

# National Policy Forum **Report 2012**



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**Britain in the World  
Policy Commission  
Annual report**

## Britain in the World Policy Commission

### Membership 2011/2012

#### Shadow Cabinet

**Rt Hon Douglas Alexander MP** - Co-convenor  
**Ivan Lewis MP\***  
**Rt Hon Jim Murphy MP**  
**Emma Reynolds MP†**

#### National Executive Committee

**Ellie Reeves** – Co-convenor  
**Glenis Willmott MEP**  
**Martin Mayer‡**  
**Susan Lewis†**

#### National Policy Forum

**Tony Burke**  
**Keir Dhillon**  
**Theresa Griffin**  
**Sam Gurney**  
**Billy Hayes**  
**Richard Howitt MEP**  
**Clare Moody**  
**Gisela Stuart MP**

\*replaced Rt Hon Harriet Harman MP in October 2011

†replaced Wayne David MP in October 2011

‡replaced Rachel Maskell in November 2011

†replaced Chris Weldon in November 2011

## Policy Development

**From tackling threats to our security to promoting economic prosperity, development and the safeguarding of the environment, the Labour Party has always been the party of internationalism. Labour's international policy is driven by Britain's national interest and Labour's core values of social justice, equality and opportunity for all. The Britain in the World policy commission deals with issues relating to foreign policy, defence and international development.**

Over the past year, the international agenda has been dominated by discussions on the European financial crisis. From the G20 to the G8, the primary priority for discussion has been the search for a resolution to the crisis. In reflection of the prominence and importance of this issue, the Britain in the World Policy Commission has been keen to scrutinise policies and the approach taken by the Conservative-led Government in this area by holding a number of meetings throughout the year. Given the cross-Whitehall nature of the crisis and that this area fits within the Prosperity and Work Commission's remit, the meetings were held jointly with the Prosperity and Work Commission.

Both Commissions began the year by meeting together at Annual Conference 2011. The Commissions were joined by the then Shadow Europe Minister, Wayne David and Shadow Business Minister, Nia Griffiths, leader of the EPLP, Glenis Willmott and Lisa Nandy MP. Invited guests provided an update on Eurozone issues, employment rights and international corporate responsibility. The Commissions expressed widespread concern that the Government's approach to the eurozone crisis has been hurting the interests of the UK. Commission members present had a detailed discussion on European employment rights. Members discussed the need for the Labour Party to oppose any attempt by the Government to water down protections for workers. It was discussed that the Labour Party should continue to make the case that much of EU employment legislation is aimed at protecting all workers including vulnerable workers in order to build a level playing field.

Specific Prosperity and Work employment issues were considered including providing minimum protections on such issues as working time, holidays, maternity and paternity leave, agency and temporary workers, part time workers, information & consultation mechanisms and health and safety issues. The Commissions also considered that international corporate responsibility is an extremely important issue, and one that the Labour Party should be championing. The ILO Domestic Workers Convention was also discussed at this meeting.

The Commission held a series of sessions at Annual Conference 2011, including seminars, debates and international sessions attended by the then Shadow Secretary of State for International Development, Harriet Harman, the Shadow Defence Secretary, Jim Murphy and the Shadow Foreign Secretary, Douglas Alexander. The policy seminar was well attended with delegates taking the opportunity to engage and contribute on policy issues across the breadth of areas covered by the Britain in the World Commission. Contributions ranged from Afghanistan to Armed Forces welfare and Colombia to climate change. Delegates and Commission members also had the opportunity to attend sessions where they could engage and share ideas with international delegates and Labour's sister parties.

In December, the Commission convened a meeting on international development with the new Shadow Secretary, Ivan Lewis. The Shadow International Development Secretary shared his intention to build on the work led

by Harriet Harman and outlined how Labour would hold the Government to account on their manifesto promises on aid, emphasise and communicate a Labour values-based international development narrative and a post 2015 development agenda. This meeting was held soon after David Cameron walked out of negotiations at the December European Council, therefore in addition to the agreed work programme the Commission decided it was important to invite the new Shadow Europe Minister, Emma Reynolds to update the Commission on the implications of the Tories approach to Europe.

Given the need to focus on post-Arab Spring democracy, the Commission invited the Westminster Foundation for Democracy to a meeting to discuss their work on good governance, accountability and democracy building. This meeting discussed how the Foundation's work can support the democratic transitional process in post-Arab Spring countries. EU support for democratic transition in the run up to elections was a topic that generated many contributions from Commission members. The Commission will continue to follow democratic progress in North Africa and the Middle East and monitor the situation closely in Syria and Bahrain.

In January the Commission agreed its work programme and held its second meeting of a series of joint meetings with the Prosperity and Work Commission on Europe. Charles Grant, Director of the Centre for European Reform, opened the discussion with analysis of the European focus on austerity across Europe. The Commission expressed concern about the Conservative-led Government's approach to Europe, highlighted by David Cameron's decision to leave the negotiations at the December EU Summit. The Commission noted that the Government's actions were not in Britain's interests and that British isolation in Europe is neither good for Britain nor Europe. Many members were worried for both Britain and Europe if Britain was not to be in the room during future discussions and welcomed

the Labour Party front bench calls for Britain to secure at least 'observer-status' in any future meetings. Commission members raised the concerns of businesses and employers over the agreed fiscal compact and the impact of the extreme austerity measures on jobs, growth and workers rights. Members of both Commissions expressed a desire to hold a further joint meeting to discuss issues such as the Posted Workers Directive, Monti 2 and the Agency Workers Directive. It was agreed that a meeting between the four co-conveners of the Commission would take place to ensure the request was taken forward.

Labour Party members have had a long standing interest in the human rights situation in Colombia, where trade unionists and other progressives have faced and continue to face attacks and assassination. Therefore the Commission decided to hold a designated meeting in February to discuss the current situation. The Commission welcomed Mariela Kohon from Justice for Colombia, Rob Ffello MP and Shadow Foreign Minister, Kerry McCarthy to provide evidence following their recent visit to the country. Debate included reference to progress that has been made in the country, but also the challenges that trade unionists and human rights activists still face. The Commission expressed desire for the British embassy to have clearer representation on human rights in Colombia. There was a wide ranging discussion on the differences in approach between President Santos and President Uribe and the Commission agreed that the rhetoric must be followed with concrete action. Considerable concerns were raised by members about any EU Free Trade Agreement with Colombia without legally binding human rights clauses. Commission members raised the difficulties that trade unions faced in Mexico and raised their support for the efforts of trade unions in the UK and worldwide in opposing any Government attack on independent trade unions and their members.

The Commission met with Shadow Foreign Secretary Douglas Alexander on a number of occasions during May and June to discuss and agree the Britain in the World Commission consultation document as well as to discuss other contemporary issues including the NATO Chicago Summit and troop drawdown in Afghanistan as well as the 'P5+1' talks with Iran.

The international withdrawal timetable for Afghanistan has been paramount in international discussions, with two high level international meetings taking place at Bonn and Chicago this year and another in Tokyo taking place this summer. Afghanistan remains a foreign policy priority for Labour and the Commission met with Defence Secretary, Jim Murphy, in June to discuss the outcomes of these international discussions and the Labour Party's response. The Shadow Defence team's submission to the Commission on Future Threats was also the focus of discussion. The Commission noted the changing nature of threats that the UK faces and how our defence posture must change and adapt to the new security landscape. In addition, the Commission considered the continued implications of the Strategic Defence and Security Review on capabilities and personnel. Members were keen to welcome the review into Future Threats and pledged their commitment to work with the Shadow Defence team to build a vision and plan for the future of British defence. The Commission, reflecting the submissions that they have received, discussed Britain's continued commitment to an independent nuclear deterrent. The Shadow Defence Secretary reiterated Labour's manifesto commitment to the minimum possible independent deterrent while fighting for multilateral disarmament, working for a world free of nuclear weapons. As agreed at the summer 2012 National Policy Forum, a follow up meeting will be held by the Commission on the nuclear deterrent after Alternative Trident Review has reported.

The National Policy Forum met in June to discuss the Policy Consultation documents that had been commissioned and agreed by the JPC for consultation. Shadow Foreign Secretary, Douglas Alexander, Shadow Europe Minister, Emma Reynolds and leader of the EPLP, Glenis Willmott facilitated workshops with a European element throughout the weekend on areas related to European social and employment rights, elections for the left in Europe and the eurozone crisis. International speakers from sister parties and external experts attended the forum to facilitate workshops. On Saturday, there were three seminars which were all well-attended, with wide ranging policy discussion. NPF representatives were able to raise points and discuss policy ideas with Shadow International Development Secretary, Ivan Lewis, Shadow Europe Minister, Emma Reynolds and Shadow Defence Minister, Alison Seabeck. Due to the particular interest in Europe and making the case for Europe in the run up to the 2014 election, it was decided that there would be a specific workshop on Sunday to hold more in depth discussions. During the NPF, it was noted that the issue of Trident was not in the paper from a number of delegates. Therefore the discussion on a 21st Century defence was taken forward for further discussion on the Sunday session. To reflect these meetings a number of paragraphs were added to the consultation document on making the case for Europe in the run up to the European elections in 2014 and a 21st Century defence.

## Current Issues

### Post-Arab Spring democracy

In the 18 months since a street vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, set himself on fire in the Tunisian town of Sidi Bouzid, we have witnessed revolutionary movements that have brought down four regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen, been resisted by two others in Bahrain and Syria, and shaken the entire Arab world. Both politically and economically, the Arab world has entered a newly dynamic and disruptive period.

The challenge is now for countries to agree constitutions which formalise democratic government. Labour welcomes the elections held in Tunisia and Egypt, Yemen, Algeria and the first ever free elections in Libya, as well as the reform process underway in some Gulf States. The democratic choices of the people of these countries should be respected. We continue to push for countries to uphold the principles of human rights and freedom, and press for the highest standards in both.

Other countries seem far from the road to democratic reform with Syria looking close to sliding into a full-scale civil war with unknowable outcomes. Labour calls for the immediate end to the violence in Syria. We call for the Syrian Government to implement the joint United Nations and Arab League Special Envoy Kofi Annan's six point plan immediately. This plan must lead to a cessation of all hostilities leading to a genuine political transition accompanied by freedom of access for humanitarian assistance, and the release of political prisoners.

The Commission welcomes the Westminster Foundation for Democracy's 20th anniversary and the continued Government support for the Foundation. The Foundation's invaluable work of promoting multi-party democracy, good governance, transparency and accountability is helping to strengthen Parliaments, providing assistance to political parties and supporting democracy across the world.

## Europe

Europe continues to be in the grip of a financial crisis that has seen ongoing recession and rising unemployment across many member states. The European Council has met no fewer than five times in the last year to discuss the eurozone crisis, however only limited progress has so far been achieved at these summits. What has been clear throughout is that austerity measures alone are not sufficient in response to the euro crisis and more robust policies to stimulate growth are required to help the eurozone.

At the same time that the eurozone is pushing for more integration in response to the eurozone crisis, the UK Government have further isolated Britain from the decision making processes of Europe and from Britain's key European allies. The Prime Minister's actions at the EU Summit in December, which saw him walk out of negotiations in an effort to appease his right wing anti-European elements of the party, left Britain in a minority of one. This Government's flawed approach highlighted the potential for the UK being forced to the margins of Europe, undercutting Britain's influence and interests with the EU further. At a time when our domestic priorities – from economic stability to climate change, national security to new jobs – are more dependent than ever on international partnerships, David Cameron has chosen to be on the periphery of international affairs.

Labour want to see a British European policy with Britain at the heart of Europe - using our internationalist principles, leading voice and strong alliances to secure the best outcome for the British people, and to help Europe play a progressive role globally. We believe Britain can build alliances based on our values, protect our interests and advance our ideas by leading international efforts on reducing conflict, promoting security, building a stronger world economy and protecting the future of our planet. From defending and promoting the European social model, decent

employment rights, and economic reform, to fighting climate change, global poverty and international crime, we know that the main challenges we face demand that we work with our European partners rather than stand alone.

Labour is clear that the decision about holding a referendum on Europe is not one we could or should sensibly make now. We should not decide now because the pressing priority for British exporters and British jobs is a government focused on securing Britain's interests and protecting the single market in the critical negotiations in the months ahead. And we cannot sensibly decide now because none of us can fully predict where Europe will be in a few months, never mind a few years.

It is vital that while focus of course must be on resolving the eurozone crisis, we must not forget the importance of supporting emerging democracies in North Africa and the Middle East. The Arab Spring has been Europe's most urgent foreign policy challenge and Europe must continue to meet this challenge through its use of soft power in promoting democracy with its neighbours.

## Afghanistan

Labour pays tribute to the extraordinary sacrifice and service of our Armed Forces and their families. As Afghanistan approaches the 2014 deadline for the drawdown of most international forces, it is vital that repeats of the past are prevented, when military draw downs have been followed by fresh waves of violence, with serious implications for regional security. For this reason, it is vital that the international community and the UK Government define specific goals, milestones, and resources for the lead up to 2014, and beyond.

The gains that Afghanistan has made since 2001 need to be consolidated and the international community needs to adopt a long term plan providing a smooth transition in an

Afghan-owned process. There is a narrowing window of opportunity in Afghanistan where a durable end state can be achieved through a political settlement. This settlement must include all various ethnic and political groups that abide by the principles of the Constitution of Afghanistan throughout Afghanistan, but exclude Al Qaeda, and ensure the involvement of all regional players alongside a security apparatus sufficient to stop Afghanistan being a threat to its own population and the international community. The position of Afghan women in society will remain a key challenge as the international mission draws down. President Obama and President Karzai's strategic agreement stipulates that the "necessary outcomes of any peace and reconciliation process" follow the "Afghan Constitution, including its protection for all Afghan women and men."

## Colombia

Reflecting the focus of Commission members on the human rights abuses in Colombia, the Commission held a specific meeting on the situation in 2012. The Labour Party condemns any persecution or assassination of trade unionist and other members of civil society in any country. The Labour Party wants to see an immediate end to all persecution of trade unionists, activists and other civil society representatives in Colombia and supports the civil society efforts for a politically negotiated settlement in Colombia, calling on all parties to engage in a peaceful resolution.

Commission members expressed their opposition to any EU-Colombia Free Trade Agreement that does not have legally binding human rights clauses and called for substantial improvements in the situation on the ground, specifically in terms of attacks on trade unionists and human rights defenders, before any agreement is signed.

## Defence and our forces

The Labour Party has and will always be a party of defence. The 1945-51 Labour post-war Government with Ernest Bevin as Foreign Secretary in particular, was instrumental in the creation of the NATO Alliance. Many Labour MPs and Ministers have served in the forces, including Jim Callaghan who served in the Royal Navy before he was Prime Minister and Dennis Healey who served in the Army before he served as Secretary of State for Defence and Chancellor. Defence and the honour of Service have been part of our history as they will our future.

Since the last election we have witnessed momentous shifts from turmoil and uncertainty across the Middle East and North Africa to the emergence of new powers economically, politically, and militarily and the destructive effects of natural disasters from floods to famine. In a world that is increasingly unpredictable, complex and interlinked we have fundamental new questions to answer. That is why Labour is conducting a wide-ranging review of the security threats the UK and our allies face, assessing the Government's strategy against recent events and expert opinion and seeking to define a long term vision for UK defence policy. We need a new strategy consistent with financial circumstances but also with strategic context.

Some of the Government's plans are also clearly unfair to service personnel. Cutting armed forces' and war widows' pensions permanently means an ever-growing hit for these families long after the deficit has been paid off; cuts to allowances for those on the frontline has damaged morale; and including veterans of Afghanistan in redundancies means losing some of those with the highest skills who have given the greatest service to their country. Given the number of UK Armed Forces being made redundant in difficult economic circumstances and looking for employment, Labour have launched our Veterans Interview Programme. This is a new scheme in which

companies voluntarily guarantee an interview for job seeking ex-Forces and other forms of employment support for veterans. 22 leading UK employers have already signed up to the scheme. Our Forces have a wide range of experiences and skills arising from Service, including leadership, teamwork and organisation, and Labour believes we must all do more to provide additional support to help former Service personnel find employment. Labour has also launched Labour Friends of the Forces, an organisation dedicated to campaigning on the issues that matter to the Armed Forces, their families and the wider service community and has introduced a membership rate of £1 to join the Labour Party for Forces and veterans.

On a recent visit to Afghanistan, Ed Miliband, Douglas Alexander and Jim Murphy saw the remarkable work that our inspiring troops are doing in taking on the Taliban, but they also heard first hand some of the unfair treatment that our Forces had experienced both at home and abroad. Recent evidence has shown that 18 per cent of service personnel have been refused service in a pub, hotel or elsewhere and 21 per cent have reported strangers coming up to them and shouting abuse. Any and all discrimination against the Forces should be ended immediately, which is why Labour has launched a campaign calling for cross-party talks to end discrimination against the Service community. This should include looking at new legal protections against discrimination.

## International Development

Globally, poverty rates have fallen over the past 20 years, from 46 per cent of the population globally living in extreme poverty (under US\$1.25 per day) in 1990 to only 22 per cent from the latest figures we have, in 2008. Within the space of a decade, the number of out-of-school children has dropped by more than 38 million; meanwhile the number of children under five dying has dropped from 12.5 million to 7.6 million per year. However the challenge

is still huge with almost 1.3 billion people in total living on less than a dollar a day and nearly 8 million children dying before their fifth birthday every year. Representatives at Rio+20 stated that “Eradicating poverty is the greatest global challenge facing the world today and an indispensable requirement for sustainable development.”

Labour must build on our positive legacy on international development from government. With only three more years to go until the Millennium Development Goals come to an end, there is a sizeable outstanding challenge given most poor countries are not on target to meet the MDGs and therefore we must maintain pressure to maximise progress. However, as the international community begin to think about the mechanisms of a new framework, we must continue to lead in putting forward a vision of what might replace them as a global agreement and we will consider the decent work agenda and other to promote sustainable development and poverty reduction.

Labour will continue to make the case for Britain’s investment in aid and development and lead by example, holding the Tory-led Government to account on value for money, aid effectiveness, global leadership and the values underpinning their development agenda. Labour’s approach to development will always be underpinned by our commitment to universal social justice and human rights.

## Submissions

All of those who have made submissions have received an acknowledgment letter and a copy of Making Policy, a briefing which explains how policy is made in the party and shows how party stakeholders can best engage on policy development work. Submissions are considered by Policy Commission as part of their regular schedule of meetings. In addition, submissions made in response to the policy consultation documents published in May 2012 were considered at the Summer meeting of the

National Policy Forum.

Over the past year the Britain in the World Policy Commission has received submissions on the following subjects:

- The 0.7 per cent aid pledge
- Aid
- Afghanistan
- Africa
- The Arab Spring
- Arms trade
- Britain and the Changing World
- Britain in Europe
- British business and Europe
- Cluster munitions
- Cuba
- The Danish model
- The death of Capt. Stephen Healey in Afghanistan
- Defence cuts
- The Euro
- European Union
- Greek crisis
- Help with Armed Forces medicals
- Housing for veterans
- International conflicts
- International relations
- Iran
- Iraq
- Israel and Palestine
- Armed Forces redundancies
- Libya
- The Maldives
- Military action overseas
- Liberal interventionism
- Opposition to Cameron’s veto in Europe
- Opposition to the SDSR
- Pakistan
- Kashmir
- Referendum on Britain’s membership of the EU
- Russia and China’s veto on Syria
- Syria
- Trident
- UK Embassy in Brussels
- Veterans

# Britain in the World Policy Commission

## Annex: 2011/12 Policy document



## Britain in the world

Since the General Election, we have witnessed fast moving and unpredictable events in international affairs – from the uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East to the tragic famine declared in the Horn of Africa. We have also seen EU level actions in response to the financial crisis. These events just go to demonstrate the volatile nature of a changing world, highlighting the difficulties of predicting future prescriptions for the international landscape. Yet, in grappling with domestic austerity and a changing international landscape and powers, it is important for us to set out a Labour vision of what the UK's place in the world should be.

If Britain is to remain one of the world's more influential countries, then we should be aiming to create an international vision that goes beyond the day-to-day imperatives of managing current multi-national relations, military operations and other international crises as they arrive. It is vital that we continue our ongoing dialogue with our members, sister parties, other governments, civil society organisations and the British public to develop a credible and relevant international policy offer for the next General Election.

### Making the case for Europe

During the National Policy Forum meeting in Birmingham, NPF representatives identified key issues for focused discussion. These included how we can make the case for Europe, therefore a specific workshop was held to discuss this in further.

Labour want to see a British European policy with Britain at the heart of Europe - using our internationalist principles, leading voice and strong alliances to secure the best outcome for British people, and to help Europe play a progressive role globally. We believe Britain can build alliances based on our values, protect our interests and advance our ideas by leading international efforts on reducing conflict,

promoting security, building a stronger and fairer world economy and protecting the future of our planet. From promoting economic reform to fighting climate change, global poverty and international crime, we know that the main challenges we face demand that we work with our European partners rather than stand alone. Whenever it has been faced with challenges on a grand scale, the EU has proved itself to be effective at reaching conclusions and a force for great good. For example, European enlargement has been an anchor for democracy in Eastern Europe.

In the run up to the 2014 European election our campaign must harness all parts of the Labour movement, from activists to MEPs, to ensure that we have a sophisticated debate with the British public about the kind of Europe that we want to help us build a prosperous Britain. Labour is an internationalist party and will look to work with our sister parties in the run up to the election for a common progressive vision for Europe.

One of Europe's great strengths is its ability to work together to promote shared social values. To this end we will work to protect and promote the social values and the European social model based on the economic dynamism we require while helping to build equality and opportunity for all. The European Union brings many benefits to Britain, not just trade. Through playing an active part we must continue to work to create a fairer Europe, with a more responsible labour market and with fair and decent employment rights and protections for all rather than a race to the bottom and which focuses on improving skills and adding value as a way to ensure we remain globally competitive. The economic crisis has vividly demonstrated the interconnected nature of the world, where decisions taken in one country can have a huge impact on the lives of people in others. Britain must lead in charting a way forward economically, politically and diplomatically in Europe, ensuring a growth strategy which boosts jobs, recognises the importance of public investment, provides

stability and addresses deficits in a sustainable way. These goals will not be delivered by austerity and attacks on the EU social model. They require international co-operation and leadership. Without a strong Europe with social values, the British economy will be weaker, our people poorer and our lives and well-being at greater risk.

However as we have heard from the public and our members, Labour's approach must not simply be to defend the status quo within Europe - we need to develop British leadership to help ensure that the European Union is a democratic multilateral body which is fit for the 21st century and that supports the creation of a wider global system which promotes sustainable development and employment. Europe has no future as a low wage, low skilled economy.

### 21st Century Defence

Submissions to the Britain in the World Consultation document identified the importance of defence as a policy area. During the National Policy Forum meeting, representatives identified that the Britain in the World consultation document did not contain a specific reference to Trident. Given NPF reps desire to debate the issue, representatives had the opportunity to discuss Trident in a focused policy workshop. There were a number of different perspectives presented during the meeting, therefore it was agreed that further discussions would take place at a future Commission meeting, after the Government have published their findings of the 'Trident Alternatives Review'.

The Iraq war is an issue which in the past has divided our Party and our country. In his speech as incoming Leader at our 2010 Annual Conference, Ed Miliband made clear his criticism of the decision to take military action, recognised that mistakes and incorrect decisions had been made and said that it was now time to move on. The global security landscape is changing radically with the

rebalancing of power as emerging economies rise, the planned withdrawal of international troops from Afghanistan, growing international interdependence and changing attitudes to states' responsibilities to protect their own and other citizens. Ignoring these changes or making decisions in haste have long term consequences. Underestimating the importance of the UK's international capabilities, precisely at a time when they need to be adjusted to meet the challenges of a changing world, would be a mistake.

In this context the Government's rushed Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) and the National Security Strategy (NSS) failed to provide the required genuine strategic re-think of Britain's role in the world, our ambitions and how they can best be achieved.

Decisions that leave us with dangerous gaps in defence capability were taken too quickly, ends were not supported by means and new policies did not survive their first contact with world events, as demonstrated in Libya where military resources that were planned to be scrapped as part of the SDSR had to be extended for use. It may be almost impossible to predict the exact course of international events, however it is nonetheless possible to mitigate risk by ensuring our country's Armed Forces are capable of meeting the challenges posed by a wide range of potential future scenarios. The central focus of British security strategy, as we seek to maintain a global leadership role and maximise both security and influence, is now on coalition-building ensuring we are adaptable to new and emerging complex international threats.

During our consultations with members, networks and the public, we have heard about the pride that people place in our Armed Forces and the desire to see their bravery and honour supported. Afghanistan remains our number one foreign policy priority and we must ensure that our troops are supported with necessary equipment and welfare. While we are supportive of the NATO withdrawal timetable

of combat troops out of Afghanistan by 2014, there needs to be unstinting diplomatic efforts towards an inclusive political settlement. There are two components to this settlement. First, that all ethnic groups in Afghanistan are engaged internally with the settlement; second is the need for regional players such as Iran, Pakistan and India to make sure that they recognise their responsibility in securing a regional settlement.

Should Iran's efforts to acquire a viable nuclear weapon capability be successful this would be a major shift in the power balance in the Middle East and a potentially catastrophic threat to international security. The UK, with our international partners including the US, must pursue the dual track strategy of dialogue and peaceful pressure on the Iranian regime to uphold its responsibilities and obligations under international law. All countries, including those in the Middle East, have an interest and a commitment in a peaceful resolution and therefore we welcome the resumption of 'P5+1' talks led by the European Union. No country can afford to be unconcerned about further instability in the Middle East. This must include re - invigorating a serious political dialogue, aimed at establishing a lasting and just regional peace for the peoples of Israel and Palestine based on a two state solution.

Progress towards an international treaty on the arms trade has always been a key Labour priority. In Government, Labour led the way in pressing for such a treaty with Britain being the first G8 nation to take up the issue. Leading the campaign for a legally binding global arms trade treaty in 2012 was a key 2010 Labour manifesto commitment.

## Beyond aid

Labour's approach to international development is rooted in notions of global solidarity, equality and social justice, framed by our commitment to partnership and cooperation and is underpinned by mutual accountability – ours to the world and the world to us. Labour believes in helping to create a world that reflects the best of our values, supporting the promotion of equality, human rights, education, international employment and labour rights and democracy.

The geography of poverty is constantly changing with many of the poorest people increasingly living in countries defined as 'middle income' – India, Nigeria, Ghana, Pakistan and others and many more people living in fragile and conflict affected countries. These shifts in global development trends will provide new challenges and will demand a new approach to providing development assistance.

The Government must keep our promise that they have supported to increase aid to 0.7 per cent GNI by 2013 and enshrine that promise in law. That is why the Labour Party is supporting Mark Hendrick's Private Member's Bill to enshrine the UK's overseas aid commitment in law. However, development policy is so much more than just aid alone. Labour has led the way on international development policy across the globe in Government and we must continue to do this in opposition.

Over the past six years, the share of the world's poor living in fragile states is estimated to have doubled from 20 to 40 per cent. No fragile state has yet achieved a single Millennium Development Goal. Therefore how we meet the challenges that fragile and conflict affected states pose is key. With less than a dozen stable low-income countries left, we no longer have the same excuse for overlooking the needs of

the 30 or more fragile states. To ensure that we continue to provide life saving support to the poorest and often hardest to reach in the world we need an approach which takes into account security, stability and the rule of law, provides stability of aid flow, involves a comprehensive strategy across diplomacy, development and defence and looks at how we can work with government, civil society and private sector actors to build sustainable systems. Tackling the threats posed by weak and unstable countries is vital for both our own national security and helping to save lives and alleviate suffering.

Sustainability, including resource security, has been a goal long sought by the international community. Meeting our aspirations for a fairer, greener and more equal global society will require recognising and adapting to the limits of global resource. Dealing with the interlinking strands of food, water, land and energy distribution and security must be at the heart of our sustainable development agenda.

Wherever human rights violations are committed, from attacks on independent trade unions and assassinations on trade unionists in Colombia and Mexico to recent events in countries such as Syria, Egypt and Libya, the Labour Party must continue to speak out and work for peace and justice. We must support fair economic growth in the developing world. We support for the implementation of ILO Conventions especially those related to the right to form free trade unions and take other steps to ensure there is a fair and balanced relationship between global multinationals and the people in the countries they work in.

International leadership and strong multilateral relationships must be maintained to tackle the devastating effects of conflict and climate change, to secure real change on global tax and trade rules and a better international response when disaster hits. We will continue to push for progressive reforms in multilateral institutions and ensure that women's

empowerment is turned from rhetoric into reality. Labour's approach is also one which puts people at the heart of its policies. That is why we want to ensure for the people who our aid is helping and British taxpayers that any waste, corruption and accountability in development is prevented. Our international work will always be based on working alongside colleagues in our sister parties and unions around the world and supporting those who share our values to build a better and fairer world.

**Crime, Justice, Citizenship and  
Equalities Policy Commission  
Annual report**

## **Crime, Justice, Citizenship and Equalities Policy Commission**

### **Membership 2011/2012**

#### Shadow Cabinet

**Rt. Hon. Yvette Cooper MP** - Co-convenor  
**Kate Green MP\***  
**David Hanson MP†**  
**Rt. Hon. Sadiq Khan MP**

#### National Executive Committee

**Diana Holland** - Co-convenor  
**Cllr. Ann Lucas**  
**Conor McGinn§**  
**Rt. Hon. Keith Vaz MP**

#### National Policy Forum

**Shaukat Ali**  
**Richard Angell**  
**Michael Hassell**  
**Steve McCabe MP**  
**Rebekah Peterson**  
**Bryony Rudkin**  
**Jane Thomas**  
**Mark Whitcutt**

\*replaced Rt. Hon. Tessa Jowell MP in October 2011

†replaced Vernon Coaker MP in October 2011

§replaced Simon Wright in October 2011

## Policy development

**The Crime, Justice, Citizenship and Equalities Policy Commission is tasked with the development of Labour policy and thinking in relation to a number of vital areas. These include tackling crime and anti-social behaviour, building safer and stronger communities, renewing the criminal justice system, policing, immigration and asylum, equalities issues, civil society, constitutional reform and increasing political participation. Our work throughout the year has reflected this.**

Annual Conference 2011 featured contemporary resolutions within the remit of the Crime, Justice, Citizenship and Equalities Policy Commission. These included resolutions on the August riots. Submissions expressed concern at the violence and damage seen in the cities affected. Many resolutions praised the responses of the police and other public services and congratulated the communities who joined together to repair their areas. Resolutions also spoke of the need for a debate on the complex causes behind the riots particularly in relation to young people.

A significant number of resolutions expressed concern at the Government's 20 per cent cuts to policing and called for Labour to highlight the major impact these too far, too fast cuts would have on our frontline public services, such as the police, and the people who rely on them. Submissions noted that the Government is spending over £100 million on bringing in elected Police and Crime Commissioners at the same time as making front-loaded cuts that mean police forces across the country are already losing experienced officers.

The Commission held two seminars at Annual Conference 2011. Many delegates attended and took the opportunity to contribute to lively discussions with members of the Commission and Shadow Ministers on issues covering the full breadth of the Commission's remit.

At the Crime and Justice seminar, Shadow Ministers from the Home Office and Justice teams heard from delegates on a wide range of issues including gun and knife crime, hate

crime, victims' services, crime prevention, early intervention projects and sentencing. Many delegates raised concerns about the Tory-led Government's 20 per cent cuts to policing. Worries were expressed on how losing at least 15,000 police officers would impact on neighbourhood policing; the loss of specialist officers, PCSOs and huge cuts to police staff were also raised. Delegates felt that the Government's actions would risk the safety of our communities and that it was vitally important that we continue to keep up the campaign against these too far too fast cuts. Anti-social behaviour was also raised with comments made about the need for it to be tackled swiftly.

Delegates were also concerned by the way that cuts in this area were affecting women. As well as police cuts, cuts to legal aid, family justice centres, domestic violence and specialist advice services are also having an impact. The changes to the definition of domestic violence in the Government's Legal Aid Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Bill were also raised and concern was expressed that the progress that had been made on dealing with domestic violence could unravel.

Throughout the discussion, the importance of a joined-up approach with local police, and other local groups and agencies working together was seen by delegates as the most effective way of dealing with many issues of crime, anti-social behaviour and re-offending. It was argued that these cuts would affect how these agencies can work together as well as individually and therefore could potentially be even more damaging.

The second seminar was entitled 'New Politics: Constitutional Reform, Citizenship and Equalities'. Contributions were made on issues including equality impact assessments, voter registration, boundary changes, women in politics, citizenship, youth engagement in politics, migrant domestic workers, women's safety on public transport and the impact of Government cuts to the voluntary sector.

The Government's proposals for changing the voter registration system and how this could increase disenfranchisement, especially among those who are already hard to reach and engage with were discussed by delegates. Concerns were also raised over the Tory-led Government's plans for boundary changes which are a top-down, partisan and undemocratic redrawing of constituency boundaries that will ignore millions of unregistered voters. Delegates discussed the importance of the right to vote, and raised concerns that people would drop off the electoral register as a result of the Government's plans. The issue of engagement in politics was raised by a number of delegates. Concerns were raised that there are still groups in our society who are under-represented in public life, and a discussion was had on how to increase people's involvement with delegates particularly concerned that not enough women and young people get involved as candidates and discussed some of the barriers faced. The importance of citizenship education was also raised, and it was argued that this could contribute to increasing the participation of young people in politics. Baroness Royall, who as part of the Policy Review is looking at the issue of making politics count for young people, said she would update the Commission on this work in the coming months and did so at the July meeting.

In November, the Commission met to discuss the work programme topic: 'How can we build a Criminal Justice System which works better for everyone?', as well as looking at what should be done to ensure the criminal justice system delivers the right balance of

punishment and rehabilitation for those who have offended; examining the best methods to tackle re-offending and how those who have caused harm to our communities pay back society for what they have done. Shadow Justice Minister, Jenny Chapman MP, outlined the current work of the Justice team and gave an update on the work of the Justice Policy Review. Measures in the Legal Aid Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Bill going through Parliament were raised with reference to access to justice, which the Commission has discussed frequently, including cuts to social welfare legal aid and changes to the definition of domestic violence in relation to qualifying for legal aid.

Shadow Policing Minister, David Hanson MP, gave an update on the work of the Shadow Home Office team including the issue of metal theft, and how Labour is calling on the Government to back the police in their fight against these attacks by pledging to change the law to make it easier to stop this organised crime. He spoke about how the police settlement for the next year was due to be published shortly and Labour would be continuing to campaign against 20 per cent police budget cuts. Labour has outlined cuts of 12 per cent to the policing budget that Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary said could be achieved without impacting on the frontline. The Government's cuts go too far too fast and will lead to the loss of at least 15,000 police officers, including nearly 6,000 frontline officers. Labour set up the Independent Commission on the Future of Policing led by former Metropolitan Police Chief Lord Stevens to set out the role and purpose of policing in our communities for the 21st century and the reforms that are needed to deliver it. Reports produced by the Stevens Review will go to the Policy Commission as submissions for consideration. Police and Crime Commissioners were discussed, and it was made clear that we continue to believe the Government should have abandoned the idea and used the £100 million plus in costs to fund police officers instead. Speculation about

changes to victims' services and possibly local probation services was also discussed.

Kate Green, Shadow Minister for Equalities, discussed the current work of the Shadow Women and Equalities team. A number of issues affecting women were addressed including women and the economy, childcare and violence against women. Disability hate crime was also raised as was the work the Shadow Women and Equalities team are doing on women's personal safety. There was also a discussion around engaging with women voters.

There was a further discussion on the submissions received on the subject of the August riots which the Commission had agreed to look into further at their previous meeting as a result of the number received. Commission member Jane Thomas began this discussion by giving an overview of the issues raised in the many submissions she had examined. The Commission also considered the four documents published at Annual Conference detailing what has been learned via the Policy Review and New Politics Fresh Ideas consultation, which had been sent to the Policy Commissions as submissions.

At their meeting in December, the Commission were joined by Katie Ghose, Chief Executive of the Electoral Reform Society and Wayne David MP, Shadow Minister for Constitutional Reform, as part of the scheduled work programme discussion on 'New Politics': Political and constitutional reform. A presentation was given on the Electoral Reform Society's work looking at Individual Electoral Registration (IER), the representation of women and House of Lords reform. Wayne David gave an update on the working group being established to look at issues such as the consequences of the Government's speeded-up IER plans which have removed the safeguards that were in place to prevent any fall in registration levels and the implications for jury service and the police. He also raised the effects the new

boundaries would have, the future referendum on Scottish independence and other issues affecting the Union such as the West Lothian Question and "English votes for English laws". In the discussion that followed points were raised on reform of the House of Lords, representation of women and individual electoral registration. The Commission agreed to continue to examine this issue further given its importance to all of us in the Party.

The Commission heard from Yvette Cooper MP on how the Shadow Home Office team are looking at the tools communities have at their disposal to tackle anti-social behaviour and challenging the Tory-led Government's moves to weaken them. As part of the Policy Review, discussion sessions were also being held with regional ASB champions on their experiences. She also outlined how alongside women already being hit hard economically by this out of touch Government's policies, there is growing evidence that women's sense of safety and security is also being threatened by Government policies that are beginning to reduce community safety and weaken action to tackle violence against women. A consultation has been set up to gather information from across the country and from various organisations working in these areas. The Commission agreed they would hold a further meeting to discuss the consultation and its interim findings when it was published, and this happened at the March meeting.

In February, the Commission focused on Shadow Immigration Minister, Chris Bryant MP, gave an update on the work being done in this area and spoke about the Government's proposed changes to family and settlement routes, highlighting Labour's concerns about the unfairness of some of the changes. The importance of not being afraid to talk about immigration on the doorstep, bogus colleges, concerns over migrant domestic workers proposals to change the overseas domestic workers visa that Labour introduced and the Government's incompetence on tackling illegal immigration were amongst points raised as

part of the discussion. Yvette Cooper and David Hanson updated the Commission on selections for Police and Crime Commissioners and the work being done. It was noted that we would not have started from here, and that the Government could still use the money for frontline policing instead. However, we cannot stand by and let Tory candidates become cheerleaders for police cuts. The Commission discussed the need for a 'statement of values' for candidates, setting out Labour's approach and reaffirming our commitment to tackling crime and antisocial behaviour. Prioritising neighbourhood policing, tackling anti-social behaviour, partnership working and being champions for their areas against 20 per cent cuts to policing were amongst the ideas raised for inclusion. Following an initial discussion a process was agreed which will see the Commission discuss this further at a future meeting.

The Commission raised the issue of metal theft. Labour has called for the Government to change the law to make it easier to prevent this crime with a four-point plan. We are seeing the desecration of war memorials, households facing repeated power cuts, commuters facing increasing delays and churches and public buildings are being damaged. The theft epidemic is even putting lives at risk. We need a much tougher licensing regime for dealers, including requiring people selling to scrap metal dealers to prove their identity, and stronger powers for the police to investigate.

The issue of stalking, on which Yvette Cooper had called for the introduction of a new criminal offence at Labour's Annual Conference, was also discussed. The Government had decided to act on Labour's calls and campaigning from stakeholders and charities.

Sadiq Khan updated the Commission on some of the current work being done by the Shadow Justice team, including how a shadow ministerial group had been set up to

look at the West Lothian Question. He also spoke about potential changes to the criminal justice system as part of the Government's programme of reforms, including increased market-testing of probation services. During the discussion which followed, points were raised on House of Lords reform, party funding, boundary changes, leadership in prisons, probation provision in the National Offender Management Service and the youth justice system.

At their meeting in March, the Commission focussed on the topic of increasing personal safety and supporting victims of crime; looking at the impact the Government's policies are having on the safety of our communities and at ways in which safer and stronger communities can be created and supported. We heard from Shadow Home Office Minister, Stella Creasy MP and Shadow Equalities Minister and member of the Commission, Kate Green MP, on the work they have been doing on the Women's Safety Consultation, chaired by Vera Baird, which was established to investigate the impact of the Tory-led Government's policies on women's safety. An interim report of their work to date went forward to the Commission as a submission. As part of the wider discussion looking at increasing personal safety and supporting victims of crime, points raised by the Commission included: alcohol-related crime; the different forms violence against women can take; the cross-cutting nature of the different issues discussed in the report and the effects of cuts to prevention and partnership working on these issues. The interim report was welcomed by the Commission.

The Commission considered the key priorities for topics to be included in the Crime, Justice, Citizenship and Equalities policy consultation document - one of six documents setting out key policy challenges and our direction of travel which would be sent to CLPs and other key stakeholder groups for consultation prior to further discussion of the documents at the summer NPF meeting. Reflecting what had been raised in submissions from members, CLPs and other individuals and organisations over recent months, out of the wide range of issues the Commission covers, it was decided that it would be best to focus in on the key themes of anti-social behaviour, the safety of our communities, immigration and equalities.

In June, the Commission looked at the issues of neighbourhood policing, crime and anti-social behaviour examining how, in times of increasing financial pressures for police and local authorities, we can continue to deliver effective policing, combat crime and anti-social behaviour and support local communities in tackling the problems in their areas. Shadow Home Office Minister, Gloria de Piero MP updated the Commission on the work the Home Office team had been doing on tackling anti-social behaviour and holding the Government to account; including how the Government was weakening anti-social behaviour powers by making people wait until five separate households have complained, and by removing the deterrent and punishment of a criminal offence for breaching an ASBO. The Commission examined how the Government is weakening the tools and powers that the police and communities have to deal with anti-social behaviour and the impact this could have alongside 20 per cent cuts to the police, as well as the loss of youth services and crime prevention projects. Private involvement in policing was raised and the Commission spoke about the importance of keeping police on the streets, police preventing crime, rather than only responding to it, and the core job of policing not being done by private companies, but by the police.

There was an update on the progress of the Police and Crime Commissioners election process which the Commission has been involved in throughout the year and retained a strong focus on. This included a discussion on the pledges Labour's candidates would be standing on further to prior examination of these at the February meeting. As previously discussed, the Commission agreed that Labour candidates should stand up for their communities against the Government's huge cuts to the police and weakened action on anti-social behaviour, as well as respecting the operational independence of the Chief Constable and keeping police on the beat with neighbourhood policing, not handing it over to private companies or leaving it only to PCSOs. It was noted however that Labour could not make substantial changes to the system until the next election. The Commission will continue to discuss and be involved in development of the Police and Crime Commissioner policy platform.

In our Crime, Justice, Citizenship and Equalities policy workshop discussions at the National Policy Forum meeting at Aston University on the first day, representatives were very keen to discuss the issue of anti-social behaviour in particular, alongside contributions on immigration, issues surrounding access to justice as a result of Government changes and on personal safety and equalities. Many contributions were made on how the upcoming Police and Crime Commissioner elections were an important opportunity for Labour to continue to stand up to protect communities and fight the Tory-led Government's too far too fast cuts to policing and the loss of at least 15,000 police officers. It was decided that the Commission's Sunday workshop sessions would be dedicated discussions on anti-social behaviour and on priorities for Labour Police and Crime Commissioners so that these two important issues could receive greater scrutiny from representatives.

During the Sunday session on anti-social behaviour, representatives discussed the importance of a multi-agency approach, being tough on the causes of crime, swift responses and nipping the problem in the bud. The role of alcohol in crime and anti-social behaviour was also raised by several attendees. Several representatives spoke about how we must challenge the culture of acceptance of anti-social behaviour and the necessity of maintaining our strength of approach and highlighting the level of its importance as an issue for some communities. In the session on Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs), the group spoke about the importance of Labour PCCs being distinctively Labour throughout their term in office. Representatives also argued there was a need to set up local frameworks and meet with local groups, people and agencies to increase understanding of local priorities.

As a result of the contributions in these sessions, the Crime, Justice Citizenship and Equalities policy document was amended to add in additional wording on our approach to anti-social behaviour, and an additional section on what the priorities for police and crime commissioners should be in light of the upcoming elections was added.

In July, the Commission heard from Jan Royall on the Policy Review work she has been doing on engaging young people in politics. She spoke about how she had met with young people from a whole range of backgrounds and that there were clear themes coming through, such as the desire for more political education, including on practical things such as how to vote, as some young people come from households where their parents have never voted; as well as wanting more information on what different political parties offer. The Commission discussed issues including: taking young people into account when designing policies; lowering the voting age to sixteen; and the value of young mayors, and the role they play in making councils take

young people more into consideration when making decisions.

As well as considering the updated policy consultation document, the Commission also discussed the topic of constitutional reform. Shadow Justice Secretary, Sadiq Khan MP, spoke about current issues in this area, including the House of Lords Reform Bill, party funding, the Scottish Referendum, West Lothian question and Individual Electoral Registration. On the House of Lords Bill currently before Parliament, he set out that while Labour trusts the people to decide on major issues like fundamentally changing our constitution, the Government are denying the public a vote on the very fabric of how our country is governed. He added that Labour would be voting against the Government's attempts to put a time limit on discussion of this important issue. Going forward, he spoke about a constitutional convention to look at all these issues under one umbrella to ensure an overarching narrative and to avoid the errors this Government has made on constitutional reform. This Commission raised the issue of boundary changes and welcomed the idea of looking at reforms in this area in a more coherent way.

Yvette Cooper updated the Commission on the Police and Crime Commissioner campaign and the next stage of work on women's safety. More needs to be done to increase the amount of rape and domestic violence cases that go forward to prosecution and the Shadow Home Office team will be looking at this along with more preventative working on violence against women. The Commission were pleased to hear that there would be further steps taken to build on the work already done by Labour in this area.

## Current issues

### Safer and stronger communities

Throughout discussions this year, the Commission has recognised that the safety of our communities remains an important issue. Many of the submissions we have received highlight the impact the Tory-led Government's cuts are having locally, and the risks this poses for the safety of our communities. Cuts to the police, crime prevention and youth services have been regularly raised with the Commission in submissions from CLPs and individuals from all across the country. Labour will remain tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime. The Tory-led Government are weak on both. The devastating impact of cuts on the voluntary sector is laying bare the gap between David Cameron's "Big Society" rhetoric and the reality of his policies. The riots in summer 2011 prompted a huge number of submissions and, as a result, the Commission dedicated time to a discussion on the issues people had raised. Many submissions praised the work of the police, communities and other agencies that had been involved in responding to the violence, looting and destruction of property that occurred. Submissions also argued the importance of examining and debating the complex causes behind these events.

Anti-social behaviour remains a key issue for the Party. In its conversations on this the Commission has discussed how preventative working and early intervention alongside effective partnership working remain vital in our efforts to tackle these problems. The Commission are dismayed that the Tory-led Government is stripping away vital powers like ASBOs and replacing them with a weaker re-brand. We firmly believe the Party needs to retain our strong commitment to tackling anti-social behaviour – and that we need to go further to protect our communities. It is increasingly important that we do not become complacent on the issue of anti-social behaviour and that we continue to engage with the individuals and organisations

in our communities, such as Labour's ASB Champions, who know what works best in their communities as often the best solutions in this area do not come from the Government but what works best in practice.

The Commission believes you do not cut crime by cutting the police and you do not support our communities by backing off action to tackle anti-social behaviour. Neighbourhood policing plays an important role in tackling anti-social behaviour and the Commission is concerned that the recent report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary estimates that at least 15,000 police officers will be lost by 2015 as a result of the Government's 20 per cent cuts to the police budget, and that despite Tory promises, these cuts are having an impact on frontline policing with the loss of almost 6,000 frontline officers. Labour would protect the frontline and keep police on the beat with neighbourhood policing, not hand it over to private companies or leave it only to PCSOs, and recognise the important role of police support staff because we know police on the beat are the best way to keep our communities safe.

Crime, anti-social behaviour and policing will remain key issues over the coming year, especially with the elections in November for the new Police and Crime Commissioners who will set policing priorities for communities across the country. The Commission believes that even though we would not have started from here it is important that there are Labour Police and Crime Commissioners candidates standing up for communities on crime - we cannot leave communities to Tory Police and Crime Commissioners who will merely be cheerleaders for Government cuts.

The Commission believes that the five pledges announced in June are the right priorities for Labour Police and Crime Commissioner candidates to be standing on and highlight the value Labour places on neighbourhood policing and tackling crime and anti-social behaviour. Our candidates will work in

partnership with local agencies to be tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime. The Commission feels strongly that we must use these upcoming elections to drive home the message across the country that the Government's actions on crime and policing are putting our communities at risk. There is also an issue in these elections about the role of the private sector in policing; the core job of policing must be done not by private companies, but by the police.

### Justice

Throughout the year, the Commission discussed measures in the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Bill, paying particular attention to the Government's proposed cuts to legal aid including on the specific impact these will have on access to justice for vulnerable people including women who have suffered domestic violence. The Bill has now received Royal Assent, and although during its progress the Government were defeated a record fourteen times, it still shamefully reduces damages for victims of clinical negligence, and the sufferers of most industrial diseases, reduces protection for women and children suffering domestic violence and makes changes to the no-win, no-fee funding model that will make just claims, such as those in the Trafigura case where tens of thousands of people were poisoned with toxic waste, impossible to happen again.

The Commission deplores the onslaught on our precious legal aid system. Labour offered alternative savings but these were rejected. Funding of our vital grass roots advice network, such as our Citizens Advice Bureaux and law centres, is threatened. The Commission is deeply concerned this will expose the most vulnerable in our society drowning with debt, housing and welfare benefit problems to the full force of the law, without any of the crucial early stage advice and support that is proven to make a real difference, and ultimately saves the taxpayer money down the line.

The Commission remains concerned that this Tory led-Government's whole criminal justice strategy is built on an overriding objective to reduce prison numbers in order to fill the black hole in the budget. The Government is making it harder by the day to undertake any meaningful rehabilitation of offenders and increasingly risking the safety of the public. Keeping our communities safe must remain the number one priority. Whilst prison is, and will remain the right place for serious, violent and dangerous offenders, for less serious crimes, community punishments are often more effective for punishing offenders and cutting re-offending. We support community sentences that effectively punish and reform appropriate offenders.

The Commission is concerned by both the sheer scale and the treatment of those with mental health problems in our criminal justice system and believe tackling these issues must be a priority for a future Labour Government. We welcome the commitment that a future Labour Government would include a dedicated Minister specifically tasked with the job of guardian of mental health issues across our courts, prisons and probation service. There also needs to be much more joined up government. Only by taking responsibility at a high level will the continued culture change we need to see be effectively implemented.

### Constitutional reform

Constitutional reform has been high up on the Commission's agenda again this year given the submissions we have received on many of the changes the Tory-led Government is attempting to drive through in this area. Boundary changes designed to disadvantage Labour the most, fixed-term parliaments, individual electoral registration, increasing electoral participation and reform of the House of Lords have all been discussed by the Commission.



The Commission welcomes Labour's continued commitment to a wholly elected second chamber fit for the demands of a modern democracy, as set out in our 2010 election manifesto. The Government's plans for reform of the House of Lords do not include any provision for a referendum and many questions remain over their proposals. Our track record on reform of the House of Lords is unparalleled. This goal of reform is clear but we have the humility to trust the public; fundamental changes to our constitution should be put to the people in a referendum. The Commission believes that Lords reform is no different in this respect to devolution in Wales, Scotland and London, a regional assembly in the North East, elected mayors in towns and cities up and down the country and changes to our voting system, all subject to referendums. The Commission is resolute in the belief that we are stronger together as a United Kingdom and that essential strength comes from our ability to embrace multiple identities and we will continue to look at other issues affecting the Union such as the West Lothian question and the future referendum on Scottish independence.

While Labour supports the move to individual voter registration – and in fact legislated for it in 2009 – the Commission notes that the Tory-led Government's speeded-up plans have removed the safeguards that were in place to prevent any fall in registration levels. We are concerned that the proposals could lead to millions of people dropping off the electoral register. Not only would this be an affront to our democracy, it threatens to undermine the wider uses of the register – such as pulling together juries, enabling credit checks and the police using it as a tool in tackling crime.

The messy mistakes made by this Government in attempting to make constitutional reforms in a narrow and partisan way underline the importance of looking at reform in a more joined-up manner; from boundary changes to increasing electoral participation. The

Commission welcomes the comments by the Shadow Justice Secretary about assembling a constitutional convention in order to develop an overarching narrative and to avoid repeating the errors this Government has made on constitutional reform.

## Equalities

Labour believes that discrimination and inequality on the basis of race, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, gender identity, religion, belief or social class has no place in the 21st century. The Labour Party will always be a champion for those whose rights need to be protected and we will always put promoting equality at the heart of our policies. The Commission has received submissions on a wide range of equalities issues over the year, and is concerned by the impact of the Tory-led Government's policies on a number of issues in this area.

The Commission has discussed the impact of the Government's policies on women. David Cameron and Nick Clegg are making life harder not easier for families across the country and women and children are being hit particularly hard. The Commission is concerned by a number of issues in this area, in particular the fact that women are shouldering £11.1 billion of the £14.9 billion raised through tax, cuts to benefits and tax credits, pay and pension changes; the high levels of unemployment amongst women; and rising childcare costs, which are making it even more difficult for women to choose to work.

Women in their fifties and sixties are also being particularly stretched - holding families and communities together. They are the 'stretched middle' – a middle generation of women, who are struggling like never before to provide care and support for their families at both ends of the age spectrum. They have seen steep increases in unemployment, the biggest assault on their pensions, and at the same time they are still being stretched in all directions looking after their children and grandchildren, and

caring for elderly relatives too. Alongside our work looking at the impact of the Tory-led Government's policies on women of all ages Labour is planning to involve this generation of women in looking at the pressures and challenges for the middle generation and how society and government should respond.

Not only are Government policies disproportionately impacting upon women economically, but there are concerns that they may be risking their safety too. The Commission welcomed the 'Every Woman Safe Everywhere' consultation and interim report published earlier this year looking at the status of services which safeguard women's safety. The Commission believes it is important to keep up pressure against the Government's harmful actions in this area and welcomes the putting on the statute 'Jane's Law' on appeals against bail decisions. The Commission also welcomes the Policy Review document 'From detection to protection: Preventative policing to close the domestic violence intervention gap' published in July and sent to the Commission as a submission and will consider the issues and ideas it has raised.

Other groups within our society are also being hit hard by this Government's policies. In particular the Commission is concerned about the impact of the recession and high levels of unemployment in many black, Asian and minority ethnic communities. The Commission has also heard concern that the Government's welfare changes are unfairly hitting disabled people. Worries over a rise in disability hate crime have also been raised.

The Commission has discussed the Tory-led Government's watering down of Labour's Equality Act and its inclusion in the Red Tape Challenge. We are concerned by the delaying and repealing of some of its important provisions, as well as threats to others. The Commission has also received submissions on and has discussed the impact of the Government's policies on the effectiveness and capacity of the Equality and Human

Rights Commission. The Commission believes that it is now more important than ever that Government reform of the Equality and Human Rights Commission does not lead to the dilution of its role.

The Commission has received submissions on the issue of same sex marriage and has had a number of discussions on this issue. We strongly support same sex marriage and we welcome Labour's Campaign for Equal Marriage. We believe that people who love each other and want to make a long term commitment to each other should be able to get married. We also believe that the Government should go further than they currently plan and allow religious organisations who want to celebrate same sex marriage the chance to do so.

## Submissions

All of those who have made submissions have received an acknowledgment letter and a copy of Making Policy, a briefing which explains how policy is made in the party and shows how party stakeholders can best engage on policy development work. Submissions are considered by Policy Commission as part of their regular schedule of meetings. In addition, submissions made in response to the policy consultation documents published in May 2012 were considered at the Summer meeting of the National Policy Forum.

Over the past year the Crime, Justice, Citizenship and Equalities Policy Commission has received submissions on the following subjects:

- 2011 Norway attacks
- Abu Qatada
- Access to justice, the civil justice system and law centres
- Alcohol and licensing
- Anti-social behaviour
- Asylum system
- August 2011 riots
- 'Big Society' proposals

- Bill of Rights
- Boundary changes
- Bradford by-election result
- British society
- Child Exploitation and Online Protection unit (CEOP)
- Child protection issues
- Children and young people's rights
- Citizenship
- Civil liberties
- Civil society
- Community cohesion
- Community safety
- Compulsory voting
- Constitutional reform
- Crime
- Criminal Justice System
- Cuts to police officers, police staff and PCSOs
- Dale Farm protests
- Dangerous dogs
- Defending the Union in England
- Devolution
- Drink-driving
- Drugs
- Early intervention and crime prevention
- Electoral reform
- Electoral systems
- E-petitions
- Equalities
- Equality Act
- Equality & Human Rights Commission
- Family court system
- Family migration rule changes
- Fines and penalties
- Fixed-term Parliaments
- Foreign National Prisoners
- Hate crime
- Honours system
- House of Lords reform
- Human Rights
- Human Rights Act
- Immigration
- Impact of cuts on the voluntary sector
- Individual Electoral Registration
- Justice and Security Green Paper
- Legal Aid
- Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Bill
- Metal theft
- MPs' expenses
- Multiculturalism
- National Citizen Service
- Party funding
- Police pay and conditions
- Police pensions
- Police Reform and Social Responsibility Bill
- Police and Crime Commissioners
- Policing
- Political accountability
- Political representation
- Prisons and prisoners
- Privatisation and outsourcing in policing
- Protection of Freedoms Bill
- Probation Service
- Racism
- Referendum on Scottish independence
- Religion
- Re-offending
- Rights and responsibilities
- Same sex marriage
- Security at the Olympics
- Sentencing
- Stronger communities
- Terrorism
- UK Border Agency
- Underage cage-fighting
- Victims
- Violence against women
- West Lothian question
- Winsor review

## Crime, Justice, Citizenship and Equalities Policy Commission Annex: 2011/12 Policy document

The many submissions the Commission has received over the past year have shown that the safety of our communities remains a priority issue for members and the wider public. Submissions have covered subjects including last summer's riots, tackling re-offending, the treatment of victims of crime, prevention, prisons and sentencing.

Rather than working to strengthen communities and prevent crime, the Tory-led Government's actions are risking the opposite effect. There is increasing disquiet over their cuts to the police which will lead to the loss of at least 15,000 officers by the next election, putting safety at risk. The Tory-led Government has no strategy to cut crime, only to cut police officers. The Tories promised change but nothing is changing because they put the wrong people first. Their policies are having a disproportionate impact on the least well off, with women and children hit particularly hard.

Labour believes in creating stronger, safer communities. That is why in government we were tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime. We worked to prevent crime, invested in policing, introduced innovative reforms such as neighbourhood policing and gave councils and police new powers to clamp down on anti-social behaviour.

Now this progress is at risk because David Cameron is making cuts to the police that go too far too fast and weakening powers to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour. We need real change to rebuild our society.

Labour would take tough action on crime and anti-social behaviour and protect frontline policing because we believe keeping police on the beat is the best way of keeping our streets safe.

We need to ensure access to justice for all, including the most vulnerable in society for whom the Tories' cuts to legal aid and threats to the funding of the advice network could

have damaging repercussions. Labour is clear that access to justice must not become the preserve of the rich. The devastating impact of cuts on the voluntary sector is laying bare the gap between David Cameron's Big Society rhetoric and the reality of his policies. It is also clear that cuts to UK Border Agency staff will make it harder to tackle illegal immigration and trafficking.

The Commission will continue to consider all the issues under its remit over this and coming years, but this document focuses in on some key themes.

### Anti-social behaviour: The next steps in supporting communities

The Labour Party has always prioritised the issue of anti-social behaviour. It is a scourge on communities, and cannot be ignored in the simple hope that it will go away. Over the last year we have heard from members and the public on their fears that the scale of cuts to the police will impact on neighbourhood policing and lead to a rise in crime and anti-social behaviour.

Submissions have highlighted concerns over cuts to youth services and the voluntary sector. NPF and commission discussions also raised the importance of tackling anti-social behaviour against people at work, for example shop workers, public service staff, bus drivers and betting shop workers. Alcohol and its role in anti-social behaviour was also a subject of submissions including issues around licensing laws and council licensing powers and the problems that can occur near and in certain premises that supply alcohol.

In addition to their cuts affecting the police, local authorities, youth services and crime prevention projects, the Tory-led Government is weakening action and removing crucial powers for the police and local authorities to tackle anti-social behaviour and nuisance neighbours by scrapping ASBOs, making it harder for communities to install CCTV

and making people wait longer for a police response.

The way to tackle anti-social behaviour is not by vacating the area, scrapping ASBOs and weakening powers to deal with it, as the Tory-led Government seems to believe. Submissions from the Party and discussions at the NPF meeting show that a joined-up approach with local police, and other local groups and agencies working together is seen to be effective. We need strong partnerships between the police, local authorities and communities to prevent problems from developing in the first instance. Effective and appropriate sanctions must also be available for people who cause problems for their neighbours through acts of anti-social behaviour and this theme has been reflected in many submissions to the Commission.

Tackling anti-social behaviour has always been important to Labour. That's why we have set out that Labour councils will tackle anti-social behaviour, including prioritising support for PCSOs and using all the powers they have to clamp down on troublemakers, in order to limit the damage of the Tory-led Government's cuts to frontline policing. It should not take five separate complaints from five different people to guarantee a response. Labour's Police and Crime Commissioner candidates will stand on a platform that includes backing a strong and swift response to anti-social behaviour. Victims should get a response within 24 hours. From next year our Police and Crime Commissioners will be working with chief constables and local communities to stand up for the victims of crime and oppose the Government's cuts to frontline policing and weak action on anti-social behaviour. Labour is standing up to protect our communities and fight crime and anti-social behaviour.

When people spray graffiti on to someone's wall or vandalise their garden, there is a price paid by the victim and community. But if it is a first offence, too often it will result in a

caution and nothing else and the offender may well go on to do the same thing again. Labour believes that a swift response is necessary to nip problems in the bud. We want to make sure that when anti-social behaviour happens, there should be restorative processes, with the victim's agreement. When offenders have to confront the consequences of their crimes and put it right, they understand the damage they have caused. This has made some less likely to commit further offences and we would back this common-sense policing.

NPF representatives have been clear that the Party needs to retain our strong commitment to tackling anti-social behaviour – and that we need to go further to protect our communities. Party members feel that preventative working and early intervention alongside effective partnership working remain key to tackling these problems. Neighbourhood policing is key to prevention and Labour will protect the frontline because we know bobbies on the beat are the best way to keep our communities safe.

### Police and Crime Commissioners - what should Labour's priorities be?

The upcoming Police and Crime Commissioner elections are an important opportunity to stand up to protect communities and fight the Tory-led Government's 20 per cent cuts to policing and that risk people's safety. If Labour were in Government right now, we would not be making cuts to the police that go too far too fast and will mean at least 15,000 fewer police officers. We would be focusing on cutting crime instead.

We did not support the Tory-led Government's policy of Police and Crime Commissioners, because we believe the £100 million plus cost of bringing them in would be better spent on frontline policing. But now that these elections are happening we know that the issues of crime and policing are too important to stay silent - we cannot leave communities to Tory Police and Crime Commissioners who will

merely be cheerleaders for Government cuts.

The Party feels strongly that Labour Police and Crime Commissioners must stand up for the victims of crime and anti-social behaviour. Submissions received and discussions had at the NPF meeting show that we believe in strong partnership working with police, local people and councils to tackle and prevent crime – to be tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime. They must work to keep police on the beat with neighbourhood policing, not hand it over to private companies or leave it only to PCSOs, and to recognise the important role of police support staff. Their pledge to back a strong and swift response to anti-social behaviour reflects the fact that this issue is a key priority for Labour.

### Keeping people safe

Labour believes that everyone should be able to feel safe in their home, at work and in their communities. With Labour crime fell by 43 per cent and the chance of being a victim of crime was at a historically low level. We want crime to keep falling; that's why Labour believes in protecting frontline policing, because keeping police on the beat is the best way of keeping our neighbourhoods safe.

The Tory-led Government's policing cuts will lead to the loss of at least 15,000 police officers and thousands of police staff. The Party feels strongly that despite Tory promises, these cuts are having an impact on frontline policing and alongside cuts to youth services and crime prevention projects are putting safety at risk.

The Commission has examined the issue of violence against women and like many members of the public and the Party we have been appalled by some of the Tory-led Government's action in this area. This includes attempting to introduce anonymity for rape suspects, making it harder to claim legal aid in cases of domestic violence, weakening the network of specialist domestic violence courts and, as a result of too far too

fast cuts to local government funding, we are seeing cuts in funding for refuges and specialist advice services.

In response to concerns that Tory policies are not only disproportionately impacting upon women economically, but may be risking their safety too, Labour set up the 'Every Woman Safe Everywhere' consultation to look at the status of services which safeguard women's safety. Over the last year, we have heard from hundreds of people and organisations that the switching off of street-lighting and CCTV and cuts to thousands of police officers, including units that respond to 999 calls, mean many women are increasingly worried about their personal safety.

As well as preventative working, to keep communities safe we need a criminal justice system working on behalf of the people it serves and in which people can have confidence, and which is able to deliver effective punishment and reductions in re-offending.

With savage cuts to prisons and probation services, the Tory-led Government is making it harder by the day to undertake any meaningful rehabilitation of offenders and increasingly risking the safety of the public. Whilst prison is, and will remain the right place for the most serious, violent and dangerous offenders, for less serious crimes, community punishments are often more effective for punishing offenders and cutting re-offending. We support community sentences that effectively punish and reform appropriate offenders and in government we legislated on tougher community sentencing, so that people can see that crime is being tackled in their local area and that justice is being done.

The Government should be building on the measures Labour introduced, including on crime prevention, reducing re-offending and early intervention, new safeguards to protect women from violence, better treatment for the victims of crime and working to improve

safety for all. We must also examine the impact of alcohol-related crime and anti-social behaviour and the effect that can have on the safety of our communities.

### Immigration

Labour recognises the immense contribution that men and women coming from overseas have made to our country in many fields, and believes that not only is Britain's history one of a nation that has always been outward-looking and receptive to trade, ideas and the talents of others – but that our future must be too.

On asylum, Labour is proud that our country has a long tradition of providing a safe haven to those in need and we believe we must continue to provide a place of refuge for those fleeing persecution or violence abroad.

Submissions to the Commission and through New Politics, Fresh Ideas, highlighted concerns around the level of immigration, how it can affect communities, housing and jobs, and the unequal impact it can have. In the light of these concerns, while recognising that controlled immigration brings undoubted benefits to our country, and historically has benefited our economy and our society, Labour believes we need strong immigration controls that are fair and effective with tough robust action to keep our borders secure. Migrants coming to Britain to work should be able to support themselves, to contribute to and to benefit the economy. And the immigration system must manage the need for high skilled workers as well as the investment in our universities from international graduate students.

Labour in government introduced a points-based system and closed the route for unskilled non-EU workers. On illegal immigration, we made our borders more secure, closed bogus colleges and targeted unscrupulous bosses who employ workers illegally and fail to ensure legal minimum working standards or wages. But we have been clear that we should have

done more. We should have introduced the points-based system much earlier, implemented full transitional controls for new EU member states, and more should have been done to manage the impact of migration on communities, to ensure the benefits were shared equally, and to tackle exploitation where it occurred.

We need honesty and competence from this Government on immigration, yet instead we get tough rhetoric not matched by the reality on the ground. Last summer's border fiasco showed that people can't trust the Tory-led Government on border security. The Government is failing in its duty to tackle illegal immigration and since the election has made cuts to the UK Border Agency which will lead to the loss of over 5,000 staff, making it harder to combat illegal immigration, including the horrendous crime of people-trafficking, and to protect the security of our borders.

Their ill-thought through proposals to change the overseas domestic workers visa, which was introduced with cross-party support to protect domestic workers, threaten the prevention of modern-day slavery, and shamefully target and scapegoat a small group of workers who are most vulnerable to exploitation.

We need a grown-up debate about immigration. That means acknowledging we made some mistakes, showing we understand people's concerns and recognising that, though there were benefits to immigration, they were not equally shared. Above all, we must understand that to deal with people's concerns on immigration, we must change our economy so that it works for working people and doesn't accept any exploitation. Labour is determined to listen to our members and the wider public and have an honest conversation on this issue. Only by debating this issue can we ensure the right balance of controlled, strong, fair and effective measures and prevent the politics of hate employed by those parties who wish to cause division and fear.

## Building a fairer society

Labour is the party of equality. We believe that discrimination and inequality on the basis of race, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, gender identity, religion, belief or social class has no place in the 21st century. Labour will always put promoting equality at the heart of our policies, and will work to ensure equality for all. When Labour was in government, action against discrimination and to advance equality made a major difference across the country.

The Commission has heard concerns on a wide range of equalities issues.

In our conversations with the public, we have heard how the Tory-led Government's policies are hitting women hard. Women are bearing a disproportionate burden of the Tory-led Government's attack on family finances. £11.1 billion of the £14.9 billion raised through tax, benefit, pay and pension changes are being shouldered by women. Long-term unemployment amongst women reached its highest level in 20 years with over a million women unemployed. Maternity rights face attack, whilst rising childcare costs are making it even more difficult for women to choose to work.

We are also very concerned about the impact of the Government's economic policies, the recession, and high levels of unemployment in many black, Asian and minority ethnic communities. For example the evidence shows a particularly big increase in unemployment among young black men, yet the Government is not doing enough to tackle this problem.

Concerns have been raised that the Government's welfare changes are unfairly hitting disabled people. The negative language and perceptions that surround this has also been raised as a serious concern, with worries over a rise in disability hate crime. The issues of ageism and economic inequality were also raised.

More than one million young people unemployed is undermining fairness across all communities.

The Tory-led Government's cuts go too far, too fast and risk reductions in the capacity of equality support organisations, and serious concern has been raised at the watering down of Labour's Equality Act and its inclusion in the Government's Red Tape Challenge almost immediately after it came into force. The Government's policies are also having an impact on the effectiveness and capacity of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, including reductions in both staff and funding.

The Labour Party strongly supports same sex marriage. People who love each other and want to make a long term commitment to each other should be able to get married. As a society we should support and celebrate that commitment. Labour also believes that the Government should go further than they currently plan and allow religious organisations who want to celebrate same sex marriage the chance to do so.

As we challenge the Tory-led Government's reckless policies that have failed on jobs, growth and the deficit, Labour will develop policies that will deliver for all. Labour will also ensure that furthering equality is considered in every aspect of the Labour Party's policy-making process.

# Education and Skills Policy Commission Annual report

## Education and Skills Policy Commission

### Membership 2011/2012

#### Shadow Cabinet

**Kevin Brennan MP**  
**Sharon Hodgson MP**  
**Shabana Mahmood MP<sup>†</sup>**  
**Stephen Twigg MP - Co-convenor<sup>\*</sup>**

#### National Executive Committee

**Luke Akehurst**  
**Paddy Lillis**  
**Callum Munro**  
**Mary Turner - Co-convenor<sup>§</sup>**

#### National Policy Forum

**Bex Bailey**  
**Angela Cornforth**  
**Georgia Elliott**  
**Bill Esterson MP**  
**John Hannett**  
**Stephanie Peacock**  
**James Valentine**

<sup>\*</sup>replaced Rt Hon Andy Burnham MP, October 2011

<sup>†</sup>replaced Gareth Thomas MP, October 2011

<sup>§</sup>replaced Keith Birch, November 2011

## Policy development

**At the 2010 Annual Conference the Education and Skills Policy Commission held a seminar that was attended by Shadow Secretary of State Ed Balls and Shadow Ministers Vernon Coaker, Iain Wright and David Lammy along with Commission representatives. The seminar gave conference delegates the opportunity to talk to the Commission on how we would seek to build on Labour's record of investment and reform in early years, schools, skills, universities, science and research. Conference delegates who attended the seminar raised other issues such as Labour's response to the scrapping of Building Schools for the Future and the Government's academies and free schools policy.**

The Education and Skills Policy Commission looks at the whole of education policy, starting with childcare and the early years, and then moving on to primary and secondary education, including areas such as the curriculum. The Commission also discusses the opportunities that are available for young people post 16 which includes routes into employment such as apprenticeships, further and secondary education as well as how to tackle the growing number of young people who are unemployed or classified as not in education, employment or training (NEET).

At the 2011 Annual Conference the Education and Skills Policy Commission held a seminar titled "The British Promise: Education, Culture and Creativity". This seminar was attended by Commission representatives along with the Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport Ivan Lewis and members of the frontbench teams. There was also a Conference floor session focusing on education which included speeches by the Shadow Secretary of State for Education Andy Burnham, Yvonne Sharples, the head teacher of Parklands High School in Liverpool and Andrew Chubb, the Principle of the Archbishop Sentamu Academy in Hull.

The policy seminar was very well attended with many contributions from the assembled delegates. Key issues raised included academies, apprenticeships, Building Schools for the Future, Education Maintenance Allowance, free schools, governors, NEET

statistics, phone hacking, prison education, the Pupil Premium, regional investment and youth unemployment amongst other subjects.

In October, the Policy Commission met to focus on school structures and types of schools. The Commission welcomed Sir Bruce Liddington, Director General of E-Act and Chris Keates, General Secretary of NASUWT who addressed the meeting, which was focused mainly on the expansion of academies and the opening of free schools. The Commission discussed the approach Labour would take on the introduction of free schools and how schools can forge better partnerships with universities and colleges.

When the Policy Commission met in November, representatives focused on 14-19 Education and Training. The Commission welcomed Graham Lane, the UK representative on the European Lifelong Learning Commission who addressed the meeting. The Commission went on to discuss different curriculum models, including the English Baccalaureate which is being expanded by the Department for Education.

In January the Commission discussed issues relating to Higher Education and Tuition Fees. The Commission's guest speaker was Liam Burns, President of the NUS, who addressed the meeting and discussed the introduction of Further Education loans and the Higher Education white paper.

The Commission received a number of submissions regarding the expansion of grammar schools. The Commission discussed Labour's support for this policy and reiterated our opposition to selective education at 11.

At this meeting the Commission agreed its work programme for 2012. The Commission's work programme reflects issues that are important to Labour Party members and addresses a variety of subjects such as further and higher education, the curriculum, quality of teaching and reducing the rate of youth unemployment.

In March the theme for the meeting was how can Labour build an education system that is fit for the 21st century? Dr Clare Kelly, Head of Programme at Goldsmiths University, who addressed the Commission and discussed the quality of teaching and the curriculum. The Commission discussed Stephen Twigg's consultation which focuses on 'the middle tier'. Stephen explained that the aim of this consultation is to address the increase in centralisation of power that occurs whenever a new academy or free school is opened. Stephen explained that there is an issue around how schools are held accountable by the communities they serve as the links with communities are being minimised due to the schools being managed directly by the Secretary of State for Education. The Commission asked a number of questions around the outcomes and processes that the consultation will follow and suggested amendments to the document which were implemented before it was published.

In March, the JPC agreed to commission each of the six Policy Commissions to draft a document setting out priority areas for policy development from its discussions to date and the Policy Review. At March's meeting, the Commission held an initial discussion on what the key topics should be for the policy consultation paper and decided what issues the document should focus on which were "the quality and accountability of schools",

"accessible and affordable education for all", "routes from education to employment" and "special educational needs".

In April, the Commission convened a conference call to discuss an initial draft of the Policy document, following this the draft document was revised to reflect that discussion, such as the introduction of a paragraph on further education loans and apprenticeships. That was then agreed by the JPC and made available to the Party for discussion.

At the National Policy Forum in June, the Education and Skills Commission hosted five seminars over the weekend. It was decided that there would be a specific workshop on Sunday to hold more in depth discussions on the most popular discussed subjects from each Commission. Therefore the discussion on a "the quality and accountability of schools" and "routes from education to employment" was taken forward for further discussion on the Sunday session.

During these seminars, representatives suggested that local communities were the largest stakeholders in schools, however their relationships with them have diminished. Academies and free schools are under no obligation to have a member of the local community as a school governor which stops the community from playing an active role in the school's life.

A section focusing on routes from education to work was added. This includes the areas of careers advice, further and higher education as well as the growing issue of youth unemployment and young people being classified as NEET. Suggestions from NPF representatives included the need for careers advice to be independent and of a high quality. The issue of increasing financial barriers young people now face throughout their educational development was also added to the document.

The Policy Commission met in June to discuss how schools can have the freedom to innovate and raise standards whilst also being accountable to local communities. The guest speaker was David Albury, who is a Director at the social enterprise Innovation Unit. David was asked questions on how the Ofsted framework could be amended to cater for new innovative skills and at what age young people should start sitting exams. The Commission conversed about how best practice of innovation in education across the world could be adopted by schools throughout Britain.

The Commission went on to discuss the creation of the Childcare Commission, which is being chaired by Stephen Twigg as part of Labour's Policy Review. This working group will focus on the issues surrounding the cost and quality of childcare, and will be listening to hardworking families across the country by hosting a number of discussion events. The group will feed back their findings to the Commission.

The Commission also discussed the recent NPF event in Birmingham, noted that those in attendance enjoyed the weekend and thought the discussion was a very useful and thought provoking. The Commission reviewed the comments from the seminars and added text to the document reflecting some suggestions as to how accountability between schools and communities can be strengthened. Another section was added to the document to reflect the discussion on the proposal by the Government to allow school operators to make a profit. Members told us that any income received by schools that is not spent should be reinvested into educating students, not paying dividends to shareholders.

## Current issues

### Schools

In England there are 13 different types of schools, for example community, voluntary-aided and academies, which operate to varying amounts of local accountability. By 2015 there will be thousands of schools that will be directly accountable to the Secretary of State for Education. In addition to this, under this Government the first grammar school extension will be opened since the 1960s.

The centralisation of our schools system is not sustainable, nor is it welcome. The Labour Party held a consultation between April and September entitled 'Devolving Power in Education: School Freedom and Accountability'. This is intended to debate ideas for improving local accountability of schools. While the Government want schools to only be accountable to Whitehall, Labour wants schools to be accountable to local parents, teachers, pupils and families.

While structures are important, the critical ingredients to raising educational standards are teaching and leadership. Sadly, the Government has too often labelled teachers as 'whingers' or the 'enemies of promise'. Labour wants to examine ways to improve the quality of teaching and school leadership by looking to international best practice, and spreading innovative ideas across England.

Teachers should be supported through high quality training, on-the-job development and progressive performance measures. In addition, we can learn from countries such as Japan, who enable effective collaboration between teachers. Finally, we should do more to raise the status of teaching so it is valued in the way it is in countries like Finland and Singapore.

Labour is examining innovative ways to improve social mobility. One policy area being considered is to develop 'speaking skills' amongst young people from an early age. Whether it is the ability to shine at a job or university interview, or simply in order to better participate in society, the skills of speaking, presenting and listening are critical to success. Labour has published a Policy Review discussion document on this area, with feedback being collated as a submission to the Policy Commission.

At a time when spending is reduced, it's important that we ensure capital funding and investment in schools is being channelled to areas that need it the most. Before the next General Election, nearly half a million more primary places will be required; however this Government continues to provide capital funding in areas where there is no demand for places.

The Government has pursued pet projects, such as free schools. While some of these schools will be excellent, many are in areas where there is neither a demand from parents nor a need for new places. The Government is failing to develop policies that benefit the many not the few.

School food is an important element of the school environment. Many experts have completed reviews into the current provision in schools and all agree that meals need to be healthier and more appealing. However instead of adopting this approach, this Government has decided to commission another expensive inquiry. Additionally, academies and free schools are not required to follow the same regulations on school food as state schools leading to a system where some young people are being provided with healthy food and others are not.

The Government wants to take the school curriculum back to the 1950s by scrapping GCSEs and replacing them with O-levels and CSEs. Parents have told us through submission

that they want reassurance that the new system will enable all children to progress and for it to be wide enough to benefit skilled and vocational qualifications. We should not return to a two-tier exam system where children are divided at age 14.

The Commission does not believe that schools should follow different regulations. A future Labour government should ensure a level playing field is operating for all students and that there is no expansion of selective education at 11 years old. The Commission would like to see a robust, rigorous and broad curriculum, and an exam system that is trusted by parents, pupils and employers. Many submissions to the Commission have called for a curriculum that will help young people succeed in the modern world, where students receive a broad education not a narrow one.

Labour wants to see evidence put at the heart of education policy making. The Commission supports Stephen Twigg's call for an 'Office of Educational Improvement' to be developed along the lines of the Office for Budgetary Responsibility. This would be responsible for ensuring new policy is based on the best available research, instead of the current Government's dogmatic approach.

### Opportunities for young people

The Government's failed economic policies have left more than a million young people unemployed. The hope that all young people should be able to aspire to affordable access to education or training after school, a job, and a life that is at least as good as that which their parents enjoyed seems painfully precarious.

The ladder of opportunity for the next generation is being kicked away, with no plan for jobs and growth, and cuts that go too far too fast leaving many of the services that support young people at risk.



Youth services have taken a disproportionate cut as the public spending cuts have led to less availability of good quality careers advice. Parents and young people have made submissions to the Commission regarding the removal of the Educational Maintenance Allowance putting financial barriers in front of young people which stop many from furthering their educational attainment and from fulfilling their potential. On top of this, only eight per cent of companies in the UK are offering apprenticeship places, and even among the largest companies only one in five offer positions. That is why Labour has said that we would make sure that companies taking on large public sector contracts must provide apprenticeship places.

The Education and Skills Policy Commission believes that education can be a great lever to help young people achieve, and prevent them falling into criminality and anti-social behaviour. The cornerstone of future Labour policy should be the focus on ensuring the next generation have the opportunities to reach for greater achievements than their parents and grandparents could. The Policy Commission will focus on Labour's plans for services for young people, and will aim to develop policies that improve the quality of youth services and supports young people to achieve their goals while protecting and focusing on the future UK economic requirements.

The Labour Party are also looking at ways to harness the values of teamwork and leadership that exist in our armed forces for the benefit of young people in education. Ideas such as 'service schools' which may involve ex-forces or reservists coming into teaching as well as developing specialisms such as outdoor sports and history. Cadet forces can help young people develop better self-esteem and confidence in a structured environment, and former service personnel could become mentors in our schools. Labour has published a Policy Review discussion document on this subject in order to encourage discussion and feedback which will be used as a submission to

the Policy Commission.

We are also considering a number of ideas to strengthen the provision of youth services and co-locate them within schools. As well as providing the best use of resources, school-based youth clubs can provide a 'safe haven' for young people. Labour has published a Policy Review discussion document on this subject in order to harness wider views on this area. Feedback is being welcomed and will be submitted to the Policy Commission for consideration as future Labour Party policy.

### FE Loans

The Government is planning to withdraw the support it currently offers for people aged 24 and over taking A-level equivalent courses and above while introducing a system of loans for FE Students. These could be as much as £4,000 per year. Course fees are expected to rise dramatically as colleges look to recoup the money they will lose from Government cuts which are too far and too fast.

Around 390,000 people were enrolled in courses of this level in 2010/11, which means these changes will have a very real and damaging effect on social mobility and individuals' career and job prospects. Many of those studying at this level those who have missed out on these opportunities first time round, sending a message that young people have only one opportunity in life to get the qualifications they are capable of achieving.

The Commission has received submissions that highlight peoples concerns that the pace of these changes risks a huge fall in participation and will deliver a blow to future economic growth prospects. The Commission believe that the Government should think again and aim to support those who want to develop their skills and knowledge – not restrict them by placing barriers in their path.

### Tuition fees

The decision by the Government to treble tuition fees to £9,000 is hitting young people and their aspirations hard. UK applications to further and higher education institutes have fallen. Young people have sent submissions to the Commission which say that they are being put off advancing their education due to the increased debt burden and the fact that they will be paying off the debt for most of their working lives.

Labour has set out an alternative policy on tuition fees, proposing to reverse the corporation tax cut for banks and use the money to help cut fees to a maximum of £6,000.

The Policy Commission believes investing in skills and knowledge must be a priority for the next Labour Government, and that the path chosen by this Government will restrict opportunity and damage the future of our economy.

### Children and early years

Parents are facing a triple whammy on childcare, with costs rising, places falling and the support they receive from the Government through tax credits being slashed, making it harder for parents to get back into employment. At the same time, instead of helping families during tough times, this out of touch Tory-led Government is giving a tax cut of over £40,000 to millionaires.

Sure Start centres have closed, many others have been cleared out leaving just a shell of a building and the number of hours of provision has dropped, leaving many families in hardship and without a flexible service near to their home or employment.

Submissions to the Commission have stated that childcare must be a priority for the next Labour government and steps

should be taken to ensure that provision is accessible and affordable for all. Many Labour Party members have told us through their submissions that they would like to see funding for Sure Start Children's Centres to be protected and for centres to play a central role within communities once again. Labour has established a Childcare Commission as part of the Policy Review to examine ways in which we can make childcare more affordable while ensuring a quality service, but looking at best practice at home and in other countries such as in Sweden and Finland.

### Submissions

All of those who have made submissions have received an acknowledgment letter and a copy of Making Policy, a briefing which explains how policy is made in the party and shows how party stakeholders can best engage on policy development work. Submissions are considered by Policy Commission as part of their regular schedule of meetings. In addition, submissions made in response to the policy consultation documents published in May 2012 were considered at the Summer meeting of the National Policy Forum.

Over the past year the Education and Skills Policy Commission has received submissions on the following subjects:

- Academies
- Advocates e-learning
- Ambitions for Britain's Future
- Apprenticeships
- August 2011 riots
- Changes to the qualification system
- Children's development
- Colleges
- Competitiveness at primary school level
- Curriculum
- Cuts to schools
- Diplomas
- Downhills School
- E-bacc and religious education
- Education and opportunities
- Education and the world economy

- Educational equality
- Educational welfare
- Education Maintenance Allowance
- ESOL and skills
- Exams
- Free schools
- Free school meals
- Funding for university education
- Further education
- Future of LEAs under the present Government
- Governors
- Graduate tax
- Grammar schools
- Healthy school meals
- Higher education
- Independent schools
- Industrial action by teachers
- KS2 SATs
- Life skills for children
- Newly qualified teachers (NQTs)
- Overseas students
- Poland's investment in IT university
- Primary education
- Provision of free lunches during vacation periods
- Qualified teachers
- Quality of teachers
- Research into homophobic bullying
- SATs results
- Schools admissions policy
- School buildings
- Secondary education
- Selection for top universities
- Skills in the electrical industry
- Student debts
- Special Needs Education
- Teachers' working conditions
- Teachers' contracts
- Top-up fees
- Tory policies on the NHS and education
- Tuition fees
- University of Wales
- University system for graduating dentists
- Vocational education
- Westcott Primary School
- Youth unemployment

## Education and Skills Policy Commission

### Annex: 2011/12 Policy document

David Cameron promised to change Britain for the better, but the truth is that this Tory-led Government is making it harder, not easier, for parents and students in the modern world to get ahead.

Labour is changing to ensure we can deliver an education system which meets the needs of all students and helps all young people fulfil their potential. We would take different decisions, changing the education system to ensure it is focused on the need for high quality, accessible and affordable education in Britain, and we aim to build a system that rewards hard work and supports the skills and abilities of all.

Our young people have immense potential but they depend on an excellent education system to help them make the most of their talents. Labour will ensure our schools are fit for 21st century learning, teach a rigorous curriculum, are staffed by teachers who are motivated and inspirational, and offer robust qualifications to suit the interests and ambitions of every child.

Since coming to power the Tory-led Government has cut too far, too fast - hitting young people and families hard. The poorest and most vulnerable have been hit the hardest by cuts to Sure Start provision, the cancellation of EMA, increases to the cost of further and higher education and cuts in the Reading Recovery programme.

### The quality and accountability of schools

If Labour were in government we would not have passed the legislation to create free schools, however we also acknowledge that some of these schools will be successful and will provide a high standard of education.

Through our discussions with the public we have been told that the rapid expansion of academies and the creation of free schools present a potential negative effect on accountability, school budgets, planning of school places and the chances open to the most vulnerable children.

Labour will hold to account the Tory-led Government whose education policies are causing concern to parents and educators throughout the sector.

Academies and free schools are not required to adhere to the same regulations as state schools. Therefore, these schools are not required to support low-performing neighbouring state schools. We have heard through submissions that as the Government continues to convert high performing schools to academies, it is creating a vacuum in some areas where this essential link so often improves school performance. However, we also recognise that many academies are promoting innovation and providing support to other schools in their communities.

The Government has removed all aspects of local accountability from academies and free schools by making them directly accountable to the Secretary of State for Education. Submissions have suggested a number of ways in which the link between communities and schools can be strengthened, including the establishment of elected admission forums, or by creating committees similar to health and wellbeing boards which would focus on community links with schools. Labour is consulting on how a future Labour government would devolve more powers to local communities.

Elsewhere, the Government has relaxed the legislation covering the expansion of grammar schools. Existing grammar schools can now apply to open a 'satellite school' to increase their student intake and in doing so increase selection at age 11. Labour does not believe that academic selection at 11 is the best way to

give all young people the best start in life and therefore we do not support this action.

The Government have said that they are keen to allow school operators to become profit makers, emulating Sweden's model of free schools, whereby the schools operate as businesses. Labour believes that any operating surplus in school budgets should be invested into educating children and not paying a dividend to shareholders.

The structure of schools is an important element to raising educational attainment, but the biggest influence is the quality of teaching in classrooms. We need to continue to raise teaching skills across the profession, alongside supporting the best teachers. We cannot afford a situation where good teachers are lost to the profession because they feel victimised by the Government – as many teachers have told us is happening currently. Submissions to the Education and Skills Policy Commission tell us that teachers need to continue their personal development to ensure that they keep on top of teaching trends, while developing into the next generation of school leaders. Labour will ensure that teachers feel valued and the teaching profession offers a challenging and rewarding career.

The Commission has also discussed how capital funding and investment in new schools is not being channelled to areas most in need. Instead, many free schools are being funded to open in areas where good schools with surplus places already exist. Before the next General Election, nearly half a million more primary school places will be required to meet demand - the equivalent of 2,000 full primary schools. Every young person deserves to be taught in a school with classrooms fit for the 21st century

### Accessible and affordable education for all

Under this Government families are struggling to afford childcare, many Sure Start centres are closing or scaling back their services and the cost of attending further and higher education institutions has soared. All this is against a backdrop of schools struggling to offer quality education with far less money and families needing to adapt their lives to the squeeze on living standards. In submissions to the Policy Commission, accessibility and affordability have been raised frequently. Members are concerned that access to quality education is being increasingly denied to those from poorer backgrounds and that the affordable childcare and early years education offered through Sure Start centres is at risk from cuts.

In tough times Labour is working to develop education policies that deliver top quality education for children of all ages, in all areas, by targeting funding more smartly and fairly than this Government. In education as elsewhere it is crucial that we explore effective, evidence-based methods of driving up standards which are also cost-efficient.

The Educational Maintenance Allowance supported many young people in their further education. Since its abolition by the Tory-led Government, we have heard that many young people are struggling to continue their training due to financial constraints. This is a barrier that could stop the next generation from fulfilling their potential. Through the Policy Review and the National Policy Forum, Labour will look at ways it can support these young people to continue their education and training.

Party members have told us that it is essential that early years education is fully accessible to families from the birth of their child through to the start of primary education. This not only helps parents gain or stay in employment, it provides a great start to the child's

education. Labour will ensure that early years education will be linked to the child's primary school to ensure there is a transition between the early years education and the foundation/reception stage of the education curriculum.

### Routes from education to employment

Youth unemployment is at its highest ever level, the number of young people characterised as not in education, employment or training (NEET) is rising, competition between young people in the job market is fierce and university tuition fees have tripled. This is at a time when the Government is overhauling the careers service and it is as yet unclear what resources and services schools will have to offer their students. The uncertainty around this and the gap between the scrapping of Connexions and the new system being put in place is causing concern for schools and careers professionals across the country.

The Government has placed financial barriers stopping young people from attending higher and further education. These include increasing the cost of studying courses at level 3 or below and tripling the cost of tuition fees. Labour would ensure that further and higher education is affordable and available to anyone who wants to improve their life chances, gain employment or find a better job.

The decision by the Government to downgrade the Engineering Diploma from being worth five GCSEs to just one was a strong message to young people that this Government considers vocational qualifications to be second class in comparison to university qualifications. Labour recognises that university is not the only pathway to success and would look to ensure that vocational courses are held in the same high standard as qualifications gained from universities. High quality and accessible careers information, advice and guidance is crucial for making sure that all young people

know of the opportunities open to them. Labour knows that providing the right support can make the difference in young people lives by helping them to determine their future pathway.

Schools should have the freedom to choose the careers services they offer their students, but with depleted budgets they may be under pressure to procure the bare minimum from providers who do not offer the best quality. Effective careers advice, information and guidance are all the more important where young people don't receive guidance at home. In poorer areas, with poorly-performing schools, young people could miss out if schools are not held to account for the quality of careers advice given to their students. We welcome programmes like Future First which build alumni networks in our state schools.

Submissions to the Policy Commission raised the problem of the growing numbers of NEETs and what should be done to ensure these young people are encouraged to remain in education and training. A good example of this is the "Junior Assistants Programme" run by Labour controlled London Borough of Islington, which is helping 14-16 year olds in one of the most disadvantaged areas of the borough gain work experience before leaving school. We also need to ensure that there are suitable qualifications and opportunities open to all young people, including those that do not wish to pursue a purely academic route or go to university.

We should look at ways of increasing apprenticeship positions. Only eight per cent of companies in the UK offer apprenticeship places, and even among the largest companies only one in five do so. We will aim to build on our commitment to create new apprenticeships by ensuring every business that is awarded a large government contract must provide apprenticeship places for the next generation.

### Special Educational Needs

Local authorities are struggling to cope with the constant changes that this Tory-led Government is making to education policy and it is clear that the current model for special educational needs provision is not fit for purpose. Across the country local authorities are providing services at a variable level of quality.

Through the Policy Review, we have heard that accessing help and guidance on special educational needs can be a long and heart wrenching process. Battles between parents and local authorities in court are becoming more frequent, and parents have told us that the quality of the assistance provided is much lower now than it was prior to the General Election. The process of accessing help and support should not be as difficult as it currently is – this system needs to be simple and accessible to families.

Labour believes teachers require additional help and support to provide the best standard of education to pupils who have special educational needs. This could be in the form of continual personal development, or we could further develop the initial teaching training course.

# **Health Policy Commission Annual report**

## Health Policy Commission

### Membership 2011 - 2012

#### Shadow Cabinet

**Diane Abbott MP**  
**Rt hon Andy Burnham MP\*** – Co-convenor  
**Lord (Phil) Hunt†**  
**Liz Kendall MP**

#### National Executive Committee

**Keith Birch§** – Co-convenor  
**Johanna Baxter¶**  
**Rachel Maskell**  
**Dennis Skinner MP**

#### National Policy Forum

**Debbie Abrahams MP\*\***  
**Judith Blake**  
**Gail Cartmail**  
**Daniel Chapman**  
**Nick Forbes**  
**Sandra Samuels**  
**Martin Rathfelder**  
**Catherine West**

\* Replaced Rt. Hon John Healey MP, October 2011

† Replaced Glenys Thornton, November 2011

§ Replaced Norma Stephenson, November 2011

¶ replaced Mary Turner, November 2011

\*\* replaced Kevin Barron MP, November 2011

## Policy Development

**The Health Policy Commission is concerned with Labour's policy direction and thinking on health. It considers current issues, including investment in and reform of the National Health Service, developing the quality of service and patient experience in the NHS, improving public health and reforming social care. Areas for consideration currently include the Health and Social Care Act 2012, the social care crisis, public health and health inequalities.**

The 2011 Annual Conference Health Policy Commission seminar provided an opportunity for delegates to discuss a variety of issues with the Commission and shadow ministers. The seminar was attended by the then Shadow Secretary of State John Healey and shadow ministers Diane Abbott, Liz Kendall, Emily Thornberry and Glenys Thornton. Much of the discussion focussed on the Health and Social Care Act and Labour's current and previous health policy. There was also a wide ranging discussion on social care.

During the seminar, many delegates raised their concerns about the Tory-led Government's top-down reorganisation of the NHS and the impact it is having on the NHS. John Healey added that the Act will heavily fragment the NHS as a result of forced competition. In particular, Glenys Thornton discussed what Labour's approach would be when the legislation reaches the House of Lords. Conference also called upon the Party to focus on social care and in particular, issues that came out of Southern Cross and the role of private providers of social care.

In November, the Commission met to discuss health inequalities and public health commissioning and were joined by David Stout, Deputy Chief Executive of the NHS Confederation. November's meeting was also an opportunity to welcome new members and to thank outgoing members of the Commission. This was also the first meeting of the Commission following the appointment of Andy Burnham Shadow Secretary of State for Health. The Commission heard that on the ground the biggest problem faced by the NHS is financial pressures. The Commission also heard that if the big issues and challenges

are to be addressed, the medical profession, politicians and its stakeholders must be united and honest about the current situation faced by the NHS. The Commission received submissions which detailed concerns raised about the Government's legislation, such as privatisation and the impact it could have on specialised commissioning.

Throughout February and March, the Commission discussed and agreed its work programme for the year ahead. The work programme reflected key issues in health and social care which the Commission has heard about through submissions. It addresses a variety of issues - such as social care, mental health, democratic accountability and patient involvement in the NHS.

In March, the Commission met to discuss the 'Drop the Bill' campaign and the Health and Social Care Act. The Commission noted that ever since the Government published its White Paper and Health and Social Care Bill, Labour had led a national debate against the NHS reorganisation. Labour has consistently campaigned against the most destructive elements of the Act, for example, the role of Monitor, forced competition, fragmentation and the privatisation of NHS services. This is why Labour opposed the Act during its passage through the House of Commons and House of Lords, calling on the Government to 'Drop the Bill'. The Commission also noted the extensive campaigning undertaken locally and nationally by Party members, affiliates and trade unions. All of which culminated in a rally organised by the trade unions in March 2012 calling on the Government to drop the Bill.

The main topic for discussion at May's Commission meeting was mental health. The Commission heard from Sophie Corlett, Director of External Relations at Mind, and Patrick Vernon, Chief Executive of the Afya Trust. The Commission recognised that people's mental health is affected by many determinants and policies beyond the scope and control of the NHS which is why this meeting focussed on the wider impact of welfare, economic, employment and health policy. The Commission heard that mental health should be 'everybody's business' and that there should be better joined up policy development across government towards mental health. Concerns were raised that the Government's welfare reform agenda is causing huge amounts of distress and worry for those with mental health conditions.

The Commission also discussed the challenges in commissioning for mental health following the passage of the Health and Social Care Act. The Commission expressed concern that there will be much more pronounced regional variation in the quality and quantity of services.

June's meeting focused on social care. The Commission were joined by Sarah Pickup, President of the Association of Directors of Adult Social Services, Emily Holzhausen from Carers UK and Caroline Abrahams from Age UK. The Commission discussed a wide variety of issues related to social care, including the current care crisis, the quality of care, the needs of carers, the forthcoming Government White Paper, direct payments and the personalisation of services and the options for social care funding.

In March, the JPC commissioned each of the six policy commissions to draft a document setting out key themes for policy development and direction of travel identified from submissions and the Policy Review to date. These papers would form the basis for debate at June's National Policy Forum. The main aim of these documents was to facilitate

engagement from Party members, affiliates and the public. At March's Commission meeting, there was an initial discussion about the key topics that should be prioritised for consultation. The Commission felt that health inequalities, social care and the integration of health services were key topics.

In April, the Commission convened a telephone conference to discuss an initial draft of the paper; the draft document was then revised to reflect the views of the Commission. Following this, the draft documents were agreed by the JPC and were made available to the Party for discussion. The consultation received many submissions covering diverse topics from commissioning, public health, NHS funding, joint working between local government and the NHS, and social care.

In June, the National Policy Forum met in Birmingham. The discussions were based on the Policy Commissions' policy consultation papers. All submissions from members and CLPs were circulated to NPF representatives to inform their discussions. On Saturday, there were three health seminars which were all well attended. NPF representatives were able to raise points and discuss policy ideas with Andy Burnham, Shadow Secretary of State for Health and Liz Kendall, Shadow Minister for Care and older People. A variety of issues across health and social care were discussed. Following Saturday's workshops, representatives decided to focus on two issues that were seen as priorities. Representatives chose to further discuss the 'future funding of social care' and 'an integrated approach to care'.

Following the discussions that took place at NPF, the policy papers were then revised to reflect the issues prioritised by delegates. The document was amended to reflect consensus views, for example, many delegates spoke about the importance of good quality housing as a determinant of people's health and the need to ensure that the NHS places greater focus on prevention.

## Current Issues

### Health and Social Care Act

The Commission are disappointed that the Health and Social Care Act became law and believe that it threatens the NHS as we know it by opening the service up to a free market free-for-all, with creeping privatisation; it creates waste and inefficiency at a time when money is tight, introducing new layers of bureaucracy and complex new structures. At the same time, the reorganisation is creating upheaval across the NHS, disrupting the service and distracting professionals from the key task of delivering substantial efficiency savings without compromising patient care. The Commission have also heard a number of concerns from submissions about longer waiting times and services closing.

The Commission welcomed the announcement that a future Labour Government would undo the damage caused by the top-down reorganisation by repealing the parts of the Act that introduce the free market free for all, to ensure that integration, not competition is the focus of the NHS.

The Commission welcomed the launch of NHS Check which will allow staff and patients who are concerned about what's happening in the NHS to get in touch with Labour and tell us what they're seeing in hospitals, clinics and GP surgeries. The Commission is keen to work with NHS staff and patients everywhere to hold the Government account.

### Fragmentation and Integration

A cross-cutting theme across all of the Commission's discussions has been increased fragmentation of the NHS as a result of the Health and Social Care Act, and how we could ensure that health services are more integrated. The Commission noted that the current health system is ill suited to meet the demands of the

21st Century and the increasing complexity of care and health conditions that people are presenting with. People's core needs are met by three separate delivery systems of mental health, physical health and social care. The Commission discussed the suggestion that in order to focus services around the patient, there needs to be proper integration of mental health and physical health services as well as social care. The overriding theme of the Commission's discussions was greater integration and a greater emphasis on 'whole-patient' care.

Commission members discussed the need to integrate care around the patient; however, many also raised the challenges in achieving this. An overriding concern is the need to recognise that the NHS cannot address all determinants of people's health. The Commission have heard through submissions about the need for greater joint working within and beyond the NHS to help address health inequalities.

The Commission considered the idea that there needs to be a greater role for preventative care, and that the NHS needs to be a preventative not just a curative service. It was also felt that there needs to be more ways for people to access care, other than through general practice and pointed to the role that NHS Walk-in Centres and health visitors have played in increasing access, particularly hard to reach communities.

### Mental Health

The Commission have taken a keen interest in mental health and have examined the issue beyond the NHS. The Commission have heard through submissions that one in four of us will experience a mental health problem in our lifetime. Mental ill health is soon becoming one of the biggest challenges on society both economically and sociologically, costing the economy around £105 billion per annum. By 2030, the World Health Organization predicts

more people will be affected by depression than any other health problem.

People are living longer, more stressful and isolated lives. But public services are still, by and large, working on a post-war model. The Commission were concerned that there is a danger that tendency not to talk openly about mental health means we will be slow to make the changes we need to see.

The Commission's meeting in June examined the issue of mental health. The Commission considered that, if people are to receive the support they need from the NHS to live full and economically active lives, and if it is to be sustainable in the 21st century, then mental health must move from the edges to the centre of the NHS. People's physical health, social care and mental health should be shaped around the patient as opposed to three separate systems, as part of one vision for a modern health care system. Change in public services will only be successful if matched by a wider change in attitudes towards mental health. A country which has so often led the world in challenging discrimination needs to recognise that we have much to learn from other countries when it comes to the stigma of mental ill health.

### Social Care

Throughout the year, the Commission have expressed concern about social care. The Commission believes that the Government is completely out of touch with the scale of the care crisis, and that they are dragging their feet on reform. The Commission noted that in 2010 the Government promised to legislate on a new legal and financial framework for social care in this Parliamentary session. Yet the Queen's Speech only committed to publishing draft legislation on reforming social care law alone. The Commission has received many submissions on the issue of social care and the care crisis.

There is a growing care crisis in Britain and the system has now reached breaking point. More than £1 billion has been cut from local council adult social care budgets since the Tory-led Government came to power. Fewer older people are getting the care they need; more are ending up going to, or getting stuck in hospital or more expensive residential care.

Eight-out-of-ten councils are now only providing care for older people with substantial or critical needs and charges are also increasing emphasising the post-code lottery in social care. Labour recently highlighted the huge differences in the prices that people pay for their care, dependent on where they live. The survey found that the average charge for an hour of home care has increased by ten per cent between 2009/10 and 2012/13 – from £12.29 to £13.61.

This increase in home care charges means the average annual cost for an older or disabled person who pays for 10 hours home care a week has increased by over £680 since 2009/10. Some councils limit or 'cap' the weekly costs people are required to pay for home care. This cap varies from £90 a week in Barnsley to £900 a week in Brighton and Hove. Almost half of the councils who reported having a cap on home care charges in 2009/10 have now removed it. Forty-six per cent have increased their cap and six per cent have frozen it.

The Commission have discussed social care throughout the year but June's Commission meeting focused on the subject in more detail, where the Commission heard from a number of expert speakers. The Commission noted that whilst many local authorities were doing their best to reconfigure local services and change the way they deliver services, many were under strain and near or at breaking point.



The Commission felt that although funding is a key issue, it mustn't be seen in isolation to other issues such as quality of care. The Commission have discussed how a future system could be funded, taking into account submissions which have proposed a range of solutions. Views ranged from a system that is free at the point of access, funded out of general taxation to a system that is part subsidised or based on an insurance system. There was a general view among the Commission that a system funded by general taxation, would be very challenging to deliver. The Commission have also discussed a social care funding model based on the proposed the National Care Service.

Commission members have also expressed concerns about the role of private providers of social care and the quality of care provided. We have heard that some private care home operators are making a profit from caring for the elderly while providing poor quality care and exploiting poorly paid and trained staff, Southern Cross being an example of what can go wrong. The Commission felt that whilst not all private care home operators operate in this manner, it is an issue that needs to be further discussed to encourage fairness, security and quality within the system. The Commission acknowledged the importance of a trained and well paid workforce, noting that many who work in this area are often women on, or even below, the national minimum wage.

Labour has called for legislation on a new system for funding social care in this Parliament which is why we initiated cross-party talks on the future of social care funding. The Commission believe that the Government must act urgently and decisively, so that the care system delivers dignity and peace of mind for older and disabled people and their families.

## Submissions

All of those who have made submissions have received an acknowledgment letter and a copy of Making Policy, a briefing which explains how policy is made in the party and shows how party stakeholders can best engage on policy development work. Submissions are considered by Policy Commission as part of their regular schedule of meetings. In addition, submissions made in response to the policy consultation documents published in May 2012 were considered at the Summer meeting of the National Policy Forum.

Over the past year the Health Policy Commission has received submissions on the following subjects:

- An alternative for health care
- Bodmin Community Hospital
- Bupa's push for open referral
- Campaign for a National Carers Charter
- Care homes and pensions
- Care provision
- Care Services
- Caring for the elderly and disabled
- Changes to the NHS before the Health and Social Care bill became law
- Closure of day care centres
- Compensation for infections caught in hospitals
- Cuts to social care
- Dementia
- Dental care
- Diabetics driving
- Doctor's salaries
- E-cigarettes and tobacco harm reduction
- Emergency services
- Eye hospitals
- Foundation Trusts
- Free health care
- Gay and bisexual men donating blood
- General Practitioners
- GP Commissioning
- Health and Social Care Act and Risk Registers
- Health and Social Care Bill
- Health care and immigration

- Health insurance for travellers from abroad
- Healthy food for school children
- Hip replacements
- Hitchingbrooke Hospital and privatisation
- Incapacity benefit and mental illness
- Industrial Disease and the LASPO bill
- Keeping the NHS free at the point of need
- Life expectancy for elderly people moved to care homes
- Lung cancer
- NHS constitution and National Health Service regulations
- NHS procurement
- NHS provision for mentally disabled children
- NHS reform legislation
- Nurses undertaking medicals
- Opposition to NHS Surgery Closure
- Organ donation
- Pensions for nurses
- Pharmaceutical industry
- PiP implants
- Postcode lottery and health care services provision
- Private contractors in the NHS
- Public health
- Residential care
- Retirement age for paramedics
- Smoking and tobacco companies
- Social care and tax
- Social services
- St James Hospital for investigation and comment
- Support for deaf children
- The costs of alcohol to the NHS
- The Royal Brompton Hospital
- Treatment of dyslexia on the NHS
- University system for graduating dentists
- Vaccinations for NHS
- Waiting times
- Winterbourne View Care Home

**Health Policy Commission**  
**Annex: 2011/12 Policy document**

Labour is changing to ensure that, even in tough times when there is less money around, we can still deliver for families. In health this means building a health and care system which is fit for the 21st century. We need to deliver change in the way we approach health – this means a whole-person approach to care that integrates social, mental and physical health care - a service which is preventative, not just curative. This whole person care approach will be the starting point for Labour's policy review.

The National Health Service is the Labour Party's greatest achievement. We created it, we saved it, we value it and we will always support it. The NHS remains Britain's most cherished public service and the fairest system of healthcare in the world. The NHS embodies our values of fairness and social justice and for over 60 years it has been the embodiment of what it means to be British. We will always put the NHS first.

With Labour, the NHS will always be a comprehensive universal health service, free at the point of need. The NHS in the future needs to focus more on integrating and shaping services around people and families, so that it can be better equipped to meet the future demands of an ageing population and help tackle health inequalities. It needs to be an NHS that places patients, staff and professionals at its heart, helping people to stay healthy, and live longer, healthier lives.

### An integrated approach to care

It is essential that we enhance the NHS for the next generation. Changing demands require organisations involved in providing services to work together to better understand the needs of patients and the public in order to deliver the kind of services they require. One in four people are likely to experience a mental health problem. Good mental health services are a key part of a modern, preventative and people-centred NHS. Early intervention,

prevention, and the promotion of better mental health and well-being across the entire population, within an integrated health system is vital for a healthy society.

In order to provide a whole-person approach to care, the ways by which the NHS provides services in the future will require greater integration and collaboration both within the NHS and with other sectors. Our core health needs are currently met by three separate delivery systems which treat our physical health, mental health and social care needs separately. Many demands on the NHS cannot be met and tackled by the NHS alone. Therefore, it is crucial that health should not be treated in isolation and should inform cross-government policy making. However, the Government's Health and Social Care Act, creates fragmentation, rather than the integration that future needs demand.

People are living longer, and the numbers of people living with long-term conditions, chronic disease and experiencing mental health problems is increasing. As a result, the NHS is increasingly addressing complex problems for which its traditional structures are ill-suited. There needs to be a decisive shift to a model of care that prioritises prevention and early intervention, provides care closer to home and services that are more personalised. A greater focus needs to be placed on primary care extending access to care, for example looking at the role that NHS Walk-in Centres and multidisciplinary teams can play in extending access beyond general practice.

To ensure that the NHS is fit for the future, integration needs to be firmly placed at the heart of the health system. Families need a single point of contact through which all of a person's needs can be co-ordinated. A single unit that is responsible for commissioning for all the treatments and services that an individual requires. Representatives welcomed this focus on integration and the whole-person approach to care but recognised the challenges to be worked through.

There is also recognition that there needs to be further discussion about service reconfigurations and the role the hospital can play in integrating services – for example, looking at how hospitals can be incentivised to integrate services and provide more services in the community to prevent people, particularly the elderly from being admitted into hospital in the first place.

### Social care

Delivering a whole-person approach that integrates social, mental and physical health means that Labour will need to transform the care and support systems for older and disabled people.

As with health inequalities and public health, social care is an issue that is affected by policies across a number of areas beyond the NHS, for example, housing and welfare. One of the biggest challenges facing Britain today is reforming the system of social care so it is fit and fair to serve our ageing population. Transforming social care and the support for their families and carers is a top priority for Labour.

This requires thinking about the kind of services that people want and how we are going to pay for those services – for example, thinking about how we could provide more care in people's homes. Although funding is a key issue, it must not be seen in isolation to other issues such as quality of care. Enabling dignity and choice for older people is also important.

We must address two major problems. We need to deal with the existing care crisis, and we need to come up with a system of funding social care that is sustainable in the long term. There also needs to be greater emphasis on early intervention to ensure that older people can live independently. Access to good quality housing is important so that older people can continue to be supported to live in their own

homes, for example, we should look at the ExtraCare model of which has enabled older people to live independently.

The most pressing issue is the immediate and growing care crisis in our social care system, which is now close to breaking point as a result of this Government's cuts, which go too far, too fast. Local council funding is being cut heavily and social care accounts for a significant proportion of local authority budgets. As a result, many local authorities are having to cut services and support for older and vulnerable people. The Government deny that there is a care crisis and insist that there is no need for local authorities to cut services. We know that this is not the case, The King's Fund, the Association of Directors of Adult Social Services and the Government's own figures show that more than £1 billion has been cut from adult social care budgets and eight out of ten councils are now only providing care for those with substantial or critical need leading to a post-code lottery in access to care.

Whilst we should celebrate the fact that we are living longer, social care needs are changing rapidly, and demand for services is increasing as the population ages, and many people are living with long term care needs. The NHS and social care sectors need to work with those who use, work in and are involved in social care provision to determine what kind of services should be provided. Too many older and disabled people live in isolation and neglect, either at home or in poorly equipped and understaffed care institutions. The basic Labour principles of fairness, security, opportunity and dignity should underpin our priorities for older and disabled people. We must also ensure that rigorous safeguards are in place to protect the interests of older and disabled people.

How we fund social care is critical to the type of system that we want, it is clear that the solution isn't simple but inaction from the Tory-led Government is exacerbating the

crisis. Options range from an insurance based system to a system paid for out of general taxation – similar to the NHS. However, whatever system that is put in place needs to be accompanied by a change in attitude towards social care where people are engaged before ‘crisis points’, where it can often be too late to plan ahead effectively.

The Government commissioned Andrew Dilnot to develop proposals for funding provision on a sustainable basis. Andrew Dilnot’s Commission calls for a ‘cap’ on the overall amount people pay for their care. Dilnot recommended that an individual’s lifetime contributions towards their social care costs should be between £25,000 and £50,000, but considered £35,000 to be the most appropriate and fair figure.

The Dilnot Commission also proposes increasing the current means-tested threshold above which individuals have to pay for their care - from £23,350 to £100,000. It also insists on clear, standardised national criteria to determine which services people are entitled to, to help tackle the post-code lottery. Dilnot, however, does not provide the full answer and only forms part of the solution. There are other ways of funding care, for example, personal care is available without charge for everyone in Scotland aged 65 and over who have been assessed by their local authority as needing it.

While addressing the problem of funding care we also need to tackle the provision of care, learning the lessons from recent care scandals, and the outrage of the collapse of Southern Cross due to irresponsible investment decisions by remote and unaccountable fund managers seeking quick profit rather than a caring ethos. Labour believes we need a new deal for care providers alongside a new financial settlement. We also need to look at the training and regulation of care workers so that all involved are protected and are fairly rewarded, for example, by promoting the work that Labour Councils have undertaken in implementing

a living wage. In addition to the work that formal carers undertake, Labour needs to look at the role that carers play and whether the welfare system enables people to provide care and continue to live a balanced life.

### The Health and Social Care Act

The Health and Social Care Act, threatens the NHS as we know it. It opens the service up to a free market free-for-all, with creeping privatisation; it creates waste and inefficiency at a time when money is tight, introducing new layers of bureaucracy and complex new structures. At the same time, the reorganisation is creating upheaval across the NHS, disrupting the service and distracting professionals from delivering services more efficiently and the key task of delivering substantial efficiency savings, without compromising patient care.

A future Labour Government would need to undo the damage caused by this top-down reorganisation by repealing the Act. Members have told us that the NHS needs stability; we would therefore not impose another top-down reorganisation but would ask some of the organisations created by the Act to work differently. Changes would ensure that collaboration and integration, not competition is the focus of the NHS, ensuring that the NHS works within a framework of cooperation and integration.

Health reforms must be based on strong clinical and academic evidence and implemented in consultation with NHS staff, patients, public and members. High quality standards are also essential across health and social care. The NHS must be in a position to deliver value for money alongside the challenging savings and efficiencies required. Labour recognises the dedication and skills of the health and social care workforce and need for effective education, training and development opportunities. Partly as a result of the changes made to the

Bill as it went through Parliament, the new system will include a number of areas where the implementation of the reforms can be influenced – such as Health and Wellbeing Boards, patient and public involvement with Clinical Commissioning Groups, and scrutiny through Healthwatch and through governors on foundation trusts. In particular, Health and Wellbeing Boards should be used to their full effect by Labour members to hold commissioners to account, for example, by ensuring that commissioners meet their public sector equality duties. To ensure greater transparency and accountability, Labour will also improve the way that Health and Wellbeing boards work.

### Tackling health inequalities

Promoting public health and tackling health inequalities is also key to improving people’s health. As people live longer and our population grows, demand for healthcare will rise, and it will rise faster if we don’t help people to live healthier lives as they live longer – we need to add more years of ‘healthy life’ to the extra years that we are all living. The long-term capacity of the NHS to treat everyone who needs it will be at risk without a focus on prevention and early intervention as well as cure. Future policy towards tackling health inequalities needs to 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 2008, Sir Michael Marmot was tasked by the Secretary of State for Health to chair an independent review to propose the most effective evidence-based strategies for reducing health inequalities in England. In 2010 Sir Michael Marmot’s ‘Fair Society, Healthy Lives: A Strategic Review of Health Inequalities in England Post-2010’, (the ‘Marmot Review’) was published. The review stated that in England, many people in different social circumstances experience avoidable differences in health, well-being and length of life.

The report also stated that health inequalities result from social inequalities and action on health inequalities requires action across all social determinants of life, for example, health, housing and employment policies can all impact upon our health.

Taking action to reduce health inequalities will benefit society in many ways. 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 will lead to further demands on the NHS. The role of good quality housing is also an important factor in a person’s wellbeing.

**Prosperity and Work  
Policy Commission  
Annual report**

## Prosperity and Work Policy Commission

### Membership 2011/2012

#### Shadow Cabinet

**Rt hon Ed Balls MP** Co-convenor  
**Chuka Umunna MP\***  
**Rt hon Liam Byrne MP**  
**Rachel Reeves MP†**

#### National Executive Committee

**Jennie Formby§** Co-convenor  
**Rt hon Margaret Beckett MP**  
**Ann Black**  
**Jim Kennedy**  
**Andy Kerr**  
**Andy Worth**

#### National Policy Forum

**Tom Brennan**  
**Katie Curtis**  
**Marietta Farnsworth**  
**Fred Grindrod**  
**Steve Hart**  
**Julie Hilling MP**  
**Alon Or-Bach**  
**Martin Phillips**  
**Dave Prentis**  
**Sharon Taylor**  
**Margaret Wall**

\*replaced John Denham MP, October 2011

†replaced Angela Eagle MP, October 2011

§ replaced Cath Speight MP, November 2011

## Policy Development

**The economy has remained central to the broader policy debate with the ongoing crisis in the Eurozone and the news that the UK economy has been pushed into a double-dip recession. The short and long-term challenges facing our economy and the failure of the Conservative-led Government in this respect have been a major focus of the work of the Policy Commission over the last year. The biggest priority in submissions to the Commission has been the need to get the economy moving again and people back into jobs.**

Annual Conference 2011 featured a number of contemporary resolutions submitted within the remit of the Prosperity and Work Policy Commission. These included resolutions on the Government's decision to cut spending and raise taxes too far and too fast and the impact this has had on jobs and the outlook for growth in the economy. Resolutions also focused on specific sectors such as manufacturing and construction and the impact of the Government's decision to scrap Building Schools for the Future. Many resolutions expressed concern at the high levels of youth unemployment and there were calls for government action on this, paid for by a tax on bank bonuses. These issues were also raised during the debate on the floor of Conference.

A significant number of resolutions expressed concern at the Government's proposals for reform of public sector pensions and called for Labour to campaign for a fair deal on pensions for public sector workers. This has also been a key issue in submissions throughout the year and has been discussed by the Commission. Other specific issues raised in contemporary resolutions included the implementation of the Agency Workers Directive, and the failure of the Government to award Bombardier the Thameslink Rolling Stock contract, and the impact this would have on employment in the East Midlands and the future of UK manufacturing more generally. These contemporary resolutions also reflected submissions from Party members and have been discussed in Commission meetings over the course of the year.

The need for fairness in economic policy was a constant theme in the resolutions to Annual Conference and in submissions from members and for this reason the Commission aimed to reflect this priority in its work throughout the year. As with the previous year the need for an alternative economic policy focused on growth and jobs was a key priority highlighted by delegates and one which the Commission continued to focus on.

The Commission held two policy seminars at Annual Conference 2011, on growth and jobs, and on the cost of living. Issues discussed included the rising cost of childcare, and concerns about the impact of the Conservative-led Government's Welfare Reform Bill (now Act) on people with disabilities and mental health problems, and about Work Capability Assessments. Other issues included a living wage, cuts in legal aid and ending the Educational Maintenance Allowance. Delegates at the second session focused on Labour's five point plan for growth, public procurement and the role it could play in tackling youth unemployment, small businesses, the banking industry, energy companies and the decision to scrap Regional Development Agencies.

The Commission has worked with the Britain in the World Policy Commission on areas of mutual interest and has held several joint meetings this year. At Annual Conference 2011 the Commission also held a joint meeting with the Britain the World Policy Commission and had a detailed discussion on employment rights and their European dimensions. At this meeting there were calls for a clear position

from the Labour Party on employment rights and for the two Commissions to work together. Members expressed support for the Labour Party in defending employment rights from attempts by the Government to water down protections for workers. In addition to this, support was expressed for a proactive and positive strategy about how employment rights can be strengthened. Issues relating to EU procurement and how this can help workers in the UK were also discussed.

In December the Commission met with the late Nigel Doughty, Chair of the Small Business Taskforce, to discuss the group's interim report which had just been published. He highlighted the challenges currently facing small businesses, including lack of finance, and spoke about examples of good practice and specific schemes the taskforce had observed in other countries, including the US and Germany. The Commission was deeply saddened to learn of the death of Nigel Doughty earlier this year. His contribution to the Party and engagement with the Commission was enthusiastic and informative and his death is a great loss to the Labour movement.

At this meeting the Commission also discussed the Policy Review documents published at Annual Conference 2011, with particular reference to the draft discussion guides prepared around them to support local policy consultation. The Commission made a number of suggestions for amending the guides in relation to employment rights and trade unions and highlighting the need for growth policies in the economy document. They also suggested amendments to the section on welfare reform in the guide on responsibility and communities.

In January the Commission met to discuss its work programme for the year ahead. Reflecting submissions received it was agreed to focus on the following issues: how to create a more long-term economic policy that promotes Ed Miliband's vision of responsible

capitalism; employment rights; fair pay at the top and the bottom; welfare and pensions; fair taxation; and regional issues. An alternative economic policy, built around fairness with an emphasis on growth and jobs, should also remain a key priority. The Commission also agreed that it should continue to hold meetings across the regions, where possible.

The Commission held a further joint meeting with the Britain in the World Policy Commission in February 2012 with Shadow Business Minister Ian Murray and Shadow Europe Minister Emma Reynolds. This was addressed by Charles Grant from the Centre for European Reform who described how the austerity approach Europe has been taking in relation to the Eurozone crisis is not enough and there needs to be a plan for jobs and growth. The two Commissions expressed concern about the Government's approach to the December EU Summit and agreed that its actions were not in Britain's interests. Britain isolated in Europe is good for neither Britain nor Europe. The Commission also discussed employment rights in the context of the European social model and the importance of building a narrative around this. Members of both Commissions expressed a desire to continue to work together to discuss issues such as the Posted Workers Directive, Monti 2 and the Agency Workers Directive and further discussion on these issues took place in a policy seminar on Social Europe at the National Policy Forum in June. Overall, there was general agreement that the Labour Party should continue to make the case for existing employment legislation which protects vulnerable people in our society.

In May the Commission discussed 'fair rewards' both in terms of high pay and low pay. This meeting was addressed by Nick Isles and Zoe Gannon from the High Pay Centre (HPC) and Heather Wakefield from the Low Pay Commission. The Commission questioned the HPC on the changing business attitude to the issue of executive remuneration, noting that business organisations have

expressed concerns about rewards for failure as well as excessive rewards for mediocrity. Other issues included high pay in the public sector and employee representation on remuneration committees. There was agreement that greater transparency was essential in relation to high pay. The Commission also discussed how low pay should be tackled by Labour campaigning for a Living Wage alongside a reformed economy with improved job prospects and training. Commission members also raised the issue of enforcement of the minimum wage amongst agency workers and the impact of having a lower youth rate and a separate apprenticeship level minimum wage.

This year the Commission has continued the successful practice of holding meetings around the country, allowing us to listen to the concerns and ideas of Party members in the regions. In March the Commission held a meeting in Ipswich on the issue of responsible capitalism with Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury Rachel Reeves and Shadow Business Minister Iain Wright in attendance. Key issues included how to support British business and help to create jobs, how to challenge the vested interests in our economy and re-write the rules to ensure there is responsibility at the top and bottom of our society and how to promote a more active industrial strategy for government, including whether there is a case for a British Investment Bank. Since this meeting Nick Tott has written a report for Labour on the British Investment Bank, which has been submitted to the Commission for its consideration.

A further regional meeting was held in Northampton in July, attended by Shadow Chancellor Ed Balls, Shadow Treasury Minister Catherine McKinnell and Shadow Pensions Minister Gregg McClymont. There was wide-ranging discussion on the need for Labour to focus on fairness in our economy. Key issues included employment rights and the role that investment in infrastructure – particularly house-building and supporting the low carbon economy – could play in creating jobs and boosting the economy. Concerns were

expressed about the actions of the Government in relation to Remploy. Gregg McClymont also updated the Commission and other Party members present about the work he has been doing in relation to private sector pensions and the need to ensure that people saving for their retirement are not hit by excessive charges.

Earlier this year the Commission prepared a policy consultation document setting out the key themes and issues that have been reflected in submissions. This included the immediate need for an alternative economic policy focused on growth and jobs, including measures to tackle youth unemployment and prevent a lost generation. In the longer-term it looked at how the UK economy should be reformed to ensure that we can pay our way in the world and deliver the responsible capitalism that Ed Miliband has talked about. And it also looked at the issue of welfare reform and the need for a system based on fairness and responsibility.

The consultation document was issued to Party members and affiliates and many submissions were received in advance of the National Policy Forum meeting in June. These focused on employment rights, the cost of living and the failure of the Tory-led Government's economic plan. At the NPF a number of policy seminars were held to discuss the document and following discussion on Saturday representatives agreed priority issues to discuss in detail on the following day, reflecting points raised during the seminars and in submissions. These discussions focused on employment rights and the need for an active regional aspect to any industrial strategy. This emphasised the strength of feeling at the NPF that Labour should lead the agenda for fairness in the workplace and continue to make the case for the positive role that trade unions can play. NPF representatives were also clear that an active industrial strategy would need to have a sufficient regional focus. The document was subsequently updated by the Policy Commission to reflect these issues as well as others raised through submissions, ensuring that the principle of fairness is reflected

throughout the document, including in relation to welfare, and emphasising the importance of campaigning for a living wage and the role that procurement can play in an active industrial strategy.

Throughout the year the Commission has been kept informed about the work of Labour's Policy Review through updates from Shadow Cabinet members. In addition, a number of Commission members have attended meetings of various Shadow Cabinet working groups as part of the Policy Review. These included meetings of the Small Business Taskforce, Labour's Consumer Investigation and round-table discussions on welfare reform. Documents published through the Policy Review, including the interim report of the Business and Enterprise Working Group, the interim report of the Small Business Taskforce, 'Pensions people can trust' by the Shadow Work and Pensions teams and Nick Tott's report into the case for British Investment Bank, have gone to the Commission as submissions for consideration. This practice will be continued in the months to come to ensure that the Commission is kept fully informed of the work of the Policy Review.

## Current issues

### Growth, jobs and tackling the deficit

Over the last year it has become even more apparent that the economic policies of the Conservative-led Government have failed. The UK economy has been pushed into a double-dip recession made in Downing Street.

Submissions to the Commission have highlighted the importance of tackling the deficit in a fair way. More people being out of work and claiming benefits rather than paying tax is making it harder to reduce the deficit. This is reflected in the fact that the Government is now set to borrow £150 billion more than planned as a result of their economic failure.

Because the Government's policies are failing, a Labour Government in 2015 is likely to inherit a deficit. This means we will have to make difficult choices on tax and spending. But the Commission is clear that central to Labour's approach will be the need to deliver fairness even when there is less money around.

There has been significant discussion throughout the year of Labour's Five Point Plan for Jobs and Growth. The Five Point Plan includes a temporary cut to VAT, which would kick-start the economy and put £450 back in the pockets of families with children. It also includes a tax on bank bonuses to fund jobs for young people, boost the Regional Growth Fund and build new houses as well as a cut in National Insurance for small firms which take on new workers, a one year reduction in VAT for home improvements and bringing forward investment projects like new school buildings which would help stimulate the economy and encourage businesses to create jobs. The Five Point Plan has been well received by members, through meetings and submissions, as a basis for campaigning to highlight Labour's real alternative to the Tories' economic failure.

Youth unemployment has been repeatedly highlighted to the Commission throughout the year, with members worried about the dangers of creating a 'lost generation' of young people. Labour has said that it would repeat the bank bonus tax and use the money raised to fund a Real Jobs Guarantee for the long-term young unemployed. This would provide a guaranteed, paid job, with real training for all young people under the age of 25 who have been out of work for more than a year and which they would be required to take up. In addition, the Commission has discussed Labour's commitment to insist that every business which gets a large government contract must provide apprenticeships for young people. And while the Commission believes work experience schemes can play a role in getting young people into the workplace, they must be fair, well-targeted and provide meaningful training that will help prepare young people for work.



## Cost of living

Submissions throughout the year have repeatedly stressed the impact of the rising cost of living on people up and down the country. The failure of the Government to take necessary action on this shows just how out of touch it is.

Rather than helping people struggling with prices rising faster than wages, the Government has given a tax cut to the richest one per cent. The unfair ‘granny tax’ will also hit pensioners hard from next year, with 4.4 million set to lose an average of £83 a year. Cuts to the childcare element of Working Tax Credits are making it harder for parents to go out to work and the Commission has also heard through submissions about how changes to the eligibility rules for couples claiming Working Tax Credit are hitting families hard and mean some low-paid families are better off on benefits than in work.

Labour has set out an action plan for family budgets, aimed at helping those struggling to make ends meet. In addition to temporarily cutting VAT, this would involve stopping the Government’s ‘granny tax’ and also defending working families from the raid on their tax credits by blocking the Government’s £40,000 tax cut to millionaires and its pension tax break for those earning over £150,000.

## Fair rewards

The Commission has received many submissions on fair pay – at the top and bottom – and, as set out above, held a meeting on this issue in May which was addressed by representatives from both the High Pay Centre and the Low Pay Commission.

In particular, submissions to the Commission have called for Labour to campaign on a living wage and to continue to work with Labour councils on this throughout the country. The Commission is clear that making the case for

a living wage is key for Labour in delivering fairness.

Similarly, the Commission has been clear on the need to tackle excessive bonuses in the financial sector and reform executive remuneration to ensure there are no rewards for failure. Labour has set out how it supports the recommendations of the High Pay Centre, including putting employee representatives on remuneration committees and firms publishing the ratio of the average pay of a worker to that of the highest paid executive.

At a time when families are feeling the squeeze the issue of pay will be particularly important. The Tory-led Government has said that public sector pay rises will be capped at 1 per cent in the two years to 2015. The Commission has received a large number of submissions on this issue from Party members and trade unions and the issue has been discussed at Commission meetings, including those in the regions with Party members, and at the NPF meeting in Birmingham. The Commission recognises this is a very difficult issue which needs to be considered extremely carefully. Labour has been clear that the priority must be protecting jobs, but we are also clear on the need to defend those at the bottom of the payscale who are hit hardest by Tory policies.

Labour opposes any moves to undermine the pay review bodies by shifting wholesale to regional and local bargaining in the public sector, and this was reflected in submissions.

## Responsible capitalism and the need for an active industrial strategy

Throughout the year the Commission has discussed the need for a long-term and active industrial strategy to promote a more ‘responsible capitalism’ that helps to rebalance the economy throughout the country, support business, and create sustainable and well-paid jobs. This theme is repeated in many submissions and was raised at the National

Policy Forum. As noted above, March’s meeting of the Commission in Ipswich discussed this in further detail. Submissions have reflected the concern that the Tory-led Government is creating uncertainty in our economy and failing to unlock investment.

The Commission has considered how Labour can build a more resilient, competitive and inclusive economy where growth is more broadly based and where the benefits of growth are more widely shared so that the economy can underpin the kind of cohesive, inclusive society Labour wants to see. An active government approach requires government and the public and private sectors working closely together to drive forward sustainable private sector growth in a fair way, and this vision has been reflected in many submissions to the Commission. The Commission has highlighted the need to encourage business to focus on long-term value creation, rather than simply short-term concerns. This means engaging with employees, helping them to develop their skills through apprenticeships and training and offering fair rewards. It also means a strong focus on areas such as the low carbon industries, where there is a real chance for the UK to make the most of the opportunities available, promoting sectors such as manufacturing, as well as science and innovation.

As part of the Policy Review, Labour has been looking at the case for a British Investment Bank which the Commission believes could be a key institution in reshaping the banking sector in our country and boosting our economy. Submissions to the Commission suggest there is broad support for developing this further and building on the work that Nick Tott has done for the Party through the Policy Review. His report highlights the many international examples the UK can draw on in considering the case for a British Investment Bank and how this can help develop Labour’s active industrial strategy.

## Welfare

Welfare Reform has been an ongoing concern of the Commission as the Government’s Welfare Reform Bill (now Act) made its way through Parliament, and members have been kept informed of the work of the Shadow Work and Pensions team in scrutinising this legislation through Commission meetings. Submissions have reflected concerns about aspects of the Government’s welfare reform, including changes to Employment Support Allowance and Work Capability Assessments. The Commission has noted the hard work done by the Shadow Work and Pensions team to improve the Bill in key areas, including securing a key concession in retaining the mobility component of the Disability Living Allowance for those living in care homes, allowing them to keep some independence.

However, the Act punishes people trying to do the right thing by working hard and saving for the future, while cutting support for cancer patients and children with disabilities.

The Commission believes that Labour must examine how a renewed welfare system can regain public confidence. This means delivering fairness alongside responsibility, considering how the principles set out in the Beveridge Report 70 years ago might be applied to the new challenges facing people in the 21st century.

The Commission has heard through submissions that Labour’s plans for welfare reform should focus on the goal of full employment and should explore the role that job guarantees can play in helping to re-connect people with the workplace as well as responsibility to work if they can.

Tory cuts to support for disabled people and carers pose a potential risk to their dignity and independence and will have wider social and economic costs. Worries over a rise in disability hate crime have also been raised with the Commission. Labour must acknowledge

and respond to this issue and reaffirm our commitment to universalism, starting with a renewed determination to make rights a reality for disabled people. The Shadow Work and Pensions team will shortly submit a report to the Commission on this issue which they then plan to use in a series of round-table discussions with disabled people over the next few months.

The Commission believes that Labour must also consider the challenge that many working people feel that they pay a lot of money in through national insurance and tax, but get too little out to insure them against hard times and to help them get on in life. This includes looking at childcare and the role this can play in helping people combine work and family responsibilities. The Shadow Work and Pensions team has been involved in Labour's Childcare Commission, set up by Ed Miliband as part of Labour's Policy Review. The Childcare Commission is currently listening to families about the sort of childcare they need and its findings will feed into the work of the Policy Commission.

### Financial services and banking

Throughout the year the Commission has received many submissions on the need for reform of the financial services sector and action to tackle unacceptable and reckless behaviour in the banking industry. The Commission supports calls for a repeat of the bank bonus tax to fund the building of new homes and to provide a Real Jobs Guarantee for the young unemployed.

The Commission has discussed the need for better regulation of the banks to protect taxpayers and greater competition in the banking sector to give consumers more choice and help small businesses.

Ed Miliband has talked about how we must move from the casino banking that we have to the stewardship banking that we need. This

means a banking system where bankers are not given incentives to focus on short-term returns, but encouraged to build long-term, trusting relationship with their customers; where no one bank feels either too big to fail or too powerful to be challenged; and in which the British people can have confidence once again.

The issue of a Financial Transaction Tax (FTT) has been raised in submissions and discussed in Commission meetings and at the NPF meeting in Birmingham. Labour supports a FTT but has been clear that this needs to be supported on a broadly international basis, incorporating financial sectors such as New York if it is to succeed. There is a danger that a Europe-wide FTT will displace jobs and tax revenue to other financial centres.

### Pensions

Submissions have reflected concerns about the Tory-led Government's mishandling of changes to public sector pensions. There is broad recognition that an ageing population means that public sector pensions will need to change. In government, Labour took tough decisions on public sector pensions to cap taxpayers' liability and introduce reformed pensions schemes, and implemented these changes in consultation with trade unions. However, the Government's approach is unfair. Submissions have called on Labour to continue to campaign for a fair deal on pensions for public sector workers and to ensure that a 'race to the bottom' on this important issue is avoided.

Fair pensions in both public and private sectors have been raised in submissions, and the Commission is keen to build on Labour's previous work in relation to occupational pensions to ensure that there is a system which rewards saving and serves ordinary working people. Pension schemes must be fairly run so that people have a decent pension which they can live on when they retire. As part

of the Policy Review the Shadow Work and Pensions team has produced a report entitled 'Pensions people can trust' looking at the challenges facing private sector pensions and how to ensure that people are properly protected and this has now been submitted to the Commission.

### Employment rights

Employment rights have been a key concern for Commission members and detailed discussions on this issue have been held over the course of the year. Numerous submissions have been received from Party members, inspiring discussion at the NPF in Birmingham and in the regional Policy Commission meetings. These have focused on the actions of the Tory-led Government in weakening employment rights, particularly changes to regulations on unfair dismissal which will make it easier to fire rather than hire people. The Commission has also heard concerns about the proposals included in the Beecroft Report, commissioned by the Government, which are based on anecdote and ideology rather than evidence.

The Government's reforms to employment rights are no alternative to the effective growth strategy which the UK economy needs. The Commission is clear that Labour should lead the agenda for fairness in the workplace and continue to make the case for the positive role that trade unions can play, including through the promotion of training and skills. Submissions have also highlighted the key role played by Europe in protecting employment rights and this has been discussed by the Commission in detail in two joint meetings with the Britain in the World Policy Commission and in a specific seminar at the National Policy Forum in Birmingham.

## Submissions

All of those who have made submissions have received an acknowledgment letter and a copy of Making Policy, a briefing which explains how policy is made in the party and shows how party stakeholders can best engage on policy development work. Submissions are considered by Policy Commission as part of their regular schedule of meetings. In addition, submissions made in response to the policy consultation documents published in May 2012 were considered at the Summer meeting of the National Policy Forum.

Over the past year the Prosperity and Work Policy Commission has received submissions on the following subjects:

- 50p tax
- Affordable housing
- Ageing society
- Agency workers
- Age-related allowances
- Apprenticeships
- Bank bonuses
- Banking reform
- Barnett formula
- Beecroft report
- Benefit cap
- Bombardier
- Budget 2012
- Child benefit
- Child Support Agency
- Childcare
- Construction
- Co-operatives
- Corporation Tax
- Council Tax Benefit
- Debt
- Deficit
- Devolution
- Disabilities
- Disability Living Allowance
- Elderly benefits
- Empty properties
- Employment rights
- Employment Support Allowance
- Equal Pay

- Eurozone crisis
- Euro
- Energy prices
- Financial Transaction Tax
- Foodbanks
- Fuel prices
- Future Jobs Fund
- Gambling tax
- House prices
- Incapacity Benefit
- Income tax
- Industrial action
- Inflation
- Insolvency
- Interest rates
- HM Revenue and Customs
- Housing benefit
- Jobseeker's Allowance
- Land tax
- Living standards
- Living Wage
- Local high streets
- Low carbon industries
- Mandatory Work Activity
- Manufacturing
- Microbusinesses
- Monti 2
- Mutual sector
- National Insurance Contributions
- National Investment Bank
- National Minimum Wage
- Overdraft charges
- Pay day loans
- Post Office
- Public sector pay
- Public sector pensions
- Public services
- Private sector pensions
- Procurement
- Quantitative easing
- Recession
- Recruitment agencies
- Regional pay
- Regulation
- Remploy
- Remuneration
- Retirement age
- Royal Bank of Scotland
- Rise in state pension age for women
- Skills
- Social care
- Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs)
- Tax avoidance
- Tax credits
- Tax evasion
- Trade Unions
- Transport costs
- Unemployment
- VAT
- Waste and government spending
- Welfare reform
- Winter Fuel Allowance
- Women's unemployment
- Work Capability Assessments
- Work experience
- Working Time Directive
- Youth unemployment

## Prosperity and Work Policy Commission

### Annex: 2011/12 Policy document

Labour recognises the change we need to deliver if we are to be trusted to form a government in 2015. We must not repeat the mistakes of the Tories who promised change but have failed to deliver. This means changing our economy so that it works for working people, delivers fairness and better supports business.

The reckless policies of the Tory-led Government have pushed our economy into double dip recession – a recession made in Downing Street by David Cameron and George Osborne. As a result, households are struggling with the rising cost of living and unemployment remains worryingly high; and as the crisis in the Eurozone continues it is clear that austerity policies in Europe have failed and we need a global plan for growth.

Against this backdrop of economic uncertainty, no growth and high unemployment Britain needs an alternative economic policy, focused on jobs and growth. It's clear from meetings and submissions that Party members and the public want a different approach: one which boosts jobs and growth and helps people hit by higher living costs and supports businesses. Labour is also focusing on longer-term reform, so that Britain can pay its way in the world and build an economy for all those who work hard, pay their taxes and play by the rules, and which is fair to those at the bottom as well as the top.

Through submissions from Party members, affiliates and the wider public and as a result of discussion at June's National Policy Forum we have identified a number of priority issues which are set out below.

### Dealing with the deficit and the need for growth and jobs

The UK economy grew by just 0.8 per cent in 2011, less than half the rate of growth in the US. Unemployment remains unacceptably high with over a million young people unable to get a job.

Because Tory policies are failing, a Labour Government in 2015 would likely inherit a larger deficit than previously forecast. This will mean difficult choices on tax and spending.

Fairness will be central to Labour's approach, even when less money is available. This includes fair taxation, opposing tax evasion and avoidance by individuals and companies, and building on the success of Labour councils that are committed to paying a living wage as a central part of creating a better economy for the future. Labour is clear that economic growth must have a sense of social justice and fairness at its heart, a principle prioritised in submissions to the Commission and through the NPF.

As well as emphasising growth, members and the public say that good quality, well-paid jobs are a key priority in boosting the economy and reducing the deficit in a fair way. This is the aim of Labour's Five Point Plan for Jobs and Growth. A temporary cut to VAT would kick-start the economy and give £450 back to families with children. Similarly a cut in National Insurance for small firms which take on new workers, a one year reduction in VAT for home improvements and bringing forward investment projects like new school buildings would help to stimulate the economy and encourage businesses to create jobs.

### Tackling youth unemployment

Labour is particularly concerned about high levels youth unemployment. Labour will act to prevent another lost generation. Submissions to the Commission have emphasised how jobs and training guarantees have a key role to play, which is why Labour has said we would repeat the bank bonus tax and use the money raised to fund a Real Jobs Guarantee for the long-term young unemployed - a guaranteed, paid job, with real training for everyone under the age of 25 who has been out of work for more than a year, which they would be required to take up. This reflects the public's view – which we have heard through submissions to Partnership into Power, that government has a responsibility to ensure opportunities for young people, employers have a responsibility to train them, and young people themselves have a responsibility to make the most of their chances.

Labour believes work experience schemes have a role to play in helping young people onto the jobs ladder but we are clear that these schemes must be fair, well targeted and provide a meaningful and practical experience of work.

Procurement is a powerful tool for governments and the NPF is keen to explore the opportunities it can provide. That is why a Labour Government will insist that every business which gets a large government contract must provide apprenticeships for the next generation.

### Cost of living crisis

Labour is also determined to act on the cost of living crisis facing people across the country. Instead of supporting hard-pressed people, the Government chose to cut taxes for the very richest. Their cuts to tax credits are hitting part-time workers particularly hard and mean that some low paid workers with children will be better off on benefits than in work. The costs of housing, food, transport and energy have been rising faster than wages for several years, and we need to reverse this, so living standards start to grow again. We must find ways to bring down the cost of living, such as tougher regulation of energy companies and banks to protect vulnerable customers and avoid them being ripped off. Labour's Consumers Investigation is looking at ways of putting consumers in the driving seat to make markets work better as well as ensuring there is effective redress when they do not.

Labour has set out an action plan for family budgets, to help those struggling to make ends meet. We have proposed that the Government stop the £3 billion 'granny tax' and defend tax credits for working families by not going ahead with cutting the 50p rate of tax and reversing its pension tax break for those earning over £150,000.

## Ensuring that the UK can pay its way in the world

The Tory-led Government has taken the economy into recession and is failing to deliver a plan for the future. It is making things worse for businesses and workers alike. Even Business Secretary Vince Cable has admitted the Government lacks “a compelling vision of where the country is heading”. To pay our way we need to modernise and reform our economy for the longer term, to deliver fairness at home, more competitiveness abroad, and strong regional growth. This requires an active government approach with an industrial strategy to promote investment in Britain, drive private sector growth, support British business, and help create jobs. It means Ed Miliband’s vision of “responsible capitalism” which NPF representatives are clear should be built on fairness, in everything from pay (at the top and the bottom) and taxation to employment rights and welfare. We have seen the massive problems created by markets that foster short-termism and reward irresponsibility and we need to redress the balance to make the economy work for the benefit of all of us, not just a few of us. So we want to hear ideas on how we can work with business to do this.

The financial crisis highlighted the deeper problems in our economy and showed the need to reform the system to make it fairer, more responsible and better suited for the longer term. This includes rebalancing the economy within and across regions, with a broad range of sectors including traditional sectors such as financial services but also manufacturing, allowing us to maximise our competitive advantages in key sectors such as the creative industries, biotechnology, chemicals and pharmaceuticals. The importance of universal broadband access has been highlighted, and the potential of the low carbon industries to generate new jobs and boost growth, as well as create a fairer economy and society, should be a clear example of how we can use and benefit from these new opportunities.

Ed Miliband has stressed the need for more patriotism in our economy if British firms are to succeed. This means supporting fair competition, including through procurement which should take account of factors beyond simply price, to ensure a level playing field for British firms and to persuade foreign companies to invest in Britain. Innovation is the key to success in any field, and a Labour Government will foster innovation – not just by supporting research but by encouraging the vital support needed to turn ideas into action.

Alongside this, Britain’s relationship with Europe, our largest trading partner, is critical as is social Europe which the Party has always supported.

## Reforming the banks, helping our small businesses and the case for a British Investment Bank

Our small businesses need greater help. Labour’s Small Business Taskforce is looking at the best ways of providing this support including on finance, procurement, skills, exports and how government operates for small businesses.

The banks are failing to lend to businesses: they missed their small business lending targets and year on year net lending to businesses, and small and medium enterprises in particular, has fallen in every month since the Tory-led government took office.

We need a more diverse and competitive banking system which is more rooted in our communities and economy. This is crucial to helping our small businesses to grow. We need to ensure our financial services are properly regulated, do not incentivise irresponsible behaviour and support the wider long-term interests of the economy. Submissions have argued that we should explore the role of the mutual sector and credit unions in his important issue and to ensure that vulnerable people are not exploited by high cost credit providers and payday loan companies.

## Regional industrial strategy

It is clear that the current Tory Government has an insufficient focus on regional growth having dismantled the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and replaced them with Local Enterprise Partnerships, which lack the necessary resources and structures to really deliver for our regions. The Regional Growth Fund, mired in delay has seen more losers than winners and the Government’s failures have held many areas back. Labour will need to develop effective regional institutions and policies, to overcome the failures of the Government while also learning the lessons of the RDAs, and create certainty for business to invest and enabling regions to grow and create good jobs for the long term.

While representatives were clear at the NPF that the Government should not ‘pick winners’ it can and should identify and support sectors and industries where we have or could have a competitive advantage, and enable regions to play their full role in making the most of these opportunities. Regional structures and institutions will need to have sufficient democratic legitimacy and accountability if they are to succeed. Leadership will be important in transforming vision into reality.

Central government will also have a role in promoting regional growth particularly in ensuring that the strategy is integrated with skills, training, higher education, housing and transport policies amongst others.

And we need to learn from countries like Germany and the United States that in response to the failure of the market, government too has a role to play. That’s why Labour is working on how a British Investment Bank could benefit the economy.

## Employment rights

An economy fit for the future also means good, well-paid jobs and fairness and security in the workplace. The Tory-led Government has embarked on an attack on rights of people at work including changes to unfair dismissal which will make it easier to fire not hire people. This does not amount to the effective growth strategy which the UK badly needs. Labour is opposing the proposals set out in the Beecroft Report, including those around no fault dismissal, which are based on anecdote and ideology rather than evidence and we will continue to challenge the unfair policies of the Tory Government.

The Government needs to make it easier to hire, not fire people. NPF representatives are clear that Labour should lead the agenda for fairness in the workplace and continue to make the case for the positive role that trade unions can play, including through the promotion of training and skills. We recognise that the role of Europe is key in protecting employment rights as is the legal framework that allows trade unions adequately to represent and defend workers collectively. We should look at the experience of other countries in how companies can have meaningful engagement with employees and trade unions and evaluate how we can learn from this.

More broadly submissions have argued that we need to ensure all employees receive a fair deal and feel engaged in their workplace. This includes ensuring there is employee representation on the remuneration committee of companies.

## Welfare

Our country is facing a jobs and growth crisis. We need immediate action to build a high growth, high employment alternative to the politics of austerity.

The Tories' Welfare Reform Act does not create jobs and punishes people trying to do the right thing by working hard and saving for the future. It cuts support for cancer patients and children with disabilities. Their tax credit changes push part-time workers out of jobs and onto benefits and their cuts to childcare tax credits are making it harder for parents to go out to work. The Tories promised a 'welfare revolution'. Two years on it is clear their reforms are mired in chaos. Meanwhile youth unemployment and long-term unemployment are worryingly high living standards remain under intense pressure, child poverty is forecast to rise and disabled people are living in fear. Labour must offer an alternative, fundamental update to the welfare state. Seventy years ago Beveridge started a national debate on the welfare state. At its heart were three basic ideas; full employment, universal services, especially for disabled people and parents bringing up children, and a spirit of reciprocity. Today, every one of those principles are under attack by the Tories. Labour's plan for welfare reform should start with these principles. We need to think anew about how to apply these principles in the 21st century at a time when people face very different challenges and need different kinds of help to the 1940s.

Our plans for welfare reform should start with a renewed commitment to the historic Labour goal of full employment. We should explore the role that job guarantees can play in helping re-connect people with the opportunity and responsibility to work if you can.

Second, we need to renew our commitment to universalism, starting with a renewed determination to make rights a reality for disabled people. Tory cuts to support for disabled people and carers pose a potential

risk to their dignity and independence and will have wider social and economic costs. It is disgraceful that in the final year of this Parliament, disabled people will be paying 40 per cent more than the banks to reduce the deficit. Labour must ensure that rights will be a reality for disabled people.

Third, we need to tackle what has been called the 'nothing for something' problem. The challenge that many working people feel that they pay a lot of national insurance and tax in, but get too little out to help them get on in life. That is why we need to look at renewing the public services that working people need to juggle the realities of the modern workplace. Millions of families today struggle to work the hours they might like because they struggle with the costs of childcare, or the obligations of caring for loved ones. We should look internationally to best practice from which we can learn. Further we need to help working families build up the assets they need, like a home, savings, or a pension.

Looking towards retirement, the UK's occupational pension system is clearly not fit for purpose. Fair pensions in both public and private sectors and the need to avoid a race to the bottom have been raised with the Commission, and Labour is keen to build on our previous work to ensure there is a system which rewards saving and serves ordinary working people. We need to ensure pension schemes are properly run, that charges are not excessively high and that people have a decent pension which they can retire on.

Finally, we know that Labour must examine how a renewed welfare system can regain public confidence. People should know that support will be there when they need it, but also that taxpayers' money is spent wisely. This means delivering fairness alongside responsibility.

**Sustainable Communities  
Policy Commission  
Annual report**

## Sustainable Communities Policy Commission

### Membership 2011/12

#### Shadow Cabinet

**Rt hon Hilary Benn MP\*** - Co-convenor  
**Mary Creagh MP**  
**Maria Eagle MP**  
**Rt hon Caroline Flint MP**  
**Rt hon Harriet Harman QC MP†**

#### National Executive Committee

**Michael Cashman MEP** - Co-convenor  
**Ken Livingstone**  
**Cllr David Sparks**  
**Christine Shawcroft**  
**Harriet Yeo**

#### National Policy Forum

**Cllr Ruth Cadbury**  
**Andrew Furlong**  
**Mark Glover**  
**Maria Ludkin**  
**Claude Moraes MEP**  
**Alan Ritchie**  
**Fiona Twycross**  
**Steve Warwick**  
**Brenda Weston**  
**Alan Whitehead MP**  
**Daniel Zeichner**

\*Replaced by Meg Hillier October 2011

†Replaced Ivan Lewis MP in October 2011



## Policy Development

**The Sustainable Communities Policy Commission is responsible for five departmental policy areas: communities and local government; culture, media and sport; energy and climate change; environment, food and rural affairs; and transport. While this is a broad remit, it is one in which the topics are often cross-cutting, and the Commission aims to look at these policy areas, and their impact on society, the economy and the environment, in the round rather than in isolation.**

At Annual Conference 2011, two policy seminars were held covering the remit of the Sustainable Communities Policy Commission. The first, on the environment, energy and climate change, was attended by Shadow Environment Secretary Mary Creagh MP and Shadow Energy and Climate Change Secretary Meg Hillier MP, as well as other members of the Commission, and a good turnout of delegates. Discussion was wide ranging and covered issues including solar power, wind power, badger culling, the National Grid, home insulation, forests, overseas generation of solar power, shale gas, green jobs, low carbon housing, and the Government's waste strategy. The second, on transport, housing and local government, with Shadow Communities and Local Government Secretary Caroline Flint MP and Shadow Transport Secretary Maria Eagle MP, was again well attended by delegates. It also again featured a broad discussion of various issues, such as the abolition of Regional Development Agencies, security of tenure in social housing, housing supply, the private rented housing sector and tenants' rights, Right to Buy, bus regulation, electric vehicles, rail ownership and structure, and the need for an integrated transport policy. Further to the policy seminars, a new innovation at Annual Conference 2011 was the "Open Zone", offering Conference attendees including delegates, visitors, and others the chance to participate in a range of policy discussion and training sessions. Included in these were sessions titled "The Promise of Britain: Helping the next generation do better than the last", featuring Caroline Flint MP and Meg Hillier MP, during which participants

discussed how we taking on the challenges of affordable housing supply, energy and climate change are central to ensuring that new generations are able to enjoy a better quality of life than their parents.

In October, the Commission met to discuss the "Achieving our carbon goals" strand of its work programme. The development of Britain's low carbon energy supplies and industry has been a key area of work for the Commission in recent years, and remains a challenge central to the sustainability of our economy and society. Key areas explored by the Commission include reducing our reliance on carbon as a source of energy and fuel, both through increasing low-carbon supplies and through greater energy efficiency, enabling families and individuals to live greener lifestyles, without compromising their finances or quality of life, and working with business to reduce the carbon footprint of industry and supporting low carbon ways of working. Hilary Benn MP, who following the recent Shadow Cabinet reshuffle had succeeded Caroline Flint (still a member of the Commission in her new role as Shadow Energy and Climate Change secretary) as Shadow Communities and Local Government Secretary, and therefore co-convenor of the Policy Commission, attended the meeting to introduce himself to members and share his thoughts on key priorities for policy development.

At the end of the year, in December, the Commission met to look at the final area of its 2011 work programme, "Protecting our environment and natural resources".

In this session the Commission considered Britain's natural environment, looking at how we can best protect our resources and our areas of natural beauty and biodiversity for future generations. Guest speakers from the Campaign to Support Rural England and the Ramblers joined the meeting, bringing expert perspectives on environmental protection and the development of public access to the countryside. The Commission discussed the promotion of more green spaces and biodiversity in towns and cities, and the need to ensure that Britain's countryside, forests and coastline are kept accessible for all while protecting their natural beauty and resources. There was also an opportunity at this meeting for members to discuss their priorities for 2012 ahead of the drafting of a work programme, which would be circulated in January for agreement.

The Commission's first meeting of 2012 took place in early February, when members met to hold a discussion on local government with Hilary Benn, who also updated members on Labour's plans for the forthcoming local elections campaign. The financial challenge facing local authorities everywhere was a key topic of discussion, and on the campaigning front the need for Labour to present a strong argument as to how even in tough times Labour councils will deliver fairness, emphasising the different priorities that they bring, with defending essential services and quality of life in local communities at the forefront. Another key area of business at this meeting was the agreement of a work programme for 2012. Key themes identified for discussion included Labour localism, building the communities of the future, promoting sustainable lifestyles and business, and growing a low carbon economy. It was suggested that as part of its work on building the communities of the future, the Commission should stage a visit and on-site meeting at a major regeneration site.

The Commission also looked in February at a detailed submission from Labour Animal Welfare Society. Animal welfare has always been the subject of a great many submissions, and an area on which the last Labour Government built a proud record, and the Commission welcomed the opportunity to discuss how this legacy must now be taken forward.

In March, the Joint Policy Committee commissioned each of the six Policy Commissions to produce a Policy Consultation Document, which would be circulated to the Party and its stakeholders, and subsequently discussed at the Summer meeting of NPF and debated at Annual Conference. The Commission held a teleconference to discuss priority areas for coverage – JPC had set out a clear intention that consultation documents should be kept concise and focused on key issues in order to better facilitate local discussion and feedback. The Commission chose to focus on five areas that, through submissions and the Policy Review, we have heard are particularly important to Party members and the British public – increasing housing supply, local government, making transport more affordable and accessible, climate change and the low carbon economy, and the media and creative industries. The Commission met to discuss the draft document in April, taking particular interest in the development of content on transport and on local government, which was subsequently submitted to the JPC for approval.

At June's National Policy Forum meeting in Birmingham, the policy consultation document was discussed at a series of workshops over the weekend. General discussion of the document in the first day's sessions covered challenges and questions set out in all areas of the document, but there was particular interest in local government, housing, and transport. Representatives had the chance to discuss issues like these based on their own local consultation work and the feedback and ideas that had been returned

in the many submissions to the consultation, which were circulated ahead of the NPF meeting. Of the issues discussed, there were two specific issues that NPF representatives prioritised above others – these were the quality and supply of housing in both the private and social rented sectors, and the affordability and accessibility of transport. These were the subject of focused discussion during the second day’s workshop sessions.

Shortly after the NPF meeting, in late June, the Commission met to consider how the policy document might be amended to reflect the debate in Birmingham. The Commission agreed that the sections on transport and housing in particular could be expanded and refocused to reflect the points raised by NPF reps over the previous weekend, and also that a number of changes be made to reflect some key areas of discussion on localism, local government, and low carbon energy.

At the same meeting, the Commission held a discussion on “Labour Localism” – looking at how Labour should best apply localist principles in a social democratic framework, marrying support for local determination and community involvement in services with Labour’s long-standing commitment that everyone should have access to certain key public services, delivered to a certain standard, no matter where they live.

## Current issues

### Affordable housing

The affordability and quality of housing has always been high on the Commission’s agenda, and the past year has been no different. Our discussions always start from the position that everyone has the right to a decent home at an affordable price. But with house prices rising out of the reach of many ordinary families and individuals, there remains great demand for more affordable housing. The Government is failing to support the delivery of new

housing in the affordable sector, particularly new social housing, for which there is urgent need. As a result many on low incomes have no choice but to seek low cost accommodation in the private rented sector, the bottom end of which contains some of the poorest quality accommodation in Britain.

Those making submissions and members of the Commission are clear that we would like to see an increase in affordable housing supply, particularly in the social rented sector. However with local authorities under huge financial pressure, identifying how best to deliver investment in affordable housing is a major policy challenge. There is clearly a need for increasing supply in affordable housing to buy, and quality accommodation in the private rented sector as well as in the social rented sector.

There is also a growing concern at the conditions in which some people live, particularly in the private rented sector. We have heard through submissions how, with a growing shortage of decent housing available at an affordable price, many who cannot afford market rates but are unlikely to be housed in social housing find themselves having to live in private rented housing which does not meet decent standards. A submission from Labour’s Policy Review on private rented housing has highlighted a number of issues around the role of letting agencies, which are unregulated and, in the case of some unscrupulous operators, responsible for failing to ensure a decent standard of accommodation as well as ripping off both tenants and landlords with unfair and unjustified charges. It is the view of the Commission that Labour should work to ensure that all types of housing offer a good choice, and are seen as equal options, without stigma.

### Public transport

With many families feeling the squeeze, the rising cost of transport is having a major impact on household finances. People who rely on public transport for access to work, education or leisure are facing sharply increasing fares. The Government’s unwillingness to stand up to the train companies on ticket price increases and the extent and speed of cuts to local transport funding, which is driving up bus fares, means that daily travel costs represent an increasing proportion of family budgets.

The Commission has heard through submissions that local, regional and national public transport services are becoming more costly and are at risk of deteriorating. For example, many local bus services already disappearing or under threat as a result of cuts to both local transport funding and to the subsidy provided to bus companies to cover the costs of fuel on unprofitable routes. Commission members have expressed the view that this limiting of access can impact on opportunities to work or train.

Labour’s Policy Review has been looking in particular at how the devolution of decision making over transport services and funding might improve our local and regional networks, and accountability to passengers, an area which is addressed in detail in the Sustainable Communities policy document. A submission has been received from the Policy Review on how, learning from examples from abroad, empowering communities to improve transport could result in real improvements to services, to affordability and to accountability, and this is an area the Commission will look to explore further. In particular many Labour Party members have pointed out that the lack of powers for local authorities outside of London to regulate bus services has led to poor and unaccountable provision in many parts of the country, and this will remain a key issue for policy development.

It is clear too from submissions and through the work being undertaken by Shadow Transport Secretary Maria Eagle, as part of Labour’s Policy Review, that the fragmented structure of our rail industry created by the Tories’ botched privatisation is a key factor in the lack of accountability, and the costliness, of Britain’s rail industry. Again, this is an area addressed in the policy document and one which the Commission will continue to look at in the coming months.

### Labour localism

The language of localism has been a feature of all three major parties’ platforms in recent years. However the lack of substance behind the Tory-led Government’s rhetoric has been exposed by repeated attempts by Ministers to lay the blame for cuts to local services on local authorities, which are struggling to balance their budgets in the face of massive, frontloaded cuts, and the undermining of local determination on various policy issues, alongside dealing with other major challenges such as the ageing population and the pressure this causes on adult care services.

Members of the Commission have heard how, in many towns and cities, Labour councils are finding innovative new ways of doing things so that frontline services can be preserved while savings are made. The cooperative Council model being adopted in places like Lambeth and Newcastle is one example.

Labour supports the devolution of power from Whitehall to local government, and where appropriate, from there to community and neighbourhood level. The Commission is interested in exploring how different types of structures might best suit different localities and regions. Experience has shown that there are no one size fits all solutions, and what works best in one town or city might not be the best model for another - for example in the case of elected Mayors. We will look in the coming months at what services and decision

making powers might be devolved – such as on transport, housing, skills and economic development – and what kind of structures are right to support local government in taking them on. The Commission is also clear that decisions on devolution should be driven from the bottom up, not the top down – with communities and local authorities taking a lead in deciding on what basis and through what structures they wish to take and exercise newly devolved powers.

Members of the Commission have also discussed how best we can ensure that, while pursuing a localist agenda, we ensure that the principle of basic standards in services is not abandoned. Finding the right balance between localism and ensuring standards is a key challenge for our policy development process in the coming months and years.

### Creative industries and media

Britain is a world leader in the creative industries, with 1.3 million jobs in the sector. However, the Tory-led Government is failing to secure the future of the creative and media industries and consequently we run the risk of being squeezed by competition from Europe and further afield. Despite the fact that the creative industries could be key to the route back to growth, there is growing concern that in fact the sector could decline without stronger support from government. The Commission believes that the creative industries should remain as a key part of our jobs and growth strategy.

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

The phone hacking scandal and the Leveson Inquiry have shown that our current system of press regulation is not fit for purpose, and that when media power becomes too concentrated, without effective regulation in place, a culture of irresponsibility and disregard for the rules can develop. The Commission has seen in submissions from members and the wider public the extent of the anger felt about the phone hacking scandal and the behavior of those journalists who were complicit. We want to see the development of a new regulatory framework – one which is independent, universal, and provides an accessible and fair system of redress for people with complaints.

### Low carbon energy and industry

The last Labour Government made growth in green industry and jobs a priority, laying the framework for expansion in areas such as renewable energy, low carbon technology and electric motoring. But, despite David Cameron's promise to lead the “greenest government ever”, support for low carbon industry has been stripped away, with cuts to the feed-in tariff scheme putting our solar power industry at risk, and a lack of clarity and ambition for the proposed Green Investment Bank leaving investors uncertain about the future. Following discussions in 2011/12 on this area, the Commission is keen to work with the Prosperity and Work Commission on the cross-cutting framework for support that needs to be put in place to ensure that Britain's place as a world leader in low carbon industry is recovered.

The Commission has also discussed what can be done by government, at all levels, to enable and promote low carbon choices, for families as well as for businesses and organisations in the private and public sectors. Our work on transport, as well as on energy policy, is key to this and an example of how the Commission's thematic approach to issues is vital in exploring how real change can be delivered by Labour, in opposition, in local authorities, and in the future in Government.

The Commission believes that we must consider the carbon impact of decisions in all areas of policy making, to ensure that the outcomes of policy implementation are consistent with our environmental goals, and plans to invite relevant stakeholder organisations to help provide ideas as to how this might better be achieved.

### Submissions

All of those who have made submissions have received an acknowledgment letter and a copy of Making Policy, a briefing which explains how policy is made in the party and shows how party stakeholders can best engage on policy development work. Submissions are considered by Policy Commission as part of their regular schedule of meetings. In addition, submissions made in response to the policy consultation documents published in May 2012 were considered at the Summer meeting of the National Policy Forum.

Over the past year the Sustainable Communities Policy Commission has received submissions on the following subjects:

- Advertising
- Affordable housing supply
- Airport expansion
- Ambitions for Britain's Future
- Anti-social behaviour and tenancy agreements
- August 2011 riots
- Aviation industry
- Aviation taxes
- BBC licence fee
- Blood sports
- Boundary review
- Bus services and regulation
- Rent capping
- Climate change
- Community cohesion
- Community meetings
- Concessionary rail fares
- Council housing
- Council tax
- Council tax banding
- Cycling provision
- Dale Farm
- Development on greenfield sites
- Dudley town centre regeneration
- Dumping waste in the North Sea
- DVLA
- Eco-friendly business
- Police and Crime Commissioners
- Energy efficiency
- Energy market
- Energy prices
- Environmentally friendly manufacturing
- Evictions related to the riots in August 2011
- Feed-in tariff
- Fishing quotas
- Food banks
- Fox hunting
- Fuel poverty
- Fuel prices
- Fur trade and labelling
- GM foods
- The Hillsborough disaster
- Home ownership
- Homelessness
- Housing benefit
- Housing for older people and young families
- The housing market
- Housing supply
- High Speed 2
- Internet security
- Library provision and closures
- Local government
- London 2012 Olympic Legacy
- Low carbon technology investment
- Motorcycling
- The McNulty Report
- Music
- National speed limit
- Nuclear power
- Oceans
- Open-source software procurement
- Parish precept
- Peak oil
- Phone hacking scandal
- Private rented housing sector
- Public libraries

- Rail fares
- Rail industry, structure and ownership
- Recycling
- Refuse collection
- Renewable energy
- Right to buy
- Rising price of energy bills
- Rivers and canals
- Road planning in London
- Road safety
- Road tax
- Road tolls
- Road speed limits
- Scrap metal trading
- Shale gas “fracking”
- Silicate usage
- Social housing
- Supermarkets
- Taxation of buy to let properties
- Transport networks
- Water industry
- Water supply
- Water usage
- Web monitoring
- Weekly bin collection
- Wind farms

# **Sustainable Communities Policy Commission**

## **Annex: 2011/12 Policy document**

## Sustainable Communities

Labour is changing to make different choices and decisions which help people through tough times. This means standing up for the people who work hard and want a fair deal, and against the vested interests that hold Britain back. Labour stands for real change.

We all want to build communities in which people want to live and work, and can do so affordably, while protecting our natural environment and resources for future generations. The crisis in living standards affecting families across Britain is rooted in the rising costs of everyday living which we all face – transport, utilities, food, housing – exacerbated by the failure of the Tory-led Government to stand up to vested interests. In seeking to improve standards of living for current generations, while maintaining and improving our environment for those of the future, Labour will develop policies in housing, transport, energy and climate change, the environment and rural affairs, culture and media which put us on the side of majority – making different decisions to help people through tough times and standing up to vested interests. Labour will also seek to build on our record on animal welfare, supporting new measures to end cruelty.

### Affordable housing and the private and social rented sectors

Since the General Election, the scale of housing need has grown, housebuilding has fallen and homelessness has increased, while home ownership has grown increasingly out of reach for first time buyers and young people, whilst rents have risen. Labour has argued that the building of more affordable homes should be a priority, not only to increase supply and help tackle the problem of affordability but also to support construction and related industries. As part of our Five Point Plan for Jobs and Growth, a portion of the funds raised from the proposed tax on bankers' bonuses

would be used to build up to 25,000 additional affordable homes. Different areas and regions face different housing pressures, and these must be recognised in the solutions we identify. Labour Party members and stakeholders have argued that, rather than being directed through housing benefit payments, public money spent on housing is best invested in building and improving homes – an investment in the future to create not only the homes that Britain needs but also thousands of jobs in construction and along the supply chain.

A future Labour Government would look to increase housing supply by encouraging more house building, including in rural areas where the shortage of affordable housing can be acute, and also through bringing empty homes back into use. Cooperative housing models can play an increasing role in affordable housing supply.

Representatives at the summer 2012 meeting of the NPF were clear that housing in the private and social rented sectors is a priority area for policy development. We would give social tenants more say over decisions made by their landlords, replicating the choice that people value so much in home ownership and promoting greater personal responsibility for their home. Longer term tenancies have the potential to provide tenants with more stability and control in the private rented sector. We should look to develop policies to offer different types of tenancies which suit the needs of both tenant and landlord.

We have heard through submissions that local authorities are largely powerless to tackle rogue landlords and lettings agents due to under resourcing and a lack of enforcement powers. With Labour, the private rented sector would be properly regulated, so every household has security and choice. Measures such as accreditation, registration and licensing schemes have all been proposed through submissions as ways to tackle these issues, as well as the possibility of a “regional lettings agent” model. More could be done by

government to support people in becoming better landlords, potentially with greater incentives for good landlords and agents.

We will also look at how access to social housing might recognise where appropriate the contribution people make to their communities. We will continue to support local government powers to tackle anti-social and nuisance behaviour by tenants.

### Local Government

Local councils face an unprecedented challenge, having been hit by cuts to their funding from central government averaging 19 per cent - with the worst off areas hit hardest. Many are being forced to take tough decisions to maintain services while keeping council tax rises down.

Local government finance has been highlighted as a key priority for policy development through submissions and by the National Policy Forum. With extreme pressures on councils both through cuts and growing demand for costly services, in particular adult social care, Labour must look at how we fund local services to ensure that councils and the vital services they offer remain viable even at a time when there is less public money around. Labour councils are at the forefront of developing innovative new ways of delivering services – for example the “cooperative council” models being developed by Labour councils like Newcastle and Lambeth. Across the country, Labour councillors are making a real difference to their communities.

Exploring what Labour localism means is a key theme for all stakeholders. Labour values the work of local government and its capacity to innovate. That is why we are exploring ways in which local people can be given more say and control over the shape of their communities and services. We support powers being further devolved to local government

in England, and how, from there, these powers might be passed to local people to strengthen their hand in decisions that affect their community. In devolving powers to local government, such as on transport, housing, skills, and boosting economic development, we should seek to do so in a bottom up, and not a top down way – with local government deciding the basis on which it wishes to receive and exercise them – whether that be a council with a Mayor or a leader, a city-region, or a county, or another solution which works locally. Many members are also clear that localism should not and need not mean abandoning the principle of basic standards in services. While we want decisions about services to be taken as close to those who use them as possible, we also want to avoid “postcode lottery” situations where people are denied high quality services. Finding this balance between localism and ensuring standards is a key challenge for our policy development process in the coming months and years.

### Making transport affordable and accessible

Labour believes that future transport policy must be focused on the needs of people and developed around a whole journey approach that better integrates different modes of transport. Britain needs a strategic rail and road network that connects our cities and towns and provides the links to our airports and ports that is essential to support jobs and growth. Similarly, communities need greater powers to ensure that local transport is integrated, enabling door to door journeys to be made using different modes, and with active transport supported by enabling and encouraging walking and cycling.

The rising cost of transport, from rail and bus fares to the price of fuel, is adding to the cost of living crisis facing households up and down the country. Commuters have been hit by rail fare rises which have seen

the cost of season tickets soar. In addition to increasing the cap on fare rises to three per cent above inflation for the next two years, the Government has reversed Labour's decision to implement the cap across all routes. As a result many passengers have found fares going up by as much as 11 per cent this year, yet the Government is allowing train companies to reduce services, close ticket offices and cut frontline staff. Labour would enforce the annual cap on fare rises, one per cent above inflation on all routes for this Parliament, and the Commission is looking at how to make fares fairer. While Network Rail is to be allowed to sell off infrastructure and put private train companies in charge of infrastructure as well as services for the first time since Railtrack.

Labour supports ongoing investment in rail, including high speed rail, electrification and new inter-city trains while setting out proposals to ensure British manufacturing benefits from rail industry public procurement. Members and stakeholders have highlighted many of the problems associated with the costly and fragmented nature of the rail industry, the legacy of the Tories' botched privatization. Issues raised include the lack of accountability and greater cost to both tax-payers and fare-payers compared to other European railways. Labour is opposing the Government's plans to sell off rail infrastructure and plans to put private train companies in charge of infrastructure as well as services for the first time since Railtrack. Labour believes that Network Rail should be reformed to make it more accountable to tax-payers and fare-payers – including through consideration of public and mutual models. Labour believes in a more integrated rail network. Some members have argued that there is a case for extending the not for dividend principle to rail services.

The speed and scale of cuts to local transport funding is already leading to higher fares and fewer services, with rural bus services under the greatest threat. These cuts are a consequence of the Government's decision

to reduce local transport funding by 26 per cent, cut funding for the concessionary fares scheme and end ring-fencing. The pressures on bus services have increased this year by the decision to cut a fifth of the subsidy provided to bus companies. Many councils are having to cut concessionary fares schemes for young people and reduce spending on school transport. Labour would have protected support for vital local bus services and believes local transport authorities need increased powers to set fare levels and protect routes.

Labour's Policy Review has made a submission to the National Policy Forum highlighting thinking on empowering local communities to improve transport, learning from the experience of other European countries. Many NPF representatives have argued that greater powers of regulation and democratic accountability would enable elected councillors to determine fares and routes, negotiate better deals with operators and deliver the kind of smart multi-modal ticketing that London already has through the Oyster card system. It would also enable the delivery of a concessionary fares scheme for 16-19 year olds in education or training that Labour has proposed. Proposals for transport devolution include the use of new "deregulation exemption zones" to build on Quality Contracts and enable transport authorities to more easily reverse the disastrous Tory deregulation of buses outside London. Other city regions could also be incentivised to create integrated transport authorities to improve transport in their area. Labour's Policy Review is also looking at how transport authorities could forge regional partnerships enabling them to take the lead on major transport investment and rail services. As well as ending top down decision making over transport in Whitehall, it would enable a fairer distribution of funding and offers a more democratic alternative than the Government's plans for devolution to unelected Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs).

While pricing people off public transport, the Government has set back efforts to encourage the take-up of cycling and walking, axing Cycling England and cutting the funding available to local initiatives to encourage cycling and walking as an alternative to driving. Labour would work with local authorities to support the rolling out of best practice from the innovative Cycling City and Towns programme to promote cycling, now abandoned by the Government, and back councils who want to extend 20mph zones in residential areas to make streets safer, particularly for children. We have proposed setting aside a proportion of the national roads budget to fund infrastructure improvements to existing roads and develop separated cycling routes and restore national targets to cut the numbers of deaths and injuries on Britain's roads. Labour believes there is a role for government in ensuring Britain is at the forefront of green vehicle technologies and benefiting from the potential for jobs.

Labour has offered to work with the Government on a cross-party basis to explore options for sustainable growth at Britain's existing airports, while accepting the decision to cancel the third runway at Heathrow. Any additional capacity must not put at risk the progress being made by the industry to meet the target Labour set in government to reduce aviation's contribution to climate change. The UK's emissions target and Carbon Budgets should in future include our share of emissions from international aviation, as recommended by the Committee on Climate Change.

### Climate change, the low carbon economy, energy and natural resources

The transition to a low carbon economy will be central to Britain's future sustainability and growth. But despite David Cameron's promise to lead the "greenest government ever", the last two years have seen little progress, and a number of backward steps, such as the review of the feed-in tariff which is putting Britain's solar industry at risk, delays to the Green

Investment Bank, and growing uncertainty about investment in wind and other low carbon forms of energy.

Labour put in place the world's first long term, legally binding emissions targets and introduced far reaching five year carbon budgets. Britain has a target of an 80 per cent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions on 1990 levels by 2050, and 34 per cent by 2020. Achieving these goals requires unprecedented action by all tiers of government, industry, communities, families and individuals. We stand by these ambitious commitments, and a future Labour Government should do everything necessary to keep them on track. Transition to a low carbon economy will be an opportunity as well as a cost, and investment in low carbon energy can save money as well as emissions. It is not a question of whether we should make the shift to a low carbon economy, but of when and how – early transition presents an opportunity not only for the UK to achieve environmental sustainability, but also to assert leadership in the global low carbon economy. NPF representatives and stakeholders have expressed concern that without greater investment in and support for new low carbon industry, Britain risks falling too far behind our international competitors to keep up – with British business and workers losing out to those abroad.

It is clear that the energy market is not working in the public interest, and that energy companies have had the opportunity to raise prices with near impunity. Soaring energy bills are central to the crisis of living costs which the Commission has heard about, through submissions and Labour's Policy Review. Members and NPF representatives have highlighted the importance of ensuring that new housing stock is built to high energy efficiency standards, helping households to keep bills down as well as towards achieving our carbon objectives. The Government has failed to pave the way to cleaner energy, or reduce energy costs for the public. Labour has

called for the energy companies to act more transparently and, ultimately, for the market to be reformed, with companies selling all of their energy into a pool and new suppliers being given the chance to compete to sell it to the public. Effective reform should bring both a greener energy mix and advances in energy efficiency as its twin goal, and Labour will ensure that future markets work to provide them. We have also called for those over 75 to automatically be put on to the lowest tariff available – enforced by legislation if necessary.

Rising water bills are also causing concern for many households. Unlike in the energy market, the water companies are not obliged to offer social tariffs. With changing weather patterns and drought conditions in many parts of the country, Labour has called for affordability to be put at the heart of water policy.

### Creative industries and the media

Britain is among the world leaders in creative and media industries but we run the risk of being squeezed by the rapid growth of developing countries and stronger competition from continental Europe. There is growing concern that our creative industries could suffer decline without concerted action through partnership between government and business.

Labour believes that the creative industries should remain as a key part of our jobs and growth strategy. Furthermore, our cultural and media landscape make a huge contribution to quality of life. And while looking at how best to sustain and promote success in Britain's creative and media industries, the Policy Commission is also concerned with how best to ensure people with creative or sporting talent are given the opportunity to succeed.

The phone hacking scandal and the progress to date of the Leveson Inquiry have demonstrated that our current system of press regulation is not fit for purpose, and will have

a lasting impact on Britain's media landscape. The actions of certain sections of the media have shown that the concentration of power, without sufficient checks and balances, can lead to a culture of irresponsibility. The extent of the anger felt within the Labour Party, and the wider public, has been reflected in the many submissions received on this matter. Addressing the problems of an inadequate model of regulation and complaints procedure, alongside the concentration of too much media power in the hands of too few, is a key challenge for policy makers. Labour wishes to see a new system, which is independent, universal and gives ordinary people an accessible, fair and straightforward route to redress for complaints. Party members and stakeholders and members have been vocal on this issue, and believe we must look at how we can avoid situations when individuals or organisations are in a position to control too great a share of a media market.

## Appendices

## Appendix 1 - National Policy Forum membership

(CLP) East Midlands region	Julie Brookfield	(CLP-YTH) South West region	Gus Baker
(CLP) East Midlands region	Marietta Farnsworth	(CLP-YTH) Wales Labour Party	Rhian Greaves
(CLP) East Midlands region	Andy Furlong	(CLP-YTH) West Midlands	Richard Costello
(CLP) East Midlands region	Mark Glover	(CLP-YTH) Yorkshire region	Jack Falkingham
(CLP) Eastern region	Katie Curtis	(TU) ASLEF	Rebekah Peterson
(CLP) Eastern region	Jenny Holland	(TU) BFAWU	Peace Adjo Aryee
(CLP) Eastern region	James Valentine	(TU) Community	Richard Angell
(CLP) Eastern region	Daniel Zeichner	(TU) CWU	Billy Hayes
(CLP) Greater London region	Nicky Gavron	(TU) CWU	Beryl Shepherd
(CLP) Greater London region	Fiona Twycross	(TU) GMB	Tom Brennan
(CLP) Greater London region	Joanne Milligan	(TU) GMB	Mary Hutchinson
(CLP) Greater London region	Alon Or-bach	(TU) GMB	Paul Kenny
(CLP) North	Nick Forbes	(TU) GMB	Maria Ludkin
(CLP) North	Veronica Killen	(TU) MU	Barbara White
(CLP) North	Liz Twist	(TU) TSSA	Frank Ward
(CLP) North	Nick Wallis	(TU) UCATT	Stephen Murphy
(CLP) North West region	Lucy Powell	(TU) UNISON	Wendy Nichols
(CLP) North West region	Mike Amesbury	(TU) UNISON	Dave Prentis
(CLP) North West region	Theresa Griffin	(TU) UNISON	Rachel Voller
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	Maria Fyfe	(TU) UNISON	Steve Warwick
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	Ann Henderson	(TU) Unite	Tony Burke
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	Jim Mackechnie	(TU) Unite	Gail Cartmail
(CLP) Scottish Labour Party	Gordon McKay	(TU) Unite	Catherine Donovan
(CLP) South East region	Simon Burgess	(TU) Unite	Siobhan Endean
(CLP) South East region	Deborah Gardiner	(TU) Unite	Steve Hart
(CLP) South East region	Karen Landles	(TU) Unite	Maggie Ryan
(CLP) South East region	Martin Phillips	(TU) Unite	Adrian Weir
(CLP) South West region	Keir Dhillon	(TU) Unite	Jennifer Elliott
(CLP) South West region	Clare Moody	(TU) Unite	Tony Woodhouse
(CLP) South West region	Glyn Ford	(TU) Unite	Len McClusky
(CLP) South West region	Brenda Weston	(TU) Unity	Harry Hockaday
(CLP) Wales Labour Party	Nick Davies	(TU) USDAW	Ruth George
(CLP) Wales Labour Party	Gail Giles	(TU) USDAW	John Hannett
(CLP) Wales Labour Party	Annabelle Harle	(TU) USDAW	Fiona Wilson
(CLP) Wales Labour Party	Darren Williams	(R) East Midlands	Rory Palmer
(CLP) West Midlands region	Shaukat Ali	(R) East Midlands	Linda Woodings
(CLP) West Midlands region	Stephanie Peacock	(R) Eastern Region	Fred Grindrod
(CLP) West Midlands region	Lucy Seymour-Smith	(R) Eastern Region	Bhavna Joshi
(CLP) West Midlands region	Sandra Samuels	(R) Greater London region	Sam Gurney
(CLP) Yorkshire region	Jamie Hanley	(R) Greater London region	Lucy Anderson
(CLP) Yorkshire region	Emma Hoddinott	(R) North East region	Simon Henig
(CLP) Yorkshire region	George McManus	(R) North East region	Jayne Shotton
(CLP-YTH) East Midlands region	Rebecca Bailey	(R) North West region	Patrick McKinley
(CLP-YTH) Eastern region	Sam Goodby	(R) North West region	Ann Trafford
(CLP-YTH) Greater London region	Shani Gray	(R) Scottish Labour Party	Jackson Cullinane
(CLP-YTH) North region	Georgia Elliott	(R) Scottish Labour Party	Jill Merchant
(CLP-YTH) North West region	Rebecca Hodgson	(R) South East region	Michael Hassell
(CLP-YTH) Scotland	Helen Stephen	(R) South East region	Carol Hayton
(CLP-YTH) South East region	Daniel Chapman		



(R) South West region	Nick Ireland	Welsh Policy Forum (chair)	Garry Owen
(R) South West region	Libby Lisgo	Welsh Policy Forum	Huw Lewis
(R) Wales Labour Party	Stella Matthews	Shadow Cabinet	Ed Balls MP
(R) Wales Labour Party	Mark Whitcutt	Shadow Cabinet	Hilary Benn MP
(R) West Midlands region	Gerard Coyne	Shadow Cabinet	Stephen Twigg MP
(R) West Midlands region	Colleen Fletcher	Shadow Cabinet	Douglas Alexander MP
(R) Yorkshire region	Judith Blake	Shadow Cabinet	Liam Byrne MP
(R) Yorkshire region	Peter Box	Shadow Cabinet	Andy Burnham MP
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Ruth Cadbury	Shadow Cabinet	Rachel Reeves MP
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Roger Lawrence	Shadow Cabinet	Rosie Winterton MP
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Angela Cornforth	Shadow Cabinet	Yvette Cooper MP
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors	Sandy Martin	Co-operative Party	Nick Crofts
(LG) Local Government Association	Bryony Rudkin	Co-operative Party	Fay Tinnion
(LG) Local Government Association	Steve Reed	Co-operative Party (General Secretary)	Michael Stephenson
(LG) Local Government Association	Sharon Taylor	National Executive Committee	Luke Akehurst
(LG) Local Government Association	Catherine West	National Executive Committee	Johanna Baxter
(LG) COSLA	Michael Ross	National Executive Committee	Margaret Beckett MP
Socialist Societies	Emma Burnell	National Executive Committee	Keith Birch
Socialist Societies	Helen Gibson	National Executive Committee	Ann Black
Socialist Societies	Martin Rathfelder	National Executive Committee	Michael Cashman
BAME Labour	Gloria Mills	National Executive Committee	Angela Eagle MP
BAME Labour	Sen Kandiah	National Executive Committee	Sadiq Khan MP
BAME Labour	Roksana Fiaz	National Executive Committee	Harriet Harman MP
BAME Labour	Neeraj Patil	National Executive Committee	Diana Holland
Parliamentary Labour Party	David Watts MP	National Executive Committee	Jim Kennedy
Parliamentary Labour Party	Valerie Vaz MP	National Executive Committee	Andy Kerr
Parliamentary Labour Party	Kate Green MP	National Executive Committee	Paddy Lillis
Parliamentary Labour Party	Julie Hilling MP	National Executive Committee	Ken Livingstone
Parliamentary Labour Party	Gisela Stuart MP	National Executive Committee	Ann Lucas
Parliamentary Labour Party	Debbie Abrahams MP	National Executive Committee	Ed Miliband MP
Parliamentary Labour Party	Bill Esterson MP	National Executive Committee	Callum Munro
Parliamentary Labour Party	Steve McCabe MP	National Executive Committee	Eleanor Reeves
Parliamentary Labour Party	Alan Whitehead MP	National Executive Committee	Christine Shawcroft
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Derek Vaughan MEP	National Executive Committee	Dennis Skinner MP
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Linda McAvan MEP	National Executive Committee	David Sparks
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Richard Howitt MEP	National Executive Committee	Jennie Formby
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Mary Honeyball MEP	National Executive Committee	Wendy Nichols
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Arlene McCarthy MEP	National Executive Committee	Mary Turner
European Parliamentary Labour Party	Claude Moraes MEP	National Executive Committee	Keith Vaz MP
Labour Students	Benjamin Semens	National Executive Committee	Tom Watson MP
House of Lords	Lord Roy Kennedy	National Executive Committee	Martin Mayer
House of Lords	Baroness Margaret Wall	National Executive Committee	Glenis Willmott
Northern Ireland	Boyd Black	National Executive Committee	Andy Worth
LGBT Labour	Eleanor Saunders	National Executive Committee	Susan Lewis
Labour Party Disabled Members Group	Nicholas Russell	National Executive Committee	Harriet Yeo
Scottish Policy Forum (chair)	Margaret McCulloch	National Executive Committee	Conor McGinn
Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair)	Bill Butler	National Executive Committee	Rachael Maskell
Scottish Policy Forum (vice chair)	Fiona Farmer	National Executive Committee	

## Appendix 2 - Submitting Organisations

**Partnership into Power activity over the past year has including agreeing formal policy documents for the next cycle. Policy commissions have met throughout the year to discuss their work programmes, topical issues and the submissions received throughout the year. Below is a list of the organisations that made submissions directly to the policy commissions over the past year:**

3dr Architects	Hackney Central Branch Labour Party	Salisbury Labour Party
BDC	Hackney North and Stoke Newington CLP	Scottish Young Labour
Bitton and District Branch Labour Party	Halifax CLP	Scunthorpe CLP
Blaby and District Branch Labour Party	Haltenprice and Howden CLP	Selby and Ainty CLP
Blackpool South CLP	Halton Borough Council	SERA Scotland
Bolton North East CLP	Hitchen and Harpenden CLP	Skipton and Ripon CLP
Bosworth CLP	Hastings and Rye CLP	Socialist Health Association
Braintree and Witham Labour Party Branch	Henley CLP	South Derbyshire CLP
Brentford and Isleworth CLP	Hertsmere CLP	South Hampshire Rail Users
Brighton and Hove CLP	Holborn and St. Pancras CLP	South Ribble CLP
Brighton Pavilion CLP	Human Rights in Asia	South Staffordshire CLP
British Chambers of Commerce	Hyndburn CLP	South Tyneside Fabians
Caledonian Branch Labour Party	Institute of Mechanical Engineers	St Mungo's
Cambridge CLP	Islwyn CLP	Surrey County Labour Party
Carshalton and Wallington CLP	Kingswood CLP	Sutton and Devonport CLP
Christchurch CLP	Labour Campaign for International Development	The Children's Society
Churchend and Monkams Branch Labour Party	Labour Friends of Israel	The Noble Organisation Ltd
City Branch of Chichester Labour Party	Labour International	Thornbury and Yate CLP
City of Durham CLP	Labour's Policy Review	Tower Hamlets Labour Party
City of London Labour Party Branch	Leeds North West CLP	TSSA
City of York Labour Party	Lewisham and Deptford CLP	UNISON Labour Link
CWU	Lewisham West and Penge CLP	Unite
Detainees at Yarl's Wood Centre	Llanmorlais and District Branch Labour Party	USDAW
Dods	Milton Keynes South CLP	Welsh CLPs
Doncaster North CLP	Mitcham and Morden CLP	Walthamstow CLP
Dronfield Labour Party Discussion	North East Bedfordshire CLP	Weaver Vale CLP
Dudley North CLP	North East Somerset CLP	Welland and Dogsthorpe Labour Party
Dulwich & West Norwood CLP	Northampton Labour Party	Westminster North CLP
Dundee Policy Forum	Northern Ireland CLPs	Wigan Young Labour
Eddisbury CLP	Norwich South CLP	Winchester CLP
Ellesmere Port and Neston CLP	Nottingham South CLP	Witham CLP
Exchange Rate Reform Group	North West Regional Policy Forum	Witney CLP
Exeter CLP	Orpington CLP	Woodley and Whitegates Labour Party
The Fabian Society	Oxford and District Labour Party	Workington CLP
Ferndown Labour Party Branch	Oxford West and Abingdon CLP	Wyre Forest Labour Party
Gedling CLP	Oxford East CLP	Yeovil and District Trades Union Council
Glasgow North CLP	Peterborough CLP	
Glasgow Policy Forum	Prison Reform Trust	
Greenwich and Woolwich CLP	Respect for Animals	
Guildford Labour Party CLP	Robin Hood Tax Coalition	
	Rochdale CLP	

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