



NATIONAL



POLICY | FORUM

REPORT 2017



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NPF Elected Officers

NPF Chair

Ann Cryer (CLPs/Regions)



NPF Vice Chairs

Katrina Murray (CLPs/Regions)



Mick Whelan
(Trade unions and affiliates)



Shabana Mahmood
(Elected representatives)



Foreword

Welcome to the 2017 edition of the National Policy Forum (NPF) Report. I was delighted to be elected as Chair of the National Policy Forum in November 2016. I stood for the position as I have been a long-standing supporter of the NPF process ever since it was first introduced in the 1990s. Since then we have been through many changes, deepening and strengthening our institutions, to put members at the heart of our policy making.

The strengths of the NPF process have come to the fore this year. Once the snap election was called, Representatives sprang into action to work on the accelerated manifesto process agreed by the National Executive Committee as part of the Party's contingency planning for an early election.

The work of the last two years formed the basis of the Manifesto. Representatives took views on the NPF policy documents coming out of the National Policy Forum meeting last year, and the Leader's 10 pledges agreed at Annual Conference 2016. Combined with the work done by the NPF in 2015 – 2016, this was woven together what was heard through a consultation with Party members, and a series of manifesto priorities meetings with NPF Representatives and stakeholders. This process of consultation culminated in the Clause V meeting in May – the formal business of finalising the Manifesto – where the final document was unanimously agreed.

The detailed work of the policy commissions since the Party met in Liverpool last year is set out on the following pages. These reports focus on the manifesto content and process for agreement and will be debated on Conference floor across the week. A programme of policy seminars will also be running where delegates can raise ideas, discuss views and share their experience with members of Labour's Frontbench teams and NPF Representatives. You can find out more about these by visiting the Party Stand in the Brighton Centre.

As well as recording my thanks to all of the NPF Representatives for their hard work; on behalf of the Forum I sincerely thank all of those who

engaged with policy making, not just in the last weeks before the election but across the cycle of policy development which has run since the 2015 General Election. Thousands of people got involved - members and supporters, CLPs and local policy forums, stakeholders and the organisations – resulting in a manifesto which was truly a shared document, based on the views of the Party as a whole. Thank you all; your ideas make the difference and our superb manifesto would not have been the same without them. We can all be very proud indeed.

Ann Cryer
Chair of the National Policy Forum

About this document

The Labour Party is a democratic socialist party. We agree policy through a rolling programme of discussion and development across a Parliamentary cycle. The National Policy Forum – which is made up of representatives from all sections of the Party - is the body responsible for drafting documents, taking evidence and consulting with the Party. Every year the NPF reports on this work in the 'NPF Annual Report to Conference'. This document is the 2016/17 edition; in it you can read about the work of the NPF's eight policy commissions since Conference 2016.

To get involved visit

www.labourpolicyforum.org.uk the online home of Labour's policy development process. On this website you can find policy consultation documents published by the NPF, make submissions, get involved in the debates and get feedback from your representatives on the NPF. You can also follow the NPF on Twitter @labpolicyforum for updates and details of new consultations and events near you.

We want as many people as possible to get involved, so please do take part. Together we can build a policy platform to tackle the challenges our country faces, and build a Britain for the many not just a few.



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Early Years,
Education and Skills

Early Years, Education and Skills | Annual Report

Membership 2016/17

HM Opposition

Angela Rayner MP*
Gordon Marsden MP
Mike Kane MP
Tulip Siddiq MP

NEC

Christine Shawcroft*
Jasmin Beckett
James Asser
Mary Turner

CLPs and Regions

Cllr Peray Ahmet
Natalie Fleet
Dr Fiona Twycross AM
Simeon Elliott
Emma Ann Hardy
Cllr Laura Pidcock
Kate Purcell
Cllr Emma Toal
Stephanie Peacock
Clare Lally

Affiliates

Maggie Ryan
Callum Munro
Lisa Johnson
Allana Hoggard
Cllr June Nelson

Elected Reps

Cllr Richard Watts
Ian Austin MP
Cllr Anne Western

* Co-convenor

Policy Development

The Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission looks at issues relating to children's wellbeing, development and care, as well as education, training and skills from childhood through adulthood.

As we plan our country's future outside of the EU it is more essential than ever that we find a sustainable skills development model and embed a culture of reskilling and retraining. The National Policy Forum (NPF) in conjunction with the wider party is responsible for developing policy in this area and others to ensure that our country is preparing children and adults for life in the modern world.

The Commission began its activity this year at a seminar at the 2016 Labour Party Conference. This was attended by the Shadow Education Secretary, Angela Rayner, Lord Watson and Gordon Marsden MP, who also serve in the Shadow Education team. NEC member, Jasmin Beckett, gave an overview of the activities of the Commission from the previous year. There was a lively debate amongst delegates about various topics within the remit of education and skills. The topic of university living costs, particularly with regard to accommodation was raised, as was Sure Start, school structures and children's social care. Also highlighted were the ongoing teacher shortage and retention crisis and the reintroduction of grammar schools that had recently been announced by the Government. Angela Rayner discussed the campaign that had been launched that week at Conference which outlined the Labour Party's opposition to the Tories' grammar schools policy.

There was a two-day meeting of the NPF in Loughborough in November 2016. Two seminars on education and skills policy took place during the weekend and both were well attended by NPF Representatives. The seminars were an opportunity for Representatives to decide what should be the main focus of the policy commission's work for the next year. In the first session, the key challenges identified in the area of education and skills were the cost and availability of childcare, the fragmentation of the schools system and the narrowing of the school curriculum. Representatives put forward ideas for what the commission should prioritise and look at for the next session based on these key challenges.

Those present in the first session also discussed modern childcare, children's social care and safeguarding, social mobility, further education, careers services and apprenticeships.

The second seminar which took place on the Sunday also identified early years and childcare as a challenge. There was additional discussion of the issues in relation to further education and adult skills and the problems the sector is facing. The second session went on to identify that the Commission should consider childcare, adult skills and children's social care as its main priorities for the year ahead. There were also discussions on Ofsted, unpaid internships, Brexit and free school meals.

The newly reconstituted Commission met for the first time in early February 2017. Co-convenor Angela Rayner MP provided an outline of the ongoing legislation that was making its way through Parliament on further education. Mike Kane MP went on to discuss areas within schools policy which the shadow frontbench were currently focusing on. These included the teaching workforce, school assessment, school structures and pedagogy in the early years phase. The Commission had a broad discussion surrounding the National Education Service policy that had been announced at Labour Annual Conference the previous September as one of the Leader's 10 pledges. It was widely agreed that the activity of the Commission should be based around developing policy under this umbrella. The priority issues of the Commission were discussed and agreed as childcare, teaching workforce, adult skills and children's social care. Members present also discussed and debated submissions that had been sent in on issues such as children's mental health services in schools and speech and language therapy. The Commission took the opportunity to discuss school funding and the likely effect the drop in school budgets was having on services such as these.

The Commission met for a second time toward the end of February. Members present discussed the Government's proposed new National Funding Formula which once rolled out would have long lasting implications for all schools. Mike Kane MP, a member of the 'f40 campaign group' which comprises of MPs whose constituencies have



historically received lower levels of funding than neighbouring areas due to the current funding formula, spoke about the new formula and its limitations. The Commission debated the merits of a new formula and it was widely agreed that whilst a new formula was needed, that no school should unfairly lose out. Members also heard from Angela Rayner MP about the forthcoming White Paper which would be laying out the Government's plans to open new grammar schools. The Commission took the opportunity to discuss the many pieces of education legislation passing through Parliament at the time. Members also spent a portion of the meeting discussing submissions they had received on teacher workload, the use of GCSEs as an accountability measure and good practice of early intervention they had seen in their local communities.

The Commission came together again in late March. At this meeting, members heard from experts in schools and adult skills policy to inform the recently launched consultation document. The National Association for Headteachers (NAHT) came to speak about various campaigns that they were currently leading on in their work. These include primary school assessment, the English Baccalaureate (Ebacc), then National Funding Formula and school structures and accountability. These were all current issues that had been considered by the Commission previously, and they were very interested to have further opportunity to discuss them. Representatives also took verbal evidence from the Learning and Work Institute about adult skills. The Commission discussed the neglect of the area in recent years and the cuts to funding. Members were concerned to hear about the decline of Family Learning Services which are delivered through schools and universities. There was also a discussion about access for people with special educational needs and people from BAME communities and the challenges they face in accessing skills training, as well as the economic benefits of adult education and the role of workplace learning. Members were keen to discuss issues that had been raised in submissions to the Commission. These topics included, but were not limited to, international students, the curriculum and school admission arrangements.

Manifesto development

Following the announcement of an early General Election, a process of accelerated manifesto development took place. The Commission's role in this was to expedite the work from 2015 and 2016 in order to identify priorities from this work that should inform the education sections of Labour's manifesto. Representatives looked at manifesto priorities submitted by members, supporters and stakeholder groups. This was done through a series of telephone conferences which took place before the Clause V meeting which agreed the manifesto. The Commission considered all policy areas within their remit and there were varied contributions and priorities identified; many of these went on to be reflected in the final document.

Schools

With regard to schools policy there was a firm view that Labour's policy should be about raising standards in all schools, regardless of type. The Commission were keen that Labour should keep its commitment that all teachers should have qualified teacher status. Teaching assistants and other school support staff should also receive better support within schools. Representatives said that they would like to see Labour commit to a review of school assessment and the English Baccalaureate (Ebacc) and were pleased that the manifesto committed the Party to looking at primary school assessment.

Universal Free School Meals

The Commission wishes to pay tribute to our colleague and former Co-convenor, Mary Turner. Mary was a passionate advocate for universal free school meals and always ensured this issue remained firmly on the agenda. People will remember her for her tireless campaigning on this issue and Labour's manifesto commitment to introduce universal free school meals for primary school children at this year's election was in no small part due to her hard work.

Teachers

The Commission has noted throughout its activity that teacher recruitment and retention is a worrying issue. Teacher workload and public sector pay restraint was identified by experts that spoke to the Commission as reasons why this has



become a growing problem. This was reflected in the manifesto, with Labour committing to lifting the public sector pay cap. Commission members want to see greater focus on trusting teachers and valuing the teaching profession and were glad that the manifesto included measures to include teachers in curriculum development.

Early years and childcare

Commission members were clear that they wanted to see a better childcare offer than the one currently offered by the Government, with a move towards a universal childcare system in the future. Members also identified better support for families including grandparents and paternity rights as a priority. There was broad agreement that Labour should commit to protecting Sure Start and that adequate support for all families was encouraged. Representatives also highlighted that the quality of the workforce in the early years sector should be raised in order to improve social mobility. This was a key finding of the 2015/16 Children and Education Commission's Priority document. Transitioning to a graduate-led early years workforce became a key feature of Labour's early years offer at the election.

Further education and apprenticeships

There were detailed discussions concerning further education and apprenticeships where members were keen that Labour should put further education on an equal footing with higher education. The Commission wants to see more support for people accessing apprenticeships in terms of living costs, particularly people with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND). On the issue of apprenticeships, the Commission's discussions to date had arrived at the conclusion that any apprenticeship schemes put forward should be done in conjunction with and inform the Industrial Strategy. In the development of apprenticeships, members indicated that they would like to see more training on the job with a focus on quality not quantity. Further education was a key theme of the education section of the manifesto, with many of the issues raised by the Commission appearing as commitments.

Adult skills

There was a strong feeling amongst Commission members that Labour should commit to revitalising lifelong learning which has been much neglected

as a policy area. Members were keen to see adult skills become a key feature of the National Education Service, making sure that training was meeting local needs. Greater focus and investment in lifelong learning was a key feature of the manifesto with the Commission's work having informed policy development.

University tuition fees

The debate surrounding the cost of accessing higher education appeared in many of the submissions the Commission received during this year's work programme and Representatives were very keen that access should be improved for young people to go on to higher education.

The Labour Party manifesto outlined Labour's plan to abolish university tuition fees in line with many other northern European countries in order that no-one is priced out of accessing higher education.

Children's social care and children with SEND

Within children's social care, the Commission are concerned that children with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND) are not receiving adequate support. Members want to see fairer admissions and better support for these children. The Labour manifesto committed to delivering a strategy for children with SEND which would include embedding SEND more substantially into teacher training.

Current issues

School budgets

School funding continues to be a grave and growing problem for schools in England. Extra funding committed by the Conservatives will not stop the cuts to budgets which the Institute of Fiscal Studies have said will mean a 4.6 per cent cut between 2015 and 2018. Schools have been clear that cuts to budgets will cost teachers, school support staff and mean larger class sizes and a smaller curriculum offer.

School funding formed a key part of discussions of the Commission this year, and was frequently highlighted in many of the verbal and written submissions. Labour has been clear that no schools should lose funding so no child's education is harmed. Labour's 2017 manifesto committed the Party to properly funding the schools system in order that no teachers are lost and that all children

are given access to the resources they need to access an excellent education.

National Funding Formula

In addition to funding for schools being cut, many schools have also been facing the prospect of further funding changes through the Conservatives' proposals to amend the National Funding Formula. Labour supports the principle of a new formula – the current one is based on outdated measurements and we need to ensure schools are funded according to their needs – but the proposals the Government has come forward with to date would see most schools losing funding.

The Commission had many conversations on this issue throughout the year, recognising that many areas around the country had historically been underfunded but that many more schools would lose out based on the proposed new settlement.

Grammar schools

The Conservative Government's White Paper on schools, published in September 2016 outlined plans to reintroduce grammar schools into the schools system.

The grammar school debate featured heavily in the discussions of the Commission this year and many submissions also considered this policy. There was agreement that the Labour Party should oppose this policy as there is no evidence that a selective school system aids social mobility and it is contrary to Labour's commitment that all children should be given a fair chance. Following the General Election, the Conservative Government paused its plans to bring back grammar schools.

Teacher recruitment and retention

Teacher recruitment and retention remains a growing problem in England. The most recent data confirmed the current rate of qualified teachers joining the profession is at its lowest for five years with the number of unqualified teachers growing. The Education Select Committee's inquiry into the issue which concluded earlier this year found that the issue is deepening with the current Government lacking a long-term plan to tackle the issue.

Many submissions discussed teacher workload as a continuing problem, with Ofsted and the assessment system being raised as having an effect. The Commission discussed these issues and heard from the NAHT who also touched on these issues. Representatives agree that this is a key problem that the Labour Party should continue to examine.

Adult skills and Brexit

Brexit will weigh heavily on skills policy in England and it featured in many discussions of the Commission this year. Although it is not clear what will happen once the UK leaves the European Union, it is expected that levels of skilled migration will be hit which will place greater importance on the UK workforce and its ability to reskill and adapt.

As Brexit negotiations continue the Commission will keep a close eye on the implications these could have on changes to workers' rights and the effect immigration will have on skills and the workforce in England.



Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2016-17 the Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics.

- VAT on private schools
- Work experience

- A singular examination board
- Tuition fee levels
- Attracting and retaining qualified teachers
- Behaviour management training
- Charitable status of public schools
- Childcare
- Class sizes
- Collaboration between schools
- Compulsory testing in primary schools
- Working conditions and contracts for Teaching Assistants
- Data collection
- Education Welfare Officers
- Education and Health Care (EHC) Plan
- Faith schools
- Finnish model of education
- Fragmentation of the schools system
- Free schools
- Funding for sixth form colleges
- Funding formula
- Grammar schools
- Health and wellbeing in the curriculum
- Health and social welfare support
- Local accountability of schools
- National Education Service
- Ofsted
- Professional development for teachers
- Qualified teachers in Early Years
- Regulation of alternative education providers
- Religious Education
- Rural schools
- School curriculum
- SEND staff levels
- Skills training for JSA claimants
- Support for students
- Support for teachers and staff
- Sure Start Children's Centres
- Tax subsidies for childcare
- Teacher training
- Technical colleges
- Technology and science

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Economy,
Business and Trade

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Membership 2016/17

HM Opposition

John McDonnell MP*
Barry Gardiner MP
Rebecca Long-Bailey MP†¹
Chi Onwurah MP

NEC

Jennie Formby*
Andy Kerr
Pete Willsman

CLPs and Regions

Jackie Baillie
Boyd Black
Karen Constantine
Fiona Dent
Jos Gallacher
Rachel Garnham
Nicky Gavron
Jeevan Jones
Eva Murray
Katrina Murray
Sam Pritchard

Affiliates

Tony Burke
John Hannett
Claire McCarthy
Dave Prentis
Tim Roache
Dave Ward

Elected Reps

Anneliese Dodds MEP
Chris Leslie MP
Mary Maguire

* Co-convenor

†¹ Replaced Clive Lewis MP

Policy Development

The past year has seen Labour change the face of economic debate in this country thanks in part to the work of Labour's members including the Policy Commission, all of whom helped to create our General Election manifesto. Our policy alternatives now form the centre ground of political economic debate, with a fair taxation system, properly funded public services and a more accountable, democratic economy at the heart of the conversation.

Labour's economic strategy is about delivering a fairer, more prosperous society for the many, not just a few. While the Conservatives have overseen falling wages, public services in crisis and an austerity policy which has failed even on its own terms, Labour's offer of hope and our fully-costed manifesto clearly carried the debate during the General Election campaign.

We can now see widespread excitement about transformative economic ideas as the failures of the Conservatives become more apparent. Labour should be proud of our role in challenging Tory austerity and shifting the economic debate towards our socialist alternative.

Policy Development

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

The Economy Policy Commission is a new Policy Commission this year. Responding to the creation of the new government department, the Department for International Trade, this year's Economy Policy Commission focused on building a strong economy and integrating our industrial strategy with a twenty-first century trade strategy.

A separate Policy Commission, Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission, was created this year, to develop Labour's policy on social security which was previously in the remit of the Economy Policy Commission in conjunction with Workplace 2020.

Annual Conference 2016 prioritised and discussed contemporary resolutions within the remit of the Economy Policy Commission.

These included composites on industrial strategy and public services, as well as employment rights. The industrial strategy and public services composites called on the Labour Party to oppose Government austerity and prioritise investment to provide for high-quality public services and in order to boost economic growth. The composites on employment rights called on the Labour Party to introduce a Real Living Wage for all workers and for better enforcement of the Real Living Wage. It also called for a flexible State Pension age and the protection and promotion of workers' rights post-Brexit.

The Economy Policy Commission held a policy seminar at Annual Conference 2016. This was attended by Shadow Ministers, Policy Commission members and a large number of delegates who contributed to a detailed discussion across economic and social issues. There was a wide ranging discussion about reform to corporate governance, where a number of issues were raised including the use of agency workers and the recent scandals involving Sports Direct and BHS. A number of social security issues were discussed, including the need to reform the Work Capability Assessment, in particular, and the general operation of the social security system and disabled people. A number of delegates spoke about the formation of Labour's new industrial strategy, including the need for a skills strategy, a comprehensive green energy strategy, and the involvement of devolved authorities.

National Policy Forum representatives from across the country met in Loughborough on the weekend of 19-20 November 2016 to discuss the key issues and topics affecting the economy, business and trade and to consider what the priorities should be for the year ahead.

At three sessions across the weekend, representatives raised the importance of investing in infrastructure, both traditional, such as housing, transport, energy and communications, as well as the UK's digital and high-tech infrastructure. Representatives, while highlighting the important role that government could, and should, play in this also spoke about the opportunity of working with the private sector to 'crowd-in' investment. Opportunities arising from changing technology were discussed within the context of some of

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the potential challenges that it poses for workers and the labour market. Representatives were in agreement that if managed well the changing nature of our economy could be turned into new and exciting opportunities that could deliver shared prosperity and secure well-paid jobs for all. Representatives raised the need to end insecure work, strengthen trade union and worker rights and improving wages through measures such as collective bargaining.

Representatives also discussed the importance of ensuring that future trade deals are mutually beneficial, democratic and transparent. It was noted that human rights and the sustainability agenda should be included as crucial elements of future trade deals. Concerns with recent trade deals were highlighted about the Investor-State Dispute Settlement systems of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) and the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA).

At Loughborough an economy plenary session was led by Rebecca Long-Bailey MP, on six key areas ahead of the Spring Budget, these sessions were: investment, earnings, exports and trade, productivity, low pay and insecure work and innovation, efficiency and competitiveness. Groups discussed these areas and used interactive technology, LUMI, to answer questions and list priorities. Discussions on tables included the need to invest in vital infrastructure, and to crowd-in private sector investment. Representatives endorsed Labour's investment programme, Real Living Wage and wanted to ensure proper trade union rights and support for small and medium sized businesses (SMEs).

Throughout 2017 the Commission investigated the priorities that came out of the National Policy Forum meeting: how we ensure we have the right skills and infrastructure, how we rebalance the economy between the UK's regions and nations, and how we develop a proper industrial strategy that is integrated with a fair and sustainable trade strategy and creates the decent jobs of the future.

During our first meeting in February 2017, the Shadow Chancellor, John McDonnell MP, and the Shadow Secretary of State for International Trade,

Barry Gardiner MP, and Shadow Minister for Industrial Strategy, Chi Onwurah MP, attended the meeting and provided an update on the work of their respective shadow teams.

John updated the Commission on the reviews undertaken for the Shadow Treasury team into key institutions of economic decision making; Lord Kerslake, the former Head of the Civil Service, conducted a review into the workings of the Treasury and Professor Prem Sikka conducted a review into the operation of HM Revenue and Customs and whether it is fit for purpose.

Barry Gardiner MP, Shadow Secretary of State for International Trade, provided an update on behalf of the Shadow International Trade team. Barry said that the Government's rush to make, and be seen to make, free trade deals with the rest of the world carried the risk that they would not be in the UK's best advantage. In the discussion that followed the Commission noted that there was a reason free trade deals historically took very long to negotiate; they are intrinsically very complex agreements. Commission members pointed to the recent example of the rhetoric surrounding a possible free trade deal with the United States, including agricultural standards and NHS privatisation as reasons to be cautious. Barry said that the Labour Party's position was one of fair and open trade, and as a result of its careful analysis of the deal Labour would not accept CETA. As endorsed by the NEC at Conference 2016 any future free trade deal should include vital protections for workers' rights and environmental protections.

Chi Onwurah MP, Shadow Minister for Industrial Strategy, provided an update on behalf of the Shadow BEIS team. Chi discussed the publication of the Shadow BEIS industrial strategy consultation. Chi notified the Commission that almost 1,000 responses had been received. These responses were coming from a range of stakeholders including industry, trade unions and members of the Labour Party. Chi highlighted that the consultation was challenge-led and mission-orientated. The Commission noted that the current Conservative Government had abandoned its role as the so-called party of business and that this presented a real opportunity for the Labour Party that we must capitalise on.

The Commission met in March 2017, after the Budget on 8th March. John reminded the Commission that this was Philip Hammond's first Budget, and that it was one based on failure and unfairness. John said that the Budget showed that the Tories had no answers to the challenges facing working people and have broken their promise of not increasing National Insurance. Despite Conservative claims that he was building the foundations of a stronger and fairer Britain John explained that they were presiding over the slowest recovery since the 1920s, with growth and average earnings growth downgraded yet again. John focused on the attempted increase in NICs, explaining that at the Budget we saw the overall outlook for the UK economy deteriorate further with the Government choosing to respond to this by raising taxes on low and middle income self-employed people. The Commission discussed the Budget and concluded that Labour's opposition to the Government's attempted increase in Class 4 National Insurance contributions was right; increasing Class 4 National Insurance contributions by one per cent in April 2018 and another one per cent in April 2019 would have taken £2 billion from low and middle income self-employed people.

Barry Gardiner MP, Shadow Secretary of State for International Trade, provided an update on behalf of the Shadow International Trade team. Barry spoke about the need for an EU free trade agreement but cautioned that the current Conservative Government was using it as a pretext for creating a low tax, deregulated economy. A discussion followed where Commission members echoed these concerns and stressed the need for this to be a focus of the Commission's work throughout the year.

Rebecca Long-Bailey MP, Shadow Secretary of State for BEIS, provided an update on behalf of the Shadow BEIS team. Rebecca reiterated the points made by John on the Budget, that it was based on failure and unfairness. Rebecca said that productivity forecasts have remained largely constant. Rebecca said that Philip Hammond has said that "long-term sustainable growth requires us to raise our national productivity", but the UK's productivity gap with the G7 currently stands at 18 percentage points, the largest gap since 1991. The Commission discussed the Tories' record on

productivity with contributions highlighting the need for investment and the protection of trade union rights as key elements in overcoming the UK's productivity problem.

Labour's manifesto

Following the announcement of the snap General Election the policy development process was expedited.

The Economy Policy Commission convened a conference call in late April to discuss priorities for the Labour Party General Election manifesto based on the work of the Commission. In this call a number of specific priorities were identified within areas under the remit of the Commission. This conference call was also used to consider further submissions which had been made to the Commission and to consider members manifesto priorities.

Topics discussed included: investment in skills and infrastructure and manufacturing, the need for a robust and active industrial strategy and investment in public services.

The Commission identified four priority issues within its National Policy Forum 2017 Consultation document. Each of these issues, and those issues raised in the conference call, were included in Labour's manifesto, which was agreed unanimously at the Clause V meeting.

Economy

At the heart of Labour's manifesto was an ambitious plan to radically transform and upgrade and re-balance our economy. Labour's economic strategy was centred on delivering a fairer, more prosperous society. The manifesto committed explicitly to putting the UK on a high-growth, high-skilled, high-wage course, to upgrade the economy and rewrite the rules of a rigged system.

This would be done within the constraints of Labour's Fiscal Credibility Rule, which commits Labour in government to set out a plan, in normal times, to eliminate the current spending deficit on a forward-looking, five-year rolling timescale, while ensuring government retains the flexibility to invest, and with the proviso of suspending

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targets when monetary policy is unable to function normally.

Business

Labour's manifesto reflected the priorities of the Commission, and those voiced in many submissions, by supporting small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). The Commission frequently noted that SMEs are the backbone of our economy, providing 60 per cent of private-sector jobs. In order to provide the support many small businesses need Labour's manifesto committed the Party to reinstate the lower small-business Corporation Tax rate. It also promised a package of reforms to business rates, to scrap quarterly reporting and tackle the problem of late payments.

Ownership of the economy

The manifesto put people at the heart of the economy, echoing many of the concerns raised by the Commission. It committed a future Labour government to more democratic ownership structures to help deliver an economy that works for all. This included the nationalisation and collective ownership of the water, rail and postal sectors, as well as significant parts of the energy sector. It also included giving people a stake in our economy by doubling the size of the co-operative sector and introducing a 'right to own', making employees the buyer of first refusal when a company they work for is up for sale.

The Commission frequently discussed the need to diversify and re-balance our economy and the means of ownership and this was discussed at length in the manifesto with its belief that greater democratic ownership will deliver for the many and lead to a fairer distribution of wealth.

A fair deal at work

The Commission throughout the year discussed the changing nature of work and the need for labour market reforms to deliver the security and fulfilment that working people deserve. The manifesto included many of the concerns raised by the Commission including the need to ban zero-hours contracts, strengthening trade union and workers' rights, including guaranteeing trade unions access to workplaces and extending collective bargaining. Our 20-point plan also committed us to, amongst other things, equal

rights for all workers on day one, repeal of the Trade Union Act, ending the public sector pay cap and introducing pay ratios for firms bidding for government contracts.

The Commission believes that the world of work is in flux and that a future Labour government is right to create a new Ministry of Labour to empower workers and their trade unions as part of creating decent work for all.

Corporate governance

The manifesto acknowledged that the majority of businesses play by the rules, but that our business culture doesn't always work. Scandals such as the failure of BHS show how the long-term growth of a company can be sacrificed for the sake of short-term gain. The manifesto included reforms to the way companies operate to make sure that they stay focused on delivering shared wealth. Labour promised to amend company law so that directors owe a duty directly not only to shareholders but to employees, customers, the environment and the wider public, as well as ensuring every takeover proposal has a clear plan to protect workers and pensioners.

Trade

The manifesto laid out the principles of a modern, twenty-first century, trade strategy that builds fair and sustainable trading relationships with partners around the world. This is increasingly important in order to promote UK trade and take advantage of opportunities outside the European Union. The manifesto includes a commitment to review our historic investment treaties with other countries, ensuring they are fit for purpose for the 21st century, as well as pledges to protect key social, employment and environmental rights and standards.

This reflected the discussions held by the Commission on importance of ensuring that future trade deals are mutually beneficial, democratic and transparent.

Industrial strategy and investment

Labour's industrial strategy has been built on by the work of the Commission. Last year, we consulted on the broad principles of an effective, twenty-first century industrial strategy. This year Commission built on this by looking at how we

develop our industrial strategy under the umbrella of a sustainable and diverse industrial strategy, to be implemented at national and local level.

Our manifesto committed us to industrial strategy missions that would achieve 60 per cent of the UK's energy coming from low-carbon or renewables and for the UK to have the highest proportion of high-skilled jobs in the OECD by 2030.

Key issues coming through from the various workstreams of the Commission have been reflected in Labour's manifesto, including the National Investment Bank, procurement reform and additional investment in research and development.

Our National Transformation Fund would invest £250bn over ten years to upgrade Britain's economy including in research and development. Our industrial strategy would also be supported by our National Education Service's skills agenda, our high-standards procurement policy, and targeted government support where there are gaps in UK supply chains.

Taxation

The manifesto set out progressive and ambitious changes to taxation. The Commission received numerous submissions and regularly discussed the need for taxation reform.

This was reflected in the manifesto with the commitment that working people would be guaranteed no rises in income tax for 95 per cent of earners, and no increases in personal National Insurance Contributions or the rate of VAT.

At the same time, Labour will be asking those with the broadest shoulders to pay a little more. Only the top five per cent of earners would contribute more in tax to help fund our public services, with the 45p rate of tax beginning at £80,000 per year and the 50p rate reintroduced from £123,000 per year.

The Commission believes that these changes, alongside returning Corporation Tax for large companies to 26 per cent and reversing Conservative giveaways to the wealthy via Capital Gains Tax and Inheritance Tax, will create a fairer taxation system; a taxation system that underpins our shared prosperity.

Current Issues

Trade

Labour is clear that we are pro-trade and pro-investment. The future prosperity of the UK is dependent on minimising trade barriers, both tariff and non-tariff, that prevent us from exporting. We want to create good jobs and sustainable economic growth, and an open, rules-based trading system can help us achieve this.

We must create a modern, twenty-first century, trade strategy that builds fair and sustainable trading relationships with partners around the world. This is increasingly important in order to promote UK trade and take advantage of opportunities outside the European Union. Labour is committed to building a trade strategy that ensures future trade deals are mutually beneficial, democratic and transparent with strong protections for employment rights.

The Commission believes that recent examples of some trade deals such as CETA (EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement) highlight more than ever the need for a truly progressive and democratic twenty-first century trade strategy.

The future of work

Submissions to the Commission told us that the changing nature of capitalism, the workplace and work pose significant challenges and opportunities for the Labour Party.

The Commission believes that that the opportunities arising from changing technologies will transform our world; this will usher in a new era of fast technology-driven change, and will transform our workplaces, economies and the world. The potential opportunities offered by technological advance are enormous. However, the risks are also great. If not managed properly, it has the potential to exacerbate inequality of income, wealth and capital. This is particularly concerning given the existing trend in the labour market towards low-paid, low-skilled and insecure work.

Submissions to the Commission told us that only through structural and institutional changes to the labour market will we achieve this. The Commission believes this means looking at democratisation, strengthening trade union and

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workers' rights and their enforcement and new forms of organisation and ownership as central planks in the transformation of our economy.

Austerity and investment

Submissions to the Commission told us that government austerity was a failing policy and that greater investment in skills, infrastructure and public services was needed to grow the economy, create jobs and boost productivity. The result from the General Election was a clear rejection of the politics of austerity.

The Commission believes that proper investment in the UK's productive potential is the only way that we can deliver real and sustainable growth. The Commission believes that Labour's National Investment Bank, and network of regional investment banks, will be essential in achieving this.

The Commission agreed that Labour's rejection of the politics of austerity was the only way to deliver rising prosperity, rising living standards and good-quality public services. The Commission welcomed the inclusion in the manifesto of Labour's Fiscal Credibility Rule.

Pay

Submissions to the Commission told us that chronic low pay was a problem affecting both the productivity of the UK economy and the living standards of working people. The Commission agreed that action was urgently needed to tackle the issue. The Commission welcomed Labour's manifesto commitment to a £10 Real Living Wage by 2020.

The Commission also welcomed Labour's manifesto commitment to investment in a fair deal at work by creating a new Ministry of Labour, empowering workers and their trade unions.

Submissions to the Commission endorsed the commitment to a maximum pay ratio of 20:1 in the public sector and in companies bidding for public contracts, as well as the commitment to end the public sector pay cap.

The Commission believes that we need to build on this good work to ensure that work always provides people with security and fulfilment, in a world where workers' rights are strengthened and trade union rights are recognised.

Public services

The Commission believes that we need to change the debate on public services in Britain. The Commission notes that the current Government has undermined our public services at every turn by failing to invest in our hospitals, schools, and police, and failing to invest in the people delivering these services, in addition to increasing privatisation and outsourcing of services at an excessive cost to taxpayers, service users and public sector workers.

The Commission believes that a successful economy depends on the services that support working people; from childcare to transport, housing to lifelong learning and rejects the agenda of cuts being delivered by the Government and that investment is urgently needed.

Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2016-17 the Economy, Business and Trade Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics.

- Adult education
- Anti-austerity policy
- Apprenticeships
- Automation
- Banking regulation
- Ban on zero-hour contracts
- Basic Income
- Brexit
- Building a skilled workforce
- Business investment
- Business rates
- Car manufacturing
- CETA (EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement)
- Changing the Companies Act
- Community ownership of goods
- Construction industry
- Consumer rights
- Co-operative investment banks
- Corporation Tax
- Council tax rates
- Deflation
- Developing an industrial policy
- Digital revolution
- Economic diversification
- Economic justice
- Economic modelling
- Employer and employee NICs
- Employment tribunal access
- Encouraging investment
- Equal treatment for volunteers
- Exports
- Financial Transaction Tax
- Free trade
- Gift Aid
- Gig economy
- Government debt
- Graduate Tax
- Green sector development
- Income Tax
- Individual Saving Accounts
- Industrial strategy
- Inflation
- Infrastructure investment fund
- Interest rates
- International trade
- Investment banks
- Investment in technology
- Land Tax
- Landownership
- Late invoice payments
- Living standards
- Living Wage
- Local economies
- Market intervention
- Maximum pay
- Monetary Policy Committee
- National debt
- Nationalisation
- National public bank
- North Sea oil revenues
- Pay ratios
- Post Offices
- Productivity in the economy
- Publicly run industry
- Publicly run services
- Rebalancing the economy towards manufacturing
- Recruitment agencies
- Redefining economy development
- Reducing inequality
- Reform of public services
- Research and Development
- Robin Hood Tax
- Small business creation
- Small project funding
- Sovereign wealth funds
- Sugar tax
- Support for businesses
- Supporting British companies
- Supporting co-operatives
- Sustainability in the economy
- Sustainable finance
- Tax avoidance
- Tax justice
- The future of capitalism
- The Minimum Wage
- Trade deficit
- Trade standards
- Trade surplus
- Trade tariffs

- Trading standards
- Transaction tax
- Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
- Universal Basic Income
- Unlocking unproductive capital
- Utilities nationalisation
- VAT
- Wage ratio
- Wage stagnation
- Workers on boards
- Workers' rights
- Work-life balance
- Zero-hours contracts

“ “ ” ”
NATIONAL ” ”
“ **POLICY FORUM** ”
POLICY COMMISSION
ANNUAL REPORTS ”
“ ”

Environment,
Energy and Culture

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Membership List

HM Opposition

Sue Hayman MP†^{*}
Louise Haigh MP
Tom Watson MP
Alan Whitehead MP

NEC

Margaret Beckett MP*
Kezia Dugdale MSP
Martin Mayer

CLPs and Regions

Nikki Belfield
Amber Courtney
Suzi Cullinane
George Downs
James Elliott
Andy Furlong
Carolyn Harris
Estelle Hart
Simon Henig
Joanne McCarron
Isobel Morris
Wendy Simon

Affiliates

Isabelle Gutierrez
Gloria Mills
Beryl Shepherd
Melanie Smallman

Elected Reps

Seb Dance MEP
Mike Ross
Gavin Shuker MP

* Co-Convenor

†¹ Replaced Rachael Maskell MP

Policy Development

The Environment, Energy and Culture Policy Commission is tasked with considering issues related to environment, food, rural affairs, energy, climate change, culture, digital, media and sport. The Commission was newly formed this cycle and covers areas previously under the remit of the Communities Policy Commission.

At the Annual Conference policy seminar covering these areas, Rachael Maskell spoke in her capacity as Shadow Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs of the need to develop a post-Brexit agricultural and farming system for the United Kingdom and the need for a campaign to tackle air pollution. Delegates raised issues including bovine tuberculosis and free museum entry. A discussion was also held on issues connected to the energy industry with fuel poverty, nuclear power and other low carbon and renewable solutions considered.

At the National Policy Forum meeting in November two dedicated sessions were held to discuss the key challenges across the areas covered by this new commission. In these discussions NPF Representatives spoke about issues such as: air pollution, food security, climate commitments. Cultural issues including active participation funding for museums were considered. In a second roundtable the priorities for further policy development were considered and discussed. It was noted that, in particular, the Party should have a strong rural offer and that cyber security should be addressed in greater detail.

The newly convened Commission held its first meeting in early February. Shadow Ministers gave updates from the Shadow Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy and the Shadow Culture, Media and Sport teams. The Shadow Ministerial update from Alan Whitehead MP covered issues such as decarbonising the heat system and increasing renewable energy in transport as part of a wider policy platform to meet the fourth and fifth carbon budgets. Louise Haigh MP spoke about her work on the Digital Economy Bill, the rollout of broadband, digital skills and the takeover of Sky by 21st Century Fox. Following these updates there was a discussion on the upcoming 'Repeal Bill' and what it would need to contain to allow existing regulations to be followed without interruption.

Members of the Commission considered composites and motions ruled non-contemporary from Annual Conference. The Commission also discussed submissions which had been received via the Labour Policy Forum website. Submissions received covered issues including future energy security, preserving jobs in a new green economy along with reform of the Common Agricultural Policy.

At this first meeting the Commission was tasked with writing a draft consultation document taking on board priorities which came forward from the NPF meeting and submissions made to the Commission. It was agreed that three priority areas were to be taken forward for further examination in the consultation document. Priority issues identified were: continuing to lead in tackling global climate change, developing post-Brexit agricultural and environmental policies for the future, and lastly, widening access to and delivering support for culture and the arts. The Commission also considered potential invitees for a future evidence session to reflect the priority areas.

A second meeting was held in late February. The Commission received updates from the Shadow Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy team. The update was focused on the preparation of a low-carbon industrial strategy and the impact of transitioning to an energy system with 60 per cent of energy deriving from low or zero-carbon sources by 2030. The need to focus future carbon capture and storage investment around energy-intensive industries was mentioned as was the promise held by tidal lagoon projects around the United Kingdom. The Shadow Ministerial update was followed by a discussion on stripping carbon from the energy system and how best to facilitate this. It was noted that projects between unions and industry could help to demonstrate the best ways to go about achieving decarbonisation.

Submissions received through the Labour Policy Forum website since the last meeting were discussed, topics covered a number of different issues, including support for renewables, fracking and reducing future carbon emissions and concerns about environmental protections.

The impact of Brexit on areas covered by the Commission was considered at this meeting as part



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of the work being doing on Brexit by the wider NPF. It was noted that currently applicable EU-derived regulations face future uncertainty across areas covered by the Commission such as the nuclear industry, the environment and climate targets. It was noted by the Commission that, even should existing regulations be kept, they would likely require enforcement by new domestic bodies.

This year's National Policy Forum consultation was officially launched on 17th March between the second and third meetings of the Policy Commission. It invited submissions to be made to relevant Policy Commissions in response to the consultation documents and was due to close at the end of May.

A number of organisations submitted evidence to the Policy Commission as part of the consultation including; SERA, WWF, Wildlife Trusts, Campaign to Protect Rural England, Sustain, Fabian Society and Arts Award.

The Commission held its third meeting and evidence session in March with a number of expert invitees from industry, think tanks and academia. Invitees were: Shane Tomlinson Director at E3G, Professor Adisa Azapagic from the University of Manchester, Andrew Clark the Director of Policy at the National Farmers Union (NFU) and Martin Nesbit a Senior Fellow and Head of Climate and Environmental Governance Programme at the Institute for European Environmental Policy (IEEP).

The evidence session was split into two parts, with each part taking evidence in line with priorities previously identified by the Commission on energy and climate change issues and separately on the future of environmental and agricultural policy. The evidence received in this third meeting was thorough and spread over a number of issues. During the first part the Commission heard about the benefits of a decentralised energy system, the importance of energy efficiency measures in reducing total carbon emissions, the uncertainty by political factors such as Brexit and the new American President, the role played by setting ambitious climate targets, the Green Investment Bank and the challenges arising from transitioning to a low-carbon system.

During the second part of the evidence session the Commission took evidence on: new regulatory

bodies after Brexit; the issues of trade and labour across the agricultural sector; future trading arrangements for agricultural produce; the threat of a deregulatory agenda and allocating agricultural subsidies by productivity rather than land. Across both sessions the impact of Brexit was highlighted and it was stressed that the impact of Brexit across policy areas overall would be significant.

At this third meeting the Commission received further updates from the Shadow Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy team from Alan Whitehead MP detailing the work of the team since the Commission met last. Alan spoke of the difficulty of 'transposing' existing EU directives and regulations into UK law and noted that this would also be an issue of particular importance to the Shadow Environment, Food and Rural Affairs team. He also spoke of the fact that the Government had not yet released its 'emissions reductions plan' which had been delayed since 2016. Following this update the Commission held a discussion on Hinkley Point C and the ongoing issues with the proposed nuclear project at Moorside.

The Commission considered a number of further submissions which were received as part of the consultation process following the publication of the consultation document. Received submissions spoke about the need to consider a future regime to regulate the genetically modified crops, to have a long-term plan to prevent flooding and to encourage investment into emerging renewable technologies.

Labour's Manifesto

Following the announcement of the snap General Election the Commission convened a conference call in late April to discuss priorities for the Labour Party General Election Manifesto based on the work the National Policy Forum had conducted on policy issues since 2015 and submissions through the stakeholder engagement process on priorities for the manifesto. During this call the Commission members spoke of their policy priorities for the upcoming manifesto based on what had been heard by the Commission throughout the year. This included increased public ownership across the energy sector and strengthened regulation of the media.

During this conference call Sue Hayman spoke of the recurring issue of air quality and the need for action to bring air pollution within legal limits, the issue of fracking under national parks and rural broadband provision.

The conference call was also used to consider further submissions which had been made to the Commission and to consider members' manifesto priorities from the survey launched by Jeremy Corbyn. Submissions considered competition and increased public sector involvement across the energy and media sectors along with cross-departmental measures to better meet carbon goals.

The Commission had identified three priority areas within its National Policy Forum 2017 Consultation document. Each of these issues was touched upon within Labour's Manifesto with many manifesto commitments reflecting and building upon the work of the Commission and submissions received from Party members.

Continuing to Lead in Tackling Global Climate Change

The manifesto put, at the heart of its industrial strategy, the target of ensuring that 60 per cent of the United Kingdom's energy comes from zero-carbon or renewable sources by 2030. The manifesto committed explicitly to putting the UK on course to meet international and domestic climate targets. The manifesto also made an explicit reference to reclaim Britain's leading role in tackling climate change and to take energy back into public ownership to help deliver renewable energy, affordability for consumers and democratic control.

Developing Post-Brexit Agricultural and Environmental Policies for the Future

The manifesto acknowledged the impact of Brexit on existing environmental standards and regulations and in altering the existing support framework for agricultural and fishing activities. The manifesto committed to reconfiguring payments to support smaller traders, local economies, community benefits and sustainable practices. The manifesto committed to the protection and advancement of environmental quality standards and protections.

Widening Access and Delivering Support for Culture and the Arts

The manifesto had a dedicated section on culture entitled 'Culture For All'. It committed to introducing a £1 billion Cultural Capital Fund to upgrade existing cultural and creative infrastructure along with maintaining free entry to museums. A £160 million arts pupil premium was also promised in the manifesto to ensure that arts are not side-lined in secondary education whilst also launching a creative careers advice campaign in schools. The Shadow Culture, Media and Sport team also released a 'mini-manifesto' entitled 'A Creative Future for All' which took forward the key principles highlighted by the Commission of widening access to culture and the arts.

Current Issues

Brexit

All of the areas covered by the Environment, Energy and Culture Policy Commission will be heavily impacted by Brexit, a key area of discussion for the Commission, and an issue which will continue to play a role over the next few years. Leaving the European Union will mean that many of our current regulations and standards, across a wide range of areas, will face uncertainty as the eventual relationship between the UK and the EU and the content of new UK law becomes clear and the content and safeguards contained within the 'Repeal Bill' are publicised.

The exact nature of our future relationship with European partners will determine the nature of our trade, nuclear cooperation, carbon trading and climate arrangements, food standards and wider environmental regulatory standards.

The process of Brexit will also mean the UK being responsible for adopting a new domestic framework for agriculture and fisheries as the country leaves the Common Fisheries and Common Agricultural Policies. It was noted by the Commission that this would be an opportunity to reconfigure the farming and fisheries frameworks and to provide a long-term vision which could invest in technology, productivity and future sustainability whilst promoting environmental stewardship across both areas.

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All of these issues were discussed in submissions made to the Commission and will need to be considered further as we move forwards.

Air quality

Nearly 40 million people across the UK live in areas with illegal levels of air pollution and it is associated with 40,000 premature deaths each year. The Conservative Government has lost three times in domestic courts since 2015 due to its failure to both meet air quality standards and to deliver a plan which would see standards being hit in the future.

The Commission noted and received a number of submissions on the harmful effects associated with high levels of bad air found across our towns and cities. It was noted that repeated rulings in the courts found Government plans unlawful, that carrying on as usual was not an option, and that the Labour Party must be prepared to put forward a detailed and comprehensive and cross-departmental programme to tackle the issue.

The Commission welcomed Labour's commitment to take firm action to tackle illegal levels of bad air and introduce a new Clean Air Act.

Environmental standards

Leaving the European Union presents a unique threat to our natural environment. Current protections derived from Europe cover important issues such as biodiversity, environmental standards, soil quality and waste and recycling regulations. The Commission took evidence from experts on the future of environmental protections and received many submissions stressing the importance of ensuring that environmental protections are not watered down.

Any future environmental framework and legal enforcement of protections would depend both on the eventual Brexit deal and the content of a future 'Repeal Bill'. The Commission noted the role played by existing protections in helping to protect our environment for future generation and pressed for current regulations to be defended and extended throughout the Brexit process.

Climate change

Climate change remains an important issue and it remains both one of the defining issues and greatest challenges we presently face. The UK

is a signatory to the Paris Agreement on climate change and has a number of climate and carbon targets both domestic and EU-derived. The Policy Commission has expressed concern that those targets which come from EU directives will no longer apply, or could face issues of enforcement, as a result of Brexit.

The Commission received many submissions over the past year on the importance of maintaining climate targets and the need to diversify the United Kingdom's energy mix to include more renewable and low-carbon solutions to help meet these targets and to ensure energy security into the future whilst keeping bills down.

The Commission noted Labour's record on climate change with the landmark Climate Change Act in 2008 and representations and submissions highlighted the need to build on these targets where possible.

Energy Markets

The Commission believes that energy markets have failed to deliver value for customers with bill increases leaving consumers hundreds of pounds worse off since 2010. Additionally, one in ten households is in fuel poverty and a recent report by the Competition and Markets Authority has found that customers have been overcharged by billions of pounds in the last few years for their household bills.

Since 2010 the position of the Government has been to promote competition within energy markets. Submissions to the Commission have made clear that pursuing this stance only has let down consumers with bill increases outstripping pay and that additional action is required across the sector.

The Commission noted submissions stating that action was needed in order to make the energy market work for consumers again following on from the Labour Manifesto commitment to cap energy bills. Increased focus on the needs of local people, local communities, the local economy and local infrastructure needs were highlighted as important ways to achieve this. It was felt that improved localisation could come about by encouraging more small-scale start-ups within the industry and by delivering greater democratic control into the energy market.

Media and the Digital Economy

As more people and businesses become connected the Commission believes is only right that all areas across the country can share in the benefits of the digital world. This means that action needs to be taken to bridge the divide between our rural communities and our urban towns and cities. Solutions such as the delivery of superfast broadband, improved mobile coverage and preparatory work for ultrafast broadband projects can be undertaken.

The Commission also made note of the concern of Party members who contacted them about the responsibility of the press and the need to strengthen rules on media plurality and ownership to ensure that no single individual can exert undue influence. Meeting and evidence also noted the high reputation of public sector broadcasters such as the BBC and Channel 4 and the role that these broadcasters can play in shaping public discussion. The Commission discussed how the public status of these organisations could be guaranteed and in the case of the BBC, funding protected, so that they could continue to operate into the future.



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Submissions

All submission received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2016-17 the Environment, Energy and Culture Policy Commission has received and considered submissions on the following topics.

- Access to cultural and art institutions
- Antibiotic use in animal husbandry
- Arts & culture in school curricula
- Body shaming
- Cap on energy prices
- Carbon capture and storage
- Carbon neutral transport
- Carbon tax
- Clean Air Act
- Climate change levy
- Collaboration across the arts
- Community news forums
- Diversity of staff in broadcasting and journalism
- Energy benefits
- Energy consumer rights
- Energy costs
- Environmental assessment of policies
- Evidence-based energy policy
- Fisheries policy
- Fracking
- Free museums and galleries
- Funded apprenticeships in creative arts
- Funding for cultural organisations
- Grants for local football clubs
- Green economy apprenticeships
- Green industries and jobs
- Green supply chains
- Healthy living
- Independence of the media
- Local community libraries
- Local food production
- National action days
- National Investment Bank
- North-East Atlantic Fishing Agreement
- Nuclear power
- Onshore wind production
- Paris climate deal
- Pesticides ban
- Prepayment meters
- Protections for farmland
- Public ownership of water and utilities
- Public ownership on the national grid
- Publically owned digital library
- Regional co-operative energy companies
- Rural flood defences
- Small-scale fisheries fleet
- Standardised recycling colour code
- Subsidies for low-carbon targets
- Subsidised retrofitting of solar panels
- Technology development for cleaner air
- Tree Planting
- Utility tariffs
- VAT on electric vehicles
- VAT on TV ads
- Wind and tidal energy generation



Health and Care

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Membership list

HM Opposition

Jonathan Ashworth MP†¹
Barbara Keeley MP
Justin Madders MP
Sharon Hodgson MP

NEC

Keith Birch*
Paddy Lillis
Pauline McCarthy
Darren Williams

CLPs and Regions

Tony Beddow
Mark Dempsey
Joanne Harding
Linda Hobson
Donna Hutton
Mariam Khan
Rory Palmer
Karen Reay
Joanne Rust
Joyce Still
Jacqueline Taylor

Affiliates

Cheryl Barrott
Gail Cartmail
Jennifer Elliott
Mary Hutchinson
Eleanor Smith

Elected Reps

Luciana Berger MP
Huw David
Catherine McKinnell MP

*.Co-convenor

†¹ Replaced Diane Abbott

Policy Development

The Health and Care Policy Commission is responsible for developing policy in a number of areas which include the future of the NHS, social care, mental health and public health. The Commission looked at a number of issues this year, including NHS performance and finances, social care and public health. The NHS workforce, Brexit and the Conservatives' Sustainability and Transformation Plans were also discussed. Concerns were raised about damaging Government policies relating to the NHS and social care and the negative impact this Government is having on performance, patients and NHS staff.

At Annual Conference 2016, a policy seminar was held with delegates in order to talk about a variety of issues with the Health and Care Policy Commission and members of the shadow health team. Keith Birch (NEC co-convenor) chaired the session and gave an update of the work of the policy commission. He also gave a short summary of the work which had been carried out by the Commission over the previous months on their priority issue document, which focussed on mental health.

Then Shadow Health Secretary, Diane Abbott and Justin Madders, Shadow Health Minister updated delegates on the work of the Health team. Diane shared delegates' concerns about funding for mental health and high treatment thresholds resulting in people missing out on the care they need. Justin updated delegates about NHS performance, stressing that Tory failure has led to NHS Trusts struggling to meet some key targets, such as ambulance response times and A&E waiting times. He addressed the challenges facing the NHS workforce, including the Tories' decision to scrap nurse bursaries, and GP recruitment and retention with delegates.

At the seminar, there was a lively exchange between delegates which encompassed wide ranging topics and views. A number of issues were raised including carers and their pay. Delegates talked about NHS funding and agreed that the NHS cannot be a low-cost service, but needs to be funded adequately in order to meet growing needs. Other issues examined were the NHS workforce, including concerns about the level of money being spent on agency nurses. Justin Madders agreed with delegates that this is not

an effective way of paying for the workforce, that staff should be recruited directly and that the NHS should not be forced to rely on agency nurses to fill gaps. It was clear that many delegates were worried about conditions for NHS staff and were concerned about the status of EU workers in our health and social care system amid concerns that without these workers, the system would be on the verge of collapse.

Delegates were keen to talk about social care and the high levels of delayed discharges from hospital. Another key issue which was raised was the Sustainability and Transformation Plans (STPs), with some delegates concerned that these plans are being decided under the radar and could lead to cuts to services in certain areas. The use of Private Finance Initiatives (PFI) was also raised, as well as how to deal with existing debt. It was noted that regarding the issue of PFI, it is critical to get things right, and that lessons need to be learnt. Neuroscience, childhood obesity and equality and diversity in the NHS workforce were also raised.

National Policy Forum representatives met in Loughborough on the weekend of 19 and 20 November 2016 to discuss the challenges facing Britain. They attended a number of sessions over the course of the weekend to consider priorities for the consultation process for the coming year and to share views from members received on a wide range of issues. Key issues raised were NHS funding and growing financial deficits in NHS Trusts. Representatives underlined that the sustainability of our NHS depends on adequate funding, and addressing drivers of healthcare spending, especially the crisis in social care and poor public health. Representatives also discussed the social care system, the demands on which they felt had dramatically changed since the system was developed and how the funding system must change to adapt to it. There were also calls for a focus on improving standards in social care for both recipients and staff. Public health was also identified as a key challenge, particularly in the face of cuts to services. There was a general agreement that the prevention agenda should be prioritised and that action should be taken to tackle health inequalities. Mental health, an issue which members have highlighted as a priority through submissions and discussions, was also

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examined, in particular the funding of services and the lack of services for young people. Following the meeting in November, a document was produced summarising the priorities outlined at the NPF meeting. These priorities formed the basis of the consultation document produced by the Commission and published in March.

The newly constituted Health and Care Commission met for the first time in January. Jonathan Ashworth, Shadow Health Secretary, spoke about the crisis in the NHS, the Government's failure to meet key performance targets, the pay cap on NHS workers and the impact Brexit could have on the health and social care workforce. Sharon Hodgson, Shadow Public Health Minister focussed her update on three issues: funding, prevention and services. She also spoke about the Government's childhood obesity plan and the 62 day cancer target. Barbara Keeley, Shadow Cabinet Member for Social Care and Mental Health updated policy commission members on the situation facing social care, including cuts to funding and high levels of delayed transfers of care. She also touched on challenges for the social care system with regard to workforce. She also spoke about mental health, and members of the commission were concerned that Clinical Commissioning Groups (CCGs) are not using funding correctly to support Children and Young Persons mental health. Justin Madders, Shadow Health Minister, gave an update on patient safety, A&E and Sustainability and Transformation Plans (STPs). Workforce issues were also underlined as being key to the challenges faced by services, including the uncertainty of Brexit.

Commission members believed that there was a need for a proactive approach to be taken in the run up to winter, rather than waiting for a crisis to happen in our NHS. There were concerns that there is a general lack of transparency when it comes to Sustainability and Transformation Plans and that these need to be scrutinised closely. Pressures in the NHS, including in maternity services, and rationing were also raised as concerns, as well as the risk of losing funding streams from the EU which currently provide funding for health research.

Commission members were keen to stress how NHS and social care are key priorities for the

Party and held a dedicated discussion on NHS finances. This had been identified by the NPF and commission members as a key issue for discussion this year. Members considered the fact that the NHS is facing its biggest financial squeeze in history and that that head for head NHS funding will be cut next year. Jonathan Ashworth talked about the Government's aim to find £22 billion of savings in the NHS, and also made reference to the £8 billion pledged by the Government, explaining that this figure has been widely discredited and is a misrepresentation of the funding actually going into the NHS in England. There was acknowledgement from Commission members that NHS funding is a key issue which would need to be further explored over the course of meetings and evidence sessions. Over the course of the meeting, some clear themes for further consideration emerged, which included social care, funding of services and public health. The NHS composite adopted at Annual Conference 2016 was tabled at the meeting and members examined the wide range of issues included in the composite. These included the reversal of NHS bursaries, stopping creeping privatisation in the health service and Labour's commitment to a publicly owned NHS, free at the point of use.

At the Commission meeting in February, Barbara Keeley led a dedicated session specifically focussing on social care, an issue which has been a priority for the Commission throughout the year and which many submissions have reflected upon. She raised concerns relating to social care funding detailing how the current level of funding is not allowing local government to meet their legal duties in relation to care. There was a general discussion regarding the social care precept and how money is raised for social care as well as carers pay and EU nationals working in the care sector. There was a general agreement that health and social care cannot be looked at separately and that a wider discussion needs to be had on future funding of both. Commission members also raised concerns about the closures of residential and care homes, which are handing contracts back to local authorities.

The meeting also considered the first draft of the consultation paper which focussed on the priority areas of funding, social care and public health,

as informed by the National Policy Forum at their meeting in November. Specifically discussed was the importance of recognising differences in health and social care policy in the devolved nations, and members felt that this was something which should be addressed in the consultation document.

The group discussed a number of submissions received including on the NHS Reinstatement Bill and access the NHS for migrants. TTIP and future possible trade deals were also raised, as were issues relating to Brexit and the health and social care workforce.

Shadow Secretary of State Jonathan Ashworth explained that the shadow health team is working hard to keep the NHS and social care prominent on the agenda, including fighting to save NHS bursaries. He also spoke about the work he has been doing to raise awareness of issues faced by children of alcoholics.

In March the Commission held a session with the leading Health charity the King's Fund, to take evidence about the state of NHS funding and finances. During the meeting representatives tackled a wide range of issues which included deficits, NHS performance, workforce and future funding of the health service. Commission members were interested to examine detail about the levels of funding required in the NHS, waste in the system and privatisation. They also asked questions about the internal market in the health system and PFI, and discussed the internal market in the NHS, with particular reference to Wales. During the session, the issue of social care and its funding was discussed in depth and discussions touched on the issue of the Living Wage, which has previously been discussed by the Commission. The Department of Health budget and workforce issues, such as the fall in GP numbers as well as in applications for nursing, formed part of the discussion. Other topical issues looked at during the course of the meeting were delayed transfers of care, social care in the community and intergenerational fairness. It was also recognised that while the focus on social care is often on older people, we should not forget that it is also important for others, for example those who suffer from learning disabilities or autism. They also discussed Sustainability and Transformation Plans and agency staff.

NHS workforce, pay for NHS workers and Brexit in the context of the NHS and its impact on workforce issues were all raised by Representatives, as was rationing. Sharon Hodgson spoke about the importance of prevention to reduce problems with alcohol, smoking and obesity. The Commission also discussed the Pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) trial, a drug which can protect against HIV infection, which is due to come to an end shortly. Sharon stressed that there was a lack of Government action when it came to the childhood obesity plan. Barbara Keeley highlighted cuts to social care and that there are 1.2 million people living with unmet care needs. She also said that there is a shortage of mental health beds, meaning that younger people often end up being treated on adult wards. Justin Madders highlighted concerns on NHS pay, and raised questions about the Five Year Forward View refresh being deliverable. The Commission considered a number of submissions which had been received including on charging for GP services.

Labour's Manifesto

Following the announcement that a snap General Election was to be held, a teleconference meeting of the Health and Care Commission took place to discuss priorities for the manifesto. A number of key issues were outlined during the phone call including on workforce, primary care, prevention of mental health problems and child health. In the run up to the Clause V meeting to agree the manifesto, members were asked to submit their policy priorities to feed into the manifesto process. Issues of importance outlined were the integration of health and social care systems, increased funding for the NHS and social care, boosting the training and recruitment of health professionals. Members of the Policy Commission also stressed that those health professionals in training should receive the support they need, and supported the view that Labour should pledge to reinstate the NHS bursary which the Tories have scrapped. Ideas and proposals were also received from a wide range of stakeholders, including charities and third sector organisations. Issues ranged from improving research and development for cancer, investing in general practice and its workforce, tackling obesity and smoking, improving end of life care, and taking action to tackle loneliness.

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There were a number of issues relating to the recent work of the Health and Care Commission reflected in the final manifesto. Health has always been, and will remain to be, a key issue for the Labour Party, and the content of the manifesto clearly demonstrated this.

Throughout the year, a key issue which was discussed at meetings and reflected in submissions was the Government's Sustainability and Transformation Plans (STPs). Members of the Commission were instrumental in raising this issue and key to ensuring that the manifesto committed to halting and reviewing the STPs. They were keen to make sure that local people should be asked to participate in the redrawing of plans with a focus on patient need rather than available finances.

The Commission were keen for the manifesto to tackle issues relating to NHS and social care staff. The document did this, pledging to scrap the NHS pay cap, guarantee the rights of EU staff working in our health and care services, to legislate for safe staffing levels in the NHS and to ensure a proper living wage for care workers – all issues on which the Commission had taken a strong view on over the course of the year. Commission members also highlighted the importance of investing in health visitors and school nurses, and this was reflected in the manifesto with a pledge to increase the number of health visitors and school nurses as part of a preventative healthcare drive.

Throughout the work of the Commission, NHS and social care funding had been a key area of discussion. We saw these views reflected in the manifesto, through the pledge to provide and extra £8 billion for social care over the course of the Parliament and to provide the NHS with £37 billion in extra investment for the NHS, including £10 billion for infrastructure. Members of the Commission also stressed that public health should be a priority. The manifesto particularly focussed on the health of children, a priority for the Commission, and also pledged to publish a new childhood obesity strategy. The manifesto also committed to improving sexual health services, particularly HIV services. A key issue for the Commission, which was looked at in detail by the Commission both last year and this year, was mental health. Following this the manifesto put forward a number of measures to improve those with mental health problems,

promising to reverse damage done by the Tories, which is particularly hitting services for LGBT and BAME communities, and committing to the ring-fencing of mental health budgets.

During the manifesto development process, the Commission also received submissions from a number of specialist organisations and charities about health and social care. For example, working to reduce loneliness in our society, an issue championed by the Jo Cox Foundation. Commission members were keen for the manifesto to highlight their opposition to the privatisation of the NHS. The manifesto pledged to reverse privatisation and return the health service into expert public control, a key issue for members, pledged to repeal the Health and Social Care Act, make the NHS the preferred provider and to reinstate the powers of the Secretary of State for Health to have overall responsibility for the NHS.

Current Issues

State of the NHS

Since the Tories came to power in 2010, we have seen a marked deterioration in NHS performance across key areas in England. There are now almost four million people in England waiting for treatment, such as hip and knee operations, and 2.5 million people had to wait more than four hours to be seen in A&E departments last year. The Tories have failed to grasp the severity of the situation facing our NHS. They have effectively abandoned both the A&E and waiting time targets, conceding that waiting lists are likely to grow and that hospital Trusts will not be required to meet the four hour A&E target until March 2018.

The financial situation facing the NHS is extremely concerning. Hospital trusts ended the year £800 million in deficit, Clinical Commissioning Groups are being forced to ration services and treatments because they simply do not have sufficient funding and alarmingly, recent reports show that some areas of the country will be forced to make draconian cuts to services over the next year. In addition to this, the Tories have made cuts to infrastructure budgets, leaving our hospitals to crumble. These measures will undoubtedly have an impact on patient care.

At the General Election, Labour put forward a substantial funding package for the NHS in England, pledging to invest £37 billion over the course of the Parliament. The Tories once again failed to recognise the challenges facing our health service, and pledged far less over the course of the next five years. Commission members have discussed future funding for the NHS on several occasions, and a number of submissions were received on future funding of the health service, including different ways to pay for the NHS in years to come. The Commission will continue to keep the vital issue of funding for health and social care under review going forward.

Workforce

Concerns about the NHS and social care workforce have increased over the last twelve months. Under the Tories, staffing shortages have become the norm. We don't have enough nurses or midwives, leaving hospital wards dangerously understaffed and patients are struggling to get an appointment with a GP due to a shortfall in general practitioners.

The Government's decision to scrap the NHS bursary has resulted in a 23 per cent fall in the number of applications to become a nurse this year. We have a serious shortage of nurses in the UK, with an estimated 24,000 nurse vacancies. Throughout the course of the Commission's work, shortages in the non-acute sector were also discussed, as were the impact of public health cuts to the workforce. It was clear from submissions and evidence that this decision will have damaging consequences for the NHS workforce. Overwhelmingly, people supported reintroducing NHS bursaries, and this policy was included in Labour's manifesto. Another key issue discussed throughout the course of the Commission's work was the NHS pay cap. It was felt that this policy, which has been in place since the Tories came to power, is unfair and completely fails to recognise the work carried out by health professionals every day. In the manifesto, Labour pledged to scrap the NHS pay cap and to put pay decisions back into the hands of an independent pay review body. In addition, Labour's manifesto made a commitment to legislate for safe staffing levels in our NHS in order to protect both patients and staff.

Another factor, which will require ongoing discussion and debate, is the potential impact of

Brexit on the NHS and social care workforce. An estimated 130,000 people from other EU countries work in our NHS and social care systems, and the Tories have failed to guarantee their rights following the Brexit vote. Concerns about EU workforce numbers are likely to continue over the coming years, putting yet more strain on our overstretched workforce. Labour has made clear that on day one of a Labour government we will immediately guarantee that all EU nationals currently living in the UK will see no change in their legal status as a result of Brexit, and we will seek reciprocal rights for UK citizens in the EU. The Commission will continue to examine this complex issue over the coming months and years.

Social Care

Under the Tories, we have seen deep cuts to local authority budgets that pay for adult social care; between 2010 and 2015 £4.6 billion was cut from social care, there are now around 1.2 million people living with unmet care needs and 400,000 fewer people are receiving state funded social care.

The Commission received a number of submissions about integration of health and social care systems, as well as suggestions about how the system should be funded. Commission members underlined that the social care system had changed dramatically and stressed that there must be changes to the way in which it is funded in order to adapt to an ageing population and changes in the system. Conservative policies on social care announced during the course of the General Election were heavily criticised by politicians and experts across the board, so much so that the Prime Minister was forced to drop her damaging 'dementia tax', and explain to the electorate why she had not chosen to include a cap on care costs in the manifesto.

Labour's manifesto committed to £8 billion of additional funding for social care over the next Parliament, as well as working towards the establishment of a National Care Service, which would put a maximum limit on lifetime costs, raise the asset threshold at which people would start paying for care and offer free social care at end of life. Recognising the importance of the workforce and unpaid carers in the delivery of social care, the manifesto also committed to increasing the Carer's Allowance and to working with councils to end 15



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minute care visits and provide care workers with paid travel time, access to training and an option to choose regular hours. Given the complex nature of social care and the ongoing challenges in the sector, the Health and Care Policy Commission will continue to keep this topic under continuous discussion in the future.

The future of our NHS and an end to privatisation

Throughout the course of the Commission's work this year, it was clear that the future of our National Health Service and its structures is an issue of concern. Labour have repeatedly warned that Tory cuts have left our hospitals crumbling and infrastructure systems dismally insecure. It's why at the election Labour pledged substantial investment into the NHS. Labour will always fight to keep the NHS free at the point of need and to argue for NHS services to be run by public sector NHS providers. It was evident from submissions and discussions that people are particularly concerned about privatisation of services, and believe that the NHS should continue to be a universal service, free at the point of need. Submissions were received about the NHS Reinstatement Bill, as well as Private Finance Initiative debt. The manifesto has made the position of the Labour party on NHS privatisation clear: privatisation under a Labour Government would be reversed and we would repeal the Health and Social Care Act, making the NHS the preferred provider. In addition to this, a future Labour Government will reinstate the powers of the Secretary of State for Health to have overall responsibility for the NHS and will introduce a new legal duty to ensure that excess private profits are not made out of the NHS at the expense of patient care.

The role of privatisation in our health and social care systems will continue to be a key issue for the Commission, particularly when looking at the Government's ongoing Sustainability and Transformation Plans (STPs). Under the Conservatives' plans, some local NHS services are at risk of downgrading or closure, and there are real concerns that these plans are being pushed through without proper scrutiny by local communities. The Commission will also scrutinise the Tory response the Naylor Review of NHS estates which proposes selling NHS land and buildings.

Commission members also stressed the importance of considering how priorities vary in the devolved nations. For example, in Wales integration of health and social care is a key ongoing issue, which the Commission will continue to discuss in future. A priority for Commission members going forward is to ensure that policy differences between England and the devolved nations are discussed fully and to see what can be learnt from different approaches and policies to health and care issues.

Mental Health

The past twelve months have seen rising concerns about mental health services for adults and children alike. Under the Tories mental health funding has been cut, the number of mental health nurses has fallen by 6,600 and mental health budgets have been raided to backfill financial holes elsewhere in the NHS. Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services have shown particular signs of strain with referrals rising, but resources failing to keep pace. Labour's manifesto promised to ring-fence mental health budgets in order to protect services and ensure that funding makes it to the front line. The manifesto also pledged to invest in early intervention by increasing the proportion of mental health budgets spent on support for children and young people, ending the scandal of children being treated on adult wards and providing additional funding to ensure every secondary school in England is able to offer counselling services to their pupils. The Health and Care Policy Commission will continue to consider developments in mental health in its future discussions.

Public Health

Public health has been discussed throughout the course of the year at meetings and via submissions received by the Commission. At the National Policy Forum meeting in November, representatives were keen to make public health a priority for further discussion and policy development. The consultation document launched in March looked specifically at future challenges in public health, including prevention of ill health, workforce and funding. Current issues which Labour has successfully influenced over recent weeks and months, such as the inquiry into

contaminated blood, the PrEP impact trial and the publication of a Tobacco Control Plan, will continue to be looked at and monitored in future work of the Commission.

Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2016-17 the Health and Care Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- A&E services
- Abortion
- Abolishing car parking fees
- Additional voluntary tax for the NHS
- Agency Staff
- Attendance allowance
- Attracting and retaining medical staff
- Autism
- Bed shortages and overcrowding
- Career progression in nursing
- Computerised Medical Records
- Coroners
- Diabetes
- Diet and Health
- District nurses
- Drug free prescriptions
- End of life care
- Electroconvulsive therapy
- Electronic monitoring of NHS stock
- Free dental treatment, eye care and psychotherapy
- Funding PrEP on the NHS
- Gender Identity Clinics
- Governing Boards representation
- Government Department for Disabled and Young people
- Health and Social Care Act 2012
- Health and social care for the elderly
- Health insurance for overseas visitors
- Hospital car parking fees
- Hospital closures
- Hospital meals standards
- Insolvency proceedings
- Independent NHS funding watchdog
- Integrating Health and Social Care
- Junior doctors
- Loneliness
- Long term planning in the NHS
- Markets in the NHS
- Medical coroners
- Mental health funding
- Mental health professionals recruitment
- Merge health care and social care
- Merge hospital numbers and national insurance numbers
- Minimum number of registered nurses per set number of patients
- National Health Service Transparency Code
- National NHS holiday
- National Social Care Service
- NHS Autonomy
- NHS Employee Representation
- NHS Lottery
- NHS Management Improvement Programme
- NHS Reinstatement Bill
- NHS tax funding
- NHS temporary staff
- NHS's 'ordinarily resident' tests
- No bonuses
- Nutrition and preventative healthcare
- Parity of esteem
- Paying for GP appointments
- PFI debts in NHS budgets
- Pharmaceuticals
- Privatisation
- Publicly owned pharmaceutical and biomedical companies
- Recruiting more nurses and doctors
- Research funding
- Return scheme for former medical professionals
- Senior managers and directors
- Sheltered housing
- Staff recruitment from the EU
- Standardised, non-intrusive testing for vitamin and autoimmune deficiencies
- State care homes
- Sugar Tax
- Support for care at home
- Sustainability and Transformation Plans
- Time limits on drug copyright
- Top-down targets
- Transparency
- Training in mental health first aid

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- Treatment of myalgic encephalomyelitis (ME)
- Two-tier fertility treatment
- VAT on private medical costs
- Vulnerable adults protections
- Whistle blowing protection policy
- Work experience for Chief Executives in the NHS
- Zero-hours contracts



Housing,
Local Government
and Transport

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Membership 2016/17

HM Opposition

Andy McDonald MP*

Roberta Blackman-Woods MP

John Healey MP

Andrew Gwynne MP†¹

NEC

Jim Kennedy *

Jamie Bramwell

Nick Forbes

Andi Fox

Wendy Nichols

CLPs/Regions

Cllr Rufia Ashraf

Lorraine Beavers

Emma Burnell

Lyndsay Clelland

Cllr Nicky Gavron

Neil Guild

Carol Hayton

Helen Hughes

Cllr Sandy Martin

George McManus

Brenda Weston

Katie Weston

Affiliates

Neil Andrews

Mick Carney

Collette Gibson

Sarah Gill

Tony Woodhouse

Elected Reps

Cllr Angela Cornforth

Julie Elliott MP

Lucy Powell MP

Sharon Taylor

* Co-convenor

†¹ Replaced Teresa Pearce MP

Policy Development

Prior to November 2016, housing, local government and transport policy issues were discussed in two policy commissions: Communities and Transport. This year the policy areas that fell under the remit of the Communities policy commission have been split over two new commissions: the Housing, Local Government and Transport Policy Commission and the Environment, Energy and Culture policy commission.

In September 2016, Diana Holland led the Transport Policy Seminar at Annual Conference in Liverpool. Andy McDonald MP (Shadow Transport Secretary) and Daniel Zeichner MP (Shadow Transport Minister) attended the meeting and discussed a range of topics with delegates. Discussion points included: taking the railways back into public ownership; giving local authorities greater powers over bus services; and airport expansion. There was also an interesting discussion on getting more freight off our roads and onto the rail network.

Jim Kennedy chaired the Communities Policy Seminar. Teresa Pearce MP (Shadow Minister for Communities and Local Government), Kelvin Hopkins MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport), Rachael Maskell MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs), Barry Gardiner MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change) all attended. Delegates raised a number of important topics including increasing investment in flood prevention systems, affordable housing and cuts to local government.

National Policy Forum representatives from across the country met in Loughborough on the weekend of 19 and 20 November 2016 to discuss key policy issues and set the policy development direction for the year to come. There were three dedicated breakout discussions on housing, local government and transport. Representatives discussed issues including: the need to build more council homes; guaranteeing long-term, stable tenancies, with genuinely affordable rents; building more eco-friendly housing; reforming council tax; and tackling the 'buy to leave' market which is leading to an empty housing crisis. Discussions also drew on submissions members made directly to Representatives. On transport topics raised included: greater investment in

transport infrastructure such as Crossrail 2 and HS2; promoting hybrid and electric vehicles; and a strategy to build an environmentally friendly, accessible, affordable, integrated and accountable public transport system with decent employment standards. Following the meeting in November, a document was produced summarising the topics of debate from the NPF weekend. Devolution, improving transport services, reforming the private rented sector and building more council, social and affordable homes were identified as key priorities. These priorities formed the basis of the consultation document produced by the Commission in March.

The newly convened Housing, Local Government and Transport Policy Commission held its first meeting at the beginning of February. Members considered submissions received, the housing composite and motions that were ruled contemporary and non-contemporary from Annual Conference 2016. These included points on taxis, road investment and local government finance. Discussions also centred on the ten pledges that Jeremy Corbyn announced at Annual Conference. It was noted by Commission members that submissions once again demonstrated that housing was a particularly important issue for Party members with concerns around the Right-to-Buy scheme a key topic of debate. Representatives also raised submissions which touched on the possibility of reopening closed railway lines and integrating different modes of transport. There was detailed consideration about the need to make sure that transport services are accessible to disabled passengers which is a key concern for the Commission.

The Commission met again at the end of February, attended by Shadow Ministers from all three departments. Members considered submissions including points on taxis, particularly the effect of the so called 'gig economy'. Representatives raised concerns around taxi licencing, pollution produced by idling cars and the workers' rights of those that work for taxi companies. There was a discussion about the impact of new technology on the taxi industry, the effects of modernisation and cabin crews' rights and conditions, including the recent strike action by BA staff.

Members of the Commission were keen to see discussions around the 'gig economy' and digitalisation play a role in Labour's 'Workplace 2020' review. Submissions also guided the Commission to discussing the Government's piecemeal devolution plans and Labour's approach to cycling and walking initiatives. The Commission debated the effect that leaving the European Union will have on housing, local government and transport. Concerns were raised from submissions that tourism and the aviation industry would be affected, that there would no longer be EU funding for affordable housing and local authorities would lose regional development funding. There was a discussion about the draft consultation document. Members of the Commission agreed with the key themes of the document which were originally proposed by the NPF meeting in November. Commission members expressed their interest in holding consultation meetings with Party members and members of the public more widely over the coming year.

Commission members met in April for their third meeting. The Commission invited people to give expert evidence during the consultation process. Charlotte Aldritt, Director of Public Services and Communities at the RSA, Eileen Short from Defend Council Housing and Alistair Smyth from the National Housing Federation all attended the meeting. In the discussion that followed Commission members reflected on the need to devolve down the funding and responsibility for programmes that look to tackle long-term unemployment. One way to do this is to devolve down responsibility for adult skills which members agreed the current government seems reluctant to do. There was also a consideration of making sure that local authorities have the legal power to tackle rogue landlords. Commission members also raised the idea of ensuring that all homes built on public land are social or council housing and doing more to help first-time buyers onto the housing ladder.

Labour's Manifesto

With the announcement of the snap General Election the policy making process was expedited. Conference calls with the Commission and regional and local government NPF representatives were

held to discuss policy proposals members would like to see in the manifesto.

At the Commission's conference call on the manifesto, NPF representatives listed their priorities for the manifesto by subject area. Commission members outlined a number of policy priorities that members of the Party have contacted them with. Several comments were raised relating to council house building, addressing the skills shortage in the construction sector through quality apprenticeships and homelessness. There were also proposals and ideas on Labour's devolution plans, addressing concerns about the terms and conditions of those that work in our public, transport and construction sector.

Policies and commitments from each of the three department areas were detailed at length in Labour's manifesto. They reflected and built upon submissions and the work of the Commission through the policy development process from this and previous years.

Housing

The dedicated housing section of the manifesto set out the challenge facing a future Labour Government after seven years of failure on housing by the Tories which has seen house building fall to its lowest peacetime level since the 1920s. Building on the work of the Policy Commission and submissions, the Labour manifesto set out a plan to ensure that everyone has a secure home. With homeownership rates falling, Labour committed to building a million homes, including 100,000 council and housing association genuinely affordable homes to rent and buy a year by the end of the Parliament. The manifesto also included proposals to give local councils new powers to build the homes local communities need, insulating more homes, consulting on minimum space standards and keeping the land registry in public hands. Shortly after the manifesto was published, Jeremy Corbyn and Shadow Secretary of State for Housing John Healey launched Labour's Housing 'mini manifesto' – 'Labour's New Deal on Housing'. Developing on core ambitions outlined in the main manifesto, it set out a detailed, long-term plan to fix the housing crisis including the biggest council housing programme for more than thirty years, 100,000 discounted FirstBuy Homes for first-time buyers, a consumer rights revolution for

private renters with new minimum standards and three-year tenancies with an inflation cap on rent rises, help for home-owners on ordinary incomes struggling with housing costs, and a commitment to end rough sleeping within a Parliament.

Local Government

The Labour manifesto's section on local communities and local government reiterated Labour's commitment to being the party of devolution. Commission members and submissions highlighted the need to not just devolve powers to local communities but also to devolve funding, a commitment Labour's manifesto made. The manifesto highlighted the slashing of budgets by the Conservatives, hitting local services, from bin collection to road repair, and the loss of important community services such as libraries, youth centres and women's refuges. Labour committed to ensuring local government funding is sustainable for the long term. As part of devolving power Labour will properly resource and bolster planning authorities to put people and communities at the heart of planning. Expanding on the work carried out by not just this Commission but also that which includes the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, Labour committed to ensuring that libraries are preserved for future generations with increased funding given to support their work.

Transport

Last year's Transport Policy Commission and this year's Housing, Local Government and Transport Policy Commission were both clear that we need to be investing in a modern, integrated, accessible and sustainable transport system that is reliable and affordable. Labour's manifesto sought to set out policies that will deliver just that kind of transport system. Taking the railway network back into public hands, extending powers to re-regulate local bus services and support the creation of municipal bus companies, protecting routes of critical community value and delivering vital infrastructure to all four corners of our nation were at the heart of the transport section of the manifesto. Submissions also highlighted the importance of tackling cycling safety. Building on the work of the Commission, Labour's manifesto set out plans to make cycling safer and more accessible with national standards to reduce deaths and serious injuries.

Current issues

Building affordable housing

The Commission received many submissions which highlighted the need to build more affordable housing. The Commission is concerned that under the Conservative Government we have seen a cut in investment in housing and an outsourcing of the responsibility for building new homes to big developers. This has meant that since 2010 fewer new homes have been built on average per year than under any governing party in peacetime since the 1920s.

Submissions to the Commission have been clear that we cannot go on like this. Building on the discussions from the Policy Commission, Labour launched a housing 'mini manifesto', 'A New Deal for Housing', during the General Election campaign. As a first step to tackling the affordable house building crisis, a Labour Government will build at least one million homes over five years including 100,000 council and housing association genuinely affordable homes a year by the end of the Parliament, giving local councils new powers to build the homes local communities need and taking action to ensure we have a skilled construction workforce with decent employment standards to deliver these outcomes. Creating the environment to build the affordable homes our country needs is an ongoing concern for the Commission.

Reforming standards in the private and social rented sector

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

The Commission was rightly concerned and devoted considerable time including receiving expert evidence on the best mechanism to reform



the private rented sector. Ideas from submissions fed into the Party policy making process which as a first step committed Labour to delivering a consumer rights revolution to improve standards, security and affordability for people who rent. Future work of the Commission will look to investigate what more can be done to reform the private and social rented sector and drive up building standards.

Localism and local government

Many submissions to the Commission describe how people feel politics is too distant from them. For many the decisions that have an impact on their lives are made in Westminster and do not reflect their needs and priorities. However at a time when the Government should be taking steps to empower communities, local authorities are being forced to deliver services under tough conditions while a number of powers are being centralised. The Tories claim to champion localism but they have stripped local authorities of their planning powers. Many local planning departments are facing cuts and an increase in the demands on their time. Tory Government cuts are having a drastic impact on services and service users. Local youth centres, support and advocacy services, adult social care programmes, local museums and library services are all closing because of the Conservative Government's assault on local government.

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

Local bus services

Local transport services are vital for our communities, local economies and the environment. However, the Commission heard through submissions received this year that for too many people, the rising cost of fares and cuts to routes is leading to a decline in passenger numbers. Members of the Commission also highlighted the Government's cuts to local government which are having a big impact on transport funding. It is driving up bus fares and adding to the daily travel costs representing an increasing proportion of family budgets.

Submissions stressed the serious damage caused by the Conservatives' privatisation and deregulation of bus services. A first step to tackle this problem argued strongly for by Commission members was the need to introduce a national strategy for local bus services, setting out objectives, targets and funding provisions, a policy Labour later adopted as part of its manifesto. The Commission will continue to examine and address concerns that remain around this important issue.

Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2016-17 the Housing, Local Government and Transport Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Access to transport for disabled people
- Airport expansion
- Affordable housing
- Building on brownfield sites
- Bus investment
- Bus powers
- Business Rates
- Buy-to-leave market
- Buy-to-let market
- Canals
- Charging points
- City region control
- Coastal Transport
- Council housing
- Council Tax
- Crossrail
- Crossrail 2
- Cuts to local government
- Cycling & walking initiatives
- Cycling lanes
- De-regulation of buses
- Devolving bus powers to local authorities
- Eco-housing
- Eco-friendly public transport
- Economic impact of transport
- Emissions & air quality
- Energy policy
- Energy standards in new homes
- Farmland
- First time buyers & starter homes
- 'Fit for letting' certification
- Fracking
- Freight to rail
- Green energy from waste
- Help to Buy scheme
- HGV safety
- Homelessness
- Housing and Planning Act
- Housing cooperatives
- Housing costs
- Housing for the poorest areas
- HS2
- Hybrid and Electric Vehicles
- Increasing property ownership
- Insurance cover for tenants receiving benefits
- Investment in infrastructure
- Land Tax
- Land Registry Database
- Letting agent fees
- Libraries
- Local Government models of governance
- London Airport Capacity
- Low-Carbon tax breaks for employees working from home
- Mortgage lending
- National Investment Bank
- Parking policy
- Pedestrian only town centres
- Planning law
- Powers for local councils
- Private rented sector
- Private housing supply
- Private rent controls
- Property revaluation
- Public ownership of the railways
- Public regional banks
- Publically owned letting agency
- Rail freight investment
- Reducing car usage
- Reducing transport fares
- Regional development
- Regional housing policy
- Regional transportation infrastructure
- Regulating the Taxi industry
- Renewable energy to power rail
- Road Safety
- Right-to-buy
- Right to buy discount ceiling
- Rights of tenure
- Rural broadband investment
- Rural School Closure
- Second home tax
- Self-driving cars
- Shared ownership
- Shipping
- Short hold tenancies
- Smaller airport runways
- Speed Cameras
- Social housing supply
- Solar Panels

- Stamp Duty exemptions
- Student accommodation
- Smart land planning
- Sustainable local bus services
- Talking buses
- Taxi regulation
- Toll roads
- Transit Oriented Development

“ “ ” ”
NATIONAL ” ”
“ **POLICY FORUM** ”
POLICY COMMISSION
ANNUAL REPORTS ”
“ ”

International

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Membership

HM Opposition

Emily Thornberry MP*

Nia Griffith MP†¹

Kate Osamor MP

Keir Starmer MP

NEC

Cath Speight*

George Howarth MP

Glenis Willmott MEP

CLPs and Regions

Iona Baker

Bev Clack

Nick Davies

Glyn Ford

James Frith

Sam Gurney

Wajid Khan

Alex Mayer

Trudie McGuinness

Paul O’Kane

Bryony Rudkin

Affiliates

Emma Burnell

Ken Curran

Sonny Leong

Len McCluskey

Dave Quayle

Mick Whelan

Elected Reps

Afzal Khan MEP

Sue Lent

Emma Reynolds MP

John Woodcock MP

* Co-convenor

†¹ Replaced Clive Lewis MP

Policy Development

The International Policy Commission develops Labour Party policy on foreign affairs, defence, international development, and Britain's departure from and future relations with the European Union.

The events of the past year have changed the global landscape and brought significant challenges. Following the EU referendum, there has been much debate about Britain's ambitions, capabilities and international role. The election of President Trump in the United States has prompted questions about the future shape of the transatlantic alliance, as well as uncertainty about American leadership on a range of global issues.

The Article 50 negotiations may have begun, but Britain's future relationship with the EU is little clearer than it was a year ago, with the Conservatives pursuing an extreme and reckless approach to Brexit. The context in Europe has evolved over the past 12 months. The EU is dealing with a raft of common internal challenges, from instability in the Eurozone to the ongoing refugee crisis. But it has been galvanised by stronger economic growth and election and referendum results in France, the Netherlands and Austria, where populist and Eurosceptic candidates failed to secure the levels of support that some had feared.

The debate over Britain's post-Brexit relations with Europe and the rest of the world is taking place against a wider backdrop of insecurity and volatility: deepening civil wars in Syria, Yemen and South Sudan; the growing threat of nuclear conflict on the Korean peninsula; a resurgent Russia and a more militarily assertive China. Even as a devastating humanitarian crisis has taken hold in East Africa and beyond, the UK's cross-party consensus on spending 0.7 per cent of national income on international aid appears to be fraying because of the Conservatives' divided approach to this issue. At the same time, the decision by the new US administration to withdraw from the Paris climate agreement could have profound implications for the fight against global warming.

The Commission has examined Britain's place in this ever-changing international context, and worked to develop progressive policies that can meet the challenges we face, drawing on the expertise and experience of members, civil society, trade unions and representatives from Labour's sister parties.

Annual Conference 2016

The year's work began at Conference in September 2016 with two seminars; the first on foreign policy, defence and development, and the second on Brexit. The international policy seminar was held on 26 September, with several dozen delegates taking part in a lively debate. Cath Speight chaired the seminar, taking contributions from the floor and engaging the Shadow Cabinet members – Emily Thornberry MP, Clive Lewis MP and Kate Osamor MP, as well as Richard Howitt MEP – in a substantive policy discussion.

A number of delegates discussed the conflicts in Syria, Iraq and Yemen, and the response of the UK and other western powers. A number of points were made about defence policy, in particular the decision made by Parliament to renew the UK's nuclear deterrent. The issue of military intervention was also considered, with several delegates voicing concerns about the use of force, and asking how Labour can most effectively learn the lessons of the Chilcot inquiry into the Iraq War, while others stressed that it is important that Britain remains prepared to intervene in certain situations. The meeting also considered Labour's international development priorities, with concerns raised about the Conservatives' approach to the aid budget.

The Brexit policy seminar offered delegates the opportunity to share views with members of the Shadow Cabinet and the European Parliamentary Labour Party. Around 80 delegates took part, discussing the outcome of the EU referendum and Labour's approach to Brexit. Cath Speight chaired the seminar, taking contributions from the floor and allowing the panel – Emily Thornberry MP, Keir Starmer MP, Barry Gardiner MP and Richard Howitt MEP – to respond. A number of delegates made points about what the vote to leave the EU represented and what compelled a majority to vote for Brexit. Many felt it was important that the economy and the protection of people's jobs and living standards should be the overriding concerns moving forward, and that Britain should seek an ambitious future deal with the EU that provides as great a degree of access to the Single Market as possible.

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National Policy Forum meeting

The themes and ideas emerging from the discussions at Annual Conference were fed back to the rest of the National Policy Forum at the meeting in Loughborough in November, through a number of Brexit and international policy breakout sessions. NPF representatives identified a number of key issues for consideration by the Commission over the coming year, which built on the Leader's pledge on peace and security, which was agreed by Conference in September 2016.

Participants felt that ensuring Britain gets the best possible Brexit deal, and dealing effectively with the consequences of leaving the EU, must be the priority for Labour. As well as Brexit, the election of President Trump in the United States meant the future of the transatlantic relationship was a key issue for debate. There was also discussion about how Labour can best defend and advance the UK's proud record on international development.

NPF representatives contributed to a plenary session on Brexit and the implications of the referendum result. The session began with a panel discussion with: Keir Starmer MP; Emily Thornberry MP; Marije Laffeber, Deputy Secretary General of the Party of European Socialists; and Ben Page, Chief Executive of Ipsos Mori. Participants contributed questions and ideas from the floor, before engaging in a series of 16 roundtable discussions, focused on a range of Brexit-related topics, including free movement, international trade and employment protections.

The Commission's work in 2017

The International Policy Commission held its first meeting in early February. Emily Thornberry MP, Nia Griffith MP and Kate Osamor MP gave the Commission an overview of developments in their respective briefs and provided updates on their teams' work since the NPF meeting. Commission members then raised a number of questions and comments relating to Brexit, the Middle East, defence spending, the aid budget and the arms trade.

Drawing on a paper highlighting the conclusions of discussions at the NPF meeting, the Commission

agreed four priority areas for this year's consultation: the post-Brexit relationship with the European Union; the transatlantic relationship; Labour's vision for international development; and Britain's role in promoting peace and tackling conflict. There was agreement that the Commission should hear evidence from a range of experts during the course of the consultation. Following the meeting, a draft consultation document was produced and circulated to Commission members. The Commission met again in late February, where they finalised and agreed the consultation document and drew up a shortlist of potential witnesses to give evidence. They also held a wide-ranging discussion with Keir Starmer MP about Labour's approach to Brexit and the Party's priorities and objectives ahead of the vote on triggering Article 50.

At all meetings the Commission considered the many submissions from members, CLPs and others which had been received via the consultation on the Labour Policy Forum website, including on Labour's Brexit policy, the rights of EU nationals, defence and security, international trade deals, the conflict in Syria and the UK's future role in multilateral institutions.

A third meeting was held in March, with the Commission hearing perspectives from a range of experts on the challenges posed by Brexit and how Labour ought to approach the negotiations. The speakers were: Charles Grant, Director of the Centre for European Reform; Josh Hardie, Deputy Director-General for Policy & Campaigns at the CBI; and Kate Bell, Head of Economic and Social Affairs at the TUC. In particular the session focused on: what priorities Labour should be pressing the Government and our European partners on in the Article 50 negotiations; how Labour can help to shape the best possible Brexit deal; how and in which areas Britain can retain close cooperation with the EU after we leave; and how Labour can ensure that all rights and protections currently underpinned by EU legislation are transposed into UK law.

Labour's Manifesto

Following the announcement of the snap General Election the Commission's policy development process was expedited, with a number of steps taken to draw together the work carried out since

2015. This included the consultation on Britain's defence and security priorities in 2016, the early stages of the 2017 consultation, and a range of seminars and discussions related to Brexit and other key issues. Submissions were received on a range of topics, from members, NGOs, think tanks and trade unions, and were discussed by the Commission during two conference calls in late April.

Brexit

Labour's manifesto position on Brexit made clear that protecting the economy and jobs must be the priority in the Article 50 negotiations. Commitments on seeking to retain the benefits of the Single Market and the Customs Union, ruling out the possibility of leaving with no deal, and guaranteeing existing rights for all EU nationals living in Britain and vice versa, were all pledges which had been discussed throughout the manifesto process by the Commission. A number of submissions offered suggestions as to how Britain could secure a trading relationship with the EU that is tariff-free, impediment-free and beneficial to all sectors of the economy.

Members of the European Parliamentary Labour Party were closely involved in these discussions. Questions around how to protect employment, consumer and environmental standards, and how to retain close collaboration with the EU in key areas such as security and research were considered over many months, with Labour's MEPs bringing perspectives and insights from Brussels. The Commission and MEPs also discussed the idea that there should be no reduction in funding for regions currently in receipt of EU structural funds as a result of Britain leaving the EU, a commitment which was laid out in the manifesto.

Defence

The manifesto outlined Labour's commitment to a robust, evidence-led defence policy, underpinned by a sustainable British defence sector. This reflected conclusions drawn in the Commission's 2016 consultation, as well as submissions received this year. Commission members discussed defence and security issues on a conference call in April, drawing on what they had heard from party members and from a range of experts. Reflecting these conversations, the manifesto made clear the party's commitment to NATO, the renewal of Trident and to spending at least two

per cent of GDP on defence. An important theme in the manifesto was how to support Britain's Armed Forces, including looking again at the current policies on recruitment, retention and pay restraint.

Diplomacy

A key focus of the manifesto was the importance of putting human rights and conflict resolution at the heart of Labour's foreign policy. Submissions to the Commission supported this approach, and on a conference call in late April Commission members discussed how to build a narrative drawing together Labour's policies in this area. It was agreed that Labour should offer its own vision of a 'Global Britain', in contradistinction to that of the Tories.

The relationship with the United States was a key theme of a number of submissions from members, with views expressed over the current administration's approach to issues such as human rights, refugees and climate change. These concerns, and Labour's alternative approach, were highlighted in the manifesto. The Commission also discussed a number of developing foreign policy challenges, including the fight against Daesh, the fragile situation in Kashmir and the conflict in Yemen. Commission members agreed that the manifesto should highlight Labour's commitment to diplomacy and multilateralism, and commit to greater investment in the UK's diplomatic and consular network.

International development

The manifesto made a number of clear and unequivocal commitments on international development. In the context of a growing assault on the aid budget by the Conservatives, submissions from members and the NGO community repeatedly argued for the 0.7 per cent aid spending commitment to be retained. There was a strong feeling that the manifesto should highlight the importance of sustainable development, and demonstrate strong backing for bolstering health systems, education opportunities, civil society organisations and trade unions. Commission members also felt that the case needs to be made that aid is in the UK's national interest in order to harness greater public support, a view that was reflected in the manifesto.



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Current Issues

Implications of Brexit

The vote to leave the European Union has profound implications not only for Britain's relationship with the EU, but also for the country's wider foreign, defence and development objectives. As such, Brexit was a central issue for the Commission this year. Britain is leaving the EU, but there remains huge uncertainty about whether a deal can be done within two years, and what the future relationship will look like.

Like Britain, the EU faces challenges further afield and the Commission also took a keen interest in this aspect of the debate. Whether in responding to security challenges in the Middle East and North Africa, bringing sanctions and diplomacy to bear on Russia, or leading the fight against climate change, the Commission felt it is important that Brexit does not lead to a diminution of the UK's ability to work with the EU on foreign policy, security and environmental issues.

UK-US relations

Along with deep ties to Europe, Britain's partnership with the US has long served as a key pillar of British foreign policy. With close cooperation on intelligence, diplomacy and counter-terrorism, and as the two biggest spenders on defence in NATO, Britain and the US together play a pivotal role in international security.

Following the referendum result and the election of President Trump the Commission felt that the future shape of the alliance was an important issue for debate. Britain's exit from the EU is already changing the dynamics of the alliance, and the approach taken by the Conservatives towards the new administration has caused concern. Some submissions raised concerns about the President's comments on issues including torture, refugees and NATO, and what the implications of these might be for British foreign policy. While the US is a key ally, the relationship has always been based on shared values, including respect for the rights of women and minorities and a strong commitment to democracy, freedom of the press and the rule of law.

The Middle East

Geopolitical and sectarian rivalries have exacerbated old conflicts and triggered new tensions in several countries in the Middle East. More than six years since the start of the civil war in Syria over 400,000 people have been killed and over 12 million Syrians displaced. Labour has continued to press for the resumption of the Geneva peace talks and for greater international efforts to investigate, prosecute and convict the perpetrators of all war crimes that have taken place during the conflict.

The Commission welcomes the progress that has been made in the fight against Daesh and other jihadist groups in Syria and Iraq, and recognises the work of Britain's armed forces serving their country in those operations. It is important that international support is generated for the strongest possible measures to restrict the flow of funding to Daesh and other terrorist groups.

Yemen faces a growing humanitarian catastrophe, with at least 4,700 civilians killed since the conflict began in March 2015. The country is now on the verge of famine, with almost seven million people severely food insecure. Labour wants to see a full and independent, UN-led investigation into alleged violations of international humanitarian law in Yemen. We support suspending any further arms sales for use in the conflict until that investigation is concluded. This is a subject about which a number of submissions were received by the Commission. More recently, the Commission noted that the wider geopolitics of the Gulf have been further destabilised by the decision by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates to cut diplomatic ties with Qatar.

In Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Labour is committed to a comprehensive peace based on a two-state solution: a secure Israel alongside a secure and viable state of Palestine. The Commission also discussed the importance for regional security of maintaining the Iran nuclear deal, and of reaching a political solution to the conflict in Libya.

Asia

A number of challenges across Asia continue to be of concern to the Commission. In September 2016 North Korea conducted its fifth nuclear test, followed by a number of missile tests throughout 2017, including a first successful test of an intercontinental ballistic missile in July. The human rights situation in the country is of deep concern to the Commission. It is vital that the UK uses its influence at the Security Council to continue holding North Korea to account for its actions, while encouraging a resumption of the six-party talks.

Labour is concerned about recent reports indicating a growing level of intolerance toward political dissent in Hong Kong. We will therefore continue to urge the Chinese authorities to uphold the rights and freedoms protected by the Joint Declaration and the Basic Law, and to respect the democratic rights of the people of Hong Kong to determine their future.

Burma has taken some limited steps toward democracy in recent years, and Labour welcomes this progress. However, the transfer of power from the military to the elected civilian government is still far from complete, and in many ways has started to stall. The arrest and indefinite detention of political activists, abuses of ethnic minorities by the Burmese armed forces, and the regime's persistent efforts to crack down on free speech and freedom of the press, are matters of serious concern.

In Kashmir, there has been an upsurge in political tensions and violence over the past year. A number of submissions were received on this topic, and the Commission discussed it throughout the year. For Labour, the over-riding concern is for the human rights and wellbeing of the people of Kashmir. It is vital that all parties to the conflict engage in constructive talks on a peaceful solution, and refrain from violence at all times. India and Pakistan must seek a lasting bilateral resolution to the issue of Kashmir which takes into account the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

Britain's military capabilities

For Labour, the protection of the British people will always come first. The Commission discussed how to ensure that Britain has the necessary defence capabilities to respond to the range of threats that we face.

As several submissions highlighted, the Conservatives' short-sighted cuts and mismanagement of defence projects have led to delays in delivering crucial equipment and gaps in operational capabilities, and have ended up costing the taxpayer more in the long run. Their failure to publish a National Shipbuilding Strategy in the promised timeframe has let down the UK shipbuilding industry.

Labour remains committed to spending at least two per cent of GDP on defence, in accordance with our NATO commitment. The Conservatives have cut the defence budget by 14 per cent since 2010, and despite their pledge before 2010 of "a bigger army for a safer Britain," they have slashed the army from 102,000 in 2010 to just 78,000 today.

Labour believes in taking firm action to deal with the crisis in recruitment and retention that the Conservatives have caused. We support lifting the public sector pay cap to give the Armed Forces Pay Review body the flexibility to set competitive pay rates for Armed Forces personnel. This commitment was supported in a number of submissions.

Labour wants to see greater support given to our service personnel, veterans and Armed Forces families. We fully support the delivery of the Armed Forces Covenant, but believe the Government must do more to make sure that it is working effectively across the UK, without any gaps in provision.



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Submissions

All submissions received by the Policy Commission are circulated to members ahead of the next meeting for consideration as part of our discussions on policy development. In 2016-17 the International Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

- Aid budget
- Armed Forces
- Army recruitment
- Arms trade
- Brexit
- CETA
- Child refugees
- Climate change
- Colombia
- Commonwealth
- Customs union
- Cyber security
- Daesh
- Defence industry
- Defence review
- Defence spending
- Defence strategy
- Drones
- Euratom
- European Union
- Free movement
- Free trade agreements
- G20
- Global health
- Globalisation
- Human rights
- International development
- Investor State Dispute Settlements
- Israel and Palestine
- Migration
- Military intervention
- Military spending
- Modern slavery
- NATO
- North Korea
- Nuclear deterrence
- Nuclear disarmament
- Overseas aid budget
- Refugee crisis
- Resource scarcity
- Saudi Arabia
- Single market
- South Korea
- Syria
- Terrorism
- THAAD missile defence system
- TTIP
- Trident
- United States
- War crimes
- Yemen

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NATIONAL ” ”
“ **POLICY FORUM** ”
POLICY COMMISSION ”
ANNUAL REPORTS ”
“ ”

Justice and
Home Affairs

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Membership

Shadow Cabinet

Diane Abbott MP*
Richard Burgon MP
Angela Smith MP
Jon Trickett MP†¹

NEC

Alice Perry*
Alun Davies AM
Keith Vaz MP
Claudia Webbe

CLPs and Regions

Ann Cryer
Huw Irranca Davies AM
Unmesh Desai
Annabelle Harle
Simon Lightwood
Mike Payne
Brynnen Ririe
Dave Watson†²
Christian Weaver
Linda Woodings

Affiliates

Siobhan Endean
Ian Hodson
Kameljeet Jandu
Ash McGregor
Fiona Wilson

Elected Reps

Simon Blackburn
Richard Corbett MEP
Dave Watts

* Co-convenor

†¹ Replaced Ian Lavery MP

†² Replaced Jill Merchant

Policy Development

The Justice and Home Affairs Policy Commission was constituted following Annual Conference 2016, covering the Home Affairs, Justice, Cabinet Office, and Devolved Administrations portfolios.

At Annual Conference 2016, a Justice and Home Affairs policy seminar was held with delegates discussing a range of issues with members of the Shadow Home Affairs and Justice teams, including then Shadow Home Secretary, Andy Burnham, and Shadow Secretary of State for Justice, Richard Burgon MP. Alice Perry (NEC co-convenor) chaired the meeting, taking contributions from the floor before allowing shadow ministers to respond. Several delegates expressed concerns around the crisis in prisons, including staffing levels and how to balance punishment, rehabilitation and public safety. There was also a discussion on probation, with calls for the part-privatisation of the service to be halted. Delegates shared concerns about access to justice, particularly the effects of legal aid cuts in reducing the number of law centres and firms offering legal aid services, as well as the effect of cuts to the Equality and Human Rights Commission. Other issues raised included anti-social behaviour, fraud committed against vulnerable people, and the implications of Britain leaving the European Union, including the impact on citizens' rights, the policing of cross-border crime, and the European Arrest Warrant. Concerns were also raised that the Prevent Strategy may contribute to the stigmatisation of some communities.

In addition, a well-attended Equalities, Civil Society, and Political Reform seminar was held at Annual Conference 2016. Jonathan Ashworth MP chaired the meeting, taking contributions from the floor and allowing shadow ministers to respond. Cat Smith MP, Shadow Minister for Voter Engagement and Youth Affairs, and Paul Flynn MP, Shadow Leader of the House, had a wide-ranging discussion with delegates on issues such as how to engage young people in politics and encourage greater participation in the democratic process more widely. Delegates questioned the panel about electoral reform, including greater use of proportional representation and extending the franchise to 16- and 17-year-olds. Delegates also discussed whether a system of compulsory voting similar to Australia should be considered for the

UK, and concerns were raised over the upcoming boundary review and the reduction in the number of MPs by 50. Delegates put forward suggestions on improving voter registration, and also discussed wider political reform including making the House of Lords democratically elected.

A composite motion calling for greater action from the Government on unaccompanied asylum-seeking children was also passed at Annual Conference 2016.

In November 2016, the National Policy Forum met at Loughborough University to set the priorities for each Commission for the coming year. As part of this process, two breakout sessions were held for Justice and Home Affairs issues. Over the course of the weekend, Representatives identified immigration, access to justice, and prison reform as the priority issues they felt the Justice and Home Affairs Commission should focus on during this year's policy-making cycle. Representatives also identified a number of other issues which they thought should be considered by this Commission in the year ahead including domestic violence and gender-based violence, human rights, police cuts, hate crime, tackling extremism, electoral and constitutional reform, victims' rights and historic injustices, and bereavement support in the criminal justice system.

The Justice and Home Affairs Policy Commission held its first meeting of 2017 in January. Shadow Minister for the Cabinet Office, Ian Lavery MP, gave an update on the work of the Cabinet Office team, highlighting Brexit, voter registration, the boundary review, and cyber-security as particular areas of interest. Shadow Attorney General, Baroness Chakrabarti, then updated the Commission on behalf of the Justice team on the current crisis in the prison estate and on issues surrounding access to justice and human rights law. During this meeting the Commission considered the Agenda 2020 process, with the Chair outlining the timetable of activity and setting out the key stages in the policy-making process. Representatives also discussed how the priority topics should be decided upon based on priorities discussed at the NPF meeting in November and the ten pledges announced at Annual Conference 2016. The Commission discussed potential topics for future meetings and possible invitees to give evidence.



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Representatives considered a report covering the submissions that had been received since the Commission last met, as well as several motions from Annual Conference. Finally, the Commission discussed recent developments in policing and the changing patterns of crime.

The second meeting of the Commission was held in February 2017. To begin there was a discussion of the Version One consultation document which had been circulated in advance of the meeting. Representatives suggested the immigration section could include questions relating to integration, international students, and highlight the particularly vulnerable position of refugee children. In addition to the three priority issues identified at the NPF, the Commission decided a fourth issue should also be included: Victims' Rights and historic injustice. The Shadow Home Secretary, Diane Abbott MP, updated the Commission on the work of her team to push the Government to do more on providing support to unaccompanied asylum-seeking children. She also discussed with the Commission on concerns within the business sector about the Government's current approach to immigration, as well as concerns about the counter-radicalisation strategy. Finally, the Commission had a discussion on Brexit and free movement. To facilitate an open conversation, two guest speakers from different sides of the Brexit debate – Seb Dance MEP and the FBU's Paul Embery – were invited to give their views on what will happen to immigration policy once the UK leaves the EU. As part of this discussion, Commission members also considered submissions that had been received since the last meeting relating to immigration and Brexit. Commission members raised points on ensuring as many CLPs as possible make submissions. Representatives also discussed submissions received via the Labour Policy Forum website and the importance of encouraging submissions from as many people as possible, both members and supporters.

Planned evidence gathering sessions on prison reform and access to justice were cancelled as a consequence of the Westminster terror attack in March. Nevertheless, the Commission was able to consider a wide range of written expert evidence which it had received on the priority issues.

Submissions were received from the Solicitors' Regulation Authority, the National Secular Society, Children's Charities' Coalition on Internet Safety, Focus on Labour Exploitation (FLEX), Detention Action, Detention Forum, the Jo Cox Loneliness Commission, Which?, British Future, Criminal Appeals, the Refugee Council and Refugee Action among others.

Labour's manifesto

Following the snap election announcement in April, the NPF engaged in an accelerated manifesto development process. As part of that process, NPF Representatives took part in meetings on their priorities for the manifesto. In addition, outside experts, third sector bodies, and stakeholder groups were also asked to submit written evidence on what they thought should be prioritised.

After receiving a wide range of proposals via the manifesto survey and through other outreach work, the Commission held a teleconference so Representatives could consider the submissions received, as well as highlight the key priorities which they felt should be reflected in manifesto. In reference to the submissions received, the call was divided up into key themes: justice; immigration; policing & crime; and national security. On policing and crime, Representatives identified improving community policing, as well as more robust action on child sexual abuse and domestic violence as priorities. On national security, members suggested a pledge to maintain membership of Europol and wider security cooperation post-Brexit, as well as commitments on improving cyber security and tackling cyber crime, online grooming, and radicalisation.

Several measures to tackle the ongoing crisis in prisons were suggested, including: improving the recruitment, retention, pay and conditions of prison officers, better treatment of prisoners with mental health problems, and reforming the payment-by-results model of probation for levels offenders. Commission members highlighted the abolition of tribunal fees and measures to improve access to justice as key priorities. Having received a large number of submissions on human rights, and with reference to the ten pledges announced at

Annual Conference 2016, the Commission agreed that a strong statement in support of the Human Rights Act would be welcome in the manifesto.

On immigration, members felt the manifesto should include proposals to tackle the undercutting of wages by unscrupulous employers and the practice of recruiting workers exclusively from abroad, as well as strengthening trade unions' ability to protect workers' rights. Members were also clear that the manifesto should reflect the positive contribution that migrants have made to the UK. Other priorities for the Commission included removing international students from net migration calculations, reinstating the Dubs scheme, and ensuring a fairer system of placing refugees in local authorities.

Justice and Home Affairs priorities also featured in teleconferences and meetings held with regional NPF bodies and other stakeholder groups as part of the manifesto development process. The future of policing was discussed during a number of meetings, with NPF Representatives expressing a desire for commitments to improve community policing and to increase the numbers of officers. Representatives also discussed better training for the police on hate crimes. On immigration, it was felt greater action was needed to tackle pressure on public services in areas that have seen high levels of immigration, with discussions on how the Migration Impact Fund should be reinstated.

Measures to increase access to justice also featured prominently during the manifesto development process, with suggestions that employment tribunal fees should be scrapped and calls for a fair legal aid system that protects the most vulnerable. Representatives also thought that there should be greater use of restorative justice.

On the devolved administrations, Representatives were clear on the need for Labour to set out its opposition to a second Scottish independence referendum. There were also calls for more work to be done to ensure women in Northern Ireland are able to receive the same access to abortion as those living in the rest of the UK. There was strong support for the devolution of policing to Wales, as well as ensuring a fairer funding settlement. Discussions were had on political and electoral reform, Representatives suggested extending

the franchise to 16- and 17-year-olds, as well as adopting online voting to improve turnout and creating an effective statutory register of lobbyists to increase transparency.

During the election campaign, Labour set out five key commitments to enhance community safety. The centrepiece of the pledge was a commitment to reinvigorate community policing, reflecting the work of the Justice and Home Affairs Commission. At the beginning of the campaign, Jeremy Corbyn announced that Labour would put 10,000 more police officers on the country's streets. The Justice and Home Affairs Commission investigated policing as a priority issue last year, taking evidence from experts as well as engaging with members and stakeholders through online consultations and regional meetings to develop a bold policy for policing and crime. The Commission heard that effective community policing promoted local intelligence gathering and improved community relations, which helps in early crime prevention, public safety and countering or identifying forms of radicalisation or pathways to violent extremism. Key challenges identified by expert witnesses included tackling violence against women and improving relations with BAME communities. These issues were reflected in Labour's 2017 manifesto, with pledges on a new commissioner for tackling domestic and sexual violence and a National Refuge Fund, as well as a commitment to eliminate institutional biases against BAME communities in the criminal justice system.

Other priorities for the Justice and Home Affairs Commission this year have also featured in Labour's offer on community safety. The focus on issues around immigration can be seen in the commitment to strengthen our border controls, investing in more staff to help tackle people smuggling and other cross-border crime. There is also a pledge to address the dangerous understaffing of our overcrowded prisons and improving officer safety by lowering the prisoner-to-staff ratio.



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Current Issues

Terrorism and counter-extremism

Attacks in Britain and across Europe over recent years demonstrate that terrorism and extremist ideology pose a serious and growing threat to our freedom and to our way of life. Our police, security and intelligence services work around the clock to counter that threat; the Commission believes it is imperative that they have the powers and resources they need to continue this vital work. Submissions received by the Commission also made clear that effective oversight of those powers was crucial in ensuring that they are used proportionately and that individual liberties are protected.

The extremist threat our country faces is evolving and becoming more complex. In recent years there have been hundreds of British jihadists returning from fighting with Daesh in Syria and Iraq, as well as the radicalisation of individuals here in Britain, either online or in our communities. There has also been an alarming rise in right-wing extremism. From the attack on Finsbury Park mosque or the murder of Jo Cox MP by right-wing extremists to the recent attacks at London Bridge and Manchester by Islamists. It is clear that extremist ideology of whatever kind has the capacity to wreak havoc and destruction on our streets. The Commission therefore welcome the manifesto commitment to review PREVENT. It reflects a sentiment expressed in many submissions received by the Commission that our counter-terrorism strategy needs the support of all communities and must address all the threats we face, from whatever source.

Brexit - Immigration and security cooperation

Over the course of the past year the Commission has received many submissions on what leaving the EU will entail, in particular what should happen with our immigration system and our security cooperation with other European nations.

The spike in hate crimes against BAME and immigrant communities in the wake of the referendum emphasised the need to discuss this issue in a sensitive and thoughtful manner. As we plan for a future outside of the EU, the Commission believes the correct approach is one which recognises the contribution made by people

who have come to work and live here, but which also addresses concerns around the effect of immigration on public services and the exploitation of migrant workers by unscrupulous employers seeking to undercut wages. As part of our evidence gathering sessions, the Commission conducted a lively debate between Trade Unionists Against the EU's Paul Embery and Remain campaigner Seb Dance MEP on what sort of immigration system our country should have post-Brexit. There was agreement that the lives of EU nationals living in the UK or British nationals living in the EU should not be used as a bargaining chip. This sentiment was reflected in the manifesto commitment to confirm the existing legal status of EU citizens living in the UK and accept the same guarantees for British citizens elsewhere in the EU. A common theme expressed both in submissions received and from expert evidence was that Government should not be let off the hook for underinvestment in public services or in housing by blaming pressures in these areas exclusively on immigration. Commission members agree that pressures on public services and a lack of affordable housing are the responsibility of the Government and migrant communities should not be scapegoated. Migrant workers play an important role in key sectors of the economy as well as in our public services. It is therefore welcome that the 2017 manifesto pledged to put jobs, growth and the economy above arbitrary immigration targets.

Submissions received highlighted a deep concern about the potential impact that leaving the EU will have on our future cooperation with other European nations on issues such as counter-terrorism and organised crime. The Commission believes that membership of the EU has given Britain valuable access to intelligence sharing databases, such as the Schengen Information System, Prum, or Passenger Name Records. Co-operation and data-sharing with other countries on intelligence is crucial in tracking suspects and preventing attacks, which is why the commitment to strengthen cross-border collaboration under a Labour Government is so important.

Justice and Human Rights

This year the Commission received alarming evidence of the ongoing crisis at every level of our

justice system. Written submissions from experts in the field, party members and stakeholders highlighted the extent to which access to justice is being denied to those on limited means through cuts to legal aid and the prohibitive costs imposed on workers seeking to assert their rights through the employment tribunal system. The Commission welcomed the manifesto commitments to improve access to justice, including abolishing employment tribunal fees and reviewing the means test for legal aid. And we look forward to reading the final report from the Bach Commission on Access to Justice.

Submissions and expert evidence received by the Commission also made clear that the crisis in prisons continues to escalate, with growing levels of violence, drug abuse, suicide and self-harm making rehabilitation more difficult. Evidence was also presented to Commission members on the Conservatives' reckless part-privatisation of probation, which has been a costly failure with no impact on reoffending. The Commission heard that when prison and probation fails, people can get stuck in a cycle of reoffending with no hope of turning their lives around, simply causing more misery for their victims and at a cost of billions to the taxpayer. Evidence received also made clear that to reduce reoffending, prison and probation cannot be considered on their own, and that policies must also account for contributory factors such as a troubled family life, drug or alcohol dependency, or homelessness. The Commission recognises the detrimental impact of cuts to community support organisations on the rehabilitation of offenders. It was therefore encouraging to see proposals in the Labour Manifesto at the General Election to extend a multi-agency approach to youth justice in order to work with young people at risk of drifting into anti-social or criminal behaviour.

The importance of the Human Rights Act and a properly funded Equality and Human Rights Commission in allowing people to defend their rights and secure justice was also highlighted through submissions over the course of the year. This is reflected in the welcome manifesto commitment to defend the Human Rights Act and retain Britain's membership of the European Convention on Human Rights. The Commission believes it is vital that the process of leaving the EU

does not result in dilution of our human rights. The Commission believes that the manifesto pledge to introduce an EU Rights and Protections Bill will be crucial in ensuring there are no detrimental changes to workers' rights, equality law, consumer rights or environmental protections as a result of Brexit. In addition a commitment to guarantee EU Structural Funding until the end of the current funding round will give much-needed certainty to organisations and programmes that promote and protect our human rights.

Fire Service

Since 2010, Fire and Rescue Services have faced significant and dangerous cuts, which have seen the loss of over 9,000 staff, the closure of dozens of fire stations, rising response times, and a deeply concerning fall in the number of fire safety audits. Alongside this, firefighters and emergency control staff have seen their pay, pensions, and working conditions attacked and eroded. Against this backdrop of Conservative underinvestment, the Commission notes the welcome election pledge in the Labour Manifesto to hire 3,000 new firefighters and consult on national minimum standards for the service.

Crime and policing

The Commission notes with concern the warnings from a growing number of senior figures in policing about the impact continued funding reductions are having on the service. Over the last seven years, the police have seen their funding cut by over a quarter, with the loss of tens of thousands of officers and staff. We have received submissions on how this has meant some police forces find it difficult to place sufficient resources into measures which prevent crime or protect the public as part of neighbourhood policing. The Commission took evidence on signs that some of the most serious and violent offences are on the rise again. New threats to public safety are also emerging, such as cyber crime, online child sexual exploitation, and radicalisation. In addition, we have heard how officers tackle previously hidden crimes like human trafficking, forced marriage, or female genital mutilation. And improvements in police practice and recording techniques have shown that violence against women and girls, sexual offences, and stalking and harassment are all much more widespread than previously thought. These



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offences, which are labour-intensive and costly to investigate, make up an increasing proportion of overall police workload. In their role supporting communities, the police are also experiencing growing non-crime demands on forces, frequently linked to issues of vulnerability, public protection and safeguarding. The Commission is clear that much more must be done to tackle violence against women and girls. However, the current funding crisis facing Women's Aid refuges results in women being turned away from shelters every day due to a lack of space and forced to return to their abuser. The Commission thinks the manifesto commitment to establish a National Refuge Fund will help to ensure financial stability for the sector and break this cycle of violence and abuse.

The recent terrorist attacks have once again shown how our brave officers do not hesitate to go above and beyond the call of duty to protect the people of this country and our way of life in emergency situations. However, neighbourhood policing has also been identified as a key tool in combating the terror threat the country faces as local officers are often best-placed to gain vital intelligence because they have earned the trust and confidence of communities they serve. That is why the Commission feels Labour's flagship election pledge to hire 10,000 new officers in community policing roles is so important to maintaining and enhancing public safety.

Cyber security

Cyber attacks at home and abroad over recent months, including against the NHS and Parliament, have once again demonstrated the threats we all face as our lives increasingly migrate online. The Commission was pleased to see that concerns raised via submissions were reflected in the manifesto commitment to ensuring contractors to the Ministry of Defence sign up to a cyber security charter and the pledge of a full review of cyber security capabilities as part of a Strategic Defence and Security Review by an incoming Labour government.

Northern Ireland

The Good Friday Agreement was one of the greatest achievements of the last Labour Government. Both through submissions from party members and in stakeholder engagement meetings during the manifesto development

process, it has been stressed that the continuation of power-sharing arrangements in a devolved administration is the best way to ensure peace and stability for the people of Northern Ireland. The Commission believes that all parties must now come together in the interest of maintaining the integrity of the devolved institutions and facing up to the challenges ahead for Northern Ireland.

Youth voter engagement

The Commission welcomes the increased engagement by young people in the democratic process witnessed during the 2017 General Election. Over the past year, members have considered many submissions on how to encourage more young people to vote and to participate in our democracy, from extending the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds to measures designed to make it easier for students to register to vote. We are pleased to see that these proposals formed part of the policy offer to young people in Labour's 2017 manifesto.

Submissions

- Abolition of employment tribunal fees
- Amnesty for illegal immigrants
- British Bill of Human Rights
- Charitable status for religious organisations
- Community-based policing
- Compulsory voting
- Codifying the Constitution
- Constituency boundaries review
- Devolved or regional immigration controls
- Decriminalisation of recreational drug use
- Diversity in police, justice system, and government departments
- DNA database reform
- Domestic and gender-based violence
- Elected upper chamber
- Electoral reform
- Firearms licencing and use
- Freedom of movement rules
- Health-centred approach to drug and alcohol abuse
- Immigration and social housing
- Immigration and the NHS
- Impact of recordable police cautions
- Journalist licencing body
- Legal aid reform
- Local Authority and Parliamentary Ombudsman
- Membership of European crime-fighting agencies and schemes
- MPs' second jobs
- Parliamentary reform
- Police funding formula reform
- Political neutrality of Police and Crime Commissioners
- Party political funding reform
- Proportional representation
- Prostitution
- Protections for child grooming victims in court
- Public ownership of prisons
- Reform of citizenship requirements
- Reform of House of Lords
- Rehabilitation of offenders
- Review of surveillance practice
- Rural policing numbers
- Sanctions for repeat offenders
- Sentencing guidelines for low-level offending
- Social media trolling
- Specialist police department for mental health and learning disabilities
- Spousal visa restrictions
- Strategies for tackling drug abuse
- Tougher sentencing guidelines for serious crimes
- Violence against women and girls
- Young offenders





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Membership 2016/17

Shadow Cabinet

Debbie Abrahams MP*

Dawn Butler MP

Sarah Champion MP

Alex Cunningham MP

NEC

Diana Holland*

Ann Black

Shabana Mahmood MP

Rhea Wolfson

CLPs and Regions

Chris Bloore

Martyn Cook

Gerard Coyne

Dawn Elliott

Jack Falkingham

Mary Foy

George Norman

Jen Smith

Anne Snelgrove

Agnes Tolmie

Carl Webb

Affiliates

David Allan

Tom Burke

Ruth George MP†¹

Susan Matthews

Liz Snape

Steve Turner

Elected Reps

Steve Bullock

Clare Moody MEP

Jess Phillips MP

Glenys Thornton

* Co-convenor

†¹ Replaced

Policy Development

The Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission was constituted following Annual Conference 2016. A newly-convened Commission, it covers the Department for Work and Pensions and the Government Equalities Office, areas that were previously under the remit of the Economy Policy Commission and the Home Affairs Policy Commission respectively.

At Annual Conference 2016, an Equalities, Civil Society and Political Reform seminar was held covering equalities issues and an Economy policy seminar was held covering issues relating to social security and pensions. Both policy seminars were very well attended and a large number of delegates contributed to wide-ranging discussions on how Labour can alleviate poverty and inequality for all people and communities while creating a fair and dignified system of social security.

In November 2016, the National Policy Forum met at Loughborough University to discuss the priorities for each Policy Commission. Representatives identified tackling poverty and inequality, social security and pensions for all and creating a more equal society as the three priority areas for the Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission. The Commission then met for the first time in January 2017.

At the first meeting in January, Labour's Shadow Work and Pensions Secretary Debbie Abrahams MP led a discussion on Labour's social security, including pension, pledges. On pensions, the Commission discussed policies to protect pensioner incomes that later featured heavily during the General Election campaign. The Commission also discussed Labour's plans to address the plight of "WASPI (Women against State Pension Inequality) women" and other important pensions issues.

Debbie Abrahams also gave an update on Labour's Disability Equality Roadshow. Since launching in November 2016, the Roadshow has helped to develop policies to fight discrimination and promote disability equality through engagement with deaf and disabled people and their carers. A number of meetings had already taken place since its launch and the Commission was updated on the issues that were raised during those meetings, particularly those around the Conservative

Government's Work Capability Assessments and sanctions regime.

Debbie Abrahams referred to the Self-employment Commission also launched in November which was examining the issues facing the growing self-employment workforce, including lack of sickness protection, maternity support and workplace pensions, and was a joint initiative with the Shadow BEIS and Treasury teams.

Commission members raised a number of issues, including the importance of developing policies that will improve the lives of young people across the country. Members also discussed submissions that had been received, including on the idea of a universal basic income and on Universal Credit. It was noted that Universal Credit in its current form has many practical design flaws that are impacting negatively on low-paid workers, for example cuts to work allowances and the problems posed by the six-week waiting period. The Commission also discussed relevant motions from Annual Conference 2016 and the Leader's statement on "What Labour Stands For".

Labour's Shadow Minister for Diverse Communities, Dawn Butler MP, reported on equalities issues, including representation in parliament and public life and the Government's failure to properly assess the impact its policies are having on women and Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities. She highlighted the fact that Asian and African women are being hit hard by the Government's cuts to social security and that, since employment tribunal fees were introduced, the number of anti-discrimination cases for all forms for discrimination had fallen dramatically.

Between the Policy Commission's first and second meetings, a Version One consultation document was drafted based on the three priority areas agreed at the 2016 National Policy Forum meeting. The draft consultation document was circulated to all members by email and members contributed their thoughts and suggested changes in advance of the second meeting in February.

At the Commission's second meeting, the Version One consultation document was discussed alongside submissions that had been received since

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the previous meeting. Labour's Shadow Secretary of State for Women and Equalities, Sarah Champion MP, updated the Commission on Labour's commitment to gender-proof all policies and legislation to ensure that women are not unfairly affected by policy changes. She also raised issues around maternity discrimination and LGBT rights.

Debbie Abrahams MP gave an update on the Government's plans to overturn a court decision that would have extended Personal Independence Payments (PIP) to 160,000 disabled people. The Government's changes to PIP have been an issue of vital importance to members across the country. The Commission discussed these changes in light of other cuts to support for disabled people that the Government has already brought in since 2010, including most recently cuts to the Work-Related Activity Component of Employment and Support Allowance (ESA).

Changes to the consultation document were made to reflect the submissions that had been received and the discussions that Commission members had held. Subsequently, in March, the consultation was launched and members, experts, organisations and other stakeholders were invited to submit evidence to the consultation either in writing, via the Labour Party Policy Forum website or through attending a future Policy Commission meeting.

In March, six experts joined a well-attended meeting of the Policy Commission to give detailed evidence in their respective fields and to answer questions from Commission members. Representatives from the Child Poverty Action Group, the Disability Benefits Consortium, the Women's Budget Group, the Runnymede Trust and the Fawcett Society all contributed and gave evidence to the Commission during this session.

In the March meeting, the Commission discussed a wide range of issues relating to social security and equalities. The Child Poverty Action Group emphasised that child poverty is "policy responsive", stressing that it had risen under the Conservative Government having previously fallen under the last Labour Government. The Commission heard evidence that Universal Credit in its current form risks exacerbating already high levels of child poverty.

Members also heard evidence from the Disability Benefits Consortium around the damaging impact that cuts to social security are having on disabled people, as well as warnings of cuts already legislated for but which have not yet taken effect. Those included reductions in support for sick and disabled people in the Work-Related Activity Group of Employment and Support Allowance and changes to Personal Independence Payments. A member of the Commission also raised the importance of Access to Work in supporting disabled people.

Representatives from the Fawcett Society, the Runnymede Trust and the Women's Budget Group gave evidence on gender and racial inequalities in society including in terms of pay, occupation as well as in education, health and housing. The Commission discussed Labour's proud record of championing equality and of bringing about cultural change to tackle inequality and discrimination in all its forms. A member of the Commission raised the important role of workplace union equality representatives and the need for them to have the same rights as other union representatives as part of the Equality Act.

A future evidence session was intended to be held outside of London in April 2017. However, the calling of an early General Election meant the session was postponed and that policy development was accelerated in order to feed the views of members and stakeholders into Labour's manifesto process. Commission members remain keen to hold meetings across the country.

Labour's manifesto

Issues discussed during meetings of the Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission and on a conference call held during the expedited manifesto process were integral to the General Election campaign and to Labour's transformative manifesto, 'For the Many, Not the Few'.

Two distinct mini-manifestos published during the General Election campaign – one on disabilities and one on race and faith – as well as a comprehensive twenty-point plan on workers' rights reflected many of the priority areas that had been discussed during meetings of the Policy

Commission, as well as echoing many of the submissions and evidence the Commission had received.

Strengthening workers' rights

The announcement of a twenty-point plan to strengthen rights at work made during the General Election campaign reflected many of the discussions, submissions and evidence that the Policy Commission has focussed on. In particular, policies around low pay, rights for union equality representatives, gender pay auditing, increased paternity leave and pay, protection from third party harassment and maternity discrimination, banning zero-hours contracts and abolishing employment tribunal fees had been widely prioritised by the Commission and members across the country.

Improving social security

Labour's manifesto made firm commitments on improving social security in priority areas that had been discussed during meetings of the Policy Commission. Among others, the manifesto committed two billion pounds a year towards fixing Universal Credit to ensure that work always pays and other elements of social security policy. It also committed to scrapping the Bedroom Tax, ESA WRAG cuts and repealing the new PIP regulations, to doubling maternity pay, to reinstating housing support for 18-21 year olds, to raising Carer's Allowance, to reversing cuts to bereavement benefits and to scrapping the work capability and PIP assessments as well as the sanctions regime.

Dignity for pensioners

In stark contrast to the Conservative manifesto, Labour pledged to fully support older people to ensure security and dignity for everyone in retirement. Pledges made in the manifesto included a commitment to keep the Triple Lock on state pensions for the lifetime of the parliament, and to protect pensioner incomes by keeping free bus passes and universal Winter Fuel Payments.

The manifesto made a commitment to reject further increases to the State Pension age. In contrast, the Government has announced it will raise the State Pension age to 68 for people born between 1970 and 1978. Labour also committed to extending transitional protections to women affected by the Government's speeding up of

increases to the State Pension age. This is an issue of vital importance to members across the country, many of whom have supported the "Women against State Pension Inequality (WASPI)" campaign to bring justice to women born in the 1950s.

Tackling child poverty

The Policy Commission has received many submissions from members concerned about growing levels of child poverty under the Conservative Government. Those concerns were reiterated by the Child Poverty Action Group who gave evidence to the Commission in the March meeting. Labour's manifesto addressed those concerns by committing to a comprehensive Child Poverty Strategy in order to address the fact that, under the Conservative Government, there are now four million children growing up in poverty and the Institute for Fiscal Studies has forecast child poverty rising above five million.

Progressing women's rights

The manifesto committed Labour to gender-audit all policy and legislation for its impact on women. That has become especially important because, as the Policy Commission heard from both the Fawcett Society and the Women's Budget Group, cuts introduced by the Conservative and Coalition Governments since 2010 continue to land most heavily on women.

The manifesto also committed Labour to ensuring a woman's right to choose a safe, legal abortion by pledging to work with the Northern Ireland Assembly to extend the right to women in Northern Ireland. Labour's manifesto also committed to tackling domestic and sexual violence, addressing the gender pay gap and extending the time period for applying for maternity discrimination to an employment tribunal from three to six months.

LGBT equality

Labour's manifesto sought to build on Labour's proud record of championing Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) equality. It committed to reforming the Gender Recognition Act and the Equality Act to ensure the law protects Transgender people and it committed to bringing the law on LGBT hate crimes into line with hate crimes based on race and faith.

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Reflecting a number of submissions received by the Commission, it also pledged to tackle the bullying of LGBT young people and to ensure NHS England completes the trial programme to provide PrEP as quickly as possible, and fully roll out the treatment to high-risk groups to help reduce HIV infection.

Race and Faith manifesto

During the General Election campaign, Labour launched its Race and Faith manifesto, which outlined Labour's commitment to racial equality. It set out wide-ranging policies to unlock the potential of BAME communities across the country, including the introduction of equal pay audits, a policy that the Runnymede Trust discussed in detail when giving evidence to the Policy Commission in March.

The distinct manifesto also committed to abolishing employment tribunal fees, which are disproportionately affecting BAME workers, to enhancing the powers and functions of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, to boosting the incomes of BAME communities by introducing a Real Living Wage of £10 an hour by 2020 and to improving BAME representation across public life.

A manifesto with and for disabled people

In the run-up to the General Election, Labour launched "Nothing about You, Without You", Labour's manifesto with and for disabled people, based on the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN CRPD). Fundamentally it was underpinned by Labour's commitment to a social model of disability and agreed to enshrine the UN CRPD into UK law. It outlined policies to improve the lives of disabled people and reflected many of the issues discussed by, and the submissions received by, the Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission.

The manifesto included commitments to reverse the Conservatives' cuts to Employment and Support Allowance and to Personal Independence Payments as well as pledging to scrap Work Capability Assessments and replace them with personalised, holistic assessments. This is an issue of particular importance to members, reflected by the many submissions the Policy Commission has received on this matter over the course of the last year.

Current issues

Tackling poverty and inequality

Throughout the year, the Commission has received a large number of submissions expressing great concern at the growing levels of poverty and inequality under the Conservative Government. Many have noted that child poverty has now reached four million under the Conservatives and the number of people living below a minimum income standard has grown to 19 million. Meanwhile, more people are relying on foodbanks because of low pay and inadequate support.

Labour's manifesto included policies to set those trends in reverse including the introduction of a Real Living Wage of £10 an hour by 2020 and a comprehensive Child Poverty Strategy. With the cost of living now rising faster than wages, the Commission will continue to focus attention on living standards, scrutinising the impact that the Government's policies are having on low- and middle-income families. Chief among those concerns are job security, in-work support and wages. The Commission will continue to seek evidence on the Government's rowing back on its commitments regarding the levels of the National Living Wage as well as the impact its exclusion on under-25s is having on young people.

The Commission will also continue to pay close attention to the roll out and provision of Universal Credit, including elements of its design, for example the six week waiting period, reduced work allowances and the level of the second earner disregard, which all risk damaging the living standards of working families. The Commission believes that strengthening workers' rights is essential to tackling poverty and inequality and members will continue to prioritise policies that improve employment rights, for example banning zero-hours contracts, an issue on which the Commission has received many submissions.

Social security and pensions for all

The Commission has received a large number of submissions regarding social security and pensions. During the election, the Conservatives came forward with a manifesto which included plans to end the Triple Lock on state pensions and to means-test Winter Fuel Payments. Labour opposed these unfair plans, and pledged to

maintain both the Triple Lock and universal Winter Fuel Payments in our manifesto. The Commission welcomes this, and notes that, in the face of Labour pressure, the Tories have, to date, been forced to backtrack on their plans.

However, the Conservative manifesto also included plans to raise the State Pension age. Since the General Election, the Government has announced that it plans to raise the State Pension age to 68 for people born between 1970 and 1978, meaning millions of people will work longer before retirement. Labour's manifesto rejected any increases to the State Pension age and committed to a review of a flexible retirement policy.

Similarly, Labour is committed to exploring options for further transitional protections for women affected by the speeding up of the State Pension age over and above plans announced to extend Pension Credit. The Commission will work to assist policy development in these areas, which are of crucial importance to members all across the country.

While the Government's cuts to social security have already been legislated for, the effect of many are only just beginning to be felt. The impact of the Government's cuts to Employment and Support Allowance, to Personal Independence Payments, to the two child limit on tax credits, to bereavement benefits and to housing support for 18-21 year olds will only start to be felt over the coming months and years.

The Commission is concerned about the impact these cuts will have on sick and disabled people, on working families, on bereaved families and on young people. Members of the Commission will continue to closely scrutinise the effect of these cuts, seeking evidence from those affected and from organisations with expertise in these areas while developing alternative policies.

Members of the Commission will also pay close attention to the Conservatives' household benefit cap, which, having been lowered in the 2016 Welfare Reform and Work Act, is beginning to impact on a greater number of families all across the country. The Commission also notes the recent High Court judgment, which found that the household benefit cap unlawfully discriminates

against single parents with children aged two or under, and members will carefully scrutinise the Government's response to the High Court ruling. Labour has pledged to uphold the High Court judgment.

The Commission has received evidence showing that, as inflation rises, the Government's restrictions on public sector pay and on the uprating of social security payments are beginning to unfairly penalise families across the country. The Commission notes evidence on the four year freeze on working-age benefits from the Resolution Foundation and the Institute for Fiscal Studies and Commission members will continue to address the impact the four-year freeze is having on families.

Creating a more equal society

Throughout the year, the Commission has received many submissions from members expressing concern that the Conservatives are making society less equal through their cuts in public spending and failure to act on key issues relating to equalities.

The Commission will continue to focus on the equalities impact of all of the Government's policies, which has become even more important given the disproportionate impact cuts are having on women and BAME communities and also because the Government continually fails to publish comprehensive equality impact assessments.

Evidence received by the Commission shows that 86 per cent of the money being raised from the Government's changes to tax and social security is coming from women's pockets. Women are bearing the brunt of the Conservatives' policy to limit tax credits to two children as well as the Government's so-called "Rape Clause", which requires rape victims to justify themselves in order to keep their eligibility for tax credits. At the same time the Government is failing to address the gender pay gap, which still stands at over 18 per cent and it is failing to tackle high levels of maternity discrimination.

Similarly, BAME communities are being disproportionately affected by the Government's cuts to social security as well as by the Conservatives' failure to improve living standards

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and the introduction of employment tribunal fees. The Commission recognises the extent to which BAME communities are being unfairly affected and will continue to scrutinise the impact Government policy is having as well as building evidence to develop alternative policies that will improve the lives of BAME people.

The Commission notes recent evidence from the Office for National Statistics that Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual people say they experience a lower quality of life together with GI/Goldsmiths' evidence relating to quality of life for trans and gender non-conforming adults. The Commission will continue to seek evidence and develop policies that strengthen LGBT rights, champion LGBT equality and improve LGBT people's quality of life. This includes continuing to build on policies outlined in Labour's manifesto in order to address the current issues facing LGBT people.

The Commission also notes that the Government has been forced into guaranteeing funding to ensure that women from Northern Ireland will no longer have to pay for abortions when using the NHS. This funding will be made available through the Government Equalities Office and the Commission will closely scrutinise the progress that is made in respect of this crucial support.

Submissions

Over the past year, the Work, Pensions and Equality Policy Commission has received submissions on the following subjects:

- Access to Work
- Anti-discrimination legislation
- Auto-enrolment
- Automation & job security
- Bedroom tax
- Benefit cap
- Bereavement support
- Carer's Allowance
- Changing legal gender
- Child tax allowance
- Collective bargaining rights
- Disability allowance
- Disability assessments
- Disability employment gap
- Disability in-work and in-to-work support
- Equality and Human Rights Commission
- Employment and Support Allowance
- Employment protection for terminally-ill patients
- Free bus passes
- Funeral poverty
- Gender neutral bathrooms
- Gender pay gap
- Health and safety executive
- Housing benefit
- In-work conditionality
- Job & pay security
- LGBT education in schools
- LGBT youth wellbeing
- Living standards
- Maternity discrimination
- Maternity leave rights
- Medical assessments by GPs for EDA, PIP and Universal Credit
- Minimum wage for under 25s
- National Living Wage
- Negative income tax
- New skilled work
- Overseas pensions
- Paternity pay
- Pension equality
- Pensioner poverty
- Pensions Act
- Personal Independence Payments
- Postcode-based discrimination
- Race inequality
- Reducing working hours
- Reforming tax credit system
- Retirement age
- Sanctions
- Social & employment rights at the heart of Brexit negotiations
- State Pension age
- Strengthening employees representation at work
- Triple Lock on state pensions
- Two child limit on tax credits
- Universal basic income
- Universal Credit
- "Women against State Pension Inequality" campaign
- Winter Fuel Payments
- Work Capability Assessments
- Workers' rights
- Zero-hours contracts



Appendices

Appendix 1: Submitting organisations

- ACCA
- ADS Group
- Amnesty International
- Animal Defenders International
- Animal protection campaigners
- Army Families Federation
- Arthritis Research UK
- Association for Consultancy and Engineering
- Association of British Healthcare Industries
- Association of School and College Leaders

- BBIA
- Birkbeck, University of London
- BMA
- BPAS
- Brewin Dolphin
- Brighton taxi companies
- British Beer & Pub Association
- British Chamber of Commerce
- British Future
- British Independent Fruit Growers' Association
- British Medical Association
- British Veterinary Association
- Building Societies Association

- CAMRA
- Campaign for better transport
- Cancer Research UK
- CaSE
- Cassandra Learning Centre
- Confederation of British Industry
- Centre for Criminal Appeals
- Centre for Social Justice
- Charles Russell Speechlys LLP
- Children and Young People's Mental Health Coalition
- Children's Charities' Coalition on Internet Safety
- Christians on the Left
- Clean Highways
- Compassion in World Farming
- Co-Op Party
- CoreCoalition (Amnesty International UK, Anti-Slavery International, CORE and Traidcraft)
- Crisis
- Crisis Action
- Cruelty Free International
- Cycling UK
- Communication Workers Union

- Defend Council Housing
- Detention Action
- Disability Labour

- EEF – The Manufacturers' Organisation
- Electrical Contractors' Association
- End Violence Against Women
- Engender
- Equality and Diversity Forum
- Equality Trust

- Fabian Society
- Federation of Small Businesses
- Focus on Labour Exploitation

- Hacked Off
- Hazards Campaign

- Involve

- Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants
- Jo Cox Loneliness Commission
- Just Fair

- Keep Britain Tidy

- Labour Animal Rights Group
- Labour Business
- Labour Campaign for International Development
- Labour Future
- Labour Irish Society
- Labour Party Irish Society
- LGA Labour Group
- Licensed Taxi Drivers' Association (LTDA)
- Living Streets
- London First
- London Irish Abortion Rights-Campaign
- LSE - Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment

- Macmillan Cancer Support
- Malaria No More UK
- Medact

- National Anti-Vivisection Society
- National Family Mediation
- National Farmers Union
- National Grid
- National Housing Federation
- National House Building Council



Submitting organisations

- National Pensioners Convention (Merseyside Pensioners Association)
- National Secular Society
- National Anti-Vivisection Society
- New Nicotine Alliance
- New Philanthropy Capital
- National Federation of the UK Blind
- New Philanthropy Capital

- Overseas Development Institute
- One Less
- Open Doors UK
- Otto Bauer Institute

- Parliamentary Advisory Council for Transport Safety
- Pensions and Lifetime Savings Association
- Policy Connect
- Post Office
- Publish What You Fund

- RAC
- Royal British Legion Industries
- Refugee Action, Refugee Council, Scottish Refugee Council
- Revo
- Royal Aeronautical Society
- Royal College of General Practitioners
- Royal College of Radiologists
- Royal Society of Arts
- Royal Statistical Society
- Royal Society for the Protection of Birds

- Saint Cecilia's Care Services
- Saint-Gobain
- Sandbag
- Save our School Food Standards
- Scouts
- SERA
- Serle Court
- Shelter
- Socialist Economy Alliance
- Socialist Educational Association
- Socialist Health Association
- Socialist Societies Executive
- Society of Editors
- Solicitors Regulation Authority
- StepChange
- Stonewall (Scotland)
- Surfers Against Sewage
- Sustain: Alliance for better food and farming

- The Detention Forum
- The Equality Trust
- The Institution of Environmental Sciences
- The International Meat Trade Association
- The Law Society
- The National Federation of Fishermen's Organisations
- The University of Surrey, Student Union
- Traidcraft
- Transport for Quality of Life
- Trust for London

- UK Power Reserve Ltd
- UN Women
- Unite
- United Nations Association - UK

- Vattenfall

- War on Want
- West Midlands Fire and Rescue Authority
- Which?
- Wildlife Trust
- Women's Aid
- WWF-UK

- Young Women's Trust

Submitting organisations

CLPs

- Banbury CLP
- Bath CLP
- Beverley and Holderness CLP
- Brentford and Isleworth CLP
- Brentwood & Ongar CLP

- Cardiff West CLP
- Chester CLP

- Dorchester CLP

- Exeter CLP

- Grimsby CLP

- Hackney North and Stoke Newington CLP
- Halton CLP

- Islington North CLP

- Kingswood CLP

- Labour Women's Forum,
Warwick and Leamington CLP

- Newark CLP

- North Dorset CLP
- North Norfolk CLP

- Orpington CLP
- Oxford & District Labour Party
- Oxford East CLP

- Rayleigh and Wickford CLP
- Richmond and North Yorkshire CLP

- Sevenoaks CLP
- Spelthorne CLP
- Southwest Norfolk CLP
- Stockport CLP
- Stone CLP

- Taunton Deane Young Labour

- Westminster North CLP

Appendix 2: National Policy Forum membership

(CLP) East Midlands Region.....Rufia Ashraf
 (CLP) East Midlands Region..... Dawn Elliott
 (CLP) East Midlands Region..... Natalie Fleet
 (CLP) East Midlands Region..... Andrew Furlong

(CLP) Eastern Region.....Rachel Garnham
 (CLP) Eastern Region..... Alexandra Mayer
 (CLP) Eastern Region..... Sandy Martin
 (CLP) Eastern Region.....Joanne Rust

(CLP) Greater London Region..... Nicky Gavron
 (CLP) Greater London Region..... Peray Ahmet
 (CLP) Greater London Region.....Unmesh Desai
 (CLP) Greater London Region.....Fiona Twycross

(CLP) Northern Region.....Brynnen Ririe
 (CLP) Northern Region..... Mary Foy
 (CLP) Northern Region.....Nick Wallis
 (CLP) Northern Region..... Laura Pidcock

(CLP) North West Region Lorraine Beavers
 (CLP) North West Region James Frith
 (CLP) North West Region Wajid Iltaf Khan
 (CLP) North West RegionJoanne Harding

(CLP) Scottish Labour Party..... Iona Baker
 (CLP) Scottish Labour Party.....Suzi Cullinane
 (CLP) Scottish Labour Party..... Martyn Cook
 (CLP) Scottish Labour Party..... Katrina Murray

(CLP) South East Region..... Beverley Clack
 (CLP) South East Region.....Fiona Dent
 (CLP) South East Region.....Joyce Still
 (CLP) South East Region.....Simeon Elliott

(CLP) South West Region Glyn Ford
 (CLP) South West RegionJoanne McCarron
 (CLP) South West RegionMark Dempsey
 (CLP) South West RegionBrenda Weston

(CLP) Welsh Labour PartyNick Davies
 (CLP) Welsh Labour PartyAnnabelle Harle
 (CLP) Welsh Labour Party Donna Hutton
 (CLP) Welsh Labour PartyAnthony John Beddow

(CLP) West Midlands Region Christopher Bloore
 (CLP) West Midlands Region Mariam Khan
 (CLP) West Midlands Region Trudie McGuinness
 (CLP) West Midlands Region Jacqueline Taylor

(CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region.....Ann Cryer
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region..... Emma Ann Hardy
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region.....George McManus
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region..... Nikki Belfield

(CLP-YTH) East Midlands Region..... Christian Weaver
 (CLP-YTH) Eastern Region.....Isobel Morris
 (CLP-YTH) Greater London Region..... Jack Falkingham
 (CLP-YTH) Northern Region..... Katie Weston
 (CLP-YTH) North West RegionJasmin Beckett
 (CLP-YTH) Scottish Labour Party.....Lyndsay Clelland
 (CLP-YTH) South East Region.....James Elliott
 (CLP-YTH) South West Region George Downs
 (CLP-YTH) Welsh Labour PartySam Pritchard
 (CLP-YTH) West Midlands RegionJeevan Jones
 (CLP-YTH) Yorkshire and Humber Region.... George Norman

(TU) ASLEF Collette Gibson
 (TU) ASLEF Mick Whelan
 (TU) BFAWUIan Hodson
 (TU) Community Callum Munro
 (TU) CWUDave Ward
 (TU) CWU Beryl Shepherd
 (TU) GMB Tim Roache
 (TU) GMBMary Hutchinson
 (TU) GMBLisa Johnson
 (TU) Musicians Union..... Isabelle Gutierrez
 (TU) TSSA Mick Carney
 (TU) UCATT..... Neil Andrews
 (TU) UNISON..... Liz Snape
 (TU) UNISON.....Dave Prentis
 (TU) UNISON.....Eleanor Smith
 (TU) UNISON.....Ken Curran
 (TU) Unite Tony Burke
 (TU) Unite Gail Cartmail
 (TU) Unite Susan Matthews
 (TU) Unite Siobhan Edean
 (TU) Unite Steve Turner
 (TU) Unite Maggie Ryan
 (TU) Unite David Quayle
 (TU) UniteJennifer Elliot
 (TU) Unite Tony Woodhouse
 (TU) Unite Len McCluskey
 (TU) USDAW..... Ruth George
 (TU) USDAW.....John Hannett
 (TU) USDAW..... Fiona Wilson

(Region) East Midlands Region..... Rory Palmer
 (Region) East Midlands Region..... Linda Woodings
 (Region) Eastern Region..... Bryony Rudkin
 (Region) Eastern Region..... Emma Toal
 (Region) Greater London Region..... Sam Gurney
 (Region) Greater London Region..... Kate Purcell
 (Region) Northern Region..... Simon Henig
 (Region) Northern Region..... Linda Hobson
 (Region) North West Region..... Wendy Simon

NPF members

(Region) North West Region.....	Carl Webb	Labour Students	Allana Hoggard
(Region) Scottish Labour Party.....	Eva Murray	House of Lords.....	Glenys Thornton
(Region) Scottish Labour Party.....	Dave Watson	House of Lords.....	Dave Watts
(Region) South East Region.....	Karen Constantine	Northern Ireland	Boyd Black
(Region) South East Region.....	Carol Hayton	Labour International.....	Jos Gallacher
(Region) South West Region	Neil Guild	LGBT Labour	Rhys Goode
(Region) South West Region	Anne Snelgrove	Disability Labour.....	David Allan
(Region) Welsh Labour Party	Estelle Hart	Scottish Policy Forum (Chair).....	Agnes Tolmie
(Region) Welsh Labour Party	Jen Smith	Scottish Policy Forum (Vice Chair).....	Clare Lally
(Region) West Midlands Region	Gerard Coyne	Scottish Policy Forum (Vice Chair).....	Jackie Baillie
(Region) West Midlands Region	Stephanie Peacock	Scottish Policy Forum (Vice Chair).....	Paul O'Kane
(Region) Yorkshire and Humber Region.....	Karen Reay	Welsh Policy Forum (Chair)	Mike Payne
(Region) Yorkshire and Humber Region ...	Simon Lightwood	Welsh Policy Forum (Vice Chair)	Carolyn Harris
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors.....	Sue Lent	Welsh Policy Forum.....	Huw Irranca-Davies
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors.....	Mary Maguire	Welsh Policy Forum	Amber Courtney
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors.....	Angela Cornforth	Shadow Cabinet	John McDonnell
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors.....	Richard Watts	Shadow Cabinet	Emily Thornberry
(LG) Local Government Association	Anne Western	Shadow Cabinet	Angela Rayner
(LG) Local Government Association	Steve Bullock	Shadow Cabinet	Diane Abbott
(LG) Local Government Association	Sharon Taylor	Shadow Cabinet	Jonathan Ashworth
(LG) Local Government Association	Simon Blackburn	Shadow Cabinet	Debbie Abrahams
(LG) Confed. Scottish Local Authorities	Michael Ross	Shadow Cabinet	Teresa Pearce
(LG) Welsh Local Government Association.....	Huw David	Shadow Cabinet	Sue Hayman
Socialist Societies	Emma Burnell	Co-operative Party (General Secretary).....	Claire McCarthy
Socialist Societies	Melanie Smallman	Co-operative Party.....	Sarah Gill
Socialist Societies	Ashton McGregor	Co-operative Party	Cheryl Barrott
BAME Labour	Gloria Mills	National Executive Committee.....	Jeremy Corbyn
BAME Labour	Kamaljeet Jandu	National Executive Committee.....	Tom Watson
BAME Labour	June Nelson	National Executive Committee.....	Diana Holland
BAME Labour	Sonny Leong	National Executive Committee.....	Jon Trickett
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Catherine McKinnell	National Executive Committee.....	Rebecca Long-Bailey
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Emma Reynolds	National Executive Committee.....	Kate Osamor
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Julie Elliott	National Executive Committee.....	Kezia Dugdale
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Jess Phillips	National Executive Committee.....	Alun Davies
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Ian Austin	National Executive Committee.....	Glenis Willmott
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Chris Leslie	National Executive Committee.....	Jasmin Beckett
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Gavin Shuker	National Executive Committee.....	Keith Birch
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	John Woodcock	National Executive Committee.....	Jim Kennedy
Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Lucy Powell	National Executive Committee.....	Andi Fox
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Seb Dance	National Executive Committee.....	Pauline McCarthy
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Anneliese Dodds	National Executive Committee.....	Paddy Lillis
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Clare Moody	National Executive Committee.....	Wendy Nichols
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Lucy Anderson	National Executive Committee.....	Andy Kerr
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Afzal Khan	National Executive Committee.....	Martin Mayer
European Parliamentary Labour Party.....	Richard Corbett	National Executive Committee.....	Mary Turner
		National Executive Committee.....	Jennie Formby
		National Executive Committee.....	Cath Speight

NPF members

National Executive Committee..... Jamie Bramwell
National Executive Committee..... James Asser
National Executive Committee..... Keith Vaz
National Executive Committee..... Ann Black
National Executive Committee..... Rhea Wolfson
National Executive Committee..... Claudia Webbe
National Executive Committee..... Darren Williams
National Executive Committee..... Peter Willsman
National Executive Committee..... Christine Shawcroft
National Executive Committee..... Nick Forbes
National Executive Committee..... Alice Perry
National Executive Committee..... George Howarth
National Executive Committee..... Margaret Beckett
National Executive Committee..... Shabana Mahmood
National Executive Committee..... John Cryer
National Executive Committee..... Nick Brown

