pay agency workers

lower rates of pay than directly-employed staff. Equal treatment for agency workers should not be avoided through unfair loopholes. The next Labour Government will take action to ensure agency workers are properly protected and that there are no exemptions from equal treatment on pay. Labour will repeal the Swedish Derogation provisions in the Agency Workers Regulations (regulation 10) so that those workers on contracts providing pay between assignments are not excluded from the protections of the regulations.

Labour is proud that we established the Gangmasters Licensing Authority in government. It does important work to improve health and safety standards, and to prevent the exploitation of workers in the agricultural, horticultural and shellfish gathering industries. Labour will extend the remit of the Gangmasters Licensing Authority to cover different sectors of the economy, such as construction, hospitality and social care, giving better protection to those workers.

As well as extending its remit, Labour recognises the Gangmasters Licensing Authority's main purpose is as a labour inspectorate. Labour will ensure that the GLA is able to carry out pro-active enforcement and prevention work in all sectors it covers and ensure that it is more than a small sub-section of the Home Office, given that its responsibilities go far beyond immigration. We will consider where the GLA is best suited in Whitehall. The next Labour Government will also address the damage done by the abolition of the Agricultural Wages Board to ensure that agricultural workers are properly protected, with reference to the framework of the AWB at sectoral level.

Labour will increase security in the workplace by acting to end the unfair practices and abuses in the labour market. We will ban the use of unfair employment practices, such as exploitative zero-hours contracts and bogus self-employment that prevent workers from receiving fair employment rights.

Labour is committed to ensuring that all workers are properly protected in the workplace. Exploitative zero-hours contracts will be abolished with rules introduced to give new rights to employees on zero-hours contracts, including the right to receive automatically a fixed-hours contract when they have consistently worked regular hours. We will ban employers from being able to require zero-hours workers to be available on the off-chance that they will be needed and stop employees from being required to work exclusively for one firm if they are on a zero-hours contract. Labour will also ensure that zero-hours workers who have their shifts cancelled at short notice will receive compensation from their employer. Short hours contracts are already a significant problem for many people who want to be able to work more hours. Labour in government will review the impact of these contracts on working people to ensure that they are not suffering from insecurity of income similar to those on zero-hours contracts, and will monitor employment practices to assess whether employers are increasing the use of short-hours contracts following action on zero-hours contracts, and we will take action to prevent this.

In the social care sector, where zero-hours contracts are prevalent, Labour will consider whether additional action is required. Labour also recognises that commission-only jobs can increase insecurity in the workplace. We will also campaign in Europe to ensure that unscrupulous employers both in the UK across the EU cannot exploit their workers through the unjustified use of zero-hours contracts.

Labour believes holiday pay should reflect pay earned and notes the recent ECJ rulings on what must be taken into account in calculating holiday pay.

Trade unions are an important voice for people at work and in wider society, and have a central role to play in boosting training, pay and conditions for their members and helping Britain win the race to the top. At a time of

rapid global economic change and a cost of living crisis at home, it is vital that the UK continues to have strong and modern trade unions as a genuine voice fighting against discrimination and abuse. That is why if the current Government will not launch a full inquiry into the disgraceful practice of blacklisting in the construction industry the next Labour Government will. This inquiry must be transparent and public to ensure the truth is set out. We should also learn the lessons of the actions on procurement taken by the Welsh Assembly Government with regards to blacklisting. Labour is clear about the positive role the trade union movement plays in delivering fairness, safe working conditions and supporting productivity in the workforce, and we recognise the important discussions around the role of collective bargaining in boosting pay and promoting pay equality, as well as employee representation in the workplace.

Labour is clear that employment rights have to be enforceable to mean anything, but too often workers are locked out of justice and fail to receive proper protection. Building a different kind of economy means recognising that the old *laissez-faire* approach won't deliver and a more active approach is required. We need to build into our economy structures of coordination that bring together representatives of employees, employers and other stakeholders to build genuine partnerships that help to raise productivity and tackle Britain's low skill, low wage culture. The next Labour Government will work to ensure that working people have the capability to address workplace issues more effectively.

The growth of 'non-standard' work has meant that working people have less say on their pay, hours and conditions of work. The result has been the driving down of the real value of wages and greater inequality, insecurity, job dissatisfaction and inefficiency. We need to examine the nature of the modern workplace including the rules affecting the labour market in Britain and to make sure that Britain has

the legal standards to ensure the skilled and qualified workforce which employers need. This will include ensuring the standard of living of working people rises – with the consequence that employers will enjoy again a vibrant demand within the British economy.

Labour will work to improve the ability of employees to communicate about working rights, whether or not a trade union is recognised by their employer. Labour will review the current implementation and operation of the Information and Consultation regulations to examine how information and consultation can be made widespread and more meaningful. Labour will continue to support efforts in Europe to amend the rules on the posting of workers from abroad to prevent jobs and conditions being undermined at home. We will consider European action to stop abuses by the bogus use of self-employed status and back other efforts to seek fair protection where possible for others in precarious work.

Labour will act on the EAT court ruling that the threshold of 20 or more employees for collective redundancy purposes should be looked at across all of an employer's establishments and not for each separate establishment.

We believe in safe and healthy workplaces and are committed to reducing the toll of workplace injuries, fatalities and ill-health, and to achieve this we will ensure that the prevention of occupational illnesses, diseases and long-term health conditions including cancers are given greater priority, and no workplace is free from inspections by health and safety authorities, with a better independent inspection regime for perceived low-risk workplaces, including shops, offices and trains. Labour will ensure everyone enjoys a comfortable and safe working environment. Working with stakeholders we will carry out a review of the legislation and guidance in relation to temperature in the workplace to ensure workers are protected, as far as possible, from excessive temperatures.



Labour will ensure there is fairness in levels of health and safety protection between employees and the self-employed. Labour will encourage equality representatives in the workplace to promote and achieve equality for all workers. Much good work to resolve disputes in the workplace is carried out by voluntary trade union stewards. Labour will look at ways to ensure that proper facility time is available to allow them to undertake their role effectively.

There is a growing body of evidence which shows that self-employment covers a wide range of different experiences. Labour will work to ensure that those who are genuinely self-employed are properly protected and not disadvantaged in the labour market.

Britain has a proud tradition of being at the forefront of the fight against slavery. Modern day slavery is a huge issue which Labour must work to address. The next Labour Government will take action to ensure that the disgrace of slavery in the UK is tackled quickly and effectively.

### **Zero-Hours Contracts: The Pickavance Report**

In 2013 Ed Miliband asked Norman Pickavance to conduct an independent review into how Labour should tackle the exploitation of zero-hours contracts in our society. His report argues that zero-hours contracts are part of rising insecurity in the workplace, including short-hours contracts and involuntary part-time and temporary contracts. His final report recommends giving new legal rights to employees on zero-hours contracts as well as compensation for those who have their shifts cancelled at short notice. The next Labour Government will tackle exploitative zero-hours contracts in order to help deliver our commitment to improving living standards and helping businesses build a more successful economy across the UK.

## **Skills**

To build the fair and balanced economy the UK needs to win the race to the top, we must make best use of the talents of everyone in Britain. That means a new approach to how we develop technical skills. Labour will radically reform vocational education and apprenticeships, creating a higher skilled workforce, driving up productivity and underpinning higher wages. And we will also take seriously our responsibilities to ensure those in work have access to the skills and training they need to move up the career ladder and improve their standard of living.

We need a One Nation skills system to raise the status and quality of vocational education in order to create a clear and improved route to apprenticeships and jobs. To achieve this we will introduce a ‘Technical Baccalaureate’ in schools and colleges, comprising a gold standard vocational qualification, relevant work experience, and English and maths skills, to be achieved by the age of 18.

Meanwhile we will build a new post-18 apprenticeship and vocational education system; one through which the state and business will drive up the number of quality apprenticeships and support stronger partnerships between business, unions, vocational training providers and Further Education colleges in each sector, region and locality. Good quality apprenticeships should be fairly paid, and allow for clear learning and career progression. This includes working together with businesses and trade unions on issues such as funding and standards, and to ensure that proper training happens and apprentices receive qualifications and skills which are transferable.

We will give businesses more control over the funding and design of apprenticeships in exchange for increases in the quantity and quality of training. We need to work with business and trade unions to understand what structures they need to ensure the delivery

of the expansion in apprenticeships, training and lifelong learning we need to rebuild the economy. All these different stakeholders will need to work together to build a new skills 'ecosystem'.

High quality careers advice in schools and colleges is absolutely essential to help all young people make the right choices, and to ensure students are given quality information on academic and vocational qualifications and apprenticeships. We must also look at how to get more young women into engineering and science jobs.

Labour will ensure that every large firm that wins a major contract from the Government must commit to providing apprenticeships and training young people for high-skilled jobs. This approach will help create a new generation of skilled workers.

In order to tackle long-term unemployment and skills mismatches across the country, funding to address worklessness and skills deficits should be devolved to local areas, with LEPs and local authorities working together to create an integrated whole system approach. The replacement for the Work Programme should be commissioned at a local level, with LEPs and local authorities working together, so that we can use local expertise to help tackle unemployment.

The current Government have drastically cut funding for trade union education courses and have made clear that a future Conservative Government would abolish all such support. A Labour Government would support the maintenance of good industrial relations through courses for trade union representatives, to enable those reps to carry out their statutory functions and ensure workplaces comply with all relevant regulations including Health and Safety and employment, to support trade union members in the workplace as part of companies' internal procedures for accompaniment and for negotiation, and to assist in promoting good industrial relations

which are beneficial for productivity. To support the very valuable work that trade unions do to engage working people with low skills in learning we will support UnionLearn for the duration of the Parliament to enable UnionLearn and trade unions to put in place long-term projects which will bring 1 million people with low skills into learning. We will also support the 8.7 million working people who lack basic ICT skills by offering basic ICT skills training, and we will work with employers to enable people who need it to access the training.

## Social security and jobs

The principles of reciprocity, contribution and a proper safety net must be at the heart of our social security system. However, the Government's approach to social security has been to cut support, hitting the vulnerable. At the same time back-to-work programmes, such as the Youth Contract and the Work Programme, are failing to deliver.

The Government's welfare changes, including changes to the Social Fund and the Independent Living Fund, have hit many people hard. Decisions taken by the current Government have led to real hardship and the next Labour Government will need to act to ensure that vulnerable people are properly protected. To help achieve this Labour will repeal the Bedroom Tax, which symbolises the unfair approach the Government has taken to social security.

It is unacceptable that in the 21st Century Britain hundreds of thousands of people should be dependent on charity to avoid hunger. One Nation Labour will take action to reduce reliance on food banks. Labour will review the best way to ensure that financial or other support is available in an emergency, and the role of Jobcentre Plus and local authorities in providing this.

This failure by the Government means that instead of controlling welfare costs, it is now set to spend billions of pounds more on social

security than planned. High unemployment, particularly amongst young people, does not just increase social security costs now, but increases costs in the long-term as those out of work lose skills and contact with the workplace. Meanwhile, disabled people are suffering as a result of a flawed testing regime which focuses purely on what benefits people are entitled to, rather than on what support would help them get into work. Child poverty is also set to rise.

The rise in numbers of the working poor is a notable development under this Government. For those in work, real wages are lower than they were when the Government took office, and the taxpayer is left picking up the additional in-work benefits bill that results. And while some people want to work flexibly, too many cannot get the hours they want or are employed on insecure zero-hours contracts. At the same time, those who make a contribution too often find that it is not recognised in the system, further reducing the rewards from work.

Labour understands that controlling social security spending and putting decent values at the heart of the system are not conflicting priorities but go hand in hand. It is only by reforming social security with the right values and tackling the underlying problems in our economy that we will be able to control costs. That is why overcoming worklessness, rewarding work and tackling low pay, while investing in homes and recognising contribution, are One Nation Labour's path to reform of our social security system.

It is of serious concern that child poverty is set to rise under this Government and that almost two-thirds of children in poverty are in working households. Labour's policies on the minimum wage and tackling exploitation in the workplace will raise earnings and reduce the cost of welfare. A Labour Government will ensure that the system of in-work support builds on these positive measures to raise living standards and improve work incentives so that work offers a viable route out of poverty for all working people.

Labour supported the opportunity for simplification of the benefit system offered by Universal Credit. However, we now know that its progress is massively behind schedule, with millions of pounds of taxpayers' money written off and growing concerns about the impact on work incentives.

An incoming Labour Government will conduct a full review of Universal Credit, including whether it is delivering value for money. We will call in the National Audit Office to make sure the review's conclusions are robust. If Universal Credit goes ahead we will make major changes to help families and businesses by cutting red tape for the self-employed and making payments of benefits for children to the person who is caring for them, not just the main earner, and these changes will be funded from within the existing budget. The review will also consider the IT systems required for such a complex scheme. Labour will work to ensure the system makes work pay for both first and second earners, represents value for money, and is easy to access for the claimant. Labour will also emphasise the universality of Universal Credit as a social security scheme for the many, setting out basic citizens' entitlements in return for reciprocal commitments, and not as a project solely aimed at cutting costs.

Labour also recognises the interaction between Universal Credit and local public services. Labour will examine how it can be used to improve integration with other local advice and support services for local communities. The benefits system should not act as a disincentive for people looking to set up their own business.

Even with the Government's cuts – including the Bedroom Tax – the housing benefit bill is still rising. This is because rents, and therefore spending on housing benefit, are going up while fewer homes are being built than at any point since the 1920s. One Nation Labour recognises that building more homes is the only sustainable way to help bring rents and the housing benefit bill down. That's why a Labour Government

would give councils the power to negotiate on behalf of tenants receiving housing benefit to get lower rents, and recycle some of the benefit savings into building more homes. This approach aims to shift spending from benefits to building and bring down the long-term housing benefit bill.

The Government has also introduced a cap on the benefits a household can receive. While it is right that people should have proper incentives to work, we need a cap that works and which does not have perverse effects like increasing homelessness. So Labour would establish an independent commission to set the cap at the right level for different areas.

There has been a large increase in benefit sanctions under this Government, with reports that Jobcentre officials have been given targets for the imposition of sanctions. Labour will ensure the benefits sanctions regime is fair and transparent, with the right to appeal against unreasonable decisions, and provisions in place to ensure people are not reduced to destitution.

Only a Labour government can deliver the reform we need to ensure our social security system is fair and affordable.

The Bedroom Tax symbolises everything that's wrong with the current Government's approach to social security. While cutting taxes for millionaires, they have taken money from the poor and disabled. Labour will abolish the Bedroom Tax which is a cruel and unfair policy that disproportionately affects disabled people, many of whom have also had to deal with the Government's failure on Employment and Support Allowance and the new Personal Independence Payments.

Labour is the party of work, so our goal must be to ensure that those who can work are given the opportunity to do so. For many young people, trying to find a job is extremely difficult, and it often feels like the support simply is not there. That is why a Labour Government would introduce a fully funded compulsory jobs

guarantee for young people out of work for a year. This scheme would involve government paying the wages of participants for 25 hours a week, on at least the minimum wage. The businesses involved would be required to provide training of at least 10 hours a week. We would make the same offer to everyone aged 25 and over who have been unemployed for more than two years. These would be good quality, proper jobs, with fair terms and conditions.

Alongside this, a Labour government will ensure that young unemployed people are provided with good quality work experience placements which offer proper training, mentoring and help with a job search. Fundamental to all of this support is the need for placements to be of good quality, and not simply an opportunity for unscrupulous employers to use young people as cheap labour.

To tackle unemployment, and avoid a race to the bottom in the labour market, we must ensure jobseekers have the skills they need to find work. So the next Labour Government will ensure that every jobseeker is assessed for basic English, maths and IT skills. Anyone lacking basic skills would be offered training to improve their chances of finding a job - training that they would be required to take up.

We need to make rights a reality for disabled people and that includes supporting as many people into work as possible, while properly supporting those who cannot work.

The majority of disabled people who are able to work want to do so. There are a number of disabled people whose impairments militate against them carrying out paid employment, and this must be recognised. The last Labour Government introduced tests for the Employment and Support Allowance but it is clear that this system needs to be reformed. Labour will end the contract with ATOS and reform the Work Capability Assessment so that it focuses on the support people need to work, introduces clear penalties for providers for inaccurate assessment, and gives disabled

people a role in reviewing the operation of the test, backed up by effective support for Access to Work.

Labour will work with disabled people and disabled people's organisations to reform the discredited Work Capability Assessment to ensure it is fit for purpose. Everyone who is assessed will receive a personal statement of how their condition or impairment impacts on their ability to work, as a gateway to defining and assembling the package of support they'd need if they are able to do so.

We believe that the assessments for all types of disability benefit must be fair, accessible and transparent. We will work towards the simplest assessment process possible for the disabled person.

Labour will also introduce penalties on assessors for wrong assessments, and we will continue with the independent review process, with a formal role for disabled people to advise and inform the way assessment works.

We welcome the report of the independent Disability and Poverty taskforce produced in April 2014, and an incoming Labour Government will work with disabled people to examine how to achieve the goal of breaking the link between disability and poverty. Labour will ensure that there is support available to disabled people to meet the extra costs of disability. Labour recognises that the changes in social security have had a disproportionate impact on disabled people.

Labour believes in disabled people's right to live independently and we are working with disabled people to ensure that this right can be realised appropriately. We will investigate how best to reduce disabled people's cost of living, including by tackling the high cost of energy bills, and building on the success of Motability.

Labour recognises the success of the Work Choice programme in supporting disabled people into employment and the next Labour Government is committed to building on its strong record of delivery.

Labour will champion the use of reserved contracts in public sector procurement to increase employment opportunities for disabled people. Labour will encourage public bodies to review and consider utilising reserved contracts prior to decisions on the issuing of procurement contracts.

Labour is committed to creating good-quality and sustainable jobs for people with disabilities, in a mix of employment opportunities. We will examine the best way to achieve this including the lessons from the Remploy model, which was successful for many decades and found secure employment for thousands of disabled workers, as well as training and progressing disabled people through into employment with employers. We will look at the potential of government contracts to support supported employment schemes in a way that is better value for the taxpayer and will lower the welfare bill. We will also learn the lessons from Wales where the Welsh Assembly have set-up supported employment schemes run by disabled people for the benefit of disabled workers.

Receiving a terminal diagnosis is the worst news any of us could get. However, life does not stop at this diagnosis. Labour needs to make sure we help terminally ill people live the fullest life they can. For some people, this could mean continuing to work. Labour will work to ensure that employees facing terminal illness receive the support they need if they want to stay in work and are treated fairly in the workplace. And we will get a grip of the chaotic implementation of the Personal Independence Payment which means that too many terminally ill people are left waiting for financial support.

For those in work, who are not getting paid enough to make ends meet, we need action to tackle the cost of living crisis that is leading to higher social security bills. One Nation Labour will strengthen the National Minimum Wage, promote the living wage, and tackle the abuse of zero-hours contracts.



As well as getting people into work, and taking action to improve wages and working conditions, a social security system built on Labour's belief in the dignity of work must ensure that people are rewarded for the effort and contribution they make throughout their working lives. Labour would introduce a higher rate of Jobseeker's Allowance for those who have contributed over the years. This would be fully funded by extending the length of time people need to have worked to qualify.

To ensure that future governments tackle developing problems that risk driving up the welfare bill, planning social security spending should become a key part of each Spending Review, with a cap on structural social security spending. This will help ensure that ministers across Whitehall departments focus on the big long-term drivers of spending in the broader economy.

### **Pensions – saving for the future**

Britain's ageing population means that the next Labour Government will need to take tough choices to ensure people have an adequate standard of living in later life. This is particularly the case when around half of social security spending is spent on pensioners.

Labour will continue protecting the value of the state pension with the triple lock, rising annually by inflation, earnings or 2.5 per cent, whichever is highest. While we are committed to the principle of universalism, it can no longer be a priority to pay the winter fuel allowance to the richest five percent of pensioners at a time when money is tight. One Nation Labour will also restrict pension tax relief for the very highest earners. Labour must ensure that changes to the state pension and public sector pensions are both fair and affordable. Reviews of the retirement age must look at the impact on different groups of people, including inter and intra-regional variations and those working in the construction industry, and give people proper notice and certainty. This is particularly

important in any rise in the state pension age linked to increased life expectancy of the population generally.

Our pensions system must be based on a simple principle: that those who have worked hard, contributed to society, and played their part in our nation's success need to have this contribution recognised through a fair deal in retirement.

With the current cost of living crisis, squeezed families who struggle to put money aside need to know that the pensions into which they save offer good value for money. If we want people to save, we need to restore trust and fairness in private pensions and annuities. That means increasing transparency and making this broken market work.

Without action there is a real danger that employees will opt out of saving for a pension, fearing for good reason that they may not be getting value for money. In addition to capping pension charges, Labour will impose a legal requirement that all pension scheme providers must prioritise the interests of savers above those of shareholders. We will also lift restrictions on the state backed pension provider NEST, whose pro-saver approach has forced private providers to improve their performance to a degree, and we will change the rules to recognise that scale is important in ensuring pension schemes and trustees can negotiate the best deals for savers. In addition, Labour will require all pension providers to ensure that people saving with annuities are offered the best deal on the market.

The current Government has said that pensioners will no longer be required to purchase an annuity. Labour has asked for a full risk assessment of the Government's plans to ensure that there are no unintended consequences and costs to the public finances as a result of the changes. The decisions people take about how to use retirement savings they have built up over decades have enormous



consequences for the rest of their lives, and cannot be remade. Labour will work to protect pensioners' long-term interests and ensure fairness and security throughout life, however long people live. We also need to ensure that greater freedoms for savers are accompanied by measures to ensure that the market for retirement income products is one that works for savers.

One Nation Labour will ensure that workplace pension schemes prioritise the interests of savers. All such schemes will be required to have a fiduciary duty, and this will be enforced by trustees, backed up by a code of practice. Labour will look to guarantee basic rights of information for savers, and encourage participation to ensure that trustee boards are accountable.

In order to help more people on low pay afford pension provision we will explore how to reduce the minimum earnings threshold for auto-enrolment from the current level of the personal tax allowance (currently £10,000) to the Lower Earnings Limit (currently £5,772). Labour recognises the important role that the minimum income guarantee has played since 2003 reducing pensioner poverty by two thirds, and welcomes that this policy remains in place today. We continue to support the introduction of the single tier pension and recognise that the minimum income guarantee will continue so that those who do not have the requisite qualifying years or who have already retired, do not fall into hardship. Labour recognises that the switch to the Consumer Price Index as the index used to uprate the state and public sector pensions has left pensioners worse off over the past few years. Defined Contribution schemes should have meaningful employee representation on governance boards, involving recognised trade unions, and membership representation in the governance of pension funds should be strengthened and modernised across all pension funds in the UK.

A Labour Government will properly review Local Government Pension Schemes and explore the merits of merging funds to improve performance via the application of economies of scale increasing returns to members, and look at ways in which member representation, fund-management and governance can be strengthened increasing returns to members, and assess the scope for any further savings that are realised by greater scale to be retained and distributed to the benefit of employers and scheme members. The fiduciary duties of administering authorities must also be clarified and put beyond doubt.

We will also consider the case for a specific cost of living index relevant to the spending of pensioners.

Labour believes there is a compelling case for action to allow employees to choose to save into collective defined contribution pensions. A collective scheme means that, instead of your income in retirement being determined by the position of your investments and the wider economy on the day you retire, the risks of unpredictable investment returns are shared and smoothed among all active and retired members of the scheme. Labour believes that enabling risks and rewards to be shared among individual savers and across generations appeals to the principles of fairness and solidarity that run deep in the UK. However, such schemes do expose people to a different set of risks so it will be vitally important that they are subject to robust governance mechanisms, which the next Labour Government will ensure are in place.

**Further reading**

‘One Nation Economy’, The Labour Party, September 2013

‘Protecting workers: Including the role of agency workers, the living wage, and the Gangmasters Licensing Authority’, Work and Business Policy Commission, 2013

‘Vocational Education, apprenticeships and the role of job guarantees in tackling youth unemployment’, Work and Business Policy Commission, 2013

‘Pensions people can trust’, Labour’s Policy Review, 2013

‘Something for Something: Supporting Britain’s Older Workers’, Labour’s Policy Review, 2013

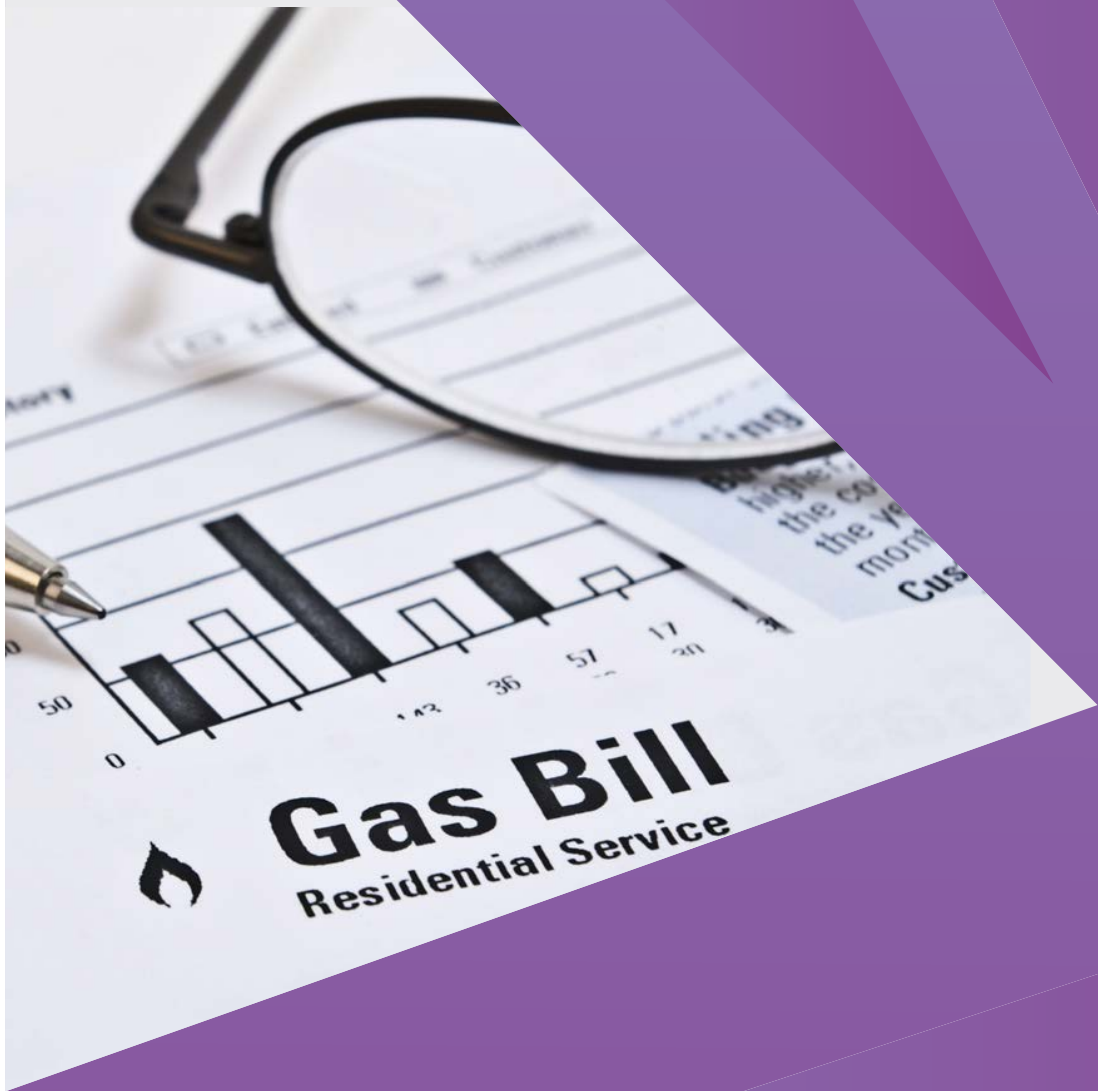
‘Speech: A One Nation Plan for Social Security Reform’, Ed Miliband, 2013

‘Speech by Ed Miliband to the TUC’, Ed Miliband, 2013

‘Speech: Rebuilding Britain with a One Nation economy’, Ed Miliband, 2014

‘Speech: A One Nation Approach to Social Security - Taking the Next Steps’, Rachel Reeves, 2014





**LIVING STANDARDS AND  
SUSTAINABILITY  
FINAL YEAR POLICY  
DOCUMENT**

# LIVING STANDARDS AND SUSTAINABILITY

## Introduction

The costs of everyday essentials that people depend on are rising faster than wages. This has been happening for month after month since the current Government took office. We have seen rail fares, energy bills and food prices soar, making it harder to cover the household basics, let alone save for the future. These increasing costs have very real consequences for families around Britain. Parents are skipping meals so that their children don't have to go without, while pensioners stay in bed to keep warm, because they can't afford to heat their homes. People are finding themselves in a position where they have to turn down education and employment opportunities because they cannot afford the cost of commuting.

But instead of working to find solutions to the cost of living crisis, the Government has consistently stood up for the wrong people. Rather than the reform of markets and institutions that is needed to protect the public interest, they have taken the side of vested interests, such as big energy companies and transport operators.

Tackling the cost of living crisis will be a central mission for a One Nation Labour Government. It will mean building a new economy that re-establishes the link between the success of the country as a whole, and the success of Britain's working families. A One Nation response will also mean devolving power to help people and communities shape their services, actively engage in markets and achieve better value for the prices they pay. The next Labour Government will use radical solutions to tackle broken markets for essential goods like energy, water and transport, and work to achieve a better deal for consumers not just in the short term, but in the future too.

The One Nation economy we aim to build must be a low carbon economy. The current Government has set out a false choice between reducing carbon emissions and strengthening our economy. Labour believes that the two

go hand in hand, and we are committed to decarbonising the power sector by 2030. Greening our economy will create much needed jobs and support growth, ensure the long term sustainability of our communities and markets, and help us to tackle the urgent risk of dangerous climate change.

## Transport

The rising cost of transport is a central part of the cost of living crisis created by the current Government. People across the country are suffering from eye-watering fare increases on buses and rail, and a reduction in the quantity and quality of local bus services. This has been allowed to happen because the Government have repeatedly stood up for the companies who operate rail and bus services, rather than the passengers who use the services.

The next Labour Government will take action to fix the broken markets in public transport; tackling rising transport costs and bringing decisions on transport provision closer to the communities who use the services. Unlike the current Government, Labour recognises that affordable transport is vital to community and family life, as well as to the economy. We stand for an integrated and accessible transport network across all modes - by road, rail, air and sea, for passengers and freight – which protects the environment and includes planning to support cycling and walking.

Some of the policies in this document were developed through the Policy Commission's earlier consultation, "Our buses and railways: giving communities more of a say". The resulting policy paper was published at Annual Conference in 2013.

## Accessibility

Labour will require all providers of public transport to provide a service that meets the needs of disabled people. Labour will retain the Disabled Persons Transport Advisory Committee as the expert advisory panel on

accessibility issues relating to disabled people, ensuring all stakeholders, including trade unions, are represented on the committee.

We will address the frustration and lack of independence which many passengers with disabilities face when using public transport. We will work directly with disability organisations to enhance access for all on public transport. During the next Parliament, the Labour Government will act to increase accessibility to our public transport network, including a strategy and timetable for step-free and other disabled access to railway and underground stations and trains, and by setting a date by which all trains and buses will have audio-visual announcement systems. We will also ensure the highest possible level of accessibility will form part of all new transport projects and contracts. Unfortunately the Government is not taking this approach in regards to Crossrail; therefore Labour will explore what more can be done to address this within the existing project budget.

### **Safer streets**

Traffic accidents are higher in more disadvantaged and urban areas (particularly amongst children and outside schools) and are the leading cause of death in children aged over five. We will encourage local authorities to introduce 20 mph limits in urban areas where appropriate to encourage the reclaiming of our streets by pedestrians and cyclists, and ensure that disabled people can travel safely. Labour will explore extending the Active Travel (Wales) Act 2013 to England. We will develop a National Cycling Action Plan. Working with local authorities, we will take urgent steps to reduce the air pollution caused by road traffic, and in particular by diesel engines. We will take action to reduce road deaths and injuries, particularly among young drivers.

### **Creating better, accountable, safer and more affordable public transport**

Many passengers feel that key decisions about transport provision are made by unaccountable and centralised bodies and not by those who use the services. When it comes to deciding on the frequency or route of the services or on how much they cost, passengers' views are not at the forefront of consideration.

A One Nation Labour government will empower communities and individuals who use services, with a stronger say in shaping them. We will transfer responsibility for local transport decisions including some controls over transport fares and the frequency of services to elected and accountable transport authorities and partnerships. In doing so we will work towards creating a more integrated transport network, where transport operators work together to create better services for passengers. We will encourage local transport authorities to move towards the adoption of smart ticketing which should be integrated across all forms of transport. Where such systems are adopted, we will take steps to ensure that passengers can access and top up tickets at local ticket outlets and not only by electronic machines or by using the internet.

We will look to ensure that public transport is available to assist working people with their journeys to and from work wherever possible, including late at night, in early mornings and at weekends when increasing numbers of people now have to work. Labour recognises that many people, especially women, need to use public transport but do not feel safe doing so. Labour will ensure that safety considerations on buses and trains and at bus stops and train stations are prioritised to make public transport as safe as possible.

Safety is a key concern in transport and the health and safety of transport users is closely linked to the health and safety of transport workers. Labour will prevent a 'race to the bottom' through stronger regulation and proper



enforcement of driving, working and duty hours, including investigating the abuse of Working Time Regulations “through periods of availability”.

### **Improving local bus services**

Communities are not served well by the current unregulated bus industry. Fares have been rising, services have been cut, and passenger numbers are falling. The exception is in London, where an accountable transport authority is able to make decisions on fares and routes, and ensure that the network meets the needs of passengers and communities in the capital.

Local authorities outside of London currently face a number of challenges when they try to provide the services that local passengers need. Labour will ensure that current disincentives are removed to protect local democracy, and we will take steps to stop vested interests from blocking measures that would create better bus services for communities. We will legislate to give local authorities more powers to create a better bus network. We will make it easier for them to implement ‘Quality Contracts’ as set out in ‘Empowering Communities to Improve Transport’, allowing them to deliver better outcomes for passengers and to create an integrated transport network throughout their communities, including rural communities. This will allow them to deliver better outcomes for passengers, regulate fares and improve bus services across communities. Labour will look to ensure there is a ‘race to the top’ on standards for passengers and workers throughout the country.

Bus funding is too fragmented. It makes little sense for the Department for Transport to continue funding bus operators directly without requiring improvements in the service they offer to passengers and protecting minimum standards. Labour will explore how more decisions on how bus funding is spent can be brought closer to communities.

### **Creating a fairer rail network**

Since the late 1990s there has been significant investment in the railways and passenger numbers have grown sharply. But it is now clear that the rail system is not delivering a fair deal for passengers or the taxpayer, almost 20 years on from the botched privatisation of the railways. Both public subsidy and fares are higher than in other countries, and there is no ‘guiding mind’ overseeing the railways, planning investment and ensuring results. We have also seen a chaotic franchising process in recent years that has cost millions. Tory dogma on privatisation has been put before passengers and public interest. Despite East Coast working successfully in public hands, it has been prevented from running lines. We now have a situation where you can be a European public rail company and run lines but our own British publicly-owned operator is unable to run lines in the future. We need a different approach that puts the public interest first, reverses the presumption against the public sector and that properly services the passenger.

To tackle these problems the next Labour Government will promise in its manifesto to:

- Review this Government’s failed franchising process as a priority, after the chaos of recent years, to safeguard taxpayers and passengers interests and put in place a system that is fit for purpose.
- Learn the lessons of East Coast, where we have seen the benefits of a not-for-dividend operator running rail lines, by legislating to allow a public sector operator to be able to take on lines and challenge the train operators on a genuinely level playing field in the public interest to secure value for money for passengers and taxpayers.
- Use cooperative principles to ensure that passenger and employee involvement within transport delivery is increased giving them a much greater say in the industry in order to

bring about democratic renewal and increased local accountability and explore cooperative and mutual solutions.

- Devolve decisions over the running of regional and local services, including to Scotland and Wales, so that areas can bring together trains, buses, ferries and trams into a single network.
- Tackle the monopoly market for rail rolling stock by giving Network Rail greater responsibility for developing a long term plan for procurement and leasing of new rolling stock.
- Create a single guiding mind for the railways, bringing Network Rail together with a new representative passenger rail body to contract routes, co-ordinate services and skills in the industry, oversee stations, fares and ticketing, and ensure customer satisfaction across the network.
- Ease the pressure on fare payers with the efficiencies these reforms release and by capping annual fare rises on every route, simplifying fare structures and creating a new legal right to the cheapest ticket.

We will strengthen the resilience of our transport network, resulting in less disruption to services during adverse weather and recognising that a resolution is needed to the recurrent problems for Somerset, Plymouth and Cornwall.

### **Delivering affordable rail travel**

British rail passengers pay the highest rail fares in Europe, for both day returns and season tickets, with many tickets costing up to four times more than in other countries. Under the current Government, season tickets have risen by 20 per cent.

The last Labour Government ended the practice of TOCs utilising the ‘flex’ mechanism that allowed them to increase regulated rail fares by up to five per cent above the supposed national cap on annual fare rises. However,

the current Government reversed this policy in 2010, allowing TOCs to once again increase fares on some routes above the national rate.

Labour will tackle the increasing cost of train travel by removing this ‘flex’ on fare rises. Instead, we will introduce a strict cap on annual fare increases across all routes. We will also introduce a new right for passengers always to be offered the cheapest ticket for their journey. Furthermore Labour will take steps to ensure that the costs of single fares are lower than the cost of return fares.

### **Building a connected transport system**

The transport network has a large part to play in delivering economic success for our country as well as meeting our commitment to carbon targets. Therefore the decisions the next government will have to make on large transport infrastructure projects will be vitally important. These will include how we develop our road network to better serve drivers as well as haulage firms, what decisions we take in relation to the outcome of the UK’s independent Airports Commission, the development of high speed rail, and how to integrate our ports into our country’s international transport strategy.

Current investment in transport includes considerable regional disparity. Labour will ensure a fair system of transport funding is introduced. Labour recognises investment in transport infrastructure and the connection of major transport hubs as an integral part of creating a more equitable and sustainable economy.

Labour will devolve decisions on running of regional and local services so that areas can better integrate trains, buses, ferries and trams. These bodies will be best placed to work with their communities and deliver the transport system that is best suited to the need of their residents, such as urban rail transit systems. In return for these powers Labour will ensure that authorities give passengers, staff and communities a real say in the provision of local services.

Labour would grant sub-national bodies greater control over transport spends to deliver local priorities. Labour would also require strategic highways authorities to work with sub-regional bodies through a legally binding duty to co-operate to improve integration between local and strategic roads and deliver a better national road network.

We will create a national infrastructure plan that will bring all of the large scale transport developments together to create an integrated transport model. In 2012 Labour commissioned Sir John Armit to undertake a review of long-term infrastructure planning in the UK. More detail on our approach to national infrastructure can be found in the Stability and Prosperity section.

High Speed 2 is an important project that will help to solve capacity problems that passengers currently face. However the building programme has been mismanaged and costs have risen excessively. Labour supports High Speed 2 however we will not issue a blank cheque for the project. The Government must get the project back on track, and regain control of the budget ensuring value for money is delivered for both the tax payers and passengers alike.

For High Speed 2 to truly achieve its full potential in terms of reducing transport carbon emissions, it is essential that rail freight is considered when looking at the many new paths which will become available on the East Coast and West Coast Mainlines. The last Labour Government recognised the environmental and economic benefit of getting more freight on to rail and this work must continue. Labour supports continued investment in the Strategic Freight Network to electrify key routes as well as ensuring gauge clearance to allow higher capacity and longer trains on paths to key ports and diversionary routes. It also believes that access charges for rail freight must be set at a reasonable rate to ensure that competition with other models is fair.

Labour will ensure that High Speed 2 will create new apprenticeship and job opportunities. More information on our policies to support the creation of new jobs can be found in the Work and Business section.

In addition to Crossrail and Thameslink upgrades Labour supports ongoing investment in London's transport infrastructure to boost growth and jobs in the capital and to ensure a sustainable future for the city's economy.

### **Encouraging safer cycling**

This Government has failed to promote and develop cycling. One of their first acts was to close Cycling England – the independent body to promote cycling – and abandon the Cycling Towns and Cities initiatives which the last Labour Government introduced.

The next Labour Government will take steps to promote cycling by making it safer and more accessible. We will set national standards to cut deaths and serious injuries, and take steps to ensure that large vehicles are adequately equipped to reduce the risk of collision. We will also ensure children and young people are educated in cycle safety.

## **Energy**

The energy market is broken, and ordinary consumers are suffering as a result. Since 2010, household energy bills have increased by over £300, and a typical small business owner has seen their energy costs rise by more than £13,000. These rising bills have contributed to a cost of living crisis for ordinary people. They are a symptom of an uncompetitive market where a lack of transparency, regulation and competition has allowed the 'Big Six' energy companies to dominate the market, leaving customers paying over the odds. The Government has consistently failed to stand up to the big energy companies, or to take action to deliver a fairer deal for consumers. As a result, the energy market has not been reformed and energy bills have soared.

Labour's energy policy will tackle rising bills and reform the market so that it works for ordinary people, as well as securing a sustainable and low carbon supply of energy for Britain.

### **Reforming the energy market and freezing bills**

In the UK, the market is dominated by the 'Big Six' energy companies, from whom 97 per cent of households buy their energy. These companies also dominate the generation of energy, with individuals and communities owning less than ten per cent of generation capacity. Smaller energy companies find it difficult to compete because of the way the market is structured.

A Labour government will reset the market so that it works in the interests of consumers. Labour will break the stranglehold of the 'Big Six' energy companies by ring-fencing their generation and supply businesses, and forcing them to buy and sell their energy through an open exchange. During the implementation of any changes to the Big Six resulting from Labour's proposals, we will take steps to safeguard existing jobs and ensure that energy companies can continue to invest in the industry to sustain and create jobs for the future, with good terms and conditions for employees.

We will also require energy companies to open up their books and provide information on their trading activities and their retail and generation businesses. This will make the market more transparent and competitive, and open it up to alternative forms of ownership and generation, such as community energy.

Labour will support different models of energy generation and ownership to ensure long term sustainability, security, fairness and affordability. This will include a range of possibilities including co-operative, mutual and municipal models. Labour will also support further

development of community owned renewable energy. This will include exploring the potential for direct delivery of community owned generation into homes and businesses, ensuring the regulatory environment supports the development of this sector, and championing local innovation and best practice to prove the concept.

In order to ensure the supply of secure, safe, continuous, environmentally friendly and affordable electricity, a Labour government would implement a long term and sustained energy infrastructure investment programme as well as a national skills programme. This would ensure a truly balanced energy programme based on indigenous fuel including renewables, nuclear, coal and gas through carbon capture and storage. Labour will also ensure that investment in low carbon energy includes investment in research into energy storage and transmission.

To make it easier for consumers to switch and exercise their market power, we will also introduce new, simpler tariff structures, making it easier for consumers to compare prices. And we will create a new, tougher regulator to protect the interests of consumers and ensure they get a fair deal from the energy market.

In order to protect consumers while we carry out this reform, we will freeze energy prices until 2017, saving the average household £120.

It is a national disgrace that fuel poverty has increased sharply under this Government and now well over two million households are in fuel poverty, often facing a cruel choice between heating and eating. A Labour government will look at ways to support pensioners, households with a disabled person, families receiving Child Tax Credit and other vulnerable households with insulating their homes and improving heating systems where this is needed. A Labour government will also tackle the unfair practice of energy companies charging higher tariffs for those on pre-paid meters. Additionally, we

will ensure that customers can switch suppliers easily by rolling out the world's most advanced programme of smart metering, bringing energy into the digital era.

Together, these changes will create a genuinely competitive market that works for Britain's families and businesses. They will also underpin a new settlement whereby government takes greater responsibility for enabling the investment that will guarantee our energy for generations to come, and bring much needed jobs and growth to Britain.

Labour's proposals for reform of the energy market are set out in more detail in our energy Green Paper, "Powering Britain: One Nation Labour's plans to reset the energy market".

### **Energy efficiency**

One of the most effective ways to reduce energy bills, while also meeting our carbon reduction objectives, is to reduce the amount of energy we use. Investing in energy efficiency measures is a key way to do this. However, we must make sure we do it in the most cost-effective way possible.

The Coalition's Green Deal scheme has been a failure. The scheme was designed to encourage households to take out loans to finance energy efficiency measures, which they then paid back with the savings they had made in their energy bills. However, high interest rates and hidden charges mean that many households would have ended up paying more than they saved. Consequently, one year after the Green Deal launched, only 626 households had had measures installed, and the number of households getting loft, cavity and solid wall insulations has fallen dramatically.

Meanwhile, the Energy Company Obligation (ECO) was introduced by the current Government to replace Labour's energy efficiency schemes but has proved inefficient and bureaucratic.

A Labour government will ensure that every scheme and intervention that is funded by

either the consumer or taxpayer is as energy-reducing and cost-effective as possible. We will radically reform the ECO and the Green Deal and change the way they are delivered, by using area-based programmes led by local authorities in partnership with business. This area-based approach will require a national strategy delivered via local areas. The approach must deal with existing properties as well as new builds, with clear standards applying. The comprehensive uprating of the energy deficiency of Britain's vast stock of insufficiently insulated homes will be a priority. An ambitious national programme will bring down costs, deliver better value for money, and reduce the pressure on household energy bills, helping to address fuel poverty and reduce energy demand. In addition, an area-based approach, led by local organisations, will open up access to delivery contracts to small and medium sized energy efficiency installers, and will incorporate a substantial energy literacy training component. These local installers will be incentivised to train and employ a high proportion of young people, to create a new generation of technicians able to retro-fit energy conservation and low carbon measures that will reduce household bills and reduce the country's carbon footprint. A Labour government will also support community energy as a way to increase the provision of cheaper, greener energy. The Green Investment Bank will play a role in supporting these measures.

Our Green Paper on energy efficiency will set out these measures in more detail.

Labour is committed to building the new homes our communities need, and the Stronger, Safer Communities section of the Final Year Policy Consultation explores how we will build the next generation of energy efficient homes.

### **Water**

Water bills are another major contributor to the cost of living crisis. British customers face some of the highest water bills in Europe, and 11 per



cent of households across England and Wales currently spend more than five per cent of their income on water. Last year, the regional water companies made £1.9 billion pre-tax profit, and paid out £1.8 billion to shareholders, rather than funding investment. But despite David Cameron's repeated promises, this Government have failed to take any real action to help households struggling with water bills.

A One Nation Labour government, prepared to take on vested interests, will deliver a new deal with the water companies. We will reform the industry so that it works in the interest of consumers.

We will require water companies to publish annual information, including corporate structure and levels of investment, ownership, taxation and dividends paid to shareholders, the development of the workforce, and enable Ofwat to use this information on corporate standards to evaluate whether to require companies to cut bills. We will also fully scrutinise the role and function of Ofwat.

We will require all water companies to support a national affordability scheme to help those who are struggling to pay their bills, and include clearer information with bills about the help available to customers. We will strengthen Ofwat's powers to cut bills, and we will tackle the failure of water companies to take action to address non-payment by those who can afford to pay but choose not to, which Ofwat estimates adds an average of £15 to the annual bill of every customer.

The issue of flooding is covered below in the section 'Climate Change and a Low Carbon Future'.

## Ensuring Long Term Sustainability

Climate change is one of the greatest challenges facing the world today. The last Labour Government led the world with our Climate Change Act, and committed to legally binding

five year carbon reduction targets. However, under the current Government, Britain has fallen behind. David Cameron promised to lead the 'greenest government ever'. But he has appointed climate-sceptics to his Cabinet and ignored the advice of the Committee on Climate Change, refusing to set a target for decarbonisation of the power sector by 2030.

The next Labour Government will take our responsibility to act on climate change seriously. We will continue to take an ambitious approach as we tackle climate change and promote a sustainable future for Britain and the world.

### Climate change and a low carbon future

Given the challenge of climate change, our energy policy must reflect the need to decarbonise our energy supply in order to meet future emissions targets, as well as securing our future supply and creating jobs through increased investment. The next Labour Government will set and stick to legally binding and ambitious targets – including the decarbonisation of the power sector by 2030. We are also committed to the full implementation of carbon budgets, and to the current Fourth Carbon Budget, which covers the period 2023-27, and commits the UK to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 32 per cent in 2025 on 2012 levels (50 per cent on 1990 levels).

Labour recognises that the UK's heavy industries are some of the most carbon-efficient in the world and that supporting these industries is vital to reducing global emissions and preventing carbon leakage.

In order to meet twin goals of securing a low carbon supply and keeping energy bills as low as possible, we need to achieve an energy mix which includes renewables, nuclear and carbon capture and storage, which is vitally important for the future of coal. Gas has a role to play in a future balanced energy mix, within carbon budgets. However, gas fracking will not lead to the kind of impact on energy prices in Britain



that the Government has predicted. Shale gas is not a silver bullet, and there are important regulatory and environmental questions which must be answered if extraction is to begin.

Shale gas cannot come at the expense of our climate change commitments and Labour will ensure that the development of shale gas in the UK only takes place in a robust, safe and environmentally sustainable framework which commands public trust and goes hand in hand with support for renewables projects and carbon capture and storage projects. Announcing blanket tax breaks before we know how much shale gas is actually recoverable, before anyone even has a license to extract it and before anyone even knows whether fracking needs tax incentives, makes no sense at all.

Refining plays a crucial part in UK infrastructure and provides vital support to our chemical industry and the whole economy. The security of that resource must be safeguarded. The work to secure the long term future of the UK's oil industry must include engaging with all key stakeholders, including unions, regulators and industry representatives.

To help businesses have the confidence they need to invest in low carbon energy in Britain, we will set out a clear long-term policy framework, boosting the green economy by framing regulation in the right way, and using government procurement imaginatively. We will continue the new system of 'contract for difference' being introduced through the Energy Act. Additionally, a Labour government will create an Energy Security Board to plan for and deliver on our low carbon energy needs.

Action at home should be matched by leadership internationally, to push for agreement on steps that all countries must take to manage the impact of climate change.

Labour will explore further action in Europe to promote better competition in energy and other markets. We will actively engage in developing

the EU 2030 framework for climate and energy policies and in reforming the European energy market to ensure it delivers for British families and businesses. Labour recognises the contribution of EU carbon reduction targets and will continue to support an ambitious EU emissions reduction target of at least 40 per cent by 2030, and encourage investment in energy efficiency, renewables, nuclear and carbon capture and storage.

Britain's work within the international community is discussed in the Britain's Global Role section.

The Committee on Climate Change has asserted that with the effects of climate change, the risk of flooding is increasing. But the Government has downgraded flood protection as a priority and undermined Labour's work when in office to protect homes and businesses from the increasing risk of flooding. A Labour government will reprioritise flood protection.

## Supporting Rural Communities

The cost of living crisis cuts across different social groups, professions, and parts of the country. In rural communities and 'non-city Britain' the crisis is often deeper, with wages falling and energy, transport and housing costs rising more rapidly than in other areas of the country. This Government has failed to support these communities, for example abolishing the Agricultural Wages Board, which set a minimum wage for agricultural workers. This is not just damaging to living standards of rural and agricultural workers, it is threatening rural communities and the rural economy. Labour's plans for agricultural workers and the Gangmasters Licensing Authority are covered in the Work and Business section.

One Nation Labour in government will work effectively for our rural, coastal, small and market town communities, addressing their specific needs and ensuring that our policies

work for all of Britain, not just those living in cities. Labour will pay Winter Fuel Payments earlier for pensioners using off-grid energy, allowing them to purchase their energy at lower summer prices and store up supplies for the winter. If Labour were in government now, we would switch £75 million from the SuperConnect Cities programme into the Digital Inclusion Fund to close the broadband access gap between city and non-city Britain.

We will also work with employers to challenge low pay in rural economies, and we will tackle the cost of doing business in rural areas by freezing business rates and energy bills for small and medium enterprises (SMEs). As one of the biggest employers in the country, the food industry creates many opportunities for employment and skills. Labour will work with the industry to raise the profile of career opportunities in food, and we will help SMEs and food businesses access the investment they need to expand and train. Labour will also promote local produce through procurement, for both government and those who contract for government. We will encourage schools and hospitals, local authorities and agencies funded by government to source more food from local and regional British producers.

The decline in rural services has been well documented. Rural cooperatives such as community owned shops, post offices and pubs, and other social enterprises, can be the only viable alternative for communities looking to retain or reintroduce a service in areas of market failure. Labour will empower communities to make the best use of their existing rights. Recognising the real challenges and barriers that communities face in doing this, Labour will also explore what more needs to be done to ensure communities have the time, space and support to retain vital community assets.

Affordable housing is a particular problem in rural communities. The Stronger Safer Communities Final Year Policy Consultation addresses this issue in detail.

## Food Safety and Standards

Given rising prices, stagnant wages, and the advent of a nutritional recession in which families are being forced to buy cheaper, less nutritious food, food policy will be one of the greatest challenges of the 21st century. The growing number of food banks in Britain has highlighted this sharply, and the horsemeat scandal has raised serious questions about our complex food supply chain.

The growth of food poverty in the UK is unacceptable in one of the richest countries in the world. Emergency food aid should be just that, and Labour is clear that the existence of food banks is not an alternative to a fair economy or a decent social security system. A Labour government will work to eliminate hunger and reduce dependency on food banks and establish cross-governmental working to ensure that all those living in the UK have access to sufficient and healthy food.

After the 2010 election, the Government split up the Food Standards Agency (FSA), hiving off responsibility for food composition labelling to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, nutritional labelling to the Department of Health, and leaving the FSA responsible for food safety labelling. This created a fragmented regulator that struggled to deal with the horsemeat scandal. Labour will examine how we can restore trust in our food system by ensuring an effective role for the FSA to speak up for consumers and ensure our food is safe.

Labour will give proper consideration to the European Commission study on how to improve the quality of information to consumers. The horsemeat scandal showed how important it is to protect the human food chain. The next Labour Government will give proper consideration to the Elliot Review recommendations on food fraud and authenticity. Food wholesomeness requires appropriate regulation of food businesses.

Issues around public health and diet are addressed in the Health and Care Final Year Policy Consultation.

## Animal Welfare

Animal welfare is of great concern to the public and One Nation Labour believes that cruelty to animals and unnecessary animal suffering is wrong and should be brought to an end.

The Labour Party has a proud record on animal welfare. The last Labour Government banned fur farming, made it illegal to hunt wild mammals with dogs and ended cosmetic testing on animals. The next Labour Government will build on our previous achievements on animal welfare and make it a priority for Defra and across government

Amongst other measures, Labour will consider reviewing the breeding practices of the pet industry, including introducing measures to address cruelty in the breeding of puppies and kittens. Labour will also explore measures to promote responsible pet ownership including better education about which species would make suitable pets. Labour will review the £17m subsidy to gun license holders, raising the fee for licenses, with a view to move towards full cost recovery. We will also consider measures to address the trade in exotic pets, and to reduce the testing of household products on animals. When slaughtering animals for food, their welfare must be paramount.

The Government has pursued a misguided and unscientific badger cull. The Labour Party supports an evidence-based approach to bovine TB to tackle this devastating disease. We need a coherent plan to eradicate TB through vaccination of both badgers and cattle, together with tougher rules on the movement of livestock.

## The Natural Environment

The current Government has set back efforts to protect Britain's wildlife and natural environment, and sought to undermine Labour achievements in office on animal welfare. They have threatened a vote on the repeal of the hunting ban, made a shameful attempt to sell off the nation's forests, and questioned environmental legislation which has given us cleaner beaches, better air quality, and protected our wildlife.

Air pollution is a serious health and environmental problem. We will work with local authorities to ensure the UK begins to meet EU targets on air quality. The last Labour Government committed to introducing fundamental change in environment policy. Instead of focussing on individual species or habitats we aspired to take an approach based upon whole ecosystems. We commissioned the UK's National Ecosystem Assessment which has established that 30 per cent of the UK's ecosystems are in decline and many others only just holding their own against an increasingly hostile background of rising population, consumption and pollution. We will protect Britain's natural environment, right to roam and wildlife for future generations.

Labour recognises the importance of community green spaces. A Labour government will work to improve access to and quality of green spaces, and will encourage greater public participation and civic responsibility in the development and protection of green spaces. Labour will put in place the right institutional and policy framework to ensure that we can meet our climate change and environmental commitments. A Labour government will consider placing the Natural Capital Committee on a permanent basis. The provisions of the NPPF to protect and enhance biodiversity will be implemented. We will encourage the preservation and creation of habitats to improve biodiversity.

**Further reading**

‘The Armit Review’, Sir John Armit, 2013

‘Empowering communities to improve transport’, Labour’s Policy Review, 2012

‘Feeding the Nation’, Labour’s Policy Review, 2013

‘Our Buses and Railways; giving communities more of a say’, Living Standards and Sustainability Policy Commission, 2013

‘Powering Britain: One Nation Labour’s plans to reset the energy market’, The Labour Party, 2013





**STRONGER, SAFER  
COMMUNITIES  
FINAL YEAR POLICY  
DOCUMENT**



# STRONGER, SAFER COMMUNITIES

## Introduction

In Britain today, many families experience a sense of insecurity and powerlessness, with the things they value most under real pressure. Their local communities changing without their voice being heard, the dream of a secure family home moving further out of reach, while anti-social behaviour on their streets goes ignored. The task of the next Labour government is to put that right. For example, by empowering communities to build the homes they need, to decide what their local high street should look like, or to work with police in each neighbourhood to prioritise what matters most to those that live there.

Rather than empowering communities, the Government's 'big society' rhetoric has given way to a simplistic, smaller state goal that increasingly leaves people to deal with the pressure they face alone. Communities see Police retreating to their cars, no action to tackle abuse of tenants in the private rented sector, and far from power being passed down to local government-the centralisation of decision making in Whitehall.

In an era when there is less money around, One Nation Labour will need a different approach, with a vision for a new kind of state; one which devolves both power and responsibility. We won't be able to simply spend more money to insulate families from these pressures, but neither do we accept that tighter fiscal circumstances simply mean we must leave people to sink or swim. We will only succeed in tough times if we harness all the energies in our society.

The next Labour government will build a society in which everyone feels they have a stake, and in which everyone, from top to bottom, plays their part and takes responsibility. One Nation Labour in government will work together with local areas to build stronger, healthier and safer communities where everyone can thrive and no one is left behind.

Across the country, this will mean power being devolved to help local people help themselves. Communities and local government should not feel that payday lenders have more control over their high street than they do, and it is time they had a say in whether high-stakes gambling machines have a place in their neighbourhood. Putting that right and backing communities to stand up to powerful vested interests will be core to One Nation Labour's agenda. That includes tackling the abuse of migrant labour that can undercut local workers. Labour will manage the impact of immigration in a way that works for all, and not just for some.

Our criminal justice system also needs to be reshaped around the needs of ordinary people. Police in every neighbourhood, with local people having a say about what matters most in their area, and a new approach that puts victims at the heart of how we ensure justice is delivered are the core elements of our agenda.

We must take a new approach to getting the homes we need built in Britain. Families worry that their children will never have a decent home, but we have a government that has overseen the lowest numbers of homes built in peacetime since the 1920s. The next Labour Government will put that right by tackling the barriers to local communities getting the homes they need.

## Housing

Britain is in the midst of the biggest housing crisis in a generation. The gap between the number of homes we build and the number of homes people need is unprecedented, at over 100,000 each year. If unchecked, the overall gap between housing supply and need is set to rise to two million by 2020. This housing shortage means that more and more working people will be unable to afford the homes they aspire to. Home ownership is becoming impossible for millions of people and pushing ever greater numbers into an insecure and expensive rental market.

Communities up and down the country have been dealing with this reality, but have been powerless against developers who have a stake in keeping housing supply below demand, and politicians that are unwilling to take the tough decisions needed to build the homes we need.

Labour will take the steps necessary in order to create a fairer housing market. We will work to build the homes that Britain needs across all tenures, including a new generation of social and affordable housing, while driving up housing standards and bringing security to what is an unpredictable sector.

#### **The Lyons Housing Review**

Britain is in a housing crisis. Demand for new homes is rising and the numbers of home completions are falling. Labour is committed to tackle this Government's failure and build the homes our communities need. The next Labour Government will build at least 200,000 new homes a year by 2020. The Lyons review will make proposals on how a Labour government can release the land that is needed to build these homes, ensuring that local authorities and developers work closer in partnership than they do at present as well as providing authorities that want to build new homes but find themselves restricted the 'right to grow'. The Lyons review is looking at ways to ensure that local authorities have the support and resources they need in order to build the next generation of social and affordable homes.

#### **Building new homes**

While Labour support Help to Buy, it should be reformed so that it supports first time buyers rather than those who purchase homes that are valued as much as £600,000. The priority should be 'Help to Build' to ensure that the goal of building at least 200,000 homes a year by 2020 is delivered. We should see progress towards that from day one of a Labour government and it should include significant

volume of affordable housing. Development Corporations and local economic development should also support supply side expansion and demand in the wider economy. Apprenticeships, re-skilling existing unemployed construction workers, local labour schemes and employment law changes will create much needed direct employment.

The next Labour government will build at least 200,000 homes a year of which many will be social homes for rent, with increased building taking place from the beginning of the Parliament as a priority and focusing on developing brownfield sites.

To address the widening gap between supply and need, Labour will ensure that social housing stock numbers are protected by genuinely requiring an additional home for social rent to be built for any sold under Right to Buy in the same local area. This will require a changed approach that recognises that tackling the housing waiting lists requires an emphasis on social homes for rent. We will monitor the operation of Right to Buy in order to assess the impact of the supply on affordable housing and empower local authorities to manage their housing stock better. Tenancies in the social sector need to be genuinely affordable, which is not the case under so-called 'Affordable Rent' tenure which cannot continue in its current form. This will deliver well-designed affordable homes for young people trying to get on the housing ladder, for families trying to put down roots, and for older people trying to downsize.

Labour believes building and refurbishing homes to high quality of design, accessibility and environmental standards is essential. Labour will promote Lifetime Home Standards, to support the building of accessible housing. Labour also remains committed to a genuine zero carbon homes standard which is important both to combat fuel poverty as well as to meet urgent climate change targets. In Britain and in Europe, Labour will champion strict energy

efficiently standards for both housing and other buildings. Labour will also encourage new homes and buildings to be able to generate their own energy feeding into the national grid.

Labour local authorities are leading the way in building the next generation of social homes. Labour recognises the important role council housing can play in solving the housing crisis. We will support local authorities who want to build more social homes, and encourage those who are not building to do so.

We will reform the Housing Revenue Account system to better enable councils to build new homes to their maximum potential, and to improve existing homes. This will help reduce the housing benefit bill, freeing up funds for more social housing. We will also ensure that communities receive a larger share of the gains from developments.

In addition, councils will be empowered within the prudential code to build houses and provide support to acquire neglected homes, empty homes and undeveloped land to renovate and build houses.

Labour recognises that there is a need to reform the land and housing markets to boost the supply of new homes. Therefore we will tackle land banking by giving local authorities powers to charge developers who refuse to build, despite having planning permission. As a last resort we will grant ‘use it or lose it’ powers so that councils can buy, assemble and grant planning permission on land that is being hoarded by developers.

Many local authorities who want to build new homes are being blocked by neighbouring authorities. Labour will take steps to give local communities who find themselves in this position the right to grow with access to a fast track planning process that will resolve disputes. We will also reform the Housing Revenue Account system, and ensure that communities receive a larger share of the gains from developments.

Labour recognises that community participation – for example via the formation of co-operatives – can help overcome local objections to housing development. In order to facilitate the growth of co-operative forms of housing a One Nation Labour government will explore proposals for a new form of co-operative housing tenure – supporting co-operative homes as an alternative to ownership and tenancy. Labour recognises the importance of tenants and leaseholders having a stake and a voice in their housing. A Labour government will consider ways to encourage more social landlords and ALMOs to adopt mutual models.

We will take action to bring thousands of empty homes into use. The next Labour government will immediately start discussions with pension funds and other institutional investors on investing in the rented sector. Labour will also give councils the power to double council tax for homes left empty for long periods, costing owners a penalty of £1,300 a year on average, and will axe the loop hole that lets owners claim an empty property is a ‘second home’ simply by furnishing it with a table and chair.

In total the Government spend about £30 billion per year on all aspects of housing, of which around £24 billion is on Housing Benefit. What are currently almost entirely separate policies for housing support and housing benefit need to be brought together and the resources and expenditure under those programmes reprioritised steadily over time, so that resources move from welfare support to capital support for social and council housing to rent. The next Labour government will start this process immediately and commit to continuing the policy in the long term. To aid this, we will bring a greater focus on housing policy in Whitehall.

Labour will set about building the next generation of new towns and Garden Cities, with the necessary social and physical infrastructure to create thriving communities. This will create much needed homes in regions

across the country, while providing sustainable urban developments. We will put in place legislation and treasury guarantees necessary to develop these at pace.

Councils are in a unique position to bring together the owners of retail properties, to enable homes to be built or converted from wasted space above them to increase the number of affordable homes available, and to help ensure the future sustainability of our shopping areas.

We recognise that there are communities that have expressed concern about the impact of holiday lets and second homes on the availability of affordable homes in their local areas. We will work with those local authorities to help increase the supply of affordable housing that local people can afford.

By getting Britain building again, Labour will help tackle the cost of living; ensuring homes are available for the next generation. At the same time we will ensure that our house building programme creates new apprenticeships and job opportunities. More information on our policies to support job creation can be found in the Work and Business section.

### **Creating a fairer private rented sector**

The number of people living in the private rented sector continues to increase, as does the cost of living in the sector. But too often tenants feel insecure in their home, without control over something so crucial to the lives they want to lead. Private tenants are now paying record levels of rent, with the average renter paying 41 per cent of their household income on the cost of renting a property. The Government's changes to Housing Benefit are making it harder for those who rely on this support to live in private rented accommodation. However, it is not only the cost of the rent that is a problem; the insecurity of tenure, the conditions of some

properties, and the unscrupulous practices of some letting agents and rogue landlords can create even more problems for tenants.

Labour believes that everyone should be able to live in a home they can afford and in the communities where they have their roots.

So the next Labour Government will legislate to introduce rights for tenants to have longer term lets with predictable rents to provide affordability, stability and security for private rental tenants. We recognise that many in the private rented sector have been hit hard by already high rents and cuts to Housing Benefit. We will act to address this and ensure that Housing Benefit claimants are not driven into unsuitable accommodation while measures to stop excessive increases in rents are introduced.

We will raise awareness of the Residential Property Tribunal service and put in place measures to prevent retaliatory evictions.

Some unscrupulous landlords charge high rents for substandard property. Labour will take steps to ensure that the housing market works for the many and is sustainable in the long term.

It is important that we continue to tackle the abuses of rogue freeholders, and the managing agents they appoint, by encouraging new build or newly converted flats to be on a shared freehold or common hold basis. We will also investigate ways to tackle the abuses that exist under current leasehold arrangements.

Many letting agents adopt unscrupulous methods, and apply variable charges making an already stressful process even more difficult and expensive. A young person moving into their first flat can face charges of up to £1,700 before they are handed a set of keys. Labour will change this by regulating letting agents and bring an end to rip-off fees and charges. And while many landlords look after their properties and tenants well, at present there are still too many bad landlords who prey on vulnerable

tenants. Complaints about landlords to local authorities are rising. According to the English Housing Survey, the proportion of private rented stock that is non-decent is at 35 per cent, which is considerably higher than any other housing tenure.

Labour plans to crack down on rogue landlords and will set up a self-funded national mandatory register of private landlords with an aim to drive up standards across the private rented sector. We will make it easier for councils to introduce licensing schemes, and ensure tough sanctions are in place for bad landlords. We will create a new benchmarking system for property standards.

Labour will introduce tough sanctions for rogue landlords creating a fairer sector for all renters, the many responsible landlords and fulfilling the long-term interests of the lettings industry.

### **Tackling the homelessness crisis**

The rate of homelessness has steadily increased under the current Government, and there are now 24 per cent more people registered by local authorities as being homeless than in May 2010. A number of homeless shelters have been forced to close, leaving those who find themselves homeless vulnerable and without support.

Labour is committed to tackling the issues that lead to people finding themselves without a home. As part of our house building programme, we will get the completion of affordable and social housing back on track and take the steps needed to lower the cost of rent. This will not only lead to a more sustainable housing market but will make it easier for those who find it difficult to access and secure a home.

### **Delivering localism to our communities**

More than half the growth of the whole of the UK takes place in London and the South-East, so we need a better balance in economic growth which draws on the strengths of our cities and

regions. Labour believes that Britain will never be able to tackle the cost-of-living crisis and create the new jobs and homes that are essential to it, unless we break this pattern. So, building on the recommendations of the Andrew Adonis review on growth, the next Labour Government will decentralise power from Whitehall to our towns and cities. Under Labour, city and county-regions that come together, as well as local businesses through LEPs, will be given historic new powers over transport, housing, skills and economic development.

Britain's governance remains highly centralised, and too many decisions affecting local areas are made in Westminster. If we are to address the crisis of confidence in and alienation from our political system, we need to push power down to communities. We must harness the knowledge, skills and potential that can be found in villages, towns and cities around the country, and empower people to take more of their own decisions and greater responsibility for their local area.

Our public services continue to deliver high quality, even though they are operating in the most challenging financial circumstances.

The Government's approach to public spending cuts has been fundamentally flawed. They have salami-sliced departmental budgets, without delivering the reforms required to enable local public services to deliver with less, and failure to meet their deficit reduction target has resulted in further reductions in funding provided to local authorities.

Good public services are at the heart of any strong community. If we want public services to deliver against the backdrop of increasing demand and pressure on resources, we urgently need reform. So building on the recommendations of the Local Government Innovation Taskforce, the next Labour government will make a pledge to communities to deliver the outcomes they want from their public services. We will give local people the freedoms and powers to redesign services to



deliver with fewer resources. These changes will put communities in charge which in turn will allow them to protect what is important to them when times are tough as well as deliver innovative improvements when additional money is available. This reform agenda will centre on three core principles – power to people, better collaboration across services and prevention.

The Government have chosen to unfairly cut the budgets of local authorities in the most deprived areas of the country significantly more than those in the least deprived. Local authorities are left facing a huge funding gap that will dramatically increase by 2020 unless Labour redesigns the way we provide local services and provide a fairer funding formula for local government linked to need.

Nevertheless, Labour-led councils are still building fairer communities across the country while facing these challenges. 54 local authorities now pay the living wage or are committed to become Living Wage employers, and many are creating new apprenticeships and job opportunities for their residents.

Labour local authorities are leading the way by introducing the living wage, implementing progressive procurement policies and delivering localised, personalised services. But the actions of this Government meant that many authorities are struggling to cope with unfair cuts to their budgets.

The Government has drastically cut back the discretionary spending which has allowed local authorities to innovate or directly provide basic services. We will ensure that local authorities are properly resourced, enabling them to be a decent employer and essential economic driver in their locality – providing and growing decent jobs and delivering a wide range of comprehensive, good quality local services to their local communities that improve living standards. Labour will review the allocation formula for the distribution of funding to

councils to ensure that the poorest areas are not disadvantaged. Greater financial freedoms will be granted to local authorities, including retaining 100 per cent of business rates.

The next Labour Government will change the way local authorities are funded and will implement a fairer funding system to ensure that those communities who need the most support are not unfairly targeted to bear the brunt of funding cuts.

The framework will include specific agreements to ensure the financial sustainability of local government including the introduction of longer-term financial settlements. Labour will devolve power and resources currently held by central government to reshape services to meet people's need. We will reinvigorate local democracy and aim to increase turnout in local elections as well as allowing local government more control over tax revenues and spending in their areas.

Labour will look at how the Fee for Intervention cost recovery scheme might be adapted for use by local authorities in cases where they are dealing with a breach of environmental health legislation in commercial premises.

All local authorities are under a legal duty to collect taxes. We believe that everyone must pay their council tax, but where someone is in real difficulty, and especially where they are vulnerable councils should not be sending in the bailiffs but instead use other means to recover the cost.

Labour will also explore more empowerment of good residents' associations or forums which have approved governance, engagement, transparency levels and trust amongst their local community. This would include other local groups such as gypsy and traveller communities, large elderly community groups, disabled and LGBT groups, sheltered housing schemes and youth groups or youth parliaments.



Labour will support ‘insourcing’ across government, identifying where provision is cheaper, more efficient and better value and encourage Labour councils to do the same.

Labour believes that people living in communities across the country are best placed to make decisions about the areas where they live. We will give local authorities greater freedom and control, so that they can design and deliver the public services their communities need by pooling and devolving budgets to a single place.

Labour will set out in a new English deal the powers and responsibilities of respectively local and national government. This will also devolve financial and other resources to enable the execution of powers and responsibilities at the local level.

We will also devolve new powers to local authorities and groups of local authorities with a focus on skills and employment support, economic growth and health and wellbeing, empowering them to them build thriving, sustainable and prosperous communities and improve standards of living for local residents.

Labour will encourage and consider requests from places that come forward to form unitary authorities.

More fundamentally, Labour will closely examine our existing political and economic settlement and actively explore opportunities to devolve power, for example by developing locally-led Work Programmes and anchoring the employment and skills system in local places.

Labour Councils have been leading the way in applying cooperative and mutual principles to achieve innovative local service design and delivery, in ways which put more power in the hands of citizens and frontline staff. A Labour government will look at how this experience can be developed further to help shape services which meet the needs of people and communities, and also provide value for money.

A well-trained, motivated and well-led workforce is essential to delivering good public services. Labour believes that stability, staff recognition, morale and wellbeing are essential to building a motivated workforce. Labour will seek to create a better working environment and dialogue with local authority employees.

### **Rebuilding our high streets**

For generations high streets have been at the heart of British communities; well-loved economic and social hubs offering jobs, convenience and entertainment. But the high street is under pressure. Some of this is driven by technological changes and people adapting to more convenient patterns of retail. But the Government’s changes to the use class system, which sets out what type of premises can operate in certain properties, have led to the diversity, character and success of many local high streets being undermined by an over-proliferation of betting shops, fast food outlets and payday lenders, against the will of the people who live in their area. Local councils have found that the Government’s planning rules do not enable local people to shape the kind of high street or town centre that they and other local businesses want to see. Our high streets are important if we are to create strong, vibrant local communities, and local residents should have the power to ensure that they evolve in ways that reflect the needs of and benefit the community.

We want to empower communities to take back their high streets, and to work with businesses and landlords to build town centres in which people want to live, shop, work and invest. We believe communities have the local knowledge and are best placed to shape what their high streets look like, and determine the balance of shops, entertainment, leisure and housing needed for their area.

We will cap the cost of credit and give local communities new powers to limit payday lenders on their high street. The next Labour Government will also raise millions of pounds

through a levy on the profits of payday lenders – money which will be used to increase the public funds available for low cost alternatives such as credit unions.

We will give local authorities the power to create a separate use class locally for different types of properties so that these would require planning permission for a change of use. This will make it easier for residents to prevent high streets from becoming dominated by certain types of premises, such as bookmakers or payday lenders.

Problem gambling represents a sizeable public health problem. We will renew the national regulatory regime for gambling to reduce harm to the most vulnerable. We will also allow local people to stop the proliferation of fixed odd betting terminals in communities where they prey on the most vulnerable, with new powers for councils to cap the number of terminals or ban them completely. We will also examine what further action is needed on alcohol licensing.

We will also recognise that it is crucial to provide more demand for goods and services from town centre shops by building appropriate housing in or very near to the town centre. We will encourage the construction of more town centre housing, particularly in, or in proximity to, the many small towns which are struggling to attract businesses and customers.

To support the growth of local businesses in our high streets and town centres, Labour will cut business rates on properties with an annual rental value of less than £50,000 in 2015 and freeze them in 2016. This will mean an average saving of nearly £450 on 1.5 million properties. Detail on Labour's plans to support small business can be found in the Work and Business section.

### **Protecting local communities**

Our fire and rescue services play a hugely important role in safeguarding local communities. We recognise the great work

that has already been done to reduce risk from fires, but note that this Government's funding regime has unfairly targeted some fire authorities disproportionately and has had a damaging impact on authorities across the country. The public and the firefighters who protect our communities on the frontline are rightly concerned about the impact on the safety of their communities. Labour will ensure a fair system of funding is in place so that our communities can be protected effectively by our fire and rescue services.

Fire fatalities in the UK accounted for 273 deaths in 2013/14. Labour is committed to underpinning the excellent work undertaken by fire and rescue authorities across the country, to drive this number down further still.

A Labour government will explore how properly targeted sprinkler systems in social housing could be used to protect the most vulnerable and at risk. We will also look at the case for such systems in new public buildings including schools and nursing homes.

## **Crime and Policing**

The first duty of any government is to keep people safe, yet time and again, the Government has shown itself to be complacent about crime. Frontline policing is being cut back or privatised. The hard won shift to neighbourhood policing achieved under the last Labour government – with police visibly patrolling the streets and working to prevent crime – has been put at risk. The Government is also making it harder for communities to tackle anti-social behaviour.

One Nation Labour will take a different approach. We will reform the police so that they are able to proactively prevent crime, devolve power down to communities, and give the police the tools they need so that they are able to take action to combat anti-social behaviour and violence.

### **Empowering communities to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour**

Labour believes that everyone should be and feel safe in their home, at work, and in their communities. To prevent problems from developing in the first instance we are committed to strong partnerships between the police, local authorities, schools, and youth and health services. It is only through such local collaboration that we will be able to deliver better outcomes, even when there is less money around.

Yet instead of empowering communities and encouraging local services to collaborate, the Government has centralised power in the hands of big private firms, fragmenting the criminal justice system and making it harder for services to work together in preventing crime. Communities are beginning to see the effects.

Labour believes that preventative action is an important tool in the fight against crime and anti-social behaviour. Youth services play a crucial role in providing young people with alternative avenues, yet they have borne the brunt of this Government's disregard for local authority-led provision.

We believe effective and appropriate sanctions must also be available to deal with those who cause problems for their neighbours by taking part in anti-social behaviour. But the Government is weakening powers to deal with anti-social behaviour and slowing down responses after people complain.

The Government is showing dangerous complacency in the face of changing patterns of crime, including fraud and economic crime. There is evidence of a severe drop in action against the most serious criminals since 2010. The number of rape, domestic violence, and child abuse cases reported to the police is going up. But the number of cases that the police put forward for prosecution is plummeting as the service is hollowed out. In addition, perpetrators of serious and violent crimes are

increasingly being served with community resolutions or given cautions. Evidence shows that community resolutions can be effective ways to tackle low-level crime, and Labour supports their increased use for offences such as anti-social behaviour. But the Association of Chief Police Officers' guidance is very clear that they are not an appropriate way of dealing with serious crimes, and should not be used for domestic violence at all. A Labour government will legislate to stop the police using community resolutions for crimes like domestic and sexual violence.

The Government has left victims of crimes committed from abroad without adequate protection, by their mass opt-out from European Justice and Home Affairs mechanisms. Labour will back cooperation between police and judicial authorities in Europe and the wider world to tackle cross-border crime and make our borders more secure.

### **Policing rooted in local communities**

Labour pioneered Neighbourhood Policing rooted in local communities, with police doing more than reacting to crimes by also preventing them, and working in partnership with local authorities, schools and the NHS. But the Government is hollowing out our police service, cutting 10,000 frontline officers from our streets and placing Neighbourhood Policing under threat. Labour believes we need to go back to Neighbourhood Policing, so that communities can once more get to know and trust individual officers, and police officers can get to really know their communities.

The police need to reflect the communities they work in but progress has stalled. A Labour government would ensure the police service has active recruitment policies to increase diversity, especially in our big cities. Intelligence-led targeting of suspected criminals helps to cut knife crime and youth killings. However, while targeted action helps cut crime, the reality is too many searches are not targeted at all and

misuse of stop-and-search has the potential to undermine effective community policing. That is why Labour is calling for the much needed reform of the stop-and-search powers used by the police. Labour would work to remove racial disparities in the use of stop and searches and the criminal justice system to improve community confidence. The disproportionate levels of stop and search by the police of BAME communities are based on racial stereotyping. Police forces across the country should be made accountable for their actions and fully implement the recommendation of the Macpherson Report arising from the murder of Stephen Lawrence Inquiry.

Labour believes public sector reform must be based on the best evidence and expertise and the views of communities. That is why we commissioned an independent review into policing chaired by the former Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Lord Stevens, as the first step in setting a new direction for policing in the 21st Century. The Independent Commission set out recommendations to transform policing including a focus on getting officers back on the beat and giving communities a greater say in local policing priorities, raising professional standards of police officers, a powerful new inspection and standards body to replace the discredited Independent Police Complaints Commission, and strengthening redress for citizens. These proposals also look to deliver maximum value for money for the taxpayer by streamlining criminal justice procurement, which could save an estimated £60 million by 2016/17 if implemented - funds that could be ploughed back into frontline policing.

In light of the recommendations of the Stevens Review on the future of Police and Crime Commissioners, Labour will examine the role PCCs have played in maintaining the democratic accountability of policing, and assess what reforms are needed in the area.

Labour will re-instate the priority attached to neighbourhood policing, examine how Police Community Support Officers can do more to

protect our communities and re-examine the mix of the police workforce to ensure that the best use of resources is being made at force level. Labour will also independently review the performance of private contractors in the police service to assess the claims for private sector efficiency.

## Criminal justice

Our criminal justice system relies on victims, witnesses and communities having confidence that the system works. But the Government's actions have damaged the public's trust. A One Nation justice policy will strive to overhaul our justice system in order to give victims a voice, rather than being pushed to the margins, and ensure that those committing crimes will be caught, properly punished, and reformed.

### Putting victims at the heart of the system

Victims of crime are some of society's most vulnerable people. That is why we need nothing short of a transformation if we are to deliver a criminal justice service that supports people who have been victims of crime. Our police and courts rely on the confidence of victims to come forward, report crimes and give evidence. But too often our justice system is failing victims. Already, Labour MEPs have been crucial to securing a European victims' rights package that offers advice and practical support to UK victims and their families - especially when they have been caught up in the aftermath of a crime and serious injury abroad - so that people are not left to simply fend for themselves under what are often incredibly traumatic conditions.

Labour plans for a radical shake up of the justice system, with the introduction of the country's first ever Victims' Law as a priority. The new law will give victims of crime new entitlements to minimum standards of service as well as the ability to hold those services to account when standards are not met.

Labour has set up a Victims' Taskforce chaired by former Director of Public Prosecutions, Keir Starmer. Working with Baroness Doreen

Lawrence and Peter Neyroud, former Chief Constable of Thames Valley Police, the Taskforce will examine the reforms the justice service needs in order to put victims at its heart. This will be a first step in transforming the system into a service geared towards protecting the public and supporting victims of crime. Ensuring that victims of crime are entitled to restorative justice, where they request it, should be looked at as part of any offer to crime victims.

Hate crime blights lives and can have a devastating impact. Labour will protect victims of hate crime by extending legal protection for aggravated offences to hostility based on trans identity, sexual orientation and disability, and extend provisions of stirring up of hatred on the grounds of disability and trans-identity. We will build confidence in the criminal justice system to highlight hate crime reporting by ensuring the CPS publishes data on enhanced sentencing for each protected characteristic.

Staff who work with the public deserve greater protection from attack. Labour has pressed for stiffer sentences during the passage of both the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Bill and the Criminal Justice and Courts Bill for those who assault someone working with the public during the course of, or because of, their duties. We will examine the best way to give greater protection to those who work with the public and the best definitions and mechanism for providing those tougher penalties in government.

This Government callously cut the compensation scheme for seriously injured victims of crime. Labour will review the impact of those cuts on victims of crime, and will review how best to support those who suffer serious financial detriment as well as the pain and trauma of their attack and injury.

### **Enabling access to justice**

The Government's cuts to civil legal aid have led to law centres and Citizens Advice Bureaux being threatened with closure, no-win, no-fee

cases being curtailed, access to justice being denied to ordinary citizens, and a lack of availability of any advice in some areas. Courts have a key role to play in ensuring access to legal recourse, yet the Government instigated a major closure programme without taking into consideration access to justice issues. In particular, the closure of specialist domestic violence courts will impact most on victims.

We recognise that savings must be found across the whole criminal justice system. However, this Government's changes are undermining our justice system. Labour believes that everyone is entitled to access to justice and in government we will seek to restore people's trust by ensuring that we have a fair and accessible, efficient and viable civil and criminal legal aid system. Legal aid is one arm of our welfare system, and as such it should be directed as a priority to those who need it the most. Those who can afford to pay their legal fees should do so, and wealthy criminals should fund legal bills from their frozen assets. Legal aid is also crucial in ensuring those guilty of crimes are convicted, after due process, and those innocent are able to clear their names, by ensuring that access to legal representation is available for everyone, regardless of ability to pay.

Labour will continue to support victims of miscarriages of justice and will ensure there are no barriers to access to justice. In the case of the 'Shrewsbury 24' we will approve the release of all papers concerning the Shrewsbury Trials and place them in the public domain.

### **Building a system that both punishes and reforms**

Despite promises of a 'rehabilitation revolution', reoffending rates under this Government remain high and too many prisons are failing to adequately punish and rehabilitate offenders.

Labour would build a justice system that works to effectively punish and reform by taking a more tailored approach to dealing with offenders. In particular, we will seek to learn from and extend the successful model of



cooperation within youth justice, with agencies working together in order to reduce youth offending.

We need a system of swift and proportionate punishment that nips problems in the bud, and prevents them from escalating. That is why we need wider use of restorative justice, which forces offenders to make good on the damage they have caused and allows the system to deal with low-level crime, and why we also need tougher, more visible community sentences that involve serious hard work and command the confidence of the public.

More needs to be done to improve rehabilitation and break the cycle of reoffending. Yet too little has been done to reform our prisons so that inmates spend their days undertaking productive activity – in work or training – rather than sitting idly in their cells. The next Labour Government will have zero tolerance of poor management in prisons and is prepared to take struggling contracted-out prisons back into the public sector.

Young offenders, especially those in institutions, must not be overlooked and should be given the opportunity to feel they have a future stake in society for the benefit of all of us. Labour will prioritise rehabilitation as the next step in bringing down crime rates further and delivering a more efficient criminal justice system. We will examine more effective ways to tackle drug dependency and support those with mental health problems by ensuring appropriate support is in place, and proper diversion away from prison for those with the most serious problems.

Success in the probation system is built on partnership working between agencies, and on the strength of the local relationships between dedicated probation staff and individual offenders. The Government's actions in breaking up this model go against the grain of everything we know about what helps to rehabilitate offenders. Labour will not allow decisions on the supervision of dangerous offenders to be determined by profit, rather

than public safety, and we will make sure that those providing probation services are subjected to appropriate levels of transparency and scrutiny. Labour will reverse whatever it can of the worst of the Transforming Rehabilitation programme and abandon any uncompleted sell off of the Community Rehabilitation Companies. We support a unified and locally accountable probation service integrated with other local services, and as a first step we will seek to strengthen this by looking at the workability and affordability of devolving down additional responsibility for 18-20 year olds to the local level.

### **Tackling violence against women and girls**

The Government's actions are damaging our ability to combat violence against women. Cuts to funding have put refuges and specialist advice services under threat of closure. Restrictions to CCTV and the use of DNA evidence, and cuts to specialist officers trained to help in cases where women have been attacked, make it harder for the police to catch perpetrators. Street lights being turned off risk women's safety, and make them feel less safe when they are out at night. There has been an increase in the number of crimes, such as domestic violence, dealt with just by community resolution since the police reductions started, going against all the expert guidance.

Tackling violence against women and girls is a top priority for Labour. We campaigned and were successful in forcing the UK Government to u-turn on its decision not to sign up to the EU's tough new law to combat human trafficking. Labour will continue to back European efforts led by Britain to remove online child sex abuse images, support EU-wide campaigns against domestic violence and to combat the trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation.

Labour is committed to establishing a commissioner on domestic and sexual violence who will sit at the heart of government to ensure women's safety is a priority across all



government departments. Our world-leading network of refuges do vital work protecting thousands of women and children each year, helping them to rebuild their lives after incredibly traumatic experiences. Our approach must also recognise the needs of women who are particularly vulnerable, including for example, younger women, refugees or those facing language barriers. One of the roles of the commissioner on domestic and sexual violence will be to identify where there are gaps in the provision of services for women in, or leaving violent relationships.

The next Labour government will increase action to stop the horrific crime of human trafficking, and take further steps to end the evil of modern-day slavery, including reviewing the operation of the domestic visitor visa and stronger plans to prevent trafficked children being moved around the UK. We will do more to prevent young girls becoming victims of the abhorrent crime of female genital mutilation and more to bring those who perpetrate it to justice. And we will introduce national standards for the training of police and criminal justice professionals, and the provision of specialist services, driven by a new commissioner for domestic and sexual violence and women's safety.

We need to do more to prevent violence and harassment happening in the first place, especially in the face of evidence of growing violence among teenage relationships. Labour would make sex and relationship education compulsory and update the content for the 21st Century so that we are better able to ensure our children's online safety and tackle online exposure to pornography too.

## Immigration

Britain has benefited over many centuries from immigration and it will be ever more important in a globalised economy. But it is because immigration is so important that it needs to be controlled and that it needs to be made to work for everyone, not just for some.

Labour will never compete in an arms race of rhetoric on immigration. Nor will we conduct a debate in a way that whips up tensions and hostility. Labour's policy will reflect the positive contribution immigration has made to the economic, social and cultural well-being of Britain, whilst also recognising the legitimate concerns people have about the impact of immigration on jobs and wages.

We recognise the positive contribution to our economy and society of migrants now and in the future. But the situation whereby they are among some of the most exploited workers in our economy, and vulnerable to abusive employment practices that are used to undercut workers already here, will not be tolerated. We will support strong workplace trade unions, collective bargaining and strong enforcement of employment rights such as the National Minimum Wage to protect all workers and ensure decent jobs, pay and working conditions for all. Labour will play its part in co-operation with other nations to reverse the situation this Government has created of tying domestic workers to their employers, making them vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, by building on the overseas domestic visa introduced by the last Labour Government. And we should take action here at home on loopholes in rules for agency workers which allow wages to be unfairly undercut. And as the UK Government we will work at a European level to take action on EU directives, like the posted workers directive, to make sure they are effective.

For One Nation Labour, talking about immigration is not about pandering to prejudice or populism - or divisive gimmicks such as ad vans sent to the areas with the highest black and minority ethnic British communities. It is about halting the race to the bottom whereby exploitation and undercutting of workers' wages are, for too many people, a fact of everyday life. It is about saying that at a time when hundreds and thousands of young people in Britain are unemployed, we need to do everything possible

to encourage employers to give them a chance, and about building an economic recovery in which everybody plays their part.

### **Promoting integration: communities where everyone plays their part**

Social, cultural and ethnic diversity is not only a reality of modern Britain; it is an integral part of what makes British people so proud of our country. But at the same time as celebrating what is good about diversity, One Nation Labour recognises that we cannot take integration for granted. The pace of change in some communities has generated anxieties, which need to be confronted, not dismissed.

Labour believes in having a proper strategy for integration. That is why Labour would require all public sector workers in public facing jobs to reach a basic level of English proficiency, and encourage local authorities to prioritise English language learning rather than written translation materials. And it is why we would strengthen regulation in the private rented sector to prevent rogue landlords from cramming migrants into sub-standard housing, and in the workplace to ban segregated shifts.

### **Building an economy that works for working people**

To build an economic recovery that is made by the many, we need a new approach to our labour market and immigration. That starts with halting the race to the bottom in the exploitation of workers and the undercutting of their wages. One Nation Labour would increase maximum fines for those who deliberately pay below the National Minimum Wage to £50,000. We would ban recruitment agencies from hiring exclusively from abroad and excluding local workers from their books. We would extend the remit of the Gangmasters' Licensing Authority to other areas where exploitation and undercutting of vulnerable workers is common. And we would close the loophole that means Agency Workers can be paid less.

Alongside tackling exploitation, Labour will encourage employers to invest in the next generation of young workers. It is right that firms are able to recruit talent from abroad, but that should never be a substitute for investing in workers' skills at home. Labour would require large firms to offer apprenticeships in return for hiring migrant workers from outside the EU.

### **Setting out fair rules**

The vast majority of migrants who come to Britain work hard and contribute more in taxes than they claim in benefits, but we need a system that is seen to be fair. Otherwise, we risk undermining public consent and a damaging race to the bottom in social security. Labour will ensure people coming to the UK are able to contribute after arrival, rather than being able to claim benefits straight away. And we would look to reform the long-standing provision dating back decades, which requires family benefits to be paid even if the family members live abroad.

### **Controlling the pace of change**

Freedom of movement has made it easier for people to move to another EU country for work, and there are now over a million Britons living and working in Europe. But following the accession of the A8 group of new EU member states in 2004, the pace of migration to the UK was too fast. That is why Labour supports action to bring it under control, including a cap on workers from outside the EU, and would require the flexibility to apply full and strengthened transitional controls to restrict the movement of workers to the UK from any future countries joining the EU.

Alongside controls we also recognise that there are different kinds of immigration: immigration that works for Britain and immigration that does not. That is why Labour would prioritise reducing illegal and low-skilled immigration, rather than focusing, as the Government has, on reducing the numbers of legitimate foreign

students - when in fact we should be supporting universities in recruiting international students who contribute to our economy.

We recognise that sharp increases in local population put more pressures on public services and housing and One Nation Labour will seek to recognise this while building an economic recovery in which everybody plays their part.

### **Tackling illegal immigration**

There is a gap between the rhetoric and the reality of the Government's shambolic immigration policy. By focusing solely on their net migration target the Government is failing badly on illegal immigration-which is not included in their target and remains a major concern to the public. The situation is getting worse, with fewer illegal immigrants stopped, more absconding, fewer deported and backlogs of information on cases not pursued.

Labour would do more to tackle illegal immigration, including the introduction of new powers for border staff to act quickly when they find abuse, training to help victims of trafficking, and ensuring proper exit checks are put in place so that we can track who is coming in and who is leaving the country.

### **Culture, media and sport**

The role of culture, media and sport in Britain is one of great importance. These sectors influence our economy and create jobs, as well as contributing to a fairer and better society, by including people in the wider life of their communities. However this Government has failed to recognise the important role the arts, creative industries, sports and new digital developments will play in ensuring Britain succeeds in a race to the top. Labour will reverse this trend, by supporting our creative industries, building a truly digital Britain and ensuring that people from all backgrounds have access to Britain's cultural institutions and sporting opportunities.

### **Supporting arts and the creative industries**

The Government is letting down Britain's creative industry, and has failed to recognise the important role it plays in building Britain's economy. Labour believes the creative industries have a big role to play in creating the kind of society people want to live and work in. We recognise that the creative industries influence and inspire as well as shape the direction in which our country is heading.

The British arts industry is hugely successful and internationally admired. It creates jobs, generates revenue and reaches into all parts of the country. It enriches the life of our nation and helps us all to develop skills and knowledge.

That is why Labour will nurture creative skills and develop talent, giving young people opportunities through creative education and ensuring the creative industries have the widest talent pool available to draw on. We will develop a regional strategy to support the arts in all parts of the country, not just in London, while supporting facilities and participation in the arts at a local level. We will continue to champion the importance of arts and culture in our communities and the impact it has on the British economy. We will encourage local authorities to have a strategy for local arts and culture.

While recognising that philanthropy has befitted the arts, Labour accepts that it can never fully replace core government funds.

We will nurture the UK film industry, by providing funding and business support to the creative industries. We will also seek to address market failures that disadvantage independent distributors to help them grow.

Labour acknowledges the vital contribution made to the richness of Britain's cultural life by the BBC, and will ensure that it is adequately funded after 2017 to continue as a major source of information, education and entertainment.

### **Protecting community libraries**

Libraries are practical tools and vital public spaces for individuals and families across the country. They are a resource for parents with young children, for school children without a place to work at home, for job-seekers trying to gain new skills and employment, and for elderly people living in isolation. For those without IT facilities at home, they provide a place for accessing services that can only be accessed on the internet.

Labour's vision for libraries builds on the potential they offer, to make them an even greater asset in their communities. The next Labour Government will take on the responsibility to maintain high standards across the library network and provide direction to ensure they best serve residents who use them.

### **Building Digital Britain**

The way in which Britain transforms into the digital age will play a large role in the future economic rewards our country can reap. Digital technology accounted for more than 21 per cent of gross domestic product in the world's most advanced economies in the past five years, and Europe's digital economy is expected to grow seven times faster than overall EU GDP in the years to come.

However, the Government has failed to deliver fast and reliable universal internet access, and will miss their target of delivering superfast broadband access to 90 per cent of the population by 2015.

A Labour government would take action and redouble our efforts to ensure that all homes and businesses can access high quality, fast and reliable broadband services. This will include superfast broadband being available to all parts of the UK that are not economic for the market to serve unaided. We will also work with the regulator to ensure the right framework is in place to maximise the potential of private sector investment in broadband networks. High speed, reliable broadband access is increasingly

essential to full participation in the digital economy, and a world class digital network for the whole of the UK will play a central role in creating jobs and boosting economic growth. This will create a more connected Britain and open up new markets to many small and medium sized businesses across the country.

### **Ensuring a responsible press**

Labour reaffirms its support for the recommendations of the Leveson Inquiry into the culture and ethics of the press. Labour will support the establishment of a low-cost arbitration service recommended by Leveson, to provide access to justice for victims of libel and other press abuses.

### **Delivering sport in our communities**

The Government failed to put in place a strategy to capture the wave of enthusiasm generated by the successful 2012 Olympics and Paralympics, squandering the chance of securing a golden legacy for sport.

The Labour Party is consulting people from all levels of sport on a ten year plan for sport and recreational activity. This will aim to empower people at a local level to become involved in shaping and directing sport provision in their communities.

The last Labour Government recognised the important role fans play in supporting their local sports clubs and formed Supporters Direct, an umbrella organisation which supports members' trusts to secure greater accountability and democracy within club governance. We will build on this to ensure that bona fide supporters clubs are recognised in the statutory consultation over the future of sports grounds where they register their interest. This will give fans greater influence over the future of their sports venues.

Details on child health and wellbeing, including PE and sports provision, can be found in the Education and Children section.

Arising out of a recommendation of Labour's 1999 Football Taskforce, the Premier League agreed a five per cent voluntary levy on TV revenues to develop grassroots football. Over the years however, there has been a lack of clarity of what counts towards this levy and the Premier League has not kept to the five per cent. We will turn the spotlight on the amount that the Premier League receives in TV revenues and puts into grassroots sport and work with fans, and local community groups to make it clear that five per cent is the acceptable sum.

### **Developing Britain's tourism industry**

For a number of years the tourism industry has not received the recognition that it deserves, with many communities across Britain being reliant on it for the local jobs and economic activity it generates.

Seaside towns are a quintessential part of Britain's tourist industry. Many of these towns and resorts have been neglected and suffer from high unemployment and deprivation. Labour will recognise the significant role tourism plays and create an innovative development strategy for coastal economies to confront the challenges seaside communities face.

Labour recognises the success of small businesses that have grouped together to form marketing co-operatives which promote tourism into their communities. It will be a key priority of Labour's tourism strategy to encourage the development of community marketing co-operatives.

### **Further reading**

'Everywoman safe everywhere' Labour's Policy Review 2012

'The Housing Crisis: House building and a private rented sector that works for Britain's families' Stronger, Safer Communities Policy Commission, 2013

'Libraries: Innovation, Co-location and Partnership' Labour's Policy Review, 2013

'The Lyons Housing Review' Labour's Policy Review, 2014

'Policing for a better Britain' Report of the Independent Police Commission, 2013

'Private Rented Housing: Providing stability and affordability for renters and families' Labour's Policy Review, 2012

'Private Rented Housing: Improving standards for all' Labour's Policy Review, 2012

'Private Rented Housing: Tackling unscrupulous letting agents and ending rip-off charges' Labour's Policy Review, 2014

'Seaside Towns: What matters to coastal communities and economies' Labour's Policy Review, 2013

'Speech: To deal with people's concerns on immigration, we must change how our economy works' Ed Miliband, 2012

'Tackling serious fraud and white collar crime' Labour's Policy Review, 2013



**Agenda**  
2015

A young girl with brown hair in pigtails, wearing a red sweater, is seen from behind with her right hand raised. She is in a classroom setting with a green chalkboard and a teacher in the background. The image is partially obscured by a large green diagonal graphic element.

**EDUCATION AND CHILDREN  
FINAL YEAR POLICY  
DOCUMENT**



# EDUCATION AND CHILDREN

## Introduction

For Britain to succeed in the 21st Century, we must earn our way in the world and win the race to the top, with a high skill, high wage economy. We can only build such an economy with all of Britain's young people playing their part in making it happen.

Today, we have an education system that fails the 'forgotten 50 per cent' who do not go to university, and a politics that allows poor standards to continue in some schools. The Government has narrowly focused on what schools are called, rather than how they teach. Putting that right is the central task for the next Labour Government. That is why we will transform vocational routes for the 50 per cent who do not go to university, with gold standard qualifications, and a step change in the number and quality of apprenticeships. It is why we will prioritise what matters most in our schools; driving up standards with a relentless focus on the quality of teaching. It is only through achieving this vision that we will build on the success of the last Labour Government and allow all young people to play their part in a One Nation society and economy.

Britain cannot succeed with an education system that only works for half the country. But that is where we are today, and the current Government has taken us backwards. Over the last four years, the quality of apprenticeships has been watered down and the Government has made no attempt to provide a rigorous vocational route for the forgotten 50 per cent. There are hundreds of thousands of young people unemployed, unable to play their part in renewing Britain. The next Labour Government will transform routes for young people who do not go to university. The next Labour Government will offer young people a gold standard qualification at 18 to aim at, and there will be many more high quality apprenticeships, including thousands tied to the awarding of government procurement contracts.

Labour understands that improving the quality of teaching, and not an obsessive focus on types of school, is the most important mechanism to drive up education standards for all children and young people. Yet the current Government's top down approach to education has lost sight of the most important consideration for driving standards forward: the people in our schools and classrooms across the country. They have put high standards for all at risk, allowing unqualified teachers to teach in our schools and colleges on a permanent basis. One Nation Labour will end this Government's downgrading of teaching, and give parents the peace of mind that comes from knowing teachers in every classroom are trained professionals.

This Government has been content to change the structure of schools and then allow them to 'sink or swim', with centralisation in Whitehall leaving no local oversight of standards. In a One Nation education system, parents and local communities will have a greater say in the school systems that serve them, with local support on hand to drive up standards and local oversight to ensure underperformance is identified and challenged early.

If we are to build a country where everyone can play their part, the next Labour Government will need to back hardworking families who, too often, cannot get the childcare they need to balance work and family life during the cost of living crisis. Childcare costs are rising, and fewer places are available. Yet whilst parents struggle to afford to work and pay for childcare, the current Government has prioritised a tax cut for millionaires and reduced the childcare support available for families. We know many parents would like to work, but childcare makes it unaffordable. Making that choice a reality is why supporting families with childcare is a priority for Labour, and why we will tackle the issues that are putting family life under increasing pressure.

Labour is the party of Sure Start and children's centres, the party that wrote the Children's Plan, and the party that reduced child poverty by 900,000; for us every child will always matter. In office, we would look to develop a new and ambitious approach to child well-being, one that focuses all agencies involved in a child's life upon a set of shared, long-term and clearly defined goals. The philosophy behind Every Child Matters remains relevant and the Labour Party affirms its guiding principles, but we need to update it in order to accurately reflect the challenges of 21st century childhood. We will do this with children and young people, parents and the children's workforce and sector, creating a broad-based dialogue as to how we can best achieve this.

### **High standards for all in schools and colleges**

One of our biggest failures as a country is an education system that does not deliver for all children and young people. Too many young people end their education without the skills, knowledge and attributes needed to be successful in a modern, competitive world. This is wasting talent, limiting life chances and holding Britain back.

Labour understands that it is both an economic and moral imperative that we address Britain's narrow education system. For every young person to be able to play their part, we need to deliver a gold standard education for all. This will mean a relentless focus on driving up standards across all schools. It will mean ensuring all teachers are qualified or seeking to become so, have ambitious standards and promote high expectations for every child. It will mean offering a clear, high quality route for young people not choosing university. Through a gold standard education for all, Labour will ensure that we earn our way out of the cost of living crisis and that Britain's future success is made by the many, rather than relying on a privileged few. Labour believes education

has to mean education of the whole child, for the whole of a life lived responsibly and rewardingly alongside others, at work and in society.

### **Focusing on teacher quality**

The importance of teacher quality in our schools and colleges cannot be understated. It is clear from the highest performing school systems around the world that the quality of teaching and the status of the profession hold the key to success. In government, Labour successfully improved the quality of teaching in England, leading Ofsted to hail the workforce as the best generation of teachers ever.

However, as Ofsted has stated, we need to build on these foundations to ensure that there is excellent teaching in every classroom, because when teaching is not up to standard, young people lose out. Studies have shown that students with high performing teachers will progress three times as fast as those with low performing teachers. Despite the clear importance of teaching, this Government has downgraded the profession, allowing unqualified teachers to be permanently employed in schools and colleges. This is undermining the status and quality of teaching, and putting standards at risk.

Under this Government, with the removal of the requirement for teachers to hold Qualified Teacher Status (QTS), England now has some of the lowest requirements for teacher qualifications in the world and there are 6000 fewer teachers than in 2010. The next Labour Government's task is to 're-professionalise' teaching.

Firstly, Labour will ensure all teachers in state funded schools have, or are working towards, a Qualified Teacher Status (QTS). This guarantee is the least parents expect from their child's school. Labour will also work to improve the quality of initial teacher training and ensure that teachers receive appropriate training for

working with children with particular needs, such as those who are gifted and talented and those with a special educational need (SEN).

Secondly, Labour will go further to ensure that all teachers have the opportunity to build their skills once in the profession so they remain up to date with the subject and pedagogical skills and knowledge they need to deliver a world-class education. Just as in many other high-status professions such as medicine or law, under Labour teachers will be expected to undertake regular professional development, linked to revalidation on a rolling basis.

Alongside high quality professional development, teachers need more opportunities to progress in their careers. Currently, great teachers are often encouraged out of the classroom and into administrative leadership positions. We believe we should also offer opportunities to teachers who want to progress by building their expertise in a particular subject or teaching practice, such as teaching children with special educational needs.

It should be recognised that many teachers provide an excellent education and many schools are successful. There must be constant vigilance in maintaining high standards of teaching, and efforts to improve schools that have fallen behind. This should be coupled with allowing good teachers the freedom to get on with the job as a key part of releasing the talents and creativity of both teachers and children.

Labour recognises that all school staff, as well as school governors, play a vital role in ensuring young people get the best possible education. High quality teachers, teaching assistants and learning mentors, alongside the wider team of school staff, work hard to ensure there are high standards for all in their school.

We recognise that having a fair, consistent national pay system for all teachers is important in retaining and recruiting well-motivated teachers. In addition, appropriate pay, training and professional development of school support staff is critical for school improvement and

should be at the heart of a more collaborative approach. Reductions in training budgets have disproportionately affected school support staff. Pay for support staff is low and too often schools do not recognise the level of professional commitment and dedication to their pupils that is expected of them in practice. The difference in pay levels is exacerbated by the norm of term-time only pay and the proliferation of casualisation. We will provide security for teaching assistants who feel under threat by this Government by recognising their value to learning, and ensuring that under a Labour government they continue to play a key role in classrooms across the country. We continue to support national pay bargaining, and will keep under review any moves from nationally agreed terms and conditions. Labour recognises school support staff as professionals who contribute greatly to the achievements of our children and teachers within the classroom. We support and will maintain the national conditions and review body structure for teachers, and will extend this commitment to school support staff by reinstating the School Staff Negotiating Body set up by the last Labour Government, to develop a much needed consistency in pay, conditions and job roles for school support staff in all publicly funded schools.

### **Transforming vocational education and skills**

Labour understands that for Britain to thrive, every young person needs to be able to play their part. Failure to utilise the talents of all young people puts a cap on aspiration, and holds back businesses that cannot find the skills they need to succeed.

The current Government has neglected vocational education, viewing it as the second class option for young people, who are not being offered a clear, gold standard vocational route through school and college. This is resulting in wasted talent, limitation on life chances and contributing to the current crisis in youth unemployment.

Transforming vocational education is paramount to delivering Labour's vision for the forgotten 50 per cent of young people. Alongside high quality academic choices for young people, Labour recognises that transforming vocational education will promote social mobility and deliver the skilled workforce needed for a better, stronger economy. This is why Labour will ensure that all young people continue English and maths to 18, and why we will introduce a new gold standard Technical Baccalaureate for young people, acting as a stepping stone into an apprenticeship, further study or skilled work. The Tech Bacc will be accredited by business and include a high quality vocational qualification, work experience, and English and maths.

Labour would give colleges a central role in delivering our vision for the forgotten 50 per cent of young people. We will transform those colleges with top quality teaching, strong employer links, and high standards in English and maths into new specialist Institutes of Technical Education. These Institutes will be licensed to deliver Labour's Tech Bacc, driving up standards of vocational education in England.

**The independent Skills Taskforce:  
Qualifications matter: improving the  
curriculum and assessment for all**

The final report of the independent Skills Taskforce was published in 2014. It recommended a new framework for 14 to 19 qualifications and skills to ensure that all young people undertake a broad and balanced curriculum, combining knowledge, technical and vocational skills and work experience. This new National Baccalaureate will help make sure all young people are set up for the future.

Transforming vocational education is paramount to delivering Labour's vision of an education system fit for the task of ensuring all young people are able to play their part in

renewing Britain. We will strive to ensure that vocational training will always be given equal status with academic studies in our education system, and is given parity of status with employers and Higher and Further Education providers. We believe that qualifications need to reflect genuine learning and skills that are relevant for all young people, and will draw lessons from previous attempts to develop vocational qualifications.

We recognise that the current curriculum and qualifications framework for 16- to 18-year-olds does not fully meet the needs of young people or of employers and universities. We will progress the recommendations of the Skills Taskforce Review and establish an over-arching national baccalaureate framework for all post-16 students. This framework will include high quality academic and vocational courses, the continued study of English and mathematics by all, opportunities for extended research and the development of personal skills and qualities. The new baccalaureate will be supported by employers and universities and be of high status, rigorous and challenging in its expectations of young people. It should prepare young people for citizenship, skilled work, Higher Education and further learning throughout life.

Labour also recognises that industry cannot succeed without a skilled workforce. In addition to excellent education and training, developing the skilled workforce Britain needs will involve the active participation of government, local authorities and employers, including a major expansion of high quality apprenticeships.

Labour will seek to increase the number of young people studying science, technology, engineering and maths, particularly amongst women and those from underrepresented minority groups. Labour will also look at ways of ending occupational segregation and ways to increase the number of women working in male-dominated industries such as science, manufacturing, construction and railways.

These industries are currently missing out on a huge pool of talent and need to ensure that their workforce better reflects the make-up of society.

To ensure our population have the right skills to support, participate and benefit from a growing economy, dealing with skills mismatch and long-term unemployment, significant vocational skills funding should be devolved to local areas to create an integrated, whole-system approach.

Labour also believes that we need high quality independent careers advice in schools and colleges, to help all young people make the right choices. Good careers advice helps to ensure students are given quality information and guidance on academic and vocational qualifications, and apprenticeships, so they can pursue the paths that are right for them. Labour will revive and strengthen independent careers advice in schools and give young people the opportunity to access face-to-face careers guidance, supported by fully qualified careers professionals and linked to economic need and partnership working.

### **Ensuring strong local support and oversight of schools**

The current Government's obsessive focus on school structures has created a fragmented schools system, which lacks the rigorous local accountability that is crucial to driving up standards. Today, thousands of schools are accountable only to the Secretary of State, meaning underperformance and mismanagement are not spotted and challenged early enough. There is no strategy for school collaboration, with the Government leaving schools to operate as islands rather than incentivising effective partnerships. Through the Government's flawed Free Schools programme, situations have emerged where inadequate teaching, allegations of discrimination, and financial mismanagement have gone unnoticed and unchallenged for too long because there is no local oversight.

Labour understands that no one cares more about a school than the community it serves. That is why a One Nation education system will deliver a radical devolution of power from Whitehall. Labour will empower local communities to have a greater say about education in their area, rather than continue the top-down control approach to schools demonstrated by the current Government.

### **David Blunkett's Review of education structures, functions and the raising of standards for all**

In 2013 Ed Miliband asked David Blunkett to conduct a review into the schools system on how Labour should ensure proper oversight of all schools, whatever their type, so that standards are raised. His final report recommends the introduction of new Directors of School Standards in local areas to provide local oversight, support and challenge for all schools, and end the fragmentation of our schools system under this Government. The Director of School Standards will also oversee the commissioning of new schools in a fair and transparent way, which is more responsive to the needs of parents, pupils and local communities.

Labour believes in strong local oversight of all schools. We welcome David Blunkett's review into how Labour should address the current lack of local oversight in the schools system created by the Government.

We believe that new locally appointed and locally accountable Directors of School Standards will provide the support and scrutiny needed to improve schools for all children. Local authorities would play a key role in appointing and holding to account the Director of School Standards, with Ofsted working as an external inspector.

Labour would give local authorities the powers to appoint and help to hold to account Directors of School Standards, who will hold all schools to account, regardless of structure,



for their performance and intervene in poorly performing schools. All governing bodies should include significant numbers of governors who represent local communities. Governors should be accountable for improving the quality and management in schools, allowing good teachers to teach and providing better outcomes for school pupils. The Director of Schools Standards and local authorities should support governors in this crucial role. It should not be left to central government.

Local Authorities have a key part to play in delivering high quality education for all our children and they will continue in that important work. We will clearly set out the role and responsibilities of local authorities and Directors of School Standards and the way in which they will work positively together to secure high quality education and well-being outcomes.

We will also put an end to the fragmented, divisive school system created by this Government. We will ensure that every school can excel and every child is given a great education. International evidence suggests that high performing education systems combine high levels of school freedoms with strong local accountability. Labour will extend to all schools the freedoms academies can use to innovate and raise standards, such as freedom over the curriculum, trusting teachers in all schools to get on with the job. With these freedoms must come local oversight, to ensure standards stay high in every school. Labour will ensure there is real local accountability for all schools, giving parents confidence that all schools in their area are being supported and challenged to offer excellent education to children.

We know that central to raising standards is schools collaborating with each other to offer support and share best practice and expertise. Successful school improvement programmes, such as London Challenge, have shown what can be achieved when schools work together. In a One Nation schools system there will be a

greater focus on ensuring all schools, regardless of type, collaborate to meet the needs of the children and parents that they serve. It will be a requirement for all schools to partner with weaker schools as a condition for attaining an ‘outstanding’ rating by Ofsted.

We recognise that school inspections play a crucial role in upholding standards in our schools. But this Government’s attempts to politicise Ofsted have undermined the integrity of the Schools Inspectorate. National systems of inspection and accountability should be collaborative, rather than confrontational. Too often, especially in primary schools, Ofsted can have the effect of narrowing the educational experience of young children. We need our best school leaders to take on challenging schools and to support them make a difference. Labour believes the role of the Schools Inspectorate needs examining. In government, we will ensure the inspection process is more collaborative, and that school improvement involves schools reviewing one another and monitoring by the middle tier, as well as the national inspectorate. We will also ensure that early years settings and primary schools are judged against how well they develop children’s knowledge, skills and qualities through a broad and balanced curriculum, alongside tests in English and maths. We have already called for Ofsted to have the powers to inspect academy chains and are committed to monitoring the role of Ofsted.

The co-operative schools model is an example of schools successfully collaborating, rather than competing against each other or being left to sink or swim. David Blunkett’s proposed Community Trusts could draw on the experience of existing collaborative partnerships, including the clusters of co-operative schools, and Labour will support those that wish to do so as part of its commitment to offer excellent education to all the children in the area.



To ensure standards are high and public money is spent efficiently, the next Labour Government will not continue with the Government's Free Schools programme. Existing Free Schools and those in the pipeline will be allowed to continue, but will be held to the same high standard as other schools. The Government's Free Schools programme has proven itself to be a poor use of taxpayers' money, with millions being spent opening Free Schools in areas with surplus school places and many offering a poor standard of education. Too many young people have borne the brunt of this ill-conceived policy. That's why Labour will end the Government's Free Schools programme and focus instead on ensuring every child has a local school place and local schools are challenged and supported to improve. Where standards need to be higher, we will focus on turning those schools around and won't continue this Government's approach of letting schools sink or swim. We will ensure existing Free Schools become part of the local family of schools and that the Director of School Standards can work with governors, parents and school leaders on school improvement in all schools, including Free Schools.

Action on school standards would include the possibility of changing a school's status, including to that of a community school if appropriate. All schools will be required to collaborate with other local schools, follow the admissions code, ensure their teachers are or become qualified, and play their part in educating hard-to-place children.

Labour believes that all private schools should meet in full the obligations for their charitable status. This should include working with their local communities and state schools in their area to contribute and add value to the education and experiences on offer to young people. The next Labour Government will ensure the Charity Commission rigorously assesses private schools' charitable activity and seeks to take enforcement action where appropriate.

### **Better planning for school places**

There is a growing need for primary school places, with the National Audit Office reporting that 240,000 primary places will be needed by September 2014. Yet the current Government has removed local decision-making on school places and is instead taking decisions on where new schools open from Whitehall, rather than allowing local areas to decide. They are also diverting £241 million to open Free Schools in areas where there are already enough school places, whilst parents elsewhere are struggling to get their child into a school.

Rather than top down control, One Nation Labour believes that communities should have a greater say in the schools systems that serve children and parents locally.

Labour recognises that what most parents want for their children is a good local school. This will be achieved if three conditions are met. Clearly, the first is that there are sufficient school places. The second is that these schools are providing a good education. The third is that there must be fair admissions policies. Labour will ensure that all schools including Free Schools, academies and faith schools serve their local communities and follow the admissions code, so every child has fair access to schools.

Providing enough good school places is a basic responsibility for any government. Yet halfway through this Parliament, the Government had only created a quarter of the school places needed to meet demand by September 2014. The crisis in school places that this Government has created has had far-reaching consequences and is threatening standards in schools, with rising class sizes, children travelling further distances to school, and temporary classrooms being built on top of playgrounds.

In the future, we need a better framework for planning school places and creating new schools, which uses local intelligence and

harnesses the enthusiasm and talents of local people. There needs to be greater transparency and local accountability regarding new schools, rather than decisions being taken centrally by ministers in Whitehall without local input. Under Labour, local communities will have a greater say in the new schools opening up in their area. Decisions over school places should be taken locally with accountability. Local authorities in conjunction with Directors of School Standards will be responsible for overseeing the commissioning of new schools, taking decisions based on the needs of the local area as set out by local authorities. Putting decision-making over school places back in local hands and ending the current Government's presumption that one type of school is superior to another is inherently more sensible, fairer and better for children, families and local communities. With Labour, local authorities will be able to open new community schools once again, ending this Government's bias towards academies and Free Schools. Schools must be accountable both to local oversight and parents, as well as the Secretary of State for Education, on the principle that we need a good school for every child rather than the current market driven approach. Labour will also ensure funding for new schools is prioritised in areas where there is a places shortage.

Labour recognises that children need to learn in the best possible environments and that building new schools can help to stimulate our economy, as well as giving young people the best chance to learn. A priority for the next Labour Government will be ensuring that where new school buildings are needed that need is met. In government, we will assess the legacy of school need as well as looking at what additional needs may have arisen since 2010 in the fabric of our schools, to support our planning for new school places.

### Ensuring a rounded education

Labour believes that all our children and young people deserve an education which sets them up for life in Britain and the world in the 21st century and that enables them to flourish in childhood. This can be achieved by:

- an emphasis on high standards in schools and the development of social skills demanded by industry, as stated by the CBI in their statement that children should be “rounded and grounded”
- high quality teaching from motivated teachers, rebuilding teacher morale and ensuring access to professional development
- a guarantee of high quality vocational education and careers advice
- local support for schools, local oversight and better planning of schools places
- school policies to promote the physical, social and emotional well-being of all pupils
- education in sport, the arts and culture
- support for early intervention through affordable childcare and high quality nursery education
- support for vulnerable families and children in order to encourage a happy and healthy upbringing and remove the barriers they face in the education system

In order to sustain the excellence in scientific skills necessary for strong economic growth, an interest and sense of excitement in science and innovation must be encouraged from a young age. We understand the importance of STEM subjects and in government we will work with education professionals to increase the number of young people studying science, in particular young women, and ensure the curriculum is based on the skills that are needed. Labour also believes that all children should have access to high quality music education and that there should not be a postcode lottery in musical opportunities for young people.

Labour will protect the rights of all children and young people to have the information needed to make informed choices as they grow into adulthood. Under Labour, Sex and Relationship Education (SRE) would be compulsory in all publicly funded schools, with access rights which reflect the Labour Party's 2010 position on SRE, and we will issue new guidance to schools to support them to fulfil their duty to deliver high quality SRE to all young people.

Children should also learn about their civic responsibilities. Young people should leave school or college with an understanding of the political, legal and economic functions of adult society, and with the social and moral awareness to thrive in it. This should cover not just civic society but life skills too, enabling people to make their own decisions, take responsibility for their own lives and contribute to their communities. Labour will amend the inspection framework so that schools will be judged on whether they are delivering a "broad and balanced" curriculum.

A quality, professional youth service is essential to help support and develop young people. We believe all young people are entitled to have access to a high quality, open access and appropriately funded youth service, with the primary purpose of the personal and social development of young people and in government we will examine the best way to ensure this is delivered in every local authority area.

### **Supporting the health and well-being of children through healthy schools**

The impact of a child's physical and mental health across their school life is hugely significant. Exercise, a healthy diet and supporting social and emotional well-being are paramount to ensuring children can concentrate fully at school. Labour made great strides in government to support and protect the health and well-being of children, including our focus on the Every Child Matters

agenda. We regret the loss of focus from central government on promoting child health and well-being. Under the last Labour Government, the successful School Sports Partnerships helped more children access good school sport provision and the quality of school food vastly improved, through a comprehensive set of food standards developed by experts and implemented across our schools.

However, at a time when the Government should have focused on ensuring the legacy of the Olympics thrived, there has been no strategy for sport at school and the progress made under Labour to improve the health and educational outcomes of children has been undermined. Labour believes that every child should be given the opportunity to take part in physical exercise. We want to see primary schools work together to deliver high quality PE and to ensure there are qualified PE teachers in secondary schools, so children participate in physical education for a minimum amount of time each week.

Labour will support schools to restore the World Health Organisation initiative, 'Health Promoting Schools' and enable trained professionals including school nurses, to lead and deliver this strategy. Every secondary school should have access to a qualified school nurse, as should clusters of primary schools. Properly trained professional school nurses provide education and support children and young people in all matters relating to their health and as part of an early prevention strategy. All children are vulnerable and Labour will support schools to do more to promote both physical and mental health.

On taking office the current Government scrapped Labour's plans to extend free meals for school children, and made the decision to exempt academies and Free Schools from food standards. Furthermore, the number of breakfast clubs has fallen dramatically, meaning more children are going without a proper breakfast. The Government has now

reversed its opposition to Labour's plans for free school meals, and has extended free meals to infants in primary schools - we welcome this extension. Free school meals is a policy that is core to our Labour Party values, which is why we will continue the universal free school meals initiative for all infants in English primary schools.

Having fought the policy for decades, the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties now appreciate that free school meals can raise attainment, remove stigma and barriers to work, and address the obesity challenge and cost of living crisis. This realisation is thanks to the pioneering work of Labour councils in Hull, Islington, Southwark, Newham and Durham, which demonstrated that attainment levels rose for all children and not just those entitled to free school meals. We pay tribute to these councils' work and support other Labour local authorities hoping to draw on a range of funding streams to develop this policy further. In government, we will ensure that allocated capital funds are spent effectively and new kitchen facilities delivered.

Beginning with our plans for a wrap-around provision at school, we will work with schools to develop breakfast clubs. We know how important the value of a good meal is for the ability of children to study and succeed. As part of our determination to transform the life chances of children in our country, the next Labour Government will recognise the cross-cutting nature of the free school meals policy and as such will work alongside stakeholder departments in central and local government to ensure that no child is too hungry to learn. Labour also believes that all pupils should have access to healthy and nutritious food, and we want healthy food standards to apply to all schools. Supporting and protecting children's health is discussed further in the Health and Care section of the Final Year Policy Consultation.

## Apprenticeships and Higher Education

For generations, governments have not given enough attention to the options available to those who do not plan to pursue A-Levels and university. As a result, many young people who do not choose that path have been lost in an education system that offers no clear route for gold standard vocational qualifications and a career. This is limiting life chances for young people, preventing businesses from getting the skills they need to succeed, and holding Britain back.

The last Labour Government rightly expanded opportunities for many more young people to go to university, but there is now a clear need to transform routes for the 50 per cent who do not choose university. Building on the reforms planned for gold standard vocation qualifications in schools, the next Labour Government will also need to transform the quantity and number of apprenticeships.

### Driving up the quantity and quality of apprenticeships

Britain is falling behind other OECD countries in terms of technical skills. This is bad for business and bad for the economy. Many employers are struggling to find the skills they need to succeed, and young people are finding their options limited, and their talent going to waste.

However, instead of ensuring we compete with our main competitors in Europe and deliver opportunities for all young people, the Government has downgraded apprenticeships. Low quality courses have been created that all too often last only for short durations, provide no training at all to apprentices, and would not be recognised as apprenticeships in other countries.

Apprenticeships give young people the opportunity to work, earn a real salary and gain qualifications, whilst learning workplace

skills and experiences. Labour will support the forgotten 50 per cent of young people with a meaningful apprenticeship policy and a commitment to a vocational education in schools and colleges.

The current system of vocational education and training has failed abysmally, leading to low quality apprenticeships and skills shortages in some sectors, such as construction, manufacturing and engineering. To tackle the recent rise in low quality, short-term apprenticeships, we need new, rigorous standards and a radical overhaul of the system. Labour will reform Sector Skills Councils and LEPs so that employee representatives are equally involved. Labour will also make sure that all apprenticeships, as well as occupational standards and skills frameworks are embedded with best practice jointly developed and agreed via industry-led bodies, comprising trade union, employer, educational and technical representation relevant to the occupations, industries and sectors they serve. We will work in partnership with employers, industry training bodies, trade unions and Further Education providers to develop apprenticeships that offer training that meets skills needs and collectively agreed minimum pay rates, ensuring the creation of more gold standard qualifications, trusted by both employers and young people. We will develop robust systems for ensuring high quality apprenticeships, including an active role for apprentices as learners. We will work with Further Education colleges and learning providers to ensure they are supported to deliver high quality training and are able to develop effective partnerships with employers.

Labour will ensure more apprenticeships are focused on new entrants to the jobs market, include more off-the-job training, where appropriate, and last for a minimum of two years and at least three years in technical sectors such as construction, engineering and manufacturing. There will be an emphasis on advanced apprenticeships to at least level three, underpinned by real, well-paid full-time jobs,

clear routes of progress at all levels, mentoring, work-based learning and technical instruction through bona fide provider and college networks.

As well as this quality gap there are far too few apprenticeships. Our main competitor countries in Europe offer up to four times the number of apprenticeships offered in England. This is despite demand for apprenticeships in our country far outstripping supply. Labour is committed to dramatically increasing the number of apprenticeships. By using the public sector's market power through procurement policy at every level, Labour will ensure that the provision of high quality apprenticeships is a prerequisite for any bid for significant government contracts. We will also expect employers to create significantly more apprenticeships in exchange for giving them more control over skills funding and standards. Labour believes government should lead by example and that every ministerial office should have an apprentice.

We also need to think more creatively about the types of apprenticeships on offer. For example, there is a high demand for sign language interpreters but low supply. We would encourage businesses and public services, such as the NHS, to take on sign language apprentices to ease this pressure. At the same time those organisations would ensure they meet their duties under the Equality Act.

As well as driving up the quantity and quality of apprenticeships, Labour will also make efforts to address the gender and ethnicity imbalance in apprenticeships, so we ensure all career opportunities are available to women and men from all ethnic backgrounds. Labour will work to ensure more women are encouraged to take up skilled apprenticeships in sectors such as construction, engineering and manufacturing. Equally we need to enable more students whose education has been interrupted or deficient to get to the starting point to qualify for apprenticeships and other vocational education.



The role of apprenticeships in renewing Britain is addressed further in the Work and Business section of the Final Year Policy Consultation.

### **Improving access to Higher Education**

Under the current Government, tuition fees have trebled to £9,000 a year. This has burdened young people with significant debt at a time when they will want to start saving for their future. Private school pupils continue to get the lion's share of places at top universities, and the Government is reducing opportunities for state school pupils to get into the best universities.

In a One Nation society and economy, Britain's future success will be made by the many. Labour's vision is one of high aspiration for all, in which every young person at 18 can choose to go into Higher Education or into a high quality apprenticeship. Our vision for Britain does not include students graduating with over £40,000 of debt. Labour believes we need to reduce the burden on students, while ensuring that repayments are related more closely to ability to pay.

There are real concerns about the long term implications of the Government's approach to university funding. The system this coalition Government created creates huge debts for the next generation and is financially unsustainable, as current predictions show that nearly half the money lent to students will never be repaid because they will not earn enough, and the next Labour Government will have to fill the multi-million pound gap in the Higher Education budget. Government policy has also seriously compromised the numbers of part-time and post-graduate applicants, which Labour will look to address.

Labour believes that there should be sustained public investment in Further and Higher Education, due to its role in creating a fair and prosperous society. Any funding model should move away from increasing fees and debt and towards a model of entitlement for students and

contributions from graduates, in order to ensure that the next generation can also benefit from public education provision.

Labour is committed to improving access to schools, colleges, and Higher Education, including the Russell Group universities, to ensure that BAME communities and underrepresented groups have equal access to education and are not disadvantaged by economic and income inequality. Contextual admissions data should be promoted so that lower offers can be made to students from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Legitimate international university students should be removed from the Government's net migration target and we will consult on applying different targets and controls to different kinds of immigration, so we can help our universities compete in a growing global market.

Labour also believes in second chances for those who could not complete their education the first time round. Changes to tuition fees have led to a sharp fall in university applications from part-time and mature students. The economic downturn is a reminder that many people need support to manage economic and labour market change, and it is vital that we ensure there are retraining and lifelong learning options for those who need them. A Labour government would provide provision for literacy and numeracy classes for people of all ages who lack the basic skills in English and maths, and would take measures to encourage people not in work or training to take up this opportunity. We will look to ensure that Adult and Career Development courses are as effective as possible to reduce unemployment and allow people to upskill and retrain. Labour will look at ways we can encourage self-employed workers to broaden their existing skills and develop new ones. The importance of ensuring there are opportunities for lifelong learning is also discussed in the Work and Business section.



## Children and Families

Today, many families facing a cost of living crisis are faced with difficult choices about how they balance work and family life. The choices have become harder, with rising childcare costs and poor availability of places. In some families, parents who want to work are being prevented from doing so because the rising cost of childcare makes it unaffordable. In others, both parents are forced to work all hours simply to pay for extortionate childcare. This is acting as a drag on our economy and limiting the choices families can make.

We also recognise the societal and economic benefits that come from early intervention. Supporting vulnerable young people and preventing problems from becoming crises in the lives of children and families will help maximise the life chances of the individual, generate a more cohesive society in which everyone can play their part, and save the taxpayer money downstream.

### Supporting the early years

Support in the earliest years is vital to ensuring that children from vulnerable families can enjoy a happy and healthy upbringing. At a time when resources are tight and there is less money available, targeted early intervention is essential to avoid worsening outcomes in the long term. This Government has neglected early intervention. Labour's legacy of Sure Start children's centres providing childcare, healthcare, early years education and family support is being dismantled, with many centres closing, and many of those that remain operating with reduced staff and services.

Sure Start is rightly recognised as being a visionary programme, vital in helping children and families break the cycle of disadvantage and low aspirations. Labour created Sure Start and we remain committed to it. We will restore early intervention at the heart of our approach to supporting children and their parents, with Sure Start playing a key role.

Labour will assess the effective practices of Sure Start centres, including early years and play strategies and age appropriate learning, and will provide an environment in which schools can work alongside Sure Start centres and nurseries, to ensure an equal childhood becomes an equal education. We will support babies and children through their early years by ensuring that families are supported by adequate health visiting services leading the integrated early years team. Labour will ensure that early intervention is properly funded as the most cost effective way of using taxpayer money.

Labour will work with providers to help establish a career structure for early years staff to help attract and retain high quality staff; commit to a highly skilled workforce that are fairly rewarded for their skill and qualifications.

Work done by the last Labour Government to ensure that services were joined up to identify families in need and share best practice is also being dismantled. Labour believes it is vital that we provide the right intervention as early as possible to ensure that children and parents from vulnerable families get the support they need. By promoting a joined up system, Labour would help improve effective early intervention.

The current Government planned to increase the number of children that nursery workers and childminders could look after. If implemented, these plans would seriously put at risk child safety, and would not cut costs to parents. Labour would not endanger the quality and safety of childcare in this way.

### Delivering affordable and flexible high quality childcare

Day to day, parents are struggling to cope with rising childcare bills, against the backdrop of stagnant wages and fewer places available. For parents with school-age children, childcare can become a logistical nightmare, with many increasingly struggling to find decent before-and-after-school placements. With no plan to tackle the rising cost of childcare in this

parliament, it is clear the current Government has not recognised the pressures that families face.

One Nation Labour understands that to earn our way out of the cost of living crisis, we need to put an end to childcare holding back parents from playing their part in Britain's future success. We recognise that parents are struggling with both the costs and lack of availability of childcare and that children benefit from high quality childcare with well-trained staff. The next Labour Government will expand free childcare from 15 to 25 hours per week for working parents of three and four year-olds. The bank levy rate will be increased to meet the cost of this extra childcare support, which will save parents over £1,500 per child per year.

Labour will help to make work pay by introducing our commitment to 25 hours of free childcare as soon as we take office and invest in the childcare system throughout our term, including supporting Sure Start and the wider development of high quality and professionally trained staff through appropriate sectoral bodies. We will work to professionalise childcare provision to ensure the very best care, quality and conditions for the public, for children and for childcare workers.

Labour recognises that in many cases in deprived communities it is charities, social enterprises and co-operatives that provide much needed childcare, as a result of market failure that can make these areas unattractive to the private sector nursery chains. We will support this crucial provision, which can offer good value, high quality care and a strong community ethos.

To help give parents of primary-aged children the peace of mind that comes from knowing they can access childcare when they need it, Labour will also introduce a legal guarantee of access to wraparound care from 8am to 6pm through their local school. This will benefit those families that most require childcare

support and currently struggle to find good quality before-and-after school care for their children.

Childcare will always be an ongoing priority for Labour. The next Labour Government will continue to monitor the pressures on families and to support parents who are struggling to balance work and family life with their childcare needs.

### **Supporting vulnerable children**

Supporting the most vulnerable children and young people through their education is a priority for a future Labour government. We need to do much more to break down the link between a child's background, and their attainment in education. In government, Labour made progress on narrowing the gap between disadvantaged children and their peers. However, more needs to be done to close the 'education gap'. Under this Government the needs of disadvantaged children are not being addressed.

Labour recognises that children develop at different rates and that environment and opportunity play a significant role. We will not allow any new grammar schools to open. Academic selection at 11 damages education for all children and is not the best way to give all young people the best start in life. We are focused on how to raise standards in all schools and improve education for all children.

Labour will ensure equal access to educational opportunity through making sure that every school has a fair admissions policy and will give local areas the powers to direct all schools to admit hard-to-place and vulnerable children. Labour would bring forward changes to the Schools Admissions Code to allow all schools to prioritise disadvantaged children who are eligible for the Pupil Premium, a provision that currently exists only for academies.

Labour will review the impact of financial barriers, such as the removal of the Education Maintenance Allowance, and other constraints on the participation of young people, particularly those from low income households, in continuing education and training. We will also work to ensure that all students on full-time courses in Further Education receive an appropriate amount of face-to-face tuition, with the expectation that this would include at least 12 hours of face-to-face tuition time.

It is vital that the next generation see genuine improvements in education provision for children with a disability or special educational need. Labour has worked hard in opposition to amend and improve the Government's Children and Families Bill. We believe that the Government should be doing more to ensure that the needs of all children are met, including the needs of looked after children, and that the process for families seeking support for their child is as simple as possible. Labour has argued for a clear local accountability process, so that children, young people and their parents are assured that there is not a postcode lottery for services.

Labour recognises the real importance of the Disabled Students Allowance to students across the country and in government we will make sure that all disabled children and young people are supported to access the high quality education that they deserve. Under a Labour government there would be, where parents chose it, a strong presumption in favour of inclusion in mainstream education for disabled children with special educational needs. Disabled learners would receive the necessary individualised support by reinstating individual education plans, removed by the latest revised draft of the SEN Code of Practice, and maintaining well-trained and qualified headteachers, teachers and teaching assistants. Disabled headteachers, teachers and teaching assistants are positive role models in schools and would be supported in qualifying for, entering

and staying in the profession. All education professionals and staff would receive disability equality training as part of initial training and continuing professional development. Reasonable adjustments would be made to all mainstream examinations and assessments to make them accessible for disabled learners. There would also be a requirement for all new, upgraded and rebuilt education establishments to be fully accessible for disabled people.

Ensuring we have a child protection system working effectively to protect children at risk of harm and neglect is of course of primary importance. Key to this is the training, support and motivation of professionals working in child protection, and making sure that professionals in contact with children work together and share information, so that early indications about a child at risk are shared and acted upon. Labour will work to ensure children are protected from sexual exploitation and female genital mutilation.

### Further Reading

‘A revolution in apprenticeships: a something-for-something deal with employers’, Labour’s Policy Review: Skills Taskforce, 2013

‘Childcare: What matters to parents and children?’ Education and Children Policy Commission, 2013

‘First steps: A new approach for our schools’, Confederation of British Industry (CBI), 2012

‘Great teachers: attracting, training and retaining the best’, Education Select Committee, 2012

‘Skills Taskforce Interim Report: Talent Matters - why England needs a new approach to skills’, Labour’s Policy Review: Skills Taskforce, 2013

‘Speech to Labour Party Annual Conference 2012’, Ed Miliband, 2012

‘Speech: My mission for vocational excellence’, Tristram Hunt, 2013

‘Speech: No School Left Behind’, Stephen Twigg, 2013


‘Speech: Teaching quality’, Tristram Hunt, 2014

‘Transforming further education: A new mission to deliver excellence in technical education’, Labour’s Policy Review: Skills Taskforce, 2013

‘Unleashing greatness: Getting the best from an academised system’, the Academies Commission, 2013



**Agenda**  
2015



**HEALTH AND CARE  
FINAL YEAR POLICY  
DOCUMENT**



# HEALTH AND CARE

## Introduction

The National Health Service is the Labour Party's greatest achievement; an institution that embodies the bonds that tie us together and the responsibility we owe to each other as citizens. We created it, we saved it, we value it and we will always support it.

A lot has changed since the NHS was first created. Today, we are living 10 years longer than our counterparts back then. That is a cause for celebration, but increased longevity has brought with it new challenges. In 1948, infectious diseases were the biggest challenge; today chronic illnesses such as dementia, diabetes and depression account for 70 per cent of NHS spending. In 21st Century Britain, people rightly want and expect to be active partners in shaping decisions about their healthcare.

So 65 years on, our health challenges look very different, and people's expectations of the NHS do too. People's needs don't fit neatly into categories like 'physical', 'mental' and 'social' – they are often a combination of all three. And physical, mental and social needs are also often interconnected.

But, despite the NHS' great achievements, the way services are provided hasn't kept up with our changing needs. We have a system that too often treats patients as a collection of conditions – the broken hip, the cough, the bad back – but fails to see the whole-person behind them. We see families passed from pillar to post by different organisations, having to tell their story over and over again. And too many opportunities are missed to prevent illness and help people stay healthy. This inefficient, fragmented way of working is something the country cannot afford in an era when there is less money around.

Labour's vision for our NHS will bring together physical health, mental health and social care into a single service to meet all of a person's care needs, with a focus on prevention. It is

a true One Nation vision: a health and care system shaped around people, not bureaucratic structures or market dogma.

This stands in stark contrast to the Government's agenda of ever greater privatisation and fragmentation. Rather than facing up to the challenges of the 21st Century, billions have been wasted on a damaging top-down reorganisation that nobody wanted, and nobody voted for. As a result patients are waiting longer, facing a postcode lottery of rationed treatments and asking why the NHS is losing thousands of nurses and health professionals, when there is a crisis in Accident and Emergency departments across the country.

One Nation Labour is determined to protect and strengthen the NHS, even in an era when money is tight. That means an NHS based on collaboration and integration, not competition and fragmentation. And it means a health care system built around patients, not bureaucratic silos. The next Labour Government will remain true to our values and vision for the NHS: a comprehensive universal health service, free at the point of need, and fit for the 21st Century.

The last Labour Government successfully brought UK health spending in line with that of other comparator economies after nearly two decades of neglect. The Government's cuts agenda is now reversing that trend. This is not acceptable. The next Labour government will guarantee that health care is publicly funded through progressive means at levels that sustain it as a world leading public service. Funding will be redirected into service provision and will build on the last Labour Government's levels of funding. On social care the starting point is that the status quo, including the Government's version of the Dilnot reforms, is no longer an option. Social care has never benefitted from a universal contributory system of funding and yet is intrinsically linked to health care. Funding within health will be redirected into service provision to ensure that it is spent to maximum effect.

## Our NHS

We want to see a community in which power, wealth and opportunity are in the hands of the many not the few and where the rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe. This will not happen in an unhealthy society where wealth is primarily inherited and the benefits of economic growth go to those who are already rich. Labour's long-term goal is to break the link between a person's social class and their health. We will work across government, using the power and influence of all government departments and agencies, to achieve this.

The NHS is the most important creation of the Labour movement – free at the point of need, to embody our collective identity and the duties we owe to one another. We will ensure it remains rooted in the values that underpinned its creation – cooperation not privatisation and fragmentation, in a planned and collaborative system.

The Government's top-down reorganisation is damaging the NHS, and the experience of its patients, by putting market competition ahead of patient care. The next Labour Government will deliver on our mission to protect the NHS by repealing the Health and Social Care Act 2012 (England), putting the right values back at the heart of the NHS.

Repealing the Act will ensure that the Secretary of State has a duty to provide a comprehensive national service which is free at the point of need, that private patients are not put before NHS patients, and that the conflicts of interest the Act created are tackled. We will also ensure that the Secretary of State is able to give directions to the NHS. Labour will break down barriers that prevent or deter co-operation. Labour will take competition law out of the NHS by ending Monitor's role as an economic competition regulator and by scrapping the Section 75 regulations that force services to be put out to tender.

Alongside changes to protect the NHS from future privatisation, we will ensure all outsourced contracts for services, including under the Health and Social Care Act 2012, are properly managed to ensure they are meeting clinical and financial standards. Where contracted services are failing, we will consider all the options, including bringing them back into the public sector. Future contracting decisions will be based on what contributes to integration through the whole-person care agenda.

Labour will also ensure that existing and future procurement projects for public infrastructure and services are scrutinised and action taken to ensure they deliver best value for money for the taxpayer and the NHS, learning from past experience, using contractual flexibility to the full and making sure that changes are not at the expense of patient care or appropriate terms and conditions for staff.

Whilst decisions about our National Health Service must continue to be taken wholly at Westminster, Labour recognises the benefit pan-European action has achieved, for example in research to tackle rare diseases and in the necessary collaboration to tackle threats like e-coli and other potential pandemics which cross our borders. We will continue to support European collaboration to promote public health as appropriate.

Labour share the concerns that have been raised about the impact that TTIP could have on public services. Labour believes that the NHS and all public services need to be more, not less, integrated, and we are concerned that including public services in the final TTIP could increase the fragmentation of health services that is already taking place under this Government. That is why we believe that the NHS and public services should not be included in any TTIP agreement.

Labour believes that key to an EU-US trade deal that we would encourage the rest of Europe to support-which avoids a race to

the bottom and promotes decent jobs and growth-would be safeguards and progress on labour, environmental and health and safety standards. Labour has raised concerns over the inclusion of an ISDS mechanism in TTIP. Labour believes that the right of governments to legislate for legitimate public policy objectives should be protected effectively in any dispute resolution mechanisms.

Labour will deliver an NHS that values collaboration over competition, that focuses on integrated care rather than widening the divide between commissioners and providers, and that delivers care according to the needs of patients, and not the market. Labour's vision for whole-person care does not see people merely as recipients or consumers of services. Instead, it sees them as genuine and active partners in designing and shaping their care and support.

By contrast, the Government's free market approach has seen competition used to break up successful NHS services. Some studies have shown that marketised healthcare systems have worse health inequalities and higher costs, and in some situations marketisation can lead to poorer quality care, for example higher hospitalisation rates. In a planned and collaborative system Labour will reintroduce the NHS as the preferred provider so that NHS services do not needlessly face the threat of competition and destabilisation.

Labour's commitment to the whole-person care agenda will progressively reduce the purchaser provider split across the NHS, enabling local providers to determine how quality services should be delivered within the scope of a national framework. All Trusts - Foundation, NHS and Community Trusts - will need to be accountable to the public and operate within a collaborative and integrated system not a free market free for all. To support this, the mixed economy of Trusts and Foundation Trusts will need to be reviewed so that all service providers are fully integrated to deliver the whole-person care agenda in a collaborative, not competitive, way, and fully accountable to the public. Where

additional services are funded by the NHS (e.g. from the not-for-profit sector) they must work in close partnership with the NHS and terms and conditions of staff (and public accountability), must be prioritised to ensure we achieve high standards in care and terms and conditions.

As part of this process we will review the effectiveness of the current TUPE legislation and make improvements where necessary. Labour recognises there is a role for the third sector and a limited role for independent sector organisations in providing health and care services where there are gaps in delivery, or where the NHS is unable to provide a high quality service.

Over the last decade, targets played an important part in reducing waiting lists and improving care and access. And a small number of targets, focussed on what matters for people and patients, is still an important aspect of maintaining high standards. But in driving forwards Labour's vision of whole-person care, a top-down, target driven approach will not deliver the personalised care we want. Instead, we need to look at powerful rights for individuals, codified in the NHS Constitution, along with greater opportunities for patients to be involved in designing and shaping their own care.

Labour recognises the vital work of local authorities across a range of services that impact on health, including social care, housing and their new public health responsibilities. Health and Wellbeing Boards will have a central role in the commissioning process for people with long-term conditions, disability and frailty - people whose care is often most fragmented and who are heavy users of health and care services. The Health and Wellbeing Board would be responsible for creating a local collective commissioning plan for this group of people - within a nationally defined outcome framework for the development of whole-person care - with a duty on CCGs and Local Authorities to enact the collective commissioning plan.

## Whole-person Care

The current health and care system is based on three fragmented services: physical health in the mainstream NHS, mental health on the fringes of the NHS, and social care in council run services. Increasingly, however, people's needs are a complex mix of the physical, mental and social. This was captured by the 1948 World Health Organisation definition of health as “a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.” However, for all its strengths, the NHS was not designed to fully achieve this.

That is why the next Labour Government will integrate health and social care services into a system of ‘whole-person care’. This approach will bring together three separate, fragmented services into a single service coordinating all of a person's needs – physical, mental and social – with preventing illness and promoting good health at its heart. Whole-person care will enable us to put people of all ages at the centre of the health and care system in a way that has never been done before; seeing the whole-person, and organising services around the needs of people and their communities. The concept of whole-person care has relevance across all stages of life, from the child with complex needs, the working-age adult with disabilities through to the older person. For example, from the very start, our maternity services, health visitors and children's centres can work closely together to improve the outcomes for children and parents, particularly those from disadvantaged groups.

Our vision of whole-person care recognises that the integration of services will deepen over time and that through both the restoration of a truly national health service by repealing the Health and Social Care Act, and a strengthened national entitlement of services to be provided and patient rights, written into the NHS constitution, the postcode lottery will be minimised. Models of delivery should

be developed from a strong evidence base of clinical and social effectiveness. This is about re-shaping the way care is delivered within communities and reducing health inequalities, and not another top-down structural reorganisation. In caring for those with complex needs, where local partners in communities want to move to a single budget for health and social care, or joint ventures, and have the capability to do so, the legislative framework should allow this to happen.

Central to whole-person care is the idea that people with chronic conditions should be empowered to manage their conditions. Labour recognises that better prevention is the key to reducing the burden of chronic illness and that people need support to live independent lives. It will also ensure that the person whose needs are being considered is at the centre of the decision making process and the planning of their care. This is why personalisation, and meaningful control, will be at the heart of Labour's vision. We want to see more choice for patients over where they receive their treatment and care, for example, through maternity services giving women the option to give birth in their home, and also more opportunities to have treatments like dialysis and chemotherapy in the home. Meaningful choice is about the type of service that is provided and the way that service is delivered not which organisation is delivering it. As a result a Labour Government will abolish the damaging and overwhelming market system of “any qualified providers” that does nothing to provide real choice to patients. Instead of relying on a narrow form of choice, Labour will create a national entitlement, written into the NHS Constitution, to ensure that patients get legal rights to access the services they need. As part of our vision for whole-person care, we will explore how the NHS, social care and the Department for Work and Pensions can collaborate to provide more appropriate support for people with long-term conditions and disabilities.

### **Independent Commission on Whole-Person Care**

In April 2013, Labour asked Sir John Oldham to form the Independent Commission on Whole-Person Care to make recommendations about how we can integrate health and care services within existing resources.

The final report, *One Person, One Team, One System*, was published in March 2014. It sets out a vision of integrated services and makes recommendations on how to organise services around the needs of people.

The report focuses on how we can ensure the provision of higher quality care for millions of older people and those with long-term conditions who have multiple needs, while at the same time getting the best value for taxpayers' money. The report emphasises that services must begin by asking the user what is important to them, valuing their independence and placing power in their hands so that their needs are addressed by people acting as one team, from organisations behaving as one system.

Proposals include a personal care plan and a personal care coordinator to organise someone's care; preventative checks for vulnerable and older people to identify risks to their health; more help to enable people to manage their long-term conditions; and improved assessments to identify support for carers. The report also recommends that the competition framework imposed by the current Government should be scrapped to allow for services to integrate.

The report shows that these changes can be made without further structural re-organisation. Labour believes that the report sets out the right blueprint for bringing our health and care services into the 21st Century.

### **Bringing healthcare closer to people**

A One Nation health service requires organisations involved in providing services to work together to meet the needs of patients, and to empower the people who use them. Labour's vision will enable people to stay healthy in their homes for longer, including through prevention and early intervention. For example, installing a grab rail in the home may stop somebody falling over; prevent them ending up in hospital and recognise that support can be non-medical. This kind of preventative approach is not only much better for the person, but can save money in the long run too.

The current fragmented system of health and care can be difficult to navigate, often resulting in a series of encounters with several different professionals. Central to the vision of whole-person care is the idea of a single named contact for the co-ordination of an individual's care needs.

Key to successful integration is breaking down the organisational and cultural barriers between those involved in providing, commissioning and planning care. This could be achieved in a number of ways, for example by providing incentives for joint working, or through a single budget to fund services through a 'year of care' tariff. Labour will develop new funding mechanisms for health and social care providers based on delivering quality, equitable and integrated services and incentivising health promotion and preventative care, rather than simply on volumes of episodic treatment.

In 2013, Labour set up an Independent Commission on Whole-Person Care, chaired by Sir John Oldham OBE. The Commission have produced detailed recommendations on how Labour's vision can best be implemented, which has been submitted to the Health and Care Policy Commission.

At the end of a person's life, we want to see care available in the place of their choosing. Having the right end-of-life care package in



place would allow families, in those crucial final days and weeks, to focus on each other rather than fighting the system and worrying about finances. At the moment, many people who would like to die at home end up having to stay in hospital. That is why Labour will work towards giving people the right to receive their end-of-life care at a place of their choosing, with family around them.

### **Making hospitals and services work for patients**

Labour acknowledges that there will be occasions where there is a strong clinical case for changes to hospital services that will improve care. What matters is that service reconfigurations, and changes to the way that health services are provided, are evidence-based and clinically led, not purely financially driven, and that the local community is consulted early and frequently.

The next Labour Government will drive a series of step changes in the culture of the NHS, to ensure communities are given a real say in shaping the future of their local services, including hospital reconfigurations.

We also recognise that car parking charges have an impact on people's ability to access and work in our health service. Excessive charges clash with the founding values of the NHS, that the service should be free at the point of need. A survey by Macmillan Cancer Trust showed that the families of cancer victims could face parking charges of more than £400 per year. That places real strain on families. Labour notes recent hikes in hospital car parking charges, which have added to the cost of living crisis facing families. Labour will undertake a review with a view to ensure a fair system of charging.

We will ensure patients have a formal role in drawing up and deciding on proposals for service change before they get to consultation stage. They must be around the table when initial decisions are made. We will

give communities more ownership of the consultation process, taking the power to run the consultation off the NHS commissioners who are advocating the changes, and giving it to an independent organisation, such as the Health & Wellbeing Board, with a duty placed on them to secure real public engagement. We oppose the Government taking sweeping powers to force changes to services across an entire region without proper public consultation. We will reverse the introduction in the care Bill of sweeping powers to force changes to services across an entire region without proper public consultation. We will also extend Freedom of Information legislation to cover all organisations delivering public service contracts, including the private sector. On coming into office, we will be clear that service changes and reconfigurations should be clinically driven, not financially driven.

In 2003 the previous Labour government established Foundation Trust Hospitals in England with the aim of making hospital services more accountable to local communities by giving Trust members a real say over their running. Ten years on the consensus is that, whilst more than 2 million people are members of Foundation Trusts, the model has not achieved its full potential and there is a need to re-awaken the original ambition behind it. One Nation Labour believes in more 'people-powered' public services and so a future Labour Government will consider ways of strengthening the role of members within Foundation Trusts and work to better engage and involve NHS staff in Trust membership.

### **Tackling the A&E crisis and improving primary care**

One of the most visible failures of the Government's NHS reorganisation is the current Accident and Emergency crisis. A&E is a barometer of how the health service is performing, and all the indicators are telling us that the service is under severe pressure.



The number of people waiting over four hours in A&E has more than doubled since 2010, and trolley waits and ambulance queues have doubled too.

A key cause of the A&E crisis has been the Government's failure on social care. This has led to fewer older people getting the care they need at home and in the community, resulting in more people ending up having to be admitted into hospital.

The Government has also made it harder for people to access alternatives to A&E. They have made it harder for people to see a GP by scrapping the 48 hour GP appointment guarantee, and removing incentives to extend evening and weekend opening for GPs. As part of the next Labour Government's plan to improve services for patients and ease the pressure on hospitals, the next Labour Government will give all NHS patients the right to a same-day consultation with their local GP surgery, the right to a GP appointment at their surgery within 48 hours or the right to book an appointment more than 48 hours ahead with the GP of their choice. To help ease pressures and support the delivery of these new standards, we will invest an extra £100 million a year in general practice, funded by savings made from scrapping the Government's new competition rules which have led to increased costs in the NHS, and from cutting back on the new bureaucracy created in the Government's NHS reorganisation. The last Labour Government increased GP numbers to record levels, but numbers have fallen since 2009/10 and the Government is far off meeting its stated goal of 3,250 training places a year. So GP recruitment will be a priority for Labour, including through promoting general practice as a career choice, supporting GP returners back to work and encouraging recruitment in under-doctored areas.

For the majority of people, GP services are the first point of contact in the NHS. Labour is committed to ensuring that everyone has prompt access to their GP or appropriate

member of the local primary care team. Labour believes that a greater focus needs to be placed on extending access to primary care, including through a stronger role for community services such as pharmacies, sexual health services and dentists. General Practice is under pressure through squeezed budgets, falling recruitment and new commitments from greater involvement in commissioning. It is important that General Practice is able to serve patients, and improve access and outcomes. Labour will work with GPs to improve GP registration, including in hard to reach groups.

We have also seen the closure of NHS Walk-in Centres and the dismantling of NHS Direct. Labour believes that it should be easier for people to see their family doctor or an appropriate health practitioner, and that there should be appropriate alternatives to A&E, including stepped up and highly trained emergency services, able to treat people at the scene, triage and refer as set out by Sir Bruce Keogh, which will result in reduced hospital admissions. NHS Walk-in Centres have played a vital and successful role in enabling people to access care and relieving pressure on A&E. We have been clear that it is short-sighted to close walk in centres. So it is a huge concern that a quarter of walk-in centres have been closed since 2010. Labour continues to support Walk-in centres. Where they are well used and valued, they should be retained. Labour will review the impact that closures of walk-in centres have had on people's ability to access primary care services.

The Government has taken NHS funding away from deprived areas, hitting communities and risking an increase in health inequalities. Labour is committed to investing to improve primary care access, with a particular focus on tackling the health challenges of need and deprivation. Good primary care takes a proactive approach where the public is supported over a lifetime to make positive health choices, with enabling interventions at the earliest possible stage.

### **Improving diagnosis and elective care**

Many serious conditions and diseases can be prevented, managed effectively or even cured if they are detected early enough; early diagnosis can save lives. That is why the previous Labour Government left clear plans in place to speed up and improve diagnosis, which were scrapped by the current Government. In particular, Labour believes that improving early diagnosis must be the new front in the fight against cancer.

Labour is committed to working in an integrated global context to drive research and advancement for better treatment and cures of conditions and diseases, whilst recognising and supporting Britain's role as a leader in life sciences research and development. Labour has a record of protecting separate budgets for basic and clinical research and believes we need to continue to support both. Medical and clinical research and development is vital to improving healthcare outcomes and should be an integral part of the NHS mission. Without investment in research and development, health outcomes will stagnate.

### **Stronger patient voice and robust inspections**

In 2013, Robert Francis published his second report into the Mid Staffordshire NHS Foundation Trust. Labour believes that what happened at Stafford has no place in the NHS and we must ensure that it does not and cannot happen again.

Labour welcomed the Francis recommendations, but regrets that the Government has adopted a selective approach to them, including on issues such as the duty of candour.

As the scandal at Winterbourne View demonstrated, recent care failures have occurred across all sectors. Even though the majority of people receive good care, everyone must be able to expect the highest quality service, whatever sector or setting their care is in, and to be treated with dignity and respect.

It was Labour that introduced independent regulation of the NHS and we support moves to strengthen the system of regulation and inspection. Sadly, the Government's mismanagement of the NHS – reducing nurses and other vital health professionals by thousands, sucking £3 billion out of frontline care to fund a wasteful reorganisation, and causing a crisis in A&E – risk making care failures more likely in future.

Labour will ensure that the voice of users, their families and the public are at the heart of local health and care services. Personal control over the care received, regular feedback, community involvement, and a strengthened role for Healthwatch are essential to improve quality and increase the accountability of local services, alongside a robust national inspection regime.

Labour will work with unions and professional bodies to develop an enabling strategy to train and support staff to reach the vital standards that the public expect and deserve. An enabling culture for staff will promote best practice and helps create the preventative mechanism to stop standards falling and errors occurring in the first place.

### **The future of social care**

To deliver whole-person care, Labour will need to transform the care and support system for older and disabled people. Our principles of fairness, security, opportunity, and defending human rights, will underpin our priorities for older and disabled people. We must also ensure that rigorous safeguards are in place to protect the interests of all people.

The growing social care crisis is one of the biggest challenges we face as a society. Since 2010, £2.7 billion has been cut from budgets that pay for adult social care, and the system is close to collapse. Tighter eligibility criteria mean that hundreds of thousands fewer people are getting help. And the rising burden of care charges is adding to the cost of living crisis: increases in charges now mean that since 2010,

elderly and disabled people are paying almost £740 a year more for vital home care services.

### **Ensuring a fair care system**

Labour believes that people need a fairer deal and protection against the rising costs of care. The current social care system is the worst of all worlds and it needs to change. Greater localism of services should be a priority for future developments of the NHS. The transfer of public health responsibilities to local authorities has shown that this can have a beneficial impact, helping to deal with local priorities and local problems. There should however be an overarching framework to ensure that issues of postcode lotteries do not dominate.

The current eligibility criteria for social care are often interpreted according to available resources locally, often rendering them meaningless. National minimum eligibility criteria must be used to set a baseline giving everyone the right to be kept safe and well. Beyond this, Labour will work with key interests to agree the standard of wellbeing and independent living for older and disabled people, in line with the UN convention (on the rights of persons with disabilities) that our society should aspire to, and to help inform future spending priorities.

The Government commissioned Andrew Dilnot to develop proposals to put social care funding on a sustainable basis, and the Care Bill intends to introduce some of the Dilnot Commission's recommendations. But Labour believes that the Government has weakened these recommendations, meaning that many older people with modest incomes and assets will not benefit, and most older people receiving care are likely to pass away before they reach the so-called 'cap' on care costs.

Labour believes that the solutions put forward by Dilnot, whilst welcome, do not provide all of the answers. We need a far bigger and bolder response to meet the challenges of our ageing population – a genuinely integrated NHS and

social care system which helps older people stay healthy and living independently, in their own homes, for as long as possible.

A One Nation Labour Government will seek to ensure that no one fears their old age or struggles to cope with the care of a loved one. A 21st century care service that is integrated with the NHS and focused on the person being cared for must be underpinned by professional standards, regulation enshrined in law and a trained and valued workforce on fair pay, terms and conditions, and represented through a sectoral body. We cannot ask our system and workforce to do more for less as our elderly population increases and demand for care rises. Such a system would be as transformative as the introduction of the NHS for those who need care, their families and care workers across the country - the majority of whom are women.

Crucially, the Government has ignored Dilnot's warnings that changes to long-term social care funding will only work if the current crisis in care is addressed. That is why Labour called on the Government to use £1.2 billion of the 2012/13 Department of Health under spend – that has been clawed back by the Treasury – to support social care in 2013/14 and 2014/15. Beyond this, Labour is seeking to develop a broad consensus on the funding of social care, operating from the starting point that the status quo, including the Government's version of the Dilnot reforms, is no longer an option. Various ways of supporting and funding improved care must be considered. Bureaucratic and misleading Resource Allocation Systems used by councils should be reformed, with personal budgets becoming optional as part of a new focus on making personalisation meaningful.

### **Promoting dignity and respect**

Whilst the majority of care provided is of good quality there are still too many stories of poor care, especially for elderly people. It is completely unacceptable that any older person in a hospital or care home be denied help with eating, drinking or going to the toilet, or not to

have their privacy properly respected. Far too much home care is delivered in 15 minute slots, a practice which doesn't meet personal care needs.

Labour believes that ensuring older people are treated with dignity must be a top priority. Our hospitals and care services need enough staff who are properly trained, particularly in issues like dementia and properly valued by society, with this reflected in improved conditions as befits the level of work expected of them. This should begin with a whole system approach of proactive challenge to the known risks of National Minimum Wage non-compliance and the failure of employers to pay travel time. Local authority commissioning practices need to be properly regulated, with the aim of halting the race to the bottom; care quality should not be undermined by narrow considerations of price, and in-house provision should no longer be considered untenable.

Labour recognises that older people don't want to go into hospital unless it's absolutely necessary. When they do, they want to be treated with dignity and respect, and then get home and back on their feet as quickly as possible. Labour is committed to ensuring that services are in place which enable elderly people to remain healthy and independent in their homes, including better provision of step-down services from hospitals or step-up services from the home.

### **Supporting carers**

Carers make a vital contribution to our local communities and to our economy. Across the UK there are 6.5 million unpaid carers of which many receive no financial support of any kind, and this number is expected to rise to 9 million over the next 25 years. If our vision of the future health and care system is to be sustainable, it will mean that the state has to start thinking very differently about unpaid care and what it does to support carers. For too long, carers have been invisible in the system, and often far too much is left to them. Labour

believes that local authorities must be provided with the support required to ensure that carer's needs are identified and assessed with appropriate assistance provided. In doing so this will help unpaid carers across the country, providing them with support that will in turn increase their quality of life and that of those they care for.

Labour wants to see improved support and recognition for carers. In Government, we introduced new rights for carers, including a right for carers to have their needs assessed independently of the person they care for.

Today, we can and should do more for carers. For example, the current definition of 'carer' should be widened so that it specifically includes young carers, and parents caring for disabled children. There should also be greater institutional recognition of the needs and rights of carers including those of young carers and their right to childhood. NHS bodies should have a duty to identify carers, which would help GPs and hospitals signpost carers to the right help and support.

### **Public Health**

Promoting public health and tackling health inequalities are essential to improving health. As people live longer and the population grows, demand for healthcare will rise, and it will rise faster if we don't help people to live healthier lives. Without a focus on early intervention and prevention, and ongoing support throughout life, the NHS will struggle to cope with the rise in demand.

Given that there is public demand for both high standards of health and social care, and for low taxes, governments should take a strong approach in promoting healthy living to protect the NHS and increase quality of life and healthy life expectancy. To that end, Labour will introduce initiatives and measures to reduce smoking and excessive alcohol consumption, excessive sugar, salt and fat in food, food fraud, and air pollution. The Government's

'Responsibility Deal' has lost credibility as professional bodies have withdrawn from it due to the domination of the agenda by commercial interests. Commercial interests are not necessarily aligned with the aim of improving population health, and excessive consumption of foods high in sugar, salt and fat can have a significant negative impact on the health of citizens and consequently create demands on the Health Service. The growth of chronic illness such as Type 2 diabetes serves to illustrate this point.

We will make healthy choices easier by encouraging affordable healthy products such as fresh fruit and vegetables while taking action to help people avoid the excessive consumption of unhealthy products high in fat (including trans fats), salt and sugar, including through regulation where appropriate. We will ensure that the quantity of sugar, salt and fat in manufactured food is easily apparent to customers wherever it is sold. We will also take action to tackle supermarkets selling dangerous quantities of low-cost alcohol that fuel binge drinking and harm health, and further action to help young people not take up smoking.

### **Tackling health inequalities requires action across government and society**

Future policy designed to tackle health inequalities should reflect the fact that 60 per cent of a person's health is determined by a range of factors beyond the influence or control of the NHS. In 2010, Sir Michael Marmot's report 'Fair Society, Healthy Lives: A Strategic Review of Health Inequalities in England Post-2010', stated that people in different social circumstances experience huge differences in health, well-being and length of life. It argued that reducing health inequalities requires action across all social determinants of health, for example, housing and employment policies.

There is also a need to recognise the impact that regressive policies can have on a population's health. For example, the effect that

unemployment can have on an individual's mental health can lead to further demands on the NHS. The role of good quality housing, access to open space and well-designed urban spaces are also important factors in a person's wellbeing. Labour's actions to reduce economic inequalities will help to tackle health inequalities too. Recognition also needs to be built into services of the differing needs of communities, such as the higher prevalence of diabetes among some BAME groups, and the differing family and community support systems that exist, to ensure outreach is effective. Labour will work to eliminate inequalities in providing public health information to ensure improvements in service delivery benefit BAME communities.

### **Occupational Health**

Labour believes that people who have contracted diseases as a result of their work deserve full and proper recompense without delay. Many thousands of employees who developed asbestos-related conditions have been let down by a slow and cumbersome compensation process; indeed many have died as a result of their conditions while waiting for payment. The Government's compensation scheme is deeply inadequate. It only covers mesothelioma, neglecting the thousands of people each year affected by asbestosis, asbestos-related diseases, and pleural plaques.

The previous Labour Government proposed the establishment of an Employers Liability Insurance Bureau, which would afford compensation regardless whether the liable employer could be traced. The Coalition's new scheme is heavily watered down, only offering remuneration for mesothelioma sufferers diagnosed after July 2012. It was introduced 26 months after the ELIB consultation closed and during that delay it is estimated that 5,000 people died from mesothelioma. The obfuscation and distraction currently exercised by the insurance companies has been aided and abetted by this



Government, allowing them to dictate the terms of the consultations, and refusing to speed-up and extend the compensation process. The Government is committed to getting the best deal for the insurers, not the sufferers.

Labour will introduce legislation for a proper compensation scheme for sufferers of asbestosis and asbestos-related conditions, ensuring they are given the payment they are duly owed without delay, by enshrining the levy on the insurance industry in law. This will secure a sustainable funding stream for compensation for victims and ongoing research into asbestos related diseases and their treatment. The compensation scheme will be extended to include Pleural Plaques should evidence be found to show Pleural Plaques are symptomatic.

### **Taking care of your health**

Helping people to take care of their own health isn't about the state telling people what to do; it is about helping people to make informed choices on issues such as their diet, exercise, alcohol, smoking and sexual health – choices that enable them to live healthy lives and to avoid getting ill. Individuals need to be supported to look after their own health.

For example, supporting people to be more physically active can make a huge difference to their health. Turning the tide of inactivity is one of the most cost-effective ways of making our public services sustainable.

The level of obesity in today's school children puts them at a greater risk of developing diseases like diabetes and cancer. That is why Labour is looking at how we can tackle the problem of unhealthy food being marketed to children. We are also looking at what additional steps, including possible regulations such as legal limits on sugar, fat and salt in foods, would be beneficial.

Schools are also important in improving children's health – this is discussed further in the Education and Children section.

Despite all the progress made over the last decade, a quarter of all cancer deaths are still linked to tobacco. This is why Labour supports measures on standardised packaging, measures to ban adults purchasing cigarettes or tobacco for children, and a ban on smoking in cars when children are present.

### **Mental Health**

One in six people across Britain are affected by a mental illness, and according to the World Health Organisation one in four of us will have a mental illness at some point in our lifetime.

Taking part in community activity is a vital way of protecting and improving mental health. The NHS should support the growth of local voluntary and community groups as a whole, cooperating with the other services which have a mutual interest in this. We will ensure that health agencies play an active part in community development, with the clear objective of strengthening the role of the community and voluntary sector in relation to health. Labour will ensure all health and social care providers are compliant with the Equalities Act. It is also important that mental health providers are compliant with the Equalities Act.

NHS agencies and providers will therefore be expected to play their part in ensuring that every locality has a thriving third sector. NHS organisations will be expected to take an active part in neighbourhood partnerships and to encourage users and carers groups to do so. We will encourage firms to involve employees in businesses so that job control is increased. In other countries, such as Germany, works councils are common place in businesses

Labour recognises the link between unemployment and mental illnesses, especially depression. Labour will ensure that patients with mental health problems have equal treatment and resources as patients with physical illnesses. To ensure that waiting times patients with mental health problems are reduced and that the distances travelled to

access those services should not be excessive, Labour should take steps to introduce waiting time and access standards for mental health services.

Local Authority Health and Wellbeing Boards should be informed by Mental Health and Wellbeing Strategies ensuring preventative as well as curative services and interventions.

### **Prioritising mental health in the NHS**

Under this Government, mental health services are under increasing pressure and people are struggling to access the treatment and support they need. Labour has already sought to prioritise mental health in our National Health Service by forcing the Government to write a commitment to “parity of esteem” between mental and physical health into law. Labour also supported the Mental Health (Discrimination) Act 2013.

To ensure that mental illness is treated with the same level of priority as physical illness, the next Labour Government would re-write the NHS Constitution to create a new right to psychological therapies that help people recover from conditions like anxiety and depression – just as people currently have a right to drugs and medical treatments. The needs of children with mental ill health are currently poorly addressed, with limited services provided. A future Labour Government will ensure that this area of child healthcare will be properly resourced and that children needing mental healthcare will have their needs prioritised at the same level as those suffering from physical conditions.

Labour also believes that there should be more mental health specialists working in teams with GPs, nurses and carers. We need all health professionals to see the promotion of good mental health, and spotting signs of mental ill-health, as part of what they do. For this to happen we need to ensure that the training of doctors, nurses and all professional staff who work in the NHS includes mental health and

that outreach is effective into all our varied communities. Labour recognises that failings in the provision of mental healthcare for BAME communities and that care can often be remain, and that care is too often inadequate. Labour will put in place measures to improve the delivery of mental healthcare for BAME communities and in particular treatment, care and services for patients on psychiatric wards and services for young black males.

### **Breaking the mental health taboo**

Far too many people still feel as if they have to pretend that they have something else wrong with them, when they are struggling with a mental health problem like depression. If we are to achieve real parity of esteem for mental health, then we need to break the taboo associated with it.

We must recognise that good mental health doesn't start in the hospital or the treatment room, but in our workplaces, our schools and our communities. Labour has established a Mental Health Taskforce to produce recommendations on how we can improve mental health in society.

Improved inter-agency working around the person is vital to ensure that there is a co-ordinated approach to the individual, including health, education, criminal justice, housing and other services.

Labour strongly believes that being LGBT is not an illness and it should never be treated as something which is curable, which is why we believe public money should never be spent on ‘conversion or cure’ therapies. Labour will ensure that existing safeguards are strengthened to prevent this from happening and will examine the effectiveness of the current system of regulation. Labour will work with the professional bodies to ensure that publicly funded services enforce the Equalities Act 2010.

### **The health and care workforce**

A well-trained, motivated and well-led workforce is essential to delivering good quality care. This is especially important for the delivery of integrated care, which will rely on staff with the right mix of skills and the ability to work in multidisciplinary teams across boundaries. Labour believes in national pay frameworks and the stability and recognition they give to the health and care workforce. A Labour Government will respect the views of independent pay review bodies rather than brush them aside irresponsibly or renege on the agreed processes. Staff morale and wellbeing are also essential if we are to have a motivated workforce. Too often, this Government appears too willing to ‘talk down’ the NHS in order to hide their own failings. Labour will seek to create a better dialogue with the health and care workforce. We are committed to safe staffing levels, based on expert advice, learning from where things have gone wrong in the past. Labour also supports the better regulation of health and care support workers. Labour will restore the collection of Race Equality and ethnicity data as part of the specific duty on employment for public authorities bound by the general Public Sector Equality Duty. Labour will develop a framework of action to tackle discrimination in the workforce of the NHS; measures to eradicate institutional racism in the workforce and to remove the ‘glass ceiling’ for workers from BAME communities.

Labour will continue to support the excellent work carried out by health unions and strengthen and support the collective bargaining structures in the NHS. As part of this Labour will work towards a fairer system of pay setting that allows all parties a fair and informed process on pay determination. Labour would also commit to better supporting the social care workforce and ensuring that the integration of health and social care services never sees terms and conditions being levelled down, instead spreading the good practice in the NHS to social care; and we will investigate and consider

the longer term goal of being able to bring care workers within Agenda for Change in line with the Kingsmill Report.

Labour will ensure more effective regulation of public and private health care providers. We will review progress on the ‘certificate of fundamental care’, recommended by the ‘Review of healthcare assistants and support workers in NHS and Social Care’ to see if further steps should be taken.

### **Tackling the exploitation of care workers**

Social care workers carry out some of the most important work in society, caring for the sick, elderly and the disabled. Yet the current care crisis is seeing the work they do being increasingly undervalued. As well as the work being physically and emotionally demanding and often undertaken in anti-social hours, there is strong evidence of exploitation in the care sector. This is something which Labour will strive to put right, including by tackling the abuse of zero hours contracts. Labour is committed to strengthening the enforcement of the National Minimum Wage and incentivising employers to pay the Living Wage, because we recognise that care workers are playing an invaluable role in meeting one of the greatest challenges we face as a society, and deserve to earn a decent living and be recognised for their work in caring for our most vulnerable loved ones some councils are already commissioning care providers to pay the living wage and this is a model that should be explored more widely.

#### **Kingsmill Review**

In September 2013, Ed Miliband asked Baroness Kingsmill to lead an independent review to better understand and tackle exploitation in the care sector. The review, published in May 2014, argues that social care workers carry out some of the most important work in society, but that long-term problems within the sector have led to the work they do being undervalued, with real impacts on those receiving care

as well as those providing it. In particular, the report highlights that sick, elderly and disabled people that rely on these services are increasingly facing care visits lasting just 15 minutes. The report argues that this practice is also a key driver of exploitation of care workers, with many employed on zero-hour contracts and being paid below the National Minimum Wage.

The review identifies that the line drawn between Health and Care is artificial. Both the Kingsmill Review and Sir John Oldham's report on 'Whole-Person Care' show how we can overcome this division and better integrate services, with positive results for the whole health service – not least because better care in the community helps to reduce emergency admissions to hospitals.

The Kingsmill report calls for a new Care Charter, to be developed by the Care Quality Commission (CQC), to improve standards – including ending the use of inappropriate 15 minute visits and exploitative zero-hour contracts. The report shows that improvements can be made through stronger regulation and improvements to workforce planning and commissioning practices, as well as recommending how we can provide better training for care workers. The next Labour Government will work with local authorities and care providers to end inappropriate time-limited 15-minute visits and the exploitation of care workers, leading to better conditions for staff. We will also strengthen the enforcement of the National Minimum Wage and end the exploitation of zero-hour contracts.

### Further reading

'Fair Society Healthy Lives (The Marmot Review)', Sir Michael Marmot, 2010

'Speech on mental health to the Royal College of Psychiatrists', Ed Miliband MP, 2012

'Speech to National Care Forum Annual Conference', Liz Kendall MP, 2012

'Speech to The King's Fund - 'Whole-Person Care' A One Nation approach to health and care for the 21st Century', Andy Burnham MP, 2013

'Exploitation in the care sector', Labour Party Policy Review, 2013

'Children, Food and Obesity', Labour Party Policy Review, 2013

'Sir John Oldham's report on Whole-Person Care', Independent Commission on Whole-Person Care, March 2013

The logo for 'Agenda 2015' is located in the top right corner. It consists of the word 'Agenda' in a white, sans-serif font inside a dark teal rounded rectangle, with the year '2015' in a smaller white font below it.

**Agenda**  
2015



**BETTER POLITICS  
FINAL YEAR POLICY  
DOCUMENT**



# BETTER POLITICS

## Introduction

Families and communities feel under real pressure, but do not feel empowered to start putting things right. They understand the country needs to take a radically different direction, but they have lost all faith in a political system that seems remote from their everyday lives.

In every community, there are people who may have the vision and capacity to change their neighbourhood, their country, even our whole economy or society, for the better. But many of them may never get the chance, or may never even cast a ballot, because what they have heard about mainstream politics makes them feel that it isn't for them.

When this Government came to power in 2010, they promised a fresh start and a different kind of politics. Yet three years on the verdict is clear; instead of opening up politics, they have closed it down, instead of reaching out, they have appealed to narrow sectional interests. And whenever they have been given an opportunity to rebuild trust and restore faith in our democracy, they have taken the side of the powerful, rather than the people. Their use of a Lobbying Bill to attempt to gag charities and campaigners and smear trade unions, while letting powerful vested interests off the hook, shows where the Government's priorities lie.

The British people deserve better. That is why One Nation Labour wants to build a different kind of politics, a politics which is truly rooted in every community across the United Kingdom, and reaches out to people in every walk of life. We know that real and lasting change only happens when people direct their own lives, not when things are done to them. By handing power and responsibility down from Whitehall to communities, we can empower people to solve problems themselves.

## One Nation Politics

Too often people in Britain have felt that politicians do not listen to them, that they are out of touch with those they seek to represent, and that politics is something irrelevant to their lives. We need to take action to prevent the current cynicism around our political system from becoming a full blown crisis in political engagement.

### **Rebuilding trust and engagement in our political system**

Labour launched the People's Politics Inquiry, talking to people who have turned off from politics or never felt they could engage in the first place, to examine how we change our political culture. We seek to ensure that we have a political system that is more representative of the people it serves with candidates from all backgrounds, accountable to their constituents. We want to energise politics by reaching out at every opportunity to the people of Britain, and give people confidence in their representatives. These changes are about making it possible for us to change Britain for the better, by ensuring our party is connected to those they represent. We aim to increase democratic participation and engage people in our parliament, and help everyone better understand our democracy.

### **Young people and politics**

Labour will work to deepen and extend democracy so that everyone is able to influence the decisions that affect them. Taking action to increase young people's engagement in our political system forms a crucial part of this.

Labour will ensure that young people are better educated about their civic role. This will include a focus on ensuring citizenship teachers are qualified and highly trained, so we can build capacity for better quality citizenship education, and an increased emphasis on encouraging formal citizenship education in schools. In addition, we will ensure that young people have more opportunities to become better educated



about their civic responsibilities outside of formal education, through volunteering, mentoring schemes that encourage democratic participation, and involvement in civil society.

Labour will give a voice to young people by lowering the voting age to 16 for all UK elections. While we improve citizenship and political education, including knowledge about democratic processes and structures, we will give young people the opportunity to engage in democracy.

Labour will ensure that services are run in the best interests of people by giving service users, particularly young users, a say in how their services are run, for example with pupils being involved in decision-making in schools, and encourage local authorities to adopt a youth council or youth mayor programme.

We will also act to ensure that every young person has the opportunity to participate in youth services. This will provide benefits for young people through becoming engaged in their local communities and learning through practice about civic responsibility.

### **Standing up against vested interests and giving people power over their lives**

One Nation politics is about creating a country where everyone has a stake. Democracy is not just elections. In an era of difficult choices it is more important than ever that politics is a collective endeavour, that power is distributed fairly, that vested interests are tackled, and that people are given influence over the decisions that affect their lives.

Labour will repeal the discredited Lobbying Act rushed through Parliament by the Government and consult widely on the best way to achieve real reform of the lobbying industry. We will create a broad and wide statutory register of lobbyists covering everyone who engages in lobbying as part of their employment.

Labour has called for a cap on individual donations to political parties in order to take the big money out of politics. A lower cap would stop political parties being reliant on a small number of wealthy individual donors contributing large sums.

A healthy democracy is also about a vibrant civil society – charities, campaign groups and mass membership organisations playing a role in our politics. Of course, it is right that there are appropriate rules in place to ensure the actions of these groups are transparent, but Labour opposed the Government's attempts to gag charities and campaigners in the Lobbying Bill, and we will work closely with civil society to protect their crucial role in our democracy.

Charities and voluntary organisations can reach people that government services often cannot or do not reach. By making the third sector stronger, we can build more confident communities and a stronger country. But there is an ever-widening gulf between the Government's 'Big Society' rhetoric and the stark realities being faced by community and voluntary organisations across the country, which are being put under increasing pressure.

The Government promised that charities would be able to win more contracts from central and local government. But this has not happened, and too often charities with the unique specialist skills and experience are missing out whilst big, for-profit corporations are winning the large contracts. Labour will respect the independent ethos of the charity sector. We will take steps to prevent charities being used as bid candy by private contractors in public services contracts. Labour recognises the high overheads and uncertainty of the contract culture causes major problems for small charities, and will investigate ways of providing longer-term, more stable funding. Decisions on contracts should take account of all relevant costs such as 'back office' and sustainability.

### **Increasing transparency**

The Freedom of Information Act gives the citizens of this country a right to data held by central and local government, and increases the transparency and accountability of government. It performs a key check and balance on those in positions of authority, and plays a role in preventing and exposing fraud and irregularities. But Freedom of Information is being weakened, as more and more of our public services are handed over to private companies, beyond the scope of the legislation. We do not believe that this is right.

Not only will the next Labour government protect Freedom of Information, but we will seek to extend it. We will introduce legislation so that for the first time, Freedom of Information will apply to any significant provider of public services whatever the formal contracting framework, so that Freedom of Information will cover the delivery of public services by private companies and charities.

### **Protecting human rights**

The UK should be justly proud of the Human Rights Act and our membership of the European Convention on Human Rights. Both are crucial in protecting the rights of individuals and minorities that can so easily be ignored or trampled on by governments or other powerful majorities.

Instead of engaging in a positive debate about ensuring the workings of the European Court on Human Rights are fit for purpose in modern times, the Government resorts to the peddling of myths that denigrate the human rights successes of the Court and the Convention, and are committed to scrapping our Human Rights Act and replacing it with an undefined Bill of Rights.

The Labour Party is proud of Britain's role in protecting and championing human rights across Europe and beyond. Other countries look up to the UK, and our moral authority as a member of the European Convention

on Human Rights empowers us to demand change of those who have weaker human rights records. To simply walk away, as this Government has suggested it could, would constitute a gross neglect of our duties as a beacon of civility amongst the family of nations. Labour will protect the human rights laws that enshrine and protect our rights.

### **Political reform**

People are struggling with a cost of living crisis but no longer believe that politics is the answer to their problems. If we are not careful that will be the epitaph of our time – that people stopped believing that politics could change their lives for the better.

Parliament is the fulcrum of our democratic system and it needs to remain at the heart of our national debate. As part of dealing with the crisis in our politics we need to make Parliament more relevant and better understood. Labour will reform the legislative process so that the interested citizen can more easily understand and engage with the making of laws, extending the awareness of scrutiny opportunities, such as draft Bills and Public Reading stages, beyond the existing NGOs and professional lobbying companies.

A new politics involves a diversity of candidates, from all backgrounds, selected in a fair way. There are still too many barriers for many people standing for elected positions and, for example, there are still too few women, BAME, LGBT, disabled and working class candidates. The Labour Party has worked to broaden opportunities to stand for election through our Future Candidates Programme. In the next Parliament Labour will examine ways to encourage more diversity in representation at all levels of governance, including for school governors, councillors and in Parliament.

Renewing politics also means ensuring trust in Members of Parliament. The British people must be reassured that their MPs are working for them. Being an MP is a privilege and a

duty and should not be a part-time job, and the rules must reflect that. Labour will make our parliamentary representatives more accountable with new limits on outside earnings, a ban on second jobs where the Member of Parliament does not have to continue practicing in order to maintain a professional certification, and new rules on conflicts of interests.

Labour is committed to democratic reform of the House of Lords, making the second chamber fit for the 21st Century and representative of the nations and regions of the United Kingdom, using a proportional system. We will legislate to introduce an elected second chamber. The new House will continue to revise legislation and scrutinise the Executive, while providing a forum for regional representation. The primacy of the House of Commons will be maintained through applying existing legislation, and by conventions confirmed by appropriate parliamentary mechanisms, or in statute. These reforms will include the removal of the remaining hereditary peers.

### **Electoral reform**

We must examine practical measures to make voting more accessible. We are committed to looking at radical ways of encouraging more people to vote, by making the process easier and more in tune with the way people live their lives.

Currently, about 10 per cent of the adult population are estimated not to be registered to vote, although it is a legal obligation. Labour supports moves to individual electoral registration, but the Government's proposed changes go too fast, strip out the necessary safeguards, and could lead to millions of people disappearing from the register. This would increase disenfranchisement especially among those who are already hard to reach. We need to consider how accessible the registration process is, especially to those with additional needs such as disabled people.

As part of our drive to increase the completeness of the electoral register, we will look to extend the locations in which voter registration can take place. When the franchise is extended to 16-year-olds, schools, as well as colleges and universities, could also handle voter registration. We will introduce a schools and colleges registration programme, based on the Northern Ireland Schools Initiative, designed to get more young people on the electoral register, including the placing of ballot boxes in schools and colleges. We will pilot the idea of election day voter registration. To further promote electoral registration, when anyone comes into contact with either central or local government, - on occasions such as obtaining a bus pass, new passport, vehicle tax or parking permit - they will be asked, once their business is concluded, if they have registered to vote.

Labour will, subject to affordability, consider a pilot enabling elections to be held on alternative days to see if this raises turnout. We will look at the merits of voting in advance of polling day, by placing ballot boxes in prominent public places such as libraries and supermarkets for a week before election day. Labour will pilot secure systems for electronic voting, including online voting.

### **Devolution**

Labour is the party of devolution. Labour values have never been limited by borders inside the UK. We believe that we are stronger when we work together, pooling resources and sharing risk across the whole of the UK. Devolution has transferred important responsibilities away from Westminster to the devolved administrations in Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, London, and to local authorities across the regions and nations. Labour will examine further reform of the devolved settlements across the UK.

Labour will devolve further settlements across the UK including a new English deal to councils which devolves power and gives freedom to meet these challenges by empowering communities, reshaping services

around the needs of people and places, and unlocking new economic opportunities to help every region reach its full potential. We will bring forward legislation that moves Wales to a reserved powers model.

One of Labour's greatest achievements in office was the Good Friday Agreement. Labour remains firmly committed to implementing those outstanding issues of the Agreement. Labour will positively engage with the devolved Assembly, the political parties and the Irish Government to drive forward the peace process.

### **Better Together**

Labour established the Scottish Parliament in 1999 and have consistently supported measures to enhance devolution. We also believe we are stronger when we work together, pooling resources and sharing risk across the whole of the UK. The report of Scottish Labour's Devolution Commission will be implemented in full and we will introduce a new Scotland Act in our first Queen's Speech. This will include wide ranging new powers for the Scottish Parliament over income tax, housing benefit and the work programme. This will include the ability to introduce Scottish Progressive Rates of Income Tax which will allow the Scottish Parliament to increase the rates of tax in the higher and additional bands should it choose to do so. Together with powers over the implementation of health and safety regulations, employment tribunals and the transfer of powers to Scotland's island communities, this is a significant package of reforms which will enhance devolution for the future.

This year Scotland will make a big decision – whether to remain part of the UK or to separate. This is not a question of whether Scotland could be independent, but whether Scotland should be independent. It is a choice between two futures: one in which Scotland chooses to share talents and pool resources in a country of 65 million, or one where Scotland separates.

From the welfare state, to the NHS to the minimum wage, Labour has always worked to raise standards across Britain. We know what our predecessors knew – that the people of Glasgow or Dundee have as much in common with the people of Liverpool or Newcastle as they do with the people of Inverness or Aberdeen, and the best way to achieve the best deal for working people is to join together.

### **Empowering local communities**

When we look around our own communities we see that real and lasting change happens when people take control of their own lives, especially when they come together and act with others. When things are done to people, rather than with them, change is rarely deep or enduring. The state must be there for people in need, to ensure no one is left out or left alone. But we need a different sort of state and a very different way of governing.

This means spreading power out to people and places, not hoarding it in Whitehall or allowing it to be concentrated in the hands of elites. It means standing up to markets when they dominate and disempower communities. And it means nurturing institutions and spaces where people can come together to solve their problems, including democratically-elected local government.

That is why we want to create a new deal for local communities across the country; giving them a real say in the decisions that affect the day to day lives of those who live there. One of the best ways in which we can build confidence in politics is for people to see what local government – councils and people – can do in their area to make things better. After all, local government has a great history of doing precisely that, revolutionising the lives of people in the 19th Century. And since politics is all about the choices we make, we should recognise that councils are already showing that they are making different choices to protect their communities and ensure fairness. Local government and central government

will be independent and equal partners. A Labour government will respect and uphold the independence of local government. We will maintain legally-enshrined general power of competence, which ensures the right and freedom of local authorities to do what they think is in the best interests of their communities. A Labour government will legislate for a new settlement that devolves significant further power and freedom to local government as part of the New English Deal and our commitment to localism.

This is all about demonstrating that we can make things fairer, and that we can make things better. There is a huge well of talent, ability, ideas and passion in every community. Devolution is the best way to unleash these things in the interests of the places we cherish, and the people who are our neighbours. For example, Labour will give councils more powers to improve their high streets, stopping the spread of payday lenders and deciding whether they want high stake gambling machines in their community. Along with local authority associations, local community organisations, trade unions and business associations, a Labour government will work to ensure the powers we devolve are the ones that ensure those living in communities have a real say over what happens around them. We will devolve to local authorities and groups of local authorities where they choose to come together.

Labour is clear that radical social change to vastly improve the quality of life chances for citizens across the country, whilst balancing the books and getting the national debt falling, is not only possible but essential. The Local Government Innovation Taskforce has looked at how this can be achieved and will publish a road map to help us reach this goal. The recommendations will include a framework on how a devolved approach enabling greater scope for local areas to innovate to meet their needs can tackle demand pressures and ensure no community is held back. A One Nation Labour government will roll out City

and County Deals to all parts of the country that want them and can demonstrate the necessary robust approach to governance and accountability, and stop government departments from setting goals and objectives for 'local quangos' that cut across local deals.

There is more detail on empowering local communities in the Stronger, Safer Communities section.

## Equalities

The issue of equality in our society is of fundamental importance to the Labour Party. This Government is taking us backwards with the most vulnerable people in society often being hardest hit by its policies. One Nation Labour is determined that nobody should be left behind in tough times, and that everyone shares fairly in the recovery. We will work to ensure everyone can lead fulfilling lives in the workplace free from discrimination of any kind. We are determined to build on our proud history of fighting discrimination, disadvantage, and racism, taking action to positively promote equality as we laid out in the Equality Act 2010.

Labour is the party of equality, and we must continue to build on the progress we made in government to tackle discrimination wherever it rears its head, including by enacting the Equality Act, re-instating third party harassment and pay transparency aspects of the Equality Act, ensuring the Equality and Human Rights Commission is strengthened to promote equality at work and in society, and fulfils its function as intended, effective implementation of the public sector equality duty, and using public procurement as a lever to promote equality. Labour will continue to campaign for European non-discrimination law in employment to be extended to access to services for all.

We will act to ensure everyone can lead fulfilling lives in the workplace and beyond, free from discrimination, disadvantage and racism. As part of this aim we will support trade unions in



the workplace, supporting and protecting union equality representatives to promote and achieve equality for all workers by ensuring they can carry out their role effectively.

We will tackle prejudice against people with mental health problems and ensure that they are supported to play an active part in community and voluntary groups. We are committed to social justice for disabled people, and to a social security system which ensures dignity for disabled people.

### Women

Time and again, women are being hit hardest by the Government's measures. Women working full-time have seen their earnings fall since the election whilst progress on the gender pay gap has gone into reverse, widening for the first time in five years. Women are paying four times as much as men to bring the deficit down, even though they still earn less and own less than men, as a result of decisions made by a Cabinet with four times more men than women.

Labour will fix our broken economy and tackle the cost-of-living crisis that is hitting women disproportionately hard. We will strengthen laws against discrimination that affect those taking maternity leave. These measures, alongside our commitment to promote the living wage, will work towards Labour's aim of tackling the gender pay gap. It is unacceptable that today women still earn less than men for doing the same or equivalent jobs regardless of sector, position or age. Labour will make increased transparency on equal pay a priority to reveal the extent of the gender pay gap in the workplace so that it can be addressed. We recognise that more needs to be done to deliver gender equality across society and will support the work of campaign groups in highlighting the negative representation of women.

Labour believes it is vital that we promote gender equality at all ages. Gendered occupational segregation – workplaces, sectors, roles and tasks where employment or responsibility tend to be defined by gender – perpetuates inequality and cements the pay gap. High-quality careers advice, and the promotion of apprenticeships in 'non-traditional' sectors to women, are important to support young women to make non-gendered decisions about their careers.

We are proud that more than half of Labour's MEPs are women. We need to take bold and positive measures to address the lack of women on the boards of public authorities. In order to ensure equality and to level the playing field for all, Labour will introduce a goal of 50 per cent for all ministerial appointments to public boards to ensure that women are fairly represented and that the people that lead our public bodies look like the communities they serve. Labour will continue to make progress towards the equal representation of women and men through positive action, including the use of All Women Shortlists.

There are distinct issues that affect women as they reach their fifties and onwards that are not sufficiently addressed by public policy. Many women are balancing work with caring responsibilities across the generations within their families. Yet older women can often feel overlooked – in the media, the workplace and as they look after their families.

Labour will consult on measures contained in the Older Women Commission report that we launched to examine these issues, and look at how public policy could better consider the lives of women in their fifties and onwards.

The Government has reduced the rights of parents and carers to achieve the hours of work they need to fit around their caring commitments by reducing the right to request flexible working to a voluntary code. Labour will support flexible working for parents and

carers and will consider how best to support grandparents who need to fit the care of their grandchildren around their working hours.

### **Furthering equality for LGBT people**

Labour has a proud record of leading progress on LGBT rights. Between 1997 and 2010 the Labour Government did more for the advancement of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender equality than any other government in British history, from equalising the age of consent, to abolishing the homophobic Section 28 and introducing Civil Partnerships. In opposition we have continued this record with Labour votes in Parliament securing the Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act in 2013. Equal marriage is an important step forward in the fight for equality in Britain but now is not the time for complacency. We must not go backwards and there remain many areas where we still need to make progress, especially for transgender people. Labour will strengthen the legal rights of trans people by undertaking a review of gender identity law and policy. Labour will work with the transgender community in tackling problems with access to gender care services.

People take for granted that, because the law is in place, there is equality – but still too often there is not. We know for example there still can be discrimination with issues such as homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying. Labour will do more to tackle such bullying in schools and workplaces and keep up the campaign for equality for LGBT people. Labour will continue to back efforts to combat discrimination against LGBT people in Europe and the wider world, and will fight for LGBT people to have the same right for their spouses to live and work in other EU countries, free from legal or any other obstacle.

### **Making rights a reality for disabled people**

Disabled people are being hit disproportionately hard by the Government's reforms. A combination of a revised appeals process

for welfare claims and the changes to legal aid threatens to deny benefits to vulnerable claimants. Research from the House of Commons Library shows that over the course of this Parliament, disabled people will pay more than Britain's bankers, and that in the final year of the Parliament disabled people will be paying 40 per cent more than the banks, to reduce the deficit. Labour will fix our broken economy so that it is fairer and those with the broadest shoulders bear the greatest burden of reducing the deficit.

Labour would work to achieve the rights to which disabled people are entitled under the UN Convention on the Rights for Persons with Disabilities, which to date have been applied partially and which have been undermined by benefit changes made by the Government. The first formal review of the UK's compliance by the UN is due to be completed in spring 2015 and a Labour government would take on board the recommendations of the review.

Labour reaffirms its support for the recommendations of the Leveson Inquiry in the culture and ethics of the press, including a low-cost arbitration service recommended by Leveson, to provide access to justice for victims of libel and other press abuses. We will challenge inaccurate representations of disabled people in the media.

Many British people use British Sign Language as a first language. In government, Labour gave recognition to BSL, which is a key issue for inclusion and equality for deaf people. We will work with deaf people's organisations to develop an action plan for British Sign Language, and will consult them on a regular basis. As part of this action plan, we should work with Ofcom to promote access for deaf people to information and services via video relay services, we should encourage schools to promote the learning of British Sign Language, and ensure there are staff working with deaf people who can communicate effectively in BSL.

Labour will work to promote disability equality at work. This will only be achieved once the barriers to employment and discrimination against disabled workers are effectively addressed. We will encourage employers to engage with trade union equality reps with regard to workplace disability access audits; disability leave, and safe, affordable and accessible transport to provide for journeys to and from work. Labour will reform the discredited Work Capability Assessment, to ensure that it is fit for purpose, and work to ensure that relevant information from different assessments can be shared.

Disability harassment is a particular problem for people at work so we will reinstate the third party harassment aspects of the Equality Act to protect people who are harassed by members of the public while at work, and work to end bullying in the work place.

The Shadow Work and Pension's consultation 'Making Rights a Reality for Disabled People' highlighted the number of people who had experienced disability hate crime and felt that hostility towards disabled people was increasing. Many participants felt this was fuelled by some of the language around welfare reform used by the current Government.

Labour will legislate to introduce a specific criminal charge of disability hate crime, amid growing evidence that victims are being let down. We will change the law so hate crime against disabled people is treated like every other hate crime, and ensure that it is recorded on the perpetrator's criminal record. We will also introduce a new criminal offence of incitement to disability hatred. Furthermore, Labour in power would also review the Attorney General's power to review sentences they consider unduly lenient, considering whether this should be extended to offences aggravated by hostility towards the victim based on their disability.

Labour believes disabled people should be enabled to work where possible but enjoy fair rights where they cannot. We commit to support the concept of 'individual living' both in Britain and in Europe, and will support EU efforts to introduce an Accessibility Act to the benefit of many British disabled people who travel abroad each year.

We will continue to work with our MEPs to further support disability rights across the EU in particular to improve the accessibility of goods and services for persons with disabilities. Labour will show leadership in Europe and the wider world for full implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities.

Detail on Labour's approach to ensuring equality for and supporting disabled people in the workplace and in regard to social security can be found in the Work and Business section.

### **BAME equality**

Race equality has come a long way since Labour introduced the Race Relations Act in 1968, but under this Government progress has stalled. Black and minority ethnic communities are being hit hard during the economic downturn. The Government's Equalities Strategy does not address ethnicity as a cross-cutting theme, and employment strategies appear to be blind to the specific challenges faced by different racial groups. The Government needs to do a lot more to support the needs of diverse groups.

Labour is committed to taking down persistent barriers and tackling discrimination in the labour market, and will look at targeted approaches to reducing unemployment including through boosting take up of apprenticeships.

It is unacceptable that as a BAME person today you are twice as likely to be unemployed as the national average in the UK, and educational attainment is still linked to ethnic minority background. Labour will tackle race inequality in the labour market, including recruitment and promotion opportunities, under representation of BAME apprentices and inequality in education. We recognise that racial harassment, discrimination and bullying are still a blight to the lives of BAME workers.

We will act to close the gap in BAME representation to make sure our politics better reflects Britain.

We should be giving a lead against bigotry and racism wherever they are found and we will stand up vigorously against parties and individuals in both Britain and Europe who propagate racism and xenophobia.

On so many fronts, the Government is failing our BAME communities. We should be supporting entrepreneurship opportunities for ethnic minority businesses, and helping the police to increase recruitment from minority communities. Labour launched the 'Realising One Nation' consultation to help us design new race equalities strategy, to address all of these challenges and to support stronger community cohesion. Labour is committed to continuing to tackle racism in all its forms, and preventing the politics of hate employed by those parties and extremist organisations who wish to cause division and fear.

### Further reading

'Making Rights a Reality for Disabled People' Labour's Policy Review, 2013

'Speech: One Nation politics' Ed Miliband 2013

'Realising One Nation: Developing a new race equality strategy' Labour's Policy Review, 2013

'Young People and Politics: making a fresh start' Labour's Policy Review 2013

'Audit of Political Engagement 10' Hansard Society, 2013

'Speech: Building a Better Politics' Angela Eagle MP, 2013

'Defending Rights, Delivering Political Reform' Sadiq Khan MP, 2013





**Agenda**  
2015



**BRITAIN'S GLOBAL ROLE  
FINAL YEAR POLICY  
DOCUMENT**

# BRITAIN'S GLOBAL ROLE

## Introduction

The world in which we live is constantly evolving. Globalisation has allowed for the fast flow of goods, services, finance, people and ideas across state boundaries, and a new global architecture has developed to support these exchanges. But with this increased connectivity between countries and people comes a mutual responsibility. What once affected one state, can now affect all. So, as well as national foreign policy prescriptions, global solutions are required to tackle the challenges shared by the international community.

The current Government has failed to grasp the scale of the responsibility before us. Instead of building upon the role Britain played under Labour in addressing these shared challenges, they have been content with a country that increasingly watches from the side lines. On Europe, David Cameron has put his party before his country. This weak leadership has left him sleepwalking towards exit from the European Union. On defence, the Government's Strategic Defence and Security Review has failed to provide the strategic direction that would allow Britain to balance the need to work within a constrained budget with the need to ensure our Armed Forces are equipped to meet Britain's global ambitions. On diplomacy, the Government has frequently failed to uphold Britain's commitment to human rights. On international development, the Government's increased reliance on the private sector for project delivery has not been accompanied with adequate levels of transparency and accountability.

A One Nation Labour Government would offer a real alternative. As an internationalist party, our approach has always been driven by Labour's core values of equality, social justice and opportunity for all. Labour will stand up for Armed Forces service personnel who have been treated with disrespect under the current Government, for veterans struggling to find employment in the transition from

military to civilian life, for families caught up in humanitarian crises around the world, and for populations denied their human rights.

Labour believes that Britain must play a proactive role in tackling transnational issues. Working to eliminate extreme poverty and supporting countries transitioning to democracy, tackling terrorism and climate change; these are challenges from which the next Labour Government will not shy away. With Labour, Britain will lead by example, working with our partners worldwide to promote our values and beliefs and to defend our national interests. Only by doing so can we hope to build a better, safer and more secure world, in which everyone can reach their full potential and prosper.

## The Global Economy

It is argued that trade liberalisation and the expansion of the global marketplace have driven economic growth and led to an improvement in living standards for people worldwide. Through unlocking their economic potential, developing countries can lift millions of people out of poverty and allow them to benefit from new opportunities. However, these developments have also been accompanied in many cases by a simultaneous widening of the inequality gap both within and between countries.

The task for the next Labour Government is to ensure Britain succeeds in that open global economy. Our path to achieve that is different from that pursued by the Government, which believes that Britain can compete globally by winning a race to the bottom - on the basis of a low skill, low wage, low productivity economy, with ever greater insecurity for working people. Labour believes Britain cannot and should not win that race. Instead, we can and must win the race to the top.

### Ensuring global trade benefits all

Economic success internationally is not just vital for the Britain's economy and society, but for development across the world. As well as

supporting British firms whose exports allow us to pay our way in the world, Labour will deliver an economic and social policy which ensures that globalisation benefits people worldwide, in developed and developing countries alike. We will do that by encouraging free and fair trade, more open markets, and investment in people. In 2005, world leaders pledged to make it easier for poor countries to export their products, yet progress on the Doha trade round has been slow. The World Trade Organisation's recently agreed global trade deal presents an opportunity to take a step in the right direction, but more needs to be done to make it easier for the developing world to trade with advanced economies.

### **Seizing opportunity in Europe**

The rise of Asia represents the biggest shift of economic power in recent history. Concurrently, the geopolitical landscape is also transforming, with the US increasingly pivoting towards the Pacific. In this context, Britain's relationship with Europe is of vital importance and the benefits which come with membership to the European Union cannot be underestimated. Comprised of 500 million people, the Single Market generates over £10 trillion of UK economic activity. European markets account for half of the UK's trade and foreign investments, providing around 3.5 million jobs. The EU is also the UK's main trading partner, with EU countries accounting for around 52 per cent of the UK's total trade in goods and services. British universities and research institutes have benefited from EU research funding, and are leading the world in developing innovative commercial applications from this research.

As a member of the European Union, Britain also has far greater scope and opportunity to trade with emerging economies, such as Brazil, Russia, India and China. As large markets are opened up, Britain is set to make considerable economic gains. The EU currently has free trade agreements (FTAs) with more than 40

countries, including South Korea, Mexico, and South Africa. Furthermore, the EU is in the process of negotiating FTAs with more than 70 countries, including the USA, India and Japan, as well as growing economies like Brazil, Singapore and Vietnam.

The EU-US trade deal alone is expected to generate €80 billion worth of benefits for the EU and create 2 million jobs. Labour welcomes the continued negotiations on this deal and will continue to monitor its progress, in particular with regard to the impact the Agreement may have on vital national policies and services, such as the National Health Service. Labour shares the concerns that have been raised about the impact that the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) could have on public services. Labour believes that the NHS and all public services need to be more, not less, integrated and we are concerned that including public services in the final TTIP could increase the fragmentation of health services that is already taking place under this Government. That is why we believe that the NHS and public services should not be included in any TTIP agreement.

Labour believes that key to an EU-US trade deal that we would encourage the rest of Europe to support, which avoids a race to the bottom, and promotes decent jobs and growth would be safeguards and progress on labour, environmental, and health and safety standards. Labour has raised concerns over the inclusion of an Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanism in TTIP. Labour believes that the right of governments to legislate for legitimate public policy objectives should be protected effectively in any dispute resolution mechanisms.

Labour believes that Britain's national interest lies in remaining at the heart of a reformed EU but binding and robust human rights clauses, including ILO core standards, must form a central part of that reformed EU.

## Security

While globalisation has produced real possibilities to deliver economic prosperity, spread political freedom and promote peace, it has in some places also led to increased social fragmentation. This fragmentation, coupled with existing levels of poverty and inequality, can lead to a rise in conflict, extremism and criminality that today spread across borders and can threaten our own security. New strategies will be required for their prevention and resolution. The current Government has diminished many of the European mechanisms which enable us to effectively fight crime. They have chosen to opt out of 130 measures on pan-European cooperation, including those concerning cross-border police investigations, criminal record sharing, human trafficking and online child pornography, as well as deportation arrangements for suspected criminals. Labour believes this is the wrong strategy and the wrong way to make policy on crime and justice. Instead, a One Nation Labour Government will strengthen cross-border collaboration on these shared challenges.

### Tackling organised crime

In an era of integrated markets and permeable national borders, intelligence-sharing and operational cooperation, subject to the necessary safeguards, with our overseas partners is increasingly important for safeguarding our citizens and the freedoms they enjoy.

Labour believes cooperation with other countries on crime and intelligence is vital to making Britain's streets safer and we are committed to improving the effectiveness of our relationship in this regard. Labour is in favour of a proper framework for police forces to work together across borders and we will continue to support the European Arrest Warrant which has brought so many dangerous criminals to justice.

### Regulating the arms trade

The global trade in conventional weapons inflicts misery on millions of people in some of the world's most vulnerable countries, many of them suffering at the hands of authoritarian regimes. It props up those authoritarian regimes and foments conflict. Labour campaigned for the creation of an Arms Trade Treaty and hailed the historic breakthrough when the legislation was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2013.

Our aim must now be to significantly reduce the flow of arms to repressive regimes and fragile and conflict-affected states. Labour will show international leadership on this issue. We will monitor and review UK exports to overseas governments, urge other governments to abide by the spirit as well as the letter of the Arms Trade Treaty, whilst working internationally for the effective implementation of the Treaty.

### Mitigating future threats

The nature of the security threats facing Britain today differs from that of the threats we faced fifty years ago. From fragile and conflict-affected states, to natural disasters and humanitarian crises, to the increase of cyber warfare, it is clear that traditional military responses will not be sufficient to tackle the most salient security issues of the future.

With other nations possessing nuclear weapons, and nuclear proliferation remaining a deep concern, we can never be absolutely certain as to what the future security landscape will look like. In July 2013 the current Government published its Trident Alternatives Review which examined alternative defence systems and postures for the UK's deterrent.

Labour has said that we are committed to a minimum, credible independent nuclear deterrent, delivered through a Continuous At-Sea Deterrent. It would require a clear body of evidence for us to change this belief.

Labour recognises the importance of Britain leading international efforts for multilateral nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. Following the action we took when in government, Labour would actively work to enhance momentum on global multilateral disarmament efforts and negotiations, looking at further reductions in global stockpiles and the number of weapons. This would be done in line with our assessment of the global security landscape.

Labour would continue to take a leading role internationally to push the agenda of global anti-proliferation with nuclear and non-nuclear states. This is a vision shared by President Barack Obama and Labour would work with the United States and other allies, such as France, to advance 'Global Zero', which seeks to advance an action plan for the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

Labour recognises the success of past international bans on weapons of mass destruction such as landmines, cluster munitions, chemical and biological weapons. The Non-Proliferation Treaty Conference 2015 will be a key moment for a Labour Government to show leadership in achieving progress on global disarmament and anti-proliferation measures.

Labour has said that the process and debate leading up to the next Strategic Defence and Security Review in 2015 needs to be open, inclusive and transparent, examining all capabilities, including nuclear. It must also examine cost implications as well as strategic necessities, recognising the importance of the defence sector to the UK economy, and the need to protect and develop a highly skilled workforce. To this end, a Labour Government will have a continuing consultation, inviting submissions from all relevant stakeholders, including Labour Party members and affiliates, on the UK's future defence and national security issues.

## Defence

An uncertain security landscape must be met with a defence strategy that can effectively adapt to an evolving environment. Labour believes our Armed Forces must be equipped to meet Britain's global ambitions and responsibilities. We will have to be more strategic with our resources, and work effectively with international partners, in order to be able to protect Britain's national interest and promote our values in the modern world. The current Government's 2010 Strategic Defence and Security Review was a missed opportunity. It began by asking what could be cut, rather than what could be done to meet our strategic security goals. This has resulted in gaps in our military capacity and in government figures.

### Responding to security and stabilisation needs in Iraq and Afghanistan

Over the past decade, members of the British Armed Forces have put their lives at risk during operations in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Labour, and the whole country, is indebted to those brave servicemen and women who have risked so much to protect our national security.

The last British troops left Iraq in May 2011. After an eight-year campaign, the UK handed over responsibility for security to the country's own forces, under the control of a democratically elected government. Labour believes that Britain should continue to support Iraq's steps towards becoming a stable, prosperous and democratic nation.

Several thousand British troops remain in Afghanistan as we continue to meet our international obligations under the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), and to the Afghan Government and people. Through ISAF, the UK is helping to reduce the capability and will of the insurgency, in building the capacity and capability of the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF), and facilitating good governance and socio-



economic development. This is a vital year for Afghanistan as it holds presidential and provincial council elections ahead of the ISAF drawdown by the end of 2014.

We wish to see British troops come home at the earliest opportunity, and so we support the timetable for complete withdrawal of combat troops by the end of 2014. Labour believes that their military effort must be matched with greater diplomatic efforts to secure the necessary inclusive and durable political settlement in Afghanistan. Despite saying Afghanistan would be his number one foreign policy priority, the Prime Minister has disappointingly made little progress in this regard to date. Labour also believes Britain should continue to support Afghanistan as it seeks to develop its security, governance, infrastructure, and economy. In particular, we want to safeguard the rights of women and girls in Afghanistan.

We continue to support the full implementation of UN Security Council resolution 1325 in Afghanistan and in fragile and conflict states worldwide. This resolution reaffirms the important role of women in all aspects of maintaining peace and security, including conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. It also calls on all parties to conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed conflict.

### **Enhancing NATO and European defence cooperation**

NATO remains the cornerstone of UK defence policy and the sole organisation for collective defence in Europe. Labour will continue to press for financial investment in NATO while maintaining its own commitments, and to support the organisation as it redefines its strategic priorities. At a time when national defence budgets are constrained, it is also important that European countries enhance their defence cooperation to meet their national

security aims. Labour welcomed the signing of the Franco-British defence and security treaties in 2010. Britain and France face many common threats across the world and both countries have unique capacities. They are the two largest investors in defence capability in Europe and among the highest in the world, significant players in the EU and are the only two EU member states with permanent seats on the UN Security Council, as well as maintaining an independent nuclear deterrent. It will be important for the UK and other European partners to deepen their defence cooperation, especially in the areas of training and procurement, in order to improve the development and availability of the required capabilities.

### **Supporting peacekeeping and humanitarian operations**

The UK has long played an active part in United Nations peacekeeping missions, and we are the world's fifth largest provider of assessed contributions to the UN peacekeeping budget. British military personnel are currently serving with distinction in UN peacekeeping missions in Cyprus, the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan, helping to foster regional peace and security.

Our service personnel- whether infantry soldiers, engineers, medics or communication experts- have the skills essential for successful peacekeeping. Labour wishes to see the UK continuing and deepening our support for such operations with the UN, EU and others, to help provide vital security and stability across the world. With the deployment of Royal Navy ships, Army helicopters, and RAF reconnaissance and transport planes as part of the recovery effort in the Philippines, we have seen the immense benefit that UK Forces can bring in the wake of natural disasters and humanitarian crises. Labour believes we must continue to play our part in responding to such events, providing much needed logistical support for the timely delivery of life-saving aid.

## Respecting our Armed Forces

In this economic climate, Labour understands that savings need to be made and an honest assessment is required of what we can deliver given the financial constraints in which the Ministry of Defence has to operate. The current Government, however, has continuously squandered taxpayers' money. Indecision on carrier strike procurement has left our aircraft carriers without aircraft, costing the public £74 million in the process. Plans for a restructured Army with an increase of 15,000 Reservists have left gaps in our military capability as Reserve recruitment figures continue to lag behind the rate of the Regular Army. On welfare issues, the Armed Forces have had £250 million slashed from their allowances and war widows' pensions have been cut with little respect shown to those affected.

Effective Armed Forces and defence policy are central to Britain's ability to play a global role in line with our interests and values, but we will have to be strategic with the way in which defence funding is spent if we are to achieve our aims. Labour's priority is to see a strong, high-tech Armed Forces equipped for the challenges of the 21st Century with an ability to tackle emerging, interconnected threats.

At the core of Labour's defence policy is supporting our Forces, veterans and their families. We have made clear our commitment through a number of initiatives, including support for the Royal British Legion's campaign to enshrine the Armed Forces Covenant in law, the Veterans Interview Programme, urging Local Authorities to have Veterans Champions, identifying a switch-spend to fund veterans' mental healthcare, and encouraging councils to name streets after fallen heroes. The Labour Party has also implemented an introductory £1 membership rate for veterans.

Armed Forces families face particular challenges, spending long periods abroad, facing frequent relocation, and their incomes fluctuating between regular pay and lump sums

while deployed. This makes financial planning difficult and makes it harder to secure financial services. Today, our Armed Forces are a target for payday lenders who charge extortionate levels of interest that can easily spiral. Therefore, Labour will support the creation of an Armed Forces credit union to support the specific needs of Armed Forces families in providing financial advice and products such as savings, loans, and mortgages.

The next Labour Government will also introduce an Armed Forces (Prevention of Discrimination) Bill in its first Queen's Speech after May 2015, legislating to outlaw discrimination and abuse of members of the Armed Forces.

## Diplomacy

Labour's approach will be one of pragmatic and genuine internationalism. We want an outward-facing Britain, with British assets and resources used to multiply and amplify our influence around the world to help us effectively protect British citizens, promote growth at home and secure a fairer and more just world. David Cameron's approach to the question of Europe has left Britain increasingly isolated from our partners on the continent and unable to influence decisions at the top table. A Labour government will seek to reform the European Union from within, working with other countries to ensure its institutions deliver sustainable jobs and growth for the people they represent.

### Adopting a multilateral approach

Britain remains a global player and we can continue to have real influence in the world. But bilateral diplomacy, or a foreign policy driven solely by short-term commercial interest, is not sufficient to deal with global or regional issues that transcend national borders. The current Government has failed to acknowledge this. They have a diminished notion of Britain's role in the world, at the expense of British interests, and risk leaving Britain unprepared

and ill-equipped to face future threats. Effective multilateral cooperation means that regional and global institutions will need to become more representative and will have to better reflect the current geo-political outlook.

Labour strongly supports reform of the UN Security Council, as part of a wide range of UN reforms. Labour believes that the 2005 UN report on reform should be the starting point for discussion- which could include permanent seats for Brazil, India, Germany and Japan, together with permanent African representation.

### **Reforming the EU**

European institutions will need to be more effective and better suited to the needs of its Member States. The next Labour Government will focus on making the EU work for Britain, and the rest of the continent, to help deliver jobs and growth. Labour will deliver reform from within the EU, not exit from it. We want to see tough new budget discipline with stronger independent audit, a balanced growth plan, a new Growth Commissioner and reform of the Common Agricultural Policy.

Despite many achievements, the EU has failed to deliver for its citizens in key areas, and that must change. Labour will act to tackle the exploitation of migrant workers, which also undercuts local workers. That means stronger National Minimum Wage regulations, more enforcement and higher fines, and a register to tackle rogue landlords. We will provide apprenticeships and training for the young unemployed in sectors currently recruiting from abroad, and make sensible changes to Job Seekers' Allowance to clarify that people should contribute and not claim benefit when they first arrive in Britain. We would also review the practice of sending family benefits, such as Child Tax Credit and Child Benefit, to relatives living abroad. These proposals are discussed further in the Stronger, Safer Communities section.

Labour supports deepening the European Single Market in services, the digital economy and energy. But a common market needs common rules to ensure fair competition and protection of consumers, workers and the environment. We believe businesses shouldn't be over-burdened with unnecessary red tape and we will look to reduce this where possible. Labour will also promote proper standards to avoid a race to the bottom.

The EU budget should be reformed to help ensure that spending at the EU level helps to make savings at the national level, and appropriate levels of resource should be used in areas of productive economic development, such as research and development for new technologies and industries. Labour have proposed a new Commissioner for Growth, bringing together some of the existing Commission portfolios on economic policy to help ensure the EU is focused on growth and held accountable for progress. Alongside this, Labour are proposing that the EU establish its own equivalent of the UK's Office for Budget Responsibility with the narrower mandate of auditing all EU spending decisions, based on the impact that they have on promoting jobs and growth across the EU.

In order to better monitor the labour market, we will also push for greater flexibility in transitional arrangements, and look to ensure the EU collects data on EU migration flows.

Labour will continue to open up EU decision-making and implement institutional reforms in order to help build levels of trust among its citizens. Labour will campaign for an end to the wasteful duplication of holding parliament in Strasbourg as well as Brussels, and a greater role for national parliaments.

We are proud that Labour in Government signed up to the Social Chapter which introduced measures including four weeks' paid holiday, a right to parental leave' extended maternity leave, a new right to request flexible working and the same protection for part-time

workers as full-time workers. David Cameron's repatriation agenda risks damaging Social Europe and the benefits it offers the British public, as well as undermining the Single Market. Labour will fight to protect these rights, and will ensure the UK does not opt out from its Social Europe obligations.

### **Protecting human rights**

Britain's standing in the world is in part judged on our commitment to universal human rights. The current Government has put at risk Britain's global influence in this regard. The Prime Minister's decision to attend the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Sri Lanka in 2013, without seeking binding commitments from the Sri Lankan Government for improvements in human rights, was wrong and irresponsible. Labour believes Britain should lead by example on human rights, upholding them domestically, and advocating for other states to do the same.

Labour recognises that women are fundamental to bringing about democratic, economic and social change. That is why we will seek to empower and invest in women internationally. Labour will support and promote women's political, social, economic and human rights worldwide, including in fragile and conflict-affected states, in order to help achieve gender equality, poverty eradication and inclusive economic growth.

Around the world millions of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people face criminalisation, hatred and persecution. Labour will appoint an International LGBT Rights Envoy to promote respect for the human rights of LGBT people. We will work tirelessly as a priority towards the decriminalisation of homosexuality worldwide, the protection of trans people, and the repeal of "anti-propaganda" and other discriminatory laws and practices. We will ensure our development cooperation meets the needs of LGBT communities and aids human rights activists.

It is vital that people are also effectively protected in the workplace. Labour is committed to maintaining and enhancing international labour standards and protecting workers' rights at home, and championing them abroad. We will also seek to support and to enhance European and international governmental initiatives for corporate social responsibility, business and human rights, such as the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.

Labour's lead on human rights will not be restricted by borders. Labour is appalled by the human rights abuse being perpetuated in Qatar and deprecates the system of sponsored employment known as the Kafala system. Labour calls on the Qatari authorities to adopt ILO conventions of Freedom of Association and to ensure all migrant workers are covered by the standards contained in Qatar's Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy Workers' Charter. If the Qatari authorities fail to take appropriate steps Labour will call for Qatar's right to host the 2022 World Cup to be removed.

### **Responding to crisis in the Middle East and North Africa**

This year marks the third anniversary of the Arab Spring. Yet the violence and unrest that it evoked continues to cast a dark shadow across many parts of the region. For many countries, democracy and stability still remain out of reach.

In Syria, despite President Assad's agreement to the destruction of the country's chemical weapons, the brutal civil war rages on. The UN estimates that over 120,000 people have been killed since the conflict began. 6.5 million people have been internally displaced and a further 2.3 million have fled to neighbouring countries. The crisis does not just pose a threat to the Syrian population but threatens to destabilise the entire region.

Labour believes that a political settlement remains Syria's best chance of securing peace and bringing an end to the conflict. Every effort must be made to engage all relevant parties in the ongoing peace negotiations. Labour supports humanitarian aid for those trapped in desperate and deteriorating conditions, and we continue to urge the full implementation of the UN Security Council's Presidential Statement on humanitarian access. This statement calls on the Syrian Government to immediately allow cross-border aid deliveries, and on all parties to the conflict to agree on humanitarian pauses in the fighting, including along key routes for relief convoys.

Labour remains committed to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East based on a two state solution, international law and a secure Israel alongside a secure and viable state of Palestine. Labour will uphold the principles of equality for all Palestinians and Israelis by respecting human rights and applying international law in all relations and dealings with Israel and the Palestinians. Labour recognises that the illegal settlements and their continued expansion in the West Bank remain key obstacles to resolving the conflict. Labour has taken and will maintain domestic action to introduce labelling transparency and will seek a Europe-wide approach to settlement products. Labour will not encourage or support any investment or financial activities within illegal settlements. Labour also supports an immediate end to the blockade of Gaza, allowing the free movement of trade, aid and people.

The election of new Iranian President Hassan Rohani in 2013 offers an opportunity to improve bilateral relations between Britain and Iran through open dialogue, while also maintaining peaceful pressure through sanctions. In line with Labour's commitment to the non-proliferation agenda, we believe that a nuclear-armed Iran poses a threat not only to its neighbours in the Middle East, but also to the rest of the world. Labour supported the establishment of talks with Iran on its nuclear

programme in Government, and continues to believe that a negotiated resolution to this issue remains a priority.

The crisis in Ukraine in the past year has demonstrated the importance of the EU standing together where possible against external threats in Europe's eastern, as well as its southern, neighbourhood. Labour will continue to advocate an EU which looks outward to promote stability, peace and prosperity on its borders, supporting positive EU enlargement and neighbourhood policies.

## International Development

Labour's actions in Government earned the UK recognition as a leader on international development. In a world where many of the issues affecting the well-being of the British public are global issues, tackling international development challenges is not only morally right, it is also in our national interest. For Labour, development is so much more than charity – it is the pursuit of social justice and human rights.

### Leading on overseas development assistance

Labour will continue to press the Government to right its broken promise and enshrine in law the UK's target to spend 0.7 per cent of gross national income (GNI) on overseas development assistance. Doing so would ensure the international development budget is permanently linked to the economic state of the nation. Labour is committed to ensuring that UK development programmes deliver value for money, promote good governance and help achieve our core development goals. To this end, Labour believes that the UK must continue to work for transparency and accountability in how development assistance funding is used in recipient countries. Labour will continue to ensure the Department for International Development's strategic goals are met by working with other departments that relate to international affairs and which directly



impact upon a country's development. Labour established DFID, is proud of its record and will continue to lead internationally on poverty reduction

### **Developing a post-2015 development agenda**

With the deadline for reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) expiring in 2015, much debate surrounds the successor framework. While the MDGs have undoubtedly prompted global progress, huge challenges remain. Estimates indicate that about 1 billion people will still be living on less than US\$1.25 a day in 2015. Labour is committed to supporting a post-2015 development agenda that seeks to eradicate global poverty, promote sustainability, and end aid dependency by 2030. We believe that this can only be achieved through a rights-based agenda. Such an agenda must ensure decent jobs and social protection, access to universal health and social care, universal access to basic utilities, quality primary and secondary education, protection of ecosystems and biodiversity, basic food security and eradication of hunger, women's empowerment and gender equality, freedom from violence and the fear of violence, good governance, and active and responsible citizenship. The private sector has a key role to play in this respect, and should do so within certain safeguards to ensure responsible capitalism. These will include a commitment to sustainability, transparency, decent labour standards and human rights.

Labour will also ensure inequality is at the heart of the new global goals. The framework following the MDGs should include indicators that measure the progress of the poorest 10 or 20 per cent and most marginalised including by gender, disability and age; growth but sustainable growth where the proceeds benefit the many not the few; and a new definition of good governance which not only applies to the conduct of governments in developing countries but donors, multinational companies and multilateral institutions.

We believe that schemes to support universal primary education would not only help to raise people out of poverty, but would also promote gender equality and empower young women to play their part in ensuring long term, sustainable and inclusive economic development.

### **Making a Fairer Global Tax System**

The current system of global taxation is deeply flawed, with African countries losing US\$50 billion a year to illicit financial flows. While Labour welcomes the attention afforded to these issues at the 2013 G8 Summit, we believe that fundamental change is still needed. The sharing of tax information must be extended to developing countries and country-by-country reporting must be made available to all, requiring large multinational companies to publish the key pieces of information needed to assess the amount of tax they pay. To this end, and in order to make the global tax system truly progressive, we will insist on a G20 agreement so that developing countries can automatically access tax information from richer countries. We will also ensure that the UK, its Crown Dependencies and Overseas Territories share tax information with other countries and publish the ultimate beneficial owners of companies and trusts. Developing countries must also be given more support to deal with the transfer pricing challenge, and to improve their tax collection capabilities.

It is unfair that currently too often those least well off pay more than their fair share of tax while the wealthiest are able to avoid their responsibilities. Labour will continue to support a progressive taxation system and ensure that the wealthiest individuals and businesses contribute to the economy and society they profit from by prioritising anti-avoidance action in tax enforcement. The task for the next Labour Government is to ensure Britain succeeds in a global economy that is better regulated, in which banks and financial transactions are subject to international

agreement which provides for greater long-term stability and transparency. Labour will continue to campaign for an international Financial Transaction Tax, covering major financial centres to curb the volatility of financial transactions and help prevent a re-run of the 2008 financial crisis, and generate funds to the exchequer.

Similarly, more needs to be done to ensure equality for developing countries in commodity pricing. With information about resource deposits often only available to international companies bidding for extraction rights, many resources are sold by developing countries for significantly less than their true worth. In order to tackle this injustice, the next Labour Government would build upon the success achieved by Labour MEPs in this area. We would maintain the UK's support for efforts to publish contract information and for transparency initiatives, such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative which aims to improve openness and accountability in the management of revenues from natural resources.

### **Responding to conflict, disasters and humanitarian crises**

Fragile and conflict-affected states provide an environment in which organised crime, corruption, and terrorism can flourish, undermining efforts to promote democracy, good governance, and economic sustainability. Tackling the drivers of conflict and fragility 'upstream' can go a long way to preventing future conflict. The average cost of civil war is equivalent to more than 30 years of gross domestic product (GDP) growth for a medium-size developing country, and trade levels after major episodes of violence can take 20 years to recover. With the cost of insecurity generated by conflict totalling a global annual burden of US\$400 billion, Britain must be proactive. Recognising conflict and fragility as a significant impediment to development, a Labour Government will ensure that all DFID

activities in fragile and conflict-affected states demonstrably support and do not undermine peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts. This will involve closer alignment with country-led development plans, better coordination with other donors, and the use of country systems, local civil society and local private sector actors to deliver programmes wherever possible.

The number of natural disasters has increased over the past 30 years in every region of the world. Labour has always advocated that the UK should allocate up to a tenth of its funding for each natural disaster to mitigate the impact of future disasters, thereby increasing investment in disaster risk reduction. We need to improve early warning systems, and to ensure that developing countries are better equipped to deal with the devastating effects of such events.

Whether the result of famine, conflict, an earthquake or tsunami, Labour believes the UK should always be prepared to help people affected by disasters and desperately in need of humanitarian support. By providing emergency relief to the Syrian population, or those affected by Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines, the UK not only fulfils its moral responsibility to help those who require urgent assistance, but also retains its position as a leader in humanitarian response. Labour will strive to ensure the delivery of timely and effective relief and to improve the coordination of the global response to such crises.

### **Tackling climate change and ensuring energy security**

With 0.7°C of global warming having already occurred, and a further 0.6°C predicted to occur from emissions already in the atmosphere, the effects of climate change are already taking hold, and are likely to become more severe unless significant action is taken. Rising sea levels, frequent droughts and flooding, water scarcity and large-scale population displacement make for a bleak forecast. Labour believes the UK must continue to pursue a global deal to cut carbon emissions and stave off the worst

effects of climate change. By playing a lead role in negotiations, within both global and regional institutions like the EU, we can help to ensure an effective and enforceable agreement to cut global carbon emissions is in effect by 2020.

Working with our partners we will develop programmes with the aim of achieving a low carbon energy supply and creating many more green jobs. Labour's approach to securing a low carbon energy mix is set out in detail in the Living Standards and Sustainability section.

### Further reading

'Britain's role in a post-2015 development vision', Labour's Policy Review, 2013

'Conflict, Security and Development', World Development Report, 2011

'Equity, Inequality and Human Development in a Post-2015 Framework', United Nations Development Programme, 2013

'Speech: Britain's Future in Europe', Douglas Alexander, 2013

'Speech: Equality 2030', Ivan Lewis, 2013

'Speech: One Nation in Europe', Ed Miliband, 2012

'Speech: Post-2015 Development Goals', Ivan Lewis, 2013

'Speech: Preventative Intervention', Jim Murphy, 2013

'Speech to Institute of Public Policy Research', Yvette Cooper, 2013

'Speech to Labour Annual Conference in Brighton', Douglas Alexander, 2013

'Speech to Labour Annual Conference in Brighton', Jim Murphy, 2013

'Speech to Labour Annual Conference in Brighton', Yvette Cooper, 2013

'The Millennium Development Goals Report 2013', United Nations, 2013



**Agenda**  
2015



**STABILITY AND PROSPERITY  
POLICY COMMISSION  
ANNUAL REPORT**





# STABILITY AND PROSPERITY

## Membership 2013/14

### HM Opposition

Ed Balls MP\*  
Shabana Mahmood MP  
Catherine McKinnell MP  
Iain Wright MP

### NEC

Margaret Beckett MP\*  
Steve Rotheram MP  
David Sparks  
Cath Speight

### CLPs and Regions

Gerard Coyne  
Mark Glover  
Theresa Griffin  
Margaret McCulloch  
Ian Miller  
Alice Perry  
Martin Philips  
Sarah Rae  
Pearleen Sangha  
Liz Twist  
Darren Williams

### Affiliates

Nick Crofts  
Steve Hart  
Len McCluskey  
June Nelson  
Dave Prentis  
Tim Roache  
Fiona Wilson

### Elected Reps

Julie Elliott MP  
Baroness Lister  
Arlene McCarthy MEP  
Bryony Rudkin

*\*Co-convenor*

## STABILITY AND PROSPERITY

### Policy Development

The Stability and Prosperity Policy Commission considers Labour's policy and thinking on the economy. It considers current issues ranging from growth and the economic recovery to public spending and taxation and how we can reduce the deficit in a fair way.

Annual Conference 2013 prioritised and discussed contemporary resolutions submitted within the remit of the Stability and Prosperity Policy Commission on the cost of living. These included the cost of living crisis, the 10p rate of income tax and 50p tax cut, wages and the public sector pay cap, and informed the Commission's discussions throughout the year.

The Stability and Prosperity Policy Commission held a policy seminar at Annual Conference 2013. The meeting was very well attended, with a large number of delegates contributing to a lively debate. Issues raised during the debate included the role that a British Investment Bank could play in providing finance for small businesses and supporting infrastructure, the importance of manufacturing in our economy, and low pay. Labour's future spending plans were also discussed with delegates emphasising that it was important for Labour to set out how even within the 2015-16 spending totals Labour would have different priorities than the current Government. Other issues raised included tax avoidance, the creative industries and reform of corporate governance. The need for more affordable homes was also discussed alongside the impact of the Government's Help to Buy scheme. Delegates thought it unfair that the Government had chosen to cut taxes for the richest people in the country while ordinary families were worse off.

Following Annual Conference the Commission met in November 2013. Also attending this meeting was Sir John Armit, whose review on infrastructure had been published in September. In his discussion with the Commission Sir John outlined the recommendations from his

review, including his call for the establishment of an independent National Infrastructure Commission to identify the UK's long-term infrastructure needs and monitor the plans developed by governments to meet them.

There followed a discussion on the report and the issues set out in it, particularly with regards to the remit of the proposed independent Commission. Members raised a number of issues in relation to the regional aspects of infrastructure planning and how government can best ensure that capital investment leads to growth across the country and supports employment. Questions were also raised about how, and whether, issues such as climate change and sustainability should be incorporated into the remit of the independent commission. Issues relating to the impact on any wider industrial strategy were also discussed. Other issues discussed included planning regulations and the role of local communities in determining major infrastructure projects. The role that trade unions could play in the Commission was also raised.

Shadow Chancellor Ed Balls also used this meeting to update the Commission on the recent work of the Shadow Treasury team. In addition, the Commission discussed the One Nation Economy document published at Annual Conference. Issues raised included the need to incorporate house-building into the broader economic debate as well as the importance of the low-carbon economy. The role of trade unions and collective bargaining was also raised in relation to trends in wages and employment conditions.

Early in the New Year the first draft of the Stability and Prosperity final year consultation document was circulated to Commission members ahead of their meeting later in January. At this meeting, Commission members suggested amendments and additions to the document, which was subsequently redrafted. Issues discussed included low pay and the National Minimum Wage, energy and other household bills, and public sector pay and

pensions. There was also discussion on long-termism and the importance of infrastructure investment in building a strong economy. Other issues included the low-carbon economy, the British Investment Bank, house-building and the need for further banking reform. There was also discussion on tax avoidance, fair taxation and our position on public spending in the next Parliament. The issue of child poverty was also raised.

Ed Balls updated the Commission on the work of the Shadow Treasury team, including the recent speech on banking reform by Ed Miliband. He also spoke about the importance of the cost of living argument. Shadow Business Minister Iain Wright updated the Commission on the work of the Shadow Business, Innovation and Skills team, particularly in relation to their work on the British Investment Bank, and rebalancing the economy as well as manufacturing and exports.

Following the circulation of the amended document a conference call took place for Commission members to agree the final version.

In February, a joint meeting of the ‘economy’ commissions (Stability and Prosperity, Work and Business and Living Standards and Sustainability) took place to ensure all three documents fitted together in a coherent way and that cross-cutting issues, such as low pay, were addressed. Following this, the Joint Policy Committee agreed the documents and they were circulated to Labour Party members at the end of March for consultation.

In June the Commission met again with the aim of incorporating new Policy Review outputs into the consultation documents. The Policy Review publications of relevance to the Stability and Prosperity Policy Commission were the Buckle Review on low pay, the Wright Review of manufacturing and the Adonis Review on local growth. At this meeting the Commission also discussed the amendments that had been submitted to the policy consultation document.

The National Policy Forum then took place on the weekend of 18 to 20 July. Throughout the NPF weekend a number of amendment meetings were held to agree changes in the policy document, including on tax avoidance, public sector pay and reform of financial services, amongst others. The final version is published alongside the annual report.

## Current issues

### Growth, jobs and the cost of living crisis

The Government’s failed economic policy means that it is set to break its promise to balance the books by 2015 as well as its promise to rebalance the economy and oversee sustained rises in living standards.

The Commission has received a large number of submissions on the rising cost of living and the need to boost living standards. Many people are concerned about the fall in real wages in recent years as prices rise faster than pay. This cost of living crisis is exacerbated by rising energy bills and childcare costs, among others. In its meetings the Commission has discussed how the next Labour Government will take action to tackle rising bills. Issues discussed in detail include reform of the energy market and the energy price freeze.

The Commission has also discussed how Labour will act to boost low pay by increasing the National Minimum Wage and encouraging more companies to pay a living wage.

### Taxation

At a time when ordinary people are facing a cost of living crisis the Commission has discussed how the next Labour Government can ensure our tax system is fair and transparent. The Commission believes it is unfair that the Government has chosen to give a tax cut to the richest one per cent in the country while ordinary people are worse off. Widespread opposition to the decision to cut the 50p rate of tax is clearly reflected in the submissions received by the Commission.

The Commission has discussed the plans set out by Labour for a new lower 10p starting rate of tax, which would help people on middle and low incomes. The Commission has further considered how, for the next Parliament, Labour will restore the 50p top rate of tax for those earning over £150,000.

When it comes to business taxation the Commission has considered the proposals to cut and then freeze business rates for smaller properties from 2015. The Commission agrees that this should be paid for not going ahead with the current Government's additional corporation tax cut for large businesses in 2015-16.

The Commission has also urged further action on tackling tax avoidance – an issue raised repeatedly in submissions to the Commission. At a time when the Government is cutting spending and raising taxes the Commission believes it is more important than ever that individuals and companies should pay their fair share of tax, and be seen to do so.

### **Fair deficit reduction**

Submissions to the Policy Commission highlight the importance of tackling the deficit, but also recognise the fact that the Government has failed to meet its promise to balance the books by 2015. The Government's failure means an incoming Labour Government is set to inherit a large deficit, which will require tough choices. The Commission agrees that Labour should take a different, and fairer, approach, recognising that we can only reduce the deficit if our recovery is balanced, long-term and does not sow the seeds of problems ahead. The Commission agrees that we need to take action to deliver investment-led growth, and fairer choices about how to get the national debt down while protecting vital public services.

The Commission has discussed the plans set out to balance the books and deliver a surplus on the current budget and falling national debt as soon as possible in the next Parliament. The Commission has also considered how Labour

will legislate for its tough fiscal rules within 12 months of the General Election - rules which will be independently audited by the Office for Budget Responsibility. The Commission agrees that how fast we can go will depend on the state of the economy and public finances we inherit.

### **Financial services and banking reform**

Many submissions to the Commission continue to express concern about the financial services sector and the need for further reform.

The Commission recognises that there is a lack of competition in the UK banking sector and this is at the root of many of the wider problems businesses and consumers come across. The Commission welcomes the proposed work of the Competition and Markets Authority in this area and believes that in the next Parliament we need to see at least two new challenger banks and a market share test to ensure the market stays competitive for the long term.

The Commission further agrees that Labour should support a regional banking system, working alongside the British Investment Bank, which reaches out to businesses up and down the country. This network of regional banks will have a duty to promote local growth and lend to firms operating in their area. The Commission agrees that if, by 2015, we do not see proper reform of the banks alongside a genuine change in banking culture the next Labour Government should break up the banks.

### **Infrastructure**

Submissions to the Commission acknowledge the important role infrastructure can play in boosting our economy and promoting jobs and growth. However, the Commission recognises that the Government's record on infrastructure investment has been one of delay and failure to deliver.

As part of Labour's Policy Review Sir John Armitt has set out a clear blueprint for an independent infrastructure commission which



will make it harder for future governments to kick vital decisions, like the need to expand aviation capacity, into the long grass.

## Policy Review

Throughout the year the Policy Commission has been kept informed of the work of the shadow ministerial teams through the Policy Review on issues that fall under its remit. All reports produced as part of the Policy Review process have gone to the Commission as formal submissions. In addition, Sir John Armitt met with the Commission in December 2013 to discuss his proposals on infrastructure in detail, as outlined above.

In June the Commission met with the aim of incorporating new Policy Review outputs into the consultation documents. The Policy Review publications of relevance to the Stability and Prosperity Commission were the the Buckle Review on low pay, the Wright Review on manufacturing and the Adonis Review on local growth.

The Wright Report argued that advanced manufacturing is a sector of strategic national importance and is vital for a balanced and sustainable economy. It recommended that government needs to adopt a mindset that recognises the extraordinarily competitive and fast moving world that manufacturers work in, and that thinks across the functions of government and its inevitable silos. It further recommended that government needs to protect and improve the cost competitiveness of the UK as a manufacturing location, and strengthen the international perception that we are a cost-competitive country.

The Adonis Review made 24 recommendations for mending the broken economy, including the devolution of £30 billion of central government funding to local authorities and stronger Local Enterprise Partnerships in English city and county regions. It further recommended that Labour should allow Combined Authorities to keep any additional

business rates revenue which they are able to generate through economic growth for further investment.

The Commission has also discussed the One Nation Economy document that was published at Annual Conference as part of the Policy Review, setting out the importance of tackling the cost of living crisis.

## 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 the last year, the Stability and Prosperity Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics.

- Balance of trade
- Bankers' bonus tax
- Banking and financial sector
- Banking competition
- Benefits and sanctions
- British Investment Bank and regional banking
- Capital allowances
- Christmas tax holiday
- City-region bonds
- Climate Change and the economy
- Codes of conduct for all sectors
- Competition and markets
- Co-operatives and industrial democracy
- Corporate Social Responsibility
- Corporate taxation
- Cost-of-living crisis
- Council tax bands
- Credit unions
- Deficit reduction strategy
- Departmental budgets
- Development and structure of strategic industries
- Economic Cities
- Economic indicators other than GDP

- Economic models
- Emergency budget
- Ethical banking
- Fair and progressive taxation
- Financial regulation
- Financial Transaction Tax
- Food security
- Foreign takeovers and asset-stripping
- Green investment
- Growth
- Hedge funds
- HMRC and tax planning
- Housing
- Income and wealth inequality
- Income tax bands
- Income tax payment in arrears
- Industrial strategy
- Infrastructure
- Inheritance tax
- In-work benefits
- Land Value Tax
- Living Wage
- Local economies and high streets
- Local taxation
- Local, small and family businesses
- Long-term investment
- Low pay
- Mansion tax
- National Infrastructure Commission
- National Insurance and Income Tax
- Outsourcing of public services
- Online economy
- Pensions and annuities
- Pensions and the cost of living
- PFI contracts
- Poverty
- Public sector pay freeze
- Public sector procurement and social value
- Quantitative Easing
- Regional growth and infrastructure
- Regional interest rates on mortgages
- Renationalisation of utilities and transport
- Responsible capitalism
- Scientific research
- Self-build
- Skills and business
- Social Security
- Sovereign wealth fund
- Stamp Duty
- State pension
- Support for SMEs and access to finance
- Supporting BAME businesses
- Tax avoidance and evasion
- Taxation of Child Benefit
- Top rate of tax
- Transferable tax-free allowances
- VAT
- VAT and small businesses
- Voluntary organisations in public services
- Winter Fuel Allowance
- Zero-based review
- Zero-hours contracts and insecure work

**Agenda**  
2015



**WORK AND BUSINESS  
POLICY COMMISSION  
ANNUAL REPORT**



# WORK AND BUSINESS

## Membership 2013/14

### HM Opposition

Chris Leslie MP  
Rachel Reeves MP  
Stephen Timms MP  
Chuka Umunna MP\*

### NEC

Jennie Formby\*  
Ann Black  
Jim Kennedy  
Andy Kerr

### CLPs and Regions

Shaukat Ali  
Mike Amesbury  
Boyd Black  
Jackson Cullinane  
Deborah Gardiner  
Fred Grindrod  
Daniel Johnson  
Alon Or-bach  
Mike Payne  
Jayne Shotton  
Linda Woodings

### Affiliates

Richard Angell  
Tony Burke  
Karin Christiansen  
Ruth George  
Paul Kenny

### Elected Reps

Lord Faulkner  
Andy Sawford MP  
Sharon Taylor  
Derek Vaughan MEP

*\*Co-convenor*

## WORK AND BUSINESS

### Policy development

The Work and Business Policy Commission is charged with considering how Labour can ensure the UK is able to compete in an increasingly global economy. This includes support for working people, tackling insecurity in the workplace and how we can help businesses across a wide range of sectors.

Annual Conference 2013 discussed contemporary resolutions on the privatisation of Royal Mail, employment rights including collective bargaining, the living wage and low pay. These issues were reflected in the discussions of the Commission throughout the year.

The Work and Business Policy Commission held a policy seminar at Annual Conference 2013. This was very well attended with a large number of delegates contributing to a lively debate. Issues raised included pressures on pensions as a result of an ageing society, the impact of low pay and the prevalence of zero-hours contracts in the workplace. Other issues raised included the privatisation of Royal Mail, employment rights, unemployment and how to open up public procurement for small businesses. Concerns were also raised about the impact of the Government's social security changes.

The Commission met in November 2013, shortly after the Shadow Cabinet reshuffle. Rachel Reeves, the new Shadow Work and Pensions Secretary, updated members present on the recent work of the Shadow Work and Pensions team. In particular she spoke about the cost-of-living crisis and the Party's campaigns around the energy price freeze, childcare and scrapping the Bedroom Tax. Shadow Business Minister Iain Wright also updated the Commission on the work of the Shadow Business team, particularly noting the policy announcements at Annual Conference that will help business, such as the pledge to cut and then freeze business rates. The Commission discussed the importance of ensuring that

ordinary families see the benefits of economic growth and the need to avoid a race to the bottom on skills and wages.

At this meeting the Commission also discussed the One Nation Economy document published at Annual Conference. There was broad support for the content of the document, particularly in relation to the need to boost living standards.

The Commission met again in December 2013 to discuss the process for drafting the final year policy consultation document and to consider which issues should be included. The meeting also included a discussion on employment rights with Shadow Business Secretary Chuka Umunna outlining the Shadow Business team's recent work on employment rights, including the issues raised during Labour Party Conference and Labour's calls for a full inquiry on blacklisting. Chuka Umunna also referred to the recent privatisation of Royal Mail and Labour's campaign to oppose it.

Chris Leslie, Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury, updated on the recent work of the Shadow Treasury team. He stressed that the emphasis around the cost of living crisis argument is not just about talking about the immediate pressures on family finances but also how we can grow the economy in a way that allows us to earn our way to higher living standards.

Early in the New Year a draft copy of the policy consultation document was circulated ahead of the Commission's meeting in January. At this meeting the Commission considered amendments and alterations to the draft document as well as receiving updates from Shadow Ministers Chuka Umunna, Rachel Reeves, Chris Leslie and Stephen Timms.

Following this meeting the document was updated and recirculated to Commission members. Two conference calls then took place to agree the changes and finalise the document.



In February, a joint meeting of the ‘economy’ commissions (Stability and Prosperity, Work and Business and Living Standards and Sustainability) took place to ensure all three documents fitted together in a coherent way. Following this, the Joint Policy Committee agreed the documents and they were circulated to party members at the end of March for consultation.

In June, the Commission met again with the aim of incorporating new Policy Review outputs into the consultation documents. The Policy Review publications of relevance to the Work and Business Commission were the Pickavance Review on zero-hours contracts, the Buckle Review on low pay and the Adonis Review on regional growth. At this meeting the Commission also discussed the amendments that had been submitted in response to the policy consultation document.

The National Policy Forum then took place on the weekend of 18 to 20 July. This included a deliberative session on low pay which covered many of the issues discussed by the Commission over the last year. Throughout the NPF weekend a number of amendment meetings were held to agree changes in the policy document. The meetings included discussions on Royal Mail, workplace rights, zero-hour contracts, agency work, employment tribunals and regional growth. The final version is published alongside the annual report.

## Current issues

### Tackling unemployment

The Commission believes that the current Government’s Work Programme and Youth Contract are failing to get people back to work. The Commission recognises that for many young people, finding a job is extremely difficult and this point is reflected by many of the submissions received by the Commission. For this reason the Commission agrees that the next Labour Government will introduce a fully funded compulsory jobs guarantee for young

people out of work for a year. The same offer would be made to everyone aged 25 and over who have been unemployed for more than two years. The Commission believes these should be good quality, proper jobs, with fair terms and conditions.

In addition, in order to tackle unemployment, and avoid a race to the bottom in the labour market, the Commission believes that Government should ensure that jobseekers have the skills they need to find work. So the Commission agrees that the next Labour Government should ensure that every jobseeker is assessed for basic English, maths and IT skills. Anyone lacking basic skills would be offered training to improve their chances of finding a job, training that they would be required to take up.

Reflecting the submissions received, the Commission has discussed how the next Labour Government should use public procurement to spread the living wage and boost employment opportunities by ensuring that every large firm that wins a major contract from the Government must commit to providing apprenticeships and training for young people.

### Support for business

The Commission is clear of the need to reform our economy to deliver the jobs and growth of the future. Our goal is a high-productivity, high-skilled, innovation-led economy. Submissions to the Commission continue to emphasise the importance of a balanced, resilient economy succeeding in the world, creating good jobs and opportunities, offering people a ladder up and the chance to make the most of their potential. This private sector growth needs to be supported by an active government approach, investing for the long-term and enabling businesses to grow. The Commission notes that as part of this Labour has said that we will cut and then freeze business rates in 2015 and 2016, helping our small businesses to grow.

Reflecting the submissions received, the Commission believes there is a need to boost skills and develop a robust industrial and manufacturing strategy that will support and promote UK manufacturing to ensure we rebalance the economy and create decent employment.

The Commission also recognises the challenges frequently facing small businesses, particularly in getting access to finance from banks. This is an issue raised numerous in submissions. Labour's proposed British Investment Bank and network of regional banks should help address this.

### **Social security**

Submissions to the Commission continue to express concern about the approach the current Government is taking to social security. Issues such as support for disabled people, getting people back to work and child poverty have been raised on numerous occasions. In particular, submissions reflect the extreme unpopularity of the Government's Bedroom Tax. The Commission agrees with Labour's commitment to scrap this policy in government.

Throughout the year the Commission has noted the work of the Labour Party to set out an alternative vision for social security, one which looks to tackle unemployment and get people back to work, addresses low pay and recognises contribution. The Commission agrees that the Work Capability Assessment also needs major reform, reflecting the large number of submissions received on this issue.

The Commission has discussed the need to continue to challenge the Government on its flagship Universal Credit programme which is completely failing to live up to the Government's rhetoric. The Commission has also discussed other reforms such as the new Personal Independence Payment, which have also been subject to chaos and delay.

### **Workplace rights**

The need to ensure fairness in the workplace is clearly highlighted in submissions received by the Commission. Many people are concerned at the approach taken by the current Government on this issue, with employment tribunal fees, the abolition of the Agricultural Wages Board and the Beecroft Report, amongst others, continuing to be raised.

Submissions continue to stress that preventing exploitation and supporting measures that provide protection for workers in the workplace must always be a priority for Labour. The Commission has discussed the positive role that trade unions play in this respect.

Submissions continue to stress that preventing exploitative employment practices such as unfair zero-hours contracts, ending the Swedish Derogation and supporting measures that provide protection for workers in the workplace must always be a priority for Labour. The Commission confirmed the important and positive role that trade unions play in this respect.

### **Pensions**

As with last year, a significant number of submissions to the Commission have expressed worries about the future for pensions and whether people are saving enough for their retirement. The Commission has discussed this issue with members of the Shadow Work and Pensions team and has noted their ongoing work to address this issue, including work around collective schemes.

Issues relating to increases in the retirement age and the new single-tier pension have also been discussed as well as increased participation and ways in which trustee boards are properly accountable to savers.

### **Low pay and insecurity in the workplace**

Significant concerns continue to be raised about growing insecurity in the workplace. Under the current Government, job insecurity and underemployment have risen significantly, and we have seen an increasing reliance on zero-hours and short-hours contracts. Submissions to the Commission continue to urge Labour to tackle these issues.

There was a positive reaction to the announcement that the next Labour Government will ban exploitative zero-hours contracts. In addition, the Commission recognises the importance of protecting people from their wages and conditions being undermined. The next Labour Government will address this in part by strengthening the National Minimum Wage. The Commission agrees that the minimum wage should rise in real terms to at least catch up the ground it has lost under this Government, and that Labour should investigate whether certain sectors can afford to pay more. The Commission recognises the need to increase maximum fines for those who deliberately pay below the minimum wage and give local authorities as well as HM Revenue and Customs a role in enforcement. The Commission has also discussed ways to encourage more businesses to pay the living wage, including through 'Make Work Pay' contracts which give firms that sign up to become living wage employers a tax rebate, paid for from the exchequer savings from higher tax receipts and lower social security payments.

### **Royal Mail**

The Commission received many submissions relating to the privatisation of Royal Mail. Concerns have been raised about the principle of selling off such an important asset but also the way in which it was carried out, with taxpayers losing hundreds of millions of pounds. The Shadow Business team has continued to put pressure on the Government over the under-valuation of the share price as well as the role played by priority investors in

the sale. The Commission has discussed how Labour in government will safeguard and protect the services consumers and businesses get from a privatised Royal Mail, secure the universal service obligation beyond 2015 and prioritise securing the future of our post office network as well as examining the process by which Royal Mail was privatised at a deflated price.

### **Policy Review**

Throughout the year the Policy Commission has been kept informed of the work of the shadow ministerial teams through the Policy Review on issues that fall under its remit. All reports produced as part of the Policy Review process have gone to the Commission as formal submissions.

In June, the Commission met with the aim of incorporating new Policy Review outputs into the consultation documents. The Policy Review publications of relevance to the Work and Business Commission were the Pickavance Review on zero-hours contracts, the Buckle Review on low pay and the Adonis Review on local growth.

The Pickavance Report found that zero-hours contracts are often used as a crude cost-reduction tool, and that the lack of rules and safeguards governing their appropriate use leaves scope for abuse. It found that there is a strong case for safeguards to prevent the exploitative practices associated with too many zero-hours contracts.

The independent report by Alan Buckle, published in May 2014, argued that the framework that governs how the minimum wage is set must change dramatically, as part of a national mission to tackle low pay and build an economy with fewer low skill, low paid jobs and more high skill, high paid jobs. The report argued that the minimum wage must evolve to address the new, broader problem of low pay that faces us today, not simply extreme exploitation. It calls for an ambitious target to

increase the minimum wage over the course of a Parliament, ensuring that there is a bond between the wealth we earn as a nation and the wages that people earn for a hard day's work.

The Adonis Review made 24 recommendations for mending the broken economy, including the devolution of £30 billion of central government funding to local authorities and stronger Local Enterprise Partnerships in English city and county regions. It further recommended that Labour should allow Combined Authorities to keep any additional Business Rates revenue which they are able to generate through economic growth for further investment.

The Commission has also discussed the One Nation Economy document that was published at Annual Conference as part of the Policy Review, setting out the importance of tackling the cost-of-living crisis.

## Other submissions

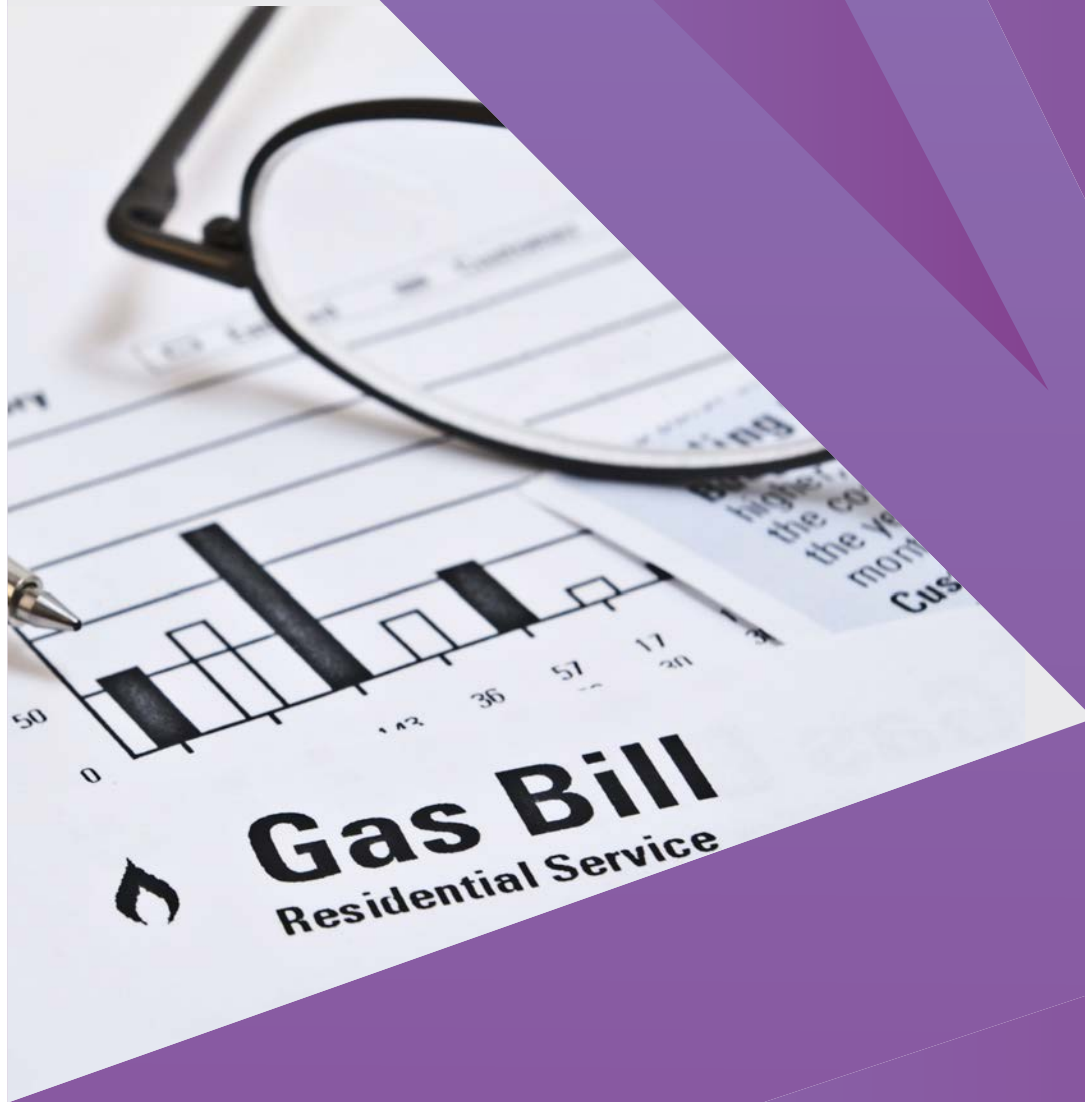
All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In the last year the Work and Business Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics.

- Apprenticeships and work experience
- Banking reform
- Bedroom Tax
- Benefit Cap
- Benefit sanctions
- Blacklisting
- Building refurbishment and VAT
- Carers' Allowance
- Close-to-the-customer manufacturing
- Collective bargaining
- Compassionate leave
- Compulsory Jobs Guarantee
- Co-operatives
- Corporate liability
- Criminalising breaches in employment law
- Disability benefits
- Disability issues
- Diversification of ownership models (including mutuals, social enterprise and co-operatives)
- Employee profit sharing
- Employee representation on company boards
- Employment and Support Allowance
- Employment rights of terminally ill people
- Employment tribunals and unfair dismissal
- Encouraging entrepreneurship
- Enforcement of the minimum wage
- Gender pay and pension gaps
- Government procurement and apprenticeships
- Health and Safety and the HSE
- Hospitality and pubs
- Housing benefit and the housing crisis
- Impact of immigration rules on business
- Income tax payment in arrears
- Industrial policy
- Innovation centres and Fraunhofer Institutes
- Insolvency
- Insurance markets
- Internships
- Job losses in the financial sector
- Living Wage
- Local Enterprise Partnership reform
- Low pay and in-work poverty
- Manufacturing
- Maximum pay differentials
- Mental health and workplace counselling
- Minimum Wage equalisation
- National Enterprise Board
- Online skills training
- Part time work and hours thresholds
- Patents and intellectual property
- Pension Credit

- Pension fees and charges
- Pension fund accountability
- Pensioner poverty
- Poverty and disability
- Preventing the exploitation of migrant workers
- Procurement and social value approaches to supporting local,
- Protection of workers
- Public holidays
- Public procurement and UK businesses
- Redundancy
- Regional economies and infrastructure
- Regional variations in the cost of living
- Rewarding voluntary work in taxes and benefits
- Role of co-operatives in government procurement
- Royal Mail
- Science and R&D
- Sectoral approaches and the Gangmasters Licensing Authority
- Shares for Rights
- Skills and vocational training
- Slavery
- Small business turnover threshold for VAT
- Start-up finance
- State pension age
- STEM skills in universities and colleges
- Strengthening the National Minimum Wage
- Support for jobseekers
- Supporting disabled people into work
- Temporary and agency workers, and Swedish derogation
- The role of social enterprises in the economy and public services
- The Technical Baccalaureate
- The Work Programme
- Tourism
- Trade union laws
- Transition from indefinite DLA to PIP
- Universal Credit
- University fees and funding
- Welfare and community discount cards
- Welfare Reform Act
- Work Capability Assessment
- Worker representation on remuneration committees
- Workplace rights
- Youth unemployment and training
- Zero-hours contracts







**LIVING STANDARDS AND  
SUSTAINABILITY  
POLICY COMMISSION  
ANNUAL REPORT**



# LIVING STANDARDS AND SUSTAINABILITY

## Membership 2013-14

### HM Opposition

Caroline Flint MP\*  
Mary Creagh MP  
Maria Eagle MP  
Cathy Jamieson MP

### NEC

Andi Fox  
Diana Holland\*  
Ken Livingstone  
Martin Mayer

### CLPs and Regions

Jackie Baillie MSP  
Amber Courtney  
Bethan Davey  
Nick Davies  
Colleen Fletcher  
Andrew Furlong  
Michael Hassell  
Jenny Holland  
Libby Lisgo  
Daniel Zeichner

### Affiliates

Maria Ludkin  
Melanie Smallman  
Liz Snape  
Frank Ward  
Tony Woodhouse

### Elected Reps

Linda McAvan MEP  
Steve Reed MP  
Cllr Steve Swift  
Alan Whitehead MP

\* *Co-convenor*

## Policy development

The Living Standards and Sustainability Policy Commission is tasked with looking at issues affecting quality of life, the cost of living, and our environment. In particular, it has been considering how best we can create a national integrated and cost effective transport model, achieve sustainable growth and a secure, low carbon energy mix while improving living standards for families and individuals. Key policy areas include transport, climate change, energy, the environment, food, and rural affairs.

In September 2013, Commission Co-Convenor Diana Holland led the Living Standards, Environment and Sustainability seminar at Annual Conference in Brighton. The panel (comprised of Mary Creagh, Maria Eagle, and Luciana Berger) discussed a range of issues with the delegates who attended. These included public transport, rural transport cycling, energy efficiency, climate change science and scepticism, HS2, rural issues, pay and conditions in transport, and energy security. There was an interesting discussion on the difficulty of arguing with dogmatic climate sceptics in wider politics and society. There were debates on cycle safety, the effects on all parties involved in collisions with cyclists and different measures that can be taken.

In December 2013, the Commission met for an extended half-day session for an initial discussion of the content of their Final Year Consultation Document. Maria Eagle MP, Caroline Flint MP, and Mary Creagh MP attended the meeting for discussions on their respective shadow ministerial briefs of the environment, food and rural affairs, energy and climate change, and transport. Members discussed reform of the energy market and the effects of Labour's proposed energy price freeze. They also highlighted the importance of demand management and the installation of energy efficiency measures. Discussions on transport covered a wide variety of topics, including rail franchising, the passenger

experience on public transport tackling the race to the bottom on standards, and the positive potential effects of technology. Commission members also discussed bovine TB and the badger cull, water and the cost of living and animal welfare. Members identified priority topics for inclusion in the report. They also discussed the framework, and established that the document would be framed as a series of radical solutions to the various problems currently being faced in the areas which the Commission covers.

The Commission met again in January 2014 to discuss the content of their draft Final Year Consultation Document. Julie Elliott, Shadow climate change minister, Lilian Greenwood, Shadow transport minister and Maria Eagle, Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment joined the discussions on their respective briefs. There was a discussion on the importance of the low carbon economy and the potential of shale gas and community energy. Members also discussed the need for safe cycling provision, rural services, food safety and standards, the Agricultural Wages Board and the Gangmaster Licencing Authority.

In February, Commission members joined members of the Stability and Prosperity and Work and Business Commissions at a meeting of the three economy commissions. This meeting considered the respective Final Year Policy Consultation papers as a whole to ensure that they formed a coherent narrative and that where issues overlapped different papers, members of all commissions had a chance to feed into content in those cross cutting areas.

Following final sign off by the Commission, the Living Standards and Sustainability document was published on the Your Britain website as part of the Final Year Policy Consultation. Commission members met in June to discuss the various submissions and textual amendments that had been submitted in response to the consultation ahead of the National Policy Forum in July.

At the National Policy Forum, proposed amendments were discussed under the groupings of animal welfare; air quality; shale gas; energy bills; energy efficiency; energy structures; energy supply; the natural environment; EU energy and climate change policy; the water industry; carbon reduction; food poverty; food standards; affordable and accessible travel; buses; Plymouth and Cornwall rail line; travel for young people; rail structures; regional transport; rail freight; a safer transport network and travel for young people. There was also a deliberative session on public transport with two guest speakers – Lord Denis Tunnicliffe, the former CEO of London Underground and Ashwin Kumar who previously worked for Passenger Focus. This allowed NPF representatives the chance to look at the various issues around rail and bus transport in a broader and more rounded way. Some of the key areas that were discussed included the growing fragmentation of the transportation network, problems that surround the contracting and franchising of services, and particularly in rail the inefficiency of the current rolling stock arrangements.

By the end of the National Policy Forum meeting, consensus was reached on all of the document's content.

## Current issues

### The Cost of Living

Many submissions to the Commission addressed the cross cutting issue of the cost of living. As prices have risen faster than wages, ordinary families have struggled to get by. Concerns like soaring energy bills, rising fares on buses and trains and the cost of food are not abstract aspects of policy – they are real tangible questions which affect people as they go about their daily lives.

The Commission has held several discussions on cost of living issues, agreeing that radical action is needed to achieve a better deal for consumers and discussing possible solutions.

They have included reform of the energy and water markets while protecting standards for communities and those working in these sectors, and the potential for the transfer of responsibility for local transport decisions to accountable local bodies. The Commission have also discussed how devolution could help people and communities shape their services, actively engaging in markets and achieving better value for the prices they pay.

Central to the Commission's discussions has been the concept that reforms addressing the cost of living cannot be short term measures – it is necessary to find long term solutions that address these issues now and in the future. To really confront the challenge of how to build an economy that works for working people we need ambitious, cross-cutting solutions.

As part of the Policy Review, the Labour Party has also published an Energy Green Paper, which sets out in detail our plans to reform the energy market so that it works in the interest of consumers, breaking up the 'Big Six' energy companies and forcing them to be more transparent about the way they buy and sell energy.

### Climate Change

One of the key issues raised in the seminar at Conference was the science of climate change, and the importance of challenging climate change sceptics in wider politics and society by presenting the science in an accessible and understandable way. Whilst no science is certain, the evidence for the need to act is compelling. However, sceptics sometimes exploit this note of caution to say that climate change is not happening.

Tackling the threat of climate change will be one of the greatest challenges of the 21st century. But the Commission has also discussed how building a green economy presents us with enormous opportunities. Greening our economy will create much needed jobs and support growth, ensure the long term

sustainability of our communities and markets, and help us to tackle the risk of dangerous climate change.

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 with the effects of climate change, the risk of flooding is increasing. Over the winter of 2013-14 nearly 8000 homes and nearly 3000 commercial properties were flooded. These devastating events highlighted the urgency of the climate change challenge.

### **Animal Welfare**

Animal welfare has again been a common theme in submissions to the Commission, and has been discussed by the Commission on several occasions, as well as at the National Policy Forum. Much of the discussion has been around the need to build on the previous Labour Government's excellent record on animal welfare, and to identify specific pledges that we can offer to the electorate.

The Commission have also discussed the Government's misguided and unscientific badger cull, and highlighted the importance of an evidence-based approach to bovine TB to tackle this devastating disease. We need a coherent plan to eradicate TB through vaccination of both badgers and cattle, together with tougher rules on the movement of livestock.

### **Rail**

Submissions to the Commission have reflected a shared sense that the rail system is not delivering the best deal for passengers or taxpayers. Our railways are far more expensive than in other countries and a complex split between train, rolling stock and track exists which has led to inefficiency and the wasting of taxpayers money. The Commission welcomed the achievements of the East Coast Mainline under public ownership. The Commission has examined and discussed the many submissions

on the future of rail and the changes that are needed, and these considerations have played a central part in achieving the major commitments on rail at the National Policy Forum

The Commission has expressed its growing concern at the rapid increase in rail fares. Fares have increased by more than 20 per cent since the last General Election hitting passengers, and especially commuters, hard. The Commission would like to see a more affordable and accessible rail network with train operators who put the needs of passengers first.

The Commission is also concerned at the poor standard of some of the trains that operate on Britain's rail network. We should be aiming to operate a rail network which adopts new technologies as well as being suitable to meet the service demands.

Labour has developed a policy offer that measures up to the scale of the problem as well as offering solutions that will create a fairer rail network while reducing the cost of travel helping both taxpayers and passengers alike. The next Labour Government needs to take urgent action to tackle the failures of Britain's railways. Directly Operated Railways should have the ability to bid to run future franchises and that the decisions over the running of local and regional rail should be devolved to the relevant authorities. The Commission also believes that a new guiding mind for Britain's railways is needed. This body would work toward co-ordinating services and skills in the industry, oversee fares and ticketing and ensure customer satisfaction across the network. The Commission is keen that passengers and employee involvement within transport delivery is increased giving them a greater say in the industry.

### **A better bus and integrated transport network**

The Commission believes that the bus industry needs to change if it is to properly serve the millions of passengers who use them every



year. This means local control, integration, and protection of decent standards for all bus workers. Submissions received by the Commission highlighted the increasing cost of using the service as an issue. Bus fares have increased by 26 per cent since the last General Election. However submissions also highlighted that a reduction in routes and services, particularly in rural Britain, is of great concern.

The Commission wants to see an integrated transport network operate across all communities in Britain. It needs to be an affordable and reliable network with bus, train, ferry and tram operators working together to ensure that passengers can travel to wherever they need to get to.

Many submissions have called for the Commission to introduce smart card ticketing across all modes of transport. The Commission acknowledges the merits in this technology, and the next Labour government will work with transport authorities to support the development of new ticketing technology.

## Policy Review input

In October 2012 the Labour Party commissioned Sir John Armitt, the former Chairman of the Olympic Delivery Authority, to undertake an independent review of long term infrastructure in the UK.

The review was published in September and recommended to the Policy Commission that the next Labour Government should establish an infrastructure commission which will identify the UK's infrastructure needs over the next 25-30 years in order to foster long term economic growth across the UK while maintaining our worldwide competitiveness.

The focus of the Commission would be on nationally significant infrastructure which incorporates areas such as energy, transport and water. Some of the more specific challenges the Infrastructure Commission will need to tackle include the future of the UK's energy

generation capacity, the expansion of the UK's airport capacity and the creation of a new high speed rail network.

In November, Labour published the Energy Green Paper for consultation. This document sets out the steps a Labour government will take while we reset the market during the 20 month price freeze, to ensure energy is affordable and available for the long term by improving competition and transparency in the market, establishing a new Energy Security Board to plan and deliver the capacity Britain needs, and replace Ofgem with a new regulator with real teeth to prevent overcharging.

## 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 2013-14 the Living Standards and Sustainability Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Aerospace Transport
- Air Passenger Duty
- Animal testing
- Animal Welfare
- Badger Cull
- Broadband
- Bus services
- Carrier bags
- Chinese lanterns
- Climate change
- Community Marketing
- Concessionary Passes
- Conversion of outhouses
- Cutting carbon emissions
- Cycle access to rural routes
- Cycling
- East Coast Mainline
- Encouraging safer streets
- Energy

- Energy companies
- Energy Conservation
- Energy efficiency
- Energy Tariffs
- Exotic pets
- Financial support for disabled people
- Fireworks
- Flooding
- Food Banks
- Food security
- Football
- Fracking
- Freight on Rail
- Fuel prices
- Fur Trade
- GM Foods
- Green economy
- Hard water areas
- Heathrow
- Homelessness
- Housing benefit
- HS2
- Integrated local transport
- Landfills
- Landlords
- Line rental
- Living standards
- Migrant labour in agriculture and food processing
- Minimum wage
- Natural Environment
- Nuclear Power
- Pedestrian and Cyclist Safety
- Protection of bees
- Puppy Farms
- Rail accountability
- Rail network
- Rail operations
- Railways and commuters
- Regulation of the bus service
- Renewable energy
- Road Haulage
- Shale Gas
- Slaughterhouses
- Solar Power
- Supporting Rural Communities
- Sustainable energy
- The Arts
- Translink
- Transport
- TV Licenses
- Waste Incineration, Zero Waste Handling and Anaerobic Digestion
- Waste reduction
- Water



**STRONGER, SAFER  
COMMUNITIES  
POLICY COMMISSION  
ANNUAL REPORTS**



# STRONGER, SAFER COMMUNITIES

## Membership 2013/2014

### HM Opposition

Yvette Cooper MP\*  
Hilary Benn MP  
Jenny Chapman MP

### NEC

Ann Lucas\*  
Christine Shawcroft  
Keith Vaz MP

### CLPs and Regions

Azhar Ali  
Julie Brookfield  
Ann Cryer  
Nicky Gavron  
Carol Hayton  
Jillian Merchant  
Brynnen Ririe  
Lorna Trollope  
Brenda Weston  
Mark Whitcutt

### Affiliates

Emma Burnell  
Mervyn Butler  
Gail Cartmail  
Jennifer Elliot  
Paul Liam Evans  
Sarah Gill  
Stephen Murphy  
Rebekah Peterson

### Elected Reps

Ruth Cadbury  
Barry Gardiner MP  
Mary Honeyball MEP

\* *Co-convenor*

## STRONGER, SAFER COMMUNITIES

### Policy development

The Stronger, Safer Communities Policy Commission is tasked with looking at issues and developing ideas around the areas of policy concerning our communities and how we live; such as community safety, housing, local government and immigration.

The Commission held two policy seminars at Annual Conference 2013. The first was for delegates to discuss local government and housing issues, and the second gave delegates the opportunity to share ideas with Shadow Ministers on crime, justice and immigration. Delegates attending these sessions discussed a wide range of issues including access to housing, planning, the link between housing and health, legal aid reforms, violence against women and the Government's changes to the Probation Service. Points raised at these sessions were documented and fed back to the Stronger, Safer Communities Policy Commission for consideration.

A contemporary resolution on housing was discussed and agreed at Annual Conference. The resolution was composed focused on the Government's failure to build enough homes, the need to tackle poor standards in the private rented sector, calling for the next Labour government to encourage a kick start in house building across all tenures.

In November the Commission met to discuss issues and submissions that focused on community safety and policing. The Commission examined a number of ideas that could help to ensure everyone felt safe in their communities. These included ideas around how the criminal justice system can deliver a better service for victims of crime, alongside delivering the right balance of punishment and rehabilitation for those who have offended. Commission members also talked about violence against women and access to legal aid and advice in response to submissions received on these matters.

The Commission met in December to discuss localism and homelessness. Topics covered included the mayoral system, fairness commissions, citizenship and cohesion. Jack Dromey MP also spoke about the consultation taking place on the Stevens Report into Policing looking at the future of policing, and David Hanson MP gave an update on immigration policy.

In January Commission members welcomed Dan Jarvis MP, Shadow Justice Minister, who came to speak about the Victims' Taskforce, which had recently been launched, and which is chaired by former Director of Public Prosecutions, Sir Keir Starmer. Working with Baroness Doreen Lawrence and Peter Neyroud, former Chief Constable of Thames Valley Police, the Taskforce is examining the reforms the justice service needs in order to put victims at its heart. Yvette Cooper gave an update on immigration as well as proposals to increase the diversity of Policing. The Commission considered the draft version of the final year consultation document. A conference call was held later in the month for the Commission to agree the document.

In February the Commission took part in a joint meeting of the three Commissions in the Society strand. This brought together the Health and Care, Education and Children, and Stronger, Safer Communities Commissions. The combined discussions ensured the narrative and style across the final year documents were coherent and consistent as well as considering the cross-cutting areas of policy.

The Commission met again in June to discuss amendments that had come in response to the final year consultation. They also discussed and agreed additional text which reflected new input from the Policy Review from the Adonis Growth Review, Lyons Housing Review and Local Government Innovation Taskforce. Text was agreed to be taken forward to the NPF meeting.



There were a number of amendment sessions which allowed representatives to amend the final year documents. The meetings included topics such as access to justice, immigration rules and tackling illegal immigration, affordable housing, the future of local government and tackling violence against women and girls.

At the National Policy Forum in July, there was a deliberative session focusing on housing. This session was led by Michael Lyons who is leading Labour's review into housing supply and Toby Lloyd, Director of Policy for Shelter.

The deliberative session allowed representatives to discuss a number of key topics which need to be addressed if we are to hit our target of building 200,000 homes a year by 2020. The topics included the lack of land supply, the drop in public sector backed developments and public consent to housing.

## Current issues

### Housing

The Commission is concerned that Britain is in the midst of the biggest housing crisis in a generation. Less than half the homes we need to keep up with demand are being built. This failure plays a central role in the cost-of-living crisis with many being locked out of home ownership and an increasing number of people are being forced to live in often expensive, unstable and substandard private rented accommodation.

The Commission has received submissions from many people priced out of home ownership or who find themselves trapped in the private rented sector due to spiralling rental costs.

The Commission believes that a priority of government must be to encourage the building of new homes. Under this Government house building has fallen to its lowest peacetime level since the 1920s and home ownership to its lowest level since 1987. The next Labour Government must act to counter this trend of falling house building.

The Commission has also received submissions calling for new homes to be built across all tenures including creating an affordable, fairer and more stable private rented sector.

The Commission believes that local authorities need to have relevant powers to tackle issues such as land banking. Labour plans to provide councils with the ability to implement 'use it or lose it' measures on developers who are land banking instead of building homes. The Commission also believes the next Labour government must tackle the poor landlords who operate in the private rented sector. Labour will introduce a mandatory landlord registration programme as well as support local authorities who want to adopt local landlord licensing programmes. Labour is committed to building at least 200,000 homes a year by 2020. The Lyons Review is playing an important role in mapping how we can ensure this target is met as well as feeding into Labour's strategic plan to tackle the growing housing crisis.

### Localism

This current Government has centralised powers on issues such as planning, removing the ability for people living in communities to have a real say on what happens to their local areas. This is of great concern to the Commission, which has received many submissions which call for the next Labour government to devolve more powers to city regions and combined authorities.

The Commission agrees with submissions that suggest a different approach is needed and has called for a programme of devolution to empower those who are best placed to deliver for communities while using the resources they are allocated or already have.

The Commission has discussed how longer term budgets for local authorities would help them to plan ahead and improve their services whilst reinvesting the savings they will make. The Commission is confident that if this is done it would be an essential step on the road to social justice and creating a more equal society.

## Violence against women

Tackling violence against women is a top priority for the Labour Party. The Commission have received submissions about how the Government's actions are damaging our ability to combat violence against women. The Commission has discussed how cuts to funding have put refuges and specialist advice services under threat of closure and is also concerned by figures showing a decline in the rate of rape convictions. In addition, there are reports that Community Resolutions are being used for serious crimes such as domestic violence, against ACPO guidance, risking perpetuating the abuse.

The Commission believe that when more women are going to the police with allegations of rape and yet fewer cases are reaching court, let alone ending in conviction, it is clear we need to look at reforming the criminal justice system. The Commission welcomes Yvette Cooper's announcement that Labour in government will introduce a Commissioner who would focus on improving women's safety and put violence against women and girls at the heart of the crime agenda. The Commission is of the opinion that we must also work to prevent violence and harassment happening in the first place and welcomes the commitment that Labour in government will make sex and relationship education in schools compulsory.

## Policing

The Government is hollowing out our police service and latest figures show we have lost almost 16,000 police officers. Submissions received show people are worried that this is a serious threat to Neighbourhood Policing, despite the fact that it should be the cornerstone of effective British policing. The Commission is worried by reports that in many areas, there are neighbourhood police only in name, with rising violent crime and a growing justice gap, this is a retrograde step.

Labour pioneered Neighbourhood Policing rooted in local communities, with police doing more than reacting to crimes by also preventing them, and working in partnership with local authorities, schools and the NHS. The Commission believe that we must maintain our focus in this area as the best way to keep our communities safe.

But the Commission is of the view that policing must also be reformed to make sure it can better deliver for our communities. It welcomes the work of the Stevens' review into the future of policing and its proposals including the need to increase diversity, especially in our big cities, getting officers back on the beat and giving communities a greater say in local policing priorities, and a powerful new inspection and standards body to replace the discredited Independent Police Complaints Commission.

## Immigration

Immigration has remained an important area of discussion for the Commission. Submissions it has received have focused on the need to ensure that we do not stoop to the level of other parties who conduct the debate in a way that whips up tensions and hostility. The Commission believes we must never compete in an arms race of rhetoric on immigration and our policies will reflect the positive contribution immigration has made to the economic, social and cultural well-being of Britain, whilst also recognising the legitimate concerns people have about the impact of immigration on jobs and wages.

Discussions on the topic over the year have raised how to tackle illegal immigration we need strong and secure borders and highlighted the need to halt the exploitation of wages and conditions that some migrant workers are subjected to. The Commission condemns abusive employment practices including those that are used to undercut workers already here.

## Policy Review

Work from Labour's Shadow Cabinet-led Policy Review has informed the Commission.

The Adonis Review's submission on growth argued that it is time to give city and county regions additional powers in order to promote growth. It also recommends that Local Enterprise Partnerships need to be improved. Both bodies should work together in partnership at city and county level and should be empowered with larger devolved budgets to promote better skills, infrastructure and economic development for support of growth plans.

The Lyons Housing Review is providing the Commission with a roadmap as to how we solve Britain's housing crisis by building at least 200,000 homes a year by 2020. The housing crisis is central to the cost-of-living crisis and is leaving millions of working people unable to afford the homes they want. So far the Lyons Review's submissions to the Commission have suggested a package to solve the housing crisis including:

- Providing local authorities with the right to grow.
- Giving local authorities 'use it or lose it' powers to crack down on land banking.
- Building new towns and Garden Cities.
- Reforming the housing revenue account system.
- Give communities a greater share of the benefits from the developments.

The Local Government Innovation Taskforce submitted to the Commission a report that looks at how local authorities can deliver good public services while under pressure. The model they have recommended looks at the failings of the old top-down central control and the important role devolving power to communities can play in providing the services they want.

Key recommendations include:

- Providing long-term funding agreements for local authorities.
- Providing local authorities with greater powers to drive health and social care integration.
- Developing funding for skills and education funding.
- Sure Start centres should become hubs of support for children offering integrated services.

The Victims' Taskforce was established this year as part of the Shadow Justice team's ongoing work to develop policies that will ensure that the needs of victims are placed at the heart of the criminal justice system. Too many victims and witnesses feel that our criminal justice system at best takes them for granted and, at worst, treats them with contempt. Labour will end this. The Commission heard from Shadow Justice Minister Dan Jarvis on Labour's work to establish a Victims' Law, and further improvements in the way victims and witnesses are treated by the criminal justice system. The Commission looks forward to discussing their findings when the report is published later this year.

As part of their work on reforming policing so that it can better serve our communities, the Shadow Home Office team set up the Independent Commission on Policing two years ago. Its role was to examine the roles and responsibilities of the police service in England and Wales in the 21st Century. Lord Stevens published its report in November and the Commission invited Shadow Policing Minister, Jack Dromey MP, to a meeting to discuss the findings. The Commission welcomes the report's focus on Neighbourhood Policing as the bedrock of effective policing and the need for reform to deliver more with less.

## 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 2013-14 the Stronger Safer Communities Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Access to arts & culture
- Affordable Housing
- Agency fees
- Anti-social behaviour
- BBC
- Bedroom tax
- Brownfield site
- Buy to let
- CCTV
- Carbon monoxide safety at home
- Civil liberties
- Co-operative Housing
- Community development
- Community rights
- Community football youth development fund
- Community safety
- Compulsory purchase
- Cost of housing
- Council housing
- Council tax
- Criminal justice system
- Criminal sentencing
- Devolution
- Disability access new build homes
- Domestic violence
- Drugs
- Emergency services
- Empty homes
- Energy efficiency rating
- Failure to properly maintain leased accommodation
- Football ticket costs
- Gambling
- Garden Cities
- Fire service
- Greenbelt land
- Hate crime
- Health links to housing
- High street investment
- HIV awareness in housing, justice and policing
- House building
- Housing conditions
- House prices
- Housing associations
- Housing benefit
- Housing investment bank
- Housing supply
- Housing waiting lists
- Immigration and asylum
- Justice
- Justice system reform
- Land tax
- Land value tax
- Land banking
- Landlords register
- Legal Aid
- Libraries
- Local authority borrowing powers
- Local communities
- Local Government
- Local planning reform
- Online protection
- Migrant domestic workers visa
- Multiculturalism and community cohesion
- Neighbourhood watch
- Payday lenders
- Planning regulation
- Policing
- Police and Crime Commissioners

- Poverty
- Prisons
- Private rented sector
- Private landlords
- Privatisation
- Probation service
- Problem drinking
- Psychological therapy for offenders
- Racism
- Refuges
- Regeneration
- Rental charges
- Rental costs
- Rented housing inspections
- Rents
- Restorative justice
- Right to buy
- Rough sleeping and homelessness
- Short hold tenancies
- Smoking in cars
- Specialist homes for older people
- Overseas investment in property in London
- Technological advancement
- Town centres
- Tenants' rights
- Small claims court powers
- Social housing
- Social housing construction
- Social integration
- Social mobility
- Stamp duty
- Violence against women and girls
- Violent crime
- Voluntary organisations
- Winter fuel allowance
- Youth services





A young girl with brown hair in pigtails, wearing a red sweater, is seen from behind, raising her right hand in a classroom. In the background, a teacher is visible, and a green chalkboard is partially seen. The image is framed by a large green diagonal graphic element.

**Agenda**  
2015

**EDUCATION AND CHILDREN  
POLICY COMMISSION  
ANNUAL REPORT**



# EDUCATION AND CHILDREN

## Membership 2013/2014

### HM Opposition

Tristram Hunt MP\*  
Kevin Brennan MP  
Liam Byrne MP  
Lucy Powell MP

### NEC

Mary Turner\*  
Paddy Lillis  
Wendy Nicholls  
Peter Wheeler

### CLPs and Regions

Judith Blake  
Helena Dollimore  
Dawn Elliott  
Diane Green  
Charlotte Hale  
Chris Hughes  
Nick Ireland  
Lara Norris  
Stephanie Peacock  
Fiona Twycross  
John Wiseman

### Affiliates

Siobhan Endean  
John Hannett  
Grace Skelton

### Elected Reps

Steve Bullock  
Bill Esterson MP  
Catherine West

\* *Co-convenor*

## EDUCATION AND CHILDREN

### Policy development

The Education and Children Policy Commission considers Labour's policy and thinking on a wide range of issues, such as ensuring high standards for all in schools and colleges, breaking down the link between a child's background and their attainment, and transforming vocational routes for the 50 per cent of young people who do not go to university. Its remit covers the whole of education policy, from supporting children in their earliest years to improving the quality of post-16 opportunities for young people.

The Education and Children Policy Commission began its year hosting a seminar on "Supporting our young people" at the 2013 Labour Party Annual Conference. This was very well attended, leading to lively discussion and contributions from many delegates on issues that affect our children and young people. Amongst the points raised were the reduction in services and closure of Sure Start children's centres, the importance of proper planning for school places, and the impact of the Government's reforms on teacher supply. During the discussion, the Shadow Education team reaffirmed Labour's commitment to end the Government's Free Schools programme.

A number of CLPs had submitted contemporary resolutions to Conference on free school meals. Although this was not prioritised by Conference for discussion through the priorities ballot, the subject matter was subsequently discussed by the Commission and the National Policy Forum.

In November, the Commission met to discuss how Labour can support vulnerable children throughout their childhood and education. Shadow Education Secretary Tristram Hunt provided an update of the work of the Shadow Education team, setting out priorities for the coming months, before handing over to guest speaker Matt Downie, Head of Campaigns and Public Affairs at Action for Children. Matt's

presentation focused on the impact of reforms on vulnerable children under both current and previous governments. This was then followed by a discussion amongst Commission members on areas of focus for the next Labour Government in raising the attainment of vulnerable children. As part of this discussion, the Commission considered evidence of excellent practice from across the country, with the early years seen as a particular priority.

The Commission met again in December to discuss young people and skills. Shadow Education Secretary Tristram Hunt gave an overview of the latest report of the independent Skills Taskforce and Labour's vision for vocational education. He stressed that Further Education (FE) colleges, English and maths to 18 for all young people and qualified teachers in the FE sector are essential to making this vision a reality. At this meeting, Commission members began to consider the draft contents of the Education and Children policy consultation document.

In both January and February of the new year, the Commission convened to discuss and develop iterations of the Education and Children policy consultation document. Following these meetings, a combined meeting of the three Policy Commissions in the Society strand (Health and Care, Education and Children, and Stronger, Safer Communities) took place in February to ensure that these three papers formed a coherent narrative and policy agenda when taken together as a whole. The final papers in the Society strand were then published online and put out for consultation.

Following the publication of the Education and Children policy consultation, Commission members met in June to consider the amendments and submissions received to date ahead of the 2014 National Policy Forum. Amendments discussed included those on free school meals, childcare and Sure Start children's centres. The Commission also agreed additional text reflecting David Blunkett's review into

school standards and local oversight, and the final Skills Taskforce report. This additional text was sent on to the National Policy Forum for approval.

When representatives met at the National Policy Forum in July, meetings took place on key areas for discussion, such as ensuring a rounded education, school meals and Higher Education and adult skills. A deliberative session on school standards and oversight also took place at the National Policy Forum to give representatives the chance to hear about the key issues, background and evidence, from a panel of expert speakers. This panel was formed by David Kershaw, Cabinet Member for Education at Coventry City Council, Conor Ryan, former adviser to the Labour Government, and Dame Alison Peacock, Headteacher of The Wroxham Primary School and National Leader of Education. Ultimately, consensus wording was agreed on all amendments to the Education and Children policy document. The amended paper, which can be found elsewhere in this document, is now presented for adoption as part of Labour's policy programme.

## Current issues

### Supporting vulnerable children

The last Labour Government lifted over a million children out of poverty, helped thousands of families into work, and built children's centres to help children and families break the cycle of disadvantage. This progress is now being undermined, with the gap in attainment between disadvantaged pupils and their peers now widening, school standards threatened by the Government's decision to allow schools to permanently employ unqualified teachers, hundreds of fewer Sure Start centres, and child poverty forecast to rise, not fall.

Throughout the year the Commission has focused on a range of issues that affect vulnerable children and have been highlighted

by the submissions received, including the use of unqualified teachers in schools, the closure of Sure Start centres, and the universal infant free school meals initiative. The Commission strongly believes that putting teaching standards first is key to raising standards in schools and colleges. That is why Labour will ensure that all teachers become properly qualified and continue to build their skills throughout their career. Labour will also bring forward changes to the Schools Admissions Code to allow all schools to prioritise disadvantaged children, a provision that currently exists only for academies. Submissions received by the Commission rightly recognise Sure Start as being a visionary programme. The Commission is committed to Sure Start and to placing early intervention at the heart of our approach to supporting children and their families.

### Opportunities for young people

For generations, governments have not given enough attention to the options available to those who do not plan to pursue A-Levels and university. As a result, many young people who do not choose university have no clear route for high quality vocational qualifications and a career. With over 800,000 young people still unemployed, the Government's ambivalence towards vocational education shows a shocking complacency about the challenges we face as a country.

Submissions received by the Commission reflect the concern in our country that opportunities for young people are being limited. They refer to the fundamental need to revive and strengthen careers advice, to ensure that young people receive the information and guidance that help them to pursue the paths that are right for them, and to ensure that there is a parity of esteem between academic and vocational qualifications. Submissions also highlight that the current curriculum and qualifications framework for 16- to 18-year-olds does not fully meet the needs of young people or of employers and universities. The Commission

recognises that there is a clear need to transform vocational education in our country, with gold standard qualifications, and a step change in the number and quality of apprenticeships. The Commission is committed to progressing the recommendations of the independent Skills Taskforce, led by Professor Chris Husbands, which included plans for a new Technical Baccalaureate for 16- to 19-year-olds featuring gold standard vocational qualifications accredited by employers, English and maths to 18 for all young people, and building the quality and quantity of apprenticeships. The Skills Taskforce also recommended the creation of an aspirational new National Baccalaureate for all school leavers. This would value the learning young people have undertaken between 14 to 19, including GCSEs, A-Levels and high quality and vocational courses, the continued study of English and mathematics, and opportunities for extended research and the development of personal skills and qualities. This package of measures would prepare all young people to contribute in society and to succeed in their next step at 18, whether that is an apprenticeship, Higher Education or skilled work.

### **Local oversight of all schools**

The Government is attempting to oversee thousands of schools from a desk in Whitehall. This centralised schools landscape has led to underperformance going unnoticed or unchallenged, financial mismanagement and allegations of religious extremism. Decisions about new schools are taken by the Secretary of State for Education alone, resulting in political considerations being put above the needs of pupils, parents and local communities. This has shut out local communities from decisions affecting schools in their area and led to enormous waste in the commissioning of new school places, contributing to larger class sizes and a places shortage in primary schools.

The Commission agrees with the submissions received that school improvement cannot be driven successfully from the centre.

Without effective local oversight, problems are unchallenged for too long and schools are not supported to improve. The Commission believes that all schools, regardless of structure, should be subject to strong local oversight. In April, Shadow Education Secretary Tristram Hunt welcomed the recommendation of David Blunkett's review into local oversight for new Directors of School Standards, who will provide robust local oversight of all schools to raise standards. Charged with intervening in all schools to tackle underperformance and brokering collaboration between schools to spread best practice, Directors of Schools Standards will also be responsible for commissioning new schools transparently and fairly. Many submissions referred to the Government's mistaken presumption that one type of school is superior to another. With Labour, there will be the option for local authorities to open new community schools once more, ending this Government's bias towards academies and Free Schools.

### **The Curriculum**

International evidence suggests that high performing education systems combine school freedoms with strong local accountability. The Government has fragmented our schools system, creating an uneven playing field where schools have to change their status in order to gain the freedoms that drive up standards, such as freedom over the curriculum.

Submissions received by the Commission reflect the need to avoid overly prescriptive curriculums that limit the ability of teachers to be innovative and to trust teachers to get on with the job. Labour would extend the freedom for teachers to innovate to all schools, whilst ensuring there is a core subject entitlement for all children. With these freedoms must come strong local oversight, to ensure standards stay high in every school.

Many submissions also raised the importance of ensuring that children receive a rounded education, which prepares them for life in



Britain and the modern world and that enables them to thrive in society and contribute to their community. Labour's focus on skills and vocational education will mean that more young people have access to alternative qualifications and opportunities in schools and colleges and will gain a broader education. Labour will also amend the Ofsted inspection framework to ensure schools are judged on whether they are delivering a "broad and balanced" curriculum. The Commission also believes that it is important to protect the rights of all children and young people to have the information they need to make informed choices as they grow into adulthood. That is why Labour is committed to compulsory Sex and Relationship Education (SRE) and to issuing new guidance to schools to support them to fulfil their duty to deliver high quality SRE to all young people.

### **Childcare**

Under this Government the cost of childcare is soaring and early years places are plummeting. Recent research has found that one in five parents have been forced to call in sick over the holiday period to manage their childcare, at a cost of nearly £100 million every year to the Exchequer. Yet while families facing the cost-of-living crisis come under more and more pressure to balance work and family life, this Government has no plan to support families struggling with their childcare before the next election.

The submissions received by the Commission draw attention to the difficulties parents face in finding and paying for childcare and the concern that families are not able to make the decisions that are right for them due to the rising cost of childcare. In agreement with these submissions, the Commission recognises that increased help with childcare is good for the economy and for families. At the 2013 Labour Party Annual Conference, Labour announced its commitment to increase free childcare for working parents with three and four-year-olds

from 15 to 25 hours a week, worth £1,500 per child. This will be a real boost to parents struggling to pay for childcare throughout the year. Labour will also give a legal guarantee to parents with primary-aged children that they can access before and after-school childcare through their school. The Commission will continue to monitor the pressures on families and ensure that childcare will always be an ongoing priority for Labour.

### **Policy Review input**

As part of Labour's Policy Review process, reports on several important issues were submitted to the Commission for discussion throughout the year. These included David Blunkett's review of school standards and local oversight and the reports on the independent Skills Taskforce.

David Blunkett's review looked at how Labour should ensure proper oversight of all schools, whatever their type, so that standards are raised. The report examines the fragmentation of our schools system under this Government and recommends the introduction of new Directors of School Standards in local areas to provide local oversight, support and challenge for all schools. The report also recommends that decisions over school places be taken locally with accountability, with Directors of School Standards overseeing the commissioning of new schools in a fair and transparent way.

The independent Skills Taskforce, led by Professor Chris Husbands, Director of the Institute of Education, and comprised of leading business and education experts, was tasked with providing advice and recommendations to Labour's Policy Review on raising the status of vocational education and ensuring our education system delivers the skills young people need to fill the skills gaps currently holding us back as a country. The Skills Taskforce has published three reports. The first, 'A revolution in apprenticeships: a something-for-something deal with employers', calls for new rigorous standards to tackle the

recent increase in low quality apprenticeships and ensure that apprenticeships are gold standard qualifications that employers can trust.

The second ‘Transforming further education: A new mission to deliver excellence in technical education’, sets a new agenda for vocational and technical education, recommending that the best colleges are transformed into new specialist Institutes of Technical Education, licensed to deliver Labour’s Technical Baccalaureate and apprenticeships training. To drive up the quality of technical education in this country, only colleges with top quality teaching, strong employer links and high standards in English and maths will gain a license and be able to offer the Tech Bacc.

The final report, ‘Qualifications matter: improving the curriculum and assessment for all’, recommends reforming the 14 to 19 phase of education with the introduction of a Technical Bacc to give young people pursuing vocational qualifications a clear, quality route through education, and English and maths to 18 for all young people, as these skills are crucial for whatever a young person does post-18. The report recommends a longer term aspiration for a new ‘National Baccalaureate’ to value all the learning a young person undertakes in upper secondary education. The Taskforce suggests the National Bacc be available as either the ‘Tech Bacc’ or a ‘General Bacc’, and would comprise four key components: core learning (qualifications such as A-Levels or labour-market responsive level 3 vocational qualifications); English and maths to 18; a personal skills development programme; and work experience for all. The report also recommends using local employers to help build a fit-for-purpose careers advice system.

## 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 2013-14 the Education and Children

Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Academies
- Access to Higher Education (HE)
- Adoption
- Apprenticeships
- Art in schools
- Careers education
- Child neglect
- Child protection
- Child Support Agency (CSA) fees
- Childminders
- Children’s centres
- Children’s homes
- Children’s services
- Citizenship and political education
- Coaching in schools
- Co-operative schools
- Democratic accountability in schools
- Early years
- Education Commissioner
- Education for life
- Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA)
- English Baccalaureate
- Expert teachers
- Faith schools
- Family courts and Cafcass
- Family support
- Flexi holiday
- Free early years education entitlement
- Free Schools
- Further Education (FE)
- Gold standard education
- Grammar schools
- Health and well-being
- Inclusive PSHE and SRE
- Language education
- Mental illness

- Mentors
- Ofsted
- Performance in schools
- Private education
- Public accountability
- Recruitment to teaching
- School accountability
- School funding
- School meals
- School premises
- School-home partnership
- Schools for disabled children
- Secular education
- Student loans
- Sure Start
- Tackling anti-social behaviour
- Teachers
- Teaching assistants
- Technical Baccalaureate
- Tuition fees
- University admissions
- University Technical Colleges (UTCs)
- Unqualified teachers
- Vocational education and skills
- Vulnerable children
- Youth service



**Agenda**  
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**HEALTH AND CARE  
POLICY COMMISSION  
ANNUAL REPORT**





# HEALTH AND CARE

## Membership 2013/14

### HM Opposition

Andy Burnham MP\*  
Luciana Berger MP\*\*  
Liz Kendall MP

### NEC

Keith Birch\*  
Rachael Maskell  
Conor McGinn

### CLPs and Regions

Lucy Anderson  
Peter Box  
Simon Burgess  
Nick Forbes  
Joanne Harding  
Donna Hutton  
Katrina Murray  
Douglas Naysmith  
Sandra Samuels  
Denise Thursfield

### Affiliates

Neeraj Patil  
Beryl Shepherd  
Eleanor Smith  
Martin Rathfelder  
Maggie Ryan

### Elected Reps

Debbie Abrahams MP  
Angela Cornforth

\* *Co-convenor*

\*\* *Replaced Diane Abbott in October 2013*

## HEALTH AND CARE

### Policy Development

The Health and Care Policy Commission is concerned with Labour's policy direction and thinking on health and care. It considers current issues, including the integration of health and care services and social care funding. Areas for current consideration include the reconfiguration of services, the Care Bill and health inequalities.

A policy seminar was held at Annual Conference 2013 which provided an opportunity for delegates to discuss a variety of issues with the Health and Care Policy Commission. The seminar was attended by Keith Birch (Chair) and members of the shadow health team; Andy Burnham MP; Liz Kendall MP; Andrew Gwynne MP; Jamie Reed MP; Debbie Abrahams MP and Lord Phil Hunt.

Each member of the Policy Commission provided an update on the work of the Commission. Andy Burnham spoke about Whole Person Care and the need for better integration of health and care services and Liz Kendall spoke about the need to reform the system of social care; Jamie Reed spoke about the role of markets; Andrew Gwynne spoke about NHS campaigning; Debbie Abrahams spoke about public health and Phil Hunt spoke about the work being undertaken by the shadow health team in the House of Lords.

During the seminar many delegates raised their concerns about the role of the independent and third sectors in providing NHS services; cuts to nursing posts and the impact that this was having on frontline services. Delegates also spoke about the use of Zero Hours Contracts in health and social care.

There was also a wide-ranging discussion on social care, with many delegates raising concerns about the funding of, and the current crisis in, social care. Delegates discussed the role of unpaid carers in terms of whether they had appropriate information and support; the

Commission also noted the issue of paid carers being paid below the National Minimum Wage. Of particular concern were the quality of care that people received in care homes or in home visits and the use of Zero Hours Contracts. While delegates were keen to emphasise that the majority of care was good, speakers were able to provide a number of examples of poor quality care.

A number of delegates discussed the importance of public health and the wider determinants of health. Many raised the importance of focussing on prevention and early intervention. Delegates expressed a range of views on minimum unit pricing for alcohol and below cost selling of alcohol. A number of delegates raised the issue of regulation of food, including the role of legislation in relation to sugar, salt and fat content.

Delegates at Annual Conference 2013 prioritised for debate a contemporary resolution on the topic of health and social care. The debate touched on many issues that members felt were important such as rising waiting lists; PFI charges; the role of the Trust Special Administrator and hospitals placed in special measures. Many delegates also raised local service reconfigurations including A&E and maternity closures and downgrades. Delegates concluded that Labour should continue to work with health unions and other NHS supporters to campaign against privatisation.

Following Annual Conference 2013, the Policy Commission met in October and heard from Andy Burnham and Liz Kendall. The main focus of the meeting was a discussion about Sir John Oldham's Independent Commission on Whole-Person Care, led by Liz Kendall. An initial discussion on the content of the Commission's final year consultation document was also held, with Commission members identifying primary care, the role of competition in the NHS and social care as key areas to focus on.

Following October's initial discussion of the draft outline of the document, the Commission convened a teleconference in November. In addition to updates from Andy Burnham and Liz Kendall, the main topic of discussion was a substantive discussion on the draft outline of the final year document. Following this meeting, the outline of the document was revised to reflect the view of Commission members, such as a need to focus on public health; mental health and reconfigurations.

A half day meeting of the Commission has held in January 2014. Andy Burnham, Liz Kendall and Luciana Berger were joined by Sir John Oldham and Linda Thomas from the LGA Labour group. Luciana Berger led a discussion on public health which focussed on the need to eradicate unfair disadvantage, and the creation of opportunities for every citizen, no matter who their parents are, where they were born, or where they live. The Commission emphasised that one of the main unfair disadvantages in our society is the huge disparity in life expectancy, and in length of healthy life, between the richest and poorest. The Commission noted that as a Party we have long understood the clear, causal link between material wealth and physical environment, and a person's health.

The Commission also received a presentation from Linda Thomas on behalf of the LGA Labour LGA group on how local government and the NHS can work together, focusing on examples of good commissioning and best practice. Phil Hunt led a discussion on the draft Final Year Document. Key areas of discussion were competition, public health, social care and mental health.

Following this meeting, changes were made to the final year document incorporating comments made by the commission. A teleconference was held in late January to discuss and agree the final year consultation document. In February a joint meeting of the policy commissions within the society strand met to discuss the final year documents in the

round, ensuring that cross cutting issues were addressed appropriately and that taken together the society sections formed a coherent whole. The papers were revised and agreed by the JPC, before being published on the YourBritain website and distributed to local Labour Parties in March 2013.

Prior to the National Policy Forum, the Commission met to discuss and agree additional text summarising the reports of Baroness Kingsmill's review of 'exploitation in the care sector' and Sir John Oldham's report on Whole Person Care. Commission members also took the opportunity to review and discuss amendments submitted by Constituency Labour Parties. The Commission also discussed a report submitted to the by Debbie Abrams MP on an inquiry conducted by members of the Parliamentary Labour Party on the 'effectiveness of international health systems'. Commission members raised the issue of social care funding, mental health and public health with Andy Burnham and Liz Kendall.

At the National Policy Forum in 2014 Shadow Ministers and NPF members met to discuss amendments brought forward by NPF representatives and to settle the content of the final year document, which can be found elsewhere in this volume. Amendments taken forward by NPF representatives covered a broad range of areas, such as car parking, abortion, social care criteria and NHS funding. Ultimately, consensus was reached on all parts of the document.

## Current Issues

### Accident and Emergency

Submissions to the Commission have continued to express concern at the ongoing crisis in Accident and Emergency (A&E), which has resulted in patients being held in the back of ambulances outside of A&E, more people waiting in A&E, increased emergency admissions and more patients waiting longer to be admitted into hospital from A&E.

The Commission are particularly concerned by official figures from NHS England which show that in 2013/14, almost a million people waited longer than four hours in A&E. The commission also noted figures from NHS England which confirm hospital A&Es have missed the Government's A&E waiting time target for 52 consecutive weeks.

The Commission believes that record numbers of patients, who have been let down elsewhere, are turning to hospital A&Es for support. In particular older people who have lost social care and patients who have struggled to get a GP appointment are now coming through the doors of A&E departments.

The crisis in A&E is having an impact across the NHS and is a problem of this Government's making. Record numbers are attending A&E and thousands of older people are trapped in hospital. The pressure is backing up through A&E, ambulance response times are getting worse and waiting lists are a six-year high. The Commission have also noted concerns at the Government's unambitious attempt at integrating services through the Better Care Fund.

### **Social Care**

Many submissions to the Commission have raised concerns that cuts to local authority budgets that pay for social care mean that fewer elderly people are receiving support in the community. The Commission noted figures from the Association of Directors of Adult Social Services (ADASS), which show that £3.5 billion has now been cut from adult social care budgets since 2010, demonstrating the true scale of the care crisis unfolding under this Government.

The Commission are concerned that more and more elderly and disabled people are being denied vital services to help them get up, washed, dressed and fed and that families are left struggling to cope and seeing their own health suffer too. Of particular concern to the Commission is that more people are ending up

needing expensive hospital or residential care when they don't need to, because the support they require isn't in place in the community.

### **Public Health**

The Commission have welcomed Labour's support of standardised cigarette packaging but are concerned by the Government's decision to delay implementation. The Commission also welcome the work of the Shadow Health Team in forcing the Government to introduce measures to protect children in cars from passive smoking, through the banning of smoking in cars where children are present.

We have received a number of submissions on public health stating that housing, education, work, food quality and air quality all have a direct impact on how long we live and how healthy we are. The Commission believes that we need to transform our attitude towards public health, personal responsibility and prevention of disease and ill-health.

The Commission is concerned by the Government's undermining of our capacity to tackle public health needs. We believe that a future Labour government will face great challenges in public health and that we are facing mounting challenges of obesity, cancer, mental health, sexual health, diabetes and coronary heart disease.

### **Mental Health**

Throughout the year, submissions to the Commission have expressed concern that hundreds of mental health beds in acute wards and intensive care units have been lost in the past two years. Concerns have also been expressed that a programme introduced by the last Labour government to make therapies available to people with conditions like depression and anxiety is not getting the priority it deserves. Last year half the patients who were referred for counselling never saw a specialist and a third gave up because of the long waits and difficulties encountered in accessing the service.

The Commission believe that although money is tight in all our public services, squeezing budgets for mental health services is a false economy which results in hundreds of thousands of people who could recover with treatment being denied help and left to suffer.

The Commission believe that taxpayers will foot the bill for this neglect. The extra physical healthcare necessitated by mental illness is estimated to cost the NHS £10 billion a year, while businesses losses are estimated of £26 billion a year in lost output. That is why Labour's Zero-Based Review led by our Shadow Treasury team will prioritise spending that prevents future problems and why Labour has asked Sir Stephen O'Brien to lead a taskforce on mental health in society.

## Policy Review

A number of reports commissioned for Labour's Policy Review were submitted to the Health and Care Policy Commission. In April 2013, Labour invited Sir John Oldham to form the Independent Commission on Whole-Person Care. The report was published in March 2014 and makes recommendations about how we can integrate health and care services within existing resources, and without another reorganisation.

In September 2013, Ed Miliband asked Baroness Kingsmill to lead an independent review to better understand and tackle exploitation in the care sector. Baroness Kingsmill published her final report in May 2014. The report highlights that elderly people are increasingly facing care visits that last just 15 minute long. It argues that this practice is also a key driver of exploitation of care workers, with many not paid if they stay longer or for travel time between visits.

## 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 2013-14 the Health and Care Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- 24 hour GP cover
- Addiction
- Aging population
- Ante Natal Care
- Autism
- Cancer
- Carers
- Coloplast
- COPD - Chronic obstructive pulmonary disease
- Disability
- Elderly people
- Emergency Services
- Food
- Gay-to-Straight Conversion Therapy
- Health care work force
- Health eating
- Hearing Loss
- Home Care Financing
- Homelessness
- Independent Living Fund and Disability Living Allowance
- Integration
- Learning Disability
- LGBT Health
- Local Placement
- Mental health
- Minimum Unit Pricing for Alcohol
- National Health Service
- New Generation of Anti-Biotics
- NHS Car Parking
- Occupational Therapy
- Optometry
- Paediatrics
- Pancreatic Cancer
- Patient control

- Patient Involvement
- Pharmaceuticals
- Physicians
- Primary Care
- Private Finance Initiatives
- Psychological therapies
- Public Gyms
- Public Health
- Regulation of alcohol and tobacco
- Regulation of Food,
- Regulation of the therapy and counselling
- Sheltered housing
- Social Care
- Urology
- Vulnerable People
- Whole Person Care for young people
- Work/Life Balance



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**BETTER POLITICS  
POLICY COMMISSION  
ANNUAL REPORT**



# BETTER POLITICS

## Membership 2013/2014

### HM Opposition

Sadiq Khan MP\*  
Baroness Royall  
Gloria De Piero MP

### NEC

Johanna Baxter\*  
Bex Bailey  
Dennis Skinner MP

### CLPs and regions

Ruth Davies  
Maria Fyfe  
Annabelle Harle  
Simon Henig  
Emma Hoddinott  
Sally Hussain  
Karen Landles  
Ann Trafford  
Darren Young

### Affiliates

Tom Burke  
Collette Cork-Hurst  
Sen Kandiah  
Pauline McCarthy  
Nicholas Russell  
Barbara White

### Elected members

Teresa Pearce MP  
Claude Moraes MEP  
Michael Ross

## BETTER POLITICS

### Policy development

The Commission held a policy seminar at Annual Conference. It was very well attended by delegates who participated in a lively discussion with the panel chaired by NEC co-convenor, Johanna Baxter, on issues such as increasing diversity of representation, political education, breaking down barriers to participation, compulsory voting and modernising politics. Conference also debated a contemporary resolution on the Lobbying Bill.

At a meeting in October, the Commission noted the contemporary resolutions on the Lobbying Bill at Annual Conference and discussed submissions received since the last meeting. Commission members welcomed the new Shadow Minister for Political and Constitutional Reform, Stephen Twigg MP, for a discussion on constitutional reform. Angela Eagle MP also attended the meeting and spoke about the work of the ‘People’s Politics Inquiry’ set up to take evidence from people who had stopped voting. She also spoke about the need to reform and modernise the House of Commons itself as part of the One Nation Politics aim of changing the way that power and politics works, to rebuild trust and confidence. Issues such as lowering the voting age to 16, increasing political education, the right to recall MPs and House of Lords reform were raised. The Commission were also joined by the new Shadow Equalities Minister, Sharon Hodgson MP, and they discussed the issues the Shadow Equalities team would be looking at as a priority, including the race equality consultation, new mums and maternity discrimination, and the continuing work of the Older Women’s Commission.

The Commission met again in December for a meeting focussing on our civil society and the impact of the Government’s policies on charities and the voluntary sector. Shadow Charities Minister, Lisa Nandy MP, joined the discussion where points were raised on

funding cuts, service provision, and payment by results models, for example in dealing with re-offending.

Stephen Twigg MP joined the meeting to give an update on the work being done on the votes at 16 campaign highlighting it as a real opportunity to engage with young people and speak about a broad range of issues. Russell Brown MP, Shadow Scotland Minister, attended for a discussion on devolution in light of the upcoming Scottish Referendum. He spoke about the White Paper on Scotland’s future that the SNP had recently launched and the work the Better Together campaign was doing. The Commission’s discussion included points on the Barnett Formula, women’s representation and submissions received on the theme of further devolution, including for English regions. The Commission also had a preliminary discussion on the key topics to be included in the final year document, based on the topics raised in submissions.

The Commission met in January for a detailed discussion of the draft final year document that had been produced. The Commission would hold a telephone conference the week after to agree a final version to go out for consultation. Submissions received since the last meeting including on political reform, young people and politics and race equality, were also noted. Shadow Minister for Women and Equalities, Gloria De Piero MP gave an update on the ‘What Women Want’ tour she was embarking on, detailing how she would be meeting different groups of women all over the country to hear their thoughts. There was an update on the work being done on the Race Equality Consultation. The Commission welcomed the announcement that the first same-sex weddings could take place from 29 March. During the discussion that followed the need to tackle vilification and racist language wherever it occurs, championing equal gender rights at all ages and homophobic bullying were among the topics raised.

The Commission held a teleconference in June to examine amendments and submissions received in response to the final year consultation. They also discussed and agreed additional text which reflected new input from the Policy Review from the Devolution Commission to go forward to the NPF meeting.

At the National Policy Forum in July representatives discussed a number of amendments on topics such as electoral reform, House of Lords reform, devolution, Trans People's rights, Equalities and the Equality Act, advancing BAME equality and Disability Rights. All discussions on these subjects were ultimately resolved by consensus agreement on wording.

## Current Issues

### Women

The Commission has continued its focus on looking at what more can be done to tackle gender inequalities. Pay inequality is a particular concern and the figures this year showing that the gender pay gap had widened for the first time in five years are noted with concern. Submissions have raised the impact the lack of transparency measures could have on equal pay and attempts to close the gender pay gap.

The Commission welcomes the work being done on the Commission on Older Women and the What Women Want tour in order to engage with women of all backgrounds and ages about the issues they are facing and what measures would help them.

While issues such as the cost-of-living crisis hitting women disproportionately hard and new mums taking maternity leave facing discrimination still exist the Commission will continue to see this as a vital area of work.

### Equalities

The Commission remains concerned that this Government's policies are hitting the most vulnerable hardest. The Commission is also worried that the Government is taking us backwards, and that our hard-fought steps forward for equality in our society are at risk. Submissions have referred to the provisions in the Equality Act 2010 that remain mothballed and how this is indicative of the Government's dismissive attitude to advancing equality in our society.

The Shadow Work and Pensions team's consultation 'Making Rights a Reality for Disabled People', highlighted the number of people who had experienced disability hate crime and felt that hostility towards disabled people was increasing. The Commission welcomed the announcement at last year's Annual Conference that Labour in government will legislate to introduce a specific criminal charge of disability hate crime, amid growing evidence that victims are being let down.

Submissions this year have argued that barriers to participation still remain for many groups and the Commission will continue to consider this issue going forward. The Commission believes the Race Equality Consultation is an important piece of work and looks forward to it reporting later this year.

### Better together

The Commission recognises the significance of the Scottish Referendum for the whole of the United Kingdom. Shadow Scotland Minister Russell Brown MP joined a discussion on the topic informing the Commission on the work of the Devolution Commission in setting out how a reformed devolved settlement would strengthen the Scottish Parliament whilst remaining in the United Kingdom.

The Commission believes that Labour should be proud of our record on devolution. It was a Labour government that brought about the Scottish Parliament 15 years ago, and we initiated the Calman process which resulted in tax varying powers for Holyrood through the Scotland Act. We will champion our positive alternative to the narrow politics of nationalism.

### Political Reform

The need to engage young people in politics and the voting process itself continues to be a key theme in submissions received by the Commission this year. The Commission believe lowering the voting age would have the benefit of engaging many more people in the political process and is one element in rebuilding the gap between people and politicians.

Many submissions have also been received about different ways of reforming the electoral system in order to make it work better for the way people live their lives now. Compulsory voting, moving polling day to the weekend, electronic voting, polling booths in schools and hospitals and same-day electoral registration are just some of the ideas that have been raised in submissions and discussed by the Commission this year. The Commission believes that we must examine practical measures to make voting more accessible, including looking at radical ways of encouraging more people to vote, and making the process easier and more in tune with the way people live their lives.

### Policy Review Input

As part of their ongoing policy development work the Shadow Equalities team launched Realising One Nation: Developing a new race equality strategy for Labour. The consultation is designed to kick-start the process of developing the strategy, ideas and policies that will help a future Labour government to take down the barriers that exist for black and ethnic minority people in our economy, society and politics. It aims to address the challenges that remain and support stronger community cohesion. Shadow

Equalities Minister Sharon Hodgson spoke to the Commission about events and roundtables being held to hear the views of a wide range of people. The Commission have considered submissions that have come to Realising One Nation via Your Britain and look forward to examining the consultation's findings later this year.

The Devolution Commission was set up because it was clear that while the majority of Scots want to stay part of the United Kingdom, they favour more powers for the Scottish Parliament. It was important to have a debate with colleagues from Holyrood, Westminster, the European Parliament, local government, the trade unions and Party members about where power should best lie to serve the people of Scotland. Shadow Scotland Minister Russell Brown told the Commission how the Devolution Commission has engaged widely with business, trade unions, academics and constitutional experts. Its conclusions represent the most comprehensive package of devolution while also allowing Scotland the security and certainty of the United Kingdom, as well as making the Scottish Parliament more accountable and more progressive. He stated that the proposals are consistent with Scotland remaining strong in the United Kingdom but also give the flexibility to do things differently where required.

The Commission on Older Women was set up as part of the Policy Review to ensure public policy properly considers the lives of women in their fifties and onwards, many of whom are balancing work with caring responsibilities across the generations within their families. This cross-cutting commission focuses on three key areas for older women: the workplace; their caring responsibilities; and public life. It has set out to analyse the issues that affect women as they reach their fifties, and in the longer term find policy solutions. Shadow Equalities Minister Sharon Hodgson discussed with the Commission the need for policies that work for the new generation of older women who are



neither in their youthful child-rearing years, nor frail, needing support and their vital role in the family and in the world of work.

## 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 2013-14 the Better Politics Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Access to politics
- Accommodation for MPs
- Age discrimination
- Ageing population
- All-women shortlists
- All young-person shortlists
- Alternative polling days
- BAME equality
- BAME shortlists
- Candidate selection reform
- Citizenship and political education
- Compulsory voter registration
- Compulsory voting
- Constitutional reform
- Devolution
- Disability and work
- Disability benefits
- Disability rights
- Disabled people in politics
- Electoral Reform
- Electronic, online and SMS voting
- Encouraging participation and turnout
- Equal marriage
- Equality
- Expenses
- Fixed term Parliaments
- Freedom of Information Act
- Gender equality
- Gender pay gap and pay transparency measures
- House of Lords Reform
- Human Rights
- Humanist marriage
- Individual Electoral Registration
- Job sharing for MPs
- Legalising cannabis
- LGBT representation
- LGBT rights
- Lobbying
- Media and the political system
- Northern Ireland representation
- Parliamentary debate
- Party funding
- Party reform
- Police and Crime Commissioners
- Political reform
- Political transparency
- Proportional Representation
- Public sector salaries
- Regional Government
- Religious representation in politics
- Representation of all socio-economic backgrounds
- Right of recall of MPs
- School councils
- Scottish referendum
- The Justice system
- Transparency in politics
- Voluntary, community and social enterprises
- Volunteering and civic responsibility
- Voting age
- Voting reform
- Voting systems
- Women's representation in politics
- Working class candidates and selections



**Agenda**  
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**BRITAIN'S GLOBAL ROLE  
POLICY COMMISSION  
ANNUAL REPORT**



# BRITAIN'S GLOBAL ROLE

## Membership 2013/2014

### HM Opposition

Douglas Alexander MP\*

Vernon Coaker MP

Jim Murphy MP

### NEC

Ellie Reeves\*

Susan Lewis

Glenis Willmott MEP

### CLPs and Regions

James Adams

Fiona Farmer

Glyn Ford

Sam Gurney

Clare Lally

Alex Mayer

George McManus

Clare Moody

Rory Palmer

Lucy Seymour-Smith

Nick Wallis

### Affiliates

Keir Fitch

Billy Hayes

Mary Hutchinson

Gloria Mills

Dave Quayle

### Elected Reps

Richard Howitt MEP

Roger Lawrence

Bridget Phillipson MP

\* Co-convenor

## BRITAIN'S GLOBAL ROLE

### 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 Britain's Global Role Policy Commission deals with issues relating to foreign affairs, defence and international development. The events of the past year – from the ongoing suffering in Syria, to the destruction caused by Typhoon Haiyan, to the crisis in Ukraine – are a stark reminder that Britain cannot tackle the most salient issues of today's world alone. But this should not be a cause for Britain to turn inward and shy away from the challenges we face. Instead we must show strength and lead by example on the international stage, working with our partners and allies across the world to foster peace, stability and prosperity.

At the 2013 Annual Conference, a very well attended seminar on issues relating to Britain's Global Role was held, offering delegates the opportunity to share their ideas and views with Shadow Cabinet Ministers on a wide range on matters concerning foreign affairs, defence and international development. A variety of topics were raised during the course of the discussion, including the continuing violence in the Middle East, Britain's future defence capabilities, human rights abuses around the world, and the rise of right-wing parties across Europe.

Following Annual Conference in 2013, the Britain's Global Role Policy Commission drew up a work programme for the year ahead. The agreed programme of work included a strong focus on developments in Europe and reform of the European Union. This reflected areas of particular contemporary relevance which are of interest to Labour Party members, especially in the run up to the European Parliamentary elections, which were subsequently held in May 2014.

The Britain's Global Role Policy Commission plays a key role in developing Labour's European Election manifesto. As such, Party members and affiliates, external organisations, and members of the public were invited to make submissions on Labour's policies on Europe via the Your Britain website until the consultation period closed in February 2014. During this period, the Commission received numerous submissions from relevant stakeholders on a range of subjects, including public health, UK membership of the EU, and conflict prevention.

The Policy Commission met a number of times throughout the year to discuss the submissions received and European affairs more widely.

The Policy Commission met twice in November 2013. At the first meeting the Commission met to discuss the impact of EU membership on the UK economy. Expert evidence was presented by CBI, EEF and the European Council on Foreign Relations. Ian Murray MP, Shadow Business Minister for Trade and Investment, represented the Shadow Cabinet. In this session, Policy Commission members highlighted the importance of the Single Market for the UK economy, businesses and jobs.

In the second meeting, the Commission discussed the impact of EU migration on the UK. Policy Network, TUC and British Future attended and presented evidence. The impact of EU migration on public services was discussed, together with the need to protect local workforces from being undercut from the high availability of low-skill, low-wage employment. A broader discussion about the rise of extremism across Europe also took place.

The Policy Commission met again in December 2013 to discuss EU institutional reform. The Centre for European Reform and LSE Europe Institute presented evidence and Gareth Thomas MP, Shadow Minister



for Europe, represented the Shadow Cabinet. Commission members debated the various means of tackling the EU's democratic deficit and different mechanisms by which national parliaments could better scrutinise EU processes.

Following the closure of the consultation process on Labour's policies on Europe in February 2014, the Policy Commission met with Shadow Ministers to discuss Labour's draft European Election manifesto. The manifesto covered six areas, including jobs and growth, living standards, and reform and value for money. The manifesto outlined Labour's policies in each area, detailing the achievements of our MEPs and demonstrating how Labour has effected positive change for Britain in the EU.

In early 2014 and after extensive discussions, the Policy Commission drafted and agreed the text of the Britain's Global Role final year document. Further conference calls took place with Shadow Ministers to agree the final draft. This document brings together all of the work streams covered by the Policy Commission since 2010. While it deals with a range of issues, these are detailed under five broad headings: global economy, security, defence, diplomacy and international development.

The document was published on the Your Britain website and sent to CLPs and affiliates in March 2014. Individual party units, affiliates and other relevant stakeholders were invited to submit textual amendments to the document until 13 June 2014. Regional NPF representatives decided which of these to take forward to a meeting of the National Policy Forum in July 2014. The amendments taken forward dealt with a variety of topics, including the Middle East peace process, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, human rights and Britain's future Defence capabilities.

At the National Policy Forum in 2014 Shadow Ministers and NPF representatives met to discuss the amendments received and to decide which ones would be inserted into the final year document. Britain's future Defence capabilities, particularly the future of our independent nuclear deterrent, were a significant topic of discussion over the weekend. A deliberative session on this issue was held, with NPF representatives having an opportunity to hear from, share their views with and question a panel of experts representing a full spectrum of opinion, comprised of BAE Systems, RUSI, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and Jeremy Corbyn MP. The session covered topics such as employment and skills, the changing security landscape and multilateral disarmament. Following these discussions consensus was reached on all areas of the document.

## Current Issues

### European Reform

Forecasts in early May 2014 from the European Commission suggest that European economic recovery will be modest this year but will gather momentum in 2015. It is predicted that Euro-wide GDP will rise by 1.2 per cent in 2014 and 1.7 per cent in 2015, while GDP in the EU will expand by 1.6 per cent in 2014 and 2.0 per cent in 2015. This year's growth, however, will not be strong enough to counter worryingly high inflation in some countries, potentially leading to further monetary stimulus from the European Central Bank. Widespread discontent with the lack of improvement in some Eurozone economies, unemployment rates and living standards in part helps explain the significant rise in the number of extreme Eurosceptic parties elected across the continent in the May 2014 European elections.

EU reform has been a key topic of discussion for the Policy Commission in 2014, and submissions were received on numerous aspects of Britain's relationship with Europe. The Commission focused on a range of issues

highlighted by the submissions, including improving access to decent jobs and promoting growth, tackling the pressures on public services as a result of EU migration, and reforming European institutions. The Commission strongly believes that Britain's future lies at the heart of a reformed EU. The benefits of being in the EU are strategic, economic and are about the character of our country – an outward looking, confident Britain. However, the Commission also recognises that Europe needs to change and reform in order for it to work better for Britain. The Commission will continue to help develop Labour policies in this area and will scrutinise any proposals from the Government on EU reform, should these be announced, and will scrutinise the Government's approach to Europe and European negotiations where British national interest is at stake.

### **Ongoing Conflict in the Middle East**

The UN estimates that, since the start of the Syrian conflict, over 100,000 people have been killed. Over 6.4 million people are internally displaced inside Syria and some 2.9 million Syrian refugees have fled to neighbouring countries. Several submissions received by the Commission highlighted the ongoing suffering of the Syrian population. The Commission believes that a political settlement which brings all warring parties to the negotiating table remains the best hope for securing peace for the people of Syria. The unanimous UN Security Council Resolution on humanitarian access in Syria in February 2014 was a welcome and important step. However, several months on, it is apparent that the Assad regime is still abjectly failing to implement the resolution. The international community must now urge the Syrian Government and other parties to the conflict to transform their approach to humanitarian access and delivery.

In the past few weeks there has been a significant escalation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Commission feel that this latest escalation would be a disaster for the people

of both Gaza and Israel, and a strategic error for Israel. Labour opposes the Israeli incursion into Gaza and it is vital that an immediate ceasefire is now secured. The Commission condemns the firing of rockets into Israel by Gaza based militants and recognise Israel's right to defend itself. But the all too familiar pattern of periodic invasion and permanent blockade results in terrible suffering for the population of Gaza yet does not bring security for Israel. The Commission believes there can be no military solution to this conflict. The only solution is two states living alongside each other in peace and security. The priority must now be agreeing an immediate ceasefire to protect civilians and stop the bloodshed. The Commission will continue to monitor the situation closely and wishes to see a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, based on a two-state solution, international law and a secure Israel alongside a viable Palestinian state.

### **The Future Security Landscape**

Labour understands that in the current economic climate, an honest assessment needs to be made of what role our Armed Forces can and should play on the international stage. The Government's 2010 Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR), however, was Treasury led and failed to provide a truly strategic vision for our Armed Forces. As a result, Government plans for a restructured Army with an increase of 15,000 reservists have left gaps in our military capability, as reserve recruitment figures continue to lag behind the rate of the regular Army.

A number of submissions received by the Commission touched upon the need for Britain to adopt a more strategic approach to defence and security matters. The Commission believes that in the months leading up to the next SDSR, a more inclusive and more open discussion is required. Britain needs to be ambitious about the positive role that the UK Armed Forces and defence strategy can play in the world. However, the next Labour Government also needs to be realistic and

know that we must strengthen and deepen our partnerships with existing allies, and seek to cultivate new ones, if the UK is to achieve our strategic objectives. The Commission welcomes Labour's announcement that it will consult on the prospect of creating a statutory requirement for all private companies to report serious cyber-attacks threatening the UK's national infrastructure. It also supports Labour's focus on defence engagement for stabilisation and upstream conflict prevention to help deter future threats and conflicts, as well as the Party's desire to deepen its support for peacekeeping operations worldwide.

### **Countdown to the Millennium Development Goals**

With the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set to expire on 31 December 2015, there are fewer than 1000 days remaining in which to achieve the targets set by the international community over ten years ago. On 23 September 2013, the UN Secretary-General hosted a high-level forum to catalyse and accelerate further action to achieve the MDGs and enrich the deliberations of the General Assembly and beyond. The forum focused on concrete examples of scaling up success and identifying further opportunities to make a positive difference. Additional financial commitments to boost MDG achievement were also announced, bringing the total to more than \$2.5 billion. In the outcome document adopted by Member States, world leaders renewed their commitment to meet the MDG's targets, and agreed to hold a high-level Summit in September 2015 to adopt a new set of Goals building on the achievements of the MDGs.

Submissions were received by the Commission on a variety of topics related to the post-2015 development framework, including submissions on healthcare, education and economic development. Labour has been clear that tackling inequality must be at the core of the post-2015 successor goals. The new development framework must seek to break

the chain of unequal power distribution that passes from one generation to another. The Policy Commission believes that the current Government is not doing enough to push ongoing post-2015 negotiations forward in this regard. This is a very real example of how the isolation this country is falling into is not just bad for Britain, but bad for all those who hope for an equitable world. The Commission supports Labour's call for the Government to place the battle against climate change at the heart of any new development agreement, to demand a headline commitment on universal health coverage, and for the next set of targets on poverty reduction to use the higher amount of \$2 per day as the baseline for extreme poverty. Additionally, the Commission believes that the new targets must address inequalities in gender and education, resource scarcity, disease and hunger, sanitation, governance and the rule of law. Importantly, they must also maintain respect for, and recognition of, human rights. The UK has a robust record on development - we have helped steer the world to ground-breaking agreements on aid, trade and human rights. Now is the time for the UK to once again live up to its legacy on international development and show leadership in securing an equitable deal for future generations.

### **Policy Review**

As part of Labour's Policy Review, the Shadow Defence team have continued to develop new thinking in defence policy. Several roundtables have been held by the team on issues ranging from future security threats to veterans' welfare. Politicians, academics, military figures, trade unions, civil society and industry representatives, among others, participated. Shadow Secretary of State for Defence, Vernon Coaker MP, also outlined Labour's ambitious and realistic defence vision for the future at a speech to RUSI in March 2014. He emphasised the need for the UK to project smart power, developing our partnerships with existing allies and cultivating new ones, in order to amplify our international influence to meet the most

pressing security threats of the day. In doing so, the UK must ensure that our Armed Forces are equipped with the language skills, and the depth of historical, cultural and strategic knowledge that will be required for such a re-orientation. The Shadow Defence team regularly meet with the Commission to update them on their work and to inform the Commission's work programme.

Following a number of roundtables with various stakeholders, Jim Murphy MP, Shadow Secretary of State for International Development, outlined his development vision for the next Labour Government. He stated that under Labour, DfID will be a department that works on development by tackling the three big imbalances of power: political, economic and social opportunity. This would mean tackling of the structural drivers of poverty, as well as the consequences. He also said that human rights would be at the heart of DfID's work and where possible, Labour will support projects and programmes to better protect and promote rights. This would involve setting up a new Human Rights Unit in DfID, headed by a senior official, to help monitor rights-based development in partner countries more closely; and work extensively with international experts on the implementation of this rights-based development approach. Such policy development continues to inform the work of the Policy Commission and will continue to do so as we approach the MDG deadline.

## 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 2013-14 the Britain's Global Role Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Afghanistan
- Arms Trade
- Child Mortality
- Climate Change
- Colombia
- Commonwealth Nations
- Communicable Diseases – Hepatitis, HIV/AIDS, Malaria, TB, Polio
- Cyber Security
- Drones
- Economic Sanctions
- Ethical and Free Trade
- EU Defence Cooperation
- EU Immigration
- EU Referendum
- EU Reform
- Financial Transaction Tax
- Free Trade
- Future Forces 2020
- Future Security Threats
- Gender Equality
- Global Disarmament
- Global Economy
- Ghurkha Welfare
- Human Rights
- Indigenous populations
- Inequality
- International Development
- International Law
- Labour Rights
- Maritime Surveillance
- Middle East Peace Process
- Military Intervention
- Modern Slavery
- Multilateralism
- Overseas Development Assistance
- Post-2015 Development Agenda
- Religious Persecution
- Remittances
- Syria
- Tax Transparency
- Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership

- Ukraine Crisis
- UK Nuclear Deterrent
- UN Security Reform
- Universal Healthcare
- Upstream Conflict Prevention
- Veterans





# APPENDICIES

## APPENDIX: SUBMITTING ORGANISATIONS

The following organisations have all made submissions to the policy making process in the past year.

### **CLPs, branches, borough and regional Parties**

Aberconwy CLP  
 Alyn and Deeside CLP  
 Argyll and Bute CLP  
 Ashton-under-Lyne CLP  
 Banbury CLP  
 Barnsley Central CLP  
 Bassetlaw CLP  
 Batley and Spennings CLP  
 Battersea CLP  
 Bedford CLP  
 Beverley and Holderness CLP  
 Birkenhead CLP  
 Blaydon CLP  
 Bolsover CLP  
 Bolton North East CLP  
 Bootle CLP  
 Bournemouth East and West CLP  
 Bracknell CLP  
 Braintree CLP  
 Brecon and Radnorshire CLP  
 Brent Central CLP  
 Brentford and Isleworth CLP  
 Bridgwater and West Somerset CLP  
 Brigg and Goole CLP  
 Brighton, Kemptown CLP  
 Brighton, Pavilion CLP  
 Bristol South CLP  
 Bristol West CLP  
 Broxtowe CLP  
 Buckingham CLP  
 Burnley CLP  
 Bury North CLP  
 Caerphilly CLP  
 Cambridge CLP  
 Canterbury CLP  
 Cardiff Central CLP  
 Cardiff West CLP  
 Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley CLP  
 Central Devon CLP  
 Ceredigion CLP  
 Charnwood CLP  
 Chester CLP  
 Chesterfield CLP  
 Chichester CLP  
 Chingford and Woodford Green CLP  
 Chipping Barnet CLP  
 Christchurch CLP  
 Cities of London and Westminster CLP  
 City of Durham CLP  
 City of York CLP  
 Colne Valley CLP  
 Croydon Central CLP  
 Cunninghame North CLP  
 Cunninghame South CLP  
 Cynon Valley CLP  
 Darlington CLP  
 Derby South CLP  
 Devizes CLP  
 Doncaster Central CLP  
 Dulwich and West Norwood CLP  
 Dundee City East CLP  
 Dundee City West CLP  
 East Devon CLP  
 East Yorkshire CLP  
 Exeter CLP  
 Fareham CLP  
 Faversham and Mid Kent CLP  
 Finchley and Golders Green CLP  
 Folkestone and Hythe CLP  
 Gateshead CLP  
 Gedling CLP  
 Glasgow Anniesland CLP  
 Glasgow Cathcart CLP

Glasgow Kelvin CLP	Liverpool, Wavertree CLP
Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn CLP	Liverpool, West Derby CLP
Gloucester CLP	Llanelli CLP
Gower CLP	Luton North CLP
Grantham and Stamford CLP	Luton South CLP
Gravesham CLP	Macclesfield CLP
Greenwich and Woolwich CLP	Maidstone and the Weald CLP
Hackney North and Stoke Newington CLP	Maldon CLP
Hackney South and Shoreditch CLP	Meriden CLP
Harlow CLP	Mid Norfolk CLP
Harrogate and Knaresborough CLP	Morley and Outwood CLP
Hartlepool CLP	New Forest East CLP
Hastings and Rye CLP	New Forest West CLP
Hemsworth CLP	Newbury CLP
Henley CLP	Newcastle upon Tyne North CLP
Hertsmere CLP	Newcastle-under-Lyme CLP
High Peak CLP	Newport East CLP
Holborn and St Pancras CLP	North Devon CLP
Hornsey and Wood Green CLP	North Dorset CLP
Horsham CLP	North Durham CLP
Houghton and Sunderland South CLP	North East Bedfordshire CLP
Hove CLP	North East Cambridgeshire CLP
Huddersfield CLP	North East Derbyshire CLP
Ilford North and Ilford South Policy Day	North East Somerset CLP
Isle of Wight CLP	North Somerset CLP
Islington North CLP	North West Durham CLP
Islington South and Finsbury CLP	North West Norfolk CLP
Keighley CLP	Northampton North CLP
Kensington CLP	Northampton South CLP
Kingston upon Hull North CLP	Nottingham South CLP
Kingswood CLP	Orpington CLP
Labour North West Regional Conference 2013	Ouseburn BLP
Lancaster and Fleetwood CLP	Oxford East CLP
Leeds Central CLP	Oxford West and Abingdon CLP
Leeds North West CLP	Penistone and Stocksbridge CLP
Leeds West CLP	Plymouth, Sutton and Devonport CLP
Lewes CLP	Pontypridd CLP
Lewisham West and Penge CLP	Preseli Pembrokeshire CLP
Leyton and Wanstead CLP	Preston CLP

Redcar CLP  
 Reigate CLP  
 Renfrewshire North and West CLP  
 Richmond Park CLP  
 Romsey and Southampton North CLP  
 Sefton Central CLP  
 Sevenoaks CLP  
 Shrewsbury and Atcham CLP  
 Skipton and Ripon CLP  
 Solihull CLP  
 Somerton and Frome CLP  
 South East Cambridgeshire CLP  
 South Leicestershire CLP  
 South Norfolk CLP  
 South Northamptonshire CLP  
 South Ribble CLP  
 South Suffolk CLP  
 South Swindon CLP  
 South West Devon CLP  
 South West Hertfordshire CLP  
 South West Norfolk CLP  
 South West Surrey CLP  
 South West Wiltshire CLP  
 Southport CLP  
 St Helens South and Whiston CLP  
 St Ives CLP  
 Stafford CLP  
 Stalybridge and Hyde CLP  
 Streatham CLP  
 Stroud CLP  
 Sutton and Cheam CLP  
 Sutton Coldfield CLP  
 Swansea East CLP  
 Swansea West CLP  
 Tatton CLP  
 Telford& Wrekin Labour Women's Forum  
 Thornbury and Yate CLP  
 Tower Hamlets Borough  
 Truro and Falmouth CLP

Tunbridge Wells CLP  
 Twickenham CLP  
 Uxbridge and South Ruislip CLP  
 Vauxhall CLP  
 Walthamstow CLP  
 Washington and Sunderland West CLP  
 Wentworth and Dearne CLP  
 West Dorset CLP  
 West Ham CLP  
 West Worcestershire CLP  
 Westminster North CLP  
 Westmorland and Lonsdale CLP  
 Wimbledon CLP  
 Witham CLP  
 Witney CLP  
 Woking CLP  
 Wokingham CLP  
 Wolverhampton South West CLP  
 Worthing West CLP  
 The Wrekin CLP  
 Wycombe CLP  
 Wyre Forest CLP

**Affiliated organisations**

ALC  
 ASLEF  
 BAME Labour  
 BECTU  
 BFAWU  
 The Co-operative Party  
 Community  
 CWU  
 Disability Labour  
 GMB  
 Labour Animal Welfare Society  
 Labour Campaign for International  
 Development  
 Labour International

Labour Students  
 LGA Labour Group  
 LGBT Labour  
 The Musicians' Union  
 Scientists for Labour  
 Socialist Education Association  
 Socialist Environment & Resources Association  
 Socialist Health Association  
 TSSA  
 UCATT  
 UNISON  
 Unite  
 USDAW

#### **External organisations**

We thank the following businesses, charities and other organisations for making contributions to the development of Labour's policy programme. Listing below does not constitute an indication of endorsement of the Labour Party or our policy programme.

4 Children  
 AB Sugar  
 Action for Children's Arts  
 Action on Hearing Loss  
 Age UK  
 The Arts Award Youth Network  
 The Arts Learning Consortium  
 Artswork  
 Aspatria Community Childcare  
 Association of Art Historians  
 The Association of Colleges  
 Assura Group  
 Battersea Arts Centre  
 BFI  
 Biofuelwatch  
 Birmingham Airport  
 The British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy

British Ceramic Confederation  
 British Heart Foundation  
 British Plastics Federation  
 The British Retail Consortium  
 Britvic  
 The Builders Merchants Federation  
 Campaign to Protect Rural England  
 CapeUK  
 The Carbon Catalysts Group  
 Care England  
 CBI  
 Centrica  
 Chartered Institute of Payroll Professionals  
 Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development  
 Citizens Advice  
 Citizens UK  
 The College of Occupational Therapists  
 Combined Heat & Power Association  
 Confederation of UK Coal Producers  
 Co-operative Energy  
 Cornwall Energy  
 Crafts Council  
 Creative & Cultural Skills  
 The Crown Estate  
 Croydon Music and Arts  
 Cultural Learning Alliance  
 Derby Theatre  
 DONG Energy Power  
 Drax  
 E.ON UK  
 EDF Energy  
 The Educational Institute of Scotland  
 EEF, the manufacturers' organisation  
 Electoral Reform Society  
 ELEXON  
 Energy Technologies Institute  
 Energy UK  
 Engage

ESB	Paediatric Continence Forum
First Ark Group	Pancreatic Cancer UK
First Utility	Parenting together
Forum of Private Business	The Place
The Foundation Trust Network	The £ Campaign
Friends of the Earth	Prospect
G4S	Protect our NHS
GDF SUEZ Energy	The Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS)
Good Energy	Realising Transition Pathways research consortium
Hedgehog Books	Recruitment & Employment Confederation
Heritage Lottery Fund	Renewable Energy Association
Horizon Nuclear Power	RenewableUK
Incorporated Society of Musicians	The Royal Central School of Speech and Drama
Independent Age	The Royal College of Midwives
Independent Renewable Energy Generators Group	Royal College of Physicians
INEOS	Royal Shakespeare Company
Institute of Economic Affairs	RWE npower
InterGen	Saferworld
Into Film	The Salvation Army
Joseph Rowntree Foundation	Sanofi
League of Culture	Scottish Power
Living Streets	Shell International Ltd.
London Borough of Newham	SmartestEnergy Ltd
Macmillan Cancer Support	SmartGrid GB
Malaria Consortium	The Smart Meter Central Delivery Body
Mencap	The Social Economy Alliance
MOMO Theatre	The Society of Authors
Museums Association	Solar Trade Association
National AIDS Trust	SSE
National Care Association	StatKraft
The National Council for Voluntary Organisations	techUK
The National Society for Education in Art and Design	Tetramar Research Limited
National Trust	Turning Point
NHS Employers organisation	UK Power Reserve
Ombudsman Services	Unicorn Theatre
Oxfam	Universities and Colleges Employers Association (UCEA)



The University and College Union  
Unlock Democracy  
The Urology Trade Association  
Utilita  
Vattenfall  
What Next? Generation

## APPENDIX 2 – NATIONAL POLICY FORUM MEMBERSHIP

(CLP) East Midlands region	Julie	Brookfield
(CLP) East Midlands region	Dawn	Elliott
(CLP) East Midlands region	Andrew	Furlong
(CLP) East Midlands region	Mark	Glover
(CLP) Eastern region	Jenny	Holland
(CLP) Eastern region	Alex	Mayer
(CLP) Eastern region	Lorna	Trollope
(CLP) Eastern region	Daniel	Zeichner
(CLP) Greater London region	Nicky	Gavron
(CLP) Greater London region	Alon	Or-bach
(CLP) Greater London region	Alice	Perry
(CLP) Greater London region	Fiona	Twycross
(CLP) North region	Nick	Forbes
(CLP) North region	Brynnen	Ririe
(CLP) North region	Liz	Twist
(CLP) North region	Nick	Wallis
(CLP) North West region	Azhar	Ali
(CLP) North West region	Mike	Amesbury
(CLP) North West region	Theresa	Griffin
(CLP) North West region	Joanne	Harding
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	James	Adams
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	Maria	Fyfe
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	Ian	Miller
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	Katrina	Murray
(CLP) South East region	Simon	Burgess
(CLP) South East region	Deborah	Gardiner
(CLP) South East region	Karen	Landles
(CLP) South East region	Martin	Phillips
(CLP) South West region	Glyn	Ford
(CLP) South West region	Clare	Moody
(CLP) South West region	Douglas	Naysmith
(CLP) South West region	Brenda	Weston
(CLP) Wales Labour Party	Nick	Davies
(CLP) Wales Labour Party	Annabelle	Harle
(CLP) Wales Labour Party	Donna	Hutton
(CLP) Wales Labour Party	Darren	Williams
(CLP) West Midlands region	Shaukat	Ali
(CLP) West Midlands region	Stephanie	Peacock
(CLP) West Midlands region	Sandra	Samuels

(CLP) West Midlands region	Lucy	Seymour-Smith
(CLP) Yorkshire region	Ann	Cryer
(CLP) Yorkshire region	Emma	Hoddinott
(CLP) Yorkshire region	George	McManus
(CLP) Yorkshire region	Denise	Thursfield
(CLP-YTH) East Midlands region	Bex	Bailey
(CLP-YTH) Eastern region	Sarah	Rae
(CLP-YTH) Greater London region	Sally	Hussain
(CLP-YTH) North region	Daniel	Johnson
(CLP-YTH) North West region	Chris	Hughes
(CLP-YTH) Scottish Labour Party	Darren	Young
(CLP-YTH) South East region	Helena	Dollimore
(CLP-YTH) South West region	Bethan	Davey
(CLP-YTH) Wales Labour Party	Pearleen	Sangha
(CLP-YTH) West Midlands region	Charlotte	Hale
(CLP-YTH) Yorkshire region	Ruth	Davies
(TU) ASLEF	Rebekah	Peterson
(TU) Bectu	Paul Liam	Evans
(TU) BFAWU	Pauline	McCartney
(TU) Community	Richard	Angell
(TU) CWU	Billy	Hayes
(TU) CWU	Beryl	Shepherd
(TU) GMB	Mary	Hutchinson
(TU) GMB	Paul	Kenny
(TU) GMB	Maria	Ludkin
(TU) GMB	Tim	Roache
(TU) MU	Barbara	White
(TU) TSSA	Frank	Ward
(TU) UCATT	Stephen	Murphy
(TU) UNISON	Mervyn	Butler
(TU) UNISON	Dave	Prentis
(TU) UNISON	Eleanor	Smith
(TU) UNISON	Liz	Snape
(TU) Unite	Tony	Burke
(TU) Unite	Gail	Cartmail
(TU) Unite	Collette	Cork-Hurst
(TU) Unite	Jennifer	Elliott
(TU) Unite	Siobhan	Endean
(TU) Unite	Steve	Hart

(TU) Unite	Len	McCluskey
(TU) Unite	David	Quayle
(TU) Unite	Maggie	Ryan
(TU) Unite	Tony	Woodhouse
(TU) USDAW	Ruth	George
(TU) USDAW	John	Hannett
(TU) USDAW	Fiona	Wilson
(R) East Midlands region	Rory	Palmer
(R) East Midlands region	Linda	Woodings
(R) Eastern region	Fred	Grindrod
(R) Eastern region	Lara	Norris
(R) Greater London region	Lucy	Anderson
(R) Greater London region	Sam	Gurney
(R) North region	Simon	Henig
(R) North region	Jayne	Shotton
(R) North West region	Ann	Trafford
(R) North West region	John	Wiseman
(R) Scottish Labour Party	Jackson	Cullinane
(R) Scottish Labour Party	Jill	Merchant
(R) South East region	Michael	Hassell
(R) South East region	Carol	Hayton
(R) South West region	Nick	Ireland
(R) South West region	Libby	Lisgo
(R) Wales Labour Party	Diane	Green
(R) Wales Labour Party	Mark	Whitcutt
(R) West Midlands region	Gerard	Coyne
(R) West Midlands region	Colleen	Fletcher
(R) Yorkshire region	Judith	Blake
(R) Yorkshire region	Peter	Box
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Ruth	Cadbury
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Angela	Cornforth
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Roger	Lawrence
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Steve	Swift
(LG) Local Government Association	Steve	Bullock
(LG) Local Government Association	Bryony	Rudkin
(LG) Local Government Association	Sharon	Taylor
(LG) Local Government Association	Catherine	West
(LG) COSLA	Michael	Ross
Socialist Societies	Emma	Burnell

Socialist Societies	Martin	Rathfelder
Socialist Societies	Melanie	Smallman
BAME Labour	Sen	Kandiah
BAME Labour	Gloria	Mills
BAME Labour	June	Nelson
BAME Labour	Neeraj	Patil (Dr)
Parliamentary Labour Party	Debbie	Abrahams
Parliamentary Labour Party	Julie	Elliott
Parliamentary Labour Party	Bill	Esterson
Parliamentary Labour Party	Barry	Gardiner
Parliamentary Labour Party	Teresa	Pearce
Parliamentary Labour Party	Bridget	Phillipson
Parliamentary Labour Party	Steve	Reed
Parliamentary Labour Party	Andy	Sawford
Parliamentary Labour Party	Alan	Whitehead
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Mary	Honeyball
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Richard	Howitt
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Anneliese	Dodds
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Julie	Ward
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Richard	Corbett
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Seb	Dance
Labour Students	Grace	Skelton
House of Lords	Richard	Faulkner
House of Lords	Ruth	Lister
Northern Ireland	Boyd	Black
Labour International	Keir	Fitch
LGBT Labour	Tom	Burke
Disability Labour	Nicholas	Russell
Scottish Policy Forum (chair)	Agnes	Tolmie
Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair)	Jackie	Baillie
Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair)	Clare	Lally
Welsh Policy Forum	Amber	Courtney
Welsh Policy Forum (chair)	Mike	Payne
Shadow Cabinet	Douglas	Alexander
Shadow Cabinet	Ed	Balls
Shadow Cabinet	Hilary	Benn
Shadow Cabinet	Andy	Burnham
Shadow Cabinet	Yvette	Cooper
Shadow Cabinet	Jon	Cruddas

Shadow Cabinet	Rachel	Reeves
Shadow Cabinet	Tristram	Hunt
Shadow Cabinet	Rosie	Winterton
Co-operative Party	Nick	Crofts
Co-operative Party	Sarah	Gill
Co-operative Party (General Secretary)	Karin	Christiansen
National Executive Committee	Johanna	Baxter
National Executive Committee	Ann	Black
National Executive Committee	Ken	Livingstone
National Executive Committee	Eleanor	Reeves
National Executive Committee	Christine	Shawcroft
National Executive Committee	Peter	Wheeler
National Executive Committee	Harriet	Harman
National Executive Committee	Glenis	Willmott
National Executive Committee	Ann	Lucas
National Executive Committee	David	Sparks
National Executive Committee	Ed	Miliband
National Executive Committee	David	Watts
National Executive Committee	Margaret	Beckett
National Executive Committee	Steve	Rotheram
National Executive Committee	Dennis	Skinner
National Executive Committee	Jonathan	Ashworth
National Executive Committee	Angela	Eagle
National Executive Committee	Sadiq	Khan
National Executive Committee	Conor	McGinn
National Executive Committee	Keith	Vaz
National Executive Committee	Diana	Holland
National Executive Committee	Keith	Birch
National Executive Committee	Jennie	Formby
National Executive Committee	Andi	Fox
National Executive Committee	Jim	Kennedy
National Executive Committee	Andy	Kerr
National Executive Committee	Susan	Lewis
National Executive Committee	Paddy	Lillis
National Executive Committee	Rachael	Maskell
National Executive Committee	Martin	Mayer
National Executive Committee	Wendy	Nichols
National Executive Committee	Cath	Speight
National Executive Committee	Mary	Turner
National Executive Committee	Bex	Bailey



